INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ON COMMUNITY-BASED ACTION IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

BY

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DISSEPTION

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ABSTRACT

Understanding a community’s behavior in the tourism context is important. When considering local residents are the major group of people who are affected by tourism impacts no matter if the impacts are positive or negative, residents who feel they belong to that community normally will try to both minimize the negative changes and maximize the positive impacts of tourism development. These efforts have the potential to engage outsiders and community members in conversations that may lead to sustainable tourism development and also contribute to directing efforts to either slow down or re-direct tourism development in a way that aligns with what the community members want. Previous tourism impact studies indicate the need for understanding of residents’ behaviors in relation to tourism impacts, emphasizing the unbalanced growth of our understanding of residents’ perceptions and attitudes toward tourism impacts, which have been studied extensively. This study aims to understand residents’ collective actions in the tourism context and the dynamics of the process through which each individual forms his or her behaviors in response to the impacts of tourism. Social capital theory provides a good theoretical lens to understand the dynamics of a community’s collective action involvement because it is strongly built on the basis of the connections among actors within a network boundary and on social norms that delineate the quality of their connections. In other words, this study explored the influence of social capital on the local residents’ collective action involvement. Specifically, this study addressed three research questions related to the role of social capital in residents’ collective action involvement:
a. To understand the relationships between the network element of social capital and community-based collective action related to tourism development.

b. To understand the relationship between the social norm element of social capital and community-based collective action related to tourism development.

c. To understand the relationship between community-based social capital and the extent of collective action in the Olle project of Jeju Island, South Korea.

The relationships between the network and social norm elements of social capital and community-based collective actions in response to the tourism impacts were thoroughly examined. This examination is based on the broad range of literature in diverse fields that adopt the concept of social capital and led to the theoretical framework used in this research. Furthermore, network and social norm elements of social capital and residents’ level of collective action involvement were empirically measured by using social network analysis, a general survey, and semi-structured interviews. Specific hypotheses addressing their relationships were tested based on multiple regression analysis. Considering that social capital theory is strongly based on network and social structure, using network analysis provides relational and structural information that explains not only the influence of social capital on collective action, but also the dynamics of residents’ collective action involvement. Residents in two communities on Jeju Island, South Korea, which are engaged in the Olle project were studied to explore effect of social capital on their engagement in collective action. This led to comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of residents’ collective action involvement in response to the tourism impacts.
This study found that both elements of social capital – networks and social norms, are critical factors that explain residents’ collective action involvement. Both strong and weak ties are critical for residents’ successful collective action involvement. Specifically, two types of strong ties, residents’ informal networks and shared relationships through social organization activities, have been emphasized in this study as the significant ties that positively influence residents’ collective action involvement. However, residents’ connections with major stakeholders deeply engaged in tourism in a community did not explain residents’ collective action involvement. Furthermore, people holding similar structural positions, sharing similar roles in the community, did not present a similar pattern of community involvement.

Weak ties at the individual level yielded inconclusive findings on residents’ involvement. At the community level the ties between the community and stakeholders outside it had positive effects on the residents’ involvement.

Regarding the social norms element of social capital, existing social pressure perceived by residents to participate in tourism-related collective action was positively correlated with the level of residents’ involvement. However, interestingly, findings regarding trust in both communities were inconclusive. The trust level was negatively correlated with the level of residents’ involvement in the Mang-Jang community, but the trust element failed to explain residents’ involvement in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. This negative correlation of social capital with residents’ involvement was also identified in the kinship society where all the residents are extensively connected and share an extremely high level of trust and understanding of each others’ behaviors.
When it comes to the effects of relational structure of these communities on residents’ level of involvement, the study findings presented that the community highly connected among the members and shares meaningful interactions is positively associated with their level of involvement. However, another finding also highlighted the importance of relational structure of a community that presents group interactions that share collaboration and at the same time, hold each other in check to balance out the power structure.

From a theoretical and methodological point of view, this study contributed to the current knowledge of social capital and tourism impact studies and a methodological understanding of the analysis of social relationships and community structure in the tourism context. These contributions were possible by identifying specific conditions, which facilitate the creation of social capital for better residents’ collective action involvement in a rural tourism context, which delineate specific features of networks and structure of the community that encourages each member of a community to participate in collective actions. From a practical point of view, this study contributes to enhancing understanding of tourism policy makers and developers about the dynamics of the local residents’ community-based behavior related to tourism, which ultimately contributes to successful mobilization of residents’ supports and active involvement. For the community itself, findings from the study are related to specific relational and structural features. These results will provide the residents with the relational and structural weaknesses and strengths being compared to those of another community. Furthermore, discussion of these network characteristics with other members would encourage the communities to modify their preexisting relational and structural features toward the
ways that facilitate successful involvement of the members in tourism related collective action for making a better community.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of Problem

Tourism development has been considered a critical tool for community development (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; George, Mair & Reid, 2009), mainly because it has created many positive benefits, including increased employment opportunities and income for the community (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Lepp, 2007), improved standard of living (Akis, Peristianis, & Warner, 1996), increased tax revenues, and enhanced infrastructure (Andereck et al., 2005; Lai & Nepal, 2006), improved social services, transportation, recreation facilities, and improved cultural activities (Akis et al., 1996; McCool & Martin, 1994), and improved life quality and social capital (Lepp, 2007). However, it has been also acknowledged that tourism brings about many negative changes to communities (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Cooke, 1982; Davis & Morais, 2004; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Kang, Lee, Yoon, & Long, 2008; Kwan, 2004; Stokowski, 1993).

However, although our understanding of community perceptions and attitudes toward tourism development has grown tremendously, there is limited understanding of residents’ behaviors in relation to tourism impacts (Hwang, Stewart, & Ko, 2012; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). According to Lai and Nepal (2006), a growing area of interest complements resident attitude research by examining ways in which tourism development affects community behavior (i.e., collective action).
Within a tourist destination, the local community is the group of people affected by tourism. When a community is impacted by tourism development, residents who feel they belong to that community normally will try to both minimize the negative changes and maximize the positive impact of tourism development. Further, their involvement may encourage them to direct efforts to either slow-down or redirect tourism development in ways that align with the desires of the community members (Davis & Morais, 2004; Dogan, 1989; Gursoy, Chi, & Dyer, 2010; Hwang et al., 2012). Several scholars have called for the need to better understand local residents’ reactions to tourism development (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Cooke, 1982; Gursoy et al., 2010; Ross, 1992; Zhou & Ap, 2009). The community-based impact of tourism development, including various kinds of collective action, are important to understand and indicate the extent to which residents are willing partners in sustaining tourism (Reid, Mair, & George, 2004; Vincent & Thompson, 2002). Because successful tourism development depends on positive encounters between tourists and hosts, the long-term success of tourism is dependent upon local residents and their support for tourist initiatives (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Cooke, 1982; Gursoy et al., 2010; Ross, 1992; Zhou & Ap, 2009).

Several collective action studies in tourism contexts highlight the importance of social capital for the successful community-based tourism development. These studies commonly agree that the strong ties and trust that exist among community members contributes to mobilizing support of tourism in the community (Jóhannesson, Skaptadóttir, & Benediktsson, 2003; Jones, 2005; Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2004). However, these studies only focused on collective action to support tourism development, while they failed to address a community’s collective efforts to cope with the negative
impact of tourism development. In an effort to further understand community collective action, Hwang et al. (2012) studied Korean communities located in Jeju Island. The main purpose of the study was to explore community-based action as a meaningful impact of tourism development, particularly how it connected with a community's capacity to protect itself from outside threats by negotiating the quality and extent of tourism development.

Even through Hwang et al. (2012) attempted to verify the overall procedures of community collective action and its dynamic, as well as to confirm its critical roles in the success of long-term tourism development, other tourism impact studies missed a very important point, but needs to be addressed to gain a deep understanding of the relationship between tourism’s impact and collective action in the community for successful tourism development. The point is that previous tourism impact studies have failed to address the dynamic of how each individual perceives tourism and forms their attitude and reacts to the impact collectively to address its impact. That is, these studies did not show the dynamics of how each member of the community interacts with other members and other stakeholders within and outside community boundaries and also how the social relational structure created through these interactions affects community members’ involvement in collective action about tourism. However, understanding of social relations among community members and the social structure of a community will be critical for explaining why and how each individual and group forms attitudes and gets involved in community collective action (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009).
1.2 Study Goals

Many sociologists studying collective action commonly agreed and emphasized the importance of understanding inter-dynamics of the community related to collective actions to reach deep levels of understanding of the collective actions (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Schulz, 1998). Following the same line, the present study will further explore the interplay of community collective action and community inter-dimension as they relate to a tourism development initiative. To better understand the inter-dynamics of the existing community collective action around the Olle project, which is a major island tourism development initiative, the present study will focus at the micro level (i.e., at the individual member’s interactions and community structure). Furthermore, these dynamics will be approached from the perspective of social capital theory. Two elements of social capital – network and social norms – will be empirically measured in this study by adopting social network analysis, general survey, and semi-structured interview protocols. Especially when considering social capital theory is strongly based on network and social structure, using network analysis will provide relational and structural information that explains the influence of social capital on collective action, but it has been rarely used in the context of community and also in social capital studies in tourism context (Jeong, 2008). Two Jeju communities engaged in the Olle project will be studied, and the effect of social capital on their engagement in collective action will be identified and explained.

1.3 Research Questions

The following are the research questions that will be examined in this study: (1) To understand the relationships between the network element of social capital and
community-based collective action related to tourism development. (2) To understand the relationship between the social norm element of social capital and community-based collective action related to tourism development. (3) To understand the relationship between community-based social capital and the extent of collective action in the Olle project of Jeju Island, South Korea.

1.4 Significance of the Study

By examining the effects of relational and structural aspects of social capital on the community’s collective action toward tourism impacts, this study will address three gaps in tourism literature. First of all, this study broadens previous tourism impact studies by examining a community’s collective behavior toward tourism impacts that integrate both community-based action to support tourism development and to cope with negative impacts of tourism. Second, unlike previous tourism impact studies that have failed to address the dynamic of how each individual perceives tourism impacts and forms their attitude and react to the impacts collectively to address the impacts, this study delineates the dynamics that lead each member of a community to react to tourism through community-based action. Third, this study expands the knowledge of the relationship between social capital and collective action in a community. Social network analysis provides specific relational and structural network features that are important to understand the relational and structural dimensions of social capital in depth. Moreover, the social relational structures that network analysis provides contribute to identifying the social structure of a community that might not be identifiable otherwise, especially for a rural community. This network information contributes to identifying specific relational
and structural characteristics of a community that facilitates the creation of social capital for better collective action involvement in rural tourism contexts. In other words, this study addresses “why” social capital is positively or negatively associated with the collective action of a community in terms of relational and structural aspects of social capital. Previous social capital studies in tourism fail to answer “why” by remaining at the level of the causal relationship between social capital and collective action involvement.

As a practical implication, this study helps tourism policy makers and developers with a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of a local community’s collective action by providing them with information regarding interpersonal interactions among members and social relational structures of the community that affect the community’s successful collective action. This comprehensive understanding of a community’s reactions toward the impact of tourism is critical for tourism developers and policy makers to enhance the sustainability of tourism developments by having community members as willing partners in sustaining tourism (Reid et al., 2004). The study findings will reconfirm the necessity of the community’s involvement in tourism decision making from the initial stage of tourism development for successful and sustainable tourism development.

This study can potentially contribute to the communities being studied. The members of the community acknowledge the effectiveness of collective action to either slow-down or re-direct tourism development in a way that align with what the community members want (Davis & Morais, 2004; Dogan, 1989; Gursoy et al., 2010; Hwang et al., 2012). The study findings related to relational and structural features
inform the community of the relational and structural weaknesses and strengths being compared to those of another community, and discussion of these network features with community members may facilitate relational and structural changes of the community in a direction that encourages successful community involvement in collective action for making a better community. For example, network findings inform which groups or individuals are marginalized from the relationship and participation. If it turns out that relational or structural marginalization is positively associated with low-participation in collective action, this information provides a suggestion to get the person or the group involved in this relationship. Moreover, network structure information makes residents clearly see their role in the community structure, which in turn encourages each individual to dedicate reasonable time and effort to gain knowledge and keep responsibilities that are required for the position in order to achieve successful collective action. Furthermore, each member acknowledges the necessity of understanding outer sources that fundamentally facilitate and encourage community involvement into collective action.
2.1 Community

Efforts to understand a community and its importance have consistently been conducted by many sociologists (Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Hillery, 1955; Huang & Stewart, 1996; Jensen, 2004; Kaufman, 1959; Liepins, 2000; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Wilkinson, 1991). According to Aristotle, community is worthwhile in fulfilling individual needs, such as the enjoyment of social gatherings, basic needs, and searching for life's meaning (Christenson & Robinson, 1989). In addition to this, community is also evaluated as a critical tool for achieving common goals (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) and improving the social well-being of community members, which provides them with a high quality of life. Furthermore, Wilkinson (1991) indicated that community also acts as a facilitator that enables members to develop social norms needed for societal order.

As a critical social reference point, community has been used and defined in a variety of ways (Hillery, 1955; Huang & Stewart, 1996; Jensen, 2004; Puddifoot, 1995; Wilkinson 1986). According to the research of Hillery (1955), there were ninety-four different definitions of community cited in the literature.

In an attempt to gather a common understanding of what a community is, Christenson and Robinson (1989) summarized many of the previous studies and presented four key elements needed for defining the concept of community: people, place and territory, social interaction, and psychological identification with a community.
Not surprisingly, the first component of a community definition is people; usually we refer to a group of people when talking about a community. Liepins (2000) insisted that communities are built around the existence of multiple identity groups within that community, and more importantly, the people that compose these diverse groups are central to the construction of a community and its own unique identity. Further, he described these identity groups as exhibiting heterogeneous characteristics and tendencies that simultaneously integrate them into diverse smaller groups as well as locate their position within the larger community.

The second component of community is social interaction. Social interaction is the way in which people interdependently relate to one another by sharing emotions and ideas and participating in informal and formal social activities in locations such as businesses, schools, clubs, banks, and bars. Kaufman (1959) indicated that interaction leads people to share some common values, norms, and customs in achieving common goals. Some studies also indicated that social interaction usually happens when certain events threaten or challenge the local community (Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Wilkinson, 1986). Such situations may create the opportunity for strong social interaction organized as a series of community collective actions aimed at keeping the community safe from any threats. Wilkinson (1986) suggested “community collective action” as an element comprising the definition of community and also argued that there should be collective action among community members in order to show their identity and solidarity as well as to resolve their problems (Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1986).

Even though place and territory are crucial elements of community, some authors have not included these elements in their definition of community (Christenson &
Robinson, 1989). Some studies have argued that place and territory are becoming less important because, to some extent, community can be presented as a form of imagined community, which is based on “interest, intention, imagination, memory, and sometimes as a specific forms of interest” (Liepins, 2000, p. 32). According to Wilkinson (1986), people live together in a blurred spatial boundary, but such obscure boundaries may become irrelevant according to whether each person is looking for primary community characteristics rather than for outer restrictions. However, similar to what Christenson and Robinson (1989) and Liepins (2000) argued in their work, for the purpose of this study, place and territory will be considered as integrated elements in the definition of community, mainly because most meaningful activities and interactions between community members are held in a boundary of specific place and territory, and also become metaphorical and material symbols of community that can be read and interpreted for value, meaning, and activities sought.

The last element of community is a common attachment to or psychological identification with a community. Living together in a certain local area with shared emotions and ideas allows people to build a strong sense of common belonging and identity. That is, such bonding, created on the basis of a strong sense of belonging and community identity, will strive to create “locality,” which distinguishes one community from another and in turn facilitates the creation of unique symbols. Christenson and Robinson (1989) argued that such particular locality and uniqueness that distinguishes a community from other communities is a united part of one’s sense of community.

Among these elements comprising the notion of community, the second element, social interaction, especially the collective action of community members, will be the
focus of this paper. More specific explanations of the dynamics of community interaction that develop into community-based actions will be further discussed in the section on community collective action.

2.2 Tourism Development and Its Impact on the Destination Community

Tourism has been widely considered among many scholars and practitioners as a significant tool for achieving development in both industrialized and less developed countries due to its expected positive economic contributions and enduring growth (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; George et al., 2009). The positive economic impact of tourism has been emphasized in an impressive body of research (Andereck et al., 2005; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Lepp, 2007; Akis et al., 1996). However, even with its significance for development through many positive benefits, it also has been acknowledged that tourism brings many negative changes to communities (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Cooke, 1982; Davis & Morais, 2004; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Kang et al., 2008; Kwan, 2004; Stokowski, 1993).

Tourism development not only changes the physical landscape of a destination, but also results in changes to the social life of the community (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Kang et al., 2008). When tourism development intensifies beyond a community’s capacity, the social life of a community undergoes tremendous change and upheaval (Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979).

An impressive body of research has been directed at understanding community perceptions of the impact of tourism (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Carmichael, 2000; Dyer, Gursoy, Shama, & Carter, 2007; Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002; Sheldon & Abenoja,
Like other industries, tourism has influenced host communities in both negative and positive ways. Curto (2006) summarized previous research trends of tourism impacts on a community. Numerous early studies have focused on the positive economic impact of tourism, while studies conducted during the 1970s tried to locate negative socio-environmental impact of tourism development. However, such a dichotomous trend has recently appeared in a more comprehensive approach, which examines both the positive and negative impact of economic and socio-environmental aspects of tourism (Curto, 2006).

Williams (1979) divided the tourism impact into three categories: economic, social, and environmental / physical. While many previous studies have demonstrated the positive economic impact of tourism on the host community, some studies considered these economic impacts to be negative. Tourism has been found to increase employment opportunities and income of the community (Andereck et al., 2005; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Lepp, 2007), improve the standard of living (Akis et al., 1996), increase tax revenues, and enhance infrastructure (Andereck et al., 2005; Lai & Nepal, 2006). However, it is also true that tourism development results in many negative effects on the economic conditions of the destination community, which include inflation, tax burdens, property issues, addictive economies, and economic leakage to the outside (Andereck et al., 2005; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Lepp, 2007). In addition, Akis et al. (1996) indicated that most residents who were engaged in tourism occupations were employed in lower-ranked positions compared with employees from external and foreign areas; also, many residents
complained about the uneven distribution of the benefits from tourism development among residents. The distribution of benefits was limited to only a small group of people in the community.

Even though much of the literature showed positive economic and socio-cultural impact, the environmental consequences were largely negative (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005). Negative effects of tourism that influence the community include environmental pollution such as air pollution, which includes gas emissions from vehicles and airplanes; water pollution, including water discharge, fertilizer leakage, and road oil (Akis et al., 1996; Andereck et al., 2005; Liu & Var, 1986); depletion of natural resources (Andereck et al., 2005; Liu & Var, 1986); plant destruction and deforestation, forest fires, trampling of vegetation and destruction of wetlands, soil and beaches (Andereck et al., 2005); litter (Liu & Var, 1986); traffic congestion (Akis et al., 1996; Liu & Var, 1986; Kang et al., 2008); overcrowding at outdoor recreation facilities; noise; and property destruction (Liu & Var, 1986). However, Akis et al. (1996) indicated that tourism development contributes to the conservation of buildings and the restoration of old buildings to make showcases for visitors. Many studies identified a variety of social influences on the host society, both positive and negative (Akis et al., 1996; Dyer, Aberdeen, & Schuler, 2003; Dogan, 1989; McCool & Martin, 1994; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001). However, unlike economic effects, which many tourism literatures consider to be positive, the socio-cultural impact has been presented somewhat negatively (Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987). Many studies indicated positive socio-cultural impact, including improved social services, transportation, recreation facilities, and improved cultural activities (Akis et al., 1996; McCool & Martin, 1994); cultural understanding fostered through the
cultural exchange and cultural and historical exhibitions; a sense of pride in the community's tradition and culture (Liu & Var, 1986; Dyer, Aberdeen, & Schuler, 2003; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001); cultural revitalization through protecting cultural sites and maintaining tradition and culture (Dyer et al., 2003); and improved life quality and social capital (Lepp, 2007). As for the negative socio-cultural impact of tourism development, existing literature pinpointed cultural changes (Akis et al., 1996; Dyer et al., 2003; Dogan, 1989); changes in community lifestyle, daily routine, social lives, and values and beliefs; increases in crime rates; and noise and crowding (Akis et al., 1996; Dogan, 1989; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001). Furthermore, Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) indicated that if tourism development was conducted at a fast pace with poor planning and management, the community would lose its own identity and traditional culture.

In addition to the efforts to understand community perceptions of the impact of tourism, an impressive body of research has examined the relationship between resident attitudes and support for tourism development. Collectively, these studies have exhibited mixed results. Some studies indicate that residents’ perceived costs and benefits influences community support (or opposition) to tourism (Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Snaith & Haley, 1994). In other words, residents who perceive greater individual benefits from tourism compared to personal costs have positive attitudes, which in turn lead to a willingness to support tourism development. Vice versa, residents who perceive net personal costs to tourism development are likely to hold negative attitudes and not support tourism initiatives. Although these findings align with common sense, further studies have explored resident attitudes from a processual perspective and nuance the relationships. Such studies indicate that residents may have
an initial awareness of the negative impact of tourism and may even assess a net cost to
development; however, because residents recognize the future necessity for tourism, they
are willing to support its development (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Carmichael, 2000;
Gursoy et al., 2002; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). These studies, even with their mixed
results, suggest roles for community-based collective action. Although our understanding
of community perceptions and attitudes toward tourism development has grown
tremendously, there is limited understanding of residents’ behaviors in relation to tourism.
According to Lai and Nepal (2006), a growing area of interest complements resident
attitude research by examining ways in which tourism development affects community
behavior.

Although numerous previous tourism impact studies have tried to understand how
local residents perceive and form attitudes toward tourism impact, these studies have not
addressed the dynamics of the process through which each individual forms his or her
perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors toward the impacts of tourism. Even if an individual
has a positive attitude toward tourism based on the personal interests and benefits that the
individual gains or expects to gain from the development, many members of the
community may deny these impacts as benefits for other reasons and perceive such
impacts in negative ways. This is because individuals’ perceptions and attitudes about
that impact are not determined by a specific element, such as the perceived individual
benefits from development, but they go through a comprehensive and dynamic thought
procedure in order to form a perception and attitude about tourism (Lin, 2001). Many
factors are considered in this process, and they probably include some of following:
personal value and perceived benefit, community values and identities, perceived social
pressure that comes from strong norms and rules, role expectations, relationships and interaction with other members, overall community structure, and other environmental contexts that a person or community may encounter. For instance, when a person encounters an effect of tourism, the individual may begin the impact perception process with a consideration of their personal value and perceived benefits and losses, but this process is also influenced by other relational and structural elements and other environmental factors that the person encounters within a community structure. This perception and attitude will be affected by others with whom this person has connections and interactions. Who individuals interact with and the influence of those interactions affect the individuals’ process of forming perceptions about and attitudes toward tourism (Burt, 2001). Especially if an individual is in a close relationship based on strong trust, others will have a strong effect on that person’s normal life decision-making processes, and that influence will be more obvious in the person’s perception and attitude formation. Moreover, the social and network roles of individuals, which include roles such as son or daughter, husband or wife, father or mother, CEO or employee, or any roles that individuals socially creates in the relations with others, create social expectations and pressure that are considered appropriate to the person in a specific position and role, which in turn, affects a person’s perception and attitude formation toward the impact of tourism (Lin, 2001). Moreover, in the case where a community shows strong solidarity based on highly dense ties and also has shared norms that usually accompany shared behavioral expectations, each individual is not going to be free from perceiving and forming attitudes about tourism. Their perceptions and attitudes will be monitored and controlled by other members of the community. Moreover, in such a community, the
members are likely to share common identities and values not only for easier control of the members, but also for framing their aims and goals efficiently (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009), and these commonly shared identities and solidarities will strongly affect how members forms their attitudes toward the impact of tourism. In other words, members will perceive tourism in more positive ways and try to form positive attitudes toward its impact if their identities and values are matched with the impact that tourism brings into the community. They will willingly protect these community values and identities from the impact of tourism, however, when the effects are not matched with those values and identities (Hwang et al., 2012). In this consideration, tourism impact studies need to integrate these dynamics of interpersonal interaction among community members and understand the dynamic process through which local residents’ perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors change according to these factors. The aim of this study is to understand the community’s collective action involvement related to the tourism development from the perspective of their interpersonal relationships and interactions, social relational structure of the community.

2.3 Collective Action

Collective action has been defined in different ways among scholars based on the purpose of research. The most commonly used definition of collective action is the “social movement” dimension of collective action, which describes collective behavior by a set of individuals in order to achieve common interests (German, Taye, Charamila et al., 2006; Breinlinger & Kelly, 1996).
Breinlinger and Kelly (1996) and Tilly and Tilly (1981) integrated the concept of collective action in a comprehensive manner in their work. Tilly and Tilly (1981) comprehensively defined collective action broadly as “all occasions on which sets of people commit pooled resources, including their own efforts, to common ends” (p. 17). Their definition not only covered actors in diverse dimensions, ranging from a small village or community to a widespread social movement, but also covered diverse collective behaviors, ranging from “protest” and “rebellion” to all kinds of activities working together such as official meeting, petitioning, picketing, and parading. Along this line of definition, Breinlinger and Kelly (1996) stated, “If a set of individuals has an interest in common, they will form themselves into a group and act collectively to pursue them [the goals]. Collective interest gives rise to collective action” (p. 11).

In other words, collective action has been broadly defined and used to explain community-based efforts. That is, this concept broadly delineates not only cooperation or collaboration of community members within and outside community boundaries to support community development, but also community-based efforts that are usually conducted in order to address potential conflicts and problems among community members or with outside stakeholders in the process of community development.

In line with these comprehensive definitions of collective action, the definition of collective action adopted for this study is drawn from those of Hwang et al. (2012), Kaufman (1959) and Wilkinson (1986). When considering that the focus of this research is to understand collective action conducted in a community, all efforts and activities a community pursues, not only to resolve local problems and to manifest local identity and solidarity (Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1986), but also to mobilize community support for
tourism development (Hwang et al., 2012), will be fitted best for this study. In other words, collective action is the collaboration with other community members and participating in acts of solidarity, which is distinct from investigating residents acting alone or in contexts of individual coping behavior. Collective action, even when being precipitated by a community resisting an outside threat, empowers a group of residents to address problems from local perspectives (Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1986). The target of collective action is often directed at eliminating or reducing an external threat to a community’s way of life. When community-based action is effective at negotiation, a community is usually left stronger and more capable of addressing future development threats and opportunities (Freudenburg & Gramling, 1994).

Collective action has been studied with diverse topics in different dimensions (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009), and these studies answer questions ranging from who joins or supports (Olson, 1965; McAdam, 1988; Cotgrove & Duff, 1980) and when and why collective action happens (Blumberg, 1984; Freeman, 1973; D’Emilio, 1983) to why collective action declines (Epstein, 2001; Gamson, 1995; Brockett, 1993; Roxborough, 2007). Not all of these topics will be covered in this study, but the topics concerning the fundamental factors that influence successful collective action emergence and people’s collective action involvement will be the focus of this research.

In the following section, previous collective action literature will be thoroughly reviewed to comprehend the previous efforts to understand the emergence of collective action. These studies also will be examined from diverse perspectives, ranging from both individual and structural dimensions to the synthesis of both dimensions.
Goodwin and Jasper (2009) provided a good summary of the changing focus in understanding the initiation of collective action in the context of social movements. They emphasized the importance of understanding collective action from the holistic point of view rather than focusing on either individual attributes or structural dimensions (also see, Bendor & Mookherjee, 1987; Futema, Castro, Forsberg, & Ostro, 2002). They argued that collective action involvement studies continue, changing their focus from individual attributes to structural availability, and they finally continued toward a synthesis of both dimensions.

Until the 1960s, most scholars tended to see participants in collective action as dangerous mobs that act abnormally and blindly follow other crowds, swept up in the personal benefits and the feeling of relative deprivation. However, this attitude started to change with the influence of Mancur Olson’s book, *Logic of Collective Action*, which was published in 1965 (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). In the book, Olson (1965) tried to answer the very fundamental question of why people participate in collective action if they are so rational. He argued that people are so rational that they will weigh the costs and benefits from collective action involvement and finally will choose to be free riders on others’ efforts. As a way to attract engagement of group members into collective action, Olson emphasized the importance of providing selective incentives only to participants. The selective incentive comprises both rewards for participation and punishments for free-riding. That is, Olson found that there are cases where rational people could get involved in collective action (Breinlinger & Kelly, 1996), and he also inspired paradigm changes of collective action by shifting the focus from individual attributes to structural availability (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). This new approach from
the structural perspective denies the rationalist’s perspective, which tries to account for collective action involvement with reference to an individual’s attributes, while structuralists, who advocate structural and relational perspectives in explaining human behaviors, tries to understand people’s involvement into collective action based on not only structural and relational influences, but also on the influences of contextual variables, which examine how institutional, cultural, and biophysical contexts influence the recruitment of participants (Gould, 2003; Ostrom, 2000).

This recent perspective has been well summarized in Goodwin and Jasper’s work (2009). They include (1) resource perspective, (2) political perspective, (3) process perspective, and (4) network perspective. The resource perspective argued that collective action involvement increases as the amount of resources that individuals have for participation increases. This argument is still strongly supported among scholars as a critical element for explaining a collective action emergence. The political perspective emphasizes the “political process” as the major reason for the emergence of collective action. Advocates of this perspective argue that collective action is mobilized because of the feeling of relative deprivation that protestors feel in the process of unexpected economic and political shifts and regard the goals of collective action to be desirable changes in present laws and policies. The process perspective considers the emergence of collective action as the outcome that happens through many different influences. The American civil rights movement did not happen because of one single factor, but its mobilization has been encouraged by many elements, which include “resource condition, organization, the emotions of raised expectations, and a sense of new opportunities” (p. 12). As the last perspective that is the focus of this study, the network perspective has
been advocated by many scholars studying collective actions (Bendor & Mookherjee, 1987; Gould, 1993, 2003; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000). This perspective denies the rationalist’s perspective, which tries to account for collective action involvement with reference to individual attributes, while structuralists, who advocate for network perspectives in explaining human behaviors of collective action, emphasized the importance of the pre-existing social network of each member in order to be informed and alarmed about crises in the community (Freeman, 1973; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Gould, 1993, 2003; McAdam, 1988; Paxton, 2002).

Freeman (1973) clearly addressed that in her women’s social movement study, what community needs to galvanize its members into collective efforts is a co-optable communications network already established and a crisis threatening the community. The importance of the network has also been emphasized by McAdam (1988). In his book *Freedom Summer*, he identified three critical elements in order to explain who is willing to invest themselves in a social movement. They included biographical availability, ideological compatibility, and social-network ties. More than the first two factors, the third factor, social network ties, became crucial in explaining who showed up and those who did not participate.

In addition, social networks are not only seen as a precondition for the emergence of a collective action by being used as the route for information flow, but also function as communicative routes that social norms and cultural messages such as “shared behavioral expectations,” “frames,” and “collective identity” are transmitted through (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Gould, 2003).
In other words, social ties and interactions among potential participants will facilitate the sharing of ideas, values, and emotions on the issue. Furthermore, these ties will help them create their collective identity and strong sense of community, which will lead to collective action (Freeman, 1973; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). In connection with mobilizing collective action, highly dense networks provide communication routes that enable actors within a network to share information and resources, but they also circulate institutional norms within the network, accompanied by shared behavioral expectations and the same patterns of exchanges: “Members of a community are said to mimic each other’s behavior to become more legitimate, with subsequent conformity attesting to agreed-upon behavioral constraints” (Pavlovich, 2003, p.205). Even further, these shared norms will also be developed to local rules and sanctions by creating official positions for local monitors to maintain these norms and collective actions more efficiently (Ostrom, 2000). That is, these shared norms, social rules, and sanctions based on highly dense networks encourage actors’ involvement in collective action not only through making them feel guilty for not matching the average contribution of their peers and through the punishment of individuals who break commonly agreed upon rules, but also by raising awareness that other members follow the same rules most of the time (Gould, 1993, 2003; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000).

As relational and structural approaches are advocated by many scholars in understanding collective action, the influence of specific network features on collective action are also being studied at both the individual and collective level as the significance of understanding is highlighted by many structuralists (Adger, 2003; Besser, 2009; D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Glover, 2004; Paxton, 2002).
Even if actors belong to the same network boundary, each person in the group has relationships that are differentiated from other actors, and these relationships are also strongly affected by the person’s position within the network and by specific structure features, such as the density and hierarchy of groups.

As some examples of these network features frequently used in network study, *centrality* indicates actors’ positions within a network; *structural equivalence* is the concept that informs not only how a network is divided into relational sub-groups, but also whether the actors are located in the same position within the network or not. *Density* presents the overall structure of network and relational ties of the group. Lastly, *strong and weak ties* are the concept interchangeably used with the terms closed and open network and are the identification of two groups of network relations. The reasons why these specific network features are constantly studied in diverse fields seem obvious and simple. These different relational and structural network features embody different advantages and disadvantages of human behaviors, and these network features will be applicable for understanding collective action behaviors, which are strongly based on the network. More detailed information on specific network features will be examined in Chapter 4 with the explanation of social network analysis. Implications of previous collective action studies concerning some of these network features will be further examined with the connection to the social capital concept in the later section on social capital.

As collective action studies in tourism context, although our understanding of community perceptions and attitudes toward tourism development has grown tremendously, there is a limited understanding of residents’ behaviors in relation to the
impact of tourism. According to Lai and Nepal (2006), a growing area of interest complements *resident attitude* research by examining the ways in which tourism development affects *community behavior*.

An important line of research has been directed at understanding resident behavior in relation to the impact of tourism (Dogan, 1989). Referred to as coping strategies, such research investigates the ways in which residents respond to tourists and tourism development. Ap and Crompton (1993) have identified a continuum of behavioral strategies from embracing tourism to withdrawing from one’s community due to the inability to handle direct contact with tourists. This line of research has provided useful information about individual attitude and behavior; however, it has not yet assessed the collective behavior of groups of residents. An important stream of tourism research highlights the significance of social capital for sustainable community-based development. This body of research has identified strong ties and trusting relationships among residents as contributing factors for initiating and maintaining community support for tourism (Jóhannesson et al., 2003; Jones, 2005; Macbeth et al., 2004). Specifically, Jones (2005) found that strong ties and trusting relationships facilitate collective action that supports proposed tourism development, but these studies failed to address community-based efforts to change the nature of tourism development in ways that increase positive impact and decrease negative impact.

However, the understanding of community-based action toward the impact of tourism is critical for gaining community support for tourism development and also for improving the sustainability of tourism in an area. This is because successful tourism development depends on positive encounters between tourists and hosts, and the long-
term success of tourism is dependent upon locals and their support (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Cooke, 1982; Gursoy et al., 2010; Ross, 1992; Zhou & Ap, 2009). Thus the community-based impact of tourism development – including various kinds of collective action – is important to understand, and it is important to indicate the extent to which residents are willing partners in sustaining tourism (Reid et al., 2004; Vincent & Thompson, 2002).

The importance of understanding community-based action has been also highlighted in the tourism planning literature, which has given increasing attention to collaborative planning and partnership building with tourism stakeholders outside community boundaries (Dredge, 2006). Even if they emphasized the importance of involving the diverse perspectives and values of stakeholders in decision-making procedures for sustainable tourism development, these collaboration studies provided a limited focus and understanding about the community’s collective action by failing to consider possible structural conflicts and possible community collective action to address related issues that would happen in the communicative actions among the stakeholders in the process of collaboration. Reed (1997) and other scholars indicated four shortcomings in the use of collaboration theory (Jeong, 2008). One of the shortcomings pointed out that collaboration theory often does not address power dynamics:

Collaboration theory can attain an optimal solution by keeping the balance on different interests among stakeholders. However, it does not explain how and why those with power would be willing to work on the change for the balance and the redistribution of power redistribution, and how power holders can release their power to the ‘have-nots’ to ensure equal participation or access to resources. (Jeong, 2008, p. 25)
In other words, they failed to address the diversity and differences in each stakeholder’s values and goals, which sometimes cannot be negotiated through conversation (McGuirk, 2000; Flyvbjerg, 1998).

Of course, there are many successful cases of community collaboration in tourism contexts, which have been built on strong communication among tourism related stakeholders. In most of cases, however, such agreement and successful collaboration in a community with other stakeholders did not happen immediately, but it was the outcome of long term collective action within the community, which negotiates and compromises existing gaps with diverse stakeholders (Hwang et al., 2012).

As highlighted in the review of tourism impact studies and collective action above, another critical point that previous collective action studies have failed to address is the dynamic of the process through which individuals get involved in collective action to address the impact of tourism. In a recent effort to understand communities’ collective action, Hwang et al. (2012) explored community-based action as a meaningful impact of tourism development, and one connected with a community’s capacity to protect itself from outside threats by negotiating the quality and extent of tourism development. Although this study elaborated on the efforts to verify overall procedures of community collective action and its dynamic, and also confirmed its critical role in the success of long-term tourism development, this study did not show the detailed dynamics through which each individual interacts with other members, and how these interpersonal interactions and also specific relational structure of the community based on these interpersonal interactions among the residents will affect each individual’s collective action involvement. However, the understanding of these relational and structural
characteristics has been already emphasized as a critical approach of collective action studies in order to explain how each member became involved in the collective action. For this reason, the focus of this study is to understand the community’s collective action involvement through its relational and structural aspects of the community in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of collective action involvement.

2.4 Social Capital

Social capital theory has been adopted in many diverse fields of study that try to understand complex human behavior in varied social settings ranging from human job searching behavior, knowledge, and information sharing to collective action involvement in order to achieve a group goal. The concept of social capital originated from critiquing two traditional perspectives that prevailed among previous understanding of human behavior, which are the approaches from the perspectives of rationalists and structuralists (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). Social capital theory tries to integrate both perspectives of understanding human behavior and overcomes weaknesses that each perspective has in attempting to explain complex human behavior (Coleman, 1988). That is, when considering that comprehensive understanding of human behavior requires multi-dimensional approaches, social capital theory, which integrates considerations of both an individual’s rational decision making and the social, relational, and structural aspects of that decision making, has been considered a theory that is appropriate to explain complex human behaviors, such as the community-based action that is the focus of this study.
The first person who introduced the concept of social capital to our consciousness was the sociologist Bourdieu (1986). His definition of social capital was, “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group” (p. 248). Two elements have been highlighted as elements that consist of social capital in Bourdieu’s definition: (1) Interpersonal relationships, which allow each actor to access the resources belonging to other actors in each relationship. (2) The resource itself, specifically, the amount and quality of the resource.

That is, Bourdieu emphasized the possession of durable networks for the creation of social capital through membership in a group. The amount of social capital that belongs to each actor is determined by the size of the network of connections, which is effectively mobilized by each actor, and by the amount of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic resource) that is occupied by other actors in connection with the individual.

Moreover, Bourdieu (1986) indicated that an existing network of relationships is not naturally or socially given, but it is the outcome of continuous self-investment into social relationships to create or reproduce the relationships that are available for use in the long and short term. The reproduction of social capital is attained through unceasing efforts of sociability, which is a continuous series of exchange activities through which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed.

In another study, Coleman (1990) stated, “social capital is defined by its function, and it consists of some aspect of social structure, and facilitates certain actions of individuals who are within the structure” (p. 302). Coleman introduced three forms of
social capital, which included “obligations and expectations, which depend on trust worthiness or the social environment, information-flow capability of the social structure, and norms accompanied by sanctions” (Coleman, 1988, p. 119). That is, unlike many other scholars, who define the elements that consist of social capital, Coleman believed social capital could be defined by its function. However, such functional definition of social capital has been argued among many scholars, since defining social capital by its function prevents some from considering it a theory. Coleman (1990) stated, “social capital is defined by its function, and it consists of some aspect of social structure, and facilitates certain actions of individuals who are within the structure” (p. 302). This definition implies that social capital will be only verified when it functions within a certain group. In turn, this means that a causal explanation of social capital is only available with its positive functions (Lin, 2001). However, Portes (1998) alluded to the problem of the functional view of the concept by examining opposite effects of social capital that can happen within bounded systems of solidarity and trust. He stressed that social capital can be a good or bad public resource that cannot be regarded as a social resource. For example, despite higher degrees of solidarity and trust possessed by Mafia families, prostitution, and gambling rings, these groups cannot be appreciated for having higher social capital. Such cohesion of embedded social structures cannot produce socially desirable outcomes. That is, Coleman (1988)’s ways of defining social capital based on its function, where it is identified when and if it works, should be reconsidered.

Although his definition of the concept is strongly based on its function, Coleman (1988) was clearly aware of the conditions of social relational and structural characteristics that can constitute useful capital resources: (1) a relationship based on
strong trustworthiness of the social environment in which obligations and expectations would be formed. (2) The conditions through which information that is inherent in social relations is expected to be shared among the actors. (3) Relationships that have been built on strong prescriptive norms, which will forgo self-interest and act for the collective interest. As structural characteristics, he stressed the importance of the existing closed network for maintaining strong social capital.

In line with Coleman’s approach, Putnam (1993) considered social capital as more than connections among individuals. He also emphasized social norms and trustworthiness as critical components of social capital. He defined social capital as “general moral resources of the community, and they can be divided into three main components: first, trust (and more generally ‘positive’ values with respect to development); second, social norms and obligations; and third, social networks of citizens’ activity, especially voluntary associations” (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 3). He primarily focused on the cooperative aspect of social capital and connected the concept to civic virtues. That is, Putnam’s social capital emphasized active involvement of members into voluntary associations as an indicator of a high level of social capital, and believed that strong social norms and trust will be created by interpersonal interaction, which are critical elements for achieving collective well-being.

In a recent study, Pretty and Ward (2001) defined social capital as “the term [that] captures the idea that social bonds and social norms are an important part of the basis for sustainable livelihoods” (p. 210), and they identify four fundamental elements that comprise the concept of social capital: (1) relations of trust, (2) reciprocity and
exchanges, (3) common rules, norms and sanctions, and (4) connectedness, networks and groups (p. 211).

In contrast with Coleman (1990), Putnam (1993), and Pretty and Ward (2001), Lin’s theory focuses on the use of social capital by individuals rather than public assets that has been emphasized by Putnam and Coleman. Lin (2001) defined social capital as:

The resources embedded in social networks accessed and used by actors for actions. The concept has two important components: (1) it represents resources embedded in social relations rather than individuals, and (2) access and use of such resources reside with actors. (p. 25)

Thus, unlike human capital (e.g. skill and knowledge belonging to individuals) that is attainable through investment on the individual itself, he considered social capital as a kind of individual investment into interpersonal relationships in order to achieve the individual’s goals. Moreover, there should be cognitive recognition by the ego about the existence of resources in these interpersonal relationships, and they should be able to be utilized by the ego.

That is, Lin’s (2001) social capital is more interested in each individual’s ability to access the resources embedded in social relationships in order to achieve each individual’s goal rather than a collective goal. For this reason, his social capital emphasizes connections and interactions of individuals with others rather than collective features such as social norms and strong trust, which are components of social capital that have been highlighted as essential elements of the concept by social capital theorists from collective approaches. In other words, Lin (2001) believed that social networks and individuals’ willingness to attain the resources embedded in the network were enough to encourage the creation of social capital at the individual level, which may include getting better access to new information and job opportunities. In the context of Lin’s study, the
existence of social norms and strong trust are not necessary required conditions that individuals need in order to create social capital, while collective assets are highly appreciated by other social capital theorists, such as Coleman and Putnam.

Despite considerable arguments about definitions of social capital and the identification of its components (Halpern, 2005, Portes, 1998), there have been points commonly agreed upon among scholars. Social capital is a socially embedded resource through which each actor can reach resources through involvement in social structures or social networks (Portes, 1998; Burt, 2001). That is, social structures and social networks have been considered fundamental elements of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Putnam, 1993; Lin, 1999; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000). However, as indicated above, trust and norms also have been emphasized as components of social capital, especially among social capital theorists who consider it a collective asset (Putnam, 1993; Pretty & Ward, 2001).

Basically, trust and social norms can be regarded as the outcomes of long-term reciprocity and positive interaction among actors, rather than being classified as another element comprising the concept of social capital. Some social capital studies indicated reciprocity is critical for the creation of trust (Coleman, 1990; Pretty & Ward, 2001, Putnam, 1993). Pretty and Ward (2001; also see Ostrom, 2000) also indicated that trust created through positive interactions and reciprocity facilitates interaction and cooperation among actors and allows them to save time and money by reducing transaction costs, which in turn solidifies bonds among actors and strengthens each individual’s social capital. Furthermore, as indicated above, social capital theorists who approach the concept at an individual level do not seriously consider social norms and
trust among members as an essential environment for the creation of social capital (Lin, 2001). For this reason, their theory of social capital emphasizes the connections and interactions of individuals with others as the components of the concept rather than discussing social norms and trust as components of social capital. When considering these conditions, trust and social norms may not be the necessary elements that are required for the creation of social capital among actors. However, when considering that we cannot tell at what specific point of time social capital has emerged or been destroyed in a society, and that both trust and social norms heavily influence the degree of social capital in a collective context, both trust and social capital would need to be considered as separated elements within the concept of social capital.

In line with this comprehensive definition of social capital, Jeong (2008) defined social capital as “the ability or the investment that is made to enable the mobilization of support and resources that is embedded in social relations” (p. 52). Her concept of social capital has specifically been defined at the level of community and also in the context of community support and empowerment for tourism development. Therefore, in this study, the author redefines Jeong’s definition in the context of collective action. That is, while Jeong’s work focuses more on collaboration and empowerment, the author’s definition will see social capital as a resource for the mobilization of collective action to solve conflicts that occur in the process of collaboration and also to create a better community. Therefore, social capital is the power that enables each individual of a community to mobilize support for good outcomes and collective action to solve the challenges of collaboration toward a community goal.
Given that this study is exploring social capital as a collective asset, it will also consider social norms, which is a part of social capital theory emphasized by scholars who consider social capital as a collective asset. For this reason, two elements, which include network and social norms, which integrate trust, will be considered for this study.

In order to explore how social capital functions within a community’s collective action, the benefits that can be expected from social capital need to be examined. Considering that embedded resources within social relationships between members can contribute to both collective and individual benefits, social capital as both a collective and individual good has been commonly agreed upon by many scholars (Portes, 1998; Lin, 2001). That is, benefits at both the individual and group level have been commonly agreed upon by scholars. Considering that collective action is the sum of efforts, abilities, and assets of each member of the community, the benefits and costs at both the individual and group level will be examined in the following section.

The first perspective focuses on the individual’s use of social capital in order to access resources embedded in the community’s social structure in order to gain expressive and instrumental gains (e.g., maintaining a healthy mental and physical condition, finding employment and promotion in a job position before other colleagues). The other perspective focuses on benefits at the group level, including group members’ enhanced quality of life through maintaining and enhancing social capital as a collective asset (Lin, 2001).

As a major study of social capital conducted at the individual level (Burt, 1992; also see 2001), found that the individuals who possess more connections with those outside of the same group boundary are more likely to have broad, early access to the
information, which in turn, leads to securing jobs or enjoying faster promotions. Putnam (1993) also emphasized the efficiency of action. He found that a high degree of social capital based on the strongly built trust between individuals contributes to a reduction of the transaction cost by minimizing monitoring procedures that usually accompany the transaction. Coleman (1988) also found that human capital belonging to children is not related to the degrees of human capital of their parents without being complemented with the social capital of the family, which can be created through the reciprocity among the family members. This relation also clearly presents the critical roles of social capital in creating other types of capital. That is, when it comes to collective action, these findings imply that each member can access and gain expressive resources, which might involve mental stability from the fear of uncertainty in their involvement in collective action, through interactions with others in the community.

For social capital studies conducted at the collective level, Portes (1998) stressed social control as one of the critical functions of social capital at the collective level. He emphasized the effectiveness of strong social capital, which is commonly found in dense networks built on the basis of strongly bounded solidarity and enforceable trust, not only for maintaining discipline, but also for facilitating obedience among those under their control.

In addition, Putnam (1993) stressed the role of social capital as a cornerstone in attaining a higher level of public action and cooperation for mutual benefits. With high degrees of social capital, the actors are more likely to work together and cooperate for mutual benefits. Coleman (1988) also provided clear examples to demonstrate the benefits of social capital at the collective level. From the case of the Israeli families who
moved from Detroit to Jerusalem, he prioritized the safety and freedom of the children as the main reason for the families’ decisions. He described a mother’s strong belief that their children will be looked after by other members of the community, which lead them to this decision, and also emphasized the social context that makes it happen, such as the existence of a strong normative structure and built trust among members of the community. As another strong example that presents the functions of social capital at the collective level, a story of a radical activist group of Korean students was introduced. In this example, Coleman (1988) gave the credit to a dense network among the clandestine study group members, which is based on the same educational residential history, for the successful mobilization of the radical action. That is, social capital as a concept strongly based on the relationship and structure of the group generates not only benefits of social control, but also contributes to a higher level of public action and cooperation for achieving that collective goal.

This positive association of social capital with community collective action has been well reflected in the research outcomes of many social capital studies conducted in the context of collective action (Adger, 2003; Besser, 2009; D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Glover, 2004; Paxton, 2002; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001; Rudd, 2000; Schulz, 1998; Son & Lin, 2008; Yamamura, 2008). These studies were conducted in diverse contexts and scales, ranging from the action mobilization for environmental protection in a small village community to social movements conducted at multidimensional levels. However, even if these studies were conducted in diverse contexts and at various levels, they commonly aimed to examine the relationship between social capital and collective action, which integrates community action and cooperation
in achieving a collective goal. Overall findings from these studies commonly agreed that, in most cases, social capital is positively associated with collective action engagement of actors. These studies highlighted that collective actions are successfully mobilized not only through the consistent, positive interactions and interpersonal relationships among actors, but also in the positive encounters with outside stakeholders (i.e., local government, media, and environmental groups) based on mutually built trust. Some studies also emphasized the importance of the existence of shared rules, norms and sanctions for facilitating the creation of social capital and successful collective action involvement (D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Rudd, 2000; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000).

However, unlike many scholars who strongly perceived positive benefits from social capital, there was a group of scholars who were suspicious of the benefits of strong social capital, warning against the prevailing positive attitude toward the benefits of social capital (Portes, 1998; Pretty & Ward, 2001). Those theorists stressed that social capital, useful for facilitating certain actions, can also accompany negative effects on the individuals or a group.

Portes (1998) elaborated on four negative consequences of social capital that have been addressed in recent social capital studies: (1) Exclusion of outsiders, which limits access of those outside of community boundaries to the benefits that are commonly shared among the members of the group (also see Karlsson, 2005). (2) Excess claims on group members, which can be easily explained with the gigantic free-riding problems that are buttressed by strong norms, emphasizing mutual assistance among community members. (3) Restrictions on individual freedoms, which are created from strong
demands for conformity. For example, despite the community safety that children and the old people can have during the nighttime activities through existing strong normative structure, social control also restricts individuals’ freedom in another view, which may cause young people to leave the town. (4) “Downward leveling norms” (Portes, 1998, p. 17), which indicate situations in which a group is collectively solidified, and their low status systematically maintained, through adversity and opposition to mainstream society. As an example, social mobility of a sub-group will be blamed and blocked for the reason that it would undermine preexisting group cohesion, and will surge the opposition toward mainstream society.

As an example from an empirical study in tourism context, Jones (2005) also found negative aspects of social capital. Even if he believed, at first, that strong trust existed among the members of a community from the survey outcome conducted on residents, in the additional interviews with residents, he found that community members were hiding existing mistrust among the members of the community for the overall community goal. This study found that decreased transparency through the corruption of group leaders, which resulted from emphasizing strong norms within the community, lead to decreased levels of trust among community members. In turn, this corruption negatively affected community involvement in tourism.

As highlighted in the previous social studies reviewed above, social capital is positively associated with the active engagement of individuals in community development based on tourism. It is no doubt that strong solidarity among community members, which is based on strong ties, trust, and social norms, facilitates the cooperation of individuals in achieving the community’s common goals and community
development. However, with criticisms made by many other scholars, current research trends of social capital that highlight only positive aspects of social capital obviously have problems and need to be re-considered, so that the concept can indeed be a valuable tool for understanding community collective action and development.

Given that social capital is the resource fundamentally embedded in social networks and relations, two different approaches for understanding the concept have existed. One approach focuses on the individual’s location within the network, and the other one focuses on the embedded resources within the social network, which means the amount or variety of resources represented by wealth, power, and status, belonging to the others that an individual has relation with directly or indirectly (Lin, 2001).

Between both approaches, the prior approach, the network approach, will be more highlighted in this study. Considering that the informants who participate in this research reside in rural areas, they are engaged in similar types of jobs (mainly agriculture and fishery work), and this also means that individuals’ attributes do not vary greatly among the participants in this study. For this reason, a network approach will be more focused to assess the social capital belong to each community rather than focusing on individuals’ attributes.

As major social capital studies with a network approach, the focus of social capital studies that adopted the network perspective was to understand how each individual’s position within the network influenced their access to the resources that were embedded within the structure in different ways. The very first effort was conducted by Granovetter (1973). In this study, he found that ‘weak ties’, which is a person’s connections with others in outside groups, provide actors with better access to
information and opportunities than the ‘strong ties’, which describes a relationship that a person creates with others within a connected group. This concept has been further shaped within the context of social capital by Burt (1992; 2001). There has been dispute among social capital theorists about the types of networks that contribute to the creation of social capital. Two social capital theorists, Bourdieu and Coleman, were the very first people advocating for the existence of the closed network for the creation of social capital (Lin, 2001). Bourdieu (1986) put his emphasis on the social control function of social capital. He found that through social capital, each actor gains access to economic resources, and also accumulates cultural capital through contact with people in the dominant class or, otherwise can join with institutions that bestow valued credentials (Portes, 1998). That is, social capital has been considered as a tool for maintaining and reproducing the dominant group’s values and the cohesiveness. In this perspective, his concept of social capital has emphasized the closed network that facilitates and ensures clear isolation of the dominant group from outsider groups.

Coleman also emphasized the importance of the closed network for reaching a higher degree of social capital. He emphasized that the closed network is necessary not only for creating effective norms, but also for building trust in present social structures, which is essential for creating a sense of obligation. However, he indicated that in a situation where a closed network does not exist, actors are less likely to try to keep their obligations because defection from the obligations can be effectively sanctioned. In addition, he added that any reputations and collective sanctions will not happen in an open structure without the closeness.
However, some social capital scholars emphasized the importance of the open network (Granovetter, 1973; Burt, 2001). Compared to the closed network, which describes the dense or hierarchical network effective in maintaining and preserving resources and minimizing anticipated transactional risk, the hole argument describes how weak ties based on open network facilitate information and influence flows and provide more opportunities to enhance an actor’s ability to learn, and also to add value through brokering connection across other groups (Burt, 2001). Burt (2001) empirically compared and contrasted two types of networks and examined how differently each type of network worked for the social capital. He cautiously concluded, on the basis of empirical evidence, that the open network argument outweighed the closed network argument in terms of creating social capital, but he did not deny the importance of the closed network in that this network could be critical in terms of recognizing the value embedded within the network. That is, open and closed network can be brought together in a productive way.

Lin (2001) provided a summary on the previous controversies regarding the relationship of each network structure (closed and open network) with the creation of social capital and emphasized the importance of acknowledging the different benefits from different structures of the groups. In terms of expressive actions, which focus on the activities for preserving and maintaining existing resources, the closed and denser network works better, while, when it comes to the instrumental actions, which focus more on providing better access to the new information and obtaining resources, the structure based on open network is more useful. Furthermore, Lin (2001) stressed that it is valuable to conceptualize specific conditions where either closed or open networks work better for
creating social capital rather than dwelling on the question, asking which network structure is more important for creating better social capital.

This controversy regarding the effectiveness of specific networks for the creation of social capital has been well reflected in the research outcomes of many social capital studies conducted in the context of collective action (Adger, 2003; Besser, 2009; D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Glover, 2004; Paxton, 2002; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001; Rudd, 2000; Schulz, 1998; Son & Lin, 2008; Yamamura, 2008), and most findings correspond to the arguments of previous social capital theorists.

Some studies focused on examining the relationship of the social capital based on either strong and weak ties and successful collective action involvement (Glover, 2004; Rudd, 2000; Son & Lin, 2008), while many other studies provided comprehensive research outcomes on the effectiveness of both strong and weak ties in creation of social capital for successful collective action involvement (Adger, 2003; Besser, 2009; D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Paxton, 2002; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001; Schulz, 1998; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000; Yamamura, 2008).

Furthermore, many studies emphasized reciprocal relations of social capital and collective action (Besser, 2009; Futema et al., 2002; Glover, 2004; Paxton, 2002; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000).

While there is common consent about the overall positive relationship between social capital and collective action, there are also disputes regarding the effects of each type of network for the creation of social capital for the successful collective action mobilization. Unlike the evidence that homogeneous groups, which feature high network density, easily mobilize collective actions, connections with outsiders were not always
supportive for the creation of social capital and successful collective action. Adger (2003) found a positive association in a local network with successful mobilization of collective action around risk management of a community. This research, however, also warned that connections with outside stakeholders could result in negative outcomes for the creation of social capital and the community’s collective action involvement because these rely on the social circumstances and features of the society. For example, strong social capital in the Tobago community, which facilitates the mobilization of collective action, is attributed to the existence of positive networks between the local community and the government, but in case of Vietnam, strong social capital can be attained through creating new networks, while minimizing the control and support from the local government. Moreover, as indicated in Reagans and Zuckerman’s (2001) study, depending on the goals and features of the society, strong connections among group members worked better than the existence of strong extensive connections among those with different information in the creation of social capital. They found that teams that more frequently interact and communicate with members are more likely to achieve higher levels of cooperation and productivity, compared to the other teams that communicate less. They also emphasized that the connections among members of the same group were more important than extending ties with individuals from outside of the group in terms of enhancing cooperation and productivity.

As an argument from the other side, some studies argued that the benefits of weak ties, which connect the insiders to the outsiders and are regarded as creating new information and creativity, would outweigh the benefits of strong ties. Strong ties among the actors sharing the same boundaries will create redundant information and restrict each
individual’s behavior and freedom with strong normative rules and sanctions (Burt, 2001; Lin, 2001; Pretty & Ward, 2001). Pretty and Ward (2001) emphasized that the connections with others outside group boundary are comparatively more important than the network with people within the group for creating social capital and facilitating collective action involvement even as they were aware that both strong and weak ties are important for the creation of social capital.

However, when it comes to the issue of arguing which connection is more important for creating social capital and facilitating collective action between strong and weak ties, it seems obvious that each network connection has distinctive advantages for achieving a specific goal. The network that shows higher density and closeness has more benefits for achieving the group’s goal like facilitating coordination and collective action, while the network focusing more on weak ties will be more effective for information transfer and learning and enhancing the creativity of the group members (Burt, 2001; Lin, 2001; Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001; Williams, 2005). In other words, Reagans and Zuckerman (2001) concluded, “in terms of the network forms of social capital,….. the processes are logically and behaviorally distinct and that diversity is not inherently an either-or phenomenon” (p. 513). In other words, as Lin (2001) emphasized, it will be valuable to conceptualize specific conditions where either weak and strong ties work better for creating social capital rather than dwelling on the question of which network structure and tie is more important for creating better social capital.

My argument regarding both weak and strong ties issues is in line with the argument of “structural optimization,” which is argued by Pavlovich (2003). Rather than advocating for an either/or argument regarding the effectiveness of weak and strong ties,
structural optimization provides a balanced point of view concerning the effectiveness of weak and strong ties for collective action mobilization. The weak ties of a community with local government and other tourism stakeholders, based on building strong trust, brings support not only through providing funds, expertise, and facilitating local cultural activities (Macbeth et al., 2004), but also through new information, which may include new tourism opportunities, to the community. The strong ties based on closed network facilitate information circulation in the community and allow it to be shared among members faster. In turn, community solidarity is strongly based on dense networks, trust, and social norms, and communities will facilitate the formation of a coherent voice about information necessary for mobilizing collective action. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) stress the importance of weak ties for successful community development. They indicate that without the flexibility that weak ties brings in, the community will be lacking the flexible ideas required for fast reactions to rapid world economy changes. That is, both weak and strong ties based on both open and closed networks are important for achieving successful community-based tourism development through sustainable community support and involvement.

2.5 Social Capital in Tourism

The findings of social capital studies conducted in a tourism context also correspond with the positive association of social capital with collective action. The unique characteristics of tourism present a strong interdependency among tourism stakeholders (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Bjork & Virtnen, 2005; Cooke, 1982; Gursoy et al., 2010), and there is a need for the tourism studies focusing on its social and cultural
impact. The concept of social capital has started to be a focus in the tourism field of study, and studies that examine the effects of social capital on collective action have been conducted by many scholars (Jóhannesson et al., 2003; Jones, 2005; Macbeth et al., 2004).

Findings of social capital studies in a tourism context correspond to the findings of other social capital studies from other fields. These studies highlight the significance of social capital for sustainable community-based development. This body of research has identified social networks – both weak and strong ties – as key to social capital, which is critical not only to achieve social control in a community, but also to initiate and maintain higher levels of public action and cooperation for achieving a community’s collective goals and also to resolve community problems. See Table 1 for more information on social capital studies in a collective action context.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Research Question/Purpose of Study</th>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Method/Unit of Analysis</th>
<th>Social Capital</th>
<th>Findings</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jóhannesson, Skaptadóttir, and Benediktsson (2003)</td>
<td>To examine the effectiveness of social capital as a local coping strategy</td>
<td>Two communities in Iceland</td>
<td>Case study / Community (Two Icelandic localities)</td>
<td>Networks</td>
<td>The importance of the existent social network as a main component of social capital for successful problem solving in a community. Bonding social capital is more effective than bridging capital for the creation of social capital and successful tourism development, but bridging social capital has also been emphasized in that it facilitates the flow of new information and ideas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Macbeth, Carson, and Northcote (2004)</td>
<td>To explore the influence of social, political, and cultural capital (SPCC) on tourism development and in turn, the effect of SPCC to a tourism development.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Conceptual study</td>
<td>Networks</td>
<td>Reciprocal interrelation between SPCC and tourism. The contribution of social capital to a community’s tourism development: (1) Enhanced information flow among members of the community (2) Minimized transactional cost in the market (3) Facilitated coordination and cooperation that empowered the community to resolve community problems easily (4) Enhanced communication channels (bridging connections), which facilitated and sustained community involvement into tourism development (5) Contributed to a better natural environment. As the contribution of tourism to SPCC, the tourism developer facilitated local cultural events, economic conditions, and allowed the community to enhance skills and abilities related to tourism. Emphasized both strong and bridging networks for the successful community development with tourism.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jones (2005)</td>
<td>Explore influence of social capital to community-based ecotourism</td>
<td>Two communities of Tsum-ani Tenda, Africa</td>
<td>Survey and Semi-structural interview / Focus group interview</td>
<td>Structural dimension (vibrancy of associational life, norms and rules) Cognitive dimension (reciprocity and sharing, and conflict and cohesion) Trust Power, exclusion, equity, and decision-making</td>
<td>Contribution of social capital to community-based ecotourism development and vice versa. (Reciprocal interrelationship between tourism and social capital) Importance of both bonding and bridging capital for successful collective action. Importance of both cognitive and structural aspects of social capital, but they found that the importance of social norms and pressures outweigh the importance of trust, equality and social cohesion for successful collective action Newly established social networks, especially those bridging social-capital, which emerged through strong collaboration in the process of running ecotourism camp Importance of pre-existing collective action history, which means strong social capital as a driving force for successful tourism development, securing that no members break rules. Decreased transparency through the corruption of leader groups, which is resulted from emphasizing strong norms within the community, which lead to decreased levels of trust among community members. This negatively affected community involvement in tourism and overall social capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
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<tr>
<td>Misener and Mason (2006)</td>
<td>· Exploring the connection between hosting sporting events and the creation of community networks</td>
<td>· Manchester, UK</td>
<td>· Conceptual study * Example of Manchester was used to support the conceptual framework</td>
<td>Network</td>
<td>· The community, which hosts a sporting event, will experience the increased interaction among members and the active involvement in the community, which also leads to enhancing the social capital of the community. * Findings highlight opened-communication channels and active engagement in decision-making procedures in tourism development are critical elements for creating a high level of social capital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeong (2008)</td>
<td>· To investigate aspects of social capital and its relation to community involvement in Amish tourism development and a sense of community empowerment</td>
<td>· Amish community, Illinois, US</td>
<td>· Mixed methods (social network analysis and interview) / Community</td>
<td>Three elements in three dimensions (Networks in Structural dimension, Reciprocity in Relational dimension, and Common environment in Cognitive dimension)</td>
<td>· Close relations among community participants in the Amish tourism program do not explain both a community’s tourism involvement and their sense of empowerment. * The perceived expectation of their obligation, regardless of their social position, contributes to both their involvement and sense of empowerment. However, it only works in cases where there is self-awareness of their role expectations rather than being influenced by the role expectations of others.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Okazaki (2008)</td>
<td>· To build a theoretical model to assess the level of community participation in community-based tourism development.</td>
<td>· Palawan, Philippines</td>
<td>· Case study (including survey with stakeholders and tourists)</td>
<td>Bonding and bridging social-capital</td>
<td>· Creation of social capital is critical not only to assess the level of community engagement in tourism development, but also to understand citizenship, power redistribution, and collaboration processes. * Social capital facilitates collaboration, power redistribution, and community involvement. Social capital contributes to the sustainability of tourism development in a destination.</td>
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</table>
Even if some tourism related articles studying social capital (Heimtun, 2007; Jeong, 2008; Jones, 2005) mentioned specific network features that social network analysis has, such as weak and strong ties based on open and closed network, most tourism related articles tend to only touch the very surface of the concept of a social network by simply treating it as the connection among actors within network, (e.g., I have a good relationship with other actors within a network). Researchers also often treat networks as the surface participation of actors in social activities rather than digging into the features that social network has for better understanding the network. However, even if actors belong to the same network boundary, each person within the group shares different relationships distinct from other actors, and their behaviors are influenced by these different relationships. These behaviors are also strongly affected by individuals’ network positions within a community and their specific structure features (i.e. community hierarchy, density, and existence of a network with outsider). That is, these different relational and structural network features embody different advantages and disadvantages for human behavior (Coleman, 1988), and understanding the effects of these different relational and structural network features will be critical to understanding the dynamics of each individual’s collective action involvement.

As the very first effort to approach the concept of social capital from the network perspective from the micro level, Jeong (2008) investigated aspects of social capital, its relationship with the community involvement in Amish tourism development and also with the sense of empowerment by adopting mixed methods, using social network analysis and interviews. From the study, she found that close relations among community participants in the Amish tourism program do not explain either a community’s tourism
involvement or their sense of empowerment, while the perceived expectation of their obligation, regardless of their social position, contributes to both their involvement and sense of empowerment. However, the perceived expectation of their obligation only works in cases where there is self-awareness of individuals’ role expectations rather than being influenced by the role expectations of others.

As indicated above, however, unlike Jeong’s (2008) findings, other tourism studies conducted in the past highlight the significance of social capital for sustainable community-based development and have found that strong ties and trusting relationships among each member are contributing factors for initiating and maintaining community support for tourism (Jóhannesson et al., 2003; Jones, 2005; Macbeth et al., 2004). Such differences of study outcomes between Jeong (2008) and other social capital studies in tourism contexts could have resulted from the different approaches of the studies. That is, while other social capital studies have aimed to identify overall casual relationships between social capital and community support for tourism development based on general survey questions, Jeong’s study (2008) tried to reach a micro level understanding of the influence of social capital on individual’s support for tourism development by analyzing specific interrelationships among individuals. As another possible explanation of the outcome difference, Adger (2003) warned that network connections could result in different outcomes for the creation of social capital and the community’s collective action involvement because they relied on the social circumstances and features of the society. For example, strong social capital within the Tobago community, which facilitates the mobilization of collective action, is attributed to the existence of positive networks between the local community and the government, but in case of Vietnam, strong social
capital can be attained through creating new networks, while minimizing the control and support of the local government. This finding implies that in another context, especially based on strong collective history and culture, the outcome may be different.

Another network analysis study at the micro level will be conducted in this study in a South Korea cultural context. Although the focus of this chapter is not to describe the study setting, the communities in Jeju have a strong, old collective action history and cultural uniqueness. Moreover, this study will further address the influence of the relational structure on the community’s involvement into collective action. When considering that sociological study aims to explain and understand human beings’ behavior at a collective level rather than explaining individuals’ behavior at the personal level, understanding the influence of the relational structure as a type of network element of social capital will be a worthwhile pursuit.

2.6 Theoretical Model Integrating Social Capital and Collective Action in Tourism Context

The importance of understanding a community and how it relates to tourism has been emphasized by many tourism scholars (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Cooke, 1982; Gursoy et al., 2010; Ross, 1992; Zhou & Ap, 2009). Rural tourism usually happens in a community’s living area, therefore, as a host, a community’s positive encounters with tourists and tourism stakeholders in a tourism destination has been considered critical for successful and sustainable tourism development (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Cooke, 1982; Gursoy et al., 2010; Ross, 1992; Zhou & Ap, 2009). Since local residents are the major group of people who are influenced by tourism impacts no matter if the impacts are
positive or negative, it becomes important to understand local resident’s behaviors toward
tourism impacts, and for that reason, it has been emphasized in the tourism literature
(Reid et al., 2004; Vincent & Thompson, 2002; Hwang et al., 2012). When a community
is impacted by tourism development, residents who feel they belong to that community
normally will try to both minimize the negative changes and maximize the positive
impacts of tourism development. These efforts have the potential to engage outsider and
community members in conversations that may lead to sustainable tourism development.
Further, locals’ involvement encourages the community to direct efforts to either slow-
down or re-direct tourism development in a way that align with what the community
members want (Davis & Morais, 2004; Dogan, 1989; Gursoy et al., 2010; Hwang et al.,
2012). That is, collective action could enhance the sustainability of tourism development
due to processes that empower a community to negotiate a fit between tourism and
community’s sense of itself (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Social capital theory provides a good theoretical lens to understand the dynamics
of a community’s collective action involvement. It does so mainly because it is strongly
built on the basis of the connections among actors within a network boundary and social
norms that delineates the quality of their connections. An important stream of tourism
research highlights the significance of social capital for sustainable community-based
development. This body of research has identified strong ties and trusting relationships
among residents as contributing factors to the initiation and maintenance of community
support for tourism (Jóhannesson et al., 2003; Jones, 2005; Macbeth et al., 2004). Overall
findings from social capital studies that also considered collective action indicated that, in
most cases, social capital is positively associated with collective action engagement of
actors. These studies highlighted that collective actions are successfully mobilized through not only through the consistent, positive interactions and interpersonal relationships among actors, but also through the positive encounters with outside stakeholders (e.g., local government, media, and environmental groups) that are based on mutually built trust.

The weak ties of a community with local government and other tourism stakeholders, based on building strong trust, brings support not only through providing funds, expertise, and facilitating local cultural activities (Macbeth et al., 2004), but also through new information, which may include new tourism opportunities, to the community. The dense network, which is based on strong ties, facilitates information circulation in the community and allows it to be shared among members faster. In turn, community solidarity is strongly based on dense networks, trust, and social norms, and communities will facilitate the formation of a coherent voice about information necessary for mobilizing collective action.

Some social capital studies also emphasized the importance of the existence of shared rules, norms and sanctions for facilitating the creation of social capital and successful collective action involvement (D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Rudd, 2000; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000). Shared norms based on highly dense networks encourage actors’ involvement in collective action not only through making them feel guilty for not matching the average contribution of their peers and through the punishment of individuals who break commonly agreed upon rules, but also by raising awareness that other members follow the same rules most of the time (Gould, 1993, 2003; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000).
Stone (2001) indicates that creation of social trust will be expected and facilitated through the existence of norm of generalized reciprocity and networks of civic engagement (See also Fukuyama, 1995; Misztal, 1996). That is, such strong trust existing among each member is an outcome of continuous, positive interpersonal interactions within a connected network. These created social norms are also moving through the existing network and are being shared among members of the community. Social networks are not only seen as a precondition for the emergence of the social norms, but also function as communicative routes that facilitate the transmission of social norms and cultural messages such as “shared behavioral expectations,” “frames,” and “collective identity” (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Gould, 2003). In other words, social ties and interactions among potential participants will facilitate the sharing of ideas, values, and social norms. Furthermore, these ties will help them create their collective identity and strong sense of community, which may lead to collective action (Freeman, 1973; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). In connection with mobilizing collective action, highly dense networks provide communication routes that enable actors within a network to share information and resources, but they also circulate institutional norms within the network, accompanied by shared behavioral expectations and the same patterns of exchanges: “Members of a community are said to mimic each other’s behavior to become more legitimate, with subsequent conformity attesting to agreed-upon behavioral constraints” (Pavlovich, 2003, p.205). Even further, these shared norms will also be developed into local rules and sanctions by creating official positions for local monitors to maintain these norms and collective actions more efficiently (Ostrom, 2000).
Most tourism related articles only touch the very surface of the concept of a social network. In most cases, they focus on connection among actors within a network (e.g., I have a good relationship with other actors within a network) and also treat networks as the participation of actors in social activities rather than digging into the features that social network has for better understanding the network. However, a few have studied specific network features such as weak and strong ties (Heimtun, 2007; Jeong, 2008; Jones, 2005). Even if actors belong to the same network boundary, each person within that boundary may have different characteristics and may share different relationships, which are distinct from those of other actors (e.g., whether a certain actor has connection with other actors or not); further, their behaviors may be affected by others with whom this person has connections and interactions (Burt, 2001). To better illustrate this point, consider an actor who is in a close relationship based on strong trust, he or she may be strongly affected by the individual they trust. Specifically, the trusted individuals’ opinions may affect the actor’s decisions, attitude formation, and behavior toward tourism impacts. Figure 1 illustrates a model that attempt to integrate social capital and community collective action.
Figure 1. Theoretical Model Integrating Social Capital and Community Collective Action

The model describes a community consisting of diverse individuals, who have different characteristics (in the model represented by triangles, circles, squares, hexagons, and pentagons), and who share different relationships with other actors. For example, the individuals in subgroup 1 are completely linked together and interact with each other within the same group boundary, and also are connected and interact with the individuals in subgroup 2, 3, and 4. In contrast, the individuals in subgroup 5 do not interact with each other and do not have any interaction with other subgroups. Individuals connected with others within the community boundary are likely to be influenced by their connections. In other words, their decision-making regarding collective action involvement related to tourism may be influenced by interactions and relationships with
others in their subgroup and other subgroups, while those marginalized in the network (i.e., those who do not have any connections and interactions with others) are likely to not be influenced regarding collective action because of their disconnection with others (no personal influence by others) within the community boundary. The disconnection may also contribute to lack of information regarding collective action initiatives (Burt, 2001; Freeman, 1973; Lin, 2001).

An individual’s behavior is also strongly affected by his or her network roles within the community; the role is formed based on that individual’s relational location within the community network (e.g. whether an individual presents similarity in ties to third parties or not). Therefore, it creates social expectations and pressures, which are considered appropriate to the person in a specific position / role, which in turn, may affect a person’s attitude formation and future behavior toward the impact of tourism (Lin, 2001). In Figure 1, each subgroup within the community boundary is divided on the basis of individuals’ similarity regarding their connections to other individuals in a community rather than based on whether the individuals are directly or indirectly connected with other actors. That is, the individuals within the same subgroup 1 have identical or similar relational connections to other actors within the community boundary, which are the actors in subgroup 2, 3, 4, and 5. For example, all individuals in the subgroup 1 have direct relationships with the individuals in subgroup 2, 3, and 4, but do not have any connections with the individuals in subgroup 5. These three actors who have structurally equivalent positions within a community will have the same roles because they have similar relationships with others who have comparable characteristics (Jeong, 2008). Individuals with the same role are likely to possess similar knowledge and skills for
maintaining their positions and roles, power and authority. They are also likely to feel the same kind of structural pressure, which in turn, affects a person’s future behavior toward the impact of tourism (Lin, 2001).

Moreover, the community’s specific structure features (e.g., fragmentation into relational subgroups and interactions among these subgroups, which delineate the density value of a community and existence of a network with outsiders) have strong influence on local residents’ behavior toward tourism impacts (Burt, 2001; Lin, 2001). As already indicated above, existence of dense network and the positive encounters with outsider stakeholders (e.g., local government, media, and environmental groups) has been considered a critical condition for successful mobilization of a community regarding tourism development. As represented in Figure 1, the existence of dense network which is reflected in close connections among members (e.g., individuals in subgroup 1, 2, 3, and 4, but not subgroup 5) facilitates the emergence of social norms (e.g. norm of trust, norm of reciprocity, and subjective norm) through the continuous, positive interpersonal interactions within a connected network. The shared norms based on highly dense networks encourage actors’ interactions not only through making them feel a certain degree of guilty for not matching the average contribution of their peers or through the punishment of individuals who break commonly agreed upon rules, but also by raising awareness that other members follow the same rules most of the time (Gould, 1993, 2003; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000). In turn, the dense network will function as a communicative route that facilitates the transmission of social norms and cultural messages such as “shared behavioral expectations,” “frames,” and “collective identity” (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Gould, 2003). Furthermore, these ties will help individuals
create their collective identity and a strong sense of community, which may lead to collective action (Freeman, 1973; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). Moreover, the existence of weak ties of a community with local government and other tourism stakeholders (i.e., Jeju Olle and companies) brings support not only through financial funds, expertise, and facilitation of local cultural activities (Macbeth et al., 2004), but also through new information, which may include new tourism opportunities, to the community.

Therefore, understanding the effects of these different relational and structural network features will be critical to understanding the dynamics of each individual’s collective action involvement in tourism context.

2.7 Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been formulated to examine each element of social capital theory. As indicated above, two element of social capital, the (1) network and (2) social norms, will be accessed in order to access their effects on collective action involvement. Each hypothesis has been derived on the basis of the findings of previous studies.

For accessing network element of social capital, Jeong (2008) predicted that stakeholders’ participation will be affected by their roles in the network and also by whether they are located in structurally equivalent position or not. Her study provides good summary of the concept of the network role. The network role describes how each actor operates in the relationships and interactions with other members of a community. Thus one’s network role is defined based on his or her network position within the relational structure of a community, unlike the social role where one’s position
sometimes develops naturally. Network roles involve and forms: “1) the patterns of relations between actors or between positions; 2) associations among relations that link social positions that link social positions; 3) collections of relations and associations among relations: “sets of relations” where relations are the measured ties in a social network” (Jeong 2008, p. 65). Individuals’ network role can be classified into one of six different categories based on their network position and connections with others. These include (1) Star, which describes an actor located in a central position of a network with many connections with other members, (2) Liaison, which indicates an actor who functions to connect multiple groups that would be disconnected from each other without the actor’s presence; this actor, however, does not belonging to either group as a group member, (3) Bridge, who is an actor functioning to bridge disconnected groups by belonging to those groups, (4) Gatekeeper, which indicates the actor who controls the flow of information and resources among linked groups as a part of network, (5) Isolate, which indicates an actor positioned at a marginalized place in the network, having no or few connection to others and poor access to new information. For instance, the person who is playing a role of the star is likely to have characteristics of the leader of a community or a group. This person might also serve as a gatekeeper and likely has power controlling information and resources between actors. Other members would recognize this person as major channel, located in the center of the group since this person productively communicates information with others quickly. In contrast, there will also be cases where an actor presents the characteristics of the Isolate, which means this person has no connection, or comparatively few connections, to other members of a community. When considering network characteristics, this person will be completely
marginalized in the network, having fewer connections with other members and limited access to new information and opportunities. That is, in the context of community involvement in collective action related to the Olle project, the actors who are positioned centrally within the network and have many connections with other members will be more likely to be involved in collective action, while actors who are positioned in marginalized locations of the network will have less information access and will be less likely to participate in collective action. Based on the assumption, following hypothesis will be tested in this study:

**Hypothesis 1**: The greater the central position of members in a network, the more they are likely to be involved in collective action.

Jeong (2009) also predicted “stakeholders who are structurally equivalent in a community development network are likely to have similar degrees of involvement” (p. 67). This assumption has been based on contagion theory by structural equivalence. This theory implies that the attitude and behavior of two actors, A and B, will be influenced by each other and present similar behavior when they are connected with other actors, C, D, E, and F, in the same or similar ways. That is, structural equivalence focuses on identifying the actors with identical or similar connections to other actors in the network rather than being interested in knowing whether the actor is directly or indirectly connected with other actors or closely located to other actors as the network role does.

Two actors in structurally equivalent positions within a network structure will have the same roles because they have similar relationships with others who have comparable characteristics. That is, they are likely to possess similar knowledge and skills required for maintaining their positions and roles, and also the power and authority
that are embedded in each position and role. Moreover, these people will feel the same kinds of structural pressures that encourage them to complete certain actions (Lin, 2001). Therefore community members who are structurally equivalent in community networks are likely to act in similar ways when participating in collective action. The following hypothesis will be tested:

**Hypothesis 2:** Stakeholders who are structurally equivalent in a community network are likely to have similar degrees of collective action involvement

Based on social capital theory, which delineates that each individual’s collective action involvement are strongly motivated by those who are in close relationship with that individual, Putnam (1993) stressed the role of social capital as a cornerstone in attaining a higher level of public action and cooperation for mutual benefits. With high degrees of social capital, the actors are more likely to work together and cooperate for mutual benefits. Another example that illustrates social capital as a facilitator for the involvement of group members in collective action is the case of a radical activist group of Korean students introduced by Coleman (1988). In his study, he acknowledged that strong connections among the clandestine study group, which were based on the same educational residential history, contributed to the successful mobilization of the radical action. Therefore, social capital, which is strongly based on the relationship and structure of the group, contributes to a higher level of public action and cooperation for achieving the collective goal. In this study, the following hypotheses will be tested.

**Hypothesis 3:** Those who have close relationships with other actors (strong social capital), who have a higher level of participation in Olle-related collective action,
will exhibit higher degrees of collective action involvement compared to those who do not have close relationships with these actors.

In the context of the civil rights movement, McAdam (1988) studied how networks created for earlier political work can facilitate the recruitment into a new movement. He found that volunteers, who were involved in voter registration work in Raleigh, North Carolina choose to also participate in subsequent events (i.e., Summer Project). Findings suggest that a main reason could be that participation in one event allows participants to create new relationships with other participants which creates a space where issues of interest related to the nature of the social movement can be talked about and discussed, therefore expanding ones knowledge and understanding and ultimately may have a positive impact on their willingness and desire to continued participation. In another collective action study in the context of tourism, Hwang et al. (2012) found that town meetings and hearings allowed residents to have conversations about tourism related issues and buried community values, and these conversations bring fragmented members together to achieve community goals. Relationships created during the meeting may allow participants to share similar information and viewpoints related to a certain issue, and these connections, therefore, encourage participants to get involved into another collective action.

Participation in previous social networks within the same social organization facilitates collective action involvement. Goodwin and Jasper (2009) argued that the existence of active social organizations facilitates the mobilization of social movement by allowing each member to more rapidly accept new information. Moreover, the active involvement in the organization prevents members from dropping out from the collective
action mainly because of the social pressure they may feel from their peers. The authors highlighted the major role played by the western wheat belt organization as it successfully, socially mobilized to respond to repeated crisis faced by western farmers. Thus, the following hypothesis will be tested in relation to the network element of social capital.

**Hypothesis 4:** Community members, who are part of a social organization, will present higher degrees of collective action involvement than counterparts that are not part of a social organization.

With regard to the network element of social capital, my argument regarding the effectiveness of weak and strong ties for the creation of social capital is in line with Pavlovich’s (2003) argument of “structural optimization.” Rather than advocating an either or argument regarding the effectiveness of weak and strong ties, structural optimization provides a balanced point of view of the effectiveness of both networks for the mobilization of collective action. The community’s connection to local government and other tourism stakeholders, based on building strong trust, bring support not only through providing funds, expertise, and the facilitation of local cultural activities (Macbeth et al., 2004), but also through the dissemination of new information, which may include new tourism opportunities. Strong ties based on closed network also facilitate rapid information circulation in the community. In turn, community solidarity strongly based on dense network, trust, and social norms will facilitate the formation of a coherent voice for mobilizing collective actions. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) stress the importance of the weak ties based on open network for successful community development. They indicate that without the flexibility that connections with outsiders
bring in, the community would be stuck without the flexible ideas required for fast reactions to world economic changes. Therefore, both weak and strong ties based on the open and closed network are important for achieving successful community-based tourism development through sustainable community supports and involvement.

**Hypothesis 5:** The members of community that presents strong connections with other stakeholders outside the community will present higher degrees of collective action involvement compared to those with no connections with other stakeholders outside the community.

For studying the social norm element of social capital, social norms will be measured with general survey and semi-structured interviews. As indicated in the previous section, common rules, norms, and sanctions are “the mutually agreed or handed-down norms of behavior that place group interests above those of individuals” (Pretty & Ward, 2001, p. 211). For this reason, these social norms will encourage actors’ participation in collective action in order to achieve community goals not only through negative reinforcement, but also by demonstrating that other members follow the same rules most of the time (Ostrom, 2000). When considering this, the following hypothesis will be tested in this study to examine the cognitive dimension of social capital:

**Hypothesis 6:** Higher degrees of social norms will facilitate a community’s collective action involvement compared to lower degrees of social norms.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Site

3.1.1 Jeju Island, South Korea

This study will be conducted on Jeju Island, a popular tourism destination at the southernmost tip of the Korean peninsula (see Fig. 2). Jeju Island is oval shaped, with Halla Mountain located in the center rising to 1950 m above sea level; the rest of the island slopes down from its peak. Jeju is the largest of South Korea’s islands at about 73 km wide and 41 km long. Most residents live on the width of the coastal plain, which is 300 m or less, and the total population is 560,000 people (Jeju Special Self-governing Province [JSSGP], 2007).

Figure 2. Map of Jeju Island
There are several reasons why Jeju Island was chosen as the setting for this study. First, the island is a popular tourism destination at the southernmost tip of the Korean peninsula (see Fig. 2). Tourism development on Jeju Island was initiated by the South Korean government in the 1970s. The island has a history of isolation from the mainland of South Korea as well as other parts of the world; it has been well preserved not only in its unique traditional culture and lifestyle, but also in its beautiful natural landscape. The total tourism-related gross domestic product for transportation, restaurants, and hotels of Jeju Island was 1,022,000 million Won (more than 1 billion dollars U.S.), which accounted for 13% of the total GDP of Jeju Island (JSSGP, 2007). The tourism industry of Jeju Island is proportionately larger when compared to Seoul, where tourism accounts for 7% of its economy and 6% for the entire country of South Korea. Second, residents of Jeju Island demonstrate a strong sense of community and a well-preserved traditional culture compared to other communities in mainland South Korea, which implies a high degree of social capital. Specifically, Kim’s (1990) study called the “Identity of Jeju People” indicated that island residents in their forties who reside in rural area and finish education of the elementary level showed a strong sense of community. This seems apparent since 77.8% refer to close neighbors as uncle and nephew, 79.3% collaborate in their farming activities, and 45.9% report taking part in traditional private funding, named Gye, which is a kind of traditional private fund popular among Koreans where members contribute modest amounts of money and take turns receiving a lump sum share. Obviously trust is essential for this type of activity to succeed and continue. Third, this community has a strong collective action history as demonstrated through several instances of strong resistance against the central government and people in mainland
Korea as well as resistance towards tourism and similar developments. Further, Jeju Island constitutes an appropriate choice given the researcher’s familiarity and knowledge regarding the island’s culture and history as well as fluency in the local dialect. Moreover, the researcher has conducted previous research on the island (Hwang et al., 2012).

3.1.2 Jeju Olle

This research project will focus on a specific existing development initiative: Olle path (see Fig. 3). “Olle” [Ole] is the Jeju word for a narrow pathway that is connected from the street to the front gate of a house. Hence, "Olle" is a path that comes out from a secret room to an open space and a gateway to the world. If the road is connected, it is linked to the whole island and the rest of the world as well” (Jeju Olle, 2007, para. 1). It all started when Jeju Olle's founder Suh, Myungsook envisioned a hiking trail to introduce the beautiful natural environment to walkers from all over the world. A few volunteers helped her search for beautiful old paths on Jeju and create new trail paths for hikers to walk and experience Jeju’s beautiful nature. Since September 2007 when the first trail path began, nineteen courses have been opened for hikers, and entire trail routes now link the sunrise peak of Sunsan in the east to the port in Mosulpo in the west along the south coastline. The total length of these courses is about 320 km (around 199 miles), split into 15 to 20 km per course. It takes around 5 to 6 hours to complete a hiking course. Jeju Olle hopes all walkers who explore the trail routes gain "a sense of peace, happiness and healing."
Figure 3. Olle Courses in Jeju Island

There are several reasons why the Olle initiative was chosen for the present research study. Primary reasons included the dimensions and perceived success of the initiative and its grassroots initiation by a local woman committed to contribute to the development of her own community. Especially in its development phases, the initiative generated a large amount of media attention while being operated by local volunteers. Finally, the sheer dimensions of the initiative (including 19 paths and 320 km connecting the entire island) and its contribution potential, mainly economic, to neighboring communities made the researcher decide to focus on the Olle initiative for the study.

Since the founder of Olle project envisioned visitors walking and experiencing the well-preserved nature of Jeju, Olle’s development tried to prevent destruction of the natural environment by minimizing the degree of development on the original path. For this reason, development of the Olle project relied on the help of volunteers and grants and donations from individuals, corporations, foundations and government partners, as
well as on the sales of Jeju Olle’s products instead of depending on the outside investment of private companies and local government. In most cases, pre-existing paths were used for the visitors without any additional development, but in the cases where the paths were difficult or treacherous, new ones have been built. The degree of development, however, attempts to have a low environmental impact. The paths are built by moving rough stones out of the path, cutting thorn bush, and finally putting small stepping stones on each path. The role of the local government (Seguipo and Jeju cities) is limited to assisting with the trash pickup, building temporary toilets and information centers on the paths, and also supporting local people and business financially.

In regard to communities’ attitudes and involvement in the Olle project, the development was strongly opposed by communities in its initial stages. One interviewee indicated, “it was really difficult for them [corporate Olle] to persuade the community to initiate the project.” (M.J. Kim, personal communication, March 7, 2010). At the beginning of the project, the community felt uncomfortable and was worried and suspicious that tourists would be willing to visit their community. Their general response was, “very few people visited our village for a long time. Who is going to be willing to visit our village? For what?” (M.J. Kim, personal communication, March 7, 2010). As another issue, since some parts of the trails have to pass through personal property, Jeju Olle faced strong opposition from landowners and had a hard time persuading them to allow visitors to pass through their property and use toilets on their land. Jeju Olle was sometimes able to get permission by promising that there would be no harm or damages done to the community and privately owned properties.
However, the initial opposition of these communities has shifted toward a positive response that welcomes the Olle project in their communities. This happened after the community experienced many visitors, which might not have occurred without the help of Olle project. The informant described the positive change in the conversation: “Some residents said that it’s really fascinating to see many people visit our village. It’s like magic. Since originally the village was not doing tourism business before, so very few people visit and pass the village. The changes make them feel as if by magic.” (M.J. Kim, personal communication, March 7, 2010). So, the Olle project can now easily get permission from a community for another development. Even some communities work to identify good courses and ask Jeju Olle to make the route an Olle path.

The community’s involvement has presented itself in diverse ways. Along with the efforts to use local knowledge to build new paths and to allow visitors to use community members’ private and community property, residents are engaged in tourism by running accommodations, restaurants, and gift shops. An informant from Olle said that some grocery stores located near the Olle paths, which were previously closed for financial reasons, reopened as people started to visit the area. Many new stores in the community started including the word “Olle” in their store names. Moreover, some community members started to sell locally produced fresh fish and vegetables on the street and also some communities opened community owned restaurants. As a more direct engagement with the Olle project, the members of the women’s organization in each community sold lunch to visitors when a new Olle path opened. Moreover, some community members have invested their personal time and money by organizing traditional arts performances to show visitors (Jeju Olle, 2009).
As with most community development initiatives, especially substantial ones, there are some tensions and negative attitudes among some local residents. For example, some businesses owners are not content with the fact that the paths have diverted their tourism related businesses elsewhere; some land owners voiced their concerns regarding the use of their private land by tourists; in addition, some local residents want to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities along the path which are in conflict with conservation policies.

3.1.3 Two Communities on Jeju Island

The choice of the communities was made based on three criteria: (1) the existence of similar degrees of tourism impact, (2) feasibility, and (3) uniqueness of each study site. First of all, both communities are expected to experience similar degrees of tourism impact based on their designation as a part of the Olle hiking trail. It is expected that similar degrees of tourism development and impact exist in both communities. Second, both communities consist of relatively small social groups (less than 90 households) on Jeju Island. The small size of the community and the comparatively strong social ties of Jeju communities compared to the communities on the South Korean mainland facilitate the feasibility of implementing the social network method in the community setting. Third, two communities with different levels of community involvement in collective action will be considered. For this reason, a community publicized in local newspapers as a successful case for community-based efforts related to Olle and highlighted for ongoing collective action will be considered the community possessing higher degrees of social capital. The other community selected for this study has received little attention by
the local newspaper and has few community-based efforts related to the Olle project. It is expected that different degrees of social capital exist between two communities, which implies differences in collective action. Moreover, there has been little research on cultural tourism or social networks in both communities.

_Nak-Ch’ŏn Village:_ As a community that represents a higher level of community involvement, the Nak-Ch’ŏn community was considered for this study (see Fig. 4). This community is located at Han-kyung myun, Seoguipo City, Jeju. The number of households in the village is currently 66 but the total population numbers are 89. Most residents are engaged in agriculture by cultivating barley, beans, and tangerines, and tourism represents the second largest industry.

Before being designated as a community that would host the Olle path #13, Nak-Ch’ŏn failed to attract visitors and tourists despite many efforts, such as changing the village name from “Nak-Ch’ŏn” to “9 Ponds” village, which distinguished the village from other agricultural villages in Jeju, and also creating some participative tourism related to this theme. The failure of these efforts demonstrates that this village was considered isolated even among Jeju people (Lee, 2010).

Nak-Ch’ŏn has been completely changed now that the Olle path passes through the community. The village has been decorated with 1000 wood chairs (nicknamed “Chair Village”) and has started to successfully attract Olle visitors into the community. This success has been well chronicled in many local newspapers (Lee, 2010; Je-min daily newspaper; 2010, 2011), and it has been illustrated in the increased village income and the numbers of tourists. The income was increased from $3,910 in 2003 to $156,089 in 2009. The total number of tourists was increased from 2,428 in 2003 to 15,171 in 2009.
(Nak-Ch’ŏn, 2010). As specific community efforts related to Olle, village foreman and a purser are in charge of the inducement of tourists, planning, marketing, and managing overall programs. Participative tourism programs were organized by the young adult group, the women’s association, and the senior citizen’s association. Specifically, the women’s association is in charge of the tourist experience (learning to make tomato jam, barley gangjeong, which is a barley-coated fried cake, and beer bread), while the young adult group helps visitors experience agriculture with their distinguished vegetables and fruits (harvesting tomatoes, tangerines, potatoes, and corn). Moreover, the group also helps visitors experience fishery in the village pond. Lastly, the elderly group makes traditional musical instruments for the amusement and education of visitors (Lee, 2010).

Figure 4. Location of Nak-Ch’ŏn Village
Table 2. Summary of Two Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Households</th>
<th>Total Residents</th>
<th>Tourism Activity</th>
<th>Tourism History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Mang-Jang Port Village:** Mang-Jang Port village is located in Ha-re 1-ri (equivalent to County) of Jeju island (see Fig. 5). It has 39 households which are mainly situated near the port as well as on both side of the path that leads to the port. Given the farmland surrounding the village and its waterway the village is geographically isolated from other villages in Ha-re 1-ri. Currently a total of 57 people reside in the community, and most residents are directly engaged in fishery, collecting seaweed, conch or abalone (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, 2007). The village has hosted Olle Course #5 since 2008. The locale’s natural beauty complemented by the village’s peaceful scenery has been the main attractor (Je-min daily newspaper, 2011). As part of the community’s involvement in the Olle initiative, they have created fishery experiences for tourists and run an outdoor bar during 2010 Jeju Olle Festival (Je-min daily newspaper, 2010). Other than this one time, Mang-Jang Port Village has rarely been mentioned or highlighted in local newspapers in anything related to Olle initiative. This information coupled with the fact that usually this type of news are reported in local newspapers, leads to believe that Mang-Jang Port Village is a good selection for the second site since one would anticipate there to be less social capital and collective action participation especially when compared to Nak-Ch’ŏn the other site.
3.2 Research Methods

The purpose of this study is to understand social relations and structure that influence the community’s collective action involvement. As the theoretical framework guiding this study, social capital theory guides my understanding of how network and social norm elements of social capital are associated with the degree of community members’ involvement in collective action.

In order to access components of social capital and the degree of collective action involvement, a mixed methods approach will be used in this study for two reasons. First of all, the use of mixed methods allows the findings from one method to be bolstered by the findings of another method. Another reason is that learning from one method will inform the development of later methods (Greene et al., 1989; Jeong, 2008). That is, the triangulation of methods and data strengthens the validity and credibility of the study.
In order to examine social capital as an independent variable, three methods - discourse analysis, social network analysis, and semi-structured interviews - will be used in this study.

Two components of social capital that have been examined in Chapter 2 were measured in order to assess the social capital of a community. The two components encompass network and social norm elements. The first network element was assessed with discourse analysis, semi-structured interviews, and social network analysis.

As the first step to examine relational and structural characteristics of the communities, discourse analysis was used not only for identifying two specific communities for detailed network analysis, but also for understanding the overall history of community development and collective efforts related to Olle.

Network analysis was conducted on the community members in these two selected communities in order to understand relational and structural characteristics of these communities, and this information was used to understand network element of social capital. Network analysis allows researchers to assess detailed relational and structural information through the mapping of relationships and interactions within community boundaries, and then to analyze how structural regularities influence actors’ behavior (Jeong, 2008; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). When considering that social capital is the concept that is strongly based on social relationships and interactions among actors, there seems to be no doubt that social network analysis that delineates network dynamics and interactions among actors within a specific structural boundary contributes to the understanding of the concept (Bian, 2001; Burt, 1992; Hurlbert, Beggs, & Haines, 2001;
Jeong, 2008; Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998). The rationale of using network analysis and its potential application to this study will be addressed in detail in the following section.

For assessing the social norm of social capital, general survey and semi-structured interviews were adopted. In order to examine social capital, first of all, specific general survey questions were asked as a part of network survey in order to identify the levels of social norms shared among community members. In addition to the survey, semi-structured interviews were also be conducted with community members in two selected communities in order to explore old and current levels of trust among members and changes in social norms within the communities. A mixed use of qualitative and quantitative methods allows a researcher to complement limitations of the findings of one method with findings from another method, which in turn increases the validity and credibility of the outcome. This has been well emphasized in Jones’ (2005) research findings. Despite his first belief that strong trust exists among the members of the studied community on the basis of an initial survey outcome, in additional interviews with residents, he found that many residents were hiding their existing mistrust from the other members of the community to keep a positive image of their community. This study therefore verified that decreased transparency from the corruption of leader groups that was rooted in the excessive emphasis on the existing norms within the community led to the decreased levels of trust among community members. In turn, this dynamic negatively affected community involvement in tourism.

As a dependent variable, community collective action will be measured using the definition of collective action defined by Hwang et al. (2012), Kaufman (1959) and Wilkinson (1986). When considering that the focus of this research is to understand
collective action conducted at the community level, all efforts and activities a community
pursues, not only to resolve local problems and to manifest local identity and solidarity
(Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1986), but also to achieve common community goals
(Hwang et al., 2012), were relevant for this study.

In order to assess community involvement in collective action, Olle related town
meetings and event participation as well as the degree of involvement that each
individual feels regarding the Olle related community work were measured as a part of
network survey.

The methods will be used to guide and complement one another and to provide
diverse perspectives from which to identify relationships and interactions within the
context of specific relationships. The newspaper articles will also be used to facilitate
both memory recollections during the interviews and to explore the convergence of the
two methods through cross-checking (Fitzpatrick, Sanders, & Worthen, 2004; Fontana &
Frey, 2000; Patton, 2002). The application of the two methods will enhance the
credibility of any given finding by assessing its consistency across different data
collection methods.

3.3 Social Network Analysis

When considering social capital as a concept strongly based on social
relationships and interactions among actors, there seems to be no doubt that the social
network is a major element comprising the concept of social capital. For this reason,
many social capital theorists have emphasized the importance of understanding the
dynamics of social interactions among actors within specific structural boundaries in
order to reach a better understanding of the concept (Coleman, 1988; Jeong, 2008; Lin, 1999). In this context, many scholars studying social capital have been attracted to adopting social network analysis as a tool to access social capital (Bian, 2001; Burt, 1992; Hurlbert et al., 2001; Jeong, 2008; Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998).

Some tourism related studies of social capital (Heimtun, 2007; Jones, 2005), mention specific network features that social network analysis provide, such as open and closed networks. Most tourism studies, however, tend to consider social networks at the surface level only by simply treating the concept as the connection among actors within a network (e.g., I have a good relationship with other actors within a network) or the participation of actors in social activities. This work rarely digs into the specific network features that a social network has in order to better understand the network.

However, even if actors belong to the same network boundary, individuals exist by having different relationships with different people, and their behaviors are influenced by these different relationships as well as each person’s position (e.g. social roles) within the network and its specific structural features (e.g. density). In other words, these different relational and structural network features embody different advantages and disadvantages of human behaviors (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2001). That is, in this research, understanding how these specific network features that belong to each individual and community influence the degree of community collective action involvement will be important to reach a deep understanding of the concept of social capital. Social network analysis also allows the researcher to access a specific community structure that might not be clear without using this method. When considering that the communities being studied are rural communities, none of them are likely to have a specific community
structures that are easily identifiable. However, using network analysis allows the researcher to assess specific community structures, which has been divided on the basis of the similarity in their network forms.

Network analysis was first started as an effort to build rational methods to complement the limited explanation of relational and structural aspects of human behavior that have been strongly dependent on normative prescriptions and statistical analysis in the past. In other words, network analysis was developed as a result of the failure of previous statistical and categorical descriptions of social structures in explaining the patterns created by social relations (Scott, 1988; Wasserman & Faust, 1994; Wellman, 1983).

Network analysis focuses on examining the patterns of ties between actors residing within a network and studies how these different relational patterns contribute to or restrict each actor’s or group’s access to the resources embedded in the network, which may include wealth, information, and power. In order to accomplish this, network analysis allows researchers to access detailed relational and structural information through mapping relationships and interactions of individuals within boundaries, and then analyze how structural regularities influence the behavior of actors (Wasserman & Faust, 1994; Wellman, 1983). That is, network analysis approaches complex social systems from the network perspective by treating them as a “network of dependency relationships resulting from the differential possession of scarce resources at the nodes and the structured allocation of these resources at the ties” (Wellman, 1983, p. 157).

A key concept for social network analysis is, of course, the social network, which consists of “a set or several sets of actors, which is called ‘nodes,’ and the relation or
relations among actors connected by lines, which is termed ‘edges’ or ‘arcs’ ” (Scott, 1988, p. 113). The term actors refers to social entities, including individuals, corporations, or collective social units such as people in a community or company, each department of the post office, and public service agencies in a city. These actors are connected to each other by social ties, another network analysis concept and relational ties.

Two types of social networks have been addressed by Wasserman and Faust (1994); they defined “the mode of a network as the number of sets of entities on which structural variables are measured. One-mode networks, the predominate type of network, study just a single set of actors, while two-mode networks focus on two sets of actors, or one set of actors and one set of events” (p. 35).

Two traditions for social network analysis exist: “sociocentric networks,” also called “whole networks,” is a research trend that analyzes all the ties of actors within a network in order to study the overall relational and structural patterns of all the actors within the network, while “ego-centric networks,” also called “personal networks,” is a research approach only interested in analyzing focal individuals within a network. This analysis is conducted to explore how resources flow to these individuals and are affected by composition, content, and the configuration of ties.

Since the focus of this research is to explore the entire relational structure of communities, this research uses the sociocentric approach as its focus. Since this type of analysis explores an entire network among actors within a specific network boundary rather than focusing on several specific actors, the data gathered from this entire network provides the researcher with comprehensive and saturated information of the sample of interest, which allows the findings to be generalized to other populations. In addition, this
type of study usually requires clearly distinguished, closed network boundaries. For this reason, the actors of the network are usually easily identifiable and determined. In the data collection process, ego-centric network approaches ask research participants to name several actors appropriate for the research purpose. The whole network approach, however, provides each research participant with a list of names of all actors in the form of an adjacency matrix, and the participants are asked to check the names of actors that are applicable as they answer the researcher’s questions (Jeong, 2008). However, Jeong (2008) also warned that “scouring through long lists of names, and identifying the multiple types of ties with each person on the roster causes fatigue and recall problems. Given these difficulties, many scholars explore the egocentric network approach as an alternative strategy for data collection” (p. 109).

Social network analysis provides detailed relational and structural information to understand the members’ involvement into community-based action: (1) Centrality, which indicates actors’ positions within the network, (2) Density, which means overall structures of the network, and (3) Strong and weak ties, which is the identification of two groups of network relations.

Information at the individual level that is accessible through social network analysis provides centrality value that informs the importance of actors in terms of various aspects of their roles in the networks, such as (1) ascendency in having relationships with others (degree centrality), (2) accessibility to others (closeness centrality), and (3) the ability of control information flows and interactions (betweenness centrality). Wasserman and Faust (1994) described these three concepts in detail in their book. As an explanation on degree centrality, they stated, “an actor with a large degree is
in direct contact or is adjacent to many other actors” (p. 180). The actors maintaining strong degree centrality are more likely to be important people who are recognized by others as a critical relational information route, while actors with low measures are more marginalized in the network, which implies that these actors are not active in their relationship with others and none of them have an effect on the current network.

Closeness as another point of view of network centrality is based on closeness or distance. “The measure focuses on how close an actor is to all the other actors in the set of actors” (p. 183). Therefore, centrality is inversely associated with distance. This means that the farther the distance gap between two actors grows, the more lines in the geodesics that connect the node to other nodes will exist, and it will cause centrality value to be decreased. A strong closeness index implies that an actor can quickly interact with others and also is more likely to hear information available within the network through the communication. Wasserman and Faust (1994) stated, “if the actors in the set of actors are engaged in problem solving, and the focus is on communication links, efficient solutions occur when one actor has very short communication paths to the others” (p.183).

The important idea for betweenness centrality is that “an actor is central if it lies between other actors on their geodesic, implying that to have a large ‘betweenness’ centrality, the actor must be between many of the actors via their geodesics” (p. 189). The actors with strong betweenness are more likely to play the role of gatekeeper and broker within the network, which implies that these actors have an important role in maintaining network coherence or linking separate networks (Han, 2009). In addition, “an actor who falls on the intermediary paths between pairs of actors can control all resource flows
between them….. betweenness centrality captures an actor’s ability to control others” (Jeong, 2008, p. 114).

As a potential application of this study, several combinations will be available among these elements. For instance, the actor who is strong in all three measure of centrality, which means that they have a strong degree, closeness, and betweenness index, is likely to have characteristics of a leader of a community or a group. As a gatekeeper, this person is likely to have control over information and resource flows between actors. Other members recognize the person as major channel, as he or she is productive in communicating information to other members.

As an example of other combinations of these measures, someone who has a strong degree but weak closeness and betweenness centrality is likely to have characteristics of a leader of sub-groups within a community or group. The individual has comparatively many ties and connections to other members since the person is located at the center of a clustered, dense network, but as we can assume that from the low levels of closeness and betweenness centrality, this actor is more likely to be located in a marginalized location within the total network, which means the actor is highly disconnected and also has limited access to the information and resources circulating within the community (Wellman, 1983).

There will also be case where an actor presents a low measurement in all three of the centrality indices. When considering network characteristics, this person will be completely marginalized within the network, which means that they will have fewer interactions and communications with other members of the community.
Once the structural characteristics of individuals in the community network are addressed, group cohesiveness will be accessed with a measure introduced by Borgatti et al. (1998). Specifically, the density index will be used to examine cohesiveness of the community.

The density of a network has been highlighted as the most frequently used group-level index (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Density is defined as the proportion of the number of group members connected to each other to the entire possible numbers that would happen if all actors were linked together (Borgatti et al, 1998; Jeong, 2008; Scott, 1988).

Density informs the number of ties among actors and the overall structure of the network by presenting clustered sub-groups within the network (Scott, 1988). Each cluster consists of highly connected actors within the cluster boundary, and these disconnected clusters exist in a less dense total network system. That is, density value allows researchers to know the degree of disconnection among actors within network boundaries, which in turn informs whether or not the group is cohesive. However, since the density of the network refers to its overall structure, density value is only available for an analysis of the whole network rather within egocentric networks (Pavlovich, 2003).

Structural equivalence will be used in order to examine not only how a community is divided into relational subgroups within a community boundary, but also to explore whether the actors who have the same network role present similar degrees of collective action involvement. As briefly examined in the hypothesis part of this dissertation, structural equivalence focuses on identifying actors who have “similarity in ties to third parties rather than by choices of one another” (Wellman, 1983, p. 171). In
other words, structural equivalence is more interested in exploring connections of actors with identical or similar connections to other actors in the network rather than knowing whether actors with identical or similar connections are directly or indirectly connected to each other. Two actors, A and B, who are structurally equivalent are perfectly substitutable or interchangeable, even if it is rare to find perfectly equivalent pairs of actors in reality (Jeong, 2008).

In order to access structural equivalence, CONCOR (CONvergence of iterated CORrelations) will be adopted for this study. “CONCOR is a method to partitioning matrix data into blocks (Wasserman & Faust, 1994) that compare the patterns of relations for any two actors by correlating the values in each cell of the row and column of the network matrix that is associated with each member of the pair.” (Jeong, 2008, p. 200).

The strength of this method is that it helps researchers simplify complex relational data into structurally equivalent blocks and provides simplified relational lines, which informs the hierarchical structure of the group.

As the last network feature that will be useful for understanding social capital and collective action involvement, strong and weak network ties will be examined. Granovetter (1973) verified two types of network relations. One is ‘strong ties,’ which describes a relationship that a person creates with others within a connected group. On the other hand, ‘weak ties’ are a person’s connections with others in outside groups. These network features have generally been applied in social capital studies to identify which network structure is more important for creating better social capital and also mobilizing collective action. Since the controversies within social capital theory regarding these network features has already been discussed in Chapter 2.
3.4. Measurement for the Key Concepts

**Frequency and intimacy of individual relation with others in a community**

Two types of networks that explain most daily relations of each individual are the focus of this research: (1) social relations and (2) relationships with other participants that have been created in the social organization membership. When considering that our time can be divided into two categories, work and leisure (social), the classification of human relations into social and work relations covers broad types of human relationships. Since this study is based on rural communities and most local residents are engaged in the same type of jobs (agricultural and fishery work), work relationship is judged not to be meaningful in this study.

Moreover, this network element should accompany two-way communication between actors rather than one-way communication. In particular, it is critical for actors to have positive interactions for the creation of social capital rather than simply acknowledging each other’s presence. One of the distinct characteristics of social capital research as differentiated from network studies is that the concept of social capital is strongly built on relationships based on positive interactions among actors. Two-way interactions are crucial features for the creation of social capital (Paxton, 2002). The importance of two-way interactions also has been emphasized by Bourdieu (1986). He postulates that an existing network of relationships is not naturally or socially given, the creation and reproduction of social capital is attained through unceasing efforts of sociability, which is a continuous series of exchange activities through which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed. For this reason, the researcher would like to consider the connection with interactions as the focus of the network element and for the
creation of social capital, excluding relations that consist of just acknowledging each other’s presence.

To measure intimacy of individual relation with others in a community a network survey was conducted with individuals in a community. Each individual was asked about his or her social interactions (i.e., they eat a meal or have a drink together or are invited to each other’s home), and only when there is an agreement in the answers (i.e., both paths acknowledge interaction), the meaningful network and interaction were considered. Based on the answer, an individuals by individuals socio-matrix was created.

**Network positions based on direct/indirect connection among the community**

Network position based on direct/indirect connection among the community was measured based on the individuals by individuals socio-matrix based on the network survey data and closeness (which is one of the centrality values), has been adopted in order to access centrality of each actor within a community. The closeness centrality value allow the researcher to identify which actor is centrality located or marginalized in a network better than other centrality values. This is because that closeness is the centrality value that is based on how close an actor is to all the other actors in a set of actors. Therefore, the centrality value clearly shows who is marginalized or centrally positioned within a community network, which in turn implies who can quickly interact with others in problem solving and also are more likely to hear information available within the network through communications (Wasserman and Faust, 1994). Meanwhile, degree centrality, which is ascendency in having relationships with others, was not used for testing the hypothesis this time since even if an actor sharing many multiple
connections with other actors (which implies high degree centrality value) would still have a chance to be marginally located in a network. In other words, even if an actor presents high degree centrality, it does not necessarily mean the actor possesses a central position in the network. As an example, individuals who have a strong degree centrality value, but weak closeness and betweenness centrality values are likely to have features of the leaders of sub-groups within a community or group. The individual has comparatively many ties and connections to other members since the person is located at the center of a clustered, dense network. We can assume that from the low levels of closeness and betweenness centrality, this actor is more likely to be in a marginalized location within the total network, which means the actor is highly disconnected and also has limited access to the information and resources circulating within the community (Wellman, 1983).

**Network positions based on similarity in ties to other members (Structural Equivalence)**

Network positions based on similarity in ties to other members were measured based on the individuals by individuals’ sociomatrix. Structural equivalence value by using CONCOR of SNA and block modeling were used to identify different positions within a community and ways of interactions among these positions. To explore specific social roles differently possessed by individuals in each position, various attributes were used and compared to each other to understand what similarity has been commonly shared among individuals in the same position. The differences in the attributes compared to the individuals grouped in different positions would define different social
roles of individuals in different positions based on their types of relationships with others.

**Social ties with community actors with a higher level of participation in Olle-related collective action**

Five major actors have been identified based on names most given by respondents during the interview survey. Each respondent was asked to select the five names that they would consider as the major actors most deeply and actively involved in the tourism activities in a community (See #2 of network survey table), and five names most given by respondents were selected again to finalize the five actors most deeply involved in the tourism activities in a community. As the next step, the existence of relationships with these major actors was measured based on previously built personal network data (Socio-matrix). For example, if one of the names of the major five actors is on the list that person previously selects as a group of people who had informal social relationship with (i.e., personal network data), the meaningful network and interaction were considered.

**Social relationship created through the social organization involvement**

To measure social relationships created through social organizational involvement, not only membership status of individuals in a specific social organization within a community, but also their official meeting attendance of the organizations have been considered. Without joining organizational activities and sharing meaningful time with other members of the organizations, just listing their names as a member on the organization membership lists would not inform that the individuals had meaningful
relationship with other members enough to create social capital for collective action engagement. For this reason, only members who regularly attended the official organization meetings would be considered individuals that possess a meaningful relationship enough to create social capital led to the collective action.

To measure organizational relationships, social organizations were identified through interviews with officially elected community leaders at the beginning of the fieldwork, and the names of social organizations accompanied by a questionnaire asking the meeting attendance of the individual as a member was reflected in the survey.

**Relationship with other Olle stakeholders outside of the community (Jeju Olle/Local government)**

The names of Olle related stakeholders were identified through the interview with officially elected community leaders at the beginning of fieldwork and the names of major external stakeholders were reflected as a part of the network survey and asked individuals whether they had meaningful relationship with identified stakeholders (See #4 of network survey table). The same questionnaire used to measure the informal relationship among members of the community was used again to verify the existence of meaningful relationships of the individuals with external stakeholders.

**Social Norms (Norm of trust and subjective norm)**

Social norms as the second element of social capital will be considered for this study. These social norms include norm of trust and subjective norm, which have been found to be components comprising social capital (Ajzen, 2002; Coleman, 1998; Putnam, 1993; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Stone, 2001). “Social norms are shared understandings about
actions that are obligatory, permitted, or forbidden” (Ostrom, 2000, p. 144). Thus, these norms encourage actors’ participation in collective action to achieve community goals not only through the punishment of the individuals who break the rules, but also by raising awareness that other members follow the same rules most of the time (Ostrom, 2000). Stone (2001) indicates that creation of social trust will be expected and facilitated through the existence of generalized reciprocity and networks of civic engagement (See also Fukuyama, 1995; Misztal, 1996). That is, such strong trust that exists among each member is an outcome of continuous, positive interpersonal interactions within a connected network.

To measure the degree of trust, two types of trust derived from Stone’s (2001) study that would influence social capital were used in this study. They include (1) trust of familiars, which exists in the relationships with individuals and (2) generalized trust, which is the general belief on the overall community members that are usually based on expected behavior or shared norms.

Six items suggested by several previous studies were used to measure both types of trust. Each item was measured based on 7-point Likert scale.

Trust of familiars 1) If you were caring for a child and needed to go out for a while, would you feel comfortable to ask a neighbor for help? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)

Source: Onyx and Bullen 2000, p. 113.

Trust of familiars 2) Are you willing to do Gye with other members of community? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)

Source: Paldam and Svendsen 1999, p.17.
Trust of familiars 3) How often can you trust your friends to act in your best interests? (7= Never to 1= Few times a day)

*Source: Hogan and Owen 2000, p. 90.*

Generalized trust 1) Do you agree that most people in the community can be trusted? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)

*Source: Hughes et al, 2000 p. 231.*

Generalized trust 2) In this village, one has to be alert of someone who is likely to take advantage of you (1= Strongly agree to 7=Strongly disagree)


Generalized trust 3) If you drop your purse or wallet in the neighborhood, will someone see it and return it to you? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)

*Source: Krishna and Shrader 1999, Annex D, pp. 20-21*

Furthermore, subjective norm, which has been introduced in Ajzen’s study (2002), will be used to access the individual’s perceived social pressure in performing a certain behavior. This subjective norm is measured with both “likelihood that the referent holds the normative belief and the motivation to comply with the views of the referent. (Kalafatis et al., 1999, p. 444). Two items suggested by Ajzen (2002) were used to measure subjective norm variable. Each item was measured based on 7-point Likert scale (“1=Strongly disagree” to “7=Strongly agree”).

Subjective Norm 1) Most people who are important to me think that I should attend the work related to community issues most of time

Subjective Norm 2) Most people who are important to me think that they should attend the work related to community issues most of time.
Degree of Collective Action Involvement

Degree of collective action involvement was measured with the degree of involvement of each individual in the community effort and activities related to the Olle project. Olle related town meetings and event participation as well as the degree of involvement that each individual is subjectively aware regarding the Olle related community work were measured as a part of network survey. The total numbers of village meetings and specific events, which have been held in the community in a relationship with the Olle, were identified through the analysis on local newspapers and interviews with the officially elected leader and village office manager and were reflected on the survey.

To measure the degree of collective action involvement, each individual was asked to answer the specific numbers of town meetings that they had attended and attendance to the specific events in relationship with Olle. To access subjective degrees of collective action participation, it was measured with a 7-point Likert scale ("1=Not at all active" to "7=Extremely active").
Table 3. Measurement of Key Concepts (Social Capital and Collective Action)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Operationalization</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Social Capital       | A resource for the mobilization of collective action to solve conflicts that occur in the process of collaboration and also to create a better community | 1. Network Element: Connections among actors (e.g. density of network) | • By asking each individual about their social interactions (i.e., they eat a meal or have a drink together or are invited to each others’ home)  
  * Only when there is agreement in the answers (i.e., both paths acknowledge interaction), the interaction will be considered. | |
|                      |            | 2. Network positions based on direct / indirect connection among community members (Centrality in a community) | • Based on the answer, individuals by individuals sociomatrix will be created | |
|                      |            | 3. Network positions based on similarity in ties to other members (Structural Equivalence) | • Based on the individuals by individuals sociomatrix / Closeness centrality value of SNA | |
|                      |            | 4. Social ties with community actors with a higher level of participation in Olle-related collective action | • Based on the individuals by individuals sociomatrix / Structural equivalence value of SNA | |
|                      |            | 5. Social relationship created through the social organization involvement | • Identify five actors in a community who are highly involved in Olle-related collective action (See #2 of network survey table)  
  * Based on the individual by individual sociomatrix, whether each respondent has interactions with these five actors will be identified | |
|                      |            | 6. Relationship with other Olle stakeholders outside of the community (Jeju Olle / Local Government) | • By asking individual’s involvement in social organizations and official meeting attendance (See #3 of network survey table)  
  (1 = existence of relationship with others, who answered they are part of the social organization and also attending the meetings / 0 = No relationship)  
  • Social organizations will be identified through the interview with officially elected community leader at the beginning of fieldwork. | |
<p>|                      |            |         | • The numbers of ties with outside of community stakeholders (See #4 of network survey table) (1 = connection, 0 = No connection) | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Table 3 (cont.)</strong></th>
<th><strong>Definition</strong></th>
<th><strong>Element</strong></th>
<th><strong>Operationalization</strong></th>
<th><strong>Measurement</strong></th>
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</table>
| 2. Social Norm Element:      |                | 1. Norm of Trust – including (1) trust of familiars, which exists in the relationships with individuals, (2) generalized trust, which is the general belief on the overall community members that are usually based on expected behavior or shared norms (Stone, 2001) | (1) Trust of familiars  
- If you were caring for a child and needed to go out for a while, would you feel comfortable to ask a neighbor for help? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)  
  Source: Onyx and Bullen 2000, p. 113.  
- Are you willing to do Gye with other members of community? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)  
  Source: Paldam and Svendsen 1999, p.17.  
- How often can you trust your friends to act in your best interests? (7= Never to 1= Few times a day)  
  Source: Hogan and Owen 2000, p. 90. | (2) Generalized trust  
- If you were caring for a child and needed to go out for a while, would you feel comfortable to ask a neighbor for help? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)  
  Source: Onyx and Bullen 2000, p. 113.  
- Do you agree that most people in the community can be trusted? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)  
- In this village, one has to be alert of someone who is likely to take advantage of you (1= Strongly agree to 7=Strongly disagree)  
- If you drop your purse or wallet in the neighborhood, will someone see it and return it to you? (1= Strongly disagree to 7= Strongly agree)  
  Source: Krishna and Shrader 1999, Annex D, pp. 20-21 |
### Table 3 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Operationalization</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Subjective norm (Ajzen, 1895) that is an individual's perception of</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Most people who are important to me think that</td>
<td>• Most people who are important to me think that</td>
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<td>social normative pressures, or relevant others' beliefs that he or</td>
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<td>1 should attend the work related to community issue most of time. 1= Strongly</td>
<td>1 should attend the work related to community issue most of time (1= Strongly</td>
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<td>she should or should not perform such behavior.</td>
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<td>disagree to 7= Strongly agree)</td>
<td>disagree to 7= Strongly agree)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dependent Variable: Degree of Collective Action Involvement</td>
<td></td>
<td>• There were (specific numbers) town meetings. In how many do you believe</td>
<td>• There were (specific numbers) town meetings. In how many do you believe</td>
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<td>The level of all efforts and activities a community pursues, not only to</td>
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<td>you participated? Around ________ Meetings</td>
<td>you participated? Around ________ Meetings</td>
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<tr>
<td>resolve local problems and to manifest local identity and solidarity</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Among the events listed below, which events did you participate in?</td>
<td>• Among the events listed below, which events did you participate in?</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1986), but also to mobilize community</td>
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<td>*Specific events, which have been held in the community in a relation with</td>
<td>*Specific events, which have been held in the community in a relation with</td>
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<td>support to achieve community common goals (Hwang, Stewart, &amp; Ko, 2012).</td>
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<td>the Olle, will be identified through the analysis on local newspapers and</td>
<td>the Olle, will be identified through the analysis on local newspapers and</td>
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<td>interviews with the officially elected leader, and will be listed with</td>
<td>interviews with the officially elected leader, and will be listed with</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>checkbox.</td>
<td>checkbox.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• In your opinion, what has been your level of involvement in Olle related</td>
<td>• In your opinion, what has been your level of involvement in Olle related</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>community efforts? (Like type seven point scale 1= Not at all active to</td>
<td>community efforts? (Like type seven point scale 1= Not at all active to</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>7= Extremely active)</td>
<td>7= Extremely active)</td>
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<td>Table 4. Interview Questions for Community Members</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Intention</strong></td>
<td><strong>Measurement</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>To understand overall history of tourism development in a community</td>
<td>1. Do you remember when tourism began in your community?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2. What was tourism like at the beginning of the development? Can you tell me the story?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3. What was the event or events that prompted its beginning?</td>
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<td>To explore community’s collective action toward tourism impact / to explore key actors involved in the decision making regarding collective action</td>
<td>4. In what ways did the community respond to this event? (Can you please describe who was involved, and who were the people who made the decisions on leading to the actions that were taken? What other people and organizations were involved in tourism events and program?)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explore the dynamic of how community gets involved into collective action (also, to understand the existence of social norms and trust and its impact on collective action involvement)</td>
<td>5. What made you decide to participate with others? Could you tell me the stories about how you got involved in such collective action? (Prompt, were there any pressures by others that encouraged you to participate or somewhat pushed you to work together?)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6. Did you notice whether other members cooperated with you? How did that make you feel?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explore effectiveness of collective action on social capital and tourism development</td>
<td>7. What was it like after that? Did you notice any changes in personal relationship after that? (Maybe, you met new people or become closer to others?) Do you think the residents’ efforts toward tourism development were effective at influencing the way that tourism developed?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explore the overall history of Olle development and the degree of previous social capital of the community before Olle project</td>
<td>8. Were there any other important events in your community’s history of tourism development that you can remember? Could you elaborate further on those stories?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. In what ways did the community respond to (specific event)?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explore community’s collective action toward tourism impacts related to Olle / To explore key actors for the decision making regarding collective action</td>
<td>10. How about Olle? What was Olle like at the beginning of the development? Can you tell me the story? (How did it start? What was the event/situation that prompted Olle’s beginning? Who participated? How did it develop? …)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explore the dynamic of how community gets involved into collective action (also, to understand the existence of social norms and trust and its impact on collective action involvement)</td>
<td>11. Did you notice any change in people’s relationships as a result of the Olle initiative?</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. In what ways did the community respond to this event? (Can you please describe who was involved, who were the people that made most decisions that lead to the actions taken? What other people and organizations were involved in Olle events and program?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To explore effectiveness of collective action on social capital and tourism development</td>
<td>13. What made you decide to participate in Olle events with others? Could you tell me the stories about how you got involved in such collective action? (Was there any social pressure that made you decided to participate in collective action? What about persuasion by other family members, close friends, and co-worker?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To understand how each members defines success of Olle and also see the success and challenges regarding Olle in a community</td>
<td>14. Did you notice that other members cooperated with you? How did that make you feel?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15. What was it like after that? Do you think the residents’ efforts toward tourism development were effective at influencing the way that tourism developed?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16. How has your life and town been changed after the participation in the Olle initiative? Can you tell me about the changes in relationships among residents after such collective action?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>If interviewee refers to Olle as successful case, I will ask Q. 17-a, but if not, I will ask Q. 17-b.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17-a. Why do you think tourism development is so successful here?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17-b. Why do you think tourism development has not been successful here?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18. Is there anything that you would change or that you wish happened differently? Public involvement? Working together?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intention</td>
<td>Measurement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| To confirm the findings of elements that cause successful collective action involvement and challenges that impede successful involvement of the community in the collective action | 19. What advice would you give to other communities that want positive change for tourism and their community?  
20. What advice would you give regarding community organization or ways to improve a community’s ability to work together?  
21. In your opinion, what was the most important action taken by your community that led to successful tourism development? Why was that?  
22. In your opinion, what was the action that involved the most members of your community that you feel contributed to successful tourism development? Why? |
| To confirm what learned through the interview and what missed from the interview | 1. Did I accurately describe what was said? If not, what was missing?  
2. Is there anything that we should have talked about but did not? |
3.5 Research Process

Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders were conducted over a period of two months. During that same time, a network survey was administrated in both participating communities. During the first week, the leaders of each community were interviewed to determine overall tourism-related issues, including the Olle project and the atmosphere of the community. Personal interviews were set up based on the individual’s schedule. Arrangements and scheduling of these initial interviews were completed well in advance of the researcher arriving at the island. Once the fieldwork started and the researcher had settled on locations, five or six interview-surveys were conducted per day. Interviews were arranged on the basis of time availability of the informants. The interviews were arranged at a place where interviewees were comfortable and it was convenient.

A snowball sampling technique was adopted as the method for choosing community informants. Considering the sensitivity of the topic and the community’s characteristic of having a hard-to-reach population, the author deemed snowball sampling as appropriate for the study. Leaders of each community who were considered to have deep knowledge about their respective community and deep involvement in community issues were contacted first in order to minimize the bias of the findings. The leaders of each community were asked to suggest names of people who fit the following criteria: (1) community residents who know the community well and care about its future growth (regardless of their position on growth and development); and (2) residents who have been involved with group efforts to address tourism development (e.g., community forums, workshops, public organizations, and volunteer for local festivals). However,
non-participants in collective efforts were also interviewed in order to minimize bias in the findings. The researcher made the same request of each of the interviewees, gathering names as the interviews develop. The interviewees were asked them if they felt comfortable contacting the next interviewee personally (instead of the interviewer doing so himself). This would enhance the new interviewee feeling comfortable and the interviewer could build trust more easily. During any preliminary contact overall descriptions of the research and the intent of the interviews were provided. Interviews were conducted with 11 informants, which included 5 informants for the Mang-Jang community to 6 informants for the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. Each interview was scheduled to last approximately one hour. Table 5 presents descriptions of informants that participated in the interviews in both communities.

**Table 5. Descriptions of Informants of Each Community**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Descriptions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nak-Ch’ŏn Community</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>55 years old, male, agriculture, high school education, elected official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>40 years old, male, agriculture, high school education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N3</td>
<td>45 years old, female, self-employed, undergraduate education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N4</td>
<td>35 years old, male, agriculture, undergraduate education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N5</td>
<td>55 years old, male, agriculture, high school education, elected official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N6</td>
<td>78 years old, male, self-employed and agriculture, undergraduate education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mang-Jang Community</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>41 years old, male, self-employed, high school education, a leader of the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>42 years old, male, self-employed, undergraduate education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>54 years old, male, agriculture, elected official, high school education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M4</td>
<td>55 years old, male, agriculture, elected official, high school education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M5</td>
<td>76 years old, male, agriculture, middle school education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All interviews with informants were audio-recorded using standard human-subjects protocol and review. In an attempt to build trust the researcher initiated interviews with an introduction and the use of a name card. Because the author finished
his four years of undergraduate studies on Jeju Island opening the interview with the author’s college story was effective at building rapport. In addition, the author’s use of the Jeju dialect reduced any barriers to conversation and facilitated trust with informants. As part of the relationships building effort between the author and informants, small gifts such as a small energy drink was given to each interviewee as an expression of appreciation for their time and participation. The interview approach was developed based upon procedures and recommendations identified in standard texts on interview techniques (Babbie, 2004; Fontana & Frey, 2000; Morgan & Krueger, 1997). After introductions, the purpose of the research was explained to informants and consent for participation was requested and any questions or concerns clarified. Next, informants were asked for their recollections of the initial development of tourism in their community. The initial questions that informants were asked are intended to invite informants to express their own thoughts about tourism, to foster conversational rapport, and to gradually move toward the central questions of study. Please see Appendix I for interview questions.

The author was sensitive to being a supportive listener and encouraging a “balanced rapport” in order to evoke an honest and wide-range of detail regarding collective action and tourism development (Fontana & Frey, 2000).

After each of the key questions, the author provided a brief summary of the interviewee’s responses to be sure they feel they were understood. After each summary, interviewees were asked, “did I correctly describe what was said?” and “is there anything else you want to say?” Fitzpatrick et al. (2004) indicated that this kind of preliminary analysis during the interview enhances the trustworthiness of the findings. Such iterative
processes produce nuanced meaning and built a “thick description” to ensure credibility of the stories told (Gibbs, 2007; Hudley, Haight, & Miller, 2003).

For the network analysis, the focus of this research was to examine the relationships among individuals who have been involved in the Olle related community efforts. Community members were studied since this study’s focus is to understand to what degree social capital influences collective action involvement.

Regarding subject selection, the officially elected village leader was contacted first. The leader was asked to provide a complete lists of community residents. This is information that the person in the leadership position was able to access easily.

The author also requested that the community leader and a manager of the village office select the names of members from the lists who might not be appropriate for the survey. This old be for reasons of personal health or because the person does not or rarely reside in the community. These names were deleted from the list. Minors, those under the age of nineteen, were also excluded from the network survey. This was because in Korean society the decision-makings on the important community issues were in most cases being made through agreements between parents of each household, and in turn they are the actors participating in the real actions of the community. In the case of the Mang-Jang community, fishermen who were not available for the survey due to their absence at sea for more than a month were excluded from consideration as well.

During the first meeting with the community leaders, the author also asked them to identify existing social organizations as well as naming the leader. The author followed up with each social organization leader to collect board members names as well as ask questions regarding membership criteria (i.e., volunteer, mandatory, in other words, how
can one become a member). In addition, the author asked social organization leaders to facilitate the introduction of the author to organization members.

Considering that the information asked of the informants during the survey was the personal social interaction with others in a community (See appendix II for specific survey questionnaires), it was assumed that the informants might not be willing to answer all the questions. Getting the support of an officially elected community leader and building rapport with other members minimize this issue.

During the first two weeks in each community, the author spent most of the time building trust with the community members. One activity was to visit each household in the community. Brief self-introduction by the author and discussing the intention of the study was part of the visit. They were also asked for their support. As confirmed in the interviews with other residents later, the personal visitation to each household and self-introduction by the author to each household was very effective in building trust.

The author also resided in the house of one of the community members and this actually helped the author build rapport and trust with the rest of the community members. The very first question that informants usually asked the author was where he was staying. When they learned of the location they acknowledge the owner and became more willingly to participate in the network survey.

In addition, the author was involved in community activities held in the community during that period. This included having meals and spending time with local people at places where local residents usually hang out, participating in town meetings and volunteering for community-based activities. The author frequently interacted with community members on a daily basis helping them with their farming (e.g. ground
leveling) or fishery work (e.g. preparing sea urchins for sale) and also with participative tourism programs (e.g. helping the community prepare for making barley bread, one of popular tourists activities held in the community). The author was also invited by some community members to their personal dinner parties. These efforts provided the researcher with the opportunities to observe what happened in the community and the interactions of the members in their normal life. It also helped the author establish rapport and more easily establish interactions and relationships with locals. This in turn encouraged the locals to become more willingly involved into the research.

Based on the advice of some community members the author visited the houses of each householder in the community and asked them to participate in the network survey if the informants were available for the survey. For the cases where the informants were not available for the survey during the first visit the author arranged a second visit. If all efforts to contact the informants the author arranged a meeting with the community members to conduct the network surveys based on the contact information collected.

A total of 89 residents in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community were interviewed and a total of 76 residents in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community were interviewed. A total of 13 residents (4 non-respondents and 9 residents who had health issues) were excluded. All the non-respondents indicated that they did not participate in the survey because they felt either they did not have enough knowledge to answer the questions or they worried that the information would be shared with other residents in the community. A total of 85 % of the residents of the community participated in the study. Only 73 surveys were used for this study except for unfaithful respond or uncompleted respond missing relationship information with other residents.
For the Mang-Jang community, 47 interview surveys were conducted among total 57 residents currently living in the community. This was after dropping 10 residents for reasons health issues (3 residents), temporally residing outside the community due to their fishery work (3 residents), or denied to participate (4 residents) with the same reasons with none-respondents in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. A total of 82% of the residents of the community participate in this study and 45 surveys were used after dropping uncompleted responses or missing information.

Table 6 summarizes the main plan (i.e., actions and objectives) for the meetings with the community leader as well as social organization’s leaders in each community.

**Table 6. Summary of Actions and Objectives for Meetings with Community and Social Organization Leaders**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Meetings</th>
<th>Actions / Objectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community Leader</strong></td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; meeting</td>
<td>Explain the study / Request support for the study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Get a complete lists of community residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Establish rapport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Identify the numbers of official meetings since Olle / the names of events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; meeting</td>
<td>Continue to establish rapport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ask to identify existing social organizations as well as name the leader for each of them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Request introduction of researchers and potentially project at town meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; meeting</td>
<td>Answer questions, address concerns or communicate progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leaders of social organizations</strong></td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; meeting (Referred by community leader)</td>
<td>Explain study / Request support for the study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ask to identify board members’ names and also ask questions regarding membership criteria (i.e., volunteer, mandatory, in other words, how can one become a member).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Request to facilitate introduction of researcher to organization’s members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; meeting</td>
<td>Answer questions, address concerns or communicate progress as needed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the general survey the author read survey questionnaires to each participant several times to make sure that the participants clearly understood the items. The answer was marked by the researcher based on their responses and the answer marked was reconfirmed by the respondents. For the informants who felt more comfortable
completing the survey by themselves, the informants completed a self-administrated questionnaire.

3.6 Data Analysis

In order to explore relationships between social capital and collective action, interview transcription was conducted by the author as the first step of data analysis. The interviews were transcribed verbatim in Korean first and then translated into English. For accuracy and to increase credibility of the study, the author’s translated transcripts to English were crosschecked by another bilingual speaker (Korean and English) by reading the Korean verbatim transcripts and comparing it to the translated scripts in English. Both interview transcripts were reviewed for each community and general themes were derived, identified and cross-checked (Gibbs, 2007, p. 94; Patton, 2002, p. 559). Generated themes and categories were crosschecked with two layers. The general themes were derived and identified by the three researchers separately first and then the general themes verified were compared and discussed among three researchers (two researchers at a time). As the first step two Korean native speakers, including the author, identified themes and compared themes. The second step identified themes by two Korean researchers and were compared with the identified themes by a non-Korean researcher. Finally, the themes agreed by the researchers were used and categorized as the findings.

Since this study is strongly based on the theory of social capital, the theory at least provides the author with a good idea for creating code while reading the text. However, the researcher tried not to be tied to the initial codes while sticking to the themes that comes from the original text. Stories were analyzed to identify facts and thematic
narratives of the two communities. In order to identify these themes, the author went through line by line coding naming and each line of text. Gibbs (2007) indicates that this way of coding helps the researcher not to pay close attention to the researcher’s worldview and any theoretical presupposition the researcher might already have. This forces the author to focus more on what each informant actually said and also their view of the world rather than accepting them. At this stage of coding the transcript analysis was conducted sensitive to various factors, including the use of vivid vocabulary, repeated phrases, emphasis on and frequency of ideas, and intensity of feelings (Gibbs, 2007; Patton, 2002, p. 453; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). As the next step after the initial line-by-line coding, coding hierarchy was conducted in order to refine the actual codes and rearrange them into a hierarchy. Coding hierarchy allows the researcher to reduce the numbers of the existing codes, which in turn modifies the existing codes into more analytic and theoretical codes (Gibbs, 2007). Codes with similar ideas and concepts were tied together under the same branch of the hierarchy. Rearranging codes were guided based on what questions were being answered. For example, all the relationship related codes were replaced with two called ‘internal network’ and ‘external network’, which reflects a social capital theory.

After an initial categorization of the data new thematic categories were added in cases where important data did not fit into these categories or a single category blurred two or more ideas relevant to connecting collective action to tourism (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). These data will ultimately be organized in a manner that helps the author to formulate themes, refine concepts, and connect them together in order to create a clear
picture of the ways in which social capital and collective actions are related to tourism development.

Collected network data was analyzed with the network analysis software, NetMiner. Specific outcomes of relational and structural features produced through NetMiner were statistically analyzed using SPSS. Specifically, ANOVA and multiple regression analysis were used to uncover the relationship between each dimension of social capital and collective action participation.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

The mixed methods adapted for this study addressed the research questions, and were specifically developed to challenge the research hypothesis. The methods complemented each other, and are presented within this chapter to provide an integration of various kinds of data to explain the research questions. A structured questionnaire was applied and resulted in quantitative data for analysis. In addition, face-to-face directed conversations were held with community leaders and residents that resulted in a rich set of interview transcripts for interpretation and analysis. The results are organized by research questions. Specifically, as background information, the characteristics of the study sample were described by the degree of collective action participation at the first section. Then, the results of the hypotheses analyses of the relationship between social capital and residents’ participation in tourism related to collective actions against tourism impacts were presented in detail.

4.1 The Characteristics of the Study Sample by the Degree of Collective Action Participation

Only descriptive statistic analysis was conducted to explore the characteristics of the study sample by the degree of collective action participation. This study aims to understand the degree of involvement of the members of communities into tourism related collective actions rather than knowing who joins group activities. However, influences of socio-demographic features related to collective action participation were
presented inconclusively in previous studies and also postulate that socio-demographic factors would not be able to explain the degree of devotion of individuals to participation in-group activities while these features are limited to account for who joins group activities (Hauser, Koontz, & Bruskotter, 2012). Considering that the informants who participate in this research reside in rural areas and were engaged in similar types of jobs (mainly agriculture and fishery work), this means those individuals’ attributes do not vary greatly among the participants in this study. For these reasons socio-demographic variables were not regressed with other social capital variables in this study.

To increase power in the analyses, the author collapsed all educational levels into two categories (e.g. lower educational level, including no formal schooling, completion of elementary or middle school, high educational level, including high school, undergraduate, and graduate level of education). In the context of rural society in South Korea, the group of people educated at the high school level or higher are usually considered well-educated people.

Another collapse of raw data has been conducted on the occupational categories. Two reasons have been considered for that decision. Due to the limited sample size of each occupational category (e.g., professionals, self-employed, employed, no occupational engagement, house wives), and in order to ensure power in the analyses, the author also collapsed these occupational groups into an occupational category named “Other occupations.” They were compared with the other collapsed occupational category containing two sub-categories, “Agriculture or Fishery.”

In considering that respondents involved in agriculture or fishery will be the only groups who can expect direct benefits from tourism by selling locally grown foods to
visitors, these respondents were assumed to be more actively involved in tourism related collective actions than other respondents engaged in other occupational categories. In fact, no commercial shops and grocery stores exist in either community. This implies that the group of people who answered as professionals, self-employed, and employed might work place outside the communities.

Members of each community were categorized into two age groups. They include age groups younger than 65 and over 65. Age 65 or higher is considered old age and the individual is eligible for senior citizen’s association affiliation.

Table 7 and 8 summarizes the characteristics of the study sample by the degree of collective action participation. Regarding gender, both communities presented relatively equal distribution of the numbers for both men and women. For the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, 47.9% of respondents were male and 52.1% female, while the Mang-Jang community showed 44.4% for male and 55.6% for female. In both communities, the number of females are relatively higher than the number of males.

Respondents were relatively equally distributed to each age group categories in both communities. In the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, the respondents integrated in the age group, age 65 or higher, presented high numbers with 49.3%. In the Mang-Jang community, respondents of age 65 or higher showed 40%. As presented in the age distribution for both communities, proportion of aging population would be considered somewhat high even if percentages of the old age group is comparatively higher than the ones of the young age group. This becomes clearer after considering none of the respondents in their 20s resides in either community due to better educational and
occupational opportunities elsewhere even if they are actually registered as a community member.

Regarding occupation, the proportion of respondents engaged in agriculture was higher than those engaged in other jobs. For the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, agriculture and fishery presented higher percentage, 67.1 % comparing to 32.9% for other occupations. In the Mang-Jang community, 57.8% of agriculture or fishery was also followed by other occupations of 42.2%. Considering that both communities are rural communities and their primary industries are likely either agriculture or fishery based on the surrounding residential environment, it seems to be obvious that both communities show higher percentage of agriculture and fishery work comparatively to other kinds of occupations. Number differences would be more obvious after considering the numbers of residents who answered no occupational engagement or housewife as their jobs. For the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, 62.5% of the residents who answered non-agriculture or fishery job responded either no occupational engagement or housewife for their job. For the Mang-Jang community, the proportion was 57.89%. Both are rather large percentages. Even the majority of residents who answered no occupational engagement for reason of retirement were likely to be engaged in either agriculture or fishery as a past occupation.

The influence of socio-demographic characteristics related to collective action participation was inconclusive in both communities. Only age and occupation variables had significant effects on the members’ degree of participation in collective actions in the Nak-Ch’ŏn communities, while any significant effects on the degree of participations were not observed in a relation with other socio-demographic features in both communities. This outcome clearly confirms the findings of previous social capital
studies, which emphasized the inconclusiveness in the association between socio-demographic features and the degree of devotion of individuals to participation in-group activities (Hauser et al., 2012).

Specifically for the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, the degree of collective participation showed significant differences between two age groups. When the respondents’ age is young the degree of participation in collective actions presented a high level. Moreover, degree of collective action participation also presented significant differences between two occupational categories. When individuals were engaged in agriculture or fishery jobs (which implies more chances of members to communicate and interact together than the members having their jobs outside community), they presented comparatively higher degree of participation in tourism related collective actions than the members who have spent more of their daily time working outside community. Nevertheless, no significant difference exists in degrees of collective participation among different age groups and also occupational categories in Mang-Jang.

Within both communities there were no significant differences observed between degrees of participation between males and females (p>0.05).

Moreover, no significant differences in degrees of collective participation was observed for both communities between the group of respondents with education less than high school and the respondents educated at more than a high school level (p>0.05).
### Table 7. The Characteristics of the Study Sample by the Degree of Collective Action Participation: Nak-Ch’ón Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Collective action involvement Mean</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>259.17</td>
<td>0.437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>234.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 65</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>298.99</td>
<td>0.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 65 or higher</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>192.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school education</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>214.84</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or higher</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>278.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture / Fishery</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>273.99</td>
<td>0.011**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other jobs</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>189.91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The author used two-way ANOVA for binary variables
b. **P<0.5

### Table 8. The Characteristics of the Study Sample by the Degree of Collective Action Participation: Mang-Jang Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Collective action involvement Mean</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>178.79</td>
<td>0.065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>121.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 65</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>152.18</td>
<td>0.673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 65 or higher</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>138.55</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school education</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>146.21</td>
<td>0.963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school or higher</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>147.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture / Fishery</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>163.76</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other jobs</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>123.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The author used two-way ANOVA for binary variables
b. **P<0.5
4.2 Result of Research Questions

Multiple regression analysis was adopted and performed on the variables of both social capital and collective action in order to test the hypothesized influences on the collective action participation of both communities. Independent variables include network centrality of each actor within a community, connections with five major village members and external stakeholders, existence of relationships with members within social organizations, position and role in a community, and trust and subjective norms. Besides these variables related to the concept of social capital, previous studies have also found that perceived benefit of an individual on tourism impacts is an significant predictor for the individual’s perception on and actual participation into the tourism activities (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Jeong, 2008). Thus two variables, perceived personal and community’s benefits of tourism development were included as control variables to increase the accuracy of testing the hypothesized influences of social capital on the collective action participation.

4.2.1 Reliability Test

Reliability test on two multi-item scales, trust and subjective norms has been conducted before performing the multiple regression analysis. To assess the reliability of measures, Cronbach's alpha on two variables was calculated to test internal consistency of the items consisting trust and subjective norms. Although Cronbach’s alpha score of .70 or higher is desired, coefficients equal to or greater than .60 were considered acceptable and a good indication of construct reliability (Yu, Chancellor, & Cole, 2011). Both variables have passed the tests and been identified as trust and subjective norms.
indicators with the Cronbach’s alphas of 0.688 and 0.678 respectively in Nak-Ch’ŏn community. However, for the Mang-Jang community, although Cronbach’s alphas for subjective norms were high enough with 0.760, the value for trust was 0.569, which is slightly lower than .60.

This low Cronbach’s alpha value for trust was caused because some items used to measure trust were interpreted differently by each interviewee within their specific contexts. One example was asking their intention to invest in Gye, a joint fund account with other villagers that was a popular practice of finance in rural areas in Korea and trust is critical to this type of investment. However, interviewees in this research no longer value group financial practices like Gye and a negative response to this item does not mean a lower degree of trust that the researcher intended to measure. Therefore, the question of asking one’s intention to join Gye was dropped.

With this concern of low Cronbach’s alphas among items for the trust variable, the researcher decided to use only one item representative for trust of familiar and generalized trust and combined both items as an item to measure overall trust of the informants. Overall trust of community members was measured by combining the following two questions:

a. If you were caring for a child and needed to go out for a while, would you feel comfortable to ask a neighbor for help?

b. Do you agree that most people in the community can be trusted?

4.2.2 Descriptive Statistics of Explanatory Variables

Before the multiple regression analysis, table 9 summarizes the characteristics of explanatory variables by the degree of collective action participation in the Nak-Ch’ŏn
community. Excluding the trust variable, all explanatory variables presented positive association with degrees of collective action participation. The residents who perceive either personal or village benefits from tourism presented comparatively higher participation in tourism related collective actions than other villagers who did not.

With regard to the network elements of social capital, not only the relationships created through social organization activity participation but also the relationships with major actors deeply involved in tourism of the villages were positively associated with individuals’ participation into the collective actions. Moreover, the greater the central position of members in a community network, the more the individuals are likely to be involved in collective action. Residents who have relationships with external stakeholders presented higher level of participation than those who didn’t have any connections. Only the Nak-Ch’ŏn community had external network with outside stakeholders and a comparatively very small numbers of residents (13.7%) had connections with outside stakeholders. Actors sharing the same positions and roles in the community presented similar degrees of collective action participations.

Regarding variables for social norm, higher degrees of social pressure that individuals perceive was significantly associated with the collective action participation. Trust was not significantly correlated with the collective action participation.
Table 9. Descriptive Statistics of Explanatory Variables: Nak-Ch’ŏn Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cases / Mean (S.D.)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Collective action involvement</th>
<th>Mean / R</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceived personal benefit</td>
<td>9.92 (3.45)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.354</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.002**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived village benefit</td>
<td>11.56 (2.47)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.333</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.004**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Organization Meeting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>177.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>300.39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness Centrality</td>
<td>21.66 (10.53)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.603</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connections with major five</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>186.49</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>304.59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>12.27 (2.32)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective norm</td>
<td>11.51 (2.46)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.516</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.000**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Modeling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1: Old Villagers</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>234.401</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.001**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2: Outsiders</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>153.667</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3: Leaders</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>287.806</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 4: Over Watchers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>302.668</td>
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<tr>
<td>Density</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nak-Ch’ŏn</td>
<td>0.111</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mang-Jang</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The author used two-way ANOVA for binary variables and Pearson Correlations for rate variable
b. **P<0.5

Table 10 summarizes the characteristics of explanatory variables by the degree of collective action participation for the Mang-Jang community. Unlike the case of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, only two variables, which are closeness centrality and block modeling, had significant association with the dependent variable, collective action participation. Many network related independent variables including existence of relationships with major actors deeply engaged in tourism or other organizational members did not have any significant influence on tourism related collective action participation. Moreover, any
variables relevant to social norm, including trust and subjective norm, didn’t show any significant associations with the dependent variable.

Table 10. Descriptive Statistics of Explanatory Variables: Mang-Jang Community Mang-Jang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cases / Mean (S.D.)</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Collective action involvement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean / R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived personal benefit</td>
<td>5.71 (2.14)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived village benefit</td>
<td>8.42 (3.29)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Organization Meeting Attendance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness Centrality</td>
<td>8.58 (6.17)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connections with major five</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>11.71 (2.75)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-0.143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective norm</td>
<td>16.69 (3.43)</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Modeling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1: Outsiders</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>90.597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2: Leaders</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>184.153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The author used two-way ANOVA for binary variables and Correlations for rate variable
b. **P<0.5

4.2.3 Explanation of Regression Model

Table 11 presents the summary of the regression model. Hierarchical method of regression, which is also called blockwise entry method, has been adopted for the multiple regression analysis. A total of five independent variables related to social capital have been regressed with the dependent variable, degree of collective action participation. The variables relevant to the perceived individual and community benefits through tourism development were also regressed together as the control variables.
Four models were used in this study. Perceived benefits at both personal and community level were added to the first model (Model 1), and then other variables related to social capital were entered into the Model consecutively (Model 2) and regressed with other variables already entered. Explanatory variables to access position and role influence on the dependent variable were added to the model (Model 3). In the case of Mang-Jang, multicollinearity was found because of high correlations of the variables with the other two network related variables. Therefore, one network variable was deleted from the model (Madanoglu, Olsen, & Kwansa, 2010) and regression analysis was conducted in order to see the influence of position and role of each member of the community on collective action participation controlling other variables. This will be explained in more detail by checking the assumption part for multiple regression analysis. Finally, the external network variable was only added to the model (Model 4) for the Nak-Ch’ŏn community because it had existing relationships with external stakeholders of tourism.

For the both communities, using the models significantly increases explanatory power of the dependent variable than using mean value of dependent variable. For the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, as indicated in Table 11, the model adopting variables explained approximately 55% of the variation in dependent variables (adjusted R-square: .547). This score means using 9 variables, including variables relevant to social capital to predict degrees of collective action participation of the members reduces a 55% in the prediction error relative to using only mean of degree of collective action participation. The F-value (8.897, p<0.00) indicates that the outcome produced through the regression model is statistically significant. This small p-value suggests that at least one independent
variable is relevant to explaining degrees of collective action participation. This also indicates that using the model significantly increases the predictions of the dependent variable than by using mean value of the dependent variable. However, the power of model explanation slightly decreased by adding the explanatory variables, position and role and existence of external network. Before adding these variables, the adjusted R-square was 0.549 in the model 2.

Regarding the Mang-Jang community, the model adopting 9 variables showing about 42% (adjusted R-square: .415). The $F$-value (5.446, $p<0.00$) indicates that the outcome produced through the regression model is statistically significant. Unlike the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, the power of model explanation increased a small amount from .393 to 0.415 after adding position and role variables and also excluding one network variable to avoid violation of the multicollinearity assumption.

### Table 11. Summary of Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nak-Ch’ŏn Community</th>
<th>Adjusted R square</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>R square change</th>
<th>F Change</th>
<th>Sig. F Change</th>
<th>Durbin-Watson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>124.95164</td>
<td>.155</td>
<td>6.419</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>1.453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Perceived Benefit)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Model 2</td>
<td>.549</td>
<td>89.99027</td>
<td>.593</td>
<td>13.529</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.568</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Social Capital)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 3</td>
<td>.547</td>
<td>90.18709</td>
<td>.610</td>
<td>9.701</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Block Modeling)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Model 4</td>
<td>.547</td>
<td>90.22812</td>
<td>.616</td>
<td>8.897</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Weak Ties)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mang-Jang Community</th>
<th>Adjusted R square</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>R square change</th>
<th>F Change</th>
<th>Sig. F Change</th>
<th>Durbin-Watson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>105.91983</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.397</td>
<td>.675</td>
<td>2.094</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Perceived Benefit)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 2</td>
<td>.393</td>
<td>81.40350</td>
<td>.489</td>
<td>5.065</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Social Capital)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 3</td>
<td>.415</td>
<td>79.86927</td>
<td>.508</td>
<td>5.466</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>1.519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Block Modeling)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.4 Checking Assumptions

In this section, appropriate diagnostic tests were conducted to confirm whether the data in this study meets several important assumptions for multiple regressions: independence, homoscedasticity, linearity, and normality.

**Multicollinearity** means the independent variables entered in a multiple regression model are strongly intercorrelated. When multicollinearity is extreme, it creates biased estimates among the variables (Agresti & Finlay, 1997).

In order to diagnose multicollinearity, tolerance and VIF of the independent variables were employed. The value of VIF higher than 10 is considered a reasonable cutline for excessive multicollinearity (Kim, Park, Lee, & Jang, 2012). Therefore in this study, the values of VIF greater than 10 were considered severe multicollinearity. This violates the assumption of multiple regression analysis. Therefore, the violated independent variable was eliminated from the analysis. For the tolerance value, the values less than 0.1 were considered a serious problem (Kim & Kim, 2005).

As previously indicated multicollinearity assumption was violated in the Mang-Jang community because of high correlations of the variable regarding role and position with other two network related explanatory variables. Table 12 indicates that two explanatory variables are relevant to the violation of multicollinearity assumption. Adding role and position variables to the model highly increased VIF values for the closeness centrality and connections with major five to 11.826 and 8.437. These are close to or greater than 10 for severe multicollinearity. This decreased tolerance value to .085 and 0.119 which is also close to or less than 0.1 and thus considered a serious violation of multicollinearity assumption. In addition, the variable of role and position...
also presented severe multicollinearity with VIF values of 11.140 (0.090 for tolerance). High multicollinearity is a very strong indicator of the existence of high correlation between the variables possessing excessive VIF value and other explanatory variables. Using explanatory variables presenting higher correlation influencing another simultaneously in the same model would be considered to measure the influence of similar variables twice. This in turn causes biased estimates among the variables. As a solution to resolve the problems, dropping variables causing multicollinearity issues from the model was usually practiced to avoid the violation (Madanoglu, Olsen, & Kwansa, 2010). Accessing the influence of role and position to collective action participation is one of the important variables in order to test one of the hypotheses in this study. The variable of position and role, defines different aspects of the network element of social capital compared to the variables of centrality and connectivity, which are the network values focusing actors’ direct or indirect connection within the network. The author judged that both variables should be measured separately within different models. To avoid multicollinearity of the model one of the variables with high correlation values with the variable of role and position have been deleted from the previous model 3.

To choose the variable to be dropped, both adjust-r square and multicollinearity violation were considered. Dropping either variable, closeness centrality or connections with the major five from the multiple models frees the researcher from the multicollinearity violation issue. In consideration of the adjust-r square value, the power of model explanation was increased when the closeness centrality valuable remains in the model dropping connections with the major five variables from the model. Meanwhile adjust r-square value was decreased after dropping the closeness centrality variable from
the model, remaining the variable of connections with major five in the model. For this reason, only the variable connections with the major five were dropped from the model to solve the multicollinearity issue.

Table 13 presents the VIF and tolerance changes after dropping an explanatory variable with higher correlations with the variable of position and role from the model. Both VIF and tolerance values shows there is no multicollinearity violation of the model.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Collinearity Statistics</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nak-Ch’ŏn</td>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>VIF</td>
<td>Mang-Jang</td>
<td>Tolerance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Benefit</td>
<td>.625</td>
<td>1.599</td>
<td>.640</td>
<td>1.563</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Benefit</td>
<td>.449</td>
<td>2.229</td>
<td>.625</td>
<td>1.600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Village Organization Meeting Attendance</td>
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<td>1.311</td>
<td>.882</td>
<td>1.134</td>
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<tr>
<td>Closeness Centrality</td>
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<td>4.361</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>11.826</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connections with major five</td>
<td>.371</td>
<td>2.697</td>
<td>.119</td>
<td>8.437</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>.695</td>
<td>1.438</td>
<td>.641</td>
<td>1.560</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective norm</td>
<td>.533</td>
<td>1.877</td>
<td>.576</td>
<td>1.737</td>
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<tr>
<td>Block Modeling (Refer to group 2)</td>
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<td>4.220</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>11.140</td>
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<tr>
<td>Block Modeling (Refer to group 3)</td>
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<td>3.092</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Modeling (Refer to group 4)</td>
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<td>2.384</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External network (Refer to Yes)</td>
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<td>1.340</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Collinearity Statistics</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nak-Ch’ŏn</td>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>VIF</td>
<td>Mang-Jang</td>
<td>Tolerance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal Benefit</td>
<td>.625</td>
<td>1.599</td>
<td>.640</td>
<td>1.563</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Benefit</td>
<td>.449</td>
<td>2.229</td>
<td>.654</td>
<td>1.530</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.763</td>
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<td>.882</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.102</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connections with major five</td>
<td>.371</td>
<td>2.697</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>.695</td>
<td>1.438</td>
<td>.641</td>
<td>1.559</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective norm</td>
<td>.533</td>
<td>1.877</td>
<td>.658</td>
<td>1.520</td>
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<tr>
<td>Block Modeling (Refer to group 2)</td>
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<td>4.220</td>
<td>.106</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Modeling (Refer to group 3)</td>
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<td>3.092</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Block Modeling (Refer to group 4)</td>
<td>.419</td>
<td>2.384</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External network (Refer to Yes)</td>
<td>.746</td>
<td>1.340</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Normal distribution of errors** indicates that the error terms (residuals) are normally distributed, which also means the conditional distribution of \( Y \) shows normal distribution (Agresti & Finlay, 1997). That is, the distribution of residuals has the shape of normal distribution, which is a bell shaped curve. Figure 6 presents that for both communities, the distribution of residuals has a bell shaped curve which strongly shows normal distribution of error terms. Moreover, Figure 7, which is the probability plot, also supports the normality of the residuals. Residuals fell on the straight line strongly present the residuals are normally distributed.

**Figure 6.** Histograms of Residuals of Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang Communities

**Figure 7.** P-P Plots of Residuals of Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang Communities
**Homoscedasticity** indicates the errors have constant standard deviation for each of the values of the explanatory variables (Agresti & Finlay, 1997). In order to access homoscedasticity the scatter plot of residuals was used in this study. The figure 8 indicates the scatter plot of residuals and the many multiple dots evenly scattered around zero describes that there was no violation of homoscedasticity in the data.

![Scatter Plot of Residuals](image)

**Figure 8. Scatter Plot of Residuals of Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang Communities**

The assumption of independent errors means that the value of residuals is not correlated to each other but they are scattered independently. The Durbin-Watson d-statistic was adopted to test for the existence of correlation among residual values. Conventionally, as a sign of concern the values less than 1 or greater than 3 has been considered (Lee, 2008). In both communities the statistic of Durbin-Watson test was 1.561 and 1.519 for the Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang communities respectively. This was greater than the upper and lower bound conventionally considered the cutline. This suggested that the residuals in this model are statistically independent. It appears that the data in the regression model has not violated several important assumptions for regression.
4.2.5 Hypotheses Tests

In this section test results of seven research hypotheses used to answer the research questions will be presented. The seven hypotheses used to examine the influence of both elements of social capital on collective action participation have been tested through the multiple regression analysis, controlling for perceived personal and village benefit variables.

In order to answer the first research question the first six hypotheses were used to test the influence of the network element of social capital on the overall degree of community collective actions. Then seventh hypothesis were used to explore the effects of the social norm element of social capital on the degree of participation of the members of communities. This addressed the second research question. Relevant qualitative results are also stated following the quantitative results.

**Hypothesis 1:** The greater the central position of members in a network, the more they are likely to be involved in collective action.

Research hypothesis 1 proposed that the central position of members in a network would be positively associated with the level of participation in collective action. As shown in Table 14 and 15, central position of actors has a statistically significant influence on degrees of collective action participation in both Nak-Ch’ŏn ($\beta = 4.221$ for model 2, $\beta = 6.395$ for model 3, $P<0.05$), and Mang-Jang communities ($\beta = 11.407$ for model 2, $\beta = 16.389$ for model 3, $P<0.05$) based on model 2 and 3. For the Nak-Ch’ŏn case this significant association between centrality of each members and degrees of participation in collective action still existed even after considering variables of existence
of the external network in model 5 ($\beta = 6.276, P<0.05$). Given that 100% is the closeness centrality value that the resident most centrality located in the community can have. This outcome suggests that the degree of participation will present 6.276 increases as centrality value of the resident increases 1%. This finding suggests the residents who locate in the central position in a community network present higher level of participation in tourism related collective actions than other residents who have been marginalized and isolated in the network. In turn, this outcome also implies that the individuals centrally located in the community network will also present better connections and interactions with other residents within the community network rather than others marginalized in the network.
Table 14. Multiple Regression for Social Capital and Collective Action Participation in the Nak-Chon Community

Nak-Ch’ŏn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1 (Perceived Benefits)</th>
<th>Model 2 (Social Capital)</th>
<th>Model 3 (Block Modeling)</th>
<th>Model 4 (External Ties)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Benefit (Refer to Yes)</td>
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<td>.247</td>
<td>.061**</td>
<td>4.362</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>.011**</td>
<td>70.415</td>
</tr>
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<td>.004**</td>
<td>6.395</td>
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<td>.140</td>
<td>47.484</td>
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<td>.309</td>
<td>.003**</td>
<td>14.182</td>
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<td>.264</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.047</td>
<td>.729</td>
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<td>.506</td>
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<td>.089</td>
<td>.335</td>
<td>34.537</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjust R-Square                                  | 0.131** | 0.549** | 0.547** | 0.547** |

1) **p < 0.5
Table 15. Multiple Regression for Social Capital and Collective Action Participation in the Mang-Jang Community Mang-Jang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model 1 (Perceived Benefits)</th>
<th>Model 2 (Social Capital)</th>
<th>Model 3 (Block Modeling)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>Sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Benefit (Refer to Yes)</td>
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<td>.098</td>
<td>.594</td>
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<td>.055</td>
<td>.764</td>
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<tr>
<td>Village Organization Meeting Attendance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness Centrality</td>
<td>11.407</td>
<td>.674</td>
<td>.040**</td>
</tr>
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<td>Connections with major five</td>
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<td>.611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>-13.836</td>
<td>-3.65</td>
<td>.016**</td>
</tr>
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<td>Subjective norm</td>
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<td>.045**</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External network (Refer to Yes)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjust R-Square</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1)**P < 0.5
In alignment with quantitative result, the significance of strong ties with other residents to facilitate each resident’s involvement in community-based tourism efforts was also demonstrated in qualitative result.

*Kinship:* One of the characteristics presented in both communities studied is the high level of kinship relationships shared among the residents. As a unique characteristic presented in a kinship based community members in the Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang communities were sharing a high degree of dense networking as stated in the following quote:

The most important thing is that we [Nak-Ch’ŏn community] are all relatives. We are all connected to each other. In other words, my last name is ‘Kim’ and the family living next our house has ‘Moon’ as the family name. But, the last name of my mother’s side family has the last name of ‘Moon’. And also, for the family a little bit away from us, the ‘Jo’ family is also one of our distance relatives. A long times ago, a sister of my grandmother got married with the one of the members of the ‘Jo’ family, so I also refer to the person as a grandmother since she is also my grandmother’s sister. When considering this, all villagers with different last names are all connected together as a family.

This kinship relationship wouldn’t be able to be successfully built and kept without the existence of strong norms and solidarity that have been formed through the restless interactions and cooperation among members for a long period time. This existence of strong networks among the members worked as a tool to facilitate information sharing. It also allowed the members to influence each other in their collective action participation using their intimate relationships.

In turn, strong networks had the members share a common goal and worked as the major force to move them together toward the same direction. The positive association between the strong relationships among members and their collective action participation was revealed in an interview with a Nak-Ch’ŏn farmer:
My father also has a father, who is also my grandfather. They are all still living in our village. As you know, it cannot be imagined that we (the young) go against our father’s opinions. However, in our village, they allow us (the young) to host the (tourism) projects in our village, asking us to take care of the projects well. So, when we are developing the projects in our village, the old people come out to see how the project is going. Although there are some worries about the overall projects, they encourage us to run the project well by saying ‘you guys are young. You should address any hardship that might be happening during the project. You should do the projects.’ So, I think the most important thing that determines the success of the projects is the support from the old people engaged in senior citizen’s association. These projects cannot be done only with the eagerness of the young.

In the case of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community there exists a strong intimate network shared among members of the community, which is based on strong trust and interactions in normal life and a kinship relationship. These positive kinship relationships not only minimized the anticipated conflicts that happen in the process of collaborations with other members but also facilitated the collaboration of the members based on their strongly shared trust. As demonstrated by the above interview, in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community youth members having a good relationship with the elderly in the community were closely connected to them in relative relationships. These relationships based on trust were confirmed by the elderly’s supports of the youth group’s tourism related projects. This was completely different in other neighboring communities where the elderly opposed the tourism related projects of youths. This clearly shows intimate relationships strongly based on a high level of trust among the members have a positive influence on the members’ active tourism related collective action participation.

The existence of strong networks shared among the members worked as a tool to facilitate information sharing. It also enables members to encourage each other to participate in collective action by using their intimate relationships. Strong networks as a
tool for information sharing among the members was illustrated in the interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

With the exception of maybe a very few old people, everyone knows about what happens in the village quickly whether it is good or bad news. As you might see, after dinner, many people hang out on the pavilion. Then, everyone finds out what is going on in the village. Rumors spread so quickly in our village… Also, in the case of older people, they usually spend time together at the senior citizen’s association… So, I think it is really difficult in our village for someone to be isolated from others since usually the older people at least have a gathering one time a month. They make noodles together, sharing it and at that time, the leader of senior citizens’ association usually tells the participants about what is currently going on in the village.

The shared intimate internal network among members has been used as an important tool to convey tourism related information. Although most villagers were not able to attend the village development committee meeting (because they were not a member of the committee), they were quickly informed about the meeting the following day. This was considered to be a short period time for the information to be shared among the entire community. This was possible since members closely shared connections with each other based on their informal relationships. These members experience much higher exposure to information and issues related to tourism than those who did not share these kind of relationships and interactions. Furthermore, these personal networks shared among members have strong influence on the decision-making and tourism related behaviors of the members within the networks as the following quote reflects:

Arranging and directing different opinions toward one direction [regarding theme village project] started with the persuasion of the old to change their opinions. So, at that time, I also persuaded my father to participate in the project… Young villagers persuade their parents first and then move to aunts and uncles.
During the process of deciding a theme for initiating the theme village project there existed a conflict among the members. In the process of resolving this conflict personal networks were used to persuade the members of opposing groups to modify their opinions to support the project and participate. This clearly revealed how personal networks can work to mobilize members to take collective actions.

*Openness to newcomers:* Although it seems to be obvious that existence of closed networks among community members based on active interactions is positively associated with residents’ participation in collective action (Adger, 2003; Besser, 2009; Coleman, 1988; D'Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Glover, 2004; Paxton, 2002; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001; Rudd, 2000; Schulz, 1998; Son & Lin, 2008; Yamamura, 2008), extremely emphasized strong networks among the members and existing social norms (based on closed network) will also negatively hamper newcomers integrating with old timers. This consequently would negatively influence the successful community involvement into a necessary collective action. This finding confirms the argument by some of social capital theorists who stress that social capital, although useful for facilitating certain actions can also accompany negative effects on the individuals or a group. This is not only through limiting access of those outside community boundaries to the benefits that are commonly shared among the members of the group (Portes, 1998; Karlsson, 2005), but also through restricting individual’s freedoms, which are created from strong demands for conformity (Portes, 1998).
This negative impact of strong networks among the members on the newcomer’s integration into the community and their future collective action participation was apparent in the experience described by one of the newcomers:

Before the project [Theme village project], I would say that this village had a strong closure to the newcomers… [Informant’s story regarding good hospitality in another community where the informant lived before moving into the Nak-Ch’ŏn community]… Even though we have connections with villagers [Nak-Ch’ŏn community] in many ways, such as sharing the same region, school relations, and kinship, we still don’t feel we are living in our hometown at all. Actually, we feel we are strangers in this village. We feel we are living away from home. They [Nak-Ch’ŏn villagers] even didn’t let us talk about it [a work request to the village by the informant] at all. We tried what we could to get this done even though the way we did it was not buying huge and expensive dinner for them, but it did not work well.

Strong personal networks helps the members form strong connections and bonds which in turn can develop strong solidarity of the community. However, it can also contribute to tight closure of members toward people from outside the community. As described by the interviewee, even if there exists some efforts by newcomers to be integrated into the old-timer group existence of closure toward newcomers is evident. The newcomers experience not only a sense of alienation but also difficulties to access resources that have been commonly shared among the old-timer group. This was illustrated by an incident which one of the interviewees had related to sewer lines and how long and difficult the process was to get it addressed by the appropriate village group. In his own words:

In the past, we had to see water flooding out of the ponds in front of our house when there was lots of rain. This was because our house was located in a lower area than ponds. But solving problems is not something difficult for the village at all. Just building a sewer might be enough to solve the problem. However, the village has never done this until now… But the village had lots of construction for itself while we went through hardship and pain because of the flooding into our house… So, we had to spend our own money to fix the problem ourselves. So we
came to a conclusion. The only reason that they are delaying and not doing it properly is because we are the people coming from outside of the village.

Such strongly perceived hostility by the newcomers resulted in the failure of the newcomers to assimilate into the old-timer group. This also impacts newcomers’ future collective action participation by developing negative emotions and attitudes toward the old timers. Such alienation experienced by the informant and failure of them to be integrated in the community as a member were well implied in the word, ‘they”, which is what the informant used to mention other residents living in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. The informant avoids using the term “us” but used “they” instead which is clearly distinguished from other interviewees who described the residents as “us.” This indicates the failure of the informant to be integrated as a member of the community.

This confirms the argument by some of social capital theorists that stressed that social capital, useful for facilitating certain actions, can also accompany negative effects on the individuals or a group not only through limiting access of those outside community boundaries to the benefits that are commonly shared among the members of the group (Portes, 1998; Karlsson, 2005).

Qualitative results also identified certain environments that indirectly affect residents’ involvement as well as the ties that are strongly shared among residents. Residents’ involvement was encouraged further under the certain conditions. They include former experience of successful collective action and congruence of tourism opportunity with internal community goals (community identity).

*Former experience of successful collective action*: Successful collective action previously experienced by the community consecutively had a positive influence to the future collective action participation of the members (Hwang et al., 2012).
Previously experienced successful collective action such as Pul-Mu solidified ties existing among members of the community. This was considered to have increased social capital. Such enhanced solidarity and cohesiveness among the members encouraged the members to continue another collective action. That resulted in the development of a traditional theme village in the community. The enhanced solidarity of the community was presented in the interview with a self-employed informant from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

All the males in our village participated in the ‘Pul-Mu’. This was kind of the village company. Since it is dangerous work [dealing with melted iron with fire and high heat], we need a strong leader, who can control other villagers. Melting the iron and pouring it into the mold must be impossible if we didn’t have a strong leader and other villagers following his direction. I guess our strong solidarity may be originated from the DNA of our ancestors [,who participated in Pul-Mu in the past].

Pul-Mu as a tradition is a type of village company that requires participation of all the male members of community. It also requires a high level of collaboration and solidarity among the members when considering the dangers associated in the process of practicing it. Furthermore, strong control by a leader was necessary to ensure the safety of the members participating in the work. Shared interactions and norms that have been strongly regulated and followed among the members of community in the work would be enough to solidify their ties within the work environment. These strong ties would be effective when their community has issues and problems that need to be collectively addressed. As demonstrated in the interview, the statement that emphasizes residents’ current strong solidarity originated from their ancestors’ DNA presents that strong solidarity and spirit of collaboration among the members still remains in the community.
This was evident through the commonly shared goal of successful community
development and through active involvement of the members in tourism related
collective actions. This positive influence of strong solidarity and collaboration through
the previous Pul-Mu tradition as related to the members’ tourism activity participation
was illustrated in the following interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

Since we highlighted the restoration of our traditional culture, many elderly
people opposed the project. As you might know, our village has long history of
practicing ‘Pul-Mu’. Because ‘Pul-Mu’ has close connection with the ‘Do-Gae-Bi’
[, which is a traditional monster in South Korea], our village got a bad reputation
by others outside our village and they tried to avoid our villagers [because they
believed Nak-Ch’ŏn villagers trust the monster as a God of the village]. This bad
experience makes the old people in our village try to hide the traditional history
and not to talk to others [from outside the community] about it. The old people
didn’t want to bring it up to the surface again by using the theme for the theme
village project, and starts to be talked among people and if that is case, they will
oppose the project… So, at that time, many young people tried to persuade the old
people with a promise not to use and restore ‘Do-Gae-Bi’, but to use other
traditional living styles for the project… It took 5-6 months until we moved to the
meeting, and at that time, we decide to continue the project from the village level
rather than the work by some of villagers. It was possible through integration of
all villagers. The old people put step backward from their stance and moves
toward working together with young people. Only condition that lets young
people continue the project was not to bring the “Do-Gae-Bi” up again in the
process of project. So, we, young people, promised not to bring it up.

Although the Nak-Ch’ŏn community gained a negative image by practicing Pul-
Mu (which made outsiders think that they believe in monsters), a high degree of unity
shared and a common goal to develop the community helped the members get over this
perceived image. This unity enhanced continued efforts to start a traditional theme village
project. There was strong opposition to the project initially by the elders but the
community got over the opposition through the persuasion efforts of the young villagers.
Such persuasion was possible because there existed pre-built networks available to reach
other members and strongly shared trust through previous experiences. Also, the entire
community could strongly be unified due to strong feelings toward their community and a commonly shared goal to improve the community.

However, negatively formulated perceptions on tourism and tourism related collective action (after experiencing failure) in the past had a negative influence on community participation. These negative influences impacting future participation of the members in collective actions were demonstrated in the case of the Mang-Jang community. This was described in the following interview an informant from the Mang-Jang community regarding his previous Olle festival experience:

We [villagers in the Mang-Jang community] had a thought that if we do business with visitors to the Olle that they might be willing to pay the money to buy the food from us. But, we now learned from our experience that doing business [with] visitors is not easy at all and we need to be prepared more to appeal to the taste of the visitors. We had time for reflection. And also, we had time to think of whether we are going to host this festival next year or not. One option might be just giving up continuing the festival next year since we felt hosting the festival just creates confusion and makes stresses villagers without bringing any benefits. So, we may decide to just focus on picking up the orange. Another option will be trying the festival once more in our village. Since we’ve already gone through bad experience and learned from the experience a lot, let’s prepare the festival this well and get succeed this time. In my opinion, our villagers are likely to choose the first option, which is not participating in the festival next year.

The Mang-Jang community had initially intended to create profits by selling food to the visitors during the Olle festival. Profits failed to reach to the level initially anticipated. However, what members in the community choose was to forgo another try of any collective actions for tourism after deliberation. This was because of their feelings after experiencing a failure with the festival. This example clearly shows how previous successful collective action by community members would be crucial for the community to continue future collective action efforts.
The outcome of hosting the festival was not totally negative. The value of practicing collective action was obvious for the community. While preparing the festival villagers spent more time together working for and enjoying the festival together. This allowed them to interact with each other, which in turn led to better understanding of each other. The festival actually provided the members with chances to broaden their personal network (e.g. newly knowing members) and solidified existing ties. This would not have happened without having had hosted a festival and working together. This enhanced social capital through previous collective action will have positive influence on future collective actions.

*Congruence of tourism opportunity with internal community goals:* When internal community goals are aligned with tourism opportunity it encouraged community members to actively participate in tourism related collective actions. For successful recruitment in a collective action community issues must be presented. A community goal must be established that allows members to share a common definition of a social problem and a prescription for solving that problem in order to resonate with the views and experiences of members.

For this reason leaders of the community have to work hard to find the right community goals that aligned with the understandings of community members (Freeman, 1973; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). When tourism opportunity is congruent with the internal community goals successful recruitment for a collective action has more chances to be achieved. The importance of congruence of tourism opportunity with internal community goals to successfully mobilize members for tourism related collective action was illustrated by a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:
Since we [Nak-Ch’ŏn community] were anxious for the development of our village and finally found the opportunity to develop our village as a theme village with chairs. Our villagers believed that we need to do something with this chance. Since our village remained stagnated and a poor village in Jeju, our villagers were grasping at straws and want to participate in the project hard to make our village be known to outsiders. I think that’s why we can continue the project in our village easily even if there was some opposition.

For the tourism efforts of the residents of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community residents initiated rural traditionally themed projects. These were based not only on their shared traditional lifestyle, culture, and foods but also starting in 2003 on their theming the village using 1000 wood chairs. In the process of persuading other villagers to get involved in the project villagers were keenly aware their commonly shared goal to achieve status-enhancing community development. When such a goal was matched with the theme village development opportunity from the outside of the community they were sure it would achieve their aims. In turn, the tourism opportunity that has been matched with the current goal encouraged community members to actively participate. This eagerness to enhance the village’s status was well demonstrated in an interview with a previously elected official in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

The villagers were ambitions to develop the village in the future. For this reason, our villagers had a belief that if they willingly participated in the tourism project, their effort will pay off someday and their village will get a good reputation and known to others in Jeju. That’s why villagers including youth groups and women’s groups keep volunteering when we need a hand for cutting the grass and cleaning the house.

As the quote illustrates, a tourism opportunity was given to the community and this opportunity was strongly considered as a chance for the community to achieve their goal, which is enhancing their village status through the community development. This strongly shared belief to enhance the village status and eagerness to develop their village was confirmed through the members’ voluntary participation in the tourism related
collective actions. A successful mobilization of the members of a community for the collective actions would be achieved only when both goals of the community and the tourism opportunity are aligned.

**Hypothesis 2:** Stakeholders who are structurally equivalent in a community network are likely to have similar degrees of collective action involvement.

The CONCOR algorithm which is a procedure partitioning actors into different positions based on structural equivalence was adopted in order to identify groups of members sharing similar patterns of relations to others that are more similar to members of their position than to member of other positions. CONCOR is a procedure based on the convergence of iterated correlations. This refers to the observation that repeated calculation of correlations between rows (or columns) of a matrix (when this matrix contains correlations from the previous calculation) will eventually result in a correlation matrix consisting only of +1's and −1's. Furthermore, correlations of +1 and −1 occur in a pattern such that the items that are being correlated may be partitioned into two subsets where all correlations between items assigned to the same subset are equal to +1 and all correlations between items in different subset will be equal to −1. (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p. 376). They also indicate that CONCOR would be continuously repeated on the sub-matrices, which create finer partitions. For example, the initial data will be split into two partitions, and then other splits will be continuously conducted on these two divided partitions to get much finer partitions. Decision on when splitting positions should be stopped, which is an important decision in analyzing data using CONCOR, was made by the researcher based on the interpretability of result and the social capital theory. The
researcher needs to choose proper cut point that provides for a useful and interpretable partition of the actors that is structurally equivalent (Gerlach, 1992; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Furthermore, total numbers of actors integrated in a position was considered. It was because correlations computation conducted on small numbers of elements is very problematic and unstable (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Diverse attributes belonging to each actor assigned to these four positions again were analyzed to identify what similarities the residents assigned to the same position commonly share with each other and also what differences exist in their attribute features with other residents assigned to the different positions. In the analysis process the social capital theory and an interpretable partition of the actors who share similar social roles guided the decision on the partitioning of each different position. Moreover, splitting positions was stopped for any positions having three or fewer actors for its stability (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

The CONCOR algorithm has been conducted by using NetMiner (network analysis software) and 4 positions for the Nak-Ch’ŏn community and 2 positions for the Mang-Jang community were identified after 3 and 2 splits using the CONCOR analysis.

Dendrograms (Figures 9 and 10) present 4 and 2 groups in the 2 and 1 splits with CONCOR for the Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang communities. The two partitions were formed in the first division. On the second split these were subdivided into four partitions. Those members who are connected in the same branch are approximately structurally equivalent. This means individuals assigned in the same position have patterns of relations to others that are more similar to members of their block than to members of other blocks, whereas subsets of actors who do not share the same branch are less structurally equivalent or are not equivalent at all.
Specific descriptions of the actors and typologies were assigned to each position in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. As an example, those actors in the first position were
called “Old villagers”. All the actors were older than 72 but they were still maintaining the positive relationships with other old people having a membership to the senior citizen’s organization. However, very few of them were positively interacting with the members actively involved in tourism in the community (e.g. rare connection with major five) and also few interactions were found with tourism stakeholders outside the community (e.g. rare connection with stakeholders outside community).

Actors positioned in the second group, which is called “Outsiders”, were over 65 years old. Common features were that they had very little interaction with members of the community and also external tourism related stakeholders (e.g. low centrality, rare participation in social organization activities and no relationships with major five and external stakeholders). This strongly implies that actors in this position were seriously isolated within the community because of rare interaction with other members. In addition, the four who were less than 65 years old were engaged in occupations which were neither agriculture nor fishery work. As described in the sample summary section, being engaged in occupations, which are not strongly based on either agriculture or fishery, implies existence of restricted interactions of the members with other villagers. This is evident when considering that no businesses other than agriculture have been found in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community.

Actors involved in the third position would be called “leaders” of the community. Most of the leaders of social organization and members of community development committee were located in this position (9 of 13: about 69%). Actors in this position were actively involved in community work (e.g. social organization activity participation and network possession with outside tourism related stakeholders). They interacted with other
members within the community by being centrally located in the community network (e.g. high centrality and positive interaction with major five). In addition, members with A and B as their last names were especially integrated in this position. This implies the strong kinship network.

Members positioned in the last group were called “over watchers”. They mostly consisted of people who were less than 65 years old and shared the central positions within the community network with the members of the third position. Although four people were working as community development committee members (31%), actors in this position have comparatively fewer connections with the major fives than those involved in the third position, current leader group. This would imply that when considering the major five this mostly corresponded to the current leaders of the community and social organizations. Some actors in the position are more likely to present passive participation, preventing the leader group from abusing its power and leading tourism development in a village in a wrong direction. Unlike the members of group 3, the members in this group shared the different last names with C and D. This represents different family origins from group 3.

In summary, the Nak-Ch’ŏn community was divided into two positions first based on their age. One was over 65 (group 1 and 2) and the other was less than 65 (group 3 and 4). Group 1 and 2 were split again based on actors’ social organization, activity participation and network positions. Moreover, group 3 and 4 also were split based on whether they were currently group leaders (e.g. their current title within the social organizations, existing gaps in the relationships with major five, and existence of external networks).
The Mang-Jang community as a strong kinship based community was divided into two positions, which included a group of members sharing the last name A and another group sharing last names different from the A group. As with the similar features shared among actors in the first position, actors in this position were comparatively actively involved in community work (e.g. high social organization activity participation). They interacted with other members within the community by being centrally located in the community network (e.g. high centrality and positive interaction with major five: 92.6%). Meanwhile the actors associated in another group were strongly isolated and marginalized within the community network (e.g. low centrality and no interaction with major five). Moreover, only one member was engaged in social organization activities within the community.

Research hypothesis 2 proposed that members who share the same network position and similar roles would present similar degrees of collective action participation. As shown with model 4 in table 14 and 15, none of the communities presented significant associations in relationship with the same shared network position and social role with varying degrees of collective action participation. The hypothesis was not supported although degrees of participations presented significant differences according to the shared network position and roles identified through the ANOVA test in both communities, Nak-Ch’ŏn (group 1: 234.401, group 2: 153.667, group 3: 287.806, and group 4: 302.668, p<0.05) and Mang-Jang (group 1: 90.597, group 2: 184.153, p<0.05). The social roles and social pressure that accompanies the specific roles were not associated with the degree of collective participation of individuals.
**Hypothesis 3:** Those who have close relationships with other actors (strong social capital), who have a higher level of participation in Olle-related collective action, will exhibit higher degrees of collective action involvement compared to those who do not have close relationships with these actors.

The existence of close relationships with actors who are deeply involved in tourism related collective actions did not have any significant association with degrees of participation in collective actions. This outcome clearly suggests that existence of close relationships with the members who are deeply and actively involved in tourism do not have significant influence to behavioral changes of other members for collective action participation. The statistical outcome presented in Table 14 and 15 clearly indicates that existence of relationship with major five actors doesn’t have a statistically significant influence on degrees of collective action participation for both Nak-Ch’ŏn (β = 44.454, P>0.05) and Mang-Jang (β = -33.438, P>0.05) based on the model 2. For Nak-Ch’ŏn this non-significant association between close relationship with major five actors and degrees of participation in collective action still existed after considering variables of position and role and existence of external network in model 3 and 4. This third hypothesis was rejected in cases of both communities.

**Hypothesis 4:** Community members, who are part of a social organization, will present higher degrees of collective action involvement than counterparts who are not part of a social organization.

In this research, the results of mixed methods have confirmed that the existence of relationships with other members based on the same organization activities (e.g. youth
group, women’s group, senior citizen’s group, and village development) was positively associated with degrees of tourism related collective action participation. As indicated in Table 14 and 15, the degrees of collective action participation were significantly influenced by individuals’ interactions with other members through active participations in social organization activities in both the Nak-Ch’ŏn ($\beta$ = 70.415, P<0.05) and Mang-Jang ($\beta$ = 84.154, P<0.05) communities in model 3. This positive association was continued after considering the variable of connections with major five in model 4 ($\beta$ = 66.257, P<0.05).

Qualitative results found that interactions which exists within informal social relationships based on the pre-existing strong community structure (e.g. any social organizations of the community) was another crucial factor to facilitate residents’ collective action involvement. It also includes the interactions and social pressure shared among the members within the institutional spaces. As emphasized in Putnam’s social capital concept (1993), the active involvement of members in voluntary associations is an indicator of a high level of social capital. Strong social norms and trust will be created through interpersonal interactions as critical elements for achieving collective well being.

In the Nak-Ch’ŏn community most of tourism related community affairs were conducted by placing social organizations in a village as the center. Most forms of community participation in tourism related work in a village were presented through the direct involvement of the members in tourism activities held by one of the social organizations. This trend is clearly presented by one of the farmers from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

We know how it is important for the successful project that each individual actively gets involved. So, A-ha! This portion can be more successfully worked
through the youth group’s participation and for other parts the women’s group can work better and also this part can be done by the senior’s group better. A-ha! Painting can be done better when all villagers work together. We learned that all work could be successfully done when we all work together!! I think 90% of our villagers participated in the project. The youth group took charge of carrying chairs to the location and arranging them. The women’s group took in charge of operating tourist participative activities related to the theme village project rather than helping with moving the chairs. And, for the participation by the senior group, they did not actively participate, but they actively helped a lot when we need to paint each chair.

In the theme village project in Nak-Ch’ŏn, the project was being prepared and administrated based on the clear specific role assignments to each social organization rather than depending on the voluntary help by the members of the community. Besides the joint effort of entire members of the community, most community participation could be actively conducted by placing the members of social organizations as the center and by leading each organization’s collaborations. This active participation by the members will be affected by the mutual influences among the individuals connected based on the personal relationships created through their participation in the organization activity.

Participation will also be through the social pressure the individual perceives as a member of the organization. This encourages behavioral conformity to the organization’s decisions and activities. Such social pressures that individual would perceive ultimately contributed to residents’ collective action participation. These positive impacts through social organization activity involvement were described by a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

When considering the current situation [of Nak-Ch’ŏn community], villagers belong to the one of the social organizations in the village whether it is the youth group, women’s group, or senior citizen’s organization. Since each villager belongs to one of them, it was possible that they actively participate in [tourism related collective actions], and the project in our village can go smoothly without a big problem… [When residents get involved in the social organizations,]
members showed a trend that they follow the direction of leaders of the social organization even if they actually don’t want to.

This interview demonstrates that residents’ tourism related collective action participation is being conducted through the members’ social organization activity. As a result of constant interactions, individually perceived social pressure to conform to the organization’s rules, decision, and shared vision allows the members to have the same voice. This will consequently work as the driving force to encourage the members to actively participate in the tourism related collective action.

Presence of good village leader and successor were also critical factors that indirectly influence to the residents’ community based tourism efforts.

Village leaders’ devotion and sacrifice for the village’s development coupled with the proper personality, abilities and qualifications are crucial elements that influence successful collective action. Goodwin and Jasper (2009) emphasize existence of a good leader for the successful recruitment of collective actions that not only simply has a good idea, but also possesses some extraordinary personal qualities. This makes members more willingly to participate and even eager to sacrifice themselves for the community.

Elected official’s personality and ability: The importance of good leadership based on a positive personality and the ability to successfully mobilize members of the community in collective action was clearly illustrated in the interview with previously elected officials from Nak-Ch’ŏn:

We [Nak-Ch’ŏn community] don’t follow majority rule in making a decision. If there is anyone, who does not agree with the decision and opposes it and we cannot persuade them then we just postpone the decision making to another meeting. So, for the next meeting, we try to persuade the person with more concrete data based on the advice from many experts on the issue. If we cannot make the person change their mind, then we don’t move forward. Only in cases where we can persuade the person will we continue our project. In that case, we
don’t encounter any problems in continuing the project later. If any person tries to stand opposite side of majority, then it will cause lots of barriers in preceding our work. So, while I was serving as a village leader, there was no case that we continue without getting agreement from all of villagers. We did a lot to change the person’s mind to agree with the majorities and then continue the project. So, at that time, I could easily lead the project with other members. Of course, there are some bad points to this procedure. To persuade opposing people will take lots of time and it will delay our project. From my point of view ignoring the opinions will cause much more serious problems in the near future. This has the possibility that it can continue the conflict among individuals, which implies that it will definitely cause problem in future decision making. So, I tried to persuade the person before starting the project.

A leader of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community placed significant effort in integrating different opinion groups in the decision-making procedure. His efforts worked to propel tourism participation of the members successfully without any major opposition within the community. The leader expanded his efforts to understand different opinion groups with regard to tourism development. He expressed appreciation toward members opposed to current methods of tourism development, which were a result of different opinions within the majority of the community. Such understanding and appreciation were possible since there existed a strong belief in the leader on the part of opponent groups. This was based on his having integrated them as a group sharing different points of views to achieve a better community:

Actually, I didn’t feel that persons who opposed the opinions of the majority were basically bad. This was because that I knew that they are also people who really want our village to be developed and to live well. They just had different ways from us. I’ve never thought that they intentionally behaved to harm me and tease me but their opinions were different toward village development. So, I really tried to lead them to head toward the same direction with other villagers even if it was not easy at all for me.

He thought of them as helpers that brought different perspectives to the community and should be included in the process rather than opponents preventing progress. His approach and patience prompted him to apply tremendous efforts in
persuading these individuals by appealing to professional knowledge and opinion. As a result these efforts contributed to the opponent groups joining the collective action.

*Passions and willingness for community development:* Not only the leader’s personality and ability but also his passion and willingness to make the community better had positive influence on successful collective action participation. This is illustrated through the interview with a previously elected official:

Since, at that time, Seo-myung Sook [Initiator of Olle project in Jeju] was educating villagers about Jeju Olle, and I had attended around five meetings and informed her about our village several times. This is a village that themes with 1000 chairs. Please visit our village when you have time. I caught the information that Jeju Olle is planning to create another interior route this time rather than along the coastline, and I also gave the staff working in the city hall my name card a couple of times to consider our village. One day, Seo-Myung Sook called me and she said she had time to look at our village and it looks perfectly fitted for our new route. So, Olle route 13 has been built from Young-Su to Zer-Ji going through our village.

The leader of Nak-Ch’ŏn put a great deal of effort into hosting Olle in the community by visiting Seo Myung Sook and Olle-related organizations. In the absence of his efforts, the Nak-Ch’ŏn community could not have hosted Olle, and the resulting negative effects on members’ participation in tourism development could have led to their failure to capture the notice of the potential visitors. Clearly, the leader’s sacrifice and passionate efforts on behalf of community development were crucial for both village tourism and successful member participation.

*Successful Leadership successor:* successful community leadership succession also had a positive influence on successful collective action involvement (Rothwell, 2005). The relentless efforts by community leaders and successful succession of a new leader contributed to the successful community participation in collective action. In contrast, failure of leadership succession caused by unplanned leadership succession has
led to failure of community tourism activity participation (Gambini, 2011). The positive influence of successful leadership successor on successful collective action involvement of members was revealed in the following interview with a self-employed resident from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

Anyway, all the leaders are doing well now. Especially, the first village leader has served 8 years as village leader, and that has allowed our theme village project to continue until now. If he had had to stop working as village leader, and we had had to have a new leader every two years, then I think the efforts must have stopped at some point and would not have been continued. As you know, in that case, the flow of development would have been cut off, so development would have been delayed or stopped at some point.

In the case of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, during the eight years since the beginning of tourism development based on a traditional theme village, there were three replacements of the village leader. This number was less than the other villages. They usually had a turnover of the elected village leaders once every two years. Such a long interval of time (e.g. four year terms for the first village leader) between changing leadership in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community allowed tourism development in the village to be stabilized. This allowed for on-going development processes to be completed.

In the case of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, after a leader completed two years of service they usually served as a member of the community development committee. This was to enhance a leadership successor process by helping the current leader with the project not yet completed. It also provided necessary advice required by the current leader to continue the project based on previous experiences and knowledge.

Moreover, there existed support by previous elected officials helping him with advice and suggestions on the issues and problems encountered as stated in the quote below:
One reason why we can continue the traditional theme village project in our village was that only three village leaders have served as the village leaders. The first person did it for 8 years and then the other two have served for 2 years each, and they are related to each other. So if there is some documentation work that came down from the higher organization local government and the current village leader cannot deal with it, then the leader will call to one of previous leaders, and will ask them for the help, saying ‘Uncle please help me with this documentation work’. Then the person will immediately come out to the village office to help him with the work. We are doing it because it is village work and also our village has to be successful than other villages.

Even if a previously elected official is not directly involved in the community development committee they were still assisting the current leader whenever requested. These collaborations among the village leaders ultimately led to minimizing mistakes and failures by the village leader.

**Hypothesis 5:** The members of community that presents strong connections with other stakeholders outside the community will present higher degrees of collective action involvement compared to members of community that present no connections with other stakeholders.

Research hypothesis 5 proposed that strong connections of each member with stakeholders outside the community would be positively associated with the level of participation in collective actions. Since none of the respondents in the Mang-Jang community answered that they had meaningful social relationships with tourism stakeholders outside the community, only members of Nak-Ch’ŏn have been considered with regard to this hypothesis. As shown in Table 14, the existence of strong connections with stakeholders outside the community did not show any statistically significant influence on degrees of collective action participation ($\beta = 34.537, P>0.05$), which reject the proposed hypothesis. The hypothesis was not supported although degrees of
participations based on the existence of external network were significant from the mean difference comparison through the ANOVA test (Yes: 360.00, No: 228.31, p<0.05).

Even if the influence of external ties was insignificant with residents’ involvement to the community based tourism efforts, qualitative result highlighted contributions of external network in the form of ideas, funding opportunities, conversations, and opportunities for promotion. These contributions were suggested to have encouraged community members to get actively involved in collective action. These findings confirm previous findings of social capital studies, which stressed the importance of weak ties, based on open networks to facilitate information and influence flows. They also provide more opportunities to enhance an actor’s ability to learn and add value through brokering connections across other groups (Burt, 2001; Lin, 2001; Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001).

External networks that consist of professionals from many different fields contribute to tourism in a community in various ways. These included new tourism ideas, advice on current or future tourism development, and these weak ties provided the community with financial support (also see Macbeth et al., 2004). Furthermore, possessing positive external networks helped the community create new external networks, which would contribute to the current and future tourism.

_Idea:_ This positive influence of external networks ultimately contributes to the community by providing guidance for on-going and current tourism activities. The importance of external network in relation to tourism development was illustrated through the following interview with a previously elected official from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:
At the beginning of building the chairs, we went through some disagreements on the details of the project. For example, some of villagers want to build a few artistic chairs rather than 1000 chairs since they felt maintaining lots of chairs will not be easy for them and will become a burden. However, at that time, Yang-Ki-Hoon [a well known artist on Jeju Island] tried to persuade the villagers with the idea that since your village name embeds the special meaning of “happy village with 1000 springs”, what about making 1000 happy chairs and announce your village as happy village with 1000 happy chairs? Don’t you guys think this is good idea? This idea was successful in persuading villagers who were opposed to continue the project.

In the process of the chair village development project, residents in the village experienced difficulties in making decisions with regard to the agenda. What resulted were two opinion groups. Advice and ideas by a professional was crucial for both groups to reach agreement on the agenda, which encouraged individuals to participate. This exemplifies how new and fresh ideas and advice that comes from outside the community result in an effective and efficient decision-making process. It also allows for older ideas that have been shared among the members of the community over long periods to get refreshed (Burt, 2001; Lin, 2001).

As another external network, Olle visitors who pass through the community provide numerous positive comments regarding its on-going tourism activities. This was based on their professional ties from diverse areas. The importance of implementing these comments and suggestions was demonstrated in the following interview with a previously elected official from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

Among Olle visitors, I met many visitors, who have deep knowledge on the development and also are experts in many other fields of knowledge such as art and culture. While they are passing through our village, they usually leave many good comments for the future development of our village. Then, whenever I listen to a good idea I leave a note for them [suggestions and comments] for future use. Whenever I see the note [comments and suggestions] I think again and again that we need be changed further more.
Valuable comments and suggestion by Olle visitors had positive effects on the current and future tourism of the community as reflected by the official.

*Emotional support:* Not only comments and suggestion by Olle visitors regarding tourism, but also emotional support through interacting with the visitors was one of the significant benefits that residents received as stated in following quote by an elected official from the Mang-Jang community:

Many old villagers thought meeting lots of visitor make them happy since they have something to do for them. They can have company to talk with and also they can help them with directions when the visitors are lost.

Before the Olle project in the Mang-Jang community, old residents might experience a void not only due to their retirement but also because of an increased of available time. However, it has changed since the Olle course passed through the community. The old residents usually take responsibility for guiding Olle visitors since they comparatively had more available time than the younger residents. The interactions provided the old residents with a chance to have good conversational partners that were not available before the Olle project. This allowed them to share stories related to the village as part of the Olle tour. This also helped the older residents build confidence in their community work which ultimately encouraged more active participation in Olle related activities. The residents’ connections with Olle visitors as an external network actually contributed to the residents’ involvement in tourism related collective actions.

*Funding and Logistic support:* Another example of an external network is the western agricultural technology center. It was crucial for successful tourism in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. It’s role within Nak-Ch’ŏn tourism is presented in an interview with one of informant who was a self-employed resident from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:
We got lots of support from the agricultural technology center. They provide us with lots of information necessary for the project [traditional village theme project] and they visited our village to check what really works well and what really doesn’t work. They also provided us with financial support, too. That is, we are not running the project alone but we are actually doing it with the center and getting lots of support. Without their help the project never could be successful in our village. They also put in lots of effort to attract visitors into our village. They have many connections with other organizations and individuals and they bring them [these organizations and individuals] to our village by using these connections and let them stay in our village and make them spend money for lodging and food. That really helps our advertising to others outside the village. I don’t think we could do it with only our ability but it was possible with their help.

As clearly described in the interview, achievements with tourism in Nak-Ch’ŏn was not an outcome only through the efforts by the members of community but the western agricultural technology center also played an important role. Overall tourism in the community was supported by the center with human, material and financial resources. This was possible since there existed positive relationships and interactions between the community and the center. This clearly confirms contributions of the existing external network in forming a foundation for tourism in the local community, which in turn support continuous community participations.

*Media:* External networks that a community possesses (e.g. media including TV and newspapers and visitors to Jeju Olle) play a role in attracting new visitors to the community and encouraging previous visitors to revisit. This is because these networks work to introduce tourism events and the popularity of the area as a tourism destination. These positive changes created by the members helped them to see tourism and tourism related collective action in a more positive light. It prompted them to modify their previously held negative perceptions. In terms of successful advertisement for tourism in a community the importance of the existing external networks were described in the interview with a previously elected official from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:
Since June 30, many people start to visit our village from the main land of South Korea. Probably, that must be mostly due to word of mouth... We (Nak-Ch’ŏn villagers) personally visited local broadcasting station and newspaper to request advertisements of the opening of the theme village in Nak-Ch’ŏn, also we met the governor to ask him to come to our village for the opening ceremony of the theme village. After the opening ceremony we got lots of media attention regarding our chairs. We gave a very strong impression by theming our village with 1000 chairs. It has been broadcasted to the main land of South Korea, and caught the medias attention. So, KBS, MBC, and SBS visited our village and broadcast our village to other places. Now, the numbers of outsiders increased a lot compared to the numbers in 2008

Public relations by Olle visitors and through the media made the Nak-Ch’ŏn village a tourist destination. Such positive responses by outsiders and the increased numbers of visitors made the members of the community aware of positive changes as a result of tourism. Theses changes reformulate their previously held negative perceptions on tourism and tourism related collective actions. Consequently, this has had positive effects on the tourism related collective action involvement. Positive changes of perception and attitudes are described in the following interview with a farmer from Nak-Ch’ŏn:

The fifty and sixty age group did not actively participate in the project at that time. It’s been three years since they started to participate more actively. Now, even old people actively participate in the project. Their perception has totally been changed now after seeing the changes in our village. Since their son and daughter who live outside our village kept talking about the news introducing the village on TV and in the newspaper it makes them start to believe that our village is not stagnated any more. That made the old people’s perception changed a lot.

The positive changes in the village based on improved tourism had a positive influence on their perceptions of the importance of tourism and of tourism-related community participation. Such positive changes in perceptions and attitudes also positively affected members’ tourism-related collective action participation.
Hypothesis 6: Higher degrees of social norms will facilitate a community’s collective action involvement compared to lower degrees of social norms.

Hypothesis 6 proposed that highly perceived trust and social pressure would be positively associated with degrees of participation in collective action. As shown in Table 14 and 15, a high degree of trust did not have a statistically significant influence on degrees of collective action participation in all models for Nak-Ch’ŏn ($\beta = 3.898, P>0.05$ for model 4; refer to table 14 for the values in different models). However, negative association existed in the Mang-Jang community ($\beta = -13.836$ for model 2 and -14.950 for model 3, $P<0.05$) in all models. Findings regarding influence of trust on the level of residents’ participation were inconclusive. This finding suggests that residents’ participation in the Mang-Jang community presents a 14.95 decrease in its degree based on model 3 as their trust value increases one unit, while having rare effect on the residents’ participation in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. Regarding subjective norms, high degree of subjective norms presented significantly positive association with degrees of collective action in both communities, Nak-Ch’ŏn ($\beta = 14.182, P<0.05$) and Mang-Jang ($\beta = 10.113, P<0.05$) based on the same model 3. For the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, this significant association was continued after considering the variable of existence of an external network in model 4. ($\beta =13.674, P<0.05$). This finding suggests that in both communities the degree of participation will increase as each resident’s degree of perceived social pressure regarding tourism related collective action participation increases.

Unlike inconclusive quantitative result regarding the trust variable, qualitative results identified the positive association of trust with the degree of resident’s
involvement in community-based tourism efforts. This qualitative result also not only confirmed positive association of social norm of social capital, but also verified negative aspects of shared social norms on the residents’ involvement.

Highly dense networks based on kinship relationships provide communication routes that enable actors within a network to circulate institutional norms accompanied by shared behavioral expectations with the same patterns of exchanges (Pavlovich, 2003). That is, social networks are considered the route for information flow, which is a precondition for the emergence of collective action and also the communication routes that social norms and collective identity are transmitted through (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Gould, 2003).

In turn, social norms and the high degree of trust shared among community members are positively associated with collective action (Coleman, 1988). From the interviews with community members of the Mang-Jang and Nak-Ch’ŏn communities, a strong degree of trust existing among members has been identified, and this strong trust was built under the influence of traditional Confucianism and kinship. In turn, a high degree of unity existing among members, which is based on the strong trust, contributed to successfully mobilizing collective action.

The importance of a high level of trust shared among members of the community for the successful collective action were identified through the interview with an informant who was working as a farmer in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

The opposition of the old to the project actually impeded the project from moving forward. In other villages, the old opposed hosting a project by saying ‘this kind of project had failed in other villages before. Are you going to take care of any damages caused by the failure of the project? If you fail you should give the money back to our village for the money wasted. When someone listens to this, who wants to willingly begin the project in the community?... Who wants to take
on the responsibility for any failure? This is not the case in our village [Nak-Ch’ŏn community].

Compared to other communities, there exist strong trust between youth groups and senior groups in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. Such strong trust has been present in the tourism process in a community. As presented in interviews, senior groups strongly supported youth groups working on tourism projects. This was based on their strong trust in the youth group’s activities to create positive changes in the community. Youth groups were also aware of the existence of the strong trust in them by the senior group. They highly appreciated that trust and support from the senior group. This is a crucial element for the youth to advance tourism in the village. This clearly presents the existence of strong trust among residents of the community. This ultimately has positive effects on the residents’ involvement.

Existence of a subjective norm within a community was positively associated with members’ collective action participation. Some social capital studies conducted in the collective action context emphasized the importance of the existence of shared rules, norms and sanctions for facilitating the creation of social capital and successful collective action involvement (D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Rudd, 2000; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000).

The Nak-Ch’ŏn community has a long history of sharing strong obligations and feelings of pressure to assist others when help is needed. They also historically participate in community-based action. These shared norms based on highly dense networks encourage involvement in collective action through prompting them to feel guilty for not matching the average contribution of their peers. They also punish individuals who break commonly agreed-upon rules (e.g. the isolation of those individuals from future
community work and relationships), and raise awareness that other members are participating in the collective action (Gould, 1993, 2003; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000).

The influence of social norms and social pressure which exists based on their perceived social norms was evident as well in the participation revealed through the following interview with a self-employed individual from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

There is nothing good for the villagers being apart from other villagers. From my point of view, before participation by the villagers who received social pressure, I believe villagers came to participate in the project because it is work for the village and they all felt participation is what villagers needed to do for the village. It’s like a principle. So, even if some villagers thought that they didn’t feel like participating in the project, their ultimate action was to participate in the project. It was natural in our village that all villagers consider the collaboration as a responsibility of being a villager… I think that feeling of responsibility really led villagers to participate in the community work. As I told you before, this might not be easy for the village with a large numbers of villagers since they are not strongly connected each other, but our village has small numbers of people. So, I think many people might be worried about being isolated from other members. They may have that feeling even if they are not actually talking with each other. However, following village rules is an obligation in our village.

As illustrated, residents in Nak-Ch’ŏn were aware of social pressure, which exists in the community with regard to participation in village work. This feeling of pressure resulted from the feeling of responsibility regarding participation and the possibility of isolation. This is evident through the specific words used by the interviewee during the interview such as “responsibility, obligation, principle and rule.” A non-written rule is that collective action is considered the responsibility of each member in a community. Existence of social norms creates pressure among community members, which facilitates their participation in community work. This social pressure caused those who neglected their responsibility to feel obliged to others for fear of being isolated and other possible disadvantages in the future. These feelings of responsibility and perceived pressure seem to be highlighted by the small size of the village. Less people and more visibility created
additional concern about potential consequences. Positive association between the existence of social norms and active participation of the members in a collective action was demonstrated through another interview with an informant, who was self-employed from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

[When residents have a family event,] people always come mainly because the person hosting a family event helped these people previously for similar types of family events. It’s the concept of reciprocity. If I got received one thing, then I also need to pay back the person with another help someday. That’s the basic rule in our village… In the rural society, this rule is always kept. If not, why should we attend the events hosted by other village members without getting our work done?... So, the villagers who did not care for other villagers’ family event may have difficulty in getting support and help from other villagers.

As illustrated in this interview there was a social norm of reciprocity that has been tacitly shared among the members of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community as a function of normal life. When a member received any help from a member of the community they felt the pressure to reciprocate in the near future. If someone does not reciprocate they cannot expect assistance from other community members when it is requested. The existence of such social norms in a community forms peer pressure, which forces members of the community to pay more attention to what happens in their village and to be actively involve in community-based actions. Such positive association between the existence of social norms and active participation of the members in a collective action was also identified through another interview with a self-employed member from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

If I need to harvest garlic in our field I need to hire someone to help me. The people hired from outside our village keep tracking of their working hours. They are going to only work from 7 am till 5 pm, which is the designated hours for them to work, but the people from our village are not going to keep track of their working hours. They will come earlier than the hours that they are supposed to appear and start the work. They will start working from 5 am and will finish their work later than 5 pm. That shows our villagers have a strong collaboration
tradition. We call it “Soon O Rum Spirit”. I think it happened because our village is small in its number. So when it comes to a village project, even if some villagers are not willingly to participate in the project, many of them come to participate in the project. The active participants will lead the rest of villagers to participate. This seems to make our villagers more willingly to participate in the project.

This interview clearly shows that there exist expected behaviors shared among the members on certain occasions. In the case where a member needs help with their agriculture business the hired help are paid a fair wage. This is not the case for community members who assist. They put in longer hours and are not compensated. Different expectations have been applied to the people in these two groups. Behind this behavior is the expectation that the same amount of effort would be paid back in the future by the recipient. As indicated in the interview such interaction is known as “Soon O Rum.” This is now considered a rule or agreement that should be kept and followed by members of the community. It appears that the traditional social norm called “Soon O Rum” is having less of an impact. It is becoming apparent that community members are assisting each other with expectations of future benefits but it is also true that the members of the community are still maintaining this social norm by helping with extra work. Paying money for helping is becoming more common as a way of showing the recipient’s appreciation. This social norm creates a certain amount of pressure among the members. This social pressure works as a driving force that facilitates the members’ active participation in tourism related collective actions. As confirmed in this interview, this has been established through both the strong belief that other members are willingly to participate in the community based actions and also fear of isolation from other villagers as a result of their absence in any collective actions.
Existence of strong social norms created through resident’s interactions over a long period of time based on strong networks has also turned out to limit each member’s freedom by imposing collective action participation. This has clearly been presented through the work of newcomers as described in the following interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

Newcomers have to come first to us. They have to go around the village to say hello and introduce themselves to the older residents in the village since they came into our village the first time. They have to help other villagers with village work. Don’t they listen to the announcement related to the village events? I think they do and then they have to do something to help the events in the village. Why? If they decided to live in our village, they have to come first and do something to help the local villagers. That’s what makes me unhappy about the newcomers. They have to follow what our village was pursuing and practicing for a long time since they came here from outside village. They have to follow the norms in our village.

As identified in the interview, there exists very strong social pressure in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community that forces newcomers to conform to existing conditions held by old timers. This is presented as a form of isolation of the individuals who failed to conform to the traditional norms and rules shared among villagers. In a worse case scenario the individuals were expelled from the community (a finding from another interview) as a result of their failure to conform. In addition, such strong pressure for conformity placed on the newcomers led to limits on the newcomers’ personal freedom and this was a major factor causing conflicts between newcomers and old timers within the community. This in turn impedes newcomers’ active involvement in tourist related collective action.

Furthermore, Confucianism continues to have a strong following among community members. These beliefs impose traditional roles on women in the village (e.g. restricted to house chores). This in turn evoked strong opposition by several women to the community and community work participation.
The emphasized traditional role of the women and related conflicts with other members that ultimately negatively influenced women’s collective action participation were described in the following interview with a self-employed female member of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

In the process of selecting proper villages for the ‘Wu DDe Re project’ [A regional development project name initiated by local government], the group of experts from diverse fields asked some questions to the villagers to test the environment of the village. Then, as you know, the leader of the women’s group is one of the representatives for the project in our village. But even at that time, our leader of the women’s group had to work in the kitchen rather than participating in the place. And also, whenever this village has big or small events, the members of the women’s group had to take charge in making dishes and cleaning the dishes. But, as you might know, my sister and I don't agree with that kind of culture. So, since we’ve come here, we were hated by other villagers for a while. But, we always made a money contribution and shared their happiness and sadness together whenever villagers had bad or good thing in their homes... We just go there and say hello and then leave after eating dinner. Then, many villagers blamed us because we’ve just left without helping them out with washing dishes and other stuff. But, we just smile at them and just leave the place. We don’t care whether they blame us or not due to not helping them out.

Confucian roles of women emphasized in Nak-Ch’ŏn caused problems for some women to assimilate into the community and this made the women hostile toward village work participation. The failure to assimilate into the village culture and norms resulted in the isolation of these individuals within the community. As suggested in the interview, even if there was some effort by the individuals to be integrated into the village (e.g. giving money contribution to village members’ personal events), the failure of these individuals to conform to the traditional Confucian was condemned by other villagers. This was especially demonstrated by men and this caused isolation of these women from other members within the community. This feeling of isolation made these individuals reluctant to actively participate.
4.2.6 Summary of Hypotheses Tests for the Research Questions

This section summarizes the results of the hypotheses test for research questions. The summary of the result of the hypotheses test is provided in Figure 11 and Table 16. The test results revealed that both elements of social capital – networks and social norms, are critical factors that explain residents’ collective action involvement.

Figure 11. Theoretical Model Integrating Results of Hypothesis Testing
Table 16. Summary of Hypotheses Test for the Research Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Hypotheses</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1 Informal network and centrality of position within community network → Degree</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of collective action involvement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2 Residents in structurally equivalent position → Similar degree of collective</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action involvement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3 Relationships with the individuals deeply involved in Olle related collective</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actions → Degree of collective action involvement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4 Relationships through participation within social organizational activities →</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of collective action involvement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5 Relationships with Olle related stakeholders outside community → Degree of</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collective action involvement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H6 Degree of subjective norms → Degree of collective action involvement</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H7 Degree of trust → Degree of collective action involvement</td>
<td>Inconclusive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the network element, both strong and weak ties were effective for encouraging residents’ community based tourism effort. Specifically, two types of strong ties, informal networks and relationships through social organization activities, were effective for residents’ collective action involvement. However, residents’ personal networks with major residents who are deeply engaged in tourism in a community, were not the connections that explain residents’ collective action involvement. Furthermore, residents who share similar roles in the community by holding similar structural positions did not explain residents’ collective action involvement.

Based on the results of mixed methods, weak ties at the individual level yielded inconclusive findings regarding residents’ involvement. Qualitative results presented weak ties of some residents shared with Olle visitors can be effective for these individuals collective action involvement by providing them with emotional supports. Quantitative findings also presented no association between individuals’ weak ties and
their level of involvement. At the community level the ties between the community and stakeholders outside it had positive effects on the residents’ involvement.

Concerning the effects of the social norm element of social capital, perceived social pressure by each resident regarding tourism-related collective action was effective to encourage the residents to participate in the action. However, study findings for trust were inconclusive. Even if residents’ trust did not present any association with their level of involvement in Nak-Ch’ŏn community, it had a negative impact on participation in Mang-Jang community.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

In this section eight major findings will be discussed in detail. The results of six hypotheses will be explained based on the results of mixed methods and each finding connects to previous research. In addition, findings regarding the effects of network structure of the overall community based on the relationships shared among the residents on the participations in collective actions will be discussed in detail. This includes Positional groups within the community and interactions within and between groups and density of the community. In a consideration that the unit of analysis of this study was at the individual level (i.e., residents), the findings regarding overall community structure were addressed and discussed in this section as extra findings. The effect of collective action on the social capital will be also discussed as another extra finding of this study. Finally, the findings of study will be reflected on the theoretical model previous introduced literature review section of this paper and will be led to the modified theoretical model.

5.1 Discussion of Findings

Centrality of position within community network and informal relationships

The results of mixed methods confirmed that the actors that locate in the central position in a network present higher level of participation in collective action than others who have been marginalized and isolated in a network. The findings of the study are largely consistent with the findings of previous studies of social capital. The closely
connected network would facilitate information sharing among members regarding collective action and how the members are influenced by other members in collective action participation (Freeman, 1973; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; McAdam, 1988). The resident possessing a central position within the network implies sharing close relationships and interactions with other residents would have comparatively better multiple accesses to information regarding collective action than the members who are marginalized or isolated. They would as opinion leaders also have a strong influence on the decision making of others. However, the residents marginally located would comparatively share limited access to the information of collective action by maintaining comparatively limited connections and interactions with other residents and also would be less influential to other members’ decision making. This corresponds to the findings from qualitative data analysis that highlighted the significance of residents’ relationships positively shared with other members of a community. These relationships were a route that tourism related information and community issues are transmitted. They were also a way to influence decision-making and tourism related behaviors within the community network.

Density of the community

Another finding of this study is that a community’s specific structure feature (e.g., fragmentation into relational subgroups and interactions among these subgroups, which delineate the density value of a community) has strong influence on local residents’ behavior toward tourism (Burt, 2001; Lin, 2001). From network analysis the density values for both communities were as follows: the Nak-Ch’ŏn community presented a
density value of 0.111 as compared to the density value of the Mang-Jang community, which is 0.086. The higher network density in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community was presented as more active involvement of the residents in tourism related collective actions and success in tourism than the residents’ participation in the Mang-Jang community.

As confirmed by the findings from the qualitative data analysis, the Nak-Ch’ŏn community was sharing a high degree of a dense network which wouldn’t be built successfully without kinship based connections and ceaseless interactions among the residents for a long period time. These positively shared relationships for a long period of time facilitates the creation of social norms helpful to effectively maintain and control community systems. The shared norms encourage residents to interact with each other and participate in tourism efforts while at the same time the residents who break commonly agreed upon rules are at a disadvantage (i.e. feeling of guilty for not matching the average contribution of their peers or punishment) (Gould, 1993, 2003; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000). The dense network functioned as a communicative route that facilitates transition of these social norms and cultural messages (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Gould, 2003) as well as the route that information and influence are being shared, which ultimately facilitates the residents’ participation in tourism related collective actions.

Even if the results of mixed methods confirmed the significance of dense network to encourage residents’ participation in collective action (Adger, 2003; Besser, 2009; Coleman, 1988; D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Glover, 2004; Paxton, 2002; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Reagans & Zuckerman, 2001; Rudd, 2000; Schulz, 1998; Son & Lin, 2008; Yamamura, 2008), the qualitative data also found extremely emphasized strong networks among the members also works negatively on the residents’ involvement
by hampering integration of newcomers. In the Nak-Ch’ŏn community this was caused by restricting the newcomer’s access to community resources that were easily accessible by the old timers. There was also hostility from the old timers toward the newcomers regarding future community property allocations. This creates strong hostility of the newcomer toward the old timers and consequently has negative impacts on the successful community involvement necessary for collective action. This confirms previous findings of social capital studies that the negative outcome of social capital on individuals and groups by limiting individuals outside the group boundary access to benefits that are easily shared among the same group members (Portes, 1998; Karlsson, 2005).

**Relationships with Olle related stakeholders outside community**

The relationships regarding the weak ties that each resident shares with Olle related stakeholders outside the community and the level of involvement of the residents in collective action produced inconclusive findings in this study. As indicated in the outcome from the hypothesis test, connections that residents shared with the stakeholders outside a community did not present any associations with the residents’ collective action participation. A possible explanation of this result is because in both communities most interactions with external stakeholders outside community were conducted with community leaders as the center. For this reason other members presented rare relationships with the stakeholders. When considering the leaders in a community, in most cases, they consisted of groups of people who are interested in and willingly care about community affairs. These village leaders might willingly be involved in community work with a high level of participation. It would also be true that other
residents who are enthusiastically and spontaneously involved in community work would be willing to participate at as high level as village leaders even if they are not the elected officials of the community. This implies a rare relationship with tourism stakeholders outside community. This trend was evident in both communities. Since there is not a significant difference in participation between the elected officials and residents who care about their community regardless of any relationships with tourism stakeholders outside the community, the hypothesis testing the influence of external ties on the residents’ involvement was most likely insignificant in this study.

However, a finding from the interview data analysis also indicates that weak ties of each resident that are being shared with Olle related stakeholders outside community, specifically the ties with Olle visitors, have positive effects on the level of residents’ involvement. This is by providing residents with emotional support from interaction with the visitors. Interaction of older villagers with Olle visitors as guides enabled them to get over their previously held feelings of emptiness from their retirement. These interactions helped the older residents get past their original reluctance for involvement in community work. This finding confirms the cases where weak ties of each resident with tourism stakeholders can ultimately contribute to more active participation in Olle related community collective actions.

Despite the inconclusive study findings regarding the effects of weak ties of residents on the level of participation in the tourism effort at the individual level, the positive connections created at the community level with the tourism stakeholders outside the community were effective to motivate the residents to get involved in tourism related collective actions. The effectiveness of having positive connections with tourism
stakeholders outside the community for the successful residents’ involvement in tourism related collective action were confirmed through the findings of the qualitative data analysis.

In the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, shared positive networks with tourism stakeholders outside the community functioned as the routes to bring new tourism development opportunities into the community, professional information and suggestions, funding and logistical support related to tourism. These networks were also established to promote on-going tourism projects in the community. These positive impacts as a result of the creation of external networks have been identified in previous social capital studies. External networks that consist of professionals from many different fields contribute to tourism in a community in various ways. These contributions presented new tourism ideas and advice on the current or future tourism development in a community and also providing the community with financial support (Macbeth et al., 2004; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Furthermore, possessing positive external networks helped the community create new external networks, which would contribute to current and future tourism within the community. That is, this clearly confirms contributions by the existing external network to form foundations for local community tourism and in turn help the community grain a foothold for continuous community participation.

When it comes to the argument regarding both weak and strong tie issues, the study findings align with the argument of “structural optimization” as argued by Pavlovich (2003). This offers a balanced point of view regarding the effectiveness of weak and strong ties for mobilizing collective actions rather than dwelling on an either/or argument concerning the effectiveness of the ties. Not only were the contributions of
weak ties as verified above but also shared strong ties (based on kinship relationship as previously discussed) were effective for collective action mobilization. This was accomplished by facilitating the creation of social norms and trust that solidified community networks and also functioned as routes that the social norms, influence, and information relevant to tourism passed through. The study findings confirmed that both weak and strong ties are important for achieving successful community-based tourism development through sustainable community support and involvement.

**Relationships through participation within social organizational activities**

The results of mixed methods confirmed that residents who are deeply involved in the activities of social organizations present higher degrees of collective action involvement than counterparts that are not part of a social organization. In both communities studied residents’ tourism related collective action involvement was conducted by placing social organizations in the community at the center. That is, most resident participation (related to tourism efforts) was practiced as a member of a social organization and actively involved in their tourism activities. The finding of qualitative data analysis also postulates two elements as the driving force that encourages the members to actively be involved in the participation. Mutual influences shared among the organization members based on personal connections and social pressure had a strong effect on the residents’ participation. Each member’s behavior within the organizational environment was strongly affected by perceived social pressure according to the emphasized behavioral conformity to the organization’s rules and decisions. This consequently works as the driving force to encourage the members to actively participate
in the tourism related collective action. These findings also support the findings of previous studies on social movement and collective action. These studies emphasize the roles of active social organizations that allow members to have a place where issues of interests, values, emotions, and viewpoints related to the nature of the collective actions can be discussed. It also expands ones knowledge and understanding about the issues related to tourism and ultimately bringing fragmented members together to achieve the common goals. It also prevented members from dropping out from the collective action mainly because of the social pressure they felt from their peers (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; McAdam, 1988, Hwang et al., 2012).

**Relationships with the individuals deeply involved in Olle related collective actions**

Finding from the hypothesis test confirmed that close relationships with the members who are deeply involved in tourism related collective actions do not have influence on the behavioral changes of other members with regard to collective action participation. This outcome goes against the findings from previous social capital studies which emphasized the existence of close relationships among the actors as a critical element in order to motivate each individual’s collective action involvement (Putnam, 1993; Coleman, 1988).

Based on the further analysis on the outliers, which presented abnormally higher or lower degree of participations than others, the researcher found the degree of participation was strongly affected by close, informal relationships among the residents. The degree of participation was also affected by the built relationships and interactions
with other members within the institutionalized official space (e.g. social organizations).

In addition, perceived social pressure created in the social organizations based on the expectation of the members affected conformation to the existing norms and rules. As distinctive characteristics of the respondents who have relationships with one of five residents, (who were considered active actors deeply involved in tourism in the community, but who presented low degrees of collective action participation), these residents would likely be people called leaders or influential people in a village. This takes in consideration that they mostly possessed a high level of network centrality and social pressure perceived in a relationship with other residents in the community. However, these individuals presented comparatively lower levels of participation in their social organization activities.

By contrast, the individuals who answered that they have no relationship with the deeply involved actors in community tourism, but who actually presented a high level of participation commonly showed a high degree of participation in social organization activities. Except for several individuals ineligible for any social organization affiliations due to their age (ranging from 50 to 65), most individuals were actually involved in the social organization activities. Moreover, these individuals also presented highly perceived social pressure that exists in the community and village benefits of tourism. Based on this information, the level of participation in social organizational activities might have a stronger influence on participation in the Nak-Chŏn community rather than positive relationships with the five residents considered actively involved in tourism in the community.
In the Mang-Jang community, the residents who maintained positive relationships with the residents deeply involved in tourism in the community but presented low degree of collective action participation presented a comparatively lower degree of participation in social organizational activities. However, the residents, who had no relationship with these deeply involved residents in community tourism but who presented a comparatively higher degree of collective action participation, have perceived a high degree of social pressure existing among members in a community.

This result clearly indicates that collective action participation would strongly be affected by not only close informal social relationships, but also strong interactions shared among individuals within institutionalized official space (e.g. social organizations) and social pressure in the social organizations shared among these members. This confirms one of the findings from Coleman’s work (1988) which examined the differences of student drop out rates according to different levels of social capital differently presented among students and parents based on diverse school environment (i.e. Catholic school, private school, or public school). In this study, he found frequency of attendance at religious services is a stronger indicator that explains student drop out rates than other factors. Students who attend services, represent active involvement in organizational activity, often presented a comparatively lower dropout rate. Students who rarely or never attend the services presented a high dropout rate in his study. This finding highlights the significance of personal relationships and interactions through the participation in the same organizational activity as a tool to control each member’s behaviors and lead to similar actions.
As another reason that explains no correlation between the residents’ degree of participation and the existence of relationships with the members, who are deeply involved in tourism activities in the community in both the Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang communities, this was because the members of both communities have been already closely connected to each other based on their existing kinship relationships and especially the old cooperative tradition as was the case of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. In addition they have been maintaining these positive relationships. Most community members at least know each other and interact positively within the communities not only by sharing stories and information created within the community, but also by supporting specific community-based efforts and participating in activities together. Such information sharing would be even faster under the network that each member is closely connected. In other words, the individuals of both communities have multiple ways to access new information based on their close relationships. These can be through informal routes (e.g. daily conversation with other villagers within both social and work settings) and also through formal routes (e.g. extra-ordinary general village meetings, conversations shared during the social organization meetings). The multiple ways to access the information definitely contributed to any members with connections to others to easily access tourism related information shared within the community even if they are not necessary connected to the residents who are deeply involved in tourism activities in the community. The existence of informal information sharing channels and how fast information and stories can be spread and shared among the members of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community have already been proven through the one of the previous interviews. However, this might be totally different in other communities that share comparatively
fewer interactions among the members than the two communities presented in this study. For those communities, information sharing among members would be restricted. This is especially true for the group of individuals marginalized in the network that are ignored from or restricted to the access of information regarding the tourism related community activities. This also means that these individuals are more likely to participate in the community based actions when they probably have connections and interactions with the others who present a higher level of participation.

Based on the discussion above, although this study found that any connections with members deeply involved in tourism related collective actions does not have any association with the degree of the members’ participation in tourism related collective actions. The researcher would not conclude that this relationship is meaningless to motivate the members’ involvement in the collective actions. This is because this study was conducted in a very specific context, which is in the communities sharing kinship relationships. These communities basically shared very strong connections with each other. For this reason, another future study within different communities will be required to test this relationship.

**Social norms**

*Trust:* Findings from the hypothesis tested regarding trust were inconclusive in both communities. A high degree of trust did not have a statistically significant association on degrees of collective action participation in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. Interestingly a negative association was found in the Mang-Jang community.
As confirmed in the findings of the qualitative data analysis, both communities have been maintaining a high level of trust between community members. This strong belief in each other was built due to constant positive interactions based on a kinship network, which revealed that residents are closely connected relationships of families, relatives and friends. Continuous care of each other, based on a high level of trust would be one of the major features that characterize the kinship relationship. When considering this closeness it seems obvious that a high level of trust exists among most members of each community. In the case of each community, a high degree of trust was presented through the findings from the interviews and general surveys conducted with the members. When we return to the hypothesis examining the relationships between the level of trust and degrees of community participation, the hypothesis has been rejected in the case of the Nak-Ch’on community. This is probably because the high degree of trust that was commonly presented in most residents under the context of kinship society opposed to that showing significant differences in its degree according to the residents made the test meaningless. This hypothesis needs to be tested in a different setting, which is not a family- or relative-oriented society.

The finding of this study also identified that negative association between degree of trust and collective action involvement exists in the case of the Mang-Jang community. This finding goes against the previous findings of social capital studies which emphasized the positive function of trust as a major element for the creation of social capital as essential for creating a sense of obligation (Coleman, 1990; Jones, 2005).

Coleman postulated that people are less likely to try to keep their obligations related to collective action participation, especially when the people rarely share social
norms and trust based on their failure for creating a closed network. This was because that defection from the obligations can be effectively sanctioned. However, this study’s findings clearly present the possibility that a high degree of trust would cause negative influence on the creation of social capital required for the members’ successful collective action involvement by creating a free rider issue.

As confirmed by the findings from the qualitative data analysis, the residents in the Mang-Jang community presented a high level of trust shared among the residents. This ongoing effort to comprehend other members that have been built on a strong level of trust might have some members forgive and understand another member’s unexpected absence in a community-based effort when the participation is required as a member of the community. This understanding based on a strong degree of trust probably makes some members not actively participate in the tourism related collective actions since they might acknowledge the possibilities that their absence in participation would be understood by other members who are connected as family or relative relationships. Furthermore, these individuals would be aware that although they are absent in the collective action, others are willing to participate in the collective actions, which resulted in the free rider issue. The following quote from an interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community explains the condition where a free rider problem is created:

When considering this [All residents are connected in the relationship of relatives], all villagers having different last names are all connected together as a family. For this reason, each villager cannot treat other villagers as a stranger pointing what the person did wrong since they are connected to each other sharing the same genealogy.

For the community in which most members are closely connected with family, relatives, or friends’ relationships, there must be a strong degree of trust and deep understanding on
other members’ behaviors based on that trust. The members who perceive such strong trust think that there will be members who will take care of the village without their participation or other members will generously forgive their absence to the collective actions. In turn, these thoughts negatively influence the members’ participation in the collective actions.

This study’s findings clearly present the possibility that a high degree of trust would cause negative influence on the residents’ successful collective action involvement in a specific context such as strong kinship relationships that are being shared among the residents thus creating serious freeriding problems. This finding points out that even in a community where the residents share a strong trust based on a closed network, residents are less likely to try to keep their obligations related to collective action participation. This finding goes against Coleman’s previous argument.

Subjective norm: Regarding subjective norms, a high degree of subjective norms presented significant positive association with degrees of collective action in both communities. This outcome clearly supports previous findings of social capital studies that highlighted the importance of social norms as a critical element of social capital. Some social capital studies conducted in collective action context emphasized the importance of the existence of shared rules, norms and sanctions for facilitating the creation of social capital and successful collective action involvement (D’Silva & Pai, 2003; Futema et al., 2002; Rudd, 2000; Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000).

As confirmed through the qualitative data analysis, the Nak-Ch’ŏn community had a long history of members of the community sharing strong obligations and feelings of pressure to help other members when any help is needed. They also felt pressure to
actively participate in the community-based action for village work. These shared norms based on highly dense networks encourage actors’ involvement in collective action. This was by making them feel guilty for not matching the average contribution of their peers and through the punishment of individuals who break commonly agreed upon rules (e.g. isolation of the individuals from future community work and the relationships). It also raised awareness that other members were participating in collective action for the village (Gould, 1993, 2003; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000).

The findings from the qualitative data analysis also confirmed the existence of strong subjective norm functioning to limit each member’s freedom by extremely imposing conformity of the newcomers to the community to old traditional customs, roles, and behaviors. This was a major reason for conflicts between newcomers and old timers of the community. This in turn impedes newcomer’s active involvement into tourism related collective action. This finding has confirmed previous social capital studies that verified the negative aspects of social capital. Some social capital theorists stressed that social capital, useful for facilitating certain actions, can also create negative effects on the individuals or a group. This can be through limiting access of those outside community boundaries to the benefits that are commonly shared among the members of the group (Portes, 1998; Karlsson, 2005), and also through restricting individual’s freedoms, which are created from strong demands for conformity (Portes, 1998).

**Structurally equivalent positions and social roles**

Findings from the hypothesis test confirmed that shared positions and social roles do not have any association with the degree of participation in tourism related collective actions. These findings go against the contagion theory by structural equivalence, which
delineates that the attitude and behavior of two actors will be influenced by each other and present similar behavior when they are connected with other actors in the same or similar ways.

Moreover, actors who locate in structurally the same positions within the network will share the similar roles based on the similarities in their relationships with other actors who share comparable characteristics (Lin, 2001). In this study four positions and roles were identified in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, which included Leaders, Over watchers, Old groups, and Outsiders, while two positions and roles were identified in the Mang-Jang community, which included Leaders and Outsiders. Residents who share the same positions presented similar features in their attributes, while showing differences in their attribute features from the residents in different positions. Residents who share the same roles in the community are more likely to share similar professional knowledge and skills that will be required to maintain specific position and roles within the community. They also may have similar authority and power embedded to the specific positions and roles. Furthermore, these similarities shared among the residents in the same positions and roles will in turn create the similar types of pressures that will be imposed to the residents to complete certain actions in the community (Lin, 2001). However, the result from the hypothesis test confirmed that any differences on the degree of residents’ participation in the tourism related collective action were not found according to their specific positions and roles in the community. This outcome clearly demonstrates that no matter what the residents’ positions and roles will be within the community, the degree of collective actions will not present any significant differences.
These findings were yielded because the members’ participation in collective actions was affected by other factors rather than the same position and social roles shared commonly among the specific members. More analysis on the outliers confirmed that the degree of collective actions was probably not influenced by social roles and social pressure perceived by the residents based on their roles but rather the participation is more likely to be affected by whether the residents share positive relationships with other residents in a community. These relationships can be influential enough on other residents’ decision-making and behavior regarding participation. Furthermore, close relationships with other residents through activity participation in social organizations and persuasion efforts to lead the others to the collective action based on the ties and social pressures in organization environment will have positive influence on the residents’ participation.

As specific features of the members who presented an abnormal degree of participation, the residents who presented a lower level of participation compared to the other residents in the same position and role were marginalized in the community network. They also presented a comparatively lower level of interactions with other residents deeply involved in tourism in the community (e.g. a relationship with major five and stakeholders outside community, and interactions through social organization activity). Meanwhile, the individuals who presented an abnormally higher degree of participation than other members who shared the same positions were comparatively highly connected and actively interacting with other actors in the community. They were centrality positioned in the community network with a high centrality value and a high level of social organizational activity.
Features commonly observed in the residents who comparatively presented lower level of participation than other actors in the same positions in the Mang-Jang community, like Nak-Ch’ŏn community presented a comparatively low level of centrality. This implies a comparatively low level of connectivity and interactions with other members. A low level of interaction was also observed through their occupations. These actors were engaged in other types of jobs rather than agriculture or fishery work. This implies that they are going to spend most of their daytime outside of the community, which in turn, lowers the degree of interactions with other community members. For the actors presenting an abnormally high degree of participation in the Mang-Jang community, no difference was observed in the network values unlike in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. Only a high degree of perceived village benefit through tourism was observed as the feature commonly shared among these individuals.

**Positional groups within the community and interactions within and between groups**

This study confirms the importance of a group’s existence in order to check current leader group’s activities to lead village members’ active involvement in tourism related collective actions. This study also found in the community that an extreme degree of trust is being shared among members based on kinship relationships. The trust would have a possibility that might negatively influence to the community participation in collective actions.

In order to access the interrelationship among each position additional analysis was conducted by using block modeling of the SNA. A density matrix, which has the
proportions of ties that exist from the members in the row position to the members in column position was built with block modeling. This density matrix was used to create image matrix, which summarizes the ties within and between each block by using ‘1’ and ‘0’. Among several rules for building an image matrix from a density table, the researcher adopted the alpha criterion. A tie is considered to exist between two positions only when the density of ties from members of a row position to members of a column position is greater than or equal to the average density of the matrix as a whole, which were each 0.111 for the Nak-Ch’ŏn community and 0.086 for the Mang-Jang community.

Table 17 and 18 presents density matrix and image matrix for the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. The densities of ties within each group 3 and 4 of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community presented comparatively higher value in all blocks. This shows that actors within both groups are highly connected and interact within each group. Furthermore, positive interactions between these two groups exist. Although the densities of ties within group 1 presented existence of interrelationships among actors within the group, no interaction was found with the actors of other positions. This indicates that the actors of group 3 only interact with group members sharing the same position representing an isolated group. Group 2 was in the most marginalized and isolated position in the community network. The actors within this position shared very limited linkages both within the same position and with the actors of other positions. These ties and interactions within and between each block were presented by using 1 in Image Matrix for Nak-Ch’ŏn community in table 18.
### Table 17. Block Density Matrix for Nak-Ch’ŏn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Villagers (Position 1)</th>
<th>Outsiders (Position 2)</th>
<th>Leaders (Position 3)</th>
<th>Over Watchers (Position 4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Villagers (Position 1)</td>
<td>0.636</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsiders (Position 2)</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.058</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders (Position 3)</td>
<td>0.071</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>2.262</td>
<td>0.169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over Watchers (Position 4)</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.169</td>
<td>0.405</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 18. Block Image Matrix for Nak-Ch’ŏn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Villagers (Position 1)</th>
<th>Outsiders (Position 2)</th>
<th>Leaders (Position 3)</th>
<th>Over Watchers (Position 4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Villagers (Position 1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsiders (Position 2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders (Position 3)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over Watchers (Position 4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the Mang-Jang community, the densities of ties within group 2 presented that the actors within the group are highly connected and interact within the group as being described in table 19. Meanwhile the actors group 1 were seriously isolated in the community network. The actors within this position presented lack of linkages both within the same position and with the actors of other positions. Furthermore, rare interaction exists among actors of these two positions.

### Table 19. Block Density Matrix for Mang-Jang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Outsiders (Position 1)</th>
<th>Leaders (Position 2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outsiders (Position 1)</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders (Position 2)</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20. Block Image Matrix for Mang-Jang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Outsiders (Position 1)</th>
<th>Leaders (Position 2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outsiders (Position 1)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders (Position 2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These matrixes for block model are also presented as reduced graphs, which delineate ties and interactions among and within groups. Figure 12 presents the reduced graphs for both communities studied. The node and arc represent positions and ties within and among positions each.

![Figure 12. Reduced Graph for Block Model of Nak-Ch’ŏn and Mang-Jang Communities](image)

Figure 13 and 14 are the diagrams of communication networks for both communities and the positions within the communities. The interactions of each resident of both communities are delineated in detail, but it is obviously hard to say who is connected and interacting with whom from these diagrams. However, this graph still provides the community with meaningful information regarding overall relational structure of the community based on residents’ social roles and the interactions within
and between the groups. Communities understanding their structural weaknesses and strengths compared to those of another community probably can implement the information.

*Figure 13. The Diagrams of Communication Networks of Nak-Ch’ŏn Community and the Positions Within the Community*
It is noteworthy to recognize the important role of conflicts between leadership groups toward positive goals of community to sustain collective action. The Nak-Ch‘on community’s leadership groups are divided by two strong current and previous village leaders (two kinships represented in this village). These groups were represented as group 3 and 4. Every other year the village leader has been elected alternatively from these two groups and one side always plays a role to balance out the power structure of the village.
and represent diverse interests in the village. Therefore, current leaders of the village are aware of their work being monitored and criticized and try to communicate actively with those outsiders of their group and interact with other groups. Negative comments about the current leadership’s works cited below are thus constructive criticism which led to positive outcomes and greater community benefits. These fragmented groups within the community and their interactions were presented in the following interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

If we are not connected together with a family relationship, we may more easily turn our back on each other. However, we don’t do that since we are all connected based on the same family. For example, a person is considered a leader of the village from one party, but another person is also considered a village leader from another party. In this case, one of them should step down from their leader’s position since two leaders cannot coexist in one community. When it happens, it would be imagined that the person who has failed to be elected as the leader would be reluctant to follow the direction of the leader. However, this is not the case in our village since they are closely connected as relatives. Even if the person failed to be a leader, he or she will follow the direction and decision of the village. Our father has also served as the village leader a long time ago. He now feels uncomfortable about what villager leader groups are doing with regard to the village work. However, when I see him, he is still helping them. I think this how our village is distinguished from other villages.

As a distinguishing feature of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community, fragmented groups based on their different interest in the community coexist sharing collaboration and holding each other in check to balance out the power structure. As indicated in the previous interview, active involvement of the residents was present in tourism related collective actions no matter which groups the individuals were involved. This was totally because of their kinship-based relationships where an entire community is connected with the familial relationships. Since residents are at least connected as distant relatives through inter-family marriages for a long period of time although they had originally used different last names, it was not easy for the residents sharing different points of view
with the decisions of the leader group to totally ignore or deny following the leader
group’s decisions. However, at the same time these residents in different groups sharing
different points of view will be functioning as a monitor and criticize the leader groups’
work and decision. Therefore, current leaders of the village are aware that their work is
being monitored and criticized and try to communicate actively with those outsiders of
their groups and interact with those groups.

This was also observed during informal conversations with several members in
group 4. Those informants aware that the Nak-Ch’ŏn community’s leadership groups are
divided into two strong factions of current and previous village leaders (two kinships
represented in this village), and also holding each other in check to balance out the power
structure was observed in the conversations with these informants (from the conversation
with two informants from group 4 and an outsider). At the same time these informants
presented active involvement in tourism related collective actions within the community
(i.e., a high degree of participation from the general survey outcome). The role of group 4
as over-watcher not only motivated members of the community to actively participate in
the tourism related collective action but also worked as a driving force that led tourism
development to be aligned with the commonly shared community goal.

In the case of the Mang-Jang community it split into 2 positions, one group
sharing the same family names, playing a leadership role in the community, was closely
interacting with each other but the members of the group were not sharing interactions
with actors in other positions isolated in the community. Unlike the case of the Nak-
Ch’ŏn community, this group split presented the absence of the group acting in an over-
watcher role to efficiently monitor the leader group’s activities. This resulted in the
absence of a control system to regulate the leader group’s active participation by creating the necessary tension required for participation and makes the tourism in a community head in the right direction. This will have a negative influence on the overall community participation in tourism related collective actions.

In addition to the absence of the group acting in an over-watcher role, an extreme degree of solidarity based on a high degree of trust and understanding of other members, which is one of unique feature of kinship society, will have a negative influence on members’ participation in collective actions. Based on the results of mixed methods, this study found that the degree of trust is negatively associated with the members’ collective action participation in the Mang-Jang community. This is because that extreme degree of trust and understanding of other member’s behavior based on trust caused the free rider problems within the village work participation by some actors within the group.

In the case where members are highly connected and interacted with each other based on the families, relatives, and friend’s relationships, members are sharing a high degree of social capital. Such a strong degree of social capital could have negative influence on members’ collective action participation.

**Community-based action that influences to social capital**

Although exploring the influences of collective action on the overall social capital is not the focus of this study, the qualitative result presented that collective action is also positively associated with building and enhancing social capital. This result confirms the finding of previous social capital studies that highlighted reciprocal relations of social capital and collective action (Besser, 2009; Futema et al., 2002; Glover, 2004; Paxton,
Collective action brought out not only positive impacts on the community’s economy, but also on socio-cultural aspects (Hwang et al., 2012). Even if the tourism effort initiated in Nak-Ch’ŏn caused the members to experience some conflicts in the process, positive experiences shared among members through the constant interactions and positive changes in the community (e.g. enhanced village status and enhanced pride of the members regarding living in a community) actually helped the community solidify their existing ties. Furthermore, positive communication shared with external tourism stakeholders and visitors allowed the community to create a new external network. These positive changes consequently contribute to enhancing overall social capital of the community, especially to the network elements of social capital.

*Solidified and newly created bonding ties, and Enhanced solidarity:* The enhanced solidarity among the members through the tourism activity participation was revealed in the following interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

I feel many things have changed after working together since we had to interact continuously whether we wanted to or not. We got to know each other better and interacted more. If we did not have the project in our village, there may be people we might see only once or twice a year!! I heard from older villagers that since we’ve been working together cleaning the village streets and having meetings together we are at least interacting with each and to see each other frequently.

Residents’ participation in tourism related collective actions being regularly held in the community provided the residents with the opportunities that the members could interact together and, see each other more frequently. These interactions helped the community improve bonding through shared experiences. This enhanced bonding
contributed to improving overall community solidarity. Before tourism in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community interactions shared among members were probably limited to the types of interactions that would be shared among the members who shares similar interests. However, tourism related collective action offered residents the chance to work together and encouraged interactions. Another example was also illustrated in community members’ Olle festival participation as stated in the following quote:

Researcher: What were the changes in the villager’s relationships by hosting the festival?
For me, I got to meet the village leader and the president of the women’s group for the first time by attending the festival. The festival was very useful for me since I could meet other villagers that I’ve never seen before. Also, since I went there with my family and let them [Mang-Jang villagers] sell us some food and raised their income, I think other villagers might have a good impression of me. If we turn the focus a little bit from the festival for the Olle visitors to the festival for our villagers, I believe that the festival was also a meaningful time for our villagers. This is because that our villagers helped each other to get rid of the remaining food through purchasing these ourselves during and after the festival. I believe this kind of reciprocity is really critical point for maintaining a community.

When the villagers shifted their focus from seeing the festival as a tool for economy development to seeing it as a festival for the members of the community, they recognized how it provided residents with opportunities for interactions and enhanced solidarity. As revealed through the interview, festival participation provided the residents with the opportunities for the interactions with the residents that they had not seen for a long time and expanded networking to include new residents within the community, In addition, interactions such as purchasing the remained food after festival solidified bonds among the members. This tourism activity actually contributed to enhancing overall solidarity of the community.

Creation of External Network: Not only through solidifying bonds among members through active involvement in the tourism related collective actions but also
creation of the new external network with outsiders contributed to enhancing the community’s social capital. This was demonstrated through the following interview of a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

    Researcher: What were the changes on resident’s relationships [after Olle festival]? We have spent more time to hang out with other villagers. We can talk with visitors and guiding them. We also can learn new things from the conversation.

    Members of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community were able to experience their enhanced social capital not only through the interactions among members while being involved in the tourism activities, but also through the interactions with Olle visitors creating external networks. This demonstrates that an individual’s active participation in tourism related collective actions contributes to not only the quality but also the quantity of the network for both individuals and the community. This will ultimately have positive impacts on improving the overall social capital.

    **Enhancement of community status and members’ pride:** Tourism development contributed to overall improved status of the community and also enhancement of the members’ pride in the community. Enhanced community status was illustrated in the following interview with a self-employed resident of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

    As you know, there exist lots of traditional theme villages in our country and their types are all diverse and different from each other. But, especially, our village got a lot of attention by media, which includes MBC, KBS. They visited one or two times a year to broadcast from our village. As a result our village will be introduced to others getting attention and growing in popularity. A couple of days ago I met a female reporter at an event and she asked me where I came from. So I answered that I came from Nak-Ch’ŏn village. Then, she said ‘Oh, I’ve been there before. She also said ‘there is nothing left to report even if I visit the village since Nak-Ch’ŏn has become so popular now. When the reporter came to our village the first time she had something that she could report but she felt there is nothing left to report now. I think only a very few people in South Korea don’t know about our village. I believe that even if a person who lives in the very east side of South Korea has heard our village name at some point in their life. This shows that how well our village has become known to others.
In Nak-Ch’ŏn members of the community were successful in their tourism theme of 1000 chairs. Such tremendous efforts of the residents and their achievement in making their community a successful theme village were enough to get rid of previously negative images held by outsiders as the “monster” village. In addition, the interview statements, “nothing left to report about Nak-Chon village” or “all the Koreans know and have heard about our village” clearly illustrate this interviewee’s strong pride in the village’s achievement. Such strong pride also has been illustrated through the following interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

[After observing success in tourism], Now, many old people in our village say that they are proud of living in our village. I’ve heard a lot that old people say that they are really happy to live here. A long time ago they kept talking that they want to take their son or daughter from our village to the city but now they say that they want to bring their son and daughter and live here together in our village.

Before tourism many members in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community felt shame because they were living in a village that had fallen behind other villages and had an embarrassing nickname of “Monster” village. This was clearly demonstrated by some of the members who wanted their sons of daughters not to stay in the village. However, this trend has totally changed after observing many positive effects tourism. These residents have changed their mind and now strongly encourage their sons or daughters to stay and live in the community with them. They became proud of the fact that they are one of the members of the community. Tourism related collective action participation has positive effects on the both enhanced pride of members and the overall status of the community.

Modified residents’ perceptions on the tourism and related collective actions: people hesitated or refused to participate in the tourism effort at first because they were suspicious of the impacts of tourism. After a while they started to see that tourism and
tourism related collective action engagement provided a positive impact on their community. This change of attitude happened after observing the positive changes, which resulted from the members’ efforts of working together on the project. The positive comments by visitors encouraged the opponents to change their minds. Modified residents’ perceptions on the tourism related collective actions are presented in the following interview with a self-employed resident from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

One of the reasons that people opposed tourism in our village [at the beginning] was a strong belief among villagers that our village is a remote place and was suspicious of the possibilities that the people would visit our village regardless of our tourism development activities. However, these thoughts of the villagers have changed a lot after they’ve experienced the many tourists visiting our village. I feel our villagers have been awaken to the possibilities over the 10-year tourism effort and meeting visitors.

At the beginning of tourism in the community a lack of knowledge by the residents regarding tourism development and uncertainty of the impacts made the residents suspicious of any possible positive changes within the community. In addition, they were uncertain about the possibility to successfully host tourists in the community. However, such doubts by the residents on the outcomes and impacts through tourism quickly changed into a positive attitude and support for tourism. Especially after residents observed numerous tourists visiting the community and how the community was becoming popular among outsiders. This ultimately led to positive response in residents’ participation in tourism related collective actions. Such positive changes on the residents’ perceptions and attitude toward tourism and tourism related activity participation after observing positive changes were stated in the quote below:

Many villagers heard that numerous visitors were highly appreciative of changes [positive changes after tourism] that happened in our village. Many things have changed in the community. Aha!!! We felt that the most important thing at the beginning of tourism is to keep our village clean, and also we thought we need to
be friendly to the tourists visiting our village. I know this is pretty common sense, but we were not thinking in that way at that time [at the beginning of the tourism].

Positive changes that members of the community achieved caused equally productive changes on the previously held perception of residents regarding the tourism and tourism related collective actions and lead many residents to see them under the more positive light. Positive changes on the old perception and attitude of the residents toward tourism were described in the interview above with impactful changes of residents’ attitude towards tourists visiting the community and also towards maintenance efforts to render their community clean for visitor.

Community Empowerment: The positive changes achieved through working together among the members had positive effects on the empowerment of the members. Beneficial changes that happened in a village through tourism resulted in modification of the villagers’ negative perception previously held on tourism and tourism related collective action participation and let them start to perceive them in a more positive light. This contributed to the members’ empowerment and worked as a driving force for the community to pursue the positive changes through other collective actions. This was evident in the interview with a previously elected official from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

During the development committee meeting regarding decorating Nak-Ch’ŏn community’s street wall, a villager said ‘If we are going to decorate our street wall, let’s do it with something meaningful, not just using flower paintings, which do not have any relevancy to our village. What about painting the wall with pictures that represents our traditional history. Something related to the [establishment of the] village or ‘Pul-Mu’, which can represent our village’s long history and distinguish it from other villages?’ When I listened to the suggestions I suddenly felt that Ah!!! Since we succeeded previously [with theme village project] and had good experiences working together, we now have built a bond between villagers to make our village better. People have start to do lots of thinking to make the village better, so many good ideas can come from our
villagers. So, we decided to paint the street wall with pictures representing our traditional history. As a result from the previous success of the project, we built confidence that we can make our village better through our own efforts. So all villagers no matter how old or how young they are confident that if we tell a good story based on our tradition, we can attract more visitors to our village.

Previously the residents of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community experienced tourism success through their theme village project of 1000 chairs. This success was enough to create self-confidence for the members and built a bond that made the members believe that they can achieve whatever they want if they work together. As presented in the interview, it clearly showed that unlike the residents that have previously depended on expert advice that resulted in a somewhat passive involvement; the residents start to actively participate, learning from previous experiences of working together and building confidence. This clearly shows that the previous success of members’ collective action is crucial for the members’ future community based actions. This was also evident in the following interview with a farmer from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

We [Nak-Ch’ŏn community] have changed a lot. Our community received lots of attention through the project [theme village] and villagers have changed a lot in positive ways. Based on my visits to other towns on the main land of South Korea and experiencing Olle in our village, I’ve felt that no one can help us develop our village. Only we can do it by working together. Asking others for help can be helpful to some extent but the problem we have in our village should be solved out by us by working together in the same direction.

Previously, residents in Nak-Ch’ŏn community experienced advantageous changes in the community through both the theme village project and the efforts regarding Jeju Olle. These positive changes in a community caused the alterations on the negative perception of tourism and tourism related collective actions previously held by some of residents and led those residents to see them under more positive light. That is, this made individuals who previously held a passive attitude on tourism and paying little
attention to tourism related collective actions pay more attention to tourism and related activities. This successful experience had a positive effect on the residents’ self-confidence and on building a shared belief among the residents that they can solve the community problems and issues and achieve what they want when they work together. Increased self-confidence and sense of empowerment encouraged the residents to be active participants in dealing with tourism issues rather than depending on the help from outsiders. This has also been demonstrated through another interview with a resident of the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. Another example of the community empowerment was presented in the following interview with an informant from the Nak-Ch’ŏn community:

Researcher: What was the element that made villagers participate?
At that time, we had a shared thought that we want to develop our village and make it better. We cared about our village. I think this mindset encourages our villagers to participate in the activities working together to make the chairs. Also, after our village built a good reputation we bond together. If we failed to build a bond we might not be able to be in this position.

Residents in Nak-Ch’ŏn experienced positive changes in their community through tourism related collective actions. The bond of sympathy formed through working together during the tourism activities force them to hold a shared belief among the members in which they can make their community better through working together. This confidence, in turn, positively worked for the community to continue other future tourism related collective actions.

5.2 Modified Theoretical Model Integrating Social Capital and Collective Action in Tourism Context

The study’s findings led to the modified theoretical model (see Figure 15). The modified theoretical model reflects a mechanism that encourages resident’s involvement
in community-based tourism. Specific relational and structural conditions (i.e., elements of social capital) that encourage residents’ tourism involvement are reflected on the model in connection with the test results of research hypotheses and other extra findings of this study.

**Figure 15. Modified Theoretical Model Integrating Social Capital and Collective Action in Tourism Context**

A modified theoretical model inferred from these findings indicates that individuals’ connections and interactions with others within the community boundary have positive influence on the individuals’ behavior. As being described in the model, the influence based on the relationships was not restricted to the specific relationship with major actors of the community, who is deeply engaged in tourism (see H3 on the model), but general connections randomly shared with other residents were all effective for the
mutual influence on residents’ involvement (see H1 on the model). The residents’
decision-making related to the community-based tourism was strongly affected by their
personal relationships and interactions with others within their subgroup and other
subgroups. However, those who are excluded from others in the relationships were
isolated from the influence by others and shared information regarding community-based
tourism (Burt, 2001; Freeman, 1973; Lin, 2001). In other words, residents’ participation
in tourism effort was strongly affected by the numbers of connections with other
residents and the quality of these ties.

The networks created among the residents function in several ways. First of all,
the dense network which is based on close connections among residents, functions as a
communicative route that necessary information for the tourism is being circulated in the
community and allows it to be shared effectively among members. In the long term, this
dense network contributes to the creation of social norms and rules that are required for
the residents’ behavioral conformity and also for the effective control residents’
involvement into community-based tourism effort. Positive and continuous interactions
among residents within a connected network contributed to the emergence of social
norms (e.g. norm of trust, norm of reciprocity, and subjective norm) (Fukuyama, 1995;
Misztal, 1996; Stone, 2001). As delineated in the model, the shared norms (see H6 on the
model), especially subjective norm, have positive influence on residents’ involvement in
community-based tourism. The shared norm force residents to interact actively with
others not only through the punishment on the actors who break the tacit agreements and
rules or by making them feel guilty for not matching the average contribution of other
residents. It also raises consciousness of those actors that others follow the same rules
(Gould, 1993, 2003; Kahan, 2003; Ostrom, 2000). The network also functions as a communicative channel that these social norms and cultural messages (e.g. shared behavioral expectations, frames, and collective identity) are transmitted and shared among the residents (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009; Gould, 2003). Consequently, these positive and continuous interactions, which are based on strong dense networks, facilitate the creation of collective identity of the community and strong sense of community, which may in turn lead to collective action (Freeman, 1973; Goodwin & Jasper, 2009).

Especially, positive effect of shared relationships and social norms on the residents’ tourism involvement were maximized within the social organizational environment. Shared ties and positive interpersonal interactions within the social organization environment (see H4 on the model) functioned more effectively to make each resident more actively participate in tourism efforts compared to other ties studied in this study. Each resident’s behavior was affected by mutually shared relationships with other members and also strongly regulated by perceived social pressure that was resulted from the emphasized behavioral conformity to the organization’s rules and decisions. These mutual influences and perceived pressure functioned naturally to encourage the residents to actively participate in community-based tourism effort. This finding confirms the findings of previous studies dealing with collective actions. Goodwin and Jasper (2009) postulate the critical role of social organizations to successfully mobilize social movement. They especially focused on their function as a space not only allowing the members to share and accept new information rapidly, but also preventing the members from dropping out from the on-going collective action mainly due to the perceived pressure from their peers.
This finding implies that in rural tourism contexts, shared relationships and perceived pressure within institutional spaces based on pre-existing community structure function effectively for the residents’ collective action involvement than other personal ties, which also include personal ties randomly shared with others within the community.

Unlike highlighted importance of existing ties and positive interactions to encourage and facilitate the residents’ tourism involvement, specific social roles and perceived pressure for the participation according to the specific roles and positions within the community were not effective to explain residents’ involvements (See H2 on the model).

When it comes to the effects of relational structure of the community on the residents’ involvement, as highlighted above, this study emphasized the significance of dense connections of the residents and shared meaningful relationships for the successful residents’ involvement. As described in the relationships between subgroup 1 and 3 in the model, the study’s result also highlighted the importance of the group interactions that share collaboration while at the same time, held each other in check to balance out the power structure.

In the context of a specific community, which most residents are connected together based on the kinship relationships, absence of a group acting in an over-watcher role to efficiently monitor the leader group’s activities resulted in the absence of a control system to regulate the leader group’s tourism. In the findings of mixed methods, an extreme degree of solidarity was observed in the context of kinship relationships. This solidarity is strongly based on a high level of trust and understanding of other members, which negatively affected residents’ involvement (See H6 on the model). This was
because that extreme degree of trust and understanding of others’ absence to the community based tourism efforts caused free rider problems for some residents by avoiding active involvement, but pursuing all the benefits that have been created through others’ collective efforts. However, the existence of the group acting in an over-watcher role contributed to efficiently monitor these free riders’ activities as well as other residents’ activities by creating necessary tension that is required for the residents’ active involvement.

For the influence of external network, the effects of weak ties of residents on the level of involvement were more effective at the community level than at the individual level (see H5 on the model). Each resident’s ties with Olle visitors at personal level worked positively for the residents’ involvement by providing residents with emotional support from interaction with the visitors. However, in the rural tourism context, most interactions with external stakeholders outside community were conducted with community leaders as the center. The connections with stakeholders at the village level were more effective to motivate the residents to get involved in tourism effort. Positive relationships with tourism stakeholders outside the community benefit the community with new tourism development opportunities, professional information and suggestions, funding and logistical support related to tourism. These consequently contributed to the residents’ involvement. Benefits of external network at the community level were also highlighted in previous social capital studies. Macbeth et al. (2004) indicates that community ties shared with tourism stakeholders from outside community provide the community with more funding, expertise and the facilitation of local cultural activities.
The extra finding of this study confirmed the reciprocal relationships between social capital and collective actions. Not only is a high degree of social capital a critical explanatory factor for residents’ collective action involvement in tourism context, but also residents’ experience of collective action functions as critical element to enhance the degree of social capital of the community. Enhancement of social capital through collective action experience was presented by not only strengthening or newly creating ties within and outside community boundary, but also through the creation of collective identity and enhanced sense of community. This may in turn lead to collective action. Enhanced cohesiveness of the community through residents’ collective action involvement was reflected in the model based on the round dotted arrows.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Study Overview

The purpose of this study was to explore relations of social capital with the level of residents’ participation in collective actions related to tourism impacts. Specifically, the study thoroughly examined the relationships between the network and social norm elements of social capital and community-based collective action related to tourism development. This was based on a broad range of literature in diverse fields adopting the concept of social capital and the literature review was led to the theoretical framework for this study. Based on the literature review, the relationships between the two elements of social capital and the level of residents’ involvement in the collective actions related to the Olle project was empirically explored in two communities on Jeju Island, South Korea. By adopting social network analysis as a major methodology and triangulating it with other multiple methodologies, this study found that the degree of residents’ involvement was strongly positively associated with their central position within the community networks. Moreover, shared relationships of residents through social organizations were strongly associated with the residents’ level of involvement. However, people who were located within the same network position, sharing similar roles within the community did not present a similar pattern of community involvement. Furthermore, positive relationships with major stakeholders deeply engaged in Olle projects within and outside the community were rarely associated with the level of residents’ involvement. As findings related to the social norms element of social capital, existing social pressure
perceived by each residents presented positive association with the level of residents’ involvement, while trust presented inconclusive findings in both communities. Trust presented a negative association with the overall level of participation of residents in the Mang-Jang community, while trust was rarely associated with the overall level of a resident’s involvement in the Nak-Ch’ŏn community. When it comes to the effects of relational structure of these communities on a resident’s level of involvement, the study’s results presented that the community highly connected among their members and sharing meaningful interactions is positively associated with their level of involvement. However, the identified interactions within and between different relational groups strongly indicated the importance of group interactions that share collaboration while at the same time, held each other in check to balance out the power structure. Major findings of this study were crosschecked and corroborated by other methods.

6.2 Implications

Based on the findings and discussions, several theoretical, methodological, and practical implications were drawn and will be demonstrated in this section. In addition, several limitations of this study will be presented, which will serve as a guide to potential studies in the future.

Theoretical and methodological implications

As theoretical and methodological implication, this study contributed to addressing three gaps in previous tourism literature by examining the effects of network and social norm elements of social capital on the community’s collective action toward tourism impacts.
First of all, examining a community’s collective behavior toward tourism impacts that integrates community-based actions to support tourism and to cope with negative tourism impacts contributed to broaden previous tourism impact studies, which were mostly focused on addressing overall perception and attitude toward tourism impacts. This study contributed to the creation of a context of community collective action and social impacts of tourism in rural South Korea that would be different from previous English-language literature on tourism impacts.

Secondly, unlike previous tourism impact studies that have failed to address the dynamics of how each individual perceives tourism impacts and forms their attitude and react to the impacts collectively to address the impacts, this study explores the dynamics of the process through which each individual forms his or her own behaviors toward the impacts of tourism. This was accomplished by exploring specific relational features of the residents and structural features of a community. Understanding the dynamics of the process in which individuals get involved in collective actions by exploring relational and structural features of a community has already been highlighted as a critical approach of collective action studies in order for the comprehensive understanding of each individual’s collective action involvement (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009).

Thirdly, this study expanded the knowledge of collective action in a community in relationship with social capital. The study findings confirm social capital as a critical element that encourages residents’ tourism activity involvement (as highlighted in previous social capital studies in a tourism context). The study also expanded the previous knowledge of social capital and collective action beyond the level of exploring causal relationships between social capital and collective action participation. Many
social capital scholars emphasized understanding the dynamics of social interactions among individuals within specific structural boundaries in order to reach comprehensive understanding of the concept (Coleman, 1988; Jeong, 2008; Lin, 1999). This is because the concept of social capital is strongly based on social relationships and interactions among actors. This has led many scholars to study social capital by paying attention to implementing social network analysis as a tool to access social capital (Bian, 2001; Burt, 1992; Hurlbert et al., 2001; Jeong, 2008; Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998). However, this effort was rarely practiced in the tourism field of study. Even if tourism researchers dealt with specific network features of social capital such as weak and strong ties, most social capital studies within the tourism context rarely explored a social network deeply by simply treating it as the connections among actors within network (e.g., I have a good relationship with other actors within a network.). In other words, previous studies dwelled on identifying causal relationships between social capital and collective action without paying more attention to understanding specific conditions of social capital that facilitate residents’ collective action involvement. This study focused on identifying the conditions of social capital by using social network analysis and exploring their associations with residents’ tourism involvement. The specific conditions delineate specific features of networks. For example, the beneficial connections that facilitate residents’ participation, network positions based on direct or indirect connections among residents and social roles based on their relationship differences. These conditions also included the structure of the community (e.g. community fragmentation into several relational groups and their ways of interactions within and between groups) that encourages each member to participate in collective actions. The findings of this study
contribute to the current knowledge of social capital studies and a methodological understanding of the analysis of social relationships and structure of the community in the tourism context. Moreover, use of qualitative research methods helped the researcher reach a better understanding of overall context of not only how these ties are initiated and maintained and how community was fragmented into current social rule groups and interact each other but also how current social norms were shared among the residents.

This study also contributed to the previous social capital literature that highlighted only positive aspects of social capital by identifying the negative aspects of social capital, which is confirmed when extreme degrees of conformity are imposed on residents to follow the previous norms and rules. This situation is especially true as the study’s findings confirmed a negative influence of trust. This influence has been mostly highlighted in positive ways in previous social capital studies. This knowledge has turned the attention of many researchers to the current research trend of social capital that only highlight positive aspect of social capital, which is obviously problematic. This study finding also confirmed the needs to reconsider the influences of social capital on the residents’ engagement in a collective action, so that the concept can indeed be a valuable tool for understanding community collective action.

**Practical implication**

As a practical implication, this study provides tourism policy makers and developers with a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of a local community’s collective action. It introduces them to information regarding interpersonal interactions among members in many different normal life contexts and social relational structures of
the community. An understanding of the influences that specific relational and structural features of the community and also social norms have on the community collective action involvement will help the policy makers and tourism developers successfully mobilize resident support and active involvement toward tourism. For example, created knowledge regarding the effects of each resident’s position within the network which relies on his or her shared positive interpersonal relationships with other members may be used by tourism policy makers and tourism developers to successfully mobilize residents’ supports and active participation in tourism development. Specifically, identified lists of the marginalized individuals within the community would be used by tourism developers as fundamental information to get these marginalized or isolated residents to understand overall tourism procedure and anticipated impacts of tourism development. In turn, this will contribute to persuade marginalized groups to participate in community based tourism efforts as a prerequisite procedure before initiating tourism in a community. This effort to get resident support, even from marginalized and isolated groups of residents would be necessary activities for tourism practitioners in order to minimize unnecessary conflicts by ignoring opinions of these marginalized groups. This effort helps tourism developers build trust with the residents in the community, which ultimately contributes to the sustainability of tourism in a community. The comprehensive understanding of a community’s reactions toward the impact of tourism is critical for tourism developers and policy makers to enhance the sustainability of tourism developments by having community members as willing partners (Reid et al., 2004). This will reconfirm the necessity of the community’s involvement in tourism decision making from the initial stage of tourism development for success and sustainability. Furthermore, identified roles
assist tourism developers to understand who plays influential roles in decision-makings on tourism. This will inform them where to begin working based on the community structure.

This study finding also highlighted the importance of considering community identities and goals in the process of tourism development for the successful residents’ involvement. As confirmed in one of the findings of this study, failure of alignment of overall community goal and identity with tourism opportunities and ideas from outside community were usually led to the failure to encourage residents’ tourism involvement or residents’ passive tourism participation. These community identity and strong sense of community were the outcome of continuous and positive interactions among residents for long periods of time, and their features would not be negotiated or modified easily by the outsiders. When considering them, this finding clearly urges tourism policy makers and developers to invest enough time and efforts to negotiate overall direction of tourism to reflect these collective identities of community and strong sense of community in the overall procedure of tourism.

This study contributed to the communities being studied. First of all, the study findings confirmed that collective action is a critical tool for the residents to either slow-down or re-focus tourism development toward the direction that align with the residents’ wants. It will allow communities that practice on-going tourism projects or plan new tourism activities in the future to learn how working together can be effective and significant for successful and sustainable tourism development in a community (Davis & Morais, 2004; Dogan, 1989; Gursoy et al., 2010; Hwang et al., 2012). Findings from the study will provide the residents with the relational and structural weaknesses and
strengths, which are being compared to those of another communities. A discussion of these network characteristics with other members will encourage the communities to modify their pre-existing relational and structural features towards ways that facilitate successful involvement of the members in tourism related collective action which ultimately makes a better community. The study findings identified positive associations of the marginalized individuals with low-participation in tourism related collective actions. When considering this association the findings provide a suggestion to get the groups or individuals who have been marginalized involved in this relationship.

In addition, network structure information helps each resident clearly know his or her roles within the community structure. It also encourages them to invest a reasonable amount of time and efforts into acquiring the necessary knowledge and into keeping up with responsibilities required for the position to accomplish tourism related collective actions successfully. Furthermore, the residents will be aware of the importance of sources from outside of the community that would be necessary to facilitate and to encourage member participation into tourism related collective actions.

The study’s findings demonstrate that the efforts to integrate isolated and marginalized members are required within the community. In order for this to happen an elected official must identify those isolated or marginalized individuals within the community as well as encourage and facilitate their interactions with other residents. This would be feasible when a leader treats these members as the important contributors of the community and respects their opinions regarding community work and includes them in the decision-making procedure. Providing a community with space for gathering and communicating together (e.g. social organization activities, events, meetings, village
business, and festivals) would be a good way to bring these marginalized groups into interactions with other residents. Healthy conversations shared among the members during community gatherings definitely will provide the marginalized and other members with the chance to find common interests. It will also allow them to share their values, viewpoints, and feelings related to village issues. This will ultimately lead them to future collective actions in the community. In consideration of the busy lives of residents in rural communities, facilitating interpersonal interactions of the members online would be one option that could be considered by the village leader to facilitate productive and healthy conversations of the members. This will encourage the residents to participate in tourism related collective actions. As one of the important study findings, use of pre-existing community structures such as social organizations in the community is recommended to facilitate and encourage member involvement in tourism efforts, especially in rural tourism contexts. This will create the right amount of pressure among the members for participation. Facilitating resident participation in tourism efforts by encouraging them to join social organizational activities needs to be considered by the village leader in order to successfully mobilize resident involvement.

The right amount of social pressure shared among the residents by the norms in a community actually facilitates residents’ active involvement in village tourism efforts. Villagers’ participation would be enhanced not only by establishing necessary rules and norms that force and encourage the residents’ active participation into the community-based actions but also thorough application of these rules and norms in real tourism development situations. However, the study findings also reflect that forced conformity to the village norms and rules probably work negatively in regard to the residents’
participation when residents decline to follow these norms and rules. This highlights the necessity of communication and agreement among the members before implementing these rules and norms. These efforts will contribute to minimizing any potential reluctance and conflicts.

An important finding of this study, unlike previous social capital studies that highlighted positive association of the trust element with the overall degree of residents’ collective action participation, indicates that trust would also have possible negative effects. This finding might be explained by the tendency of some residents to be free riders in tourism related community-based actions. Highly perceived trust that is being shared among the residents would cause the members’ absence in the tourism related collective actions. This was because these individuals consider that other members will understand their absence in the tourism efforts since they are all related, and also believe that their absence would not cause any problem since others have already participated enough. Their participation would probably be enhanced by providing selective incentives – both rewards for participation and punishments for free-riding – only to participants as Olson (1965) emphasized in his book. Thus, using norms and rules in a community would be helpful to force these free riders to actively participate in community efforts by providing them with disadvantages for their absence. Additionally this would be enhanced by growing their sense of community and responsibility of the village work participation.
6.3 Limitation of This Study and Future Study

A limitation of this study based on the unique feature of social network analysis is that the informants studied are required to provide private information to the researcher. This includes their social relations to all other residents, participation in community-based collective actions, and the trust level of their relationships. Numerous efforts were conducted by the researcher to build a good rapport with the residents such as helping them with and participating in the community-based or personal work. However, these questions sometimes made a few respondents feel uncomfortable answering because they were still suspicious that the result might be shared with other residents. The uncertainty that their answers might be shared with other residents probably led to some dishonest answers.

Another limitation is closely related to the Korean cultural context of the communities in rural areas, which is well known for its collectivism compared to the individualism of Western societies. The communities studied were sharing the relationships based on their kinship, which most residents are closely connected and interact with each other as a relative or family. That is, social capital and collective action identified in this study may be specific to the ways in which individual action is motivated within Korean kinship based community life (Goodwin & Jasper 2009). Thus for future studies, to better understand the effects of social capital on overall community participation in the collective actions, other studies in diverse contexts are recommended, which would produce more generalized outcomes. Moreover, the sampling was limited to five or six interviewees in each community. Most interviewees were male (only one female interviewee) and many of them were village leaders (around 50 % of
interviewees). The number of comments was not enough to represent opinions of the entire community, which is a limitation of this study. Furthermore, the interviews practiced for this study rarely reflect the differences in social and political power between the informants interviewed and other members of communities. Their comments were cross-checked with the comments by two non-participants in collective action (i.e. one informant per each community) and participative observation by the researcher, but a woman and two non-participants interviewed were not enough to cover opinions of lower status residents, which might provide different perspectives to understand a community. Thus for future study, it would be necessary to interview more residents from a diverse social status within a community. This will help researchers increase representativeness of their data and study results.
REFERENCES


Jeju Olle Story (2007). Retrieved from

http://221.139.0.180:8080/eng/about/ab_intro.html


APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questionnaire for community members

Opening

I started by thanking the interviewee for their time and willingness to talk to me. Next I introduced myself and offered my business card and I asked the participant’s name. We followed with a brief conversation to create ease and so that the interviewee feels comfortable. The main intent at this stage was to establish rapport and start building trust. With agreement from the interviewee, I addressed the informed consent statement and recorded the interview.

Introduction

The main purpose of this interview today is to hear your story and your experience. I am very appreciative that you are willing to participate in the interview, and I value your time.

1. How long have you lived in this community?

Transition Question

1. Have you ever been involved in residents’ efforts related to tourism?

Key Questions

Overall history of tourism development and collective actions

1. Do you remember when tourism began in your community?
2. What was tourism like at the beginning of the development? Can you tell me the story? (What was the relationship and structure of the community? How was the relationship between residents’ life and tourism development and the impact of tourism on the community)
3. What was the event or events that prompted its beginning?
4. In what ways did the community respond to this event?
   (Can you please describe who was involved, who were the people who made the
decisions on leading to the actions that were taken? What other people and
organizations were involved in tourism events and program?)
5. What made you decide to participate with others? Could you tell me the stories
about how you got involved in such collective action? (Prompt, were there any
pressures by others that encouraged you to participate or somewhat pushed you
to work together?)
6. Did you notice whether other members cooperated with you? How did that make
you feel?
7. What was it like after that? Did you notice any changes in personal relationship
after that? (Maybe, you met new people or become closer to others?) Do you
think the residents’ efforts toward tourism development were effective at
influencing the way that tourism developed?
8. Were there any other important events in your community's history of tourism
development that you can remember? Could you elaborate further on those
stories?
10. How about Olle? What was Olle like at the beginning of the development? Can
you tell me the story? (How did it start? What was the event/situation that
prompted Olle’s beginning? Who participated? How did it develop?)
11. Did you notice any change in people’s relationships as a result of the Olle
initiative?
12. In what ways did the community respond to this event? (Can you please
describe who was involved, who were the people that made most decisions that
lead to the actions taken? What other people and organizations were involved in
Olle events and program?)
13. What made you decide to participate in Olle events with others? Could you tell
me the stories about how you got involved in such collective action? (Was there
any social pressure that made you decided to participate in collective action?
What about persuasion by other family members, close friends, and co-worker?)
14. Did you notice that other members cooperated with you? How did that make you feel?
15. What was it like after that? Do you think the residents’ efforts toward tourism development were effective at influencing the way that tourism developed?
16. How has your life and town been changed after the participation in the Olle initiative? Can you tell me about the changes in relationships among residents after such collective action?

*If interviewee refers to Olle as successful case, I asked Q. 17-a, but if not, I asked Q. 17-b.*

17-a. Why do you think tourism development is so successful here?
17-b. Why do you think tourism development has not been successful here?
18. Is there anything that you would change or that you wish happened differently?
   Public involvement? Working together?

**Ending Questions**

1. What advice would you give to other communities that want positive change for tourism and their community?
2. What advice would you give regarding community organization or ways to improve a community’s ability to work together?
3. In your opinion, what was the most important action taken by your community that led to successful tourism development? Why was that?
4. In your opinion, what was the action that involved the most member of your community that you feel contributed to successful tourism development? Why?

*At this stage I will give a brief summary (2 or 3 minutes) of the key questions and big ideas that emerged from the interview—I said something like: I want to make sure that I captured all the major points of what you shared so to summarize …. After that I asked the following questions:*

5. Did I accurately describe what was said? If not, what was missing?
6. Is there anything that we should have talked about but did not?
APPENDIX II: GENERAL / NETWORK SURVEY ITEMS

General Survey Question

Please read each question carefully before responding and answer. Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements. Please circle one for each statement.

Olle related collective action involvement

1. There were (specific numbers) town meetings. In how many do you believe you participated?
Around _______________ Meetings

2. Among the events listed below, which events did you participate in?
*Specific events, which have been held in the community in a relation with the Olle, were identified through the analysis on local newspapers and interviews with the officially elected leader, and were listed with checkbox.

3. In your opinion, what has been your level of involvement in Olle related community efforts?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all active</th>
<th>Not very active</th>
<th>Somewhat active</th>
<th>Very active</th>
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Norm of trust

(1) Trust of familiars

a. If you were caring for a child and needed to go out for a while, would you feel comfortable to ask a neighbor for help?

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<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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b. Are you willing to do Gye with other members of community?

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<th>Disagree</th>
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c. How often can you trust your friends to act in your best interests?

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<th>Never</th>
<th>Every few years</th>
<th>1-2 times a year</th>
<th>Every few months</th>
<th>Every few weeks</th>
<th>Every few days</th>
<th>Few times a day</th>
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(2) Generalized trust

a. Do you agree that most people in the community can be trusted?

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<th>Disagree</th>
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b. In this village, one has to be alert of someone who is likely to take advantage of you

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<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
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<th>Disagree</th>
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c. If you drop your purse or wallet in the neighborhood, someone will see it and return it to you?

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Subjective norm

a. Most people who are important to me think that I should attend the work related to community issue most of time.

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<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
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b. Most people who are important to me think that they should attend the work related to community issue most of time.

<table>
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<th>Strongly disagree</th>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the last question, I would like to know how others, who are different from you, feel different with you, so I will ask some questions about you.

a. What is your age?

________

b. What is your gender?
Male / Female

c. What is your current employment status?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>House wife</th>
<th>Public official</th>
<th>Specialized job</th>
<th>Others:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. My highest level of education is?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elementary School</th>
<th>Middle School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Undergraduate School</th>
<th>Graduate School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Network Interview Survey Question

Listed on the separate sheet are entire names of the community and major stakeholders related to Olle in the community. In order to better understand the social structure around the Olle initiative, I am going to ask you some questions.

List of individuals with name on the separate sheet
(Names of the individuals)
1
2
3
.
N
(Names of stakeholders related to Olle)
1
2
3

a. From this list with names of all individuals, please tell me people with whom you usually socialize (for example, eating a meal or drink beer together or invite to your home or are invited to their home)? (Prompts; people whom you feel you have a personal relationship)
b. From this list, who in your opinion would you say is mainly involved to the Olle project in this community? Could you please tell me five individuals? For each of the social organizations that I am telling you, could you please tell me which organizations you’ve involved in? There were (specific numbers) social organization meetings. In how many do you believe you participated?
c. From this list with names of all stakeholders, please tell me people with whom you usually socialize (for example, eating a meal or drink beer together or invite to your home or are invited to their home)? (Prompts; people whom you feel you have a personal relationship)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Social Ties (#1)</th>
<th>Identify five individuals, who they think the person is mainly involved into the Olle (#2)</th>
<th>Social relationship created through the same social organization involvement (#3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Names of Residents (1-N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Organization1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government (#4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Around ____________Meetings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jeju Olle (#4)
APPENDIX III: CONSENT FORMS

Consent Form for Community Interview

Study Title: Influence of Social Capital on Community Based Action in Tourism Development: A Study of Social Network Analysis

I am Doohyun Hwang, a doctoral student in the Recreation, Sport, and Tourism Department of the University of Illinois. This interview will be conducted by me, and this research will be conducted under the supervision of Dr. Carla Costa, a faculty member of University of Illinois.

The objective of this research is to understand community-based action as it influences tourism development related to Olle in South Korea's Jeju Island. The study will focus on community members as well as other stakeholders related to Olle. The purpose of this study is to explain how social capital (strong connections and tight relations among community members and community structural features) is related to community’s involvement in tourism development. This will provide insight to community members, planners, and developers on critical community-based issues for sustainable tourism development.

In order for this study to be successful, your help is needed. A small number of town residents are being asked to participate in this study. Each interview is expected to last a hour, and 3 or 4 interviewees will be interviewed in each community. The interview sites will be in locales within the communities of study and will be ones where interviewees can comfortably and conveniently meet. The data collection time period is expected to last for two months in the summer of 2011. Participants will be asked to recall the history of tourism development in your community, the sequence of events, the social and community-based impacts, residents' responses to the development, and also relational and structural characteristics of the community before and after Olle.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. At any time, you may voluntarily withdraw your participation or refuse to participate without penalty. The decision to participate, decline, or withdraw from participation will have no effect on future relations with the University of Illinois. There is no direct benefit or compensation to you from
being in this study. However, if you choose to participate, the information you provide may be used to develop research publications associated with the University of Illinois. For purposes of privacy, your name will be kept confidential and data from your interview will be securely stored in a locked office at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Results from this study will be disseminated in the form of a dissertation, journal article, and presentations at professional conferences.

I would be happy to answer any questions that you may have about this study or the role of a participant. Please, let me know if you have any questions. You can contact me, Doohyun Hwang, at (011) 329-9531 or via email at dhwang7@illinois.edu while I am staying in Jeju. After that period, you can contact me at 1-217-898-3702 or via email at dhwang7@illinois.edu. In case you need to contact the supervisor of this study, you can contact Dr. Carla Costa at 1-512-350-7937 or via email at ccarla@illinois.edu.

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 1-217-333-2670 (collect calls accepted if you identify yourself as a research participant) or via email at irb@illinois.edu.

A copy of this informed consent form will be given to you, so that you may keep this information.

I have read and understand this consent form and voluntarily agree to participate in this study. Yes ____ / No ____

I am 17 years of age or older. Yes ____ / No ____

Do you consent to our conversation during the interview being recorded by Doohyun Hwang? Yes ____ / No ____

Date: ________________________ Signature: ____________________
Study Title: Influence of Social Capital on Community Based Action in Tourism Development: A Study of Social Network Analysis

I am Doohyun Hwang, a doctoral student in the Recreation, Sport, and Tourism Department of the University of Illinois. This survey interview will be conducted by me, and this research will be conducted under the supervision of Dr. Carla Costa, a faculty member of University of Illinois.

The objective of this research is to understand community-based action as it influences tourism development related to Olle in South Korea's Jeju Island. The study will focus on community members as well as other stakeholders related to Olle. The purpose of this study is to explain how social capital (strong connections and tight relations among community members and community structural features) is related to community’s involvement in tourism development. This will provide insight to community members, planners, and developers on critical community-based issues for sustainable tourism development.

In order for this study to be successful, your help is needed. Local residents are being asked to participate in this study. Each interview survey is expected to last twenty minutes. The interview sites will be in locales within the communities of study and will be ones where interviewees can comfortably and conveniently meet. The data collection time period is expected to last for two months in the summer of 2011. Participants will be asked to answer informal social relationships with other members of a community and involvement in collective actions related to Olle project.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. At any time, you may voluntarily withdraw your participation or refuse to participate without penalty. The decision to participate, decline, or withdraw from participation will have no effect on future relations with the University of Illinois. There is no direct benefit or compensation to you from being in this study. However, if you choose to participate, the information you provide may be used to develop research publications associated with the University of Illinois. For purposes of privacy, your name will be kept confidential and data from your
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I have read and understand this consent form and voluntarily agree to participate in this study. Yes _____ / No _____

I am 17 years of age or older. Yes _____ / No _____

Do you consent to our conversation during the interview being recorded by Doohyun Hwang? Yes _____ / No _____

Date: __________________________ Signature: ______________________