Co-Flourishing: Intertwining Community Resilience and Tourism Development in Destination Communities

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Abstract

This paper contributes to the understanding of community resilience in tourism development in the destination community. Accordingly, we propose a 'co-flourishing' framework integrating community resilience and tourism development by mobilising six types of community capital – human, social, natural, physical, financial, and psychological – which strengthen community capacity during disturbances or crises. We argue that the existing understanding of the tourism system tends to be resource-driven and market-oriented. Such approaches neglect the needs of the destination community, which should have adequate resources for its goal of providing a good life for its members. We first review the six forms of community capital and their implications for community resilience, and argue that tourism development has a negative impact on various kinds of community capital – particularly in destination communities. Hence, we propose a co-flourishing framework which advocates a paradigm change in tourism development to cater to the capital needs of the community. The proposed framework highlights practical long-term policy suggestions for tourism development and planning. We identify further necessary research is needed to accumulate empirical evidence to better apply the co-flourishing framework in various development scenarios in both developing and developed economies.

Keywords: tourism development, community, resilience, community capital, co-flourishing

1. Introduction

Tourism is about temporary trips beyond the usual place of residence instead of pursuing a paying profession within the place visited (Lickorish & Jenkins, 1997). Tourism has been very influential in the world economy in many respects (Eshliki & Kaboudi, 2012). For example, every year tourism contributes 10% of global GDP and 6% of total world exports (Qian, Sasaki, Jourdain, Kim, & Shivakoti, 2017). The increasing global fascination with tourism has been motivated by its potential economic benefits for communities of all sizes (Mill & Morrison, 2009). Therefore, this particular benefit has become one of the most important reasons for destination communities to consider tourism as a development strategy (Andereck, Valentine,

Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Wu & Wall, 2018). The economic benefits of tourism include contributions to foreign exchange earnings and the balance of payments (Inskeep, 1991; Lea, 2006; Mason, 2003; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Mill & Morrison, 2009); the generation of income (García, Vázquez, & Macías, 2015; Mason, 2003; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Mill & Morrison, 2009); and the generation of employment opportunities (García et al., 2015; Mason, 2003; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Mill & Morrison, 2009).

However, substantial economic benefits are acquired at the cost of natural resources, environmental damages, social disorders, and traditional cultural activities, which create vulnerabilities within local communities (Butler, 2018; Kasim, 2006; Tsai, Wu, Wall, & Linliu, 2016; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Wu & Wall, 2018). Sroypetch and Caldicott (2018) claimed that the development of tourism as an economic driving force can severely impact ecosystem structures and processes and degrade natural resources. Tourism development is considered an agent of change and shock which can significantly affect destination communities and residents. This includes economic development, ways of life, employment opportunities, and community activities (Butler, 2018; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Wu & Wall, 2018).

Moreover, tourism development modifies the livelihood of the destination community, which may accelerate changes in the local environment, economy, culture, and society (Andereck et al., 2005; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Mason, 2003; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pizam, 1978; Tsai et al., 2016). The negative impacts of tourism are multifaceted and often problematic, and cannot be simply categorised as social, economic, or environmental (Mason, 2003). Some significant negative impacts of tourism on destination communities include the increase in the price of labour, land, and goods; inflation; an increase in the cost of living; social problems; family structure change; crime and the use of drugs; degradation of natural resources; environmental pollution; congestion; crowding; unbalanced economic development; low-paid seasonal employment and economic fluctuation; and transportation problems (Andriotis, Stylidis, & Weidenfeld, 2019; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2012; Gu & Ryan, 2008; Mawby, 2017; Stylidis, Biran, Sit, & Szivas, 2014).

The negative impacts of tourism increase the sensitivity and exposure of destination communities to various kinds of disturbances, consequently decreasing the adaptive capacity when these communities cope with these changes and disturbances (Becken, 2013). From a resilience perspective, tourism development may have a negative impact on the deterioration

of various community resources or assets, which are vital for people to attain desirable livelihood outcomes (Department for International Development [DFID], 1999; Flora, Flora, & Gasteyer, 2016). The deterioration of community assets and resources can decrease communities' capabilities to withstand stresses or disturbances and make them less capable of managing and adapting to the changes in their places, community, and everyday life (Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2016).

Community resilience is essential in the context of tourism. The nature of community resilience is that it values various types of community capital (i.e. various resources and assets in the community) that are important for developing unity, mutual help, and a better use of various resources (Butler, 2018). Community resilience is not a new concept in urban planning and development but it is novel in tourism – particularly against the new urban agenda. With community resilience, residents of destination communities can adapt to environmental changes and uncertainties, embrace self-help, share their knowledge and experiences, and create opportunities for inter-sectoral cooperation (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). The idea central to the resilience perspective is the accumulation of community capital, which is conducive to the well-being of community dwellers and tourism development. Community capital nurtures the community's ability to address different conditions through collective efforts and diversified resources (Magis, 2010).

There is an urgent need for the tourism sector to implement the 'co-flourishing' framework. However, foundations and principles related to resilience and development remain less known among tourism research and practices (Schroeder & Pennington-Gray, 2018). There is no globally agreed-upon resilience framework or resilience assessment scale in tourism development (Cahyanto & Pennington-Gray, 2017; Pennington-Gray, 2018). It is important to understand the intertwined relationship between tourism development and its impacts on the destination community and address the community's resilience and its own capacity (Cartier & Taylor, 2020). Hence, in this paper, we articulate co-flourishing in community resilience and tourism development by mobilising six different types of community capital. The framework aims to enhance the destination community's capacity to resist various unfavourable changes due to the development of tourism. A conceptual framework is proposed that elaborates how community resilience should be promoted in tandem with tourism development to reveal the challenging nature of the tourism system.

The remainder of this paper is organised into four parts. In the first, we review two major views of tourism – supply and demand perspectives and social and environmental perspectives – and address their insufficient emphases on the community and the community's own capabilities in coping with the negative effects of tourism development. In the second part, we introduce the importance of resilience in tourism development and elaborate the role of community capital in nurturing a community's capability of absorbing and adapting to disturbances. In the third part, we examine how tourism development has a negative impact on community capital. Finally, we establish a co-flourishing framework and propose important long-term suggestions for tourism development.

2. Tourism Revisited: A Missing Link between Tourism Development and Community Resilience

People desire to travel and visit different places where they can encounter diverse cultures across the world (Bhatta, 2014). Tourism is a temporary movement of people to destinations outside their usual places of residence and work, so as to fulfil their needs for leisure, exploration, and new experiences (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). According to Pearce (1995), 'tourism is essential about the people and places, the places that one group of people leave, visit, and pass through, the other groups who make their trip possible and those they encounter along the way' (p. 1). Tourism has become a significant worldwide socio-economic activity owing to several influencing factors such as sufficient disposable income available for travel, fewer working hours, the provision of paid holidays, and significant improvements in transportation networks (Inskeep, 1991).

The conventional understanding of tourism dictates that it is a complex phenomenon (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007) which comprises tourists' ideas and opinions that structure their choices about going on trips and other trip-related activities (Leiper, 2004). Moreover, tourism development is a reflection of stakeholders' interests and perceptions, which are sometimes opposed to each other (Smith, 1988). These stakeholders include public sectors, economists, private sectors, conservationists, communities, and individuals (Bhatta, 2014). Outside the stakeholder perspective, many researchers agree with the systemic perspective to analyse tourism. This system depicts an interrelated combination of things or elements forming a unit (Cooper & Hall, 2008). Broadly speaking, the tourism system consists of consumption (i.e. demands) and production (i.e. supplies) (Cooper & Hall, 2008; Gunn & Var, 2002; Holden, 2016).

From the supply and demand perspective, the origin of the tourists (the tourist-generating regions) represents the demand side, and the destination regions (the attractions) represent the supply side (Cooper & Hall, 2008). Travel components such as transport links and transit facilities are linked in between them (Cooper & Hall, 2008; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Tourism demand is manifested as the cumulative number of people who visit or plan to travel and then use tourism facilities and amenities in the destination areas. Notably, tourism demand is a broad and imprecise term consisting of three main components: actual demand, potential demand, and deferred demand (Lea, 2006). Tourism supply is a composite of events, facilities, and sectors that promote travel and leisure activities at the tourism destination. Key components include attractions (e.g. natural and man-made resources, environment, flora, fauna, beaches, and historic buildings); transportation (e.g. aeroplanes, vessels, trains, and taxis); infrastructure (e.g. harbours, airports, bridges, hotels, and restaurants); and hospitality and cultural resources (e.g. citizens' mindsets towards visitors, the arts, heritage, customs, sports, etc.) (Lea, 2006; Pulina & Cortés-Jiménez, 2010).

Gunn and Var (2002) argued that interrelated parts support the functioning of tourism as a system. The system is like a spider's web – touching one part of it produces a ripple effect throughout it (Mill & Morrison, 2009). Figure 1 illustrates the tourism functioning system with the two main drivers being demand and supply. The tourists' origin side constitutes the demand, and the destination constitutes the supply, with the following five key interrelated components: attractions, transportation, services, information, and promotion. Moreover, tourism development is influenced by several external factors such as labour, entrepreneurship, communities, government policies, natural resources, cultural resources, and finance (Gunn & Var, 2002).

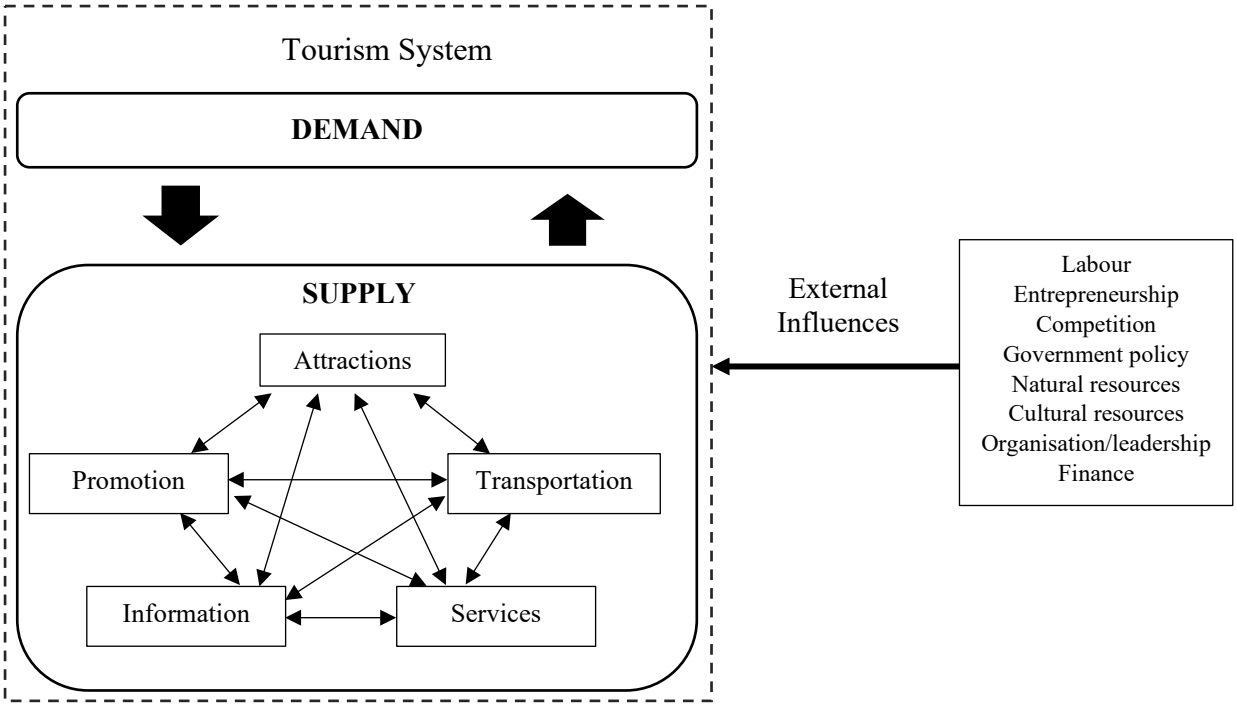

Figure 1: Functional tourism system.

Source: Adapted from Gunn and Var (2002)

The demand and supply perspective is useful for navigating complicated tourism systems by thoroughly examining what is necessary for destinations to create attractiveness and promote the tourist experience (Wijayanti, Damanik, Fandeli, & Sudarmadji, 2017). This framework will provide an important reference for the reform of the destination supply side, whereby policymakers can identify and optimise the shortage of supply factors in the tourism destination community (Xue & Fang, 2018). However, the framework, particularly its orientation to optimisation, is resource- and market-oriented, as it acknowledges competition. To serve the needs of tourists, the supply demand framework neglects the negative impacts of place branding and place-making on the destination community. For example, if there is a rising demand for tourism, services, and transportation, the destination community may be abused, which will undermine the quality of the local environment and tourists' experiences (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). When the destination communities cannot absorb demand which surpasses the capacity of local communities, not only will the attractions become unfavourable to tourists, but the local communities will also become vulnerable social groups (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

The social and environmental perspectives stand out as unique approaches that include not only businesses and tourists but also societies and environments (Holden, 2016). Social and environmental resources are essential, including cultural, human, and natural resources. These resources underpin the tourism system in the destination community (Figure 2). Government policies, consumer demands, expenditures, and investments in tourism sectors have a direct bearing on the possession of these resources in the destination community (Holden, 2008). For example, government policies could encourage entrepreneurial activities, whereby the local community will make use of natural and cultural resources to create attractions and place branding.

Beyond the tourism system, social influence – that is, the structural forces surrounding the tourism system – affect the functioning of the tourism destination community. Such factors include changing consumers' tastes, environmental changes/crises (e.g. pandemics), political freedom to travel, benefits from media and technological use, and demographic changes (Holden, 2016). Tourism also brings about environmental and cultural changes, which can be either positive or negative. For example, making use of natural resources to create attraction can enhance environmental quality, but can also destroy ecological systems. Tourists' satisfaction is important to support the profits of tourism-related enterprises and industries, thus increasing the economic benefits desired by destination communities (Holden, 2016). The livelihood of indigenous residents can be improved with more business opportunities. Nevertheless, they are likely to face displacements from original lands and natural resources, posing significant threats to cultural preservation.

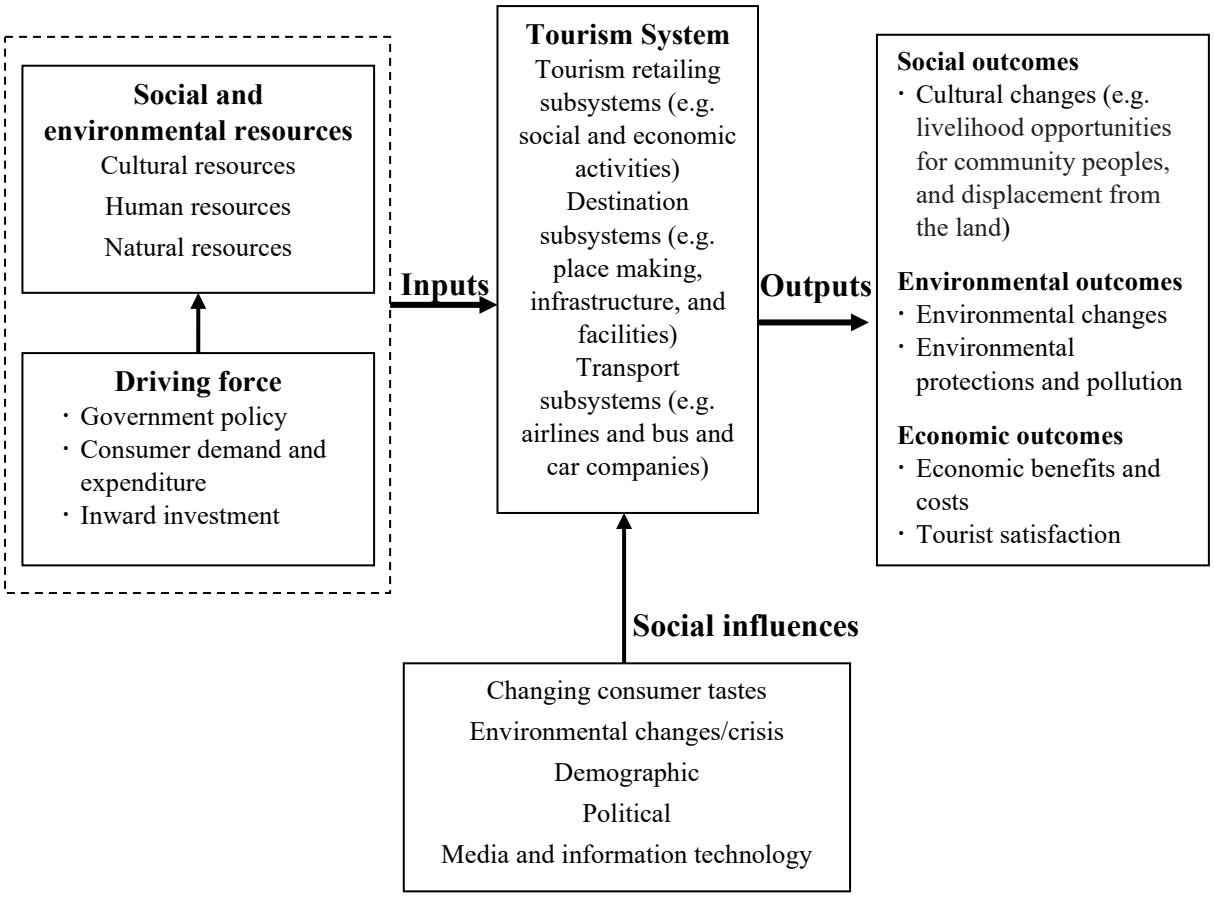

Figure 2: Tourism system: Social and environmental perspectives.

Source: Adapted from Holden (2016)

The social and environmental perspective is useful for understanding how resources play a vital role in supporting the tourism system as well as the impacts of tourism on the community from social and environmental aspects (Holden, 2016). However, the framework is resource-driven; accordingly, all three subsystems require substantial investment and resource inputs to support retailing, infrastructure, and transportation. Moreover, this systemic approach is oriented towards the tourism market because all three subsystems aim to produce and adjust their products to meet the demands of tourists and the tourism sector and, if possible, create new market functions in the destination community. In the system, different parts work as subsystems to create attractions and maintain infrastructure, facilitating and managing businesses that provide services to tourists (Holden, 2016; Mill & Morrison, 2009; Nelson, 2017). It neglects whether the destination community can withstand negative environmental, cultural, and social changes, considering the influx of tourists and a series of changes in their social and ecological environments. The tourism sector may extract more resources to fulfil

these demands, making the community vulnerable. However, this systemic approach offers no outline in terms of how the community can cope with vulnerabilities.

Although the systemic approach simplifies the real-life situations of tourism through a model that demonstrates the linkages of the different elements (Page, 2009), the role of the community is neglected. Specifically, a rising demand for tourism cannot be accommodated at the cost of social and cultural change in destination communities. The destination community may exhibit apathy or hostility towards tourism development if no balance between demand and supply is considered (Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012). In tourism development, maintaining social and environmental resources helps in constructing the long-term capacity of community members to develop and make use of tourism to achieve a better quality of life (Inskeep, 1991). From a resilience perspective, changes in the physical and social environment in the tourism destination communities are also opportunities if community members can actively adapt to, cope with, and mitigate the changes in a positive way.

It is important for the destination community to improve its resilience status, so as to enhance its ability to maintain its living quality and collectively take the necessary actions to preserve its traditional way of life and natural processes (Butler, 2018). Articulating resilience in tourism development helps in coming up with a framework 'with regards to how the different actors involved in tourism can respond to, learn from, adapt to, and transform in response to growing global uncertainties and changes' (Hooli, 2018, p. 103). In addition, the community resilience perspective can contribute to the balance between the demand and supply sides by reducing vulnerabilities that community members may face. A resilient community has the ability to absorb disturbances, adapt to changes, and reduce vulnerabilities (Adger, 2000; Berkes, Colding, & Folke, 2003), which can facilitate tourism development. Co-flourishing in community resilience and tourism development is essential to the well-being of community residents and the sustainability of tourism.

3. Resilience and Development: The Role of Community Capital

Resilience has gained great attention in scholarly research as a novel concept in various academic fields (Grove, 2018). Associations with and ways to deal with changes or disturbances are the fundamental strength of the resilience concept (Wilson, 2012). Initially, the concept of resilience was introduced into the field of ecology, such that ecosystems with a variety of attractors better endure disturbances (Folke et al., 2010). In a broader sense,

resilience is the capability of a system to return to its prior state after an exogenous disturbance (Holling, 1973). Moreover, resilience is 'a dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity' (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000, p. 543). Central to resilience is a capacity-building process to acquire resources and gain more knowledge to respond to risks, through which the original system becomes strengthened and consolidated (Béné, Newsham, Davies, Ulrichs, & Godfrey‐Wood, 2014).

The community is the best scale to nurture resilience capacity and respond to disturbances, as the community is important for people and their well-being (Forjaz et al., 2011). The understanding of a community should avoid seeing the term as merely referring to a piece of land on Earth. The community can be appraised by utilising the following four important concepts: an affective unit of identity and belonging, a functional unit of production and exchange, a network of relations, and a unit of collective actions (Chaskin, 1997, 2008; Coleman, 1988). These four concepts make the community an important module in human society (Chaskin, 2001). Specifically, the community is about building a shared identity with which people may develop a positive self-perception by linking themselves with a large social organisation (Chaskin, 2001, 2008). Close interpersonal relationships in a community are essential to nurturing social cohesion and solidarity (Coleman, 1988). A community functions as a network for exchanging expertise and knowledge, which are important when communities face challenges and disturbances.

Hence, within a community, interpersonal relationships, socio-economic structure, cultures, memories, aspirations, and social orders (i.e. governance) are important assets that provide community members with a certain level of capacity to cope with unfavourable changes and disturbances (Lerch, 2017). Understanding community resilience should highlight the social factors conducive to nurturing a community's adaptive capacity (Guo, Zhang, Zhang, & Zheng, 2018a). In the face of climate change, public health emergencies, and social events, the presence of community capacity helps it to absorb and adapt to the stressors or shocks by identifying the issues, deciding and following up on them, and finally allocating available community resources through networks and shared identity (Kais & Islam, 2016).

Community resilience is defined as 'the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterised by

change, uncertainty, predictability, and surprise' (Magis, 2010, p. 402). Community resilience is the capacity to envision a threat, determine the adverse impacts of various threats, and come back and make adjustments when confronting a threat (Community and Regional Resilience Institute [CARRI], 2013; Pfefferbaum, Van Horn, & Pfefferbaum, 2017). Such a capacity is essential to almost every development scenario. Community resilience constitutes different cooperating and connecting factors, processes, structures, and actions with a view to generating an improved outcome such that communities can beat external aggravations and return to their prior state (Pfefferbaum et al., 2017; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2016). People who live in resilient communities develop their individual and collective capacities that help them respond to disturbances, maintain (and renew) their skills of development, and create new paths for the communities' future (Magis, 2010).

Magis (2010) argued that engagement of community capital and community members is significant in community resilience. Generally speaking, a community's capital includes different types of resources and assets, as well as established social networks, trust, and attachment among a group of community members. Community capital helps members of the community to take collective endeavours to address and accomplish community objectives (Magis, 2010). Community resilience is not only about community members' capacity to confront adversity but also their capability to access needed resources or capital to maintain their well-being (Pfefferbaum et al., 2017; Ungar, 2011). According to the literature, there are six types of community capital, including human, social, natural, physical, financial, and psychological capital (Atreya & Kunreuther, 2016; DFID, 1999; Ungar, 2011).

Human capital refers to the knowledge, skills, working ability, health conditions, and individual attributes of individual members (Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, & Budke, 2012; DFID, 1999; Moore, Severn, & Millar, 2006). Human capital empowers community residents to deal with and recover from disturbances through enhanced levels of risk preparedness and awareness (Atreya & Kunreuther, 2016). For example, disasters have a number of negative impacts, including evacuation of homes, reduced personal hygiene, pollution of water supplies, interruption of sanitation systems, mental health stress, and deaths related to drowning (Keim, 2008). Education and communication are effective mitigation strategies to preserve human capital. Public education is essential in raising consciousness about a crisis and finding solutions (Atreya & Kunreuther, 2016). Public health communications facilitate preparedness

at various locations; information and knowledge sharing is equipped with a better understanding of response plans and evacuation strategies (Keim, 2008).

Social capital connects community members and other stakeholders for resource sharing and mutual help, which includes close and reciprocal relationships, social cooperation, trust, and the development of collective norms (Guo, Zhang, Zhang, & Zheng, 2018b). Three types of social capital are bonding (strengthening existing associations), bridging (building new associations), and linking (improving linkages between community organisations and community members), which are all crucial for community resilience (Beckley, Martz, Nadeau, Wall, & Reimer, 2008; Guo et al., 2018b; Kais & Islam, 2016; Magis, 2010; Minkler, 2005; Pfefferbaum et al., 2017). Social capital strengthens existing networks among community members and community organisations, which helps community members access community resources, formulate collective actions, and receive support in times of disturbances (Bennett et al., 2012; Minkler, 2005). Community organisations, cooperatives, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are important platforms for generating social capital. These organisations provide opportunities for community members to interact with a wide range of people. Community members with rich social capital easily find support through various connections linked with specific goals (Kais, 2018). Community members who lack social capital have a limited capacity to cope with stresses or disturbances (Masterson et al., 2014; Minkler, 2005).

Natural capital is a term derived from a wide variety of resources, such as intangible public goods and divisible assets. Intangible public goods, including the atmosphere and biodiversity, are not used for direct production. Divisible assets such as trees, water, and land are directly used for production (Atreya & Kunreuther, 2016; DFID, 1999). Moreover, natural capital is characterised as extractable natural resources (renewable and non-renewable), ecosystem services, and appreciation of nature (Beckley et al., 2008; Moore et al., 2006). Community individuals and groups must preserve natural capital, as such capital constitutes the environment carrying capacity and is irreplaceable (Moore et al., 2006). For example, waterbodies act as natural sponges to soak up excess flood water and reduce the impacts of floods, which is a function that is essential for preventing flooding (Atreya & Kunreuther, 2016).

Physical capital refers to the existing infrastructure and physical assets of the community. It includes various types of buildings (e.g. residential, commercial, and office buildings); roads; water systems; sewer systems; and critical facilities such as hospitals, schools, colleges, police stations, and fire stations (Beckley et al., 2008; Magis, 2010; Minkler, 2005). Physical capital has a significant effect on community resilience. Notably, housing is considered a primary element because 'housing is not only the shelter and primary investment of most residents, it is also a critical component of the local economy and social fabric' (Zhang & Peacock, 2009, p. 5). Other types of existing infrastructure are also essential elements in ensuring the proper functioning of the community (Masterson et al., 2014; Minkler, 2005). Critical facilities, like hospitals and fire stations, play a vital role in ensuring that people have resources and support arrangements during disturbances (Masterson et al., 2014).

Financial capital refers to financial resources such as income, savings, businesses, investments, and credits at the household and community level that can sustain the resilience goal of the community (Atreya & Kunreuther, 2016). The financial status of a community is important to its access to credit, funds, and insurance which provide the necessary assistance to maintain livelihoods and subsistence (Atreya & Kunreuther, 2016; Beckley et al., 2008; Magis, 2010; Masterson et al., 2014; Mileti, 1999; Walter & Hyde, 2012). For example, in the immediate wake of disturbances, insurance accelerates the rehabilitation process by allocating available funds for restoration (Kousky & Shabman, 2012). Literature suggests that community resilience increases if the financial portfolio of a community is steady, whereas a shrinking financial situation is a sign of increasing vulnerability (Buckle, Mars, & Smale, 2000; Minkler, 2005).

Psychological capital comprises a sense of community, place attachment, and citizen participation (Norris et al., 2008; Sherrieb, Norris, & Galea, 2010). These forms of capital contribute to community resilience in various ways by establishing and strengthening bonding between people and places and ensuring people's participation in community affairs (Leykin, Lahad, Cohen, Goldberg, & Aharonson-Daniel, 2013; Maclean, Cuthill, & Ross, 2014; Mishra, Mazumdar, & Suar, 2010; Norris et al., 2008). The sense of community provides an environment that encourages bonding (trust and belonging) with other members of the community, including mutual concerns and shared values (Goodman et al., 1998; Norris et al., 2008). It is characterised by a significant concern for community issues, respect for and service to others, a sense of connection, and the fulfilment of needs (Goodman et al., 1998; Norris et

al., 2008). Place attachment implies an emotional and functional link to where people live, whereby people integrate self-identity with place-identity and explore the usefulness of a place in supporting daily life (Norris et al., 2008). Place attachment has a positive influence on the perceived resilience of community residents in tourism destinations (Guo et al., 2018a). Citizen participation ensures a platform involving various community members who have clear roles and responsibilities (Norris et al., 2008).

The presence of community capital constitutes the mechanism underlying the association between community resilience and community development (Table 1).

Table 1: Community capital and its implications for community resilience and development

Community capital	Actual embodiment	Implications for resilience and development
Human	Knowledge, skills, working ability, good health, and individual attributes	- Raise awareness and facilitate communication. - Knowledge to cope with crisis.
Social	Bonding, bridging, and linking social capital	- Trust building. - Reciprocal relationships to strengthen the network among the community members and different organisations. - Create platform for interactions. - Seek supports and pursue specific goals.
Natural	Natural resources	- Protect ecological values and ecosystems. - Defend against extreme weather.
Physical	Existing infrastructure and physical assets of communities	- Safeguard the community at the time of a disturbance. - Provide shelters and fulfil needs for residence.

Financial	Income, savings, business, investments, insurance, and credit	- Maintain livelihood and subsistence. - Accelerate rehabilitation.
Psychological	Place attachment, sense of community, and citizen participation	- Strengthen bonding between community residents and places. - Assure residents' engagement in various community activities.

4. Negative Impacts of Tourism Development on Community Capital

As mentioned, community capital is recognised as an essential factor in building community capacities and is vital for people in the community who wish to accomplish desirable livelihood outcomes (DFID, 1999; Masterson et al., 2014). Accumulation of community capital in tourism destination communities is important for the sustainability of tourism and the well-being of community members. Tourism development has substantial and complex negative influences on destination communities (Mason, 2003). The negative impacts of tourism development are multifaceted and can be further analysed in terms of how they are related to community capital.

The negative impacts of tourism such as increasing crime, use of drugs, and diseases affect human capital in diverse ways, which have become a severe concern for tourism destination communities (Inskeep, 1991; Lea, 2006). The use of drugs negatively impacts the health status of the young generation and affects the quality of the workforce in the tourism industry (Inskeep, 1991). Certain examples also reveal that the arrival of tourists has altered the health status of community residents by bringing new infectious diseases and, in some cases, dramatically decreasing the number of local populations (Bauer, 1999; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). The accelerated spread of infectious diseases has become a focus of tourism development from the perspective of human capital (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

From a social capital perspective, tourism contributes to changes in local cultural values, behaviours of local residents, family relations, social cooperation, and community organisations (Andereck et al., 2005; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Minkler, 2005; Tatoglu, Erdal, Ozgur, & Azakli, 2002; Tsai et al., 2016). For example, tourism development modifies the internal social structure of communities by splitting apart those who have and do not have a

relationship with tourism (Brunt & Courtney, 1999). When social networks within a community decline, external assistance is needed. Subsequently, the assistance from outside may interrupt the original cultures and social values (Cheer, Milano, & Novelli, 2019). Hence, the connectivity among members of tourism destination communities may decline, which is crucial in the time of disturbances (Herrschner & Honey, 2018). Tourism development has become a huge business attraction, leading to an influx of new inhabitants from other communities (Perdue, Long, & Kang, 1999). Intense immigration from different cultures can bring about social conflicts in these areas (Tatoglu et al., 2002). Again, if the population growth rate is accompanied by inadequate planning and management, there is likely a loss of community identity and local cultural values (Andereck et al., 2005). As a result of tourism expansion and changing demographics, participation and cooperation may become inefficient as new inhabitants show less interest in social mingling. For example, social capital among seasonal workers is low, which does not work in favour of community cohesion.

With the development of tourism, interpersonal relations tend to be commercialised, and extra-market relations begin to lose their importance in the community (Tatoglu et al., 2002). As a result, social bonding among community residents may be reduced as not everyone values intimate relationships (Cheer et al., 2019). Therefore, the disruption of kinship and community bonds will reduce cohesiveness within destination communities, which negatively impacts community development in the long run (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

Tourism development may trigger environmental damage and natural resource depletion because of environmental pollution, abuse of natural resources, and damage to ecosystems (Tsai et al., 2016). This will have a negative impact on natural capital in destination communities. For example, changes in land use and an increase in foot traffic will lead to a loss of vegetation and inhabitants (Andereck et al., 2005; Mill & Morrison, 2009). Uncontrolled and unplanned construction, development, and inadequate infrastructure damage natural resources, environment, and wildlife, which also causes air and water pollution (Inskeep, 1991; Tatoglu et al., 2002). Poor ecological and environmental management in destinations will increase the cost of preservation, which may also reduce the number of visitors (Inskeep, 1991; Tsai et al., 2016).

Tourism development has a huge impact on physical capital. For example, tourism demands that local people build more vacation hostels. This creates urban sprawl problems, increases

the building density, and causes traffic congestion. In addition, the local infrastructure (e.g. water supply and sewage disposal) may become overloaded, which will ultimately impact the well-being of community dwellers (Inskeep, 1991). Some studies have reported that deterioration in the quality of tourist sites has become a common phenomenon because of littering, vandalism, desecration, and souvenir taking (Inskeep, 1991; Mill & Morrison, 2009).

Various types of developments in tourism destination communities require a certain proportion of financial capital from the local community. When tourism activities achieve success, the income of local community members will increase (Husbands, 1989), which may drive up the cost of rent and land prices for building new hotels and houses (Pizam, 1978; Var, Kendall, & Tarakcioglu, 1985). Nevertheless, due to the seasonal nature of tourism, income can be unstable. The unstable financial status in tourism destination communities is a sign of vulnerability (Buckle et al., 2000; Minkler, 2005). This is because communities need funds in the process of recovery when facing crises and emergencies (Magis, 2010; Masterson et al., 2014).

The impacts of tourism on financial capital are also manifested through changes in destination economies, including occupational shifts and changes in business structure. Farmers and wage earners have abandoned agricultural activities to pursue lucrative jobs in the tourism sector, which may influence the food supply (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Pandey (2006) noted that mountain communities in India have increased their earnings by exploiting tourism demand in their localities by providing accommodation, food, handicrafts, and transport at the expense of some of their traditional agricultural activities. In the long run, the positive effect of increasing employment in services may be offset by siphoning labour from the agriculture sector (Cater, 1987). The structural change from agriculture to tourism also creates changes in land-use patterns. Tourism increases land prices, which encourages land sales and competition.

Tourism is responsible for overcrowding in the destination community, which then has a negative impact on psychological capital (Cheer et al., 2019; Seraphin, Sheeran, & Pilato, 2018). In search of business interests and profits, tourism development seems to favour economic expansion and encourages shifts from agrarian livelihoods to service-driven economic activities supported by tourism (Cheer et al., 2019). This will change the self-identity and self-perception of the local people. Tourism development is sometimes associated with place disruption (Hess, Malilay, & Parkinson, 2008). Such interruptions include relocation,

landscape changes, and loss of symbolic designations, which affect local people's perceptions of place and place attachment (Cheng & Chou, 2015; Clarke, Murphy, & Lorenzoni, 2018; Devine-Wright, 2013).

5. Co-Flourishing: Linking Community Resilience and Tourism Development

Tourism destination communities should improve the status of their resilience conditions by nurturing various kinds of community capital. Articulating community resilience in the course of tourism development is important to ensure that the community has the ability to adjust to changes and challenges in the environment, nurture self-help, share expertise and experiences, and finally develop interdisciplinary collaboration opportunities (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011).

For a long time, tourism development has emphasised the growth and maintenance of tourism systems in a destination community. Various planning and development strategies have been deployed to enhance the system by building attractions, improving services, and making necessary improvements (Stainton, 2020). However, most development scenarios are driven by market incentives. Therefore, great emphasis is placed on profit-making, branding, and promotion (Logan & Molotch, 2007), yet these marketised behaviours seem to neglect the community's right to enjoy the benefits of tourism.

Moreover, tourism planning itself reflects the deficiencies in fulfilling the needs of community members. Exiting tourism planning is prone to incurring numerous obstructions from the community because of a lack of genuine participation. Consensus-oriented planning decisions are important but difficult to achieve, considering that officials, planners, and community members all have different values and perceptions regarding development. The power structure, particularly in a top-down mode of tourism planning, may treat communities as passive recipients of policy changes, which is likely to provoke strong resistance from the bottom. In addition, tourism planning and development in many places is driven by demand, instead of the needs of the supply side. Most of the time, the planning process is simplified as making changes in the physical environment and providing business opportunities. Therefore, tourism planning should re-articulate its role as a medium for collective efforts and conflict mediation.

From these perspectives, community resilience is highly essential in the context of tourism development and tourism planning. Resilience in destination communities emphasises their

ability to adapt, learn, and self-organise following a crisis or a disturbance (Filimonau & De Coteau, 2020). The use and preservation of community capital helps to establish unity, promote mutual help, and mobilise various community resources (Butler, 2018). Co-flourishing is critical to the tourism destination community, which is conducive to achieving sustainable development with improved well-being. On the one hand, resilience itself is closely related to the community, as resilience treasures the capacities and resources of people who are facing stresses and disturbances. On the other hand, people and communities are constantly '(re)invented, (re)produced and (re)created' in developing resilience (Salazar, 2009, p. 49). Effective utilisation and management of community capital helps the destination community to make better use of tourism as opportunities for development while adapting to the changes that tourism may bring about in their local communities (Stone & Nyaupane, 2018).

Tourism development and planning consists of complex and diversified decisions and actions while considering land use and infrastructure, stakeholder engagement, entrepreneurial activities, local markets, and the well-being of community members (Esfehani & Albrecht, 2019; Hall, 2008). Articulating community responses to crises and disturbances from a resilience perspective allows decision-makers and planners to better understand the impact on the community and tourism industry (Cartier & Taylor, 2020). A paradigm shift in tourism development should eliminate the simplified systemic approach, considering that such an approach is entrepreneurial in nature, thus encouraging the development of market principles to create attraction and maximise demands. It is important to know all the essential components of the community and determine its vulnerabilities and susceptible situations (Bec, McLennan, & Moyle, 2016; Smit & Wandel, 2006). The promotion of destination resilience also needs to involve the identification of how the various types of community capital, assets, and resources help withstand the vulnerabilities and susceptible situations within the tourism supply system (Bec et al., 2016) while examining the needs of the broader community beyond the purpose of development (Amore, Prayag, & Hall, 2018).

Addressing community capital is key to co-flourishing by intertwining community resilience and tourism. The accumulation and use of community capital will provide opportunities, materials, resources, networks, and individual competencies to cope with the negative effects of tourism development (Bennett et al., 2012). This capital is also helpful in monitoring tourism development and balancing interests from various stakeholders (Zielinski, Kim, Botero, & Yanes, 2020). A paradigm shift in tourism planning and development requires the proposal of

ways to identify, manage, and use community capital to transform community capacities and accommodate both tourism demands and the community's own aspirations of living a good life.

Several instruments in tourism development and planning can facilitate co-flourishing. First, the training and development of managerial skills in destination communities is important for risk preparedness and capacity building, which introduce new skills, knowledge, and working ability to community members (Biggs, Hicks, Cinner, & Hall, 2015). This is particularly the case for tourism development in developing economies. Human capital will be consistently improved if community members know how to provide better service while maintaining their own strength to cope with stressors and disturbances (Agyeman, Yeboah, & Ashie, 2019; Biggs et al., 2015).

Community building is essential in the course of tourism development, which is conducive to the development of social capital. Social capital acts as the glue which not only connects community members but also links communities with various types of resources (Macbeth, Carson, & Northcote, 2004). For example, in the face of changes due to tourism, networks provide solidarity, connectedness, support, and cooperation (Guo et al., 2018b). Members of a community feel a sense of belonging. They are also empowered to access various resources and types of support, which creates opportunities for collaboration (Hwang & Stewart, 2017).

A variety of activities and practices can be used for community building, ranging from small events such as potlucks (which is common in some rural areas in China) to large-scale activities such as festivals. The involvement of community planners, community workers, and activists is also important to address collective well-being and problem-solving. People who are active and enthusiastic possess more local knowledge.

Considering natural capital and ecological values, tourism development should be focused on conservation in order to save water bodies, landscapes, and coastal resources. Sustainable tourism should uphold the non-declining inventory of natural capital in the destination community in the long run (Collins, 1999). Preserving natural capital also requires planners and decision-makers to revisit tourism demands by taking note of the carrying capacity of the environment, particularly for destinations famous for natural resources (Holden, 2016).

Facility maintenance (e.g. accommodations, road networks, and water supplies) helps consolidate physical capital. Well-maintained destinations provide a better experience to tourists. Furthermore, regular maintenance ensures the proper functioning of communities in the face of crises including climate change and public health emergencies (Masterson et al., 2014; Mayunga, 2007; Minkler, 2005). For example, good road networks and better security facilities encourage tourist flows. These elements of the infrastructure also safeguard local communities in fulfilling their needs for mobility and safety, as in the areas of evacuation strategies and crime prevention (Agyeman et al., 2019; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016).

Financial capital is essential to resilience. Reserving some funds from savings and investments is necessary even if the destination community is more willing to construct new places of interest and expand their business enterprises. These funds will help the community to recover after particular shocks or crises. Money can be used for rehabilitation, enabling quick recovery for destination communities; again, due to seasonality in tourism (Agyeman et al., 2019), such funds can offset shrinking incomes and help community members overcome hardships.

In tourism planning and development, nurturing various forms of social and community organisations is critical to psychological capital. Resident associations, religious organisations, and other forms of connections among community members should be encouraged. These collective forms of organisation contribute to the development of place attachment and active community engagement (Norris et al., 2008; Sherrieb et al., 2010). Residents with close connections to the community are more concerned about their community and the consequences of tourism development (McCool & Martin, 1994). Therefore, residents' participation in various venues creates opportunities for community members to play a significant role in the development process (Goodman et al., 1998; Norris et al., 2008).

6. Conclusion

The existing understanding of tourism from a systemic perspective consists of supply and demand and social and environmental perspective. However, we argue that the systemic approach seems to emphasise tourism consumption, under which key components of the destination community (e.g. attractions, transportation, services, information, and promotion) are resource- and market-oriented. The social and environmental perspective, although it identifies the environmental and social resources and outcomes, views the functionality of the destination community as serving its tourism demands. Insufficient emphasis has been placed

635 on the local community's own capacity, values, attachment, and networks. Tourism prosperity
636 at the destination community does not solely depend on economic benefits (Basurto-Cedeño &
637 Pennington-Gray, 2018). Accordingly, understanding tourism and tourism development should
638 be articulated in broader agendas, including sustainability, societal well-being, climate action,
639 and the aspirations of local communities (Sharma, Thomas, & Paul, 2021).
640
641 In this review paper, we call for a co-flourishing framework that integrates community
642 resilience in the course of tourism development. A community is the best level to address
643 resilience. On the one hand, resilience has a great bearing on capacity building and the well-
644 being of community members, while on the other, a community can evolve and develop to a
645 better stage with more solidarity and collaboration by making use of the process to bounce
646 back. Central to community resilience is the use of community capital. In this paper, we have
647 identified these six types of community capital: human, social, natural, physical, financial, and
648 psychological. The management and use of these forms of capital are essential for community
649 members to develop and explore various community assets and resources to thrive in an
650 environment of change and uncertainty. We find that these forms of capital add value to
651 community resilience in various dimensions.
652
653 Nonetheless, tourism development has become a catalyst for local economies which, in
654 contrast, can have negative effects on the community and its sustainability development. For
655 example, the prosperity of tourism changes the local employment structure, thus encouraging
656 a rapid increase in the local population filled by outsiders, which may further change the social
657 structure, community coherence, types of land use, and people's sentimental and emotional
658 attachment to where they live. That is to say, a resource-driven tourism development paradigm
659 may neglect the needs of the community and have negative impacts on community capital.
660
661 Intertwining community resilience and tourism development requires a community at the
662 centre when we propose tourism development. We need to change the existing development
663 paradigm that views tourism as a pure market behaviour and gain greater empathy with the
664 needs of communities. We also need to understand that development consists of more than
665 making changes to the physical environment, but includes making use of the community's own
666 wisdom and capabilities to solve problems. A coherent community can mobilise its members
667 in order to share the benefits of tourism with the entire community (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010).
668 Related to this, providing training and management skills to local communities, strengthening

collaboration and social mingling, preserving the natural environment, performing regular maintenance, setting up ad hoc funds for emergencies, and nurturing a variety of community associations and organisations are useful policy suggestions for long-term tourism development and planning. Our study helps extend the existing scope of community resilience research and provides a guideline on how tourism development can be incorporated into community resilience research – particularly emphasising the co-flourishing of community resilience and tourism development. It is important to note that the co-flourishing framework has many conceptual merits but lacks empirical evidence. Further research is needed to apply co-flourishing to further empirical research in various development scenarios in both developing and developed economies.

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