Natural amenities-driven migration and tourism entrepreneurship: Within business social dynamics conducive to positive social change

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the within tourism businesses social dynamics that lead to positive community social change via the reduction of barriers between amenity migrants and locals. The overarching study question is: What social dynamics happen within amenity migrant owned tourism businesses that are reducing social barriers between migrants and locals and leading to positive social change in the community? Findings show the existence of a dynamic interplay between the amenity migrants and locals who are working together that reflect rational (providing opportunities for locals to become tourism producers, promoting mutual understanding and respect, widening the participation of locals in decision-making) and emotional (welcoming nature, sympathetic understanding, emotional closeness) dimensions, reducing their differences and creating positive social change in the community.

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of entrepreneurial amenity migration has grown in importance as a research field. Underlying this phenomenon is the migration of people from urban to rural areas seeking significant lifestyle changes (i.e., amenity migration) that are facilitated by the natural amenities often found in rural amenity-rich communities (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Moss & Glorioso, 2014). Given the wealth of natural attributes inherent to such communities, entrepreneurial amenity migrants often leverage these assets to establish businesses within the tourism sector.

Existing studies on entrepreneurial amenity migrants developing tourism businesses have neglected the examination of the social impacts of these businesses despite the pressing need to better understand how the presence of amenity migrant owned tourism businesses influence the social dimensions of a community (Ooi, Laing, & Mair, 2015b). Our study is particularly interested in the way these businesses leads to positive social change in the host amenity-rich community. This is particularly relevant given the commonly noted culture clash, segregation, and inequality formed between amenity migrants and locals (i.e., individuals born and raised in the community of study) after the arrival of amenity migrants, which often affects locals more negatively (Matarrita-Cascante, 2017; Ulrich-Schad, 2018; Winkler, 2013). Thus, our

study asks the question: what social dynamics happen within amenity migrant owned tourism businesses that are reducing social barriers between migrants and locals and leading to positive social change in the community?

To respond to this question, we interviewed locals and entrepreneurial amenity migrants building on long-term research conducted by the author since 2015 in Mallachulello, Chile. Earlier research in the study site, revealed contentious relationships between locals and amenity migrants resulting from complex socio-economic and cultural dynamics within the community (Vásquez, 2014; Marchant & Rojas, 2015; Matarrita-Cascante; Zunino; Sagner-Tapia, 2017). In a later phase of this long-term study, it was found that the social barriers between amenity migrants and locals were gradually breaking down and leading to a more positive social environment in the community, seemingly attributed to the interaction transpiring between amenity migrants and locals through the working relationships in tourism businesses.

To guide our analysis, we chose two analytical frameworks from the tourism literature that describe social interaction among groups; the first one focuses on rational behaviors seeking to reduce inequality between different social groups, namely inclusive tourism. The second one focuses on emotion-based interaction between different groups, namely emotional solidarity. Specifically, the frameworks applied during the analysis stage of this study seek to answer: how can inclusive tourism

and emotional solidarity principles facilitate our understanding of the social dynamics between amenity migrants and native locals within amenity migrant owned tourism businesses that are reducing barriers between migrants and locals and leading to positive social change in the community?

In the study, we explore, develop and enhance practical and theoretical arguments of inclusive tourism development and emotional solidarity in the context of amenity migration and tourism entrepreneurship in order to understand changing social dynamics between amenity migrants and locals.

2. Literature review

2.1. Amenity migration

Natural amenity migration (amenity migration from hereon) consist of a population movement from urban to rural areas motivated by a primary goal of re-defining life (i.e., starting a new life project), largely outlined by the experiences that living in proximity to natural amenities (i.e. mountains, volcanoes, nature, lakes often present in rural communities) provide (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; Moss & Glorioso, 2014). Amenity migration, however, is not a simple movement of people; it creates a series of economic, social, and environmental consequences to receiving communities and populations (Abrams, Gosnell, Gill, & Klepeis, 2012; Gosnell & Abrams, 2011; Moss & Glorioso, 2014; Winkler, 2013). Summarizing the impacts of amenity migration, Cortés, Matarrita-Cascante, and Fernanda Rodríguez (2014, p. 508) stated:

> Amenity migration affects … employment activities (e.g., from extractive-based to service- oriented); increased property values, taxes, and overall cost of living; higher demands for infrastructure, commercial activities, and public services; emerging gentrification; shifting levels of social capital, social interaction, community identity, and overall local governance; shifts in land ownership and conversion of uses; increased pollution and environmental degradation; increased rural land subdivision, cross-boundary ecological effects, and increased vulnerability to natural disasters resulting from building in risk-prone areas.

Often, the negative consequences of this migratory phenomenon disproportionally affect the local population in comparison to the amenity migrants (Winkler, 2013; Matarrita-Cascante, 2017; Ulrich-Schad, 2018). This is the result of the differences in levels of formal education, income, stage of life, and levels of mobility between migrants and locals, which materialize in unequal access and possession of resources and abilities (Krannich, Luloff, & Field, 2011; Winkler, 2013; Hayes, 2014).

Amenity migrants, however, are not a homogenous group. They are segmented by both domestic vs. international, in terms of their origin (Moss & Glorioso, 2014); vary by their length and type of residence in the receiving community (e.g., seasonal residents vs. permanent; Bell & Ward, 2000); and can be characterized by their social and environmental ethics (e.g., concerned vs. careless; MacAdoo, Zunino, Sagner-Tapia, & Matarrita-Cascante, 2019) and level of integration within a destination (i.e., highly integrated vs. segregated – socially and spatially; Nepal & Chipeniuk, 2005; Mitchell & Madden, 2014; Ooi, Lang & Mair, 2015a; Carson & Carson, 2018; Ulrich-Schad, 2018). While typically labeled as wealthy (Croucher, 2012; Abrams et al., 2012), amenity migrants are also segmented by their socioeconomic status. In fact, not all amenity migrants are independently wealthy; many need to generate income to sustain their relocation (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; Matarrita-Cascante, Zunino, & Sagner-Tapia, 2017). Thus, a significant percentage of amenity migrants remain active in the workforce after relocation (Iversen & Jacobsen, 2016; Mitchell & Madden, 2014; Zhang, Tucker, & Albrecht, 2018). Given the natural attributes found in rural amenity-rich destinations, many of the amenity migrants that remain active in the workforce, develop tourism enterprises (Kuentzel & Ramaswamy, 2005).

2.2. Amenity migrant owned tourism businesses

The phenomenon of entrepreneurial amenity migrants, which often develop tourism-related businesses, have recently gained necessary attention in academic circles. Existing studies have focused on understanding the economic and social impacts that amenity migrant owned tourism businesses have on receiving communities and populations (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Cáceres-Feria, 2016; Otero, Zunino, & Rodriguez, 2017). Particularly in the case of remote and underdeveloped amenity-rich areas characterized by limited infrastructural, institutional, and financial resources, amenity migrant owned tourism businesses play a critical role in the overall community's economic improvement (Matarrita-Cascante et al., 2017). Along this line of research, studies have reported that in many communities, amenity migrant owned tourism businesses have increased the number and diversity of businesses, created jobs, increased revenues to local municipalities, expanded and consolidated the local tourism infrastructure, developed new tourism-related activities, and connected the local tourism sector with external markets (Zunino, Espinoza, & Vallejos-Romero, 2016; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Cáceres-Feria, 2016).

In addition to the economic contributions that amenity migrant owned tourism businesses offer to receiving communities, a few studies have reported the social role they play in amenity-rich communities. These include improvements in the social, cultural, and intellectual capital brought by amenity migrants through their tourism businesses, contribution to the community by influencing local decision-makers' attitudes and behaviors (observed in multiple dimensions of their life including in and outside of work), promotion of interaction between migrants and locals, and the formation of community (Otero et al., 2017; Ruiz-Ballesteros & Cáceres-Feria, 2016).

The literature, however, has neglected the understanding of the relationship between amenity migrants and local residents within the work environment and the potential implications such interaction has for the community's social environment. Coupled with the challenges associated with establishing businesses that compete with those of the locals, the economic and socio-cultural differences between amenity migrants and locals described earlier (Krannich et al., 2011; Winkler, 2013; Hayes, 2014), can present challenges towards working together (Matarrita-Cascante & Luloff, 2008; Matarrita-Cascante, Luloff, Krannich, & Field , 2006). Our interest in understanding the relationship between amenity migrants and local residents within the work environment relates to understanding the role such interactions play in shaping the community's social dynamics. Accordingly, Matarrita-Cascante (2017) suggested a clarification of the ambiguities of amenity migrants and native local relationships through exploration of their interactions and social dynamics as a result of amenity migration. We engage in such a task focused on the interactions happening within business established in communities experiencing amenity migration. The few published papers that investigate entrepreneurial amenity migrants limits our understanding of the phenomenon, in this case, in the context of businesses established in the tourism industry and manifestations of reduced social barriers, over time. To address the paucity of knowledge about the social dynamics between amenity migrants and local natives who are working together in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses, we posit that the dynamics that take place within these businesses need to be examined from two perspectives. The first is a perspective that focuses on rational behaviors, focused on practices that seek to provide opportunities and reduce inequality between different social groups, namely inclusive tourism (Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018). The second perspective focuses on emotional behaviors, reflecting human actions of connection and cohesion namely emotional solidarity (Woosnam, 2012). Such frameworks will guide our analysis and are detailed below.

3. Analytical frameworks

3.1. Inclusive tourism development

Inclusive development has been mentioned as an important component of the sustainable development goals (SDG) in the 2015 agenda of the United Nations Development Program (2016). Inclusive development, in broad-based terms, seeks a development that is "inclusive of low and middle-income groups" with a "distributional aspect aimed to reduce income inequality'' (Hampton & Jeyacheya, 2013). Within the tourism field, inclusiveness is a relatively new and underdeveloped notion limited mostly to conceptual discussions. Scheyvens and Biddulph (2018) proposed the term inclusive tourism, which "can be understood as transformative tourism in which marginalized groups are engaged in ethical production or consumption of tourism and the sharing of its benefits" (p. 4). The overarching premise is that inclusive tourism leads to socio-economic improvement, particularly of marginalized groups, through the creation of what we frame as rational actions that seek to promote opportunity and equality. Because of such goals, inclusive tourism is conceptualized as 'transformative', involving activities that extend beyond employment and income generating opportunities for marginalized populations and communities (Ooi et al., 2015b; Scheyvens & Biddulph, 2018).

Scheyvens and Biddulph's (2018) inclusive tourism development framework, while somewhat ambiguous and underdeveloped, was chosen to guide our analysis of inclusive tourism development. Such framework offers a series of what we believe are rational-choice actions conducive to inclusive tourism including (we attempt to more specifically define each practice in parenthesis): (1) marginalized people as tourism producers (seeks to include local people as active agents in the production of tourism goods and services as opposed to passive actors); (2) self-representation in positive and appropriate ways (seeks to avoid objectifying and exoticizing the 'other' while representing the different tourism actors in respectful, positive and appropriate ways; (3) promotion of mutual understanding and respect (seeks to break down barriers and conflict between people, overcoming negative stereotypes, and promoting understanding and respect between them); (4) widening of participation in tourism decision-making (seeks to provide opportunities to the different tourism-related actors to participate in the decision-making process as it relates to tourism development); and, (5) power relationships transformed in and beyond tourism (seeks to change social structures that tend to exclude groups with the overall goal to provide equality in the power dynamics in a community).

3.2. Emotional solidarity

Emotional solidarity is a notion that describes a perceived sense of cohesion and integration that develops between social groups as a result of shared actions, common beliefs, and interaction (Durkheim, 1997 [1893]). Within the tourism context, the notion is useful to better understand the levels of connection that develops (or not) between residents and tourists (Woosnam, 2011; Woosnam & Aleshinloye, 2013), which has been linked to understand residents' overall perceptions of tourism development and subsequent support for it (Lai & Hitchcock, 2017; Li & Wan, 2017; Woosnam, 2012). Similar values including mutuality, ethics, and professionalism are found in other contexts within the tourism literature (Gretzel, Isacsson, Matarrita, & Wainio, 2011).

Emotional solidarity offers a series of, what we believe are emotion-related actions conducive to solidarity among members of distinct groups including (1) welcoming nature (reflects friendly and hospitable emotions towards the presence of a 'other', valuing the contribution they have to the local economy); (2) emotional closeness (reflects emotions of intimacy and familiarity with a 'other'); and (3) sympathetic understanding (reflects emotions of identification, sharing commonalities, and affection with a 'other'). That is, emotional solidarity also serves as a useful concept to explore the levels of connection that

develop (or not) between amenity migrants and locals in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses which may catalyze more widespread social change in the community.

4. Methods

The examination of social dynamics in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses in the natural amenity-rich community of Malalcahuello, Chile is situated against the background and ongoing questions concerning amenity migrant and native local relationships from longer-term research conducted by the study's first author. Interviews during initial site visits (Stages 1–3; See Table 1) revealed a contentious relationship between amenity migrants (predominantly domestic counterurban migrants from Santiago) and native locals resulting from a complex history, socio-economic and cultural dynamics within the community (Vásquez, 2014; Marchant & Rojas, 2015; reference removed to protect anonymity).

During Stage 4, it became evident that the animosity and social barriers between amenity migrants and locals (reference removed to protect anonymity) were gradually reducing, attributed by study participants, to the interaction between amenity migrants and native locals who were working together in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses. Therefore, the present study builds on the previous stages of research in Malalcahuello, Chile.

4.1. Site selection

Our study was conducted in the Chilean town of Malalcahuello, located within the margins of the Malalcahuello National Reserve founded in 1931. The area boasts pristine natural environments, large extensions of forests, and the snow-covered Lonquimay volcano dominating the landscape. Such remote and natural amenities attract both international and domestic tourists and amenity migrants– some with entrepreneurial goals that leverage the potential of tourism.

Malalcahuello was founded in 1918 by a group of pioneers that were part of a land-grant process implemented by the Chilean government seeking to populate rural areas of the country. The first settlers

Table 1
Study stages, goals, findings, and methods used.

Stage	Methods
Stage 1: June 2015	Participant observations
Main goal: Gain understanding of community issues	Focus group (9 locals)
Main finding: Most significant issues found around social divisiveness	Informal conversations (5 locals)
Stage 2: January 2016	Participant observations
Main goal: Gain understanding of community issues	Focus group (12 migrants)
Main finding: Most significant issues found around social divisiveness	
Stage 3: September 2016	Focus groups (3 migrants)
Main goal: Gain understanding of social divisiveness between migrants and locals	Focus groups (3 locals)
Main finding: Social divisiveness fueling frustration, conflict, and affecting local development	
Stage 4: November 2016	Interviews (25 migrants)
Main goal: Deepen the understanding of the factors causing social divisiveness between migrants and locals	Interviews (22 locals)
Main finding: Social divisiveness is a result of lack of knowledge of the other, constant reproduction of negative stereotypes, and lack of social interaction between groups. However, spaces (e.g., tourism businesses) leading to reduced barriers were found.	
Stage 5: May 2018[a]	Participant observations
Main goal: Deepen the understanding of the social dynamics within amenity migrant owned tourism businesses that lead to reduced social barriers between migrants and locals	Interviews (8 migrants) Interviews (8 locals)

[a] Data specifically used for this manuscript.

established timber operations extracting old growth Araucaria trees. Others followed seeking work within the timber industry, employed by the first wave of settlers under the "inquilinaje" system, where landowners allowed employees to live in their land in exchange for their work, reflecting indentured servitude. Workers endured harsh conditions and the difference in socio-economic class between employers and employees was highly marked.

The timber activity in Malalcahuello reached its peak in 1970 (Vásquez, 2014). Subsequently, the establishment of a national law prohibiting the harvest of the Araucaria trees, the modernization of the nearby timber processing factory, and ultimately the closure of the factory in the early 1990s, lead Malacahuello's economy to stagnate by the mid-1990s (Vásquez, 2014). During the late 1990s, Malacahuello transitioned from their industrial production roots to tourism, fueled by an appreciation for natural assets. Lodging resources, mainly in the form of cabins, started to slowly emerge, developed by a small number of amenity migrants. Other amenity migrants followed, continuing the trend of establishing businesses and tourism infrastructure in the community. The development of the Corralco ski center and a hot water spring complex in the early 2000s, changed Malalcahuello's economic, social, and physical landscape, which led to more tourists and in-migration of individuals seeking to relocate to this community. Vásquez (2014), Marchant and Rojas (2015) reported a notably high level of divisiveness between amenity migrants and locals brought on by the arrival of the former to the community (also see -reference removed to protect author anonymity – for a detailed discussion of social dynamics in Malalcahuello including the pronounced culture clash between groups).

The intersection between entrepreneurial amenity migration and tourism that characterizes Malalcahuello was the reason why the community was selected for the present study. More specifically, the prevalence of amenity migrant owned tourism businesses where migrants and locals work with each other, was a key factor determining our site selection. We inquired about the social dynamics of amenity migrants and local residents and how this deterred or removed social barriers in the broader community.

4.2. Data collection

Data for this study were collected in May of 2018 using key informant semi-structured interviews. The present study (Stage 5; Table 1) follows the long-term research since 2015. During this long-term project, an iterative approach was operationalized, in which each stage of data collection was informed and fine-tuned using the preceding stage. Accordingly, results preceding the current study, (Stage 4, November 2016) pointed to the propensity of amenity migrant owned tourism businesses to improve social relationships between amenity migrants and locals which then spilled over to broader community (i.e. improved relationships between amenity migrants and native locals in schools, civic organization, and community events).

A semi-structured interview guide was developed, including questions pertaining to various aspects about the changing perceptions about 'the other'; changing relations with 'the other'; and the practices within the work environment that were crucial influencers of this change in the perceptions about and relations with 'the other', and accordingly, reductions in social barriers in the broader community. The interview questions were semi-structured to better understand how entrepreneurial amenity migrants and locals have improved their relationships, over time. Follow-up questions derived from the responses to each of the questions – drawing the respondents to extrapolate on the social dynamics in the context of the amenity migrant owned tourism businesses, tourism industry, and the greater community as well as reduction of social barriers between the amenity migrants and native locals, over time.

We employed purposive sampling (Kemper, Stringfield; Teddlie, 2003) to effectively target amenity migrant and locals who were

working together in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses. In the case of amenity migrants, the majority of respondents lived in the community for 15 years or less. The decomposition of our sample owning or operating in tourism businesses includes: restaurants (2); bed and breakfast (2); cabins (1); ski resort (2); and, small convenience store (1). The majority of the amenity migrants in this stage had participated in previous stages. In the case of the locals, we included only respondents who were born and raised in the community that were working in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses, a small portion of which had participated in previous stages of the overall study.

In order to ensure confidentiality and protective rights of study participants, we followed human research subject protocols established by the author's research institutions. A total of 16 interviews were conducted (8 migrants and 8 locals), 14 in Spanish and 2 in English lasting between 35 and 80 min. The interviews were translated and transcribed by a bilingual translator (Spanish native speaker) and analyzed as described below.

4.3. Data analysis

Data were analyzed using a hybrid thematic coding procedure and NVIVO qualitative software package. This approach combined data-driven inductive coding and theory-driven coding. Scheyvens and Biddulph's (2018) inclusive tourism and Woosnam's (2012) emotional Solidarity concepts provided a basis for the themes by which the transcripts were coded, in addition sub-themes were coded that enhanced the understanding of the selected concepts and induced directly from the data. In answering the present study's research questions pertaining to the various social dynamics between the amenity migrants and native locals who were working together in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses, over time, the author's sought to understand how relationships were improving and their effect on the broader community.

5. Findings

Based on participant observations and the interviews conducted during this stage, we corroborated broader social change in Malalcahuello, where the relationships between amenity migrants and locals have distinctly improved from 2015. The most notable manifestation was observed by the first author, who remembers the level of animosity and frustration that a particular amenity migrant expressed about locals in 2015 during a focus group. By 2018, the same person spoke so candidly and lovingly about locals and how they have become her family, that one never would have guessed she had issues with them. During the interviews, both locals and amenity migrants interviewed expressed how their initial views of 'the other' had dramatically changed over time after working together in tourism businesses. For instance, a male amenity migrant expressed how he has developed good friendships as a result of working with the locals:

> "I have made good friendships and it all originated form the working network … At the beginning is frustrating, but then over time you feel the warmth of the people."

Further, as noted by another male amenity migrant, the work environment has played an important role in the development of friendships with locals:

> "Coworkers have become friends. Working and living in the mountain is harsh, and in complex situations like heavy snow if anyone needs help, we provide help. Both migrants and locals are like this. I have a group of friends and we are like a support network."

A local female working in an amenity migrant owned restaurant noted how the outcomes of a positive working environment have extended to the larger social environment in Malalcahuello:

"We interact more. Every event we interact. We are like a family. For example, as a group every birthday we meet up. In a child's birthday the entire group gets together, and we celebrate and there are a lot of leftovers because is just eating and chatting, pure joy."

To better understand what led to this change, we studied the social dynamics within amenity migrant owned tourism businesses as detailed below.

5.1. Providing opportunities for employees to become tourism producers

The first social dynamic within the amenity migrant owned tourism businesses found to improve the social relationships between groups was the development of opportunities by amenity migrants with the goal of helping their local employees become tourism producers. This desire to help local natives become tourism producers is particularly important given the lack of economic means or skills of most locals to develop businesses within the tourism industry. The facilitation of local natives becoming tourism producers by amenity migrants was a two-step process. First, amenity migrants recognized the value of local natives' contribution to tourism business operations; and second, they provided locals with fair economic retributions and encouraged their professional development.

5.2. Valuing locals' contribution to the tourism industry

Findings indicated that amenity migrants acknowledged local natives' contribution to the tourism industry. That is, interviewed amenity migrants did not see themselves as the only important actor in tourism development in Malalcahuello, but understood that locals were critical too and valued their contribution. Valuing locals meant that amenity migrants understood that without the local population, they could not successfully develop and operate their tourism businesses. A female migrant hotel/spa owner noted:

"The locals are the work force; they work and they help us develop our ideas. That is why

they are important and without them we could not develop our activities."

Similarly, a female amenity migrant snowboard instructor noted:

"Locals mostly work in the migrants' companies. And that is good, because there is a

working complement."

Valuing locals also included acknowledging that locals were an important part of the local "place", which amenity migrants regard as critical for the tourism experience. A female amenity migrant commented: "The local has the magic of the place." Similarly, the general manager of a large touristic attraction in town noted about locals:

"I think that they are absolutely essential in the sense that in all of what frequently is

referred to as experiential tourism, those that can most contribute to experiences that are

unforgettable are the people that have the longest history in relation with the local

environment."

This was consistent with concepts of inclusive tourism development, reflecting a fairer valuation of the other, in this case the locals, who are marginalized in their capacity to develop tourism. As found in the data, amenity migrants were placing such value on locals given the recognition of what they provide to the amenity migrant owned tourism

businesses and the development of tourism in Malalcahuello.

5.3. Provision of opportunities to become tourism producers

The provision of opportunities for locals to become producers within the tourism industry entails, to a large extent, having the economic means to do so. Interviewed amenity migrants mentioned paying locals justly, providing good benefits, and encouraging mentoring/educational opportunities which helped to improve the economic situation for the local natives. Many amenity migrants interviewed prioritize these practices, as indicated by a hotel/spa owner:

"You have to pay a salary that benefits them [locals]. We have to value their activity without taking advantage of them. Our responsibility is to make this a reality. We have to support them as much as we can. Like what we are doing in our hotel, give people tools so they can improve their economic situation."

An amenity migrant general manager of a large tourism attraction was clear about the need to improve the opportunities for locals to grow. He said:

"I think we have an obligation, a responsibility, since we have a better economic situation. I think our responsibility that they get a share from this big cake that is tourism … One of our goals is to contribute to improving the education of locals."

Thus, in addition to valuing the contribution that locals bring to amenity migrant entrepreneurship in tourism, amenity migrants provide economic and educational conditions to facilitate them as producers in the tourism industry.

5.4. Inclusion of employees in the decision-making process of the tourism enterprise

The second dynamic found in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses that is reducing the barriers between groups, was the inclusion of locals in the decision-making aspect of the business. The data showed that entrepreneurial amenity migrants interviewed were encouraging locals to participate in the everyday decision-making within their tourism enterprises. This required amenity migrants to operate in ways that reflected horizontal relationships with their local employees. This was distinctively a rational choice, given that hierarchical relationships are more common in Chilean culture and particularly in the community of Malalcahuello, where employers migrating from urban regions are ascribed by locals an inherent hierarchy. This was a legacy of the timber extraction times, which was marked by distinctively clear power differentials between employers and employees: the employer ruled and was feared; the employee was submissive and feared.

The following quotes reflect how interviewed entrepreneurial amenity migrants engaged in practices reflecting such horizontalization of relationships within their tourism businesses, where they encourage locals to make decisions with them:

"I realized it, the most important thing is that local people have to participate in the decisions." (Amenity migrant male hotel/spa owner)

"We include them, as a part of this company. We discuss projects with them." (Amenity migrant female hotel/spa owner)

Locals have noted the horizontalization of relationships within the tourism business, expressing a positive valuation of it:

"Yes, if we have to discuss something we say it without fear. For example, people working in other regions not in Malalcahuello, they don't know their employers. Because there is a manager, sub-

manager, there is a hierarchy. Not here, we all know our employer and we talk directly to them without intermediaries." (Female local)

"They are the type of employers that are constantly challenging you, when there is a problem we open a discussion and resolve it." (Local female working for a migrant-owned restaurant)

As a result of the role locals were playing in making decisions, they were displaying positive attitudes and emotions including lack of fear, motivation to work and to grow with the business. A local female working for a migrant-owned grocery store noted how such inclusion made her feel:

"I feel like I contribute to the future of the company, playing a big role in its growth. Before, I would just work, finish my shift and go home. Now it's different, I can do more to help the company."

5.5. Promotion of mutual understanding and respect between groups

The promotion of mutual understanding and respect between locals and amenity migrants was found to be the third dynamic within amenity migrant owned tourism businesses leading to social change, one that particular had a spillover effect in the community related to reduced barriers between migrants and locals. AMTOBs were found to promote mutual understanding and respect, nurturing opportunities to overcome negative stereotypes between groups (which had been a predominant problem in Malalcahuello as evidenced in - author anonymized's prior study). This catalyzed broader social change and effectively spread openness in the community related to amenity migrant/local interaction with the 'other', while better understanding each other's values and aspirations.

Findings showed that an environment of mutual understanding and respect led to the recognition that both groups were different in Malalcahuello. More importantly, migrants and locals who were breaking the barriers existing between them, respected, accepted, and adapted to such differences. This was opposed to what many in the community were doing, which was to feed their clash by exacerbating those differences. An example was given by a female local working for an amenity-migrant owned restaurant:

"We have different traditions. So, one would learn from them, and they would learn from one as well. Good traditions and bad traditions. But I feel like is a good thing to meet new people from outside, you learn new things from them and you teach them also the living style in here."

Another example of this was seen in the case of a male amenity migrant who shared his increased understanding and respect of locals when he mentioned how his initial assessment of locals as lazy, was replaced by an understanding of what they valued: a calm life, where leisure time spent with family and nature was more valued than working all the time, what he called the "rat race of the city". He further added: "if you think about it, they actually have it right." Despite this difference, locals showed how they also understood their differences and showed respect by trying to adapt to migrants' work ethic. A local male ski instructor said: "I think is the best as an employee, to understand our employer." A female working at an amenity migrant owned restaurant shared how she has evolved in order to respond to the values of the migrants, showing her respect that way: "The thing is you become self-demanding, self-motivating. If you see that something is failing and you can do something to improve it, you do it."

Thus, in contrast to the typical social relationships in the community, where a strong culture clash between groups was still present, many of the respondents shared an inherent desire to understand and respect 'the other.' A male amenity migrant bed-and-breakfast owner and leader of a community association believed this was critical for the community to move forward and past its culture clash. He noted: "Have respect, hear them, and understand them, is the basis of moving forward and improving."

Interviewed migrants expressed doing this by developing an interest in the cultural norms and practices of the locals. A male amenity migrant, general manager of a large touristic attraction shared this attitude that have guided him since arriving to the community:

"When in Rome, do as the romans, and that has been very beneficial to me in understanding my responsibility to adapt, understanding to be gracious and humble in terms of what local culture has to offer."

Similarly, a male amenity migrant bed-and-breakfast owner commented on the attitude of humbleness that he took upon arriving to the community:

"A professor used to ask, what happens when an animal arrives to a new pack, with bigger animals that could harm him? The animal becomes submissive, shows weakness. The other animals might not do anything until the new animal becomes accepted in the new pack. Same here. If we arrive in an aggressive way to this new place, then of course you expect the locals to defend themselves and instead of accepting us, reject us. I think we need to be humble."

As a result of the mutual understanding and respect, the barriers between groups were being removed, and positive outcomes were becoming palpable. A local male working at amenity migrant owned restaurant evidenced how he now understands amenity migrants and felt respected in the work place:

"The way they interact with people, the education they brought, they made me feel not like an object, not like a working machine, but instead someone who contributes valuing the opinions. They are trying to motivate us and consider our opinions. It even motivates you to go to work."

5.6. Development of emotional closeness and sympathetic understanding

We identified emotional closeness and sympathetic understanding as another dynamic included in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses that was leading to a reduction of divisions between migrants and locals. This, we noted, played an important role through the establishment of an emotional connection between amenity migrants and locals which fostered a better relationship among them. This was one of the major contributors to changing the relationships between locals and migrants. It results from a large portion of the barrier that exists between migrants and locals results from the highly marked hierarchical division and fear that locals have towards their employees modeled during the pseudo-slavery conditions locals experienced in the timber extraction times in Malalcahuello. An amenity migrant commented on the working conditions during that time, noting that "employees feared their bosses and it was not rare that they would be slapped for acting in ways that would displease their employers."

Thus, the emotional closeness and sympathetic understanding within the tourism businesses displayed by interviewed amenity migrants were highly impactful for locals, as they were not used to being treated in such ways. According to several locals interviewed, practices included providing flexible schedules so locals could take care of their families and obligations, paying locals earlier than the pay day or allowing locals to leave early if a family situation arose, letting locals miss work if their kids were sick, and even driving them to the clinic in situations of emergency. Commenting on the flexible working environment, a local noted about migrants:

"They were very flexible. She told me to make my own time schedule. Decide what would be my salary. The benefits. Very flexible. Which made me work always with respect, trying never to fail."

A local female that has worked for several amenity migrants

commented on how the treatment by amenity migrants made her feel she was working with family:

> "Well they were like a father and a mother to me. I saw him like my dad, and like my mom. They were very caring, like they would give me some items, or make food for my kid. Very attentive, and caring. They are an example … Is like I met someone new and they were so caring, infinite love from them, and in reality, every migrant that was arriving was like that. So, for me it has been very nice growing up close to them and love the ones who grew up with me. It brings me a lot of happiness"

It is important to note that locals stated the abovementioned positive dynamics were not practiced by all entrepreneurial amenity migrants as noted by locals. Other entrepreneurial amenity migrants practiced a more hierarchical and rigid approach in their businesses. In fact, several locals described prior experiences working for other entrepreneurial amenity migrants under working conditions that were in contrast to the conditions previously discussed. Upon inquiring about these, which seemed to negatively influence relationships between groups, a female local mentioned her past employer: "The conditions were not the same and I did not like working for them." Probing further, she was asked if she would consider returning to this previous employer, if offered three times her current salary. The respondent smiled and without hesitation expressed she would not leave her current employer: "definitively no, this is my family now."

5.7. Welcoming nature

A welcoming nature was identified as another dynamic included in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses that was leading to a reduction of divisions between migrants and locals. This was playing an important role as it reinforced the connection between amenity migrants and locals leading to a better relationship among them. Several locals noticed: "Now we welcome the migrants here"; "We are happy they are here" and "We invite locals to our events and community gatherings". These types of comments were simply not found within the first years that amenity migrants moved into Malalcahuello. Thus, changes in the relationship between migrants and locals was evident during this last visit to the community.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The present study set out to better understand social dynamics within tourism businesses in Malalcahuello, Chile that have led to positive social change via a reduction of social barriers between amenity migrants and locals. Given that in the previous stage of the research (conducted in late 2016), respondents noted the role that tourism enterprises were playing in such changes, the author returned to Chile in 2018 to conduct an in-depth investigation of the factors leading to this change. The study used Scheyvens and Biddulph's (2018) and Woosnam's (2012) frameworks of inclusive tourism development and emotional solidarity respectively to provide the basis of a thematic analysis of observations related to the social dynamics of amenity migrants and native locals working together in amenity migrant owned tourism businesses. It was found that the social dynamics at the amenity migrant owned tourism businesses level have had a spillover effect on the community and influenced a broader reduction of social barriers between amenity migrants and locals.

Through our study we found that notions from both frameworks helped us explaining the reduction of barriers between groups, which were rational and emotional in nature. Guided by these principles and reflecting our data, we found the amenity migrant owned tourism businesses included the provision of opportunities for native locals to be active agents in the production of tourism, included native locals in the decision-making process, promoted understanding and respect,

resulting in emotional closeness, sympathetic understanding, and welcoming nature between migrants and locals. We found these rational and emotional actions to genuinely transfer power to what otherwise would be exploited groups as in the case of locals in Malalcahuello. We found such practices to be transformative, occurring over the course of time, and removed barriers between groups, in turn, extending to broader to social change in the community.

Moreover, we found that such rational and emotional actions were highly interrelated. As migrants provided opportunities for their employees (i.e., locals) to become tourism producers, locals engaged in an emotional response of feeling their employers (i.e., migrants) had their best interests at hand. Additionally, the inclusion of employees in the decision-making process of the tourism business, led to locals feel valued. As both groups engaged in actions seeking mutual understanding and respect, locals felt known, understood, and even celebrated. Such feelings led to a productive and positive working environment. Finally, as migrants engaged in empathetic and compassionate practices towards their employees, locals felt cared for and responded in displaying a strong work ethic, loyalty, and a welcoming nature towards the migrants and their tourism businesses. As a result of these practices, as noted earlier, the "us versus them" dynamic in Malalcahuello was being changed.

In light of this, our study findings contribute to practical and theoretical advancements. Specifically, in the case of amenity migration, the study responds to the call by Matarrita-Cascante (2017), which asked for more studies that uncover ways the negative effects of amenity migration can be mitigated. In here, we found evidence of social dynamics within businesses situated within the tourism sector of amenity-rich destinations that can lead to positive social change. Such dynamics, which include rational and emotional forms, reflect purposive desires to empower the historically disempowered group, which as noted by Rainer (2016), stems from historically inherited socio-ecological inequality. Such inequality, which started with the *inquilinaje* system during the times of timber extraction in Malalcahuello, created socio-psychological repercussions among locals that left them feeling inept to deal with change and threatened by what migrants represent in the light of it (reference removed to ensure anonymity). Such marginalization is worsened by the socio-economic and cultural differences between migrants and locals, which sink locals deeper into a perceived inability to deal with change and compete with the migrants for an active position in the development of tourism in Malalcahuello. Thus, these findings serve to denote the importance of social mechanisms that seek to reduce the inequalities that exist between amenity migrants and locals. Without these, amenity migration faces the risk to continue being a migratory process with negative implications towards local populations, as inequality and its consequences would face no barriers to continue expanding.

In the case of the tourism literature, this study expands on Scheyvens and Biddulph's (2018) framework of inclusive development in two ways. First, it provides more specific and less ambiguous understanding of how inclusive tourism development materializes on the ground. That is, our findings allowed for a refining of some of the principles offered in the framework. Second, our finding allowed for a deeper understanding of the factors leading to each one of the practices (i.e., subthemes in the finding sections). The study also expands the emotional solidarity framework (Woosnam, 2012) to be applicable beyond the commonly studied tourist-host populations. As noted here, the framework was valid for the understanding of the relationships between amenity migrants and local residents. Further, the importance of emotional solidarity was found to be a key aspect necessary for social change, as denoted by the findings of emotional closeness, sympathetic understanding, and welcoming nature between migrants and locals. These, according to our study findings, were one of the most important social dynamics that had led to social change in Malalcahuello. The highly divided community resulting from the lack of knowledge and reproduction of negative stereotypes had formed in Malalcahuello a highly damaging "us vs. them"

discourse (reference removed to protect author anonymity). In such process, members of both groups constantly chose to reproduce memories of situations that they previously experienced with the 'other', harboring negative views which ultimately contributed to a lack of integration, interaction, and on instances, even animosity (reference removed to protect author anonymity). However, in the context of tourism businesses, as found in this study, the emotional closeness, sympathetic understanding, and welcoming nature that developed between amenity migrants and locals, have become a strong advocate for the reduction and destruction of such negative stereotypes, replaced by more current and positive experiences. Fueled by the rational social dynamics found in our study, emotional dynamics in the workplace have facilitated an important breakthrough for locals, whom have carried the effects that the indentured servitude during the timber extractive era produced in the social conscience of the community. Such a breakthrough has allowed locals to not only form stronger bonds and relationships with the amenity migrants, but have open their eyes to something that they refused to accept for a long time: that tourism is a critical industry in their community and critical to sustainability. Indeed, among our interviews, we noted how the locals working for and in this case, *with* amenity migrants, have led them to become loyal and fierce advocates of tourism. This was something that entrepreneurial amenity migrants constantly tried to instill in the minds of the locals upon their arrival, which was met by strong opposition due to the existing cultural clashes and misunderstandings among groups. For a long time, entrepreneurial amenity migrants argued in favor of the economic benefits of tourism in order to get locals to accept, promote, and develop tourism themselves. Yet, this 'economic' route was not successful. Instead, the 'social' benefits through amenity migrant owned tourism businesses -relationship building and fair working conditions and treatment-have led to the changes that amenity migrants had sought for years.

From a practical perspective, the study findings evidences the important role that tourism businesses can play in diminishing the social barriers that exist between different groups sharing a common space as a result of migration. Such positive change results from the within business practices that business owners can implement in their daily functioning. As amenity migration becomes a prominent phenomenon in the world, the knowledge produced in our study can be instrumental for creating positive social change. Further, this information is transferable to other types of migration including the commonly seen migration driven by economic necessity as in the case when people from the global South migrates to the global North. Differences between migrants and the local population have always existed in this context, thus, the knowledge produced here can be useful to entrepreneurs who are concerned with implementing business practices that will lead to positive change within their companies and into the community.

Thus, the social role of tourism developed in an inclusive and solidary manners will, through the participatory, respectful, and compassionate interactions carried in at the business level, is leading to the transformation of the community Malalcahuello, one that reflects social equality and ethical behaviors for the improvement of living conditions for the larger population of a community. Findings suggest that inclusive and solidary tourism development provides the mechanisms of interaction that leads to positive social change. Such change is fueled by the replacement of the highly prominent and damaging "us vs. them" discourse by a less prejudicial one, which focuses on the kindness, fair treatment, and equality experienced in the workspace. Such practices open the possibilities for different, more inclusive and solidary discourse that can ultimately lead to efforts that can represent the desires and aspirations of the overall community. As we continue following Malalcahuello throughout its early years of tourism development in the context of amenity migration, we will be able to see if this is achieved.

6.1. Limitations

In light of presenting the frameworks and demonstrating their relevance and potency in explaining broader social change in the community, the authors must indicate their interpretation of entrepreneurial amenity migrants' and locals as the outcome of dynamic tourism business practices. One cannot simply classify the various practices within a business according to the chosen frameworks; instead, one must understand how these practices are related to the different principles of inclusive tourism development and emotional solidarity. Such an approach is inherently deductive and involves the author's interpretive stance. Also, the author must clarify that the present study conceptualizes frameworks that include practices of some entrepreneurial amenity migrants and locals' that subsequently shape their behavior but are not necessarily reflective of the entire community. The study did not include amenity migrants who do not engage in inclusive tourism development and emotional solidarity actions for the various reasons described in the methods section. Future studies should segment amenity migrants by entrepreneurial motives (i.e. economically motivated exploitative entrepreneurs vs. lifestyle motivated social entrepreneurs) and purposively recruit in order to better understand and compare them with the interatrial amenity migrants studied here who, for the most part, engage in inclusive tourism development practices.

Finally, study limitations include the specificity of the contextual conditions found in Malalcahuello. Particularly the challenges faced by groups in accepting each other is a result of historical events that happened in the times of the timber extraction industry in Malalcahuello. Other communities might have difference historical precedents that could lead to different interactions in Malalcahuello.

Impact statement

The study findings evidences the important role that tourism businesses can play in diminishing the social barriers that exist between different groups sharing a common space as a result of migration. Such positive change results from the within business practices that business owners can implement in their daily functioning. As amenity migration becomes a prominent phenomenon in the world, the knowledge produced in our study can be instrumental for creating positive social change. Further, this information is transferable to other types of migration including the commonly seen migration driven by economic necessity as in the case when people from the global South migrates to the global North. Differences between migrants and the local population have always existed in this context, thus, the knowledge produced here can be useful to entrepreneurs who are concerned with implementing business practices that will lead to positive change within their companies and into the community.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

David Matarrita-Cascante: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Investigation, Writing - original draft, Supervision, Project administration, Funding acquisition. **Courtney Suess:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Software, Investigation, Writing - original draft.

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