


Transformation of a Cultural Landscape Through a Resilience Lens: A Case Study of Mae Kampong Village, Chiang Mai, Thailand

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ABSTRACT

 This study aims to understand the dynamics of the Mae Kampong's cultural landscape through two intervening approaches. The study includes the cultural landscape and the community resilience. Both are examined to determine the transformations. An analysis was made of capital sources and management of resources. The methodology includes literary reviews, site observations, and interviews. The findings illustrate three periods; resilience, adaptation, and transformation. In the last phase, the community utilized their opportunities to transform into entrepreneurs. New activities emerged that included: rental houses, cafes, innovative mixed-use spaces and artisan-based shops located within the living museum sites. Sources of capital and management are varied due to their resources and their ability to obtain new knowledge and learning skills.

Keywords: *cultural landscape, community resilience, transformation, Mae Kampong*

INTRODUCTION

“Cultural landscape” and “Community resilience” are different perspectives, but share an interest in the management of resources. While the cultural landscape focuses on the continuity of cultural practices and human's association, the resilience aspect considers the ability of a community to cope with changes and maintain the same relationship with their environment (Pleninger & Bieling, 2012). Combining both theoretical frameworks will help to understand the cultural landscape's changes and its

management over time. Cultural perspectives seem to be a crucial concern in traditional communities facing social and ecological transformations (Rotarangi & Stephen, 2014). There are few studies involving long-established communities with a strong cultural system addressing their environment. Many communities have gradually lost their resilience as they try to keep pace with globalization trends (Wilson, 2012). Chiao-Yen Yang, (2014) who studied cultural resilience, stated that cultural activities might not be resilient even if their environment is well preserved.

MAE KAMPONG AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF ITS CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

This is a case study based on the village of Mae Kampong. The village is 50 kilometers from the main city of Chiang Mai, in the northern part of Thailand. Mae Kampong is one of the villages facing the modern impacts of tourism. The community has been trying to manage their cultural landscape changes by creating many innovative approaches on a trial and error basis to handle the challenges of tourism. Approximately 200-years old, Mae Kampong consists of 134 households (Puangmara, 2003). It is an upland village located about 1,200 meters above sea level and is recognized for producing a fermented tea, locally called *miang*. As *miang* consumption has become undesired at present, *miang* manufacturing by the current generation is gradually disappearing. However, through the tourist-related *miang* activities, the trend to sustain *miang* production is increasing (Harada, 2016). This shows the evolution of a cultural landscape which represents a transformation in land-use and in a social structure; from producing *miang* for a living, to producing it for the tourist industry.

Tourism has turned out to be the main tools for village development. The Village consists of six *pangs* or a small group of houses; Pang Nok, Pang Klang, Pang Khon, Pang Tone, Pang Nai 1 and Pang Nai 2, sometimes combining into Pang Nai (Figure 1).

The concept of a cultural landscape has been changed through time, from a static to a dynamic landscape. Cultural landscape refers to a rural picturesque in the 15th - 17th century (UNESCO, 2009). Early the 20th century, Sauer (1920), the main scholar in this field, clearly stated that culture is the agent, nature is a medium, and a cultural landscape is a result. Culture is dynamic and innovative, consequently, the cultural landscape always co-evolves and adapts with people. A sense of place and belonging makes each landscape unique and meaningful. The landscape becomes a place of association, taste, and lifestyle between humans and their environment (Lewis, 1979). Relph (1986) defines place consisting of three components; physical settings, activities, and meanings. During the 1990s, this concept brought recognition to the intangible aspects and an increasing interest in the ordinary landscape instead of to monuments and archaeological sites (Jacques 1995 in Taylor, 2012).

The cultural landscape is facing changes. In this study, cultural landscape and community resilience perspectives have been bridged in order to analyze landscape changes. Since community resilience provides a dynamic picture of a landscape due to the community's actions, the cultural landscape now refers to a complex definition as a process of a social-ecological system (Found & Berbes-Blazquez, 2012). Human actions becomes one of the main influences for changes. Resilience, originally derived from engineering resilience which concentrated on the ability to bounce back, is now being applied to ecological resilience. This refers to an adaptive level

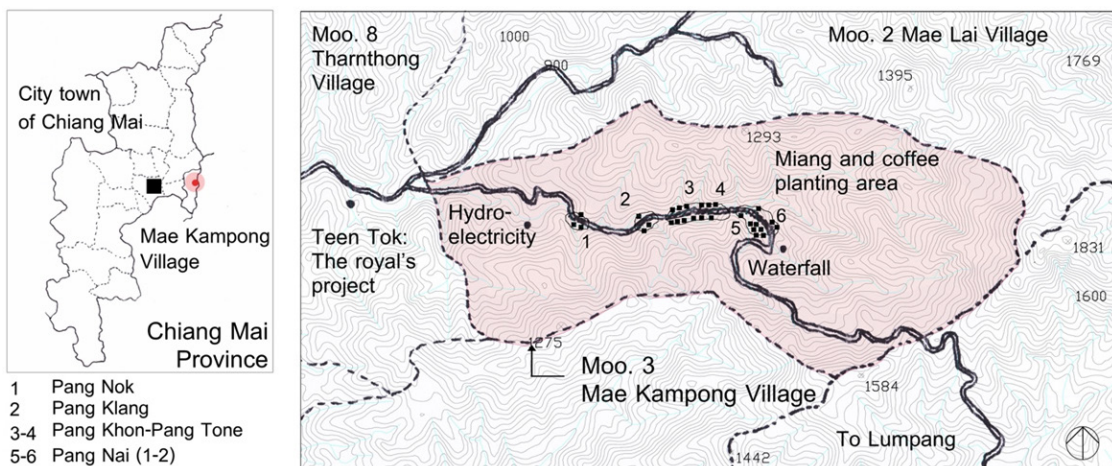


Figure 1:
Location of Mae Kampong's cultural landscape (source: author)

occurring in the environment and allowing structure and form to change for better living (Yan & Galloway, 2017). According to social resilience, USAID (2013, and Folke, 2010) defined community resilience as a collective action of a community to utilize their resources in order to respond to disturbances. For the entire community in which cultural is embedded, Fleming and Ledogar (2008) describes cultural resilience as a cultural system to absorb changes while maintaining its identity. Therefore, place identity will be one of the dimensions used in the assessment of landscape changes. The transformation can facilitate community learning processes. For example, Panin (2007) conducted research in Karan village, an indigenous community in Thailand and found that there are some cultural dimensions i.e. spirit in nature and local belief that can be tools for conserving their environment. Also Nasser's work (2003), presented that meaning of place is one of the representations of cultural continuity.

Analyzing through community resilience in a cultural dimension will demonstrate how communities change perceptions to their environment toward disturbances (Yang, 2014 and Folke, 2010). The level of the community's actions can be divided into 3 states; resilience, adaptation and transformation (Figure 2). The resilience is the ability of a community to sustain changes and remain its meaning to their environment. The following adaptation is the ability of a community to manage disturbances and improve the resilience in order not to cross the threshold and remain in the same association. The transformation is the ability of a community to transform the landscape, creating a new way of life.

To respond to the disturbances through these phases, the community should have social goals and adaptive capacity (Nelson, Adger & Brown, 2007) which is the set of resources and an ability to use the resources to adapt and survive. Physical or tangible cultural capital (Allison & Allison, 2008) consists of landscape, infrastructure, plants, buildings and all of these physical settings are related to their association or intangible resources of the cultural groups. The landscape is increasingly recognized as a resource. Aldrich (2012, in USAID, 2013) also provides three types of relationships of social capital of a community's resilience framework; bonding, bridging and linking. The bonding tie is a relationship within groups, while a bridging tie is a relationship among groups of people who have different perspectives. Linking social capital shows vertical and authority relationship, this relation provides unavailable resources in bonding and bridging ties and also facilitates in landscape transformation.

In the resilient lens, once a community adapts and transforms their available resources, the landscape simultaneously reproduces a new way of using the existing resources. The immediate adapted outcomes are temporary and the system is likely to continually and gradually change. When facing new external disturbances, the system is obviously requiring a new set of resources (Nelson, 2007). The response process affects the landscape and the community itself. Harada (2018) conducted the research in socio-economic and cultural changes in Mae Kampong village, but with less consideration for relevant physical appearance and cultural perspectives. Therefore, this study was conducted based on the following objectives.

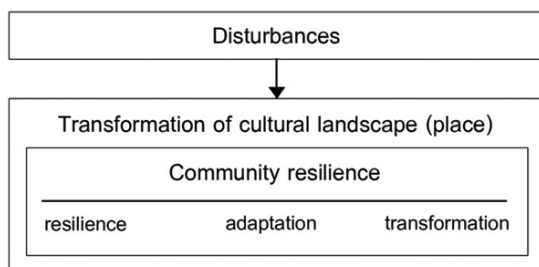


Figure 2:
Framework of cultural landscape transformation in the resilient lens showing three levels of the community's response: resilience, adaptation and transformation.
(Source: author, combining from Yang, 2014 and Folke, 2010)

OBJECTIVES & METHODOLOGY

The objectives of this study are to understand the transformation of the cultural landscape in a community's resilient framework, and to understand sources of capital and approaches landscape transformation. This research was conducted through the documentary analysis, field observations, and interviews. The interview sections are divided into two parts answering different purposes. To understand the transformation of the Mae Kampong village in 2018, 21 homestay entrepreneurs plus some stakeholders were interviewed. The study's data sources covered the insider entrepreneur group; owners of rental houses, cafes, innovative mixed-use spaces and artisan-based shops in living

museum. From the insider entrepreneur group, based on different types of activities, 13 cases were selected in order to understand their adaptive capacity and approaches. The data gathering in the field was conducted in January, February, May, August and November 2018.

THREE PERIODS OF MAE KAMPONG TRANSFORMATIONS

Reading through a timeline of the Mae Kampong village through a resilience perspective it divides into three periods; resilience, adaptation, and transformation state.

The Period of the Interdependence between the Villagers and the Forest before 1976

Through the *miang* production the villagers have interacted with their wooded environment, participating in a cultural/economic system. The local forest landscape and the river were their main cultural assets with the settlement relating to the ecosystem and a geographical context. Mae Kampong villagers used the water from the mountains for domestic use and agricultural purposes. Local houses were built from the wood and leaves taken from the forest. *Miang* plantations, located within the forest, were a place of work during the daytime and at night the forest plantations make and house fermented leaves. Every household cultivated *miang* for a living, exchanging the tea for rice from the lower villages, transporting these goods via cows and horses (Figure 3). During this time period, *miang* leaves were used as money. This was a time when there were no electric lights or any big disturbances. The community lived in isolation and were self-reliant. Kinship was a main social structure. People informally gathered and collected the tea leaves as a group. Consequently, this brought a closeness among the villagers (Harada, 2016). The landscape was resilience and villagers felt the landscape was part of their home.

"We cleaned our body from the water flowing from the mountains, and the river was for the excretion. (sic) In the past, there was no light. We used the lamp, while we tied tea leaves into bundles during the night." (a 44 years old woman. Personal Interview: January 2018)

"I collected leaves and wood from my garden to build the house. It was a difficult time, as it took 2-3 hours to reach my garden." (a 60 years old woman. Personal Interview: January 2018)

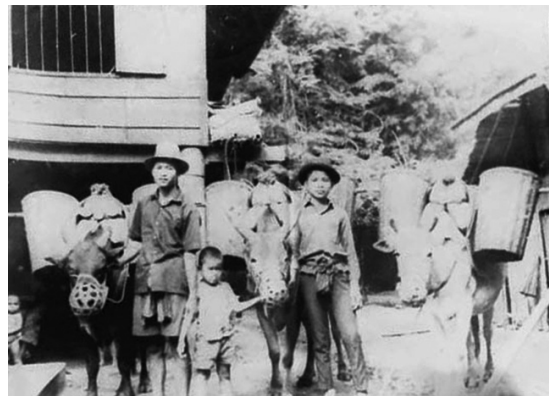


Figure 3:
Trading between *miang* and rice from the lower villages before 1976
(Source: Villager-Forest-Miang Museum¹)

The Period of Development of Village Infrastructure and Adaptive Agriculture, 1976 – 1999

The second state was during the period of government-led development. During the 1970s, Mae Kampong was claimed to be a "pink area" where Communist communities were located. As a consequence, being the pink areas brought in the government-led road construction and other improvement projects (Figure 4). Many projects

¹ Village-Forest-Miang Museum was opened in the year 2017. Community works with local university, Chiang Mai University for the purpose of collecting and extending *miang* ecological knowledge.



Figure 4:
The mile of concrete pavement in the year 1999
(Source: Villager-Forest-Miang Museum)

were later established to improve the community's infrastructure and villagers' quality of life. There were two important construction projects around 1981. The first project was King Bhumibol's project, Teen Tok². This project offered opportunities for the villagers to generate and operate coffee plantations as an alternative means to support their livelihood. The second initiative was the hydroelectric power project³. It was built as a partnership among the government, The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the villages. This project brought electric lights to the village. The community created Hydroelectric Cooperative of Mae Kampong (HCMK) to operate the dam and to generate income from selling electricity. The villagers had learned how to use their environmental

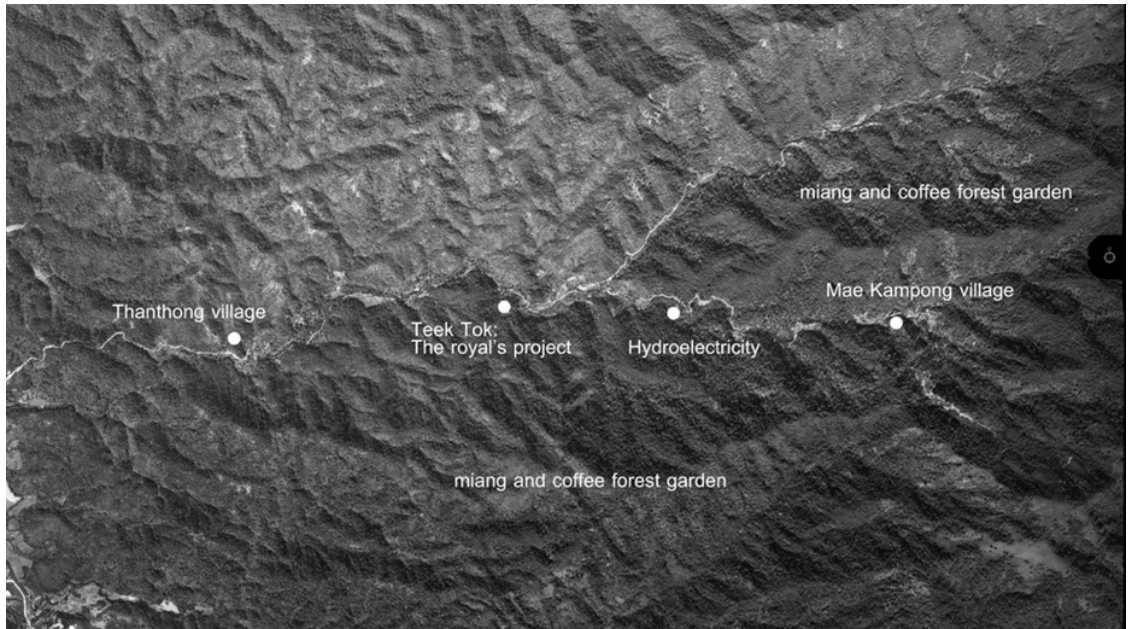


Figure 5:
Mae Kampong and Thanthong village before the village separation (Based map of 1996)
(Source: Royal Thai Survey Department, Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters, adapted by author)

² Teen Tok the Royal Project was established in 1981 by the personal funds of King Rama 9. This project provides diverse agricultural knowledge in order to generate community income such as promoting mushroom and coffee plantation.

³ The hydroelectric power project used to run the electricity to the village, but in the year of observation, mostly every household turn to use the main electricity from the government.

resources, other than *miang*, and to cooperate with other external influencers. The community were still traditionally associated with their existing landscape but they adapted their environment for a better lifestyle; accepting the new agricultural products and learning how to work together in the HCMK.

These developments served both the Mae Kampong and the Thanthong Village. In the year 1999, the two villages were separated, leading to the current physical boundary of Mae Kampong. This separation was made as a result of the size of the village, it was too large to manage. (Figure 5)

“When the road was constructed, life was more convenient. As a result, the house is more durable as we could commute between the village and the city. New materials and new electric appliances came into the village. Furthermore, a proper toilet was initiated, instead of letting the waste into the river” (a 45 years old man. Personal Interview: February 2018)

“The USAID gave some of the money to the village and partly we also used the village’s resources; soil, water, and our labor.... In the past, Mae Kampong and Thanthong were in the same village. When the households increased, they were separately managed” (a 46 years old man. Personal Interview: January 2018)

The Period of the Community-Based Tourism Landscape 2000 – Present

The third state is the transformative process where the village uses its existing cultural resources to create cultural products for tourists. As a result of a government-led policy during the 2000s, this ordinary agricultural-based village has become a destination community for recreation and tourism. (Harada, 2018). During this phase, many stakeholders have intervened and are involved in Mae Kampong’s tourism. There are four movements that are changing the community’s land use and its environmental associations. These changes are caused by different stakeholders. The first three movements are represented on the same map (Figure 6). The last movement is shown on a separate map (Figure 7) and is discussed separately in section two. Below is a discussion of the first three movements:

The State-Led Development of the Initial Phase of a Homestay Village

From the year 2000, the government and academics have been involved in this development. One of the instigators and developers was the Thailand Research Fund (TRF). This TRF worked with the community, creating the Community Network of Mae Kampong (CNMK). CNMK acts as a community council who creates the village’s tourism management plan. CNMK works similarly to the previous HCMK, in that it manages the income from the tourist industry. Mae Kampong also is supported by Community-Based Tourism (CBT) and One Tambon One Product (OTOP). These exploitations of tourism were applied as a tool for village development to solve socio-economic problems such as poverty and to make improvements in the quality of life.

From these initiatives, the homestay, sharing houses with tourists, seems to be the first successful cultural based product (Figure 6). In order to run a homestay, the villagers have to enrol in a group of village’s homestay under the management of the CNMK. There were only five or six households adapting their place in 2000. These are mostly situated in Pang Nai since the area connects to the tourist spots of a temple and a waterfall. Initially, the former community leader established a small group of households to provide homestay accommodations. Currently, there are 21 homestays and they are mostly located in Pang Nai. CNMK also handles the main tourist areas of the village such as the community center/shop, museum and the temple.

“We considered that our village has a fertile and prosperous resource such as forest, waterfall, and the way of life. Tourism might be for our extra income. I invited 5-6 households in Pang Nai since this area is near the tourist attractions such as temple and waterfall.” (a 56 years old man (the former community leader). Personal Interview: February 2018) (sic)

The Investment Period of the Zipline Adventure “Flight of the Gibbon (FG)”

In the year 2007, the FG, a Zipline company from New Zealand, developed the business in

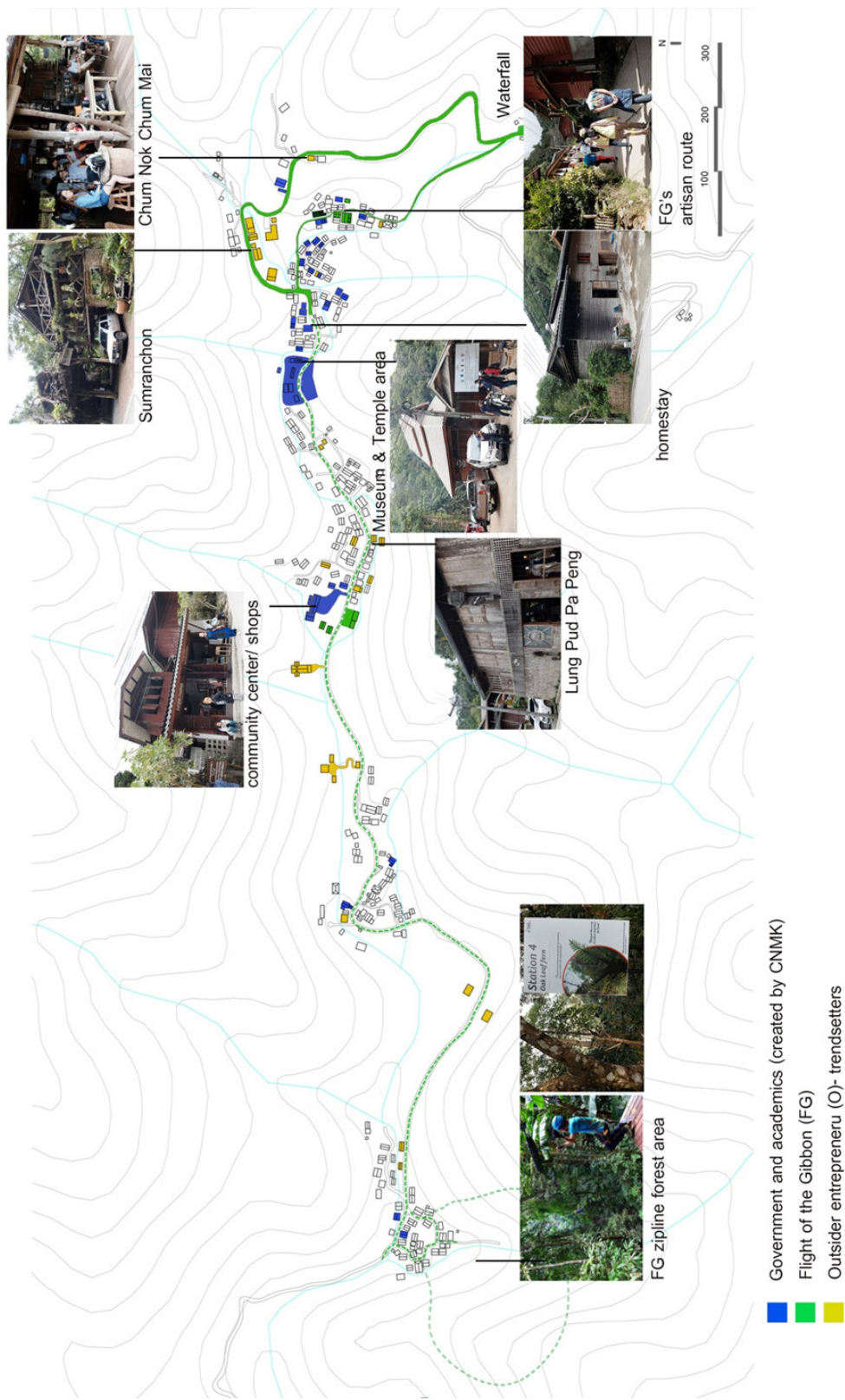


Figure 6:
Current situations of three intervening stakeholders: Government and academics (G), Flight of the Gibbon (FG) and Outsider Entrepreneur (O) (Source: author)

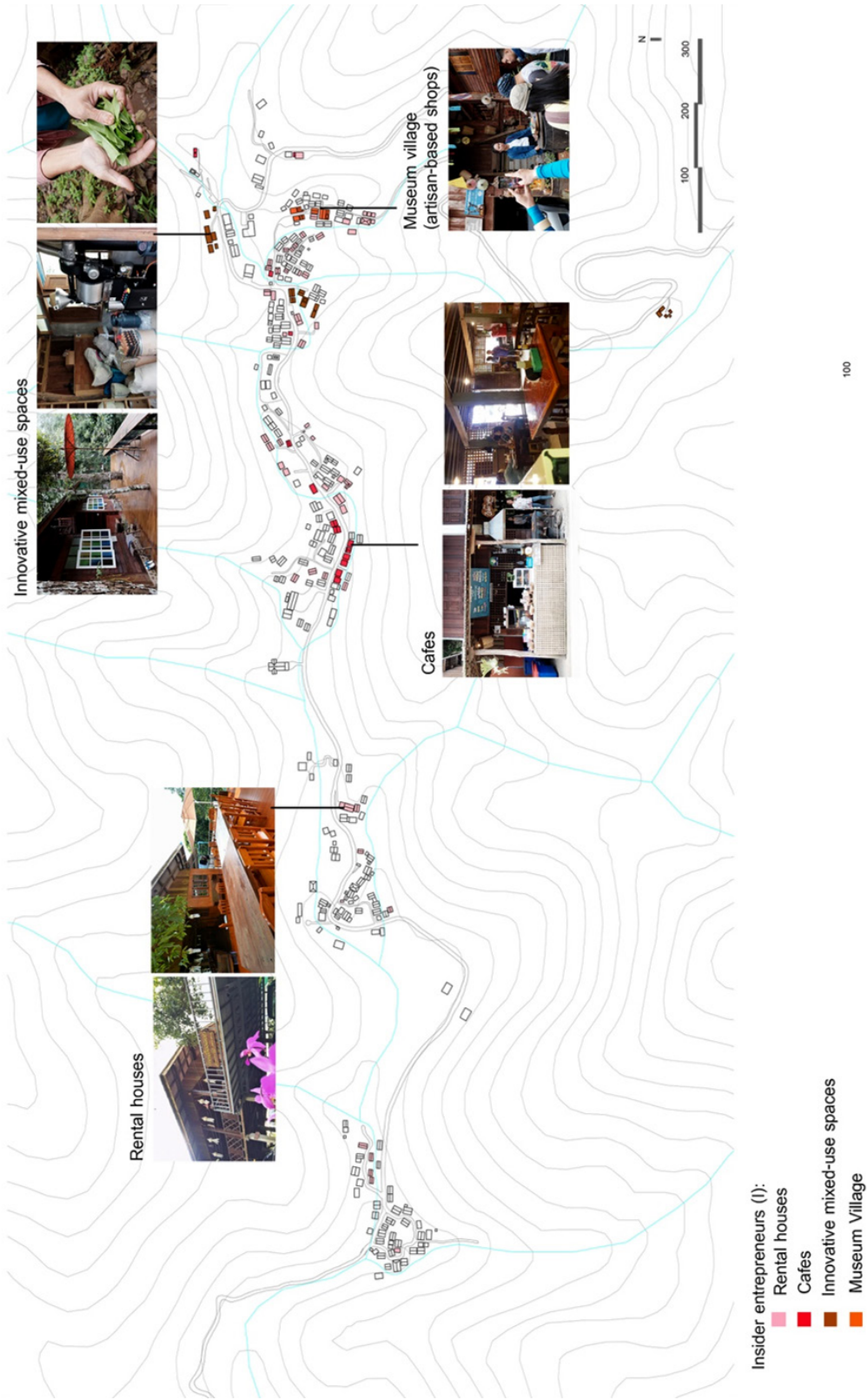


Figure 7:
Currents situations of new activities in the insider entrepreneur group; rental houses, cafes, innovative mixed-use spaces, and museum village (Source: author)

Mae Kampong, with CNMK's agreement to use community resources. The main visions are about adventure sports, with a passion for the outdoor environment. The owner, David Allardice, wanted to create an eco-friendly business, that would benefit the community and its environment. (Flight of the Gibbon, 2019). This company has been in the village for more than ten years and has created many programs. During this same time, they invented many conservation projects such as reforestation.

The company has leased a block of the land that includes a forest in Pang Nok for adventure activities; such as tree climbing, a sling activity and wildlife watching. The investment model includes the restaurant, a massage room, and a traditional music space in Pang Khon. Hiring local staff brings new skills and income to the villagers. In the recent year, they have incorporated an artisan's village program in Pang Nai by employing four local houses to demonstrate cultural activities for tourists; pillow tea making, weaving baskets, local herbs, and *miang* and coffee offerings

The Arrival of the Trendsetters Café Culture

A resident's interview revealed that the outsider entrepreneurs have been in the village since 2007, before the rise of tourism in 2013-2015 (a 46 years old man. Personal Interview: February 2018). Some of the villagers stated that the incoming investors built their houses as vacation retreats, before starting cafés and rental housing businesses. The three main outsiders' business models that were mentioned as trendsetters are the Lung Pud Pa Peng, Chom Nok Chom Mai and Sumranchon (a 46 years old man. Personal Interview: February 2018) (Figure 7). The first two shops are popular cafés for walk-in traffic, the last one is famous for private accommodations. Social media platforms i.e. Facebook, Instagram and website providing images and videos have had enormous influences on the widespread popularity of Mae Kampong as a tourist attraction, and, consequently, the number of tourists has increased. These outside entrepreneur groups brought new cultural practices to the village including roasting, sipping, and brewing coffee. They were not involved in learning the community's lifestyles. This trend also increases the number of resort accommodations due to tourist's demand. There are approximately twelve rental houses and eight cafés at present, mostly located outside the old settlement.

"I bought and rent these areas from the villagers. In the beginning, this was a second home for family and friends. I and my wife started the business later. I thought that this village is not far from the city and the atmosphere is very charming." (a 52 years old man. (the outsider). Personal Interview: August 2018) (sic)

From the three sections of investment mentioned above there are three main stakeholders; the government and academics (G), the Flight of the Gibbon (FG) and outsider entrepreneurs (O). All of the intervening groups are working with CNMK, each generating a different landscape pattern. The next movement under discussion is the community itself.

The Spontaneous Change of Community into Tourism Business

In this period, the community turned itself into an entrepreneur as the trends of tourism changed residents' lifestyles from everyday activities into a café culture and the business of renting houses. Many local residents run their businesses separately from the homestay, which means working outside CNMK, thus allowing them to directly communicate with tourists. Some households are still doing homestays as their preferred business. The rental houses and cafes have met the needs of modern tourists. From the observations, some houses have been changed into new tourist's places; rental houses and cafés, while some evolve into innovative mixed-use spaces. The innovative mixed-used spaces refer to that of integrating agriculture with tourism. Villagers stated that coffee production was serving their business.

From the site observation in 2018, there are forty rental houses, thirteen cafes and three innovative mixed-use spaces. Furthermore, there are four houses offering artisan demonstrations through FG's employment. This group also displays the self-organization of space as exemplified by FG.

The above group is called insider entrepreneurs who run rental houses, cafés, innovative mixed-use spaces and artisan-based shops in the FG's museum village. This represents the community's ability to learn, adapt and transform into business's owners. They are able to directly communicate with tourists without CNMK's support.

People significantly tend to run their own business, instead of being involved with homestays. In 2018, the number of houses owned by villagers who rented to tourists was forty, whereas the number of homestays was only twenty-one. Moreover, the number of outsider entrepreneurs are growing considerably (a 46 years old man. Personal Interview: February 2018). Consequently, CNMK has been trying to control the changes in the cultural landscape. New village's policies have been adapting from the previous village's rule, this was done to prevent outsiders from running businesses in the community. These changes in policies are due to the independent businesses owned by insiders, especially rental houses. These are controlled by the social structure or the marriage condition. The community can run both homestay and rental houses if the next generation gets married.

The next section will focus on the last group, the insider entrepreneur. In the beginning, policy-led development helped the community to cross into the tourism regime and manage community resource through CNMK. However, the current trend shows that the community can self-organize and cross into the tourism landscape by themselves. Four emerging activities will be analyzed.

COMMUNITY APPROACHES AND RESPONSES TO SOURCES OF CAPITAL

In an in-depth analysis of sources of capital and the community's approaches by the insider entrepreneurs will be discussed in this part. Community choices and their organization will be addressed. Four emerging activities will show how

the community responded to traditional cultural disturbances. The results were generated from the thirteen selected cases in four groups; three cases each from rental houses, cafés, and innovative mixed-use spaces and four cases from the museum village.

Rental Houses

This group has adapted projects based on community-based resources. This is an example of the bridging tie between parents doing the homestays and the next generation engaged in rental housing. Sharing resources between two generations who have different perceptions of the landscape is obvious. Homestays are an adaptation of facilities within old family houses, whereas new rental houses are built in the family's *miang* garden for tourists' use. (Figure 8). The traditional belief *Kud* is believed to underpin the landscape used as these stakeholders had to extend the old houses and build on the newly reappointed spaces. Similar to the homestays, rental houses expands the skills and knowledge developed in generating homestays. The study found that these insiders' businesses are sharing resources and looking after one another's business through family bonding and social structures. The study found that the case studies who are affected by the traditional systems or by the marriage of the next generation, tend to control and accept the village's rules.

"I run the homestay and my daughter's rental houses. She built the rental houses in my brother's miang garden where is not far from my homestay. I look after for her guests and we are sharing the income. She



Figure 8:
Image of new rental houses in the family's *miang* gardens (Source: author)

mainly lives in the city, not the village” (a 50 years old woman. Personal Interview: November 2018) (sic)

“We should use new woods for new houses. Kud belief, the renovation of the house will bring bad luck such as extending the floor and cutting the structure of the houses. Most people in the village normally built new houses. This is what we believe.” (a 46 years old woman. Personal Interview: November 2018) (sic)

“I used to run both homestay and rental houses but now I resigned from the homestay. There is a rule that if the next generation has not been married, they cannot run both homestay and rental houses. Each household has to choose either the homestay or rental house. We built new houses for tourists in miang garden” (a 46 years old woman. Personal Interview: November 2018) (sic)

Cafes

Creativity and the ability to learn new things is explicit in this group of new generation insiders. Although there were the trendsetters who relocated in the village, this new generation brought back their experiences from the word outside of the village. From the interviews it was found that there are many ways to learn about coffee making and other business. One respondent learned from their friends outside the village, while in another case, they learned from the insider's café that has been

opened for a while. In these two cases new cafés were built in the families' *miang* gardens.

“I decide to run the coffee shop and learn how to make a coffee with the sister's friend who runs the shop in the city of Chiang Mai” (a 39 years old woman. Personal Interview: November 2018) (sic)

“I have learned to be a coffee maker from the community's leader café for 2 years before I run the business on my own. I built the new house in the garden next to my houses” (a 22 years old woman. Personal Interview: November 2018) (sic)

Another owner put an emphasis on the learning-by-doing approach, in learning about Lanna food. The owner sold food from a table in front of the parent's house. When the business was well-known, the owner renovated the ground floor of the house by moving some walls and extending the roof (Figure 9).

“I do this shop with my sister and my parent help sometimes. First we sold ordinary food like other restaurants. When the number of restaurant increases, we try to figure out what makes our place unique. Then we try to develop the Northern Thai Sausage recipe and it does work. We just renovated the ground floor 2-3 years ago.” (a 38 years old woman. Personal Interview: November 2018) (sic)

The cafés are mostly run by the returnees who have a strong attachment to their place. New generations who have work in the city and return home exploit their new culture to organize businesses. Coffee



Figure 9:
Image of a newly-built café in a miang garden (Left: adaptation and addition of the old house, Right: new built café outsider the old settlement) (Source: author)

shops and Lanna food, like Northern Thai Sausage, are invented in order to make their shops unique and to meet tourist's satisfaction. Place attachment is one of the factors that brings people home. One respondent mentioned that her father was ill, so doing business at home is one solution. Then she built the new café in his father's *miang* garden, which is outside the old village cluster, to create a serene atmosphere (Figure 9). There is no traditional system to control rental houses, just village regulations controlling colours and buildings' height.

"my father is ill, so I think I should get back to look after him. I worked in Bangkok after graduated, but I decided to go back home. I thought that I have a father's miang garden so I can do something" (a 39 years old woman. Personal Interview: November 2018) (sic)

Innovative Mixed-Use Spaces

This category combines traditional knowledge with new knowledge. The study found that one of the owners of an innovative mixed-used business has learned specific coffee skills from the trendsetters, such as roasting & tasting coffee and the Western style of sipping coffee. These learned skills have become adapted as a cultural practice. Geographical indications (GI) are built to make their area unique. Coffee seeds and tea leaves come from the community's forest; this helps to build a brand image for their origin. Some of the cases studied bought small coffee roasting machines to run the from-seed-to-cup process (Figure 10).

"My mother used to run the homestay, but we quit 2 years ago. I feel uncomfortable

staying with strangers, so now I run rental houses and cafes. I feel more comfortable. I am doing coffee and tea cultivation and have my own brand: "Ing- Doi". We have our own garden and roasting machine. Previously, I have never known coffee like latte or espresso. I only drink tea. I learned from the outsider entrepreneur "Chom Nok Chom Mai" as they rented my land and open the café." (a 45 years old man. Personal Interview: November 2018)

The variety of mixed-use functions has caused the expansion of the cluster businesses and the village sprawl. There are some residents who use their *miang* garden, which is located far from the old village cluster. Some gardens are located as far up as the forest's watershed. These gardens or plantations have become a new tourist attraction.

"We built these cluster of the house a bit far from the village as our farther's miang garden is up here. Our old house is in the Pang Nai, but now it is too noisy." (a 38 years old woman. Personal Interview: February 2018) (sic)

The study found that this group of entrepreneurs originally run homestays since 2000. One case still continually operates the homestay while two other cases have quit. This group seems to take a risk, then they developed other businesses. At this point, this innovative group links tourism with agricultural-based products. Generally, they work with relatives as the businesses expand. For example, a younger sister runs the café and coffee roasting area and an elder sister handles the resort accommodations. Both activities serve each other and share some of the spaces (Figure 10).



Figure 10:
Products from a specific geographical origin and innovative mixed-use spaces (Source: author)

Museum Village

FG, CNMK, and the community are working in partnership; participatory learnings and sharing resources are initiated. FG evaluates what are the essential resources of the community, while the community learns how FG manages resources. The continuity of traditional images is the main factor and condition of the enterprises. This constructed image was initiated by FG's tourism package. However, FG needs permission from CNMK to conduct their business. The community's history selected for new FG's cultural routes for international tourists who attend the artisan village's programme. Physical and cultural resources of four houses are commodified, which brings Pang Nai under new and controlled meanings (Figure 11). FG focuses on the images of function rather than the function itself. For instance, in interviewing participants of the basket weaving house, it was found that the traditional activity has become a routine job, rather than a seasonal way of life. The weaver has to stay and demonstrate her activity from the morning to the late afternoon or evening. Making tea pillows is another example of a tradition skill employed for tourism. The interviewee is a member of group who makes tea pillows in the community. This employment benefits the participant because she just decorated her corridor with traditional accessories (Figure 11).

"I used to run the homestay, but now I have quit. Working with FG, I have no time for preparing food for homestay. I have an agreement that I have to sit here from the morning until late afternoon. If the tours finish late, the FG's staffs will tell us. Moreover, I am too old to climb up to the

forest. Working with FG is fine and we get 250 baht a day. (a 60 years old woman. Personal Interview: February 2018)

"I joined the tea pillows groups of the community network, so this is just extending what I do. I just staged the area. We had an agreement to demonstrate the activities during the daytime and FG gave us some decorations" (a 49 years old woman. Personal Interview: February 2018) (sic)

This approach operates on the condition of mutual benefits. The artisan-based activities were chosen by FG to create their cultural route or living museum, meanwhile, it benefits the whole community and the individuals who are hired.

To conclude, there is a spontaneous transformation of Mae Kampong's cultural landscape as the villagers turn into entrepreneurs. Some households have the ability to change, yet, there are still some households who do not have the ability to change. Sources of capital and approaches vary due to existing resources and their creative ability. The landscape itself is now defined as a resource, so it was adapted and transformed in order to allow the community to survive. At the same time, the community invented and reinvented specific mechanisms to managing change in order not to cross the thresholds of stagnation and demise. How far the community can bend and regulate before it breaks and transforms into a new system of existence, might relate to their cultural resources. Mae Kampong knew that once they cross the threshold of their downfall, their distinctness will decline and it's hard to return.



Figure 11:

Village atmosphere (Left: miang and coffee demonstration space, Right: making tea pillows' area) (Source: author)

DISCUSSION

This paper started with two objectives; understanding the transformation of the cultural landscape into a resilient framework, and the examination of capital and approaches.

For the first objective, Saur (1920), considered that humans influenced the landscape; Mae Kampong is a vivid illustration of this concept. According to Taylor's work (2012), the landscape is culturally constructed by human associations. Changing the community's culture influences transformed Mae Kampong's landscape. Mae Kampong is not a static and picturesque landscape, but a spontaneous transformation through the community's trial-and-error process. It is obvious that the portion of the community who is considered the insider entrepreneur group, can learn and adapt by their own initiative. Relph's work (1978) described the three components of place identity; physical settings, activities and meanings. Mae Kampong is now changing its meanings and thus, its identity. Hence, Mae Kampong reflects the transformation of a traditional landscape to a commodified landscape. The CNMK tends to be the main body to shape the cultural landscape through village regulations.

The existence of CNMK might add a cultural system into their self-description. It has become an ecological-social-cultural system as it increases the ability of the community to incorporate the support offered by multi-based stakeholders. Found & Berbes-Blazquez (2012), stated that a landscape is a social-ecological complex system, but is insistent upon the importance of a cultural dimension.

The second objective is the analysis of sources of capital and the community's approach and their response. Aldrich (2012), who provided a social capital perspective on community resilience, set forth three types of relationships; bonding, bridging and linking ties. Linking ties are apparent at the beginning of the village's development, as in government and institutions. Bridging ties are also explicit among the various groups; FG, outsiders, and insiders who are the new generation. The bonding ties are also evident in CNMK, who has the same norms. The study found that there are cooperating mechanisms among groups which help the community from not becoming something else (Figure 12). From the study, insider entrepreneurs seem to formally and informally connect to previous stakeholders. Social capital and approaches will be discussed together since they related to each other.

Kud traditional beliefs and social structure are affected and regulated by the changes between two generations, from homestays to rental houses. This *Kud* shows an inherited community's perception towards their cultural landscape. The traditional system approach is clearly used by the rental housing group. This approach takes into consideration the internal factors caused by the extended family. This authentic mechanism illustrates the bridging tie between groups.

Café's owners tend to use creative resources from outside the village. They are returnees who are attach to their place and use new knowledge they gained from outside the community. The creative and inventive approach is apparent in this group. However, they have to follow the color and height regulations concerning new structures or additions to buildings as stated in the village's rules. According to the new village's rule, the new outsiders are prohibited from running a business in the village. However, there is a piece of positive evidence that the innovative mixed-use space owners have learned new skills from those who are considered the outside trendsetters. This is relatively an informal bridging tie.

An example of using a regional knowledge-based economy is genuinely the innovative approach. The FG encouraged artisan-based shops in the museum village through agreements of partnerships, thus influencing participatory learning. The bridging tie occurs simultaneously since they exchange resources and information. The museum village was driven by the mutual benefit approach which is based on the external demand of FG's tourists. Overall, this exemplifies the concept of insider entrepreneurs being directly and indirectly affected by other stakeholders.

In physical and cultural capital dimensions, the first two activities; rental houses and cafes, seem to use new tangible and intangible resources. Whereas the last two activities, innovative mixed-use businesses and museum village, attempt to use the traditional intangible resources. New knowledge was also used to generate rental houses and cafes mostly built in new areas in both the old and new settlements for tourists' gratification. In innovative mixed-use businesses, traditional knowledge is as a source of innovation. The owners can create a place linked to their originality the quality of the geographical contexts. Place branding and GI act as tools to protect the loss of traditional knowledge and culture. In contrast, the museum village group highlights the traditional images, instead of

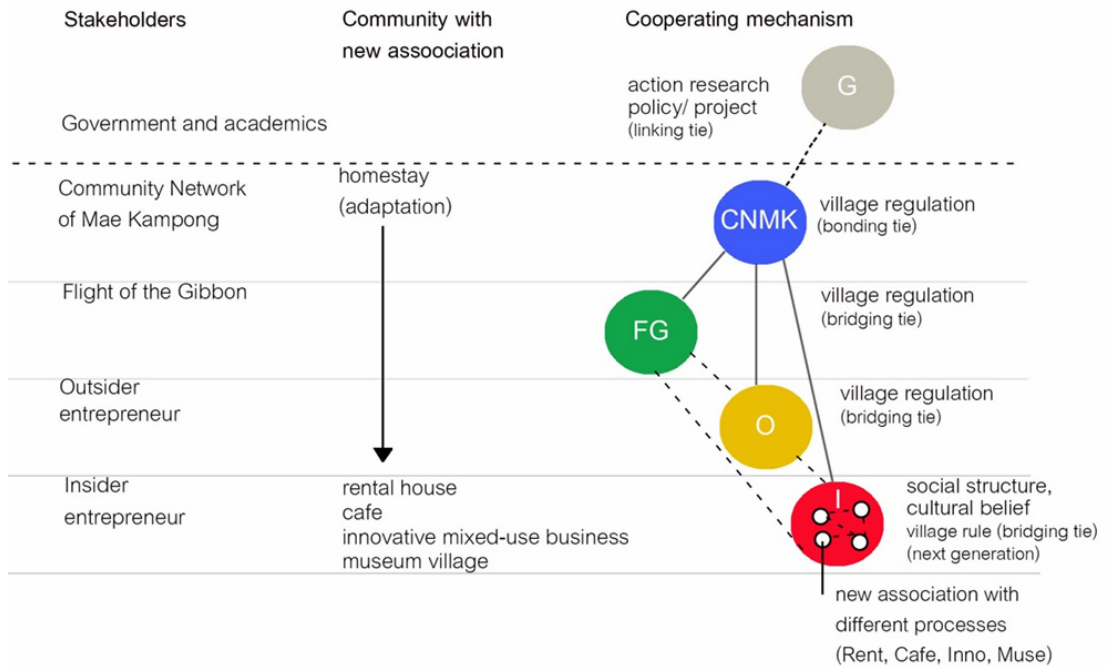


Figure 12:
Informal organisation between stakeholders (Source: author)

the transmitting authentic cultural practices and knowledge. Consequently, the community tends to lose their authentic relationships and meanings of their cultural environment. The intrinsic value of traditional knowledge is gradually lost, so this might create threats to the community's intangible assets.

According to Nelson (2007), these adapted outcomes seem to be temporary. External demands significantly affect Mae Kampong's landscape. It seems that tourism contributes to an improvement of resilience. If most of the villagers turn into a tourism entrepreneur without agricultural-based integration, the loss of cultural transmission might decrease the community resilience. Thus, leading to the loss of cultural diversity. The community must be prepared and cultivated diverse resources due to the unplanned disturbances.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research supports the concept that tradition is one of the important factors for cultural landscape

transformation. The cultural perspective helps to analyze landscape transformation. The flexible states which are resilience, adaptation, and transformation can occur simultaneously depending on the ability of the community, including the intervention of other stakeholders. A well-preserved built environment can maintain the physical attributes, while the original meaning has gradually disappeared. The culture, like traditional beliefs, is also both an essential resource and mechanism to manage the cultural landscape because it is a community's perception of their landscape. If the inherited community's perception is promoted through the next generation, this might be one of the ways for the community to keep their unique character and original land-use while readying their place for the new challenges. Further research in the cultural landscape and community resilience within the cultural dimension still needs more exploration. Multi-Disciplinary research is required, as physical appearances and cultural systems are interwoven.

* This is the selected transformation parts of the Ph.D. thesis: Management of Cultural Landscape in the Contribution of Community Resilience, A Case of Mae Kampong Village, Chiang Mai Province.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The research limitations are the duration of field research and the longitudinal shape of the village. This study collected data seasonally, so it might not cover every dimension throughout the year. The longitudinal landscape is another significant limitation as the contexts and characteristics vary with the placement of subjects.

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