BUILDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE THROUGH COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN NORTHERN THAILAND: THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL
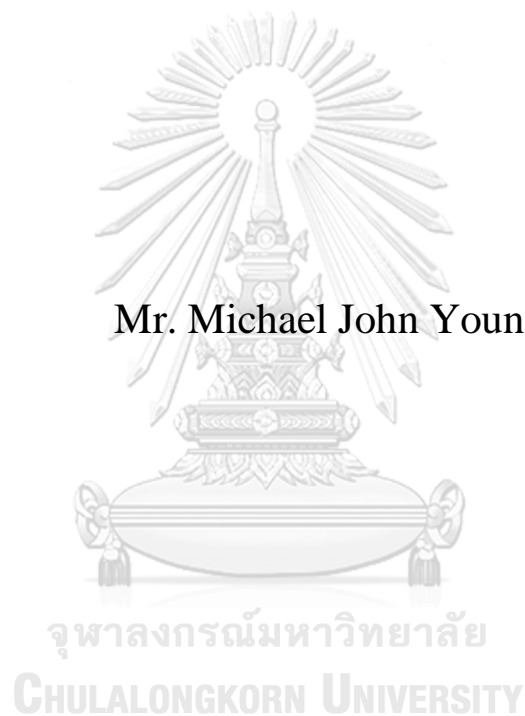
Mr. Michael John Young

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in International Development Studies
Common Course
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Chulalongkorn University
Academic Year 2019
Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

ความสำคัญของทุนทางสังคมต่อการสร้างชุมชนที่มีความสามารถ
ในการปรับตัว ผ่านการจัดการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน

นายไมเคิล จอห์น ยัง

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิล
ปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชาการพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ ไม่สังกัดภาควิชา/เทียบเท่า
คณะรัฐศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
ปีการศึกษา 2562

Thesis Title	BUILDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE THROUGH COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN NORTHERN THAILAND: THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL
By	Mr. Michael John Young
Field of Study	International Development Studies
Thesis Advisor	Assistant Professor Dr. NARUEMON THABCHUMPON

Accepted by the FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Master of Arts

.... Dean of the FACULTY OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE
(Associate Professor Dr. AKE TANGSUPVATTANA)

THESIS COMMITTEE

.... Chairman
(Assistant Professor Dr. CARL NIGEL MIDDLETON)
.... Thesis Advisor
(Assistant Professor Dr. NARUEMON THABCHUMPON)
.... External Examiner
(Lecturer Dr. Ta-Wei Chu)

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

ไมเคิล จอห์น ยัง :
ความสำคัญของทุนทางสังคมต่อการสร้างชุมชนที่มีความสามารถในการปรับตัว ผ่านการจัดการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน. (BUILDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE THROUGH COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN NORTHERN THAILAND: THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL) อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก : ผศ. ดร.นฤมล ทับจุมพล

การท่องเที่ยวปรากฏอยู่ทั่วไปทุกหนแห่งโดยมีประโยชน์ในฐานะเครื่องมือในการพัฒนา โดยเฉพาะในพื้นที่ชนบทในประเทศที่พัฒนาน้อยกว่า ถึงอย่างไรก็ตามการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยว โดยเฉพาะการท่องเที่ยวแบบทางเลือก เช่น การท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน (Community Based Tourism: CBT) ยังคงเผชิญกับอุปสรรคมากมาย ในขณะที่ชุมชนทั่วโลกกำลังเผชิญกับความไม่แน่นอนและแรงกดดันต่อระบบในพื้นที่มากขึ้น จึงจำเป็นต้องสร้างชุมชนที่มีความยืดหยุ่น ดังนั้น ชุมชนยืดหยุ่น (community resilience) จึงไม่ควรถูกนำมาเป็นเป้าหมายสุดท้าย แต่เป็นกระบวนการทำซ้ำ ๆ เพื่อซึมซับ ปรับตัว และในที่สุดปรับเปลี่ยนทั้งในขณะที่กำลังเผชิญหน้าและหลังการเปลี่ยนแปลง งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อเสนอข้อมูลเชิงลึกที่เป็นเอกลักษณ์ว่าแนวคิดเหล่านี้ ไม่เพียง แต่อธิบายเงื่อนไขว่าหมู่บ้านแม่กำปองสามารถปรับเปลี่ยนและเพิ่มความยืดหยุ่นผ่านการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน แต่ทั้งยังแสดงให้เห็นผลตอบรับของการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชนได้เสริมสร้างรากฐานทุนทางสังคม (เชิงบวกและเชิงลบ) อย่างไรภายในชุมชน จากกรณีศึกษาแบบสำรวจ (exploratory approach) ของหมู่บ้านแม่กำปองในภาคเหนือของประเทศไทย โดยใช้วิธีการตรวจสอบสามเส้า (triangulation) ในการวิเคราะห์ถึงแหล่งที่มาของข้อมูล โดยวิเคราะห์บริบทอย่างละเอียดเกี่ยวกับการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน ซึ่งได้มาจากการสัมภาษณ์กึ่งโครงสร้างกับผู้เชี่ยวชาญ ผู้อยู่อาศัยในพื้นที่ ผู้มีส่วนได้ส่วนเสียภายนอก *(n=18)* และเสริมด้วยการทบทวนวรรณกรรม งานวิจัยนี้นำแนวคิดทุนทางสังคมและขอบเขตของมันมาใช้กับการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน การสัมภาษณ์ดำเนินการจากระยะไกลผ่านหลายช่องทางและผ่านอุปกรณ์โทรคมนาคมต่างๆโดยผู้วิจัยและจากความช่วยเหลือของผู้ช่วยผู้วิจัย โดยวิธีการวิเคราะห์แก่นสาระเชิงนิรนัยและอุปนัย ดังนั้นการใช้แนวคิดทุนทางสังคมควบคู่กับแนวคิดความยืดหยุ่นในบริบทของการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน ทำให้เกิดมุมมองและสื่อกลางที่มีคุณค่าโดยได้แก้ปัญหาช่องว่างของการวิจัยที่มองข้ามไป ผลการวิจัยชี้ให้เห็นว่าจุดเริ่มต้นของการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวอย่างยั่งยืน รวมถึง การท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน ก่อนอื่นต้องดูที่ทรัพย์สินทางสังคม คุณลักษณะและความสามารถในท้องถิ่น ซึ่งเป็นตัวตั้งต้นของการนำการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชนไปใช้อย่างมีประสิทธิผลเพื่อเป็นเครื่องมือในการพัฒนาที่ช่วยเพิ่มความยืดหยุ่นของชุมชนในที่สุด เมื่อนี้นหมู่บ้านแม่กำปองจึงจะถือได้ว่าเป็นชุมชนต้นแบบการท่องเที่ยวโดยชุมชน ซึ่งแตกต่

สาขาวิชา	การพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ	ลายมือชื่อนิสิต
		....
ปีการศึกษา	2562	ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก
		....

6284017824 : MAJOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
KEYWORD: community resilience, resilience, social capital, community based tourism

Michael John Young : BUILDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE THROUGH COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN NORTHERN THAILAND: THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL. Advisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. NARUEMON THABCHUMPON

Tourism has an omnipresence of application as a development tool, especially in rural areas within lesser developed countries. However, tourism development, particularly alternative forms of tourism such as Community Based Tourism (CBT) have and continue to face a multitude of barriers. As communities globally are facing greater uncertainties and stressors to local systems, it is imperative to build resilient communities. Thus, community resilience should not be taken as an end-goal, yet an iterative process for such to absorb, adapt and ultimately transform in the face of and after change. This research aims to offer a unique insight into how these concepts can not only explain the conditions of how Mae Kampong were able to transform and enhance resilience through CBT, but how the feedback of developing CBT has reinforced (positive and negative) nodes of social capital amongst the community. Based on an exploratory case-study approach of Mae Kampong in Northern Thailand, analysis was conducted utilizing data source triangulation, whereby a thorough contextual analysis of the community's development of CBT was derived from semi-structured interviews with experts, local resident's, external stakeholders ($n=18$) and complemented by desktop literary review. Interviews were conducted remotely via multichannel and telecommunication means, performed by the author and the aid of a research assistant, with analysis utilizing deductive and inductive thematic analysis. This research brings social capital and its domains to the fore of CBT development. Hence, the coupling of social capital with resilience thinking in the context of CBT forms as valuable lens and vehicle, addressing an overlooked research gap. Thus, the findings suggest the starting point of sustainable tourism development, including CBT, must first look at the local social assets, attributes and capabilities, forming the precursor to the effective implementation of CBT as a development tool that ultimately has the ability to enhance community resilience. Mae Kampong can then be considered a model CBT community, unlike what has been presented in the past.

Field of Study:	International Development Studies	Student's Signature ....
Academic Year:	2019	Advisor's Signature ....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

CBT	Community Based Tourism
DEDE	Department of Alternative Energy Development and Efficiency
DASTA	The Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration
ET	Ecotourism
FAR	Framework for Assessing Resilience
LDC	Lesser Developed Country
MHP	Micro Hydropower
MoTS	Ministry of Tourism and Sports (Thailand)
RFD	Royal Forestry Department
SD	Sustainable Development
TAT	Tourism Authority of Thailand
UNTWO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

Tourism has been widely used as a tool to achieve economic development and alleviate poverty. This has been particularly evidential in rural areas; especially as alternative forms of tourism have grown in popularity. However, the successful implementation of alternative forms of tourism have been hindered by issues ranging from the inability of rural communities to manage tourism activities to the willingness to participate, exacerbating a range of social, environmental, economic and political issues. Thus, as rural communities are turning to tourism in an effort to diversify their economies, social capital, an under-applied, yet pivotal resource in tourism research and development has largely been overlooked. Hence, a shift in thinking toward how social capital can harness the power of positively influencing other community capitals through collective agency will aid in the creation of more resilient communities, that in turn form the factors conducive for greater socio-ecological sustainability and tourism development that joins philosophy and practice.

1.2. Introduction

Building resilient communities is a critical issue that is gaining momentum across disciplines in current research. Wilson (2012) posits resilience as the new buzzword that is both a target for societal development and a field of study in its own right. The understanding of how individuals and communities adapt to crises and change is a prominent concern facing government policy making, as crises and change are occurring more frequently (Maclean, Cuthill & Ross, 2010, Guo et al., 2018). Resilience theory is a relatively new concept; however, it is widely understood as the ability of a system to adapt, absorb and *bounce-back* from external shocks, without the system losing its function (Chapin et al., 2009). A system's perspective is a conceptual layer in its own right, whereby a system is understood as the integration of physical components (plants, animals, people) and the product(s) of human activity (food, infrastructure, pollution) (Chapin et al., 2009). Systems are influenced by fast

(e.g. natural disaster) and slow (e.g. climate change), exogenous and endogenous variables that can be defined at a range of scales (household → entire planet) (Chapin et al., 2009). However, the aforementioned definition of resilience is contextual to the field of study. The concept is also limited from the majority of research focussing on disaster, and the '*bounce-back*', adaptive capacity of communities to shocks and stresses in ever-changing systems (Skerrat, 2013, Biggs et al., 2015, Aldrich & Meyer, 2015). Hence, research on the '*bounce-forward*', a metaphor that signifies the ability of communities to proactively self-organise pre-empting change is much more limited (Skerrat, 2013, Gibson, Hill & Law, 2016).

The ability to bounce forward is theorized as a determinant of the collective agency of and within a community, rooted in social capital (Skerrat, 2013). Thus, social capital inheres structural relations between and amongst actors, defined by set roles, rules and norms within a given community and agency; the ability to do things or make them happen (Giddens, 1984 & Flora, 1998). These relations can be structured vertically or horizontally and formed internally and externally to and of a community (Flora, 1998). Insofar, these relations form the social infrastructure, or the tangible resource(s) that allow (enable) or disallow (constrain) for collective action (Sherrieb et al., 2010, Flora, 1998 & Skerrat, 2013). However, as communities are rarely homogenous or equal, these resources are operationalized or accessed contrarily, determinant of the dichotomous relations of equality/inequality, inclusion/exclusion, and structure/agency present within a community (Flora, 2018). Hence, Adger (2000) contends that social resilience and the ability to bounce forward and back to shocks, lies in the ability of communities to withstand shocks to its social infrastructure. However, the dichotomous relations as aforementioned imply that some members or groups within a community may be more resilient than others.

Building resilient communities in rural areas are of increasing concern due to higher frequencies of environmental and economic change and increased unpredictability. Thus, mechanisms to diversify local economies and livelihoods need to be implemented in order to foster not only a buffer from disturbances, but to transform pre-emptively. Hence, tourism is widely perceived and operationalized as a

leading tool to achieve this. Tourism has been an effective instrument to supplement and transform rural livelihoods, however, tourism development has not always led to positive outcomes (Dodds, Ali & Galaski, 2018).

Used as a mechanism to fast-track economic growth, tourism has become one of the fastest and constantly growing industries worldwide. In 2018, tourism contributed $1.7 trillion USD the global economy, 10.4% of global GDP, is responsible for the employment of 10% or 319 million people worldwide and one fifth of net jobs created globally in the past five years (UNWTO 2019, WTTC, 2019). Thus, tourism is evidentially an important tool for economic growth globally. The UNWTO (2007) posited tourism as a saviour in regard to development endeavours, as it encourages; investment in infrastructure leading to improved local living conditions, creating governments tax revenues, increased local employment opportunities and the prevention of increased migration to urban or business centres (UNWTO, 2007). However, due to the economic significance of tourism on state economies, the socio-ecological impacts have been often overlooked (Pforr, 2001). Thus, the rapid growth of tourism, particularly that of mass-tourism, has created negative consequences, particularly that of social, economic and environmental inequalities, resource mismanagement and cultural deterioration. However, tourism development entered a new growth paradigm in the 1990's under the guide of sustainable development, where alternative forms of tourism began to gain increasing attention, primarily attributed to rising environmental consciousness stemming from the Brundtland Report.

In 1987, the Brundtland Report presented a new development discourse; sustainable development (SD), an instrument that should guide the new wave of development in a more responsible manner across social, economic and environmental pillars (WCED, 1987). The most commonly adopted definition of SD found its origins in this report;

> *'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987:*

43)

This shift, attempts to put the environment at the fore of development, arising from increased occurrences of environmental catastrophes and growing environmental consciousness (Haque, 2000). The adoption of the SD development discourse globally, and the changing trends and desires of tourists, a proliferation of alternative forms of tourism emerged. Thus, under the overarching theme of SD, alternative forms of tourism have especially emerged in order to combat the ill-effects of mass tourism (Laverack & Thangphet, 2009). These forms of tourism, namely ecotourism and community-based tourism (often coined together as community-based ecotourism) emerged in the 1990's as a more sustainable tool for tourism development. However, as both SD and emergent forms of alternative tourism development have been interpreted and enacted subjectively, and for different goals, the effective implementation of such forms have been hindered, particularly in lesser developed countries.

Thailand is one of the leading tourist destinations globally (McDowall & Wang, 2009). The nation received 38.28 million international visitors in 2018, amounting to $63 billion USD in tourism dollar receipts (UNWTO, 2019). The contribution of tourism to the nation's GDP equated to 16.6% in 2015, higher than the global average of 9.8% (The Ministry of Tourism and Sport, 2017). The tourism industry is responsible for over 4.2 million jobs, or 11.1% of total national employment, with that number predicted to increase to over 20% by 2028 (The Ministry of Tourism and Sport, 2017, WTTC, 2018). Hence, tourism plays a pivotal role across all pillars of society in Thailand. However, beyond these socio-economic benefits, Thailand has been exposed to increased pollution, degradation of its pristine environments and the commercialization of culture amongst others (McDowall & Wang, 2009). Thus, Thailand began to adopt the SD discourse in its application to sustainable tourism planning and marketing, firstly defining ecotourism and its guidelines in a report by the TAT in 1995 (McDowall & Wang, 2009).

Hence, sustainable tourism has taken a more prominent role in the central

planning of tourism development in Thailand. This has been evident through the central government's National Development Plans (beginning in 1987) and the more recent National Tourism Development Plans. The emphasis of this shift has been placed on ecotourism and CBT as a development strategy that counterpoises the effects and benefits of mass-tourism. However, the successful implementation of sustainable tourism projects face many challenges, not limited to Thailand, due to the contrasts between philosophy and practice, tourism governance, local level community capacity and the willingness to actually operationalize such projects (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2014).

CBT in Thailand has formed part of the nation's strategy to promote the conservation of natural resources, achieve economic development, whilst also alleviating poverty (Nitikasetsoontorn, 2015). Research has highlighted the success factors of ecotourism and CBT stem from strong leadership, community participation and the important role of partnerships (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2014 & Okozaki, 2008). However, Goodwin & Santilli (2009) identify that these factors, particularly participation and partnerships are not always carried out equally, nor with equitable outcomes. Thus, power distribution and meaningful participation are still major barriers to overcome toward the successful implementation of CBT (Beeton, 2006).

Thus, a noted lack of planning, coherency and community capacity in the effective planning and management of sustainable forms of tourism in Thailand is apparent (Lacher & Nepal, 2010). Therefore, drawing attention more prominently in recent tourism research, is the role of resilience thinking in the strategic planning of tourism activities. Most tourism-related research follows the sustainability-development paradigm; however, this has been criticized as this approach neglects the process of constant social change (Strickland-Munro et al., 2010). Hence, the strength of linking tourism and resilience together lay in a commonality within their conceptual layer; both are non-linear and subject to constant change (Holladay & Powell, 2016, Strickland-Munro et al., 2010). Furthermore, research on tourism and resilience has largely focussed on either the environmental or economic dimension of resilience when analysing socio-ecological resilience at the community level. The

focus on the social component has been overlooked globally until more recently, and even then, it has largely focussed on the social resilience of communities' *post-disaster*. This research is not wrong, nor ill-advised, however, a paradigmatic shift is needed to focus on a major component of community resilience, *social capital*. Thus, social capital has the ability to provide the reinforcing platform that links and strengthen societies, forming the seed that drives economic growth and well-being that support a resilient social system and form of social organization that operates in harmony with their socio-ecological system (Vera-Toscano et al., 2012).

Thus, being largely overlooked, the absence of emphasizing the role of social capital in tourism development poses as both an issue and major research gap in the field of tourism and related research. Furthermore, coupling social capital with resilience thinking as a conceptual framework in the field of tourism has also been under-utilized. Thus, social capital undoubtedly forms as a major tenet of socio-ecological and community resilience. This assumption is supported by Ruiz-Ballesteros (2011) whom posits human-beings as the enablers of transformability in SES's. Therefore, consciousness of ecological and social processes (or a combination of both) and increased understanding (e.g. environmental consciousness) of such processes can be understood as a driver for the ability of SES's to not only adapt, but to transform in recognition that systems are influenced from feedbacks within and external to it (Chapin et al., 2009). However, as aforementioned, the process(es) toward operationalizing the means of understanding these processes, or implementing change or transformation, requires social infrastructure that is equal and inclusive, enhancing human agency across a community's entirety. Thus, communities that have disparate dichotomous relations amongst its constituents may be subject to Wilson's (2014) 'lock-in' effects, particularly that of structural and political domains, preventing the necessary change to occur. Hence, social capital can then be understood as both an agent that allows for change through communally beneficial action, or, structural and/or political lock-in effects can prevent more resilient outcomes from being operationalized based on set structures; rules, roles and precedents (barriers to change).

Furthermore, less emphasis has been placed on the proactiveness witnessed in transformation and the transformability of systems to increasing disturbances and changes. Thus, as aforementioned, a mechanism constituting transformation is the adoption of economic diversification strategies as a means to create a buffer between communtites and stresses to their system. CBT has been suggested as a mechanism to achieve such ends. However, research in the social, or human component of resilience thinking has largely overlooked the role of social capital as a resource in building resilient CBT. This research gap is a pertinent issue on multiple fronts, as social capital is purportedly the cornerstone of developing disaster preparedness, mitigating risk and mobilizing communities into collective action (Flora, 2004).

Therefore, communities can manifest greater resilience through the diversification of their economies and build on their respective community capitals through sustainable tourism, whereby social capital is the starting point that needs to be addressed. Thus, the core components needed for effective CBT operation; trust, participation, leadership and collaboration (internal and external) can be addressed or identified through the lens of social capital and its domains.

Mae Kampong, perceived as a model CBT community (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014, Boonratana, 2011) highlights the role of how collaboration, participation, leadership and external support have led to the *successful* operation of CBT in their community when faced with a changing economy in the 1990's (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). However, past research on Mae Kampong and the field of tourism research has largely overlooked the structural or power dynamics present within communities, leaving social capital as an aggregated community-level descriptor (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014, Jones, 2005 & Guo et al., 2018 for example). Hence, unique insights into a well-documented site of observation will be explored through a deeper analysis of the social dynamics and power relations within the community. Thus, placing into question the deemed success of CBT and more importantly, the resilience of Mae Kampong and resilience for whom.

Presented through qualitative analysis and desktop review of literature, this

thesis aims to place emphasis on the importance in; a) social capital in tourism development, that in turn, b) fosters greater community resilience. Therefore, this research intends to inform a wide audience, from; scholars, planning authorities to the general public, that bridging the development divide between philosophy and practice amongst alternative tourism forms can be addressed through emphasizing social capital.

1.3 Research Objective and Questions

The objective of this thesis will aim to address and fill the aforementioned research gaps through two primary foci, whilst identify the enabling and constraining factors that lead to greater community resilience;

1. Identifying how social capital influences tourism development within the context of CBT and how this is experienced between groups.
2. Identifying how CBT influences the resilience of communities

In order to address these objectives, the research will be driven by the following questions;

1. To what extent has social capital been mobilized in Mae Kampong in the development of CBT?
   a. Does this differ between and within groups in Mae Kampong?
   b. Has this changed over time?

2. To what extent has tourism development influenced the resilience of Mae Kampong?
   a. Does group association affect perceived and actual resilience and agency?

In answering these questions, it will be suggested that the coupling of social capital and resilience thinking in the application to CBT has the ability to be a;

Lens; to assess or identify the indicators that build resilience in communities, and

Vehicle; to better inform the planning of CBT that implements indicators of resilience

1.4 Argument

Utilizing Mae Kampong as a case-study location for the purpose of exploring this conceptual approach, it will be argued that;

The mobilization of community engagement and social institutions derived from shared history has enhanced and been later reinforced through collective action and responsibility toward and within CBT development in Mae Kampong, that has ultimately enhanced community resilience.

Thus, borrowing from Flora (2004), social capital is therefore the cornerstone capital or the key capital that has led to increased development across other community capitals, creating the buffer across social, economic, political and environmental pillars to shocks and stressors experienced in the Mae Kampong socio-ecological system. Therefore, via the case of Mae Kampong, this lens can aid in the understanding of;

1. 'why' the community needed to diversify its income,
2. 'how' the community was able to 'develop', and
3. 'what' were/are the results of this development

This understanding is extremely important, so as for a community to successfully transform the philosophical underpinnings of CBT into practice, the community must present strong collective action. This action, or collective agency, is rooted in the cognitive and structural domains of a community, where the members operate under the accepted norms and values of the community as a whole. Therefore, increased collective agency should enhance, in turn, the resilience of a given community. Guo et al., (2018) utilize the term *perceived* to foster an understanding of the influencing or limiting factors of community adaptive capacity. Thus, borrowing from this notion, research participants in this study will be tasked about offering their

own perceptions of human agency and social structure. This approach can provide insights toward understanding one's ability to learn, influence adaptation or implement change; highlighting the constraining (path dependent; reinforced roles) or enabling factors that enhance resilience. Thus, this novel approach in the field of tourism should then form as a major tool used for future planning of CBT in Thailand and abroad.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

The combination of social capital and resilience thinking in the application to tourism development is relatively nascent, however, a review of literature has led to the creation of novel, multi-disciplinary conceptual framework that links these concepts. The thesis will utilize the conceptual framework as outlined in *figure 1*, summarized from the conceptual definitions provided in Chapter 2. This approach will be utilized two-fold;

1. To understand how, why and under what conditions Mae Kampong was able to adopt and develop CBT, to then

2. Examine the perceived levels of social capital and resilience within and of the community through the process of tourism development; emphasizing the dichotomous relationship between structure/agency and enabling/constraining factors that contribute to such.
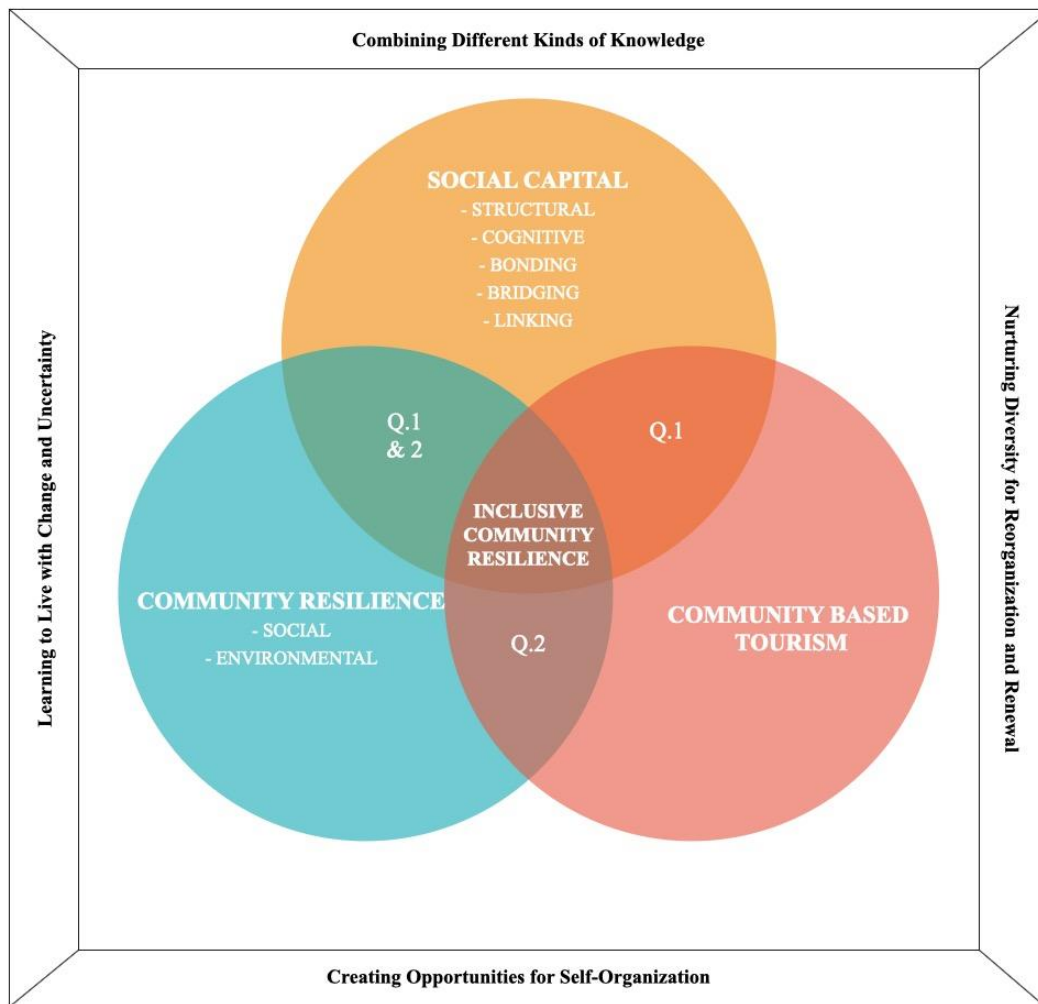
Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

In this framework, three factors are presented; 1) social capital (and its five domains), 2) CBT and 3) community resilience. The top yellow circle of the Venn diagram presents the five domains of social capital. Structural capital represents the 'how', in how things get done; roles and precedents. Cognitive capital forms the 'why', representing the feelings, or the norms and values that determine action. B-B-L capitals represents the 'what', forming in what ways are the two-prior are enacted. The 'do' and 'feel' components of structural and cognitive capital have an influence on the enactment of connections and ties through B-B-L capitals, and visa-versa. These two elements of the framework are then understood as the enabling factors that influence the effective development of CBT (blue circle of Venn diagram), where philosophy meets practice. Combined, the three factors, in its positivist sense would foster greater community resiliency (blue circle of Venn diagram).

The interplay of Social Capital and CBT is explored through *Question 1* of

this research; exploring the role of social capital in the development of CBT in Mae Kampong. Importantly, social capital is seen as both an input to the development of CBT, and the development of tourism has created outputs that have reinforced the social capital of and within the community. The internal domains of structural and cognitive capital have been paramount as an input toward the development of CBT, whereby external assistance through linking capital have supported the transformation of the community. The time and scale element of Question 1(a) is highlighted through the transformation of the community's bridging capital to bonding capital, whereby CBT has fostered a greater sense of collective efficacy derived from the institutionalization of community rules, roles and precedents based on the distribution of benefits, collective integrity of environmental stewardship and the requirement for compulsory civic engagement.

The interplay of CBT and community resilience is explored through *Question 2* of this research; exploring the influence of tourism development on the resilience of Mae Kampong against the factors that inhere a socio-ecological resilient form of community organization that attempts to ensure and implement sustainable development according to Berkes & Seixas (2005). CBT has undoubtedly been an influential development tool in Mae Kampong, whereby the transformation of the community to the adoption of a tourism service-based industry has created a socio-economic buffer to stressors, whilst also enhancing environmental consciousness. However, the dominance of tourism and the shift of practice away from CBT's philosophy has and potentially has the ability to hinder the resilience of the community.

The interplay of social capital and community resilience is explored through Questions 1 & 2; both directly and indirectly. Mae Kampong has built a strong foundation of social capital based from past history of shared collective action (MHP) and strengthened through the development of CBT. These experiences have fostered a durable network of internal and external relationships, as well as creating a common set of norms and values (cognitive capital) that has enhanced the social resilience of the community. This is exemplified recently through the ability of the community to

absorb the effects of Covid-19, whereby the community's social structure (structural capital; leadership) and tenets of social capital such as sharing, trust and reciprocity have served as tangible means for the community to withstand and bounce-back rapidly to the effects of the pandemic.

The centre of the diagram is the culmination and product of all three major concepts; whereby the goal of building community resilience should be inclusive. However, constraining factors have and can negatively reinforce or prevent effective relations and development, a result of socio-economic and environmental factors and the amplifying and stabilizing feedbacks experienced through the community's development that influences the structure/agency nexus. Hence, it is acknowledged that although at the community level, Mae Kampong exhibits strong indicators of community resilience (the four factors in the box encompassing the diagram), largely credited to the development of CBT, individuals potentially experience varying degrees of resilience.

The framework recognizes that social processes are non-linear, whereby components operating within the system occur at different times and different scales. Therefore, the interplay of social structure and agency is acknowledged as creating constraining and enabling factors to the access or utilization of resources created and available amongst the core concepts, and ultimately, the notion of creating inclusive community resilience. Thus, power relations are acknowledged to be a prominent factor in the community of Mae Kampong, hindering the overall resilience at the individual level through socio-economic, cultural and political barriers.

Importantly, the structure/agency nexus informs the domains of social capital; setting the rules, norms and values amongst how and by who these resources are operationalized and perpetuated. Thus, access to resources or participation are structurally and cognitively bound, influenced by social grouping or role in the community. Thus, for example; local residents (born and raised) vs. 'new' *outsider* residents who have moved to Mae Kampong and started a business. In this example, preliminary data indicated that newer residents feel a sense of exclusion (weaker

bonding and bridging capital) within the community. Hence, the exclusion of this particular group of residents presents possible constraining factors toward fully participating in communally beneficial action; creating a snowball effect that hinders the operation of CBT, reinforces social structures and both community and individual resilience.

COMMUNITY RESILIENCE

Factor		Example
Structure/Agency	Rules and resources (command over) can create inclusion or exclusion, equality or inequality.	Command over decision making/lack of participation (agency) excludes others; greater access or power can lead to social imbalances affecting resilience. Conversely, equal participation can reinforce trust and reciprocity, influencing structure (transformability) aiding resilience.
Social Capital	How the 'do' and 'feel' affects the 'what'	Enabling or constraining (S-C) factors that (dis)allow access to opportunity (B-B-L); affecting agency and thus resilience; equal access to opportunity can be mutually beneficial between factors.
CBT	Where philosophy meets practice	If philosophy meets practice, the benefits of CBT inhere resilience and can be mutually informative, however, constraining factors (exclusion, inequalities) can separate practice from philosophy
Community Resilience	The coupling of socio-ecological components of the system (emphasizing the social component)	The (in)ability for the socio-ecological system to absorb, adapt or transform to or from change

Table 1: Factors Comprising Community Resilience in Mae Kampong

In order to operationalize this framework, these factors will be explored through interviewing relevant stakeholders to illustrate the relationships and importance of these factors toward tourism development and community resilience.

This will require questioning that elicits responses emphasizing the structure/agency and relations of power within the community, including a time element.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Research Methods for Collecting Secondary Data

Secondary data for the completion of this research was done via desk-top research. Hence, the author utilized and consulted with a wide range of resources reviewing the background data surrounding past research and extensive analysis of the thesis' conceptual framework. Thus, academic journals, government and non-government documents and reports, books, newspaper articles and documentaries were collated and reviewed in order to provide a sound, well-rounded theoretical base and support of the arguments formed.

1.6.2 Research Methods for Collecting Primary Data

This research utilized a case-study method in combination with qualitative analyses, employing Data Source Triangulation (DTS) to gain a deeper understanding of; the village resident's insights to their daily lives, village operations, perceptions toward tourism and ultimately their levels of social capital and resilience. Qualitatively, the research utilized semi-structured and key informant interviews performed by the author and with the aid of a research assistant. In-depth interviews and DST derived from a range of stakeholders provided well-rounded, wide-ranged perspectives, increasing the validity of the data collected (Patton, 1999).

Due to Covid-19 and subsequent travel restrictions, the interviews were conducted remotely. This will include computer-mediated communications, primarily utilizing videoconferencing applications such as Zoom in order to best replicate the natural back and forth, face-to-face means of communication. Videoconferencing will also allow for the researcher to observe verbal and non-verbal signals (Salmons, 2016). Additional information and communication technologies will also be used, including; multichannel meetings where interviews will be conducted via cellular phone, and text based, including e-mail and instant messaging for pre- and follow-up

questions (Salmons, 2016).

In line with Merriam (2009), the use of semi-structured interviews allowed for greater flexibility to follow new paths in the discussions, whilst also having the ability to steer the conversation when needed. The research assistant had been chosen on expertise and experience in the field of social research, with up-to-date training and knowledge of this research's aims and objectives.

The research participants (*n=18*) ranged from residents of Mae Kampong (*n=9*), academics and researchers familiar with the community, local tourism operators, CBT planning expert, and a non-local Ph.D. candidate with past experience of the community and the practice of CBT. Thus, the diversity of participants has been chosen in the attempt to address the research questions by providing a wide range of observational angles on the community over the period of time from the inception of hydropower in 1986 to the current day. Obtaining information from this range of participants shall create a varied base of invaluable information that is applicable to the development of Mae Kampong over a lengthened timeframe. Data was triangulated in order to find common and interesting themes. A full list of research participants can be found in the appendix.

1.6.3 Sampling Method

The qualitative component of this thesis utilized two sampling methods to select interview participants; judgment (purposeful) and convenience. Judgement sampling is the most commonly utilized sampling method used in qualitative research (Marshall, 1996). In line with the rigorous development of this thesis objectives and research questions based on literature review and preliminary data, participants were selected on their best fit to represent all variables toward eliciting responses that answer the research questions. Thus, to truly inform the method of DST, participants will be drawn to elicit maximum variation. Therefore, shown in *table 2*, participants will cover 'groups' or individuals that are exogenous and endogenous to the community, identifying that sub-groups are present (i.e. authority figures, homestay owners, tour guides), that will provide varying degrees of responses and insights.

Additionally, judgement sampling will also allow for subjects to recommend further potential candidates to participate in the study (Marshall, 1996). Hence, the latter, known as snowball sampling, also extends to the utilization of convenience sampling, as the remote nature of this thesis will also require access to the most accessible participants.

1.6.4 Data Collection

The qualitative data was obtained through key informant and in-depth semi-structured interviews. A core structure of questions were developed, unique to the participant category. These categorizations are presented in data collection matrix below in *table 2*, and templates interview guiding questions are available in the appendix. The questions were designed to be flexible in their nature, without rigid ordering, so as to follow any new or interesting leads. The questions were adapted from Spradley (1979), that ranged from grand-tour questions, to specific experiential questions. Data collection began remotely on the 22nd of June, conducted sporadically over a 7-week period.

Types of Respondents	Number of Respondents	Tool
Academic/Scholars/Researchers	6	Key-Informant Interview
Tourism Operators	1	Key-Informant Interview
CBT Planning Institution	1	Key-Informant Interview
Village Head	2 (past & present)	Key-Informant Interview
Women's Group	1	In-depth Interview
Homestay	2	In-depth Interview
Guesthouse	2	In-depth Interview
Tour Guide	1	In-depth Interview
Non-Tourism Employed	1	In-depth Interview
Non-Local Resident	1	In-depth Interview

Table 2: *List of Research Participants*

1.6.5 Analysis of Data Collection

The analysis of the interviews followed the phases of thematic analysis that

are outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis was utilized to identify, analyse and report patterns within the data collected. Thematic analysis is an effective analytical method, insofar as it minimally organized data into prominent themes set into rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thus, in line with the authors method of conducting thematic analysis, the recorded interviews were revisited, and notetaking extended. These notes were then coded, and later thematized.

Coding was undertaken through both deductive and inductive means. Deductive thematic analysis utilized the pre-set themes that applied to the main concepts of social capital and resilience utilized in this thesis. Hence, guiding questions were split into three overarching categories; 1) general background information and perceptions of tourism, 2) social capital based and 3) resilience-based questions. Thus, responses were then sorted deductively to their respect categories and placed into sub-categories; i.e. Social Capital; structural, cognitive, B-B-L capitals. Themes created from inductive analysis were derived from responses elicited primarily from the categorization of questions regarding the general background information and perceptions of tourism. These themes; transformational leadership, participation, rules and norms and benefit sharing were universally referred to across all interviews in varying capacities. Most often, these themes were elicited from the question *"what are the main factors for the success of CBT in Mae Kampong?"*, however, responses to questions in relation to social capital and resilience also eluded to these themes.

The interviews were conducted by the author, and with the aid of a research assistant. The research assistant was of Thai nationality, thus, performing the interviews with the participants whom only spoke the Thai language. The research assistant was trained on the thesis' aims and objectives before data collection, so that they were best prepared to not only understand and use the guiding questions, but to then have the informed ability to follow interesting and new leads. The author gave permission for the research assistant to follow new leads liberally.

The research assistant conducted 8 interviews, all 8 (of 9 local residents) were conducted with residents of Mae Kampong in the Thai language. The interviews were conducted remotely, through the use of multichannel communication means; primarily through the use of cellular phones through the call function, whilst also following up through instant messaging services (LINE) and email. The interviews conducted ran approximately for 45 minutes to 1 hour each. The research assistant was provided a guiding list of questions, specific to the category/person that was being interviewed (e.g. village leader, guesthouse, homestay owner; please see appendix for detailed list of questions). The interviews were recorded where possible.

The translation and transcription of the interviews were conducted primarily in the form of deductive thematic analysis, whereby, the guiding questions were broken into main themes and the research assistant provided detailed summaries of the interviews in English, fitting the responses in the respective categories/questions, from Thai to English. The author and researcher revisited the provided summaries to gain further clarification(s) or more in-depth analysis on select responses when and where required. The research assistant also provided general notes on respective interviews, and these were discussed in greater detail with the author via teleconferencing means. These discussions provided for a deeper contextual understanding of each interview, insofar as going further than the written transcription through highlighting what was not said (e.g. personal characteristics such as; tone, hesitance, and agreeableness), with the author extending notetaking. Hence, the post-interview discussions also supported the creation of the inductive themes, through discussing key themes that emerged within and across interviews. Thus, these themes were derived from these discussions and coded from within responses presented amongst individual interview summaries, contributing to the themes presented in Chapter 4.

Similarly, the author conducted 10 interviews online with the majority of interviewees forming as external stakeholders (1 internal resident, 9 external). These interviews were conducted remotely through the videoconferencing application Zoom. The interviews ranged in duration from 45 minutes to 1 hour 30 minutes, in

English. The interviews were recorded and transcribed where possible, however, due to the nature of many external stakeholders having an active role or relationship with the community, the interviewee's requested that the information given was all, or in part, sensitive. Therefore, permission for the recording of select whole, or parts of interviews were not granted. Thus, extensive notetaking was utilized in these cases, and confidentiality was ensured. The recorded interviews were revisited and were also sorted into the pre-set categories regarding social capital and resilience via the process of deductive thematic analysis (see appendix for example questionnaire with external stakeholders).

1.7 Relevance & Significance

This thesis is relevant and applicable to and across the multi-disciplinary approach the research undertakes. The research will be applicable to the fields of development studies, tourism, geography and political science amongst others. It shall also prove beneficial for management authorities, and private tourism operators by highlighting the need for attention to be paid on social capital when planning for and implementing CBT.

This research aids in filling the research gap specifically in the field of tourism, as emphasis on the social aspect of the coupled socio-ecological system in resilience thinking has been largely understudied or having a rigid methodological framework developed to measure or assess the social resilience of communities that are in transition toward developing sustainably. Thus, it is intended that this research extends the understanding of the importance in social capital in the development of CBT and for creating and instilling resiliency within communities. This shall be particularly relevant to regions with nascent communities transitioning or diversifying its local economy through tourism. This thesis aims to not limit its application solely to the field of tourism and rural locations in LDC's, as the issues of community development and need for building resilience are also found in urban areas.

The significance of this research lies in its novel approach to the coupling of resilience thinking and social capital into the field of tourism and development. This

research fills a knowledge and research gap, with the development of a conceptual framework that can better inform the development of CBT. Insofar, the framework used in this research can be used as a lens and a vehicle to better understand and operationalize tourism development and planning. This is especially pertinent to Thailand, as alternative forms of tourism have garnered increased attention from local to national development planning authorities, with successful cases few and far between. More locally, this will also provide significant insights toward potentially improving social relations within Mae Kampong, highlighting that constraining factors may inhibit the resilience of the community. Thus, overall, this research forms a significant contribution to a field of research and industry that is currently in the spotlight amidst the Covid-19 pandemic.

1.8 Ethics

This research was completed under complete ethical consideration. Transparency and respect was held to the utmost account, with any private personal details held in confidentiality, hence, complete anonymity is presented through the findings (with exception of the past and current village heads). Each participant was made aware that participation and responses would be used for the completion of a Master's Thesis at Chulalongkorn University. Each participant was required to provide consent. Hence, participant names have been changed or referred to in general terms for the purpose of providing anonymity. Participants were asked permission for their participation to be recorded, whereby select participants opted for the interviews to not be recorded. Furthermore, select participants wished that certain comments or parts of the discussion were to be kept off the record. Hence, these comments have been withdrawn from the findings of this research presented in Chapters 4 and 5. However, the off the record comments assisted in developing a deeper contextual analysis of the phenomena at hand.

1.9 Research Limitations

This research has encountered a range of limitations. Firstly, the effects of Covid-19 prevented in-person observation of the community, with all interviews being conducted electronically via video sharing platforms or other forms of

telecommunications. The scope of the research was also altered in order to compensate for the inability to visit the community, however, non-participant and participant observations would have added further interesting insights into the community and phenomena at hand.

Secondly, interviews with Mae Kampong community members (aside from one) were performed through a research assistant. Although the assistant was trained on the topic and selected due to their experience in the field of social sciences and research, a more thorough training program and emphasis on certain components of the purpose of the interviews could potentially have uncovered further and deeper results.

Thirdly, this research places greater emphasis on the social aspects of the socio-ecological system that Mae Kampong is a member of. The system faces many other internal and external barriers; i.e. infrastructure, financial capital and land security. However, by focusing on the social aspect, it places greater emphasis on the ability to harness social capital in creating a more resilient community that in turn will develop sustainably in a business as usual context.

Fourthly, the original research design was to incorporate a mixed-methods approach. The level of residents perceived resilience and social capital were to be measured through a survey, basing these off past research undertaken from Krishna & Shrader (2002), Guo et al., (2018) and Marshall & Marshall (2007). A statistical analysis of respondent's answers would have had the potential to support the qualitative findings of this research, in turn, increasing the reliability and validity of data.

Lastly, the sampling method of convenience sampling may not necessarily form as the most representative. Although the research participants amongst internal residents include representatives of various groups and positions, gender and generation (age), these participants were obtained through the snowballing technique. Hence, the voices of these individuals may not represent the whole voice of the group

they are a member of due to the convenient selection and recommendation of research participants from those interviewed prior. However, although similarities emerged across interviews, there were certainly interesting and diverse perceptions observed between research participants.

Thus, these limitations could certainly be addressed, and research strengthened further through field-based research utilizing the suggested mixed-methods approach and the ability to access research participants afforded by an in-person context.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will present a literature review of past research. Firstly, definitions of the core concepts used in this thesis will be introduced and defined. The latter concept of Sustainable Tourism (including ET & CBT) will also introduce an element relevant to the Thai context. This will be followed by a review of literature that has tested these links in the field. Lastly, an overview of the methodologies surrounding the research attempting to operationalize a measure or assessment of social capital and resilience will be discussed. Thus, leading to the justification of developing a hybrid model that is easily replicable in a nascent domain where measurable data has not yet been clearly defined, nor agreed. The literature will utilize secondary data from academic journals, books, and governmental reports and documents.

2.2 Resilience

Resilience is a systems level concept thas been employed in various fields, ranging from; ecology engineering, anthropology, design, conflict analysis and psychology. The concept has not only has been applied across a wide range of academic fields, it has thus been influenced and manipulated in distinct forms for its applicability across multiple domains. However, there are three distinct 'models' of resilience, referring to a systems ability to either *absorb*, *adapt* or *transform* to or from change (Aall & Crocker, 2019 & Chapin et al., 2009). A fourth characteristic of resilience is inextricably linked to these three models; *vulnerability*. Systems are 'vulnerable' when they lack the capacities to successfully navigate shocks or disturbances. Hence, the concept was first applied by Holling in 1973 to ecological systems, describing;

> *"The persistence of systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables" (Holling, 1973, p.14)*

Chapin et al., (2009) define resilience as the recognition of the coupling between social and ecological systems (SES) in order to understand current and future changes or crises. The concept has been widely used in the study of ecosystems, whereby the crux of the theory is defined by the ability of ecosystems to bounce back after experiencing shocks or stresses (Gibson-Graham et al., 2016). However, Gibson-Graham et al., (2016) elaborate that resilience theory, or thinking, is still in its nascent stages and is quickly enveloping the social sciences to aid in crisis management. Henceforth, crises arise due to the vulnerabilities present in SES, whereby vulnerabilities are understood as the degree to which a system is likely to experience shocks and stresses from disturbances (Chapin et al., 2009). Therefore, shocks and stresses (internal or external) influence or exacerbate the vulnerabilities of SES that do not have the capacity to adapt to change. Therefore, the need to foster an understanding of SES lies in the knowledge that humans rely on ecosystem dynamics, and these dynamics are influenced to varying degrees by human activity. Thus, the interdependence of SES is mutually informed of one another through socio and/or ecological processes, producing stabilizing and amplifying feedbacks, whereby disturbances are felt and caused by physical, economic, cultural and ecological factors (Chapin et al., 2009). Socially, systems dealing with perturbations are dictated by the structure/agency nexus (*figure 2*), where agency can be hindered by structural embeddedness causing 'lock-in' effects (Flora, 1998, Wilson, 2014).
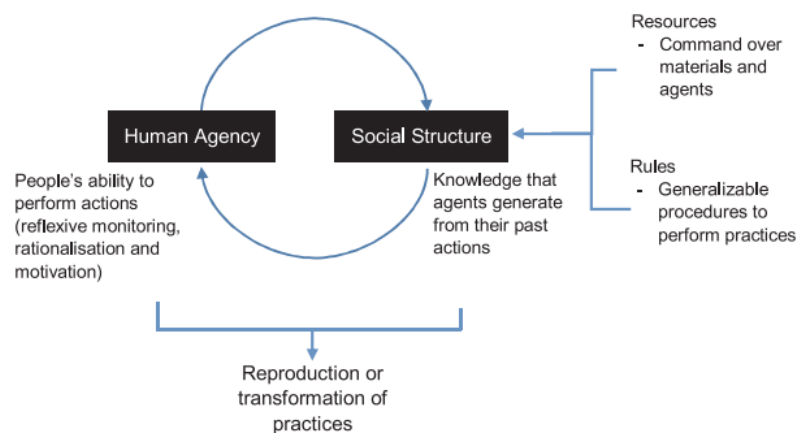
Figure 2: The Relationship Between Structure and Agency
(Malakar et al., 2018)

In order to understand the drivers of change or perpetuation of practices, the figure 2 highlights the interplay of human agency and social structure. Borrowing from Giddens, human agency is understood as the capabilities of people to do things, or the ability of making them happen (Giddens, 1984). Conversely, social structure is a temporospatial construct developed through the repository of knowledge gained from shared history and experiences, allowing for the perpetuation of practices over space and time (Giddens, 1984). Thus, social structure pertains the rules and resources of a given community, giving rise to a certain set way of doing things. Theoretically, social structure is both a means and result of human agency; a two-way relationship, where the interaction between the two provides the platform for practices to be reproduced or transformed (Malakar et al., 2018).

However, social structure is influenced by constraining or enabling factors, whereby the former can prevent change or transformation of practices by the embeddedness of roles and resources (Malakar, 2018). Hence, constraining factors (e.g. gendered norms, religious beliefs) can lead to 'lock-in' effects, whereby pathways to change are blocked; a one-directional relationship, or, structure over agency. Wilson (2014) posits structural (traditions, political orientation, gender rights, moral and religious codes) lock-in and political (political orientation, strong one-dimensional leadership) lock-in effects as two primary factors that constrain transformation of social structures. Hence, the example Wilson (2014) gives of political lock in refers to a community leader that exercises power in the decision-making, as macro-political decision-making has weaker context within said community, with little dissent given to other voices. Thus, in this context, relations of power and human agency are instrumental in the adaptive (in)capacities within communities.

Thus, the resilience of SES rely on its adaptive capacity to transform systems after experiencing shocks or stresses. Thus, through increased adaptive capacity, vulnerabilities can be mitigated. The strength of resilience thinking lies in the paradigmatic shift away from an equilibrium-oriented engineering of resource management evident in the sustainability-development nexus. Socio-ecological

resilience moves toward a properly ecological oriented form of non-equilibria, that provides less rigidity allowing for greater capacity in adapting to change (Gibson-Graham et al., 2016).

Resilience thinking has gone through three paradigmatic shifts in its focus. Initially, in the 1960's and 70's focusing on the ecological resilience. Secondly, by the coupling of human-ecological systems, or socio-ecological systems. Lastly, more emphasis on the social of SES has garnered increased interest. This is particularly evident, as the panarchy model of resilience applied to SES may not be fully transformable toward understanding the complexities of social systems (Wilson, 2012).

2.2.1 Social Resilience

The application of resilience to social systems and socio-ecological systems was adopted in the early 2000's (Adger, 2000 & Holling, 2001), thus being considered relatively new. Henceforth, social resilience is understood as the ability of a community to withstand external shocks without compromising its social infrastructure (Adger, 2000). Meaning, social resilience relies on the true, two-way relationship between social structure and human agency, whereby social structure have the ability (receptive) to be reshaped and practices transformed (e.g. conservation of natural resources through new practices, transforming from an 'old' way to a 'new' way in the face of/after change (Malakar et al., 2018). Wilson (2012) highlights that social resilience is more about the pre-emptive state of change placing resilience as the desirable state of operation, as opposed to simply the process(es) to avoid disturbance(s) to or within the system. Wilson (2012) contends that resilience in this frame is two-fold; an outcome and a process. The outcome pertains to the improved adaptive capacity of communities, and the process being the dynamic changes enacted by the willingness of communities to take control of their development pathways. Thus, social resilience is often attributed to the community level (Adger, 2000, Wilson, 2012).

'Community' is ambiguous in nature, without an agreed operational definition.

This thesis does not aim to fill that knowledge gap. However, following from Berkes & Ross (2013), community will be referred to and understood as a place-based concept, whereby referring to a place where the people live and work in the confined geo-spatially located area.

2.2.2 Community Resilience

Continuing from Adger, community resilience, as a systems-level concept, pertains to the consideration given of, and to, the complexities that comprise and arise in a community. Thus, community resilience encompasses and operates within a network of interacting and interconnected components, social structures, processes and activities (Pfefferbaum, Van Horn & Pfefferbaum, 2015). Magis (2010) posits community resilience as;

> *"the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise."*

Therefore, within community resilience, the ability of a community to operationalize and mobilize its capitals through collective agency takes place of ecological resilience's lens of adaptive capacity. Davidson (2011) determines that it is precisely agency that distinguishes community resilience from that of ecological. Furthering this notion, Wilson (2012) and Hopkins (2010) posit social resilience as the opportunity for change and development, as opposed to the return to functions in ecological systems when influenced by disturbances. This paradigmatic shift in resilience thinking highlights the importance of human agency within SES, as human beings are the most important factor for socio-ecological resilience (Ruiz-Ballestros, 2011).

Community resilience is related to but diverges from that of community capacity. Magis (2010) identifies that community resilience moves beyond community capacity due the specific and exclusive focus of community systems in the context of change. The ability to change, rather than just the ability to continue on

the same trajectory is the defining characteristic of community resilience (Steiner & Markantoni, 2014 & Adger, 2000). Thus, communities that are deemed to bestow a wealth of capitals are considered to be more stable, less vulnerable and more productive (Steiner & Markantoni, 2014).

More recently, resilience thinking has lent its application to the study and practice of conflict transformation. The foci of resilience from Interpeace's (2016) '*Framework for Assessing Resilience*', places focus on '*what works*' or '*what has worked*' in the past toward mitigating or transforming conflict. Thus, emphasis is placed on the actual endogenous resources such as attributes, assets, capacities and institutions present within a given community. Therefore, resilience's application as a lens intends to delve deeper into the underpinnings of a given community to provide a well-informed, context specific analysis of the community's internal assets; social capital.

Hence, the use of a resilience approach as both a lens and vehicle lend to its value of the concept as a useful tool in development studies and its application to this thesis. Therefore, the definition of community resilience this thesis will utilize is as follows;

Community resilience is not only the ability for such to self-organize socially in the adaptation to shocks, stresses and disturbances in its system. Rather, community resilience is the ability to also proactively engage in change responding to actual and perceived change(s), that may require a transformative approach.

2.3 Social Capital

Initially prescribed as fellowship, good-will, mutual sympathy and social intercourse amongst individuals in groups or families by Louis Hanifan (1916), social capital has received increasing attention across a multiplicity of research fields. More prominently, Bourdieu (1986) identifies social capital as actual or potential resource(s), formed in and from a network of durable relationships. Coleman (1988)

extended Bourdieu's definition further, whereby social capital and structures (intangible) are realized into tangible resources to be used by individuals. Furthering this notion, Lin (1998), defined social capital as a resource that is embedded within social networks of relationships, being mobilized or accessed through one's ties to these networks. However, more pertinent to the definition of social capital to be understood within this thesis belongs to Robert Putnam. Putnam popularized the term social capital in the seminal work 'Bowling Alone', placing emphasis on the term as the ability of a community to generate benefits beyond the individual level, to the neighbourhood and community level (Putnam, 1995). The community level benefits can be understood as individuals participating in mutually beneficial collective action (Uphoff, 1999 & 2000).

Putnam's definition places emphasis on community-level benefits, as it centres on individuals as mobilized agents within a network. Thus, it is commonly applied to a community scale of analysis and/or observation. Therefore, social capital in this lens is a very influential tool in the application to understanding and observing community development. Hence, social capital through this lens is extremely applicable to this research through its utilization and relationship to the development of CBT. Thus, broadly put, social capital is understood as the positive or negative consequences of and within individuals and groups made through the involvement, association and participation in groups. Similarly, Lin's (2001) foci lays in the individual level, centred on social networks. Through this lens, social capital are social resources accessed and used by individuals to achieve specific outcomes (Lin 2001).

The conceptualization, practicality and measurability of social capital has also faced barriers, as many authors have aimed to differentiate and categorize the various forms it comprises (Musavengane & Kloppers, 2020). Most commonly, these forms have been separated to include structural and cognitive capital, amidst bonding, bridging and linking forms of capital (B-B-L). These are defined and presented in *table 3*.

Sherrieb, Norris and Galea (2010) identify the need to clearly define social capital before one can operationalize such in research. Therefore, refining the aforementioned definitions of social capital, and the classification of its domains (*table 3*), the following definition will be utilized for the purpose of this thesis;

Social capital is the promotion, development and deployment of resources and gains developed through networks of relationships, producing benefit(s) that reach beyond the individual, to the community level. These networks are shaped through structural and cognitive node(s) of behaviour(s) within each local context, enacted through Bonding-Bridging-Linking capitals.

Furthermore, a review of literature has uncovered a disparity between scholars in the usage of bridging and linking capital. For example, Musavengane & Kloppers (2020) factor bridging and linking capital together. Bridging capital is deemed as weaker associations to bonding capital, often between heterogenous groups (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015). The key to bridging capital is that it is deemed to have a horizontal structure. As compared to linking capital, associations are usually structured vertically, whereby a hierarchical element is involved; links to local government for example. Therefore, although non-governmental external agents, particularly NGO's and tourism operators, are not thought of as holding the same power as governmental institutions, they do pertain a level of power and influence. Hence, this thesis will separate these external agents distinctively, as both will be classified under linking capital.

Hence, the following thesis will refer to 'B-B-L' capitals as the following;

- *Bonding*: associations with family and extended family within the community, and relations between the community after the installation of the MHP.
- *Bridging*: previous community relations prior to MHP, relations to other

communities, travel/tour operators etc…

- *Linking*: includes associations and relationships with external agents, ranging from local government to non-governmental organizations and other civil society organizations.

Structural Capital	Includes networks, roles, rules and precedents; including the various forms and intensity of social organizations and networks, and the strength of these ties – these factors lead to how and what people 'do', and usually involves hierarchical structures and functions	*Sherrieb et al (2010), Jones (2005), Musavengane & Kloppers (2020)*
Cognitive Capital	Includes the norms, values, attitudes and beliefs of individuals, predicated on the individual perceptions of; trust, reciprocity, cooperation, sharing – relating to how people 'feel'	*Jones (2005)*
Bonding Capital	Describes the connections among individuals who are emotionally close, usually exemplifying a degree of homophily resulting in tighter bonds. Strong connections are thought to provide better social support; most often recognized through family; bonding capital is usually localized or *within* communities, and horizontally associated.	*Aldrich & Meyer (2015), Musavengane & Kloppers (2020), Pfefferbaum et al., (2017)*
Bridging Capital	Describes a looser association across heterogenous groups, connecting people/groups to other networks or resources, often in cases where they wouldn't normally interact; usually across domains such as class, race, ethnicity; found within and beyond the confines of a community, *extra*; usually horizontal associations.	*Aldrich & Meyer (2015), Pfefferbaum et al.,(2017)*
Linking Capital	Describes the relationship(s) between groups or networks with others that possess power, influence, authority or control; vertical associations; e.g government, NGO's, tourism authorities	*Pfefferbaum et al.,(2017) Magis (2010), Aldrich (2012)*

Table 3: The Domains of Social Capital

2.4 Sustainable Tourism

As aforementioned, sustainable tourism began to gain momentum under the umbrella development discourse of sustainable development. The UNWTO (2013) highlights the negative effects of tourism and tourism development ranging from; increased carbon emissions, misuse of scarce resources (i.e. water and energy), local pollution of land and water, poorly developed and governed tourist activities, poor working conditions and threats to local communities through exclusionary measures (access to land). Thus, in order to combat these effects, various definitions of sustainable tourism have been developed (Liu, 2003). However, the most broadly and commonly understood is set out by the WTO;

> *"Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future… the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems." (WTO 2001, cited in Liu, 2003 p. 460).*

Thus, as is evident from this definition, sustainable tourism borrows from the definition of sustainable development set out in 1987's Brundtland Report. The emphasis placed on the 'current and future' viability is an important driver to rectify the ill-effects of tourism, with the sustainability discourse having the promise to drive and guide this change (Liu, 2003). Thus, three key objectives of sustainable tourism, as defined by Cater (1993) and referred to as the 'sustainability trinity' (Farrell, 1999) are; 1) improved living standards in the short and long-term amongst host communities, 2) satisfying tourist demands and 3) the safeguarding of natural resources that reinforce the two prior aims. Thus, for tourism to be considered sustainable, it requires the equitable integration of the economy, society and the environment.

However, there are still key challenges facing the tourism industry; from government to private enterprise and local communities, in operating and

implementing tourism development under this guide. These key issues, identified by the WTO (2005) include;

Managing Dynamic Growth; in order to preserve natural resources that tourism relies on under growth in tourism numbers, tourism needs to be carefully managed and planned.

Climate Change: a major issue for the long-term sustainability of tourism, as climatic changes and subsequent consequences will affect tourism destinations, whilst tourism will also directly contribute to enhancing climate change.

Poverty Alleviation: although tourism has a low-entry cost to the economy, the channelling of economic benefits is not always directed to the host communities. Thus, mechanisms to prevent economic leakages and exploitation of low-skilled, poor communities must be addressed.

Environmental Conservation: Income from tourism must be redirected to the enhancement of environmental conservation, via extending and efficient use of the costs associated with permits, entrance fees and concessions. Tourism also offers the ability to diversify livelihoods in regions where communities are dependent on well-maintained natural resources. Thus, tourism can encourage better land-use, or less intensified land-use practices.

Therefore, as identified by Prosser (1994), four categories, or forces, are socially driving the change toward increasing sustainability in tourism. These include; 1) increased awareness of environmental issues and cultural sensitivity, 2) dissatisfaction with existing products, 3) realization by tourist destinations and regions of their precious resources and their vulnerabilities, and 4) changing attitudes of tourism developers and operators. A fifth element can be added to Prosser's forces; 5) recognizing the need for local empowerment and ownership in the decision-making, planning and operationalizing of tourism projects (Scheyvens, 1999, Donohoe & Needham, 2006). Hence, these drivers can be viewed as aiding to the

emergence of alternative forms of tourism, such as ecotourism and community-based tourism, that philosophically aim to rectify and operate with these objectives in mind.

2.5 Ecotourism

Philosophically, ecotourism is defined as nature-based activities performed in an ethical and socio-ecologically equitable manner (Donohoe & Needham, 2006). Ecotourism emerged in the 1980's as tourists began seeking increasingly individualist and engaging activities, combined with an increased awareness of the antagonistic effects of mass tourism on environmental issues (Diamantis, 2000). Prominently defined and referred to by Ceballos-Lascurain in 1987, ecotourism involves

"...travelling to natural areas with the objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas" (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1987).

Ceballos-Lascurain placed great emphasis on the educational aspect of ecotourism, and that through environmental-educational experiences, conservationist ideals can be instilled within the visitor (Diamantis, 1999). Although the term lacks a robust definition, there is an agreeance amongst scholars that ecotourism must include the core components that activities are; nature based, conservation/preservation based, environmentally educated, sustainably managed and are locally participated (Diamantis, 1999, Sitikarn 2008). These components are elaborated further in *table 4*.

Components of Ecotourism

1. Nature Based	Occurring primarily in nature; increased opportunity to access natural areas of minimal human interference
2. Conservation/Preservation	Maintenance and enhancement of ecosystems; planning for such through rigid management of activities including collaborative efforts between stakeholders
3. Environmentally Educated	Provision of bio-cultural education amongst all stakeholders; encouraged interaction and awareness with nature and heritage; empower stakeholders to engage with issues surrounding natural areas and heritage
4. Sustainably Managed	Recognition of socio-bio-cultural elements over human activity; supply, not demand driven
5. Locally Participated	Equitable local participation in the; access, planning, management and operations of tourism-related activities

Table 4: Revised Key Components that Comprise Sustainable Ecotourism (developed from Sitikarn 2008, Diamantis, 1999, Donohoe & Needham 2006).

The proliferation of ecotourism as an alternative form of tourism development grew through the understanding of its ability to reconcile conservation and development (Newsham & Bhagwat, 2015). Newsham & Bhagwat (2015) present this reasoning in two broad forms; firstly, to bolster the competitive advantage of regions that boast rich biodiversity and landscapes. And secondly, to generate revenues that in turn, should create incentive to conserve the natural environment.

However, not unlike in other lesser developed countries, the implementation of ecotourism in Thailand has often been installed neglecting the terms philosophical premise. Thus, in practice, the government and business' have more often used ecotourism as a marketing tool to fast-track economic growth (Kontogeorgopoulos, 1999 & Kaosa-ard, 1994). Thus, ecotourism has often been mis-managed, and mis-implemented in Thailand, highlighted by the neglection of educational programs that weren't developed inclusively with local communities, or not apparent at all, amidst tourism activities not being sustainably managed (Laverack & Thangphet, 2007). Thus, Lacher and Nepal (2010) identify that integrated management and the building of community adaptive capacity form the key drivers toward ensuring the philosophy

and practice of ecotourism are met. These misrepresented and implemented attributes have led to a rise in the focus of CBT as a more sustainable and equitable alternative.

2.6 Community Based Tourism

CBT was developed as an alternative tourism development pathway, extending from the notion of sustainable development. Thus, emerging to prominence in the 1990's, CBT was, and is currently regarded as an effective means to prevent the ill-effects of non-locally developed and mass tourism. The operational definition of community-based tourism is a fuzzy concept; however, it is generally agreed that CBT is tourism that is owned and/or managed by local communities, with the aim of extending wider community benefits (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009 & Boonratana, 2009). CBT encourages the retaining or proactive control over decision-making, thus, allowing communities to direct tourism development toward their own values and interests (Johnson, 2010). Common attributes of CBT include;

- Benefits directed to the local communities, contributing to the overall well-being of the host community; individually, culturally and environmentally
- Hosting tourists in their community; usually through a homestay arrangement
- Communally managed
- Equitable profit sharing
- Portion of profits contributing to greater community development projects/needs
- Community involvement in an on-going capacity to plan, manage and develop tourist operations; shared decision-making (APEC, 2010)

The biggest shift in CBT is the placing of ownership into the hands of local communities, whereby the local community actively participate, manage and operationalize tourism development (Chen, Zhu & Lew, 2020 & Ruiz-Ballestros, 2011). Hence, governance in CBT aims to be more horizontal, preventing untoward power asymmetries that lead to exploitation and conflict. The shift toward CBT arose

due the recognition that for the coupling of environmental conservation and socio-economic development to succeed, local communities must participate and be direct beneficiaries of tourism planning and development (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). This recognition was particularly prominent in regard to activities in or around protected areas (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). This stark change diverged from the predominant form of tourism management that largely focussed on the control and management of activities and resources being held by state or park authorities, in a top down manner (Brandon, 1996). This former management style did not adhere to the principles of sustainable tourism, as economic leakages were prevalent, communities were excluded from accessing resources and workers were exploited and left to low-skilled, low-paying seasonal employment. Thus, when implemented effectively, CBT has the potential to;

- Support local economic development
- Be financially viable
- Encourages equitable participation of local community
- Ecologically sustainable
- Conserves and promotes local culture and heritage
- Educational for visitors regarding culture and nature
- Demonstrates good management
- Ensures quality and safe experiences and services (APEC, 2010).

Hence, CBT has grown in popularity in Thailand as a more economically inclusive and environmentally friendly tool for rural development. This is evident through the second National Tourism Development Plan (2017-2021), whereby CBT is a prominent theme throughout. However, the use of buzzwords such as CBT in Thailand have been used to promote and market tourism, whereby the actual implementation of such activities has not conformed with the principles of CBT (Boonratana, 2011). Boonratana (2011) continues that in a previous study, communities themselves, and consumers are unaware of their status of CBT adherence, where the study found that tourist activities were often managed by a few

community members, or by external agents. However, this implementation gap is being assessed and enhanced by organizations such as the Designated Areas for Sustainable Tourism Administration (DASTA), whom are working on promoting and encouraging the ideals of sustainable tourism across Thailand.

Therefore, as CBT has grown in popularity as a development tool and Mae Kampong being referenced as a model CBT community within Thailand, this concept was utilized and applied to this case-study as it builds upon the notion of ecotourism towards its contribution to sustainable development. CBT, where philosophy meets practice, aims to bridge the gap between mass-tourism and its ill-effects by achieving local socio-economic and environmental development. Whilst definitions of ecotourism presented above and in an abundance of literature make strong reference to nature, environmental issues and sustainability, they generally lack an emphasis on equity, culture, benefits and local control (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2019). Therefore, Mtapuri & Giampiccoli (2019) identify that CBT extends the notion of ecotourism, whereby environmental sustainability is a core tenet of CBT, however, greater emphasis is placed on the social dimensions; cultural/social sustainability, local control and participation, and social equity/redistributive justice. Therefore, CBT is deemed as the stronger conceptual lens as it's discourse attempts to address a more direct form of development across social, economic, cultural and environmental pillars of a given community.

2.7 Social Capital, Resilience and Community Based Tourism

There is an in inextricable link between social capital and community resilience. Magis (2010) states that community resilience is not simply the capacity to act, but about the actions taken. Thus, to foster resilience more broadly, communities need to embrace change and plan for, not only react to disturbances in an ever-changing system. This notion, of communities embracing and enacting transformation is contingent on social capital, whereby strong levels of social capital are the cornerstone resource(s) for the mobilization of extended community capitals (Flora, 2004). Skerrat (2013) supports this assessment, as community resilience depends on the deployment and management of community resources, with social capital vital to

collectively mobilizing their resources.

Most research in community resilience has focussed on the (in)ability of communities to reorganize post disaster. However, the common link between these examples is the importance placed on social capital in the recovery, or 'bounce-back' phase. Undeniably, the strength of networks, identified through the B-B-L domains, are pertinent for communities to self-organize, adapt and transform after these disasters.

Pfefferbaum et al., (2017) introduce a conceptual framework linking community resilience to social capital in the realm of disaster management. Similar to the field of tourism, disaster management has largely focussed on the infrastructural components of recovery and action. However, the authors propose that planned activities, actions and programs that strengthen relationships and networks is being increasingly recognized as paramount to community resilience. Pfefferbaum et al., (2017) propose that the creation of disaster management teams, comprising members from within the community had strengthened bonds that added to increased interconnectedness, personal growth and community participation.

One of the main objectives of CBT is to shift the focus of attention to the empowerment of the local community, providing the community with a sense of ownership and control over their practices. The process of community empowerment is a precursor to the extension of social capital amongst communities. Obtusely, a lack of social capital will be negatively associated with community empowerment. Hence, this may be apparent in a system that does not operate fully collaboratively, or power relations within the community; bonding and bridging capitals, are not horizontal.

However, CBT has the ability to enhance community resilience. Firstly, the ability of a community to collaborate and mobilize collective action has the ability to reinforce, or transform, the norms and values of a community, enhancing the social capital of the given community. Secondly, where this meets the philosophical domain of sustainable tourism, CBT has the ability to harness increased environmental

consciousness amongst host communities and the tourists who visit. Thus, creating a more ecologically resilient locale. This is not including that combined, these attributes complement and contribute to developing increases in the other community capitals of; economic (increased and diversified incomes), human (knowledge and skills) and physical (infrastructure) capital. Thus, it is evident that social capital has an important, multi-scalar effect on the overall resilience within a community.

Research undertaken by Jones (2005) sought to identify the significance of social capital in an ecotourism village, Tumani Tenda (TT) in The Gambia. The village had communally managed and operated an ecotourism camp, situated by a mangrove-edged tributary, for 3 years prior to the time of study. The village was predominantly ethnically homogenous, as 4 of the 5 extended families constituting the general population were the same ethnicity. The village participated in a variety of agricultural cultivation; rice, millet, fruits and vegetables, as well as fishing. Cultivation was performed at a family or community level, where only vegetable cultivation was individualized. However, this was performed on communal land, and 10% of money earnt went to the community garden fund. Furthermore, the author noted that the community exhibited a less clear gendered division of labour, as men participated in tasks that were usually observed elsewhere being performed by women. This village was compared to a neighbouring village that was; larger, ethnically heterogenous and were experiencing conflict over land for the development of a determined ecotourism site. The author surveyed the villagers and performed semi-structured interviews in both locations. The survey sought to compare the attitudes of both villages to statements regarding structural and cognitive capital. Interestingly, the results found statistical significance between the two villages primarily in their cognitive capital, whereby the community of Tumani Tenda exhibited a stronger sense of community, highlighted by increased active engagement in communally beneficial tasks (collective action) and a greater degree of associations within the community. Hence, through the conceptual lens utilized in this thesis, the success of Tumani Tenda's ecotourism camp can be observed through the institutionalization of social rules and norms, in combination with developed past activities and shared history (community garden & fund).

Therefore, a delineation between social capital, CBT and resilience can be drawn, as they all have an influence on each other, and together as a total factor. The resilience of communities is reliant on the collective agency, or adaptive capacity of the community. Of course, this entails the ability to access and utilize other capitals, namely economic and environmental, but social capital dictates the manner in how these are utilized. For communities to implement CBT, as seen from the attributes that are considered the elements to the success, individual and collective agency is significant. Furthermore, in the case of Mae Kampong and Huai Hee in Northern Thailand, external support was paramount to their perceived success (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2014 & Sitikarn, 2008). The ability for effective external support can be attributed to the community's trust in fostering strong linking capital to associations and organizations that held the power to help develop and influence the communities. Without either of those two studies by Kontogeorgopoulos (2014) and Sitikarn (2008) explicitly stating social capital as the precursor to success, it can be delineated that strong social capital formed the 'ingredient base' for the implementation of CBT where theory met practice in these cases.

Thus, by diversifying local livelihoods through CBT, not only should CBT foster stronger social institutions, but build upon further community capitals. Thus, together, not only is the likelihood of pertaining stronger community resilience, this in the context CBT, should also foster an increased perception and practice of ecological resilience, creating a more socio-ecologically resilient system. Hence, developing an increasingly sustainable pathway to development, as community resilience is not solely the capacity to act, but about the action taken (Magis, 2010).

Therefore, the initial implementation of CBT in Mae Kampong exhibits the actions taken as a community through strong leadership, external support and community participation. These factors combined can be viewed through lens' of structural and cognitive capital, whereby the residents collectively mobilized and self-organized to adopt CBT in the face of external changes based on trust and reciprocity to and within the community; constituting the communities 'bounce-forward'. Thus, to foster resilience more broadly, communities such as this can positively influence

their development strategies collectively.

2.8 Past Research in Measuring Social Capital and Resilience

Measuring social capital and resilience is challenging and complex (Chen, Xu & Lew, 2020, Marshall & Marshall, 2007). There is no agreed upon, or singular model or framework amongst scholars, although models of various qualitative, quantitative or a combination of both have been applied.

Examples of assessing the adaptive capacity of communities include;

1. Destination Sustainability Framework (Calgaro et al., 2014)
2. Sphere of Tourism Resilience (Cochrane, 2010)
3. Scale, Change and Resilience (Lew, 2014)
4. Adapting to hazards (Strickland-Munro et al., 2010)

However, Marshall & Marshall (2007) developed a mixed-methods conceptual model that defined and quantified the perceived social resilience in Australian fishing communities. This model was recently transposed to tourism (Guo et al., 2018). Marshall & Marshall (2007) aimed to measure the perceived social resilience of fishers in the face of policy change. A questionnaire was constructed presenting the respondents with generic and non-specific change scenarios. Respondents answered these questions on a 4-point Likert scale, as indicators of their resilience to each scenario. Principal components analysis was used to determine which groups of statements had a correlation with one another, but largely independent of others into factors. The major findings of the study found that community adaptive capacity can be evaluated from these four domains (factors) of social resilience;

1. *The perception of risk in approaching change*
2. *The ability to plan, learn and reorganize*
3. *Perception of the ability to cope with change*
4. *Level of interest in adapting to change*

Hence, this model was adopted by Guo et al., (2018) to the field of tourism. They utilized a conceptual framework, hypothesizing that B-B-L capitals have an influence on the perceived level of social resilience in tourism communities. To test their hypotheses, they developed a questionnaire that adhered to the four domains as identified by Marshall & Marshall (2007). The authors also added a perceived social capital element to their questionnaire, where questions were devised relating to the perceived level of B-B-L capitals. Responses were also recorded on a Likert scale, and analysed using a structural equation model. The model utilized a parcelling method, aggregating the questions into factors through confirmatory factor analysis. Results were statistically significant for each B-B-L capital, whereby strong perceived levels of social capital(s) had a positive relationship with high levels of perceived resilience.

The aforementioned study by Jones (2005) in The Gambia utilized a mixed-methods approach, with a less advanced quantitative component. The author combines the work of Putnam, whom placed the density of membership in formal associations as the proxy for social capital (structural), and Krishna & Shrader (2000) whom developed a lengthy questionnaire for a World Bank research initiative. Krishna & Shrader (2000) developed questions with a focus on trust, reciprocity, solidarity and change, emphasizing the cognitive domain of social capital. Thus, Jones' questionnaire incorporated and tested for the levels of structural and cognitive capital in two villages. Statistically, Jones used utilized a Mann-Whitney U test to determine statistical significance between the two villages. This research did not use factor analysis, rather questions pertaining to the same factor were left disaggregated. The studies major findings were that high reported levels of social capital were instrumental in the implementation of the ecotourism camp. This was primarily manifested in the high level of mutually beneficial collective action that was experienced in the community of Tumani Tenda, and the community's history of sharing.

However, the application for assessing resilience in this research will borrow from Berkes & Seixas (2005). Rather than objectively assessing the care that has been

taken of the environment, socio-ecological resilience is assessed by the framework of socio-ecological relations, emphasizing how the community actually functions in relation to its socio-ecosystem. Ruiz-Ballesteros posits this approach as paradoxical, however, it is the form rather than the content that provides the secret to sustainability, where four main tenets emerge as characteristics that aid in the resilience of socio-ecosystems (see *table 5*).

Berkes & Seixas (2005) applied this framework to the assessment of five lagoon SES. The four categories are broken down further into what the authors refer to as surrogates, or indicators, that apply to the overall theme of each category. The authors acknowledge that not all surrogates are robust, and differed across research sites, however, they could be qualitatively measured, offering unique insights to the site of observation at hand. Ruiz-Ballesteros (2011) then applied this to a CBT community in Ecuador, exploring the role of these factors in the social form of Agua Blanca; a community with a history of CBT situated within a protected area. Ruiz-Ballesteros applied the relevant indicators to assess this and found that the community was able to enhance its resilience through tourism, as the development encouraged, supported, built and mobilized these factors. The adoption of these factors into the community's framework for managing tourism and its resources can therefore be understood to have created amplifying feedbacks, supporting the goal of sustainable development, whilst building capacities to deal with perceived or actual change.

(1) Learning to Live with Change and Uncertainty	(2) Nurturing Diversity for Reorganization and Renewal
Learning from crises; building capacity to respond to change and disturbances, portfolio of livelihood activities; socio-cultural institutions are central to this (either shaped to deal or are shaped from crises)	Maintenance of collective memory; experiences to cope with change – framework for creative and adaptive capacity; nurture institutions to respond to change, create socio-political space for experimentation build trust and utilize social memory for innovation and novelty.
(3) Combining Different Kinds of Knowledge	(4) Creating Opportunities for Self-Organization
Incorporate local knowledge in the external decision-making process(es), use external/scientific knowledge to help manage resources locally; build institutions mutually informed of knowledges that can creatively monitor, evaluate and encourage participation	Promotion of participatory strategies that generate knowledges toward the self-organization of communities to manage conflict, allocate resources equitably, respond to disturbances.

Table 5: Factors Toward Building Resilience
(adapted from Berkes & Seixas, 2005)

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter presents the review of literature pertaining to the theoretical concepts utilized for this research, the link between them and past examples in the attempt of measuring or assessing the level of social capital and resilience in communities. The review of past literature highlights that most previous literature on resilience and communities in relation to tourism places the foci on resilience to experiences post disaster or change. Additionally, the use of the coupling of social capital and resilience thinking in the application to tourism has largely been overlooked. Therefore, this research aims to fill this knowledge gap through the applicability of coupling these concepts toward not only understanding the 'what' of such phenomenon(s), but to identify 'how' these concepts can be mobilized to better understand the factors that lead to a more socio-ecological responsible form of tourism development, and how these, in turn, have the potential to enhance community resilience.

Chapter 3: Mae Kampong – The Transformation of a Rural Village

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the findings regarding the history, broader socio-political context, key community developments and the implementation of CBT in Mae Kampong. Thus, this chapter presents a strong contextual base to understand the creation and strengthening of social capital through key developments, whilst acknowledging the local and broader scale of which they operated in. Thus, it is important to understand the social and physical processes the community faced and undertook, toward developing the mechanisms to absorb, adapt and ultimately transform to internal and external change(s).

Figure 3: *Paved Road Leading to the Centre of Mae Kampong*

3.2 Overview – Mae Kampong
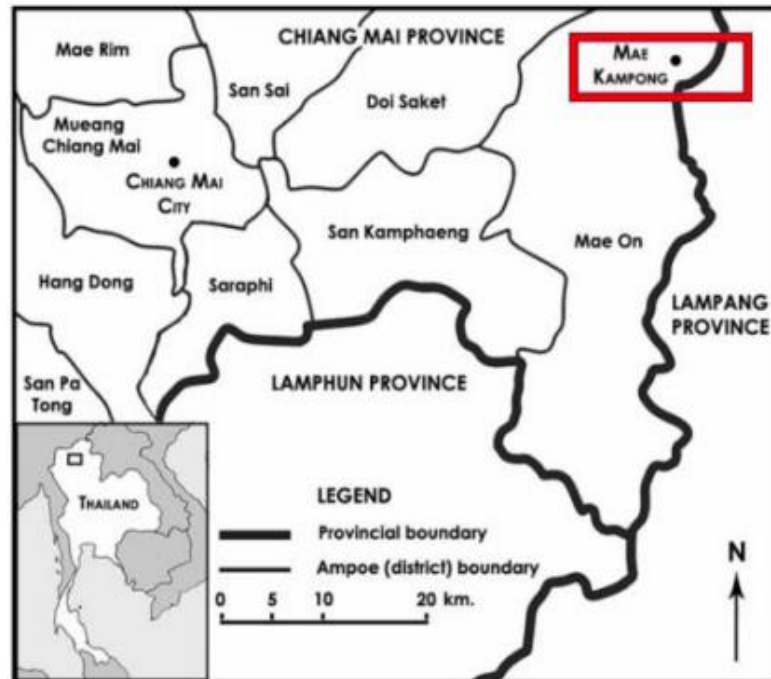
Figure 4: *Location of Mae Kampong in Chiang Mai Province*
(Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014)

The site of observation for this research is located in the village of Mae
Kampong, Chiang Mai province. The village community is located c. 50km from the
city of Chiang Mai itself, approximately one hour's drive, containing 346 inhabitants.
The village is situated between 1000m and 1700m above sea level, covering an area
of 6.22km^2 (Jitpakdee et al., 2016). Its inhabitants migrated from nearby Doi Saket in
the search for establishing promising agricultural land, officially settling in 1914
(Jitpakdee et al., 2016). The regions climate and topography allow for the effective
cultivation of; tea, coffee and mountain herbs (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014) and
the production of a local delicacy *miang*, a fermented tea snack. Miang, whose origins
date to the Lanna Kingdom of the 13th to 18th century, was the primary economic and
employment driver in the village, however, demand for miang began to dissipate in
the 1990's, leading to increasing environmental and economic issues
(Khaokhrueamuang, 2013 & Jitpakdee et al., 2016).

Thus, as Kontogeorgopoulos et al., (2014) posits, the emergence of tourism

into the area coincided with the decline in miang demand, highlighting the need for economic diversification. As miang production was less expansive, environmental abandonment occurred, requiring the need also protect and preserve the natural landscape. Thus, tourism was adopted in the village as a means to add value to land use and diversify the village's economy (Khaokhrueamuang, 2013). The village took a cautious approach in its nascent stages of implementation, through the acknowledgement of the economic, cultural and environmental effects of tourism on local environments (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Thus, through strong interest and foresight amongst community leaders, particularly the former village head; Por Luang Teeramte (FKA Prommin), the village undertook extensive meetings, workshops and focus group discussions to carefully plan for and implement an effective tourism strategy (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Assisting the community's development of tourism and its structural components was the implementation of a community beneficial, hydro-power cooperative in 1986. The hydro-power cooperative included all residents of the community, each receiving a dividend from its economic output at years end (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Thus, the structure of the cooperative was transplanted with a similar philosophy to the management of tourism in the village. Therefore, it can be understood that the trust and reciprocity developed through this cooperative afforded firsthand experience in communally beneficial action.

The village has received great attention at different intervals since settlement. Under the Royal Project initiative of King Rama IV, Mae Kampong was supported with continual research and development into the creation of tea and coffee products, then logistical and marketing support to access these products to market (Pookhao, 2014). Mae Kampong was a distribution centre for miang, and later developed the unique product of pillows stuffed with the non-fermented tea leaves for use in aromatherapy (Pookhao, 2014). Shortly after initiating CBT, Mae Kampong was awarded status in the One-Tambon One Product (OTOP) program initiated by the Thaksin regime, as a recognized ecotourism homestay product (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Government support in addition to the OTOP program, via the Thai Research Fund and Tourism Authority of Thailand were also paramount in help

educate, build capabilities and market the community-based tourism project (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Mae Kampong then won The OTOP Village Champion award in 2004.

Thus, Mae Kampong is often perceived amongst scholars and planning authorities as a model CBT community (Kontogeorgopoulos et al. 2014 & Boonratana, 2011), with such success being attributed to three key components; leadership, participation and external support (elaborated in Chapter 4). However, preliminary interviews and a review of literature may suggest that the changes experienced in the community since the inception of CBT, may currently reinforce constraining factors toward transformation, and blur the lines between CBT's philosophy and Mae Kampong's current tourism operation. Thus, placing the notion of success and more importantly, the resilience of the CBT project and community into question.

3.3 Mae Kampong – A Macro Perspective

In order to help understand the social, cultural, environmental and political processes that Mae Kampong has faced, it is important to briefly situate the community within its macro-level context, particularly on three facets; (1) emphasis on rural development as a threat to communist insurgency, (2) Thai administration in rural society, and (3) the sufficiency economy philosophy. These factors have and the latter two, explain the external forces that have influenced development within the community.

3.3.1 Rural Development in Thailand

Important political changes occurred in the early to mid 1970's, whereby the political mobilization of students and farmers fostered an awareness amongst the Thai state (and abroad) that unity amongst Thai society and the nation's security may be compromised (Sattayanurak, 2010). Furthering this insecurity, was the threat of communist insurgency in the nation, and the increasing potential influence of the Communist Party of Thailand (Sattayanurak, 2010). The highlands of Thailand's Northern provinces became the hotbed for this threat, particularly as this region

experienced poor economic and social conditions, attributed to low wages, inefficient and corrupted administrative services and land alienation (Zimmerman, 1976). Although making a larger presence in rural areas, particularly Northern Thailand in the late 1960's, the political change in 1973 afforded greater power and symbolism to the late King Bhumibol (Rama 9), initiated through the development of the Royal Projects initiative and focus on agricultural support and extension, as well as upgrades to infrastructure, health and education in the region (Rossi, 2012 & Sattayanurak, 2010).

Hence, the emphasis on rural development fell under the need for the fostering and use of local history, understood to achieve the goals of poverty alleviation and preventing the rise of communist insurgency through the creation of a community culture (Sattayanurak, 2010). The emphasis on community culture was developed as means to instil the important role of local communities in the identity of the Thai nation, suppressing socio-political conflict (Sattayanurak, 2010, Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2015). Hence, government led development in Mae Kampong, witnessed through the early involvement in the Royal Projects in the threat to communist insurgency, and the inter-state collaboration (Thai government agencies and USAID) on the hydropower project, are seen as mechanisms to achieve these ends.

The Thai state has been the dominant allocator and re-allocator of natural resources, whereby Thai government regimes have oscillated between several forest conversion and conservation paradigms. As Vandergeest (1996a) identifies, these paradigms have largely focussed on viewing forest areas as resources for economic growth, with land-grabbing attained through the process of territoriality. The Royal Forestry Department, initiated in 1896, was given full control over the nation's forests in 1936 (Doelzal, 2002). This process has created conflict between the state and forest dependent communities and undermined the successful management of forest resources by implementing protected areas and national parks that enforces exclusion (Vandergeest 1996b). Primarily, this has caused socio-cultural and economic issues, by removing communities from the areas their families have been living for generations. Poor land and resource management has often been blamed on the rural

populations themselves (Vandergeest, 1999), thus, resulting in the exclusion of rural communities in allocation of land rights, but also from the involvement in the planning and management of natural resources (Brandon, 1996).

Hence, the management of Thailand's forest and natural resources is still a major issue, however, the past few decades have seen greater attention received to community forestry. The notion of community forestry has gained greater traction, but still, many communities face alienation from land rights and use in Thailand. Through the process of territoriality, the RFD reclassified land into forest reserves (beginning in 1961) (Delang, 2002), with Mae Kampong being located within a National Park (Chae Son). This allocation meant that the community had no legal rights over the public and forest resources that it had been historically tied to (Laverack & Thangphet, 2009). This was especially a major barrier to the implementation of tourism in the village, as without legal rights, the community were unable to use the natural resources. Hence, as Laverack & Thangphet (2009) identify, the community mobilized to establish links to local government authorities in order to legitimize the customary use of land and propose a framework for conservation based on the collective responsibility from the community. The community had to lobby local authorities, where the mobilization of collective participation through strong leadership and strong framework of community environmental regulations led to the co-management of natural resources between the community and state apparatus (Laverack & Thangphet, 2009).

3.3.2 Administration

In order to understand the local politics of Mae Kampong, and how it engages externally, its necessary to introduce the regional administrative system of Thailand. The structure of the political pyramid, from bottom-up containing of; the village (muban), sub-district (tambon), district (amphoe) and provincial (changwat) administrative arms. All levels apart from the village level are government appointed positions, whilst the village heads are elected by the villagers themselves. The village heads join the sub-district councils, integrated into a rural development framework (Harada, 2016). However, Harada (2016) contends that village-level involvement in

this form of administrative apparatus is merely an extension of government influence, whereby village heads are agents of the Thai state, as power and agendas are set by the state itself and enacted through the administrative arms (i.e. the tambon council). Hence, Thai administration, although decentralized, is a product of top-down authority, whereby participation of village heads in the rural development framework are message-runners to their constituents of government policy, developments or agenda.

Mae Kampong is one of seven villages comprising the Huay Kaew sub-district. The village itself is comprised of is six hamlets, known as pang, with each hamlet having a headperson. The village head is the representative of all hamlets, elected by the villagers. The village also holds the position of an assistant to the village head, as seen in *figure 5*.
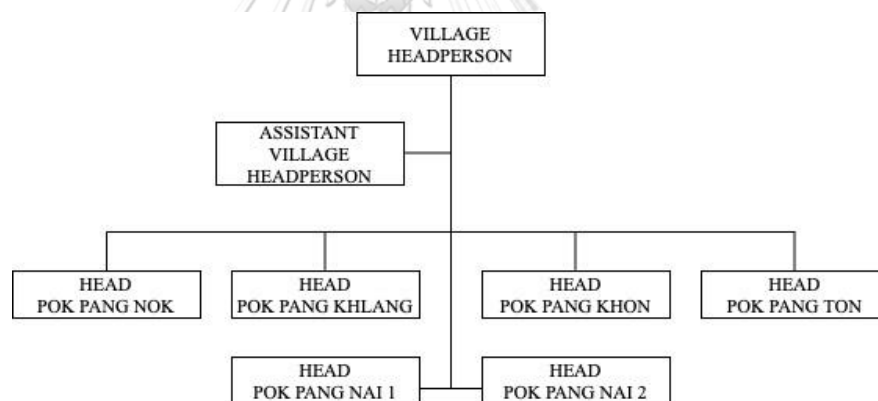
Figure 5: *Mae Kampong Administrative Structure*

3.3.3 Sufficiency Economy Philosophy

Emerging in the aforementioned time period of political change and focus on rural development, King Bhumibol encouraged the 'Sufficiency Economy Philosophy' (SEP) in the 1970's. The SEP employs the basic tenets of Buddhist ethical values, in that it emphasises self-reliance, moderation and taking no more than what you need (reasonableness) (Pookhao et al., 2017). The SEP was largely re-emphasized after the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, a crisis that created deep socio-economic consequences across Thailand and Asia. Importantly, the SEP implies

resilience. The foci of resilience, places self-immunity at the community level to the fore within the SEP, intended as a means to create a buffer from internal and external risks (Pookhao et al., 2017). Through the SEP, the King emphasised the importance of Thai individuals, families and communities to support their basic needs through the production and consumption of local natural resources (Rossi, 2012).

Thus, underpinning the three tenets of moderation, reasonableness and self-immunity, the conditions for these to operate effectively is through knowledge conditions and moral fibre. Knowledge refers to the advancement of human capital on the individual level, and of the knowledge economy at the social level, combining two tracks; indigenous knowledge (local wisdom) and modern, technological wisdom (Naipinit et al., 2014). The moral fibre component refers to the exhibition of ethical compassion to one another and divided into two streams; commutative and distributive equity. The former, refers to the equitable access to resources before economic processes begin, whilst the latter refers to the equitable meeting of basic needs through such economic processes (Naipinit et al., 2014). Hence, through the SEP, these characteristics should then lead to forms of development that are sustainable, with economic function occurring in socio-environmental harmony.

3.4 The Development of Micro-Hydropower in Mae Kampong

Prior to 1982, access to electricity in Mae Kampong was practically non-existent, with one-diesel engine reserved for the milling of lumber used in local construction (Smits, 2012). The village would use kerosene and gas lamps for lighting and to create steam to aid in the fermentation process of miang. Some households used car batteries to power electronics such as televisions, however the output of these were limited to only a couple of hours per day (Smits, 2012). In response to the government's US-aligned development policies and Mae Kampong deemed a pink area, The King suggested the installation of a hydropower production facility to help modernize the community and stifle the threat of communist insurgency (Satarat, 2010). The project was initiated in 1982 and came online in 1983.
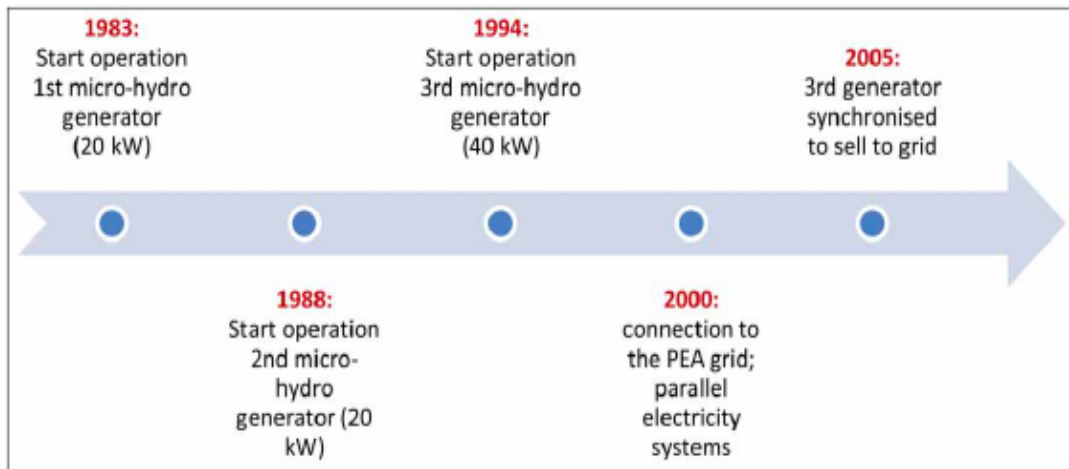
Figure 6: Energy Trajectory of Mae Kampong
(Smits, 2012)

The project was initiated by the Royal Project Office and received funding from USAID to complete the first hydropower generator (20kw/h capacity and dyke). The Thai governments Department of Alternative Energy Development and Efficiency (DEDE) were responsible for technical support. Importantly, the villagers themselves were involved in all activities in the rollout of the project, including the construction of a penstock, powerhouse and distribution lines (Smits, 2012). In 1986, three years after the initial hydropower turbine was active, the village formed a community cooperative to manage the operation and maintenance of the station. Notably, the cooperative included universal membership, meaning, all villagers in Mae Kampong had a vested interest in the community's hydropower. The village added two further turbines, in 1988 and 1994, helping to provide energy to two further villages. DEDE remained a prominent figure in Mae Kampong's energy trajectory, providing technical assistance and further funding (Smits, 2012). The community was connected to the national power grid in 2000, met with antagonism from some villagers, however, the trade-off allowed for the connection of villagers in a dual system; to the national grid and locally distributed energy (Smits, 2012).

Significantly, the locally distributed energy was connected to the national grid in 2005, where surplus energy was sold back to the PEA. This generated approximately $1,000USD per month (Smits, 2012). Hence, the significant role the community cooperative played from the hydropower's income generation, was the

facilitation of distributing benefits to all villagers in the form of an annual dividend (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Hence, not only did the access to energy directly transform the energy trajectory of the community, it financially benefited everyone indirectly through community development initiatives (Laonayor, 2013). A further contribution that the cooperative created was the bringing together of Mae Kampong's six hamlets. Whereby, prior to this, the hamlets dealt in what is understood as arms-length with each other (Interview #14, personal communication, 2 July, 2020). Therefore, through the cooperative and the community's involvement through all stages and daily operation of the project, local pride and a sense of ownership and belonging were formulated (Smits, 2012). Although increased energy demand and the connection to the PEA grid has afforded more reliable access to energy, MHP still remains and serves a symbol to the community, aiding in the image of an eco-conscious tourist destination (Smits, 2012).

The MHP plant has not been in operation since the beginning of 2019, due to maintenance issues. The maintenance has been required since the former pipe system has broken down, with a new, larger pipe system being installed, eventually providing for greater power generation capacity (no timeframe given on works completion). The most recent accounting records available, according to the current village head, Por Luang Pradit, (Interview #1, personal communication, 8 September 2020), identifying that the MHP plant generated 400,000THB for the community co-operative, and provided up to 50% of household energy requirements during the rainy season (at lower cost than the PEA). The income generated from the co-operative is ranked as follows, in order of highest contribution; 1) tourism contribution (see later in chapter 3), 2) the sale of paddy and rice from the village residents, 3) selling of distributed energy back to the energy grid, 4) micro-banking (savings and loans) and 5) the buying and selling coffee and related products. The MHP plant still operates as a co-operative, with a management committee of 7-9 people, with the sitting village head the head of the committee. Thus, the MHP plant and co-operative are still important resources within the community.

3.5 Community Based Tourism in Mae Kampong

The milestone development of the MHP project was extremely influential in building and consolidating the modernization process in Mae Kampong. Thus, as aforementioned, two components formed the most influential characteristics onto the community; collaboration (social structure, bridging to bonding capital) and associations to external agents (linking capital). Thus, the experience of Mae Kampong in the process of implementing MHP is considered a cornerstone development in the building of social capital in the community. Most prominently, the social structures that formed local ownership and solidarity through collaboration in the project produced communally beneficial outcomes. Hence, the model of operation was transposed to the development of tourism in the community.
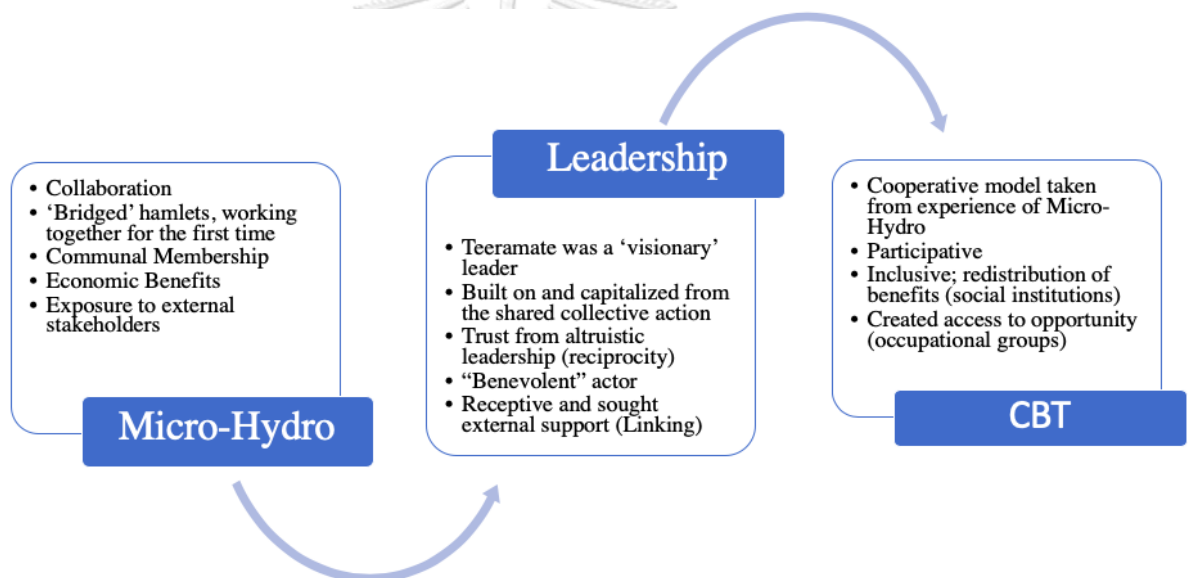
Figure 7: Leadership as a Catalyst for the Development of CBT

Great significance in the development of tourism in Mae Kampong must be attributed to the former village head, Por Luang Teeramate. Firstly, Teeramate was able to mobilize the community's internal assets, through the thorough process of active participation, exhibited through formal meetings and workshops involving the whole community. Secondly, Teeramate exhibited strong working relationships with external stakeholders, ranging from students and academics interested and knowledgeable on CBT, to connections with actors at all levels of government and various NGO's (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Additionally, Teeramate himself was actively involved in the construction of the hydropower cooperative. Hence, it

can be understood that the former village head was a qualified and functional leader, whom capitalized on the social assets created through the MHP development, and on the ability to foster strong networks of relations. Notably, it was also Teeramate's decision to transpose the cooperative model of the MHP to the management of tourism and activities in Mae Kampong (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014).

Additional to the cooperative structure, the village developed a model of tourism based on the principles of community-based tourism and ecotourism (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014 & Khaokhrueamuang, 2013). The main concern was to implement a model whereby the community-maintained ownership and control over the benefits; for communally beneficial outcomes (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Hence, when compared to Armstrong's (2012) conditions for success of CBT, and Kibicho's (2008) five factors essential for CBT development, Mae Kampong is a strong exhibitor of these conditions.

Thus, with financial support from government, tourism officially began in the year 2000 with the homestay program the staple of visitation. Additional to homestay tourism, the village is surrounded by a vast array of natural capital; forest, streams, waterfalls and a cool climate, and cultural capital; language, history, food and music (Harada, 2016). The homestay program adheres to the accredited Thai Ministry of Tourism & Sports Homestay Standard and utilizes a rotation system to distribute guests equitably (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2015). In 2000, five families developed homestay facilities, with CBT contributing 80,000THB in revenues (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2015). The average household income in 2003 was 49,000THB, rapidly rising to 154,550THB in 2012, where the community increased homestays to include 24 households. As tourism in the village experienced exponential growth, the community's tourist activities became diversified, especially regarding overnight accommodation.

Nowadays, the community is host to 22 homestays, and 50 guesthouses, a major shift in the economic structure of the community, as guesthouses are independent from the cooperative structure, and in some cases, foreign owned. The current average

income, according to the current village head is around 160,000THB. Most importantly, the rise and dominance of tourism has seen a shift from an agrarian based economy, to a service-based economy, where prior to tourism, 97% of households participated in agricultural practices (Laverack & Thangphet, 2009), now only a third of households do. More recently, the community has also embarked on other forms of tourism, particularly long-stay, health and wellness tourism, as has the proliferation of coffee cultivation and manufacturing.

The most prominent structural feature of CBT in the village is derived from the emphasis on the circulation of income distribution, seen in *figure 8*. Tourism revenue generated from homestays, guesthouses and all tourism programs are reallocated toward village development; divided into six budget funds;

1. Tourism Management Fund (25% HS, 20% GH)
2. Micro Hydropower Fund (30% HS, 10% GH)
3. Community Development Fund (20% HS & GH)
4. Community Welfare Fund (15% HS, 20% GH)
5. Community Administration Fund (15% HS & HG)
6. Natural Resource & Environment Fund (15% HS & GH)
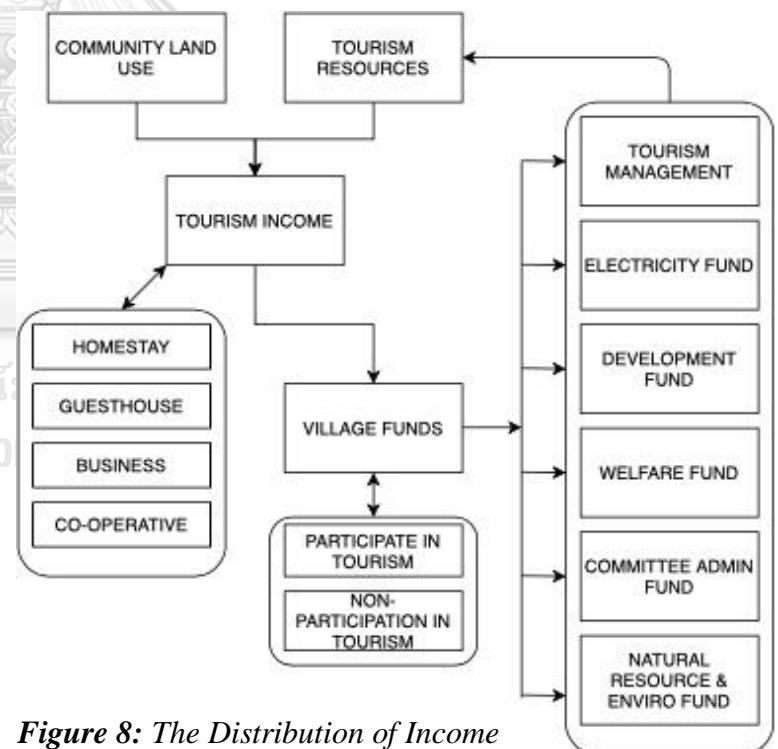
Figure 8: *The Distribution of Income Generation in Mae Kampong*

The homestay has a set price of 580THB per person per night, whereby 100THB is contributed to the community, distributed amongst the funds presented above. Guesthouses contribute 50THB per person per night, with that figure distributed above. All other tourism related activities and businesses contribute

between 300-1000THB per month, depending on size. Hence, the circulation of tourism revenue within the community has served many ends. The input toward the Mini-Hydropower cooperative still pays dividends to all, and the village welfare fund can be accessed by residents to offset unexpected (e.g. hospitalization) and necessary costs (childbirth, funeral) (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). Additionally, the community development fund has been utilized to create not only social benefits, rather, used in the effort of environmental and wider community benefits, such as; reforestation, waste management and buffer lines to protect from forest fires (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014).

The ability of Mae Kampong to effectively manage and operate tourism activities rests upon the construction and adherence of a locally developed social contract. This contract, in the form of a Community Guidelines Handbook (front cover seen in *figure 9*), forms as the institutionalization of social structures and practices that defines the roles, boundaries, precedents and disciplinary actions that effectively command the functions within the village. The handbook is split into seven main categories, each containing their own sub-sections. However, this contract did not come into place formally until 2017. Prior to this, the former rules and regulations were "*just loose pieces of A4 paper*" (Interview #1, personal communication, 1 July, 2020).

It was identified that prior to the formal production of the community handbook, the rules were developed democratically, led by the "village leader teams" and the community members themselves, discussed through the general village assemblies and receiving support from external stakeholders (Interview #1, personal communication, 8 September, 2020). Rules have been added and debated throughout these assemblies, at an average of 1-2 new additions per year, however, no new rules have been added since the handbook was published in 2017. The emergence of this handbook, as taken from the handbook itself, arose due to the recognition that the community had faced some unwarranted changes to its social capital, and thus, effective of 17 May 2017, the new rules were introduced to restore peace in the

community. The sections of the handbook are as follows;

1. Administrative Committees (8 committees)
2. Social & Community Participation
3. Lands & Infrastructure Management
4. Natural Resource & Environmental Management
5. Community Fund & Welfare Management
6. Tourism Management
7. Education, Religion & Culture

The handbook also includes a manual for visitors to the community, outlining the guidelines visitors must adhere to as well. Hence, these guidelines are an important mechanism that sets the standard for organization and control, that contributes to

Figure 9: *Front Cover of Community Guidelines Handbook*

the social form of Mae Kampong that attempts to guide village life in a socially and environmentally responsible manner. Thus, this handbook forms as an important mechanism that supports sustainable development and the ability to enhance the community's socio-ecological resilience (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011).

3.6 Community Capitals in Mae Kampong

Through the process of using resources as a means to create new resources, these are referred to as a 'capital' (George, 2009). The WCED in its Brundtland Report (1987) identifies that communities have multiple resources that can be consumed. However, the consumption of such resources follows three trajectories; (1) resources consumed in the present, prohibiting the consumption of these in the future, (2) resources stored for the future, but not currently consumed, or (3) resources invested for the present and future needs, across generations. The latter is the key to sustainability. From a sociological perspective, Flora (2001) identifies four capitals that need investing into, so as not to deplete others, including; human, social, natural

and financial/built capital. Hence, Flora (2001) contends the equitable interplay of these resources can achieve sustainable outcomes through fostering healthy ecosystems, a vital economy and social equity. However, a fifth capital is also vital for sustainable communities; cultural.

COMMUNITY CAPITALS				
NATURAL	HUMAN	SOCIAL	FINANCIAL / BUILT	CULTURAL
National Park - Forest - Flora & Fauna - Waterfall & Streams - Climate	Local Labor - Skilled (received training and education) - Local Knowledge - Leadership - Occupational Groups	Social Structure - Leadership - Strong Rules & Norms; *Community Regulation Guidebook* - Cooperatives (Micro-Hyrdo, CBT, Coffee, Handicrafts) - Committees - Associations (B-B-L capitals)	Infrastructure - Micro Hydropower - Connectivity (roads, power grid) - Water & Sanitation - Diverse Accommodation (Homestay, Guesthouse) - Flight of the Gibbon	History - Language - Music - Dance - Food - Events & Celebrations - Miang

Table 6: Community Capitals of Mae Kampong

Mae Kampong exhibits a wealth of community capitals, that have enhanced the community's capacities through investments across all domains. The capitals of Mae Kampong are shown in *table 6*, whereby aspects of such have been pre-existing to the arrival of tourism, whilst some being developed and reinforced through the experience of tourism (amplifying feedbacks).

3.7 Tourism and Sustainable Development in Mae Kampong

Thus, to ensure development that respects the socio-ecological system, tourism in Mae Kampong can be explored through the key components of CBET (Hawkins & Khan, 1998, see also *figure 10*);

(1) respect for the integrity of ecosystems,
(2) localized ownership in the planning, management and operation of

activities, and

   (3) economic opportunities for the local community
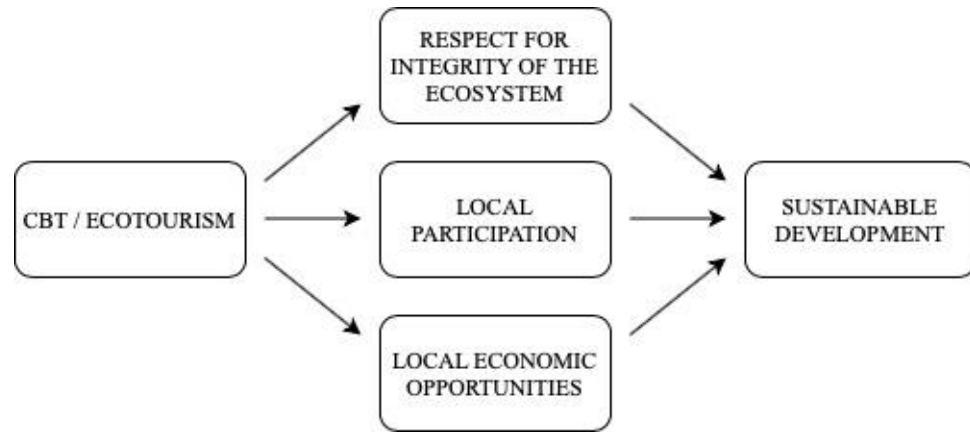
Figure 10: Principles Toward Sustainable Development
(adapted from Hawkins & Khan, 1998).

   Hence, Mae Kampong can be seen a strong implementer of these three
components in the development of CBT. Utilizing Hawkins & Khan's (1998)
checklist for eco-development (see appendix for full checklists), Mae Kampong can
be assessed as possessing and/or implemented quite favourably the key aspects
towards achieving said development. The anomaly amongst the list, identified as a
"No", falls under the first category, where the scale of tourism development has not
adhered to 'small-scale', as tourism has become the dominant economic activity
amongst households (c. 90%).

   Furthermore, Okozaki (2008) introduced a model of Community-Based
Tourism that charts the level of community participation and power redistribution
(exercised through bonding and linking capital) against the process(es) of
collaboration (bridging capital). The formers strength is broken into three levels; non-
participation, tokenism and degree of citizen power. Whilst collaboration ranges from
antecedents to outcomes, based on Selin & Chavez (1995) process of collaboration in
tourism destinations. Hence, when applying this model to Mae Kampong, the process
of collaboration has been high, and as Selin & Chavez indicate, the community has
gone through processes of renewal (e.g. events leading to the new community

guidelines). From a community perspective, Mae Kampong also rates highly on the level of community participation. However, this model is flawed through the aggregation of participation and power distribution and its link to linking capital, because, in the case of Mae Kampong, although highly participative, access to linking capital is reserved to positions of power.

However, developments that have occurred within Mae Kampong since the original inception of CBT contradict the philosophy of CBT. The dominance of tourism and tourism-related activities have superseded the role of agriculture in the community. Thus, CBT and particularly the function of homestays are meant to serve as complementary to the existing economic function of the community. The key tenet of local ownership in CBT has also been affected through the allowance of foreign entities to purchase and operate tourism activities. Ranging from Flight of the Gibbon, to guesthouses and businesses (cafes and restaurants). Although rectified in 2017 through the prevention of foreign ownership in tourism-related activities, the effects of this had fostered antagonism amongst residents toward tourism and 'outsiders'. Although Mae Kampong exhibits strong components of CBT, the community as a sum may therefore not be considered a true CBT village, yet a village that incorporates components of such.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter presents an overview of Mae Kampong, presenting a brief historical account, situating the community in the larger socio-political and cultural context, whilst presenting the two major developments the community has implemented; MHP and CBT. This overview then provides the background to the conceptual framework of this research. Insofar as, in Mae Kampong, social capital was built upon and operationalized through its shared history of collective action and received communal benefits stemming from the MHP project. The mobilization of trust, reciprocity, collaboration and sharing (social capital) in combination to social institutions (structures; e.g. the hydropower committee) provided a strong platform for the adoption of CBT (as close to its fuzzy definition as possible).

However, the community has endured numerous shocks and stresses (internal/external, fast/slow), whereby these variables may present constraining and/or enabling factors that have enhanced or inhibited (power relations; decision-making) the adaptive capacity and ability for the community to transform to change. Moreover, these variables do not affect each person, or grouping of people in the same manner, nor does a person or group have the same access (economic, education, group identity and economic function). Hence, the domains of social capital can be a useful lens toward understanding the contribution this resource has had in the development of tourism, but also how the community has been able to maintain and adapt its social form to changes. However, it also can describe how individuals or groups have different access to various resources, that can hinder individual resilience.

Chapter 4: The Important Role of Social Capital in Tourism Development in Mae Kampong

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the key concept of social capital and its contribution to the planning, management and operation of CBT in Mae Kampong. The analysis of the research questions was carried out utilizing data source triangulation and the process of thematic analysis. Data was minimized into the most common themes, utilizing primary data collected from semi-structured and key-informant interviews. These interviews were also complemented from previous research presented in past literature. The overwhelming response amongst external stakeholders that, under the umbrella term of social capital, social capital was the most important resource in the development of CBT. Internally, amongst local resident's interviews, the emergence of social capital's key tenets of trust, reciprocity and collaboration were often elicited. Thus, it can be determined that social capital has, and continues to play an important role in the community. However, it is acknowledged that the access to social capital as a community resource is constrained by the community's social structure. Hence, not unique to Mae Kampong, the broader socio-political context hinders the agency of those at the bottom of the pyramid in the community, identified by factors such as group association, geo-spatial location and economic capital.

The following chapter will present the data in two parts. Part 1 will be related to the five domains of social capital; structural, cognitive, bonding, bridging and linking capital presenting the findings applied to deductive thematic analysis. The second section of the chapter will explore the key themes derived inductively from the interviews of; transformational leadership, participation, rules & norms and benefit-sharing in relation to the aforementioned tenets of social capital. Lastly, the chapter will conclude with the summation that social capital derived from a shared history of collective action and collaboration has enhanced the ability for Mae Kampong to develop CBT.

4.2 The Domains of Social Capital

A series of questions were devised under the umbrella term of '*social capital*', whereby the characteristics of structural capital; associations, roles, rules & norms, as well as cognitive capital; trust, reciprocity, sharing, and collaboration were explored. These characteristics were guided toward internal residents of Mae Kampong, whereby the external stakeholders were asked how these people or organizations were able to build relationships based on these attributes. Furthermore, responses, in the form of participant narratives elicited responses that exemplify or present the aforementioned characteristics.

4.2.1 Structural Capital

Structural Capital forms as a component of social capital that includes networks, roles, rules and precedents (Krishna & Shrader, 2000). It refers to what people 'do', that operates varyingly dependent on the intensity of associational links or level of activity amongst groups (Harpham et al., 2002). Mae Kampong exhibits a strong sense of structural capital, easily identifiable through these characteristics. Social structures have been shaped from past socio-cultural experiences, whereby the physical makeup of the community can be understood as embedded from a historiological perspective, where elders in the group have largely held positions of power and controlled decision-making, as well as the construction of community membership initiated through the hydropower cooperative.

Networks relate to the groups or associations present in a destination, providing the structure of interactions amongst actors (Rodriguez-Giron & Vanneste, 2019). Rodriguez-Giron & Vanneste (2019) propose this is the most tangible dimension of social capital. Hence, Mae Kampong has been added to or embedded in various *networks* in its modern era (1960-current). Highlighted earlier, the community was introduced to government agencies in the 1960's to aid in agricultural extension and receive support toward boosting productivity and income generation through the Royal Projects initiative. In the 1980's, this extended to further government agencies (DEDE), including foreign agencies (USAID) in the development and implementation of the villages local micro hydropower. Hence, the advancements of these initiatives

have created benefits that reach across social, economic, environmental and political pillars of the community. Most importantly, the structural dimension of the hydropower cooperative formed a universal network, bringing together the residents of all hamlets. Hence, the cooperative fostered as a social space, whereby the social interactions it afforded was a major input toward achieving communally beneficial results.

In the tourism age of Mae Kampong (2000-current), the successful implementation of tourism has been achieved through the community's organizational structure, openness and access to external stakeholders. Importantly, networks were created through the formation of various committee's and occupational work groups. Hence, thought this lens, the decentralization of the organizational structure increased the density of networks in a more micro-scale. Additionally, through associations in its early inception to students and academics at Chiang Mai University, to research groups such as the TRF and REST (later CBT-I), the community was able to build capacities toward the understanding of tourism and its effects, and how to manage and operate tourism associated activities. The shared history of micro-hydropower project, and the structures it created societally is thought to have aided in the ability of the community to mobilize and transpose these structures as a resource toward tourism development.

Although networks of associations are present in the community, through various positions or groups (such as the women's group, the community co-operative shop), access to these associations, particularly those external to the community, are experienced to varying degrees. Interviews with a number of external stakeholders often referred to the involvement and association of Teeramate amongst diverse networks, such as; universities and academics, tourism operators, think tanks, and other communities either planning for or currently implementing CBT. Although Teeramate's leadership has been widely considered benevolent, his actions are viewed as being a representative of the community at large, whereby those whom fall at the bottom of the pyramid act more in the sense of receiving the trickle-down benefits of external agents. Thus, Teeramate is deemed as obtaining greater agency than those of

lower status in the community, where the latter's ability to act on their own accord limited or governed by the set rules and norms of the community. Hence, making it difficult for a "rogue agent" to appear from the lower rungs of the community (Interview #10, personal communication, 17 June, 2020).

The community has implemented and currently experiences a defined set of *roles* in the community, from the planning to operationalizing of tourism in the community. In tourism's inception, participation was key to gain support for such development. Hence, to ensure more equitable benefits and employment opportunities in the community in regard to tourism and tourism related activities, occupational groups were formed to abate the negative consequences of tourism (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014). These groups or associations number over a dozen, and cover occupational groups such as; homestay, bamboo weaving, folk dancing, musicians, handicrafts, massage, and tea-leaf related products. The formation of these groups has been able to bring together residents with similar skills, to work together in the planning, co-ordination and the sharing of ideas, toward locally developed goods and services. These groups have aided not only in income generation, but have also contributed to the tourist experience, whilst also preserving ties to cultural heritage (tea-leaf products). Thus, through the formation of these groups, Teeramate was able to increase the number of those who received direct benefits from tourism, whilst generating further income that would then indirectly benefit the community at large through the various community funds.

The strongest asset, and most widely spoken from internal and external interview participants is Mae Kampong's *rules* and *precedents* that govern the community. The major arena for conflict management in the initiation of tourism in the community was centred on the need to gain residents support for such development. The process involved deep consultation and participation of local residents, whereby Teeramate had to ensure and gain support that benefits from following the developmental path of tourism would be distributed as equitably as possible. Hence, Teeramate set the precedent early, that income generation from tourism would be redistributed through the mechanism of community funds. Rules

would govern how and where this was distributed.

4.2.2 Cognitive Capital

Cognitive capital works in correlation to structural capital, wherein, cognitive capital relates to how people 'feel' (Harpham et al, 2002). Hence, cognitive capital entails the norms, values, attitudes and beliefs of a given group, including the perceptions of trust, reciprocity and sharing (Harpham et al., 2002). Mae Kampong exhibits a strong sense of common norms, values and attitudes amongst its population. Derived from the interviews, and discussed in more detail below, cognitive capital has been shaped and reinforced through four key themes; leadership, participation, rules & norms and benefit-sharing. Hence, tourism has not only utilized these components experienced from shared history, the development of tourism can be understood to have reinforced and furthered the cognitive capital of the community through amplifying feedback(s). Emphasizing norms and trust, individuals in the community have been able to foster the mobilization of its resources toward communally beneficial outputs, as the structural environment introduced structures and codes of conduct that were formed on a level of mutual confidence based on the shared belief of mutually beneficial outcomes (income distribution).

However, as the community has developed and economic capital grew, the shifting away from the philosophy of CBT has had a negative influence on the shared values of residents. Hence, foreign investment into local business has driven competition that has been attempted to be reconciled in the institutionalization of Community Handbook, formally introduced in 2017 by the current village head, Pradit. The issue of foreign ownership can be seen as a driver of socio-economic change in the community, as those with greater economic capital have been able to increase their individual benefits (Interview #10, personal communication, 17 June, 2020 & Interview #15, personal communication, 7 July, 2020). The community sought to rectify this issue, discussed through the forum of general assemblies, whereby foreign ownership in the community in now strictly enforced, and mostly barred. The only exception to this is provided to business or support related to agricultural products. Hence, accommodation services, independent of the homestay

program, the prime driver of antagonism in the community, has now been capped from foreign ownership. This is believed to have instilled solidarity and trust amongst the community members, as it was made evident that it was usually 'outsiders', or the foreign owners whom did not conform with the codes of conduct (Interview #1, personal communication, 1 July, 2020) . It is also believed, that when contracts for the operation of foreign owned business' run out, they will not be renewed (Interview #18, personal communication, 23, June, 2020).

4.2.3 Bonding Capital

Bonding Capital forms an interesting lens in the enactment of social capital in Mae Kampong. Thus, as bonding capital is understood as associations to those of closer bonds; i.e. families, orchestrated into horizontal levels of power distribution, prior to the development of MHP, bonding capital amongst the hamlets comprising Mae Kampong was much less distinct. The MHP project, thus, forms as the catalyst that fostered stronger association amongst the hamlets. Therefore, bonding capital may have been more difficult to harness if it weren't for the experience of a shared history in collaboration that fostered community-wide benefits. Thus, one of the benefits toward the fostering and creation of bonding capital in Mae Kampong lies in the homophily of the population. Thus, as communities or groups are rarely homogenous, the existing shared beliefs and attitudes amongst the population made it easier to create collective associations. The formation of occupational groups and subsequent cooperatives (where applicable) also reinforced the bonds between and within groups in the community.

Moscardo et al., (2017) suggests that tourism development can support the growth of bonding capital through two instances; (1) the creation of public spaces/spheres used for social interaction, and (2) tourism activities and experiences developed locally based on local values and traditions. These two examples, in its positive construction, should then enhance social cohesion and a sense of community. Therefore, applying these to Mae Kampong, the community exhibits these examples in the form of; (1) the formality of associations and the requirement for these associations to meet monthly, as well as the community meeting as a whole. These

meetings are designed to discuss openly, whereby residents have the obligation to attend, and the ability to voice support or concerns. (2) The formation of occupational groups supports the development of locally designed activities based on local values and traditions, that in turn creates social cohesion, whilst also showcasing and preserving the community's cultural capital.

Bonding capital can be seen as a process that is continually reinforced in Mae Kampong. As Rodriguez-Giron & Vanneste (2019) note, sanction mechanisms for those who do not comply, or act in disaccord to the set code of conducts, is a strong asset of Mae Kampong. The requirement to participate in communally beneficial activities, such as cleaning the water reservoirs as an interviewee (Interview #9, personal communication, 23 June, 2020) explained, reinforces the notion of social cohesion and solidarity, by working together for wider community benefits. Penalties apply to those who do not participate. Seldom do people not participate, as the social and economic cost of non-participation is to high.

4.2.4 Bridging Capital

Bridging Capital, or associations amongst groups with weaker ties has undoubtedly been influential in the building of social capital in Mae Kampong. Firstly, bridging capital can be seen to have been created through the installation, operation and later, the receiving of distributed benefits (economic and physical) of the village's micro hydropower. Prior to this development, the six hamlets comprising Mae Kampong exhibited weak associational ties to each other. Thus, as the previously separate hamlets shared the common interest of collecting forest-based resources (miang), the association(s) was largely present or explained through geo-spatial and cultural ties. However, once the MHP project came to fruition, the project required collaboration amongst the hamlets to achieve and share in the benefits of a communal good, involving the recruitment of residents in the construction and management of the project. More importantly, the hamlets were drawn together in the form of a cooperative, whereby membership was universal. Hence, the project became a universal good to the community.

Hence, the social institution created, the formation of the Hydropower Cooperative, was paramount in fostering a sense of communality and local ownership over the development. Not only was access to electricity a great leap toward modernization in the village, it institutionalized the social processes involved in communally managing a common good. Identified through an interview with an external stakeholder familiar with the community and its hydropower development, this experience undoubtedly aided in the creation of the community's social capital (Interview #, personal communication, 2 July, 2020).

Hence, this past experience was shared with academics throughout interviews whom have conducted research on Mae Kampong themselves, which was met with intrigue and enthusiasm toward this prose. Thus, suggesting, this particular development was instrumental in bridging ties amongst the community. Therefore, the social developments surrounding the hydropower project form as an endogenous asset, affording the ability to reach across social cleavages to bridge the hamlets toward a communal identity. Therefore, in regard to tourism and the management of conflict in the community, strong leadership, management and organizational structure, driven by the tenets of trust, sharing and collaboration are deemed essential to the bridging of conflict between groups in the community. Again, the structural environment of regular meetings provides the social space for conflict to be addressed, mitigated or transformed, through the transparency of operations.

4.2.5 Linking Capital

Linking Capital was a profound resource in the development of tourism in Mae Kampong. Relating to the connections to institutions and political structures, including government department and agencies, NGO's, tourism authorities and industry associations (Guo et al., 2018), Mae Kampong exhibits a wealth of linking capital. As aforementioned, the community has had experiences with various government and non-government agencies, through the likes of agricultural extension and the development of locally manufactured hydropower. In regard to tourism, Kontogeorgopoulos et al., (2014) deem the role of external agent's paramount to the success of tourism development in Mae Kampong. External stakeholders have

assisted in the planning, development, ongoing operations and currently, the diversification and capacity building of community assets and/or potentials. Assistance has come in the form of funding (e.g. Ministry of Interior; OTOP), community capacity building (e.g. CBT-I, academic institutions) and marketing (TAT). Marketing and recognition of Mae Kampong has also been influential in attracting visitors to the community, through the TAT and also winning multiple awards for their tourism endeavours, including the OTOP award in 2004.

However, access to external agents, or linking capital, can be viewed as unequal. The greater associations to different networks by different people was even evident in the collection of data for this research. Due to the nature of completing this remotely, access to the majority of research participants from the village were obtained through the connections to Teeramate and Pradit. Thus, as their positions of power and influence in the community sit atop of the structural pyramid, this highlights that access to linking capital, or external agents, is more achievable to those that hold notable positions, or have access to these individuals. A local resident, whom operates a homestay, when asked about their access or level of relationships with external agents, where the interviewee responded that they were not in contact with any outside organizations, and interestingly, not familiar with the ability of accessing or receiving external support on their own accord (Interview #5, personal communication, 13 July, 2020).

Additionally, in the search for research participants amongst local residents, potential candidates whom operated independent businesses were more easily identifiable; predominantly guesthouses, due to their online presence. Guesthouses and other business (cafés and restaurants) have a much larger online presence, further highlighting that access to linking and bridging capital is accessed better amongst those with greater independence of operations. This indicates a structural barrier for particular groups to exercise their agency.

4.3 Themes Assisting the Development of CBT

Emerging from the thematized semi-structured and key informant interviews,

key themes were drawn inductively from the responses that are central to the endogenous assets of the community, relating to the overarching themes of social capital and resilience. The following themes; transformational leadership, participation, rules & norms and benefits, are acknowledged of being interdependent of one another, whereby each is either influenced or influences the other. Thus, together, these themes contribute to the concepts of social capital and resilience and the important role they play in the ability of the community to absorb, adapt or transform to change. Therefore, these themes are understood as endogenous assets to the community.

4.3.1 Transformational Leadership

The most prominent theme that emerged from the research was the role of former village head, Por Luang Teeramate. Thus, the catalyst that drove the mobilization of social capital toward the development of CBT can be attributed to the influential and visionary role of Teeramate. The former village head, from 1996 to 2012, was identified as the *visionary* headman that drove the development of CBT in the community. The overwhelming response, amongst all research participants, was the influential nature of the former head. Participants were asked how and why the former village head was able to achieve the transformation and support for shifting the community's growth trajectory, with *trust* being the resounding response. Trust in Teeramate was deemed to be earnt through three common themes; merit-making, competency in his position and respect developed over years of benevolent action. Additionally, trust was earnt through concrete examples of infrastructural upgrades that benefited both individuals and the community; fitting each household with a working toilet and paving the road to increase connectivity.

However, leadership from 2012-2017 was deemed infamous for the lack of positive influence, output and direction, whereby in this time, community rules, such as banning foreign ownership were bent – leading to some of the ideals of CBT not being met (Interview #1, personal communication, 1 July, 2020). Hence, the precedent set in the early period of tourism in Mae Kampong was altered. This time was seen to be where the community also experienced rapid changes to its social

structure, and the attitudes of residents (cognitive capital). Hence, Pradit ran and gained the position of village head on the back of recognizing that social capital that was previously strong, was and had been eroded. Por Luang Pradit set to rectify this taking his position in 2017. Pradit identified he has a close relationship and admiration of Teeramate, and it can be observed that he follows his philosophy, which extends to the support and trust amongst the community at large. Villagers displayed strong support and belief in the current and former village heads, believing their leadership was informed by the community's best interests.

A non-local resident interviewed (Interview #17, personal communication, 27 July, 2020) had visited Mae Kampong on three occasions, in 2013, 2017 and just recently in 2020 supports this notion of rapid socio-physical change. The interviewee identified that in 2013, the homestay program was "active", and the community was perceived as peaceful and quaint. In their second visit, 2017, the community had experienced a noticeable change. The homestay program was less active, and a proliferation of guesthouses had emerged. In 2020, the last and most recent visit to Mae Kampong, the interviewee's perception of CBT in Mae Kampong became questionable, as even more guesthouses and business' had emerged, whereby strong emotions were exhibited, expressing the feeling that the fabric of the community has changed to what it once was.

Hence, a further legacy and exemplification of the strength of benevolent leadership of Pradit in the community, was the current village head's want of returning to the past precedent of distributing benefits as equitably as possible. Hence, Pradit initiated the creation of the community's co-operative shop. The Community Co-Op sells handicrafts and goods that are locally manufactured. Members of the occupational groups as aforementioned are also contributing members to this as a collective. The occupational groups manufacture and supply the goods to the co-operative shop, where tourists can purchase these goods. The income generated from this is then distributed back to the producers of the goods, enhancing the ability of smaller producers to reach the tourist market, as opposed to selling directly from a stall or within the confines of their own stall.

4.3.2 Participation

Participation can be understood in a multi-faceted context in Mae Kampong. Regarding the internal processes of Mae Kampong, participation can be understood as involvement in the planning, management and operations of tourism within the community. Planning takes a more retrospective lens, as it looks at the community involvement in the early adoption of tourism. Management and operations extend to the structures of how the village operates in regard to tourism, involving the decision-making process.

Participation was crucial to the effective implementation of CBT in Mae Kampong. Participation implies both that of local residents, but also external stakeholders such as local government authorities, academics/scholars, tourism planning authorities/initiatives and tourism operators. Amongst academics, participation was deemed "*more participative than most*", and "*authentic*". Interviewee #16 (personal communication, 24 July, 2020), an expert in the planning of CBT, emphasised the key role that not only Teeramate played in extending the openness of the community to external support, but the process that this support followed through utilizing participatory action research in the form of community-based research. The interviewee highlighted that the residents themselves became the researchers, exploring, identifying and expressing their values and desires for what tourism ought to be in the community. This process was thought to have built trust within the community itself (bonding) and externally (bridging and linking), because the community was in control of its development. Hence, this complies with the foundational goal of CBT, placing ownership into the hands of local communities, that resulted in the empowerment of the residents. Internally, Teeramate sought the involvement of local residents. However, the author of a well cited paper regarding the success the of tourism development and the participatory process in Mae Kampong stated;

> "*Participation was more pseudo than (what is) portrayed… However, participation was more meaningful than others*" (Interview #10,

personal communication, 17 June, 2020)

This highlights that participation in Mae Kampong was and is certainly utilized, however, participation can be viewed as rather a formality, than being actually influential. The ultimate agenda and power in the decision of adopting tourism was vested in Teeramate, no matter how altruistic the participation process entailed.

That being said, as the community has progressed, the institutions that were instilled in the inception of tourism have allowed for the continuation of participation in the operations of the community. The general consensus amongst local residents, was that they have the ability to voice their concerns and are afforded the ability to do so at the open-forum, monthly meetings. The various committees and associational groups (i.e. homestay group) have representation in the administrative structure of the community. Each committee is stipulated to meet monthly, and residents are obliged to also participate in the meetings. Many interviewees recognized that issues or concerns over various matters have arisen in the community, but these forums and regular meetings are paramount in mitigating or addressing these concerns. However, the ultimate decision-making is largely concentrated amongst those whom hold a position of power or influence; the village head, former village head and the tourism committee.

A life-long resident of Mae Kampong, whom produces coffee from the local forest, and wife runs a homestay, interestingly explained that if someone is in non-agreeance, a member of the village committee will visit them in their home to make sure they understand the decision or implementation of change. Thus, this personalized intervention by a member whom holds a position of authority in the community can be viewed as coercive, reinforcing villagers into supporting said decision(s).

Furthermore, another resident identified that individual disputes are also convened or reconciled outside of these forums, enacted by the respective

cooperative/associational representative body, the village head, or Teeramate himself (Interview #9, personal communication, 23 June, 2020). Interestingly, although no longer having an official title in regard to being the village head, or head of the tourism committee, Teeramate is an influential figure in the community and is still recognized as an advisor.

4.3.3 Rules & Norms

Prominent to the domains of structural and cognitive capital, Mae Kampong has very defined set rules, norms and values that determine how decisions are made and how the village operates. The village has an observable adherence to the local rule of law, which is outlined in form of a handbook that resembles a locally binding social contract, in which residents have to agree. The handbook clearly outlines the community guidelines, based on mutual respect for one another and the environment. Por Luang Pradit takes pride in institutionalizing these regulations (Interview #1, personal communication, 1 July, 2020). When interviewed, emphasis was placed on the involvement of other community members and external agents (Chiang Mai University) to oversee the formation of these community rules and guidelines. Thus, the process was deemed democratic. Ultimately, this guide was developed so the village would operate in "harmony, conformity and community".

The adherence to these rules, and the disciplinary actions taken were a prominent theme amongst interviews. The emphasis on disciplinary action across interviews indicates the compliance of residents to these rules. Breaches of the social contract result in a warning, before being cut from water supply, then later the electricity grid and then access to community welfare. Non-compliance could be in the form of noise pollution (music/noise after curfew), not paying fees into the community fund (or late payment), or non-participation in community tasks (cleaning water reservoirs). Interestingly, a non-local resident and guesthouse owner informed that it was *outsiders* (non-Mae Kampong native) that usually don't conform to community these rules. It was also noted that settling conflicts amongst local residents was usually done with the consultation of the village head or committee, however, outsiders would use other, non-local means; hiring lawyers (Interview #9, personal

communication, 23 June, 2020).

Harada (2016) identified and presented an observable shift in social transactions and exchanges amongst residents. In the past, residents were more inclined to share tools and offer assistance to each other, with the example being the lending of tools for the collection of miang. The exchange of tool lending through a lens of social capital proposes that these were enacted based on the tenets of trust and reciprocity, as residents would often help each other out. However, these exchanges have changed as a result of tourism and the increased role of economic function attached to development in the community. One interview with a guesthouse owner emphasised how disputes in the community that he experienced was settled in an economic fashion. The owner expressed that parking was an issue with his residence, and that cars would overflow to his neighbours. His neighbour was unhappy with this and didn't like cars to be parked out the front of his property (also a commonly mentioned issue; traffic). Thus, to reconcile the inconvenience caused, the owner pays the neighbour for the ability to afford his guests to park out the front of his neighbour's house, although it is common land. The owner also noted that as a result, he would also recommend his guests to use said neighbour as their tour guide. Hence, rather than solely a reciprocal action of parking space for business recommendation, a physical economic function is attached to this.

This was also expressed, and somewhat related by another resident of Mae Kampong, whom identified a change in the community as a result of tourism and economic growth;

> *"Today, it [community] is becoming individualistic, not depending on anyone… [for example] A simple greeting is less… [people are] less considerate."* (Interview #6, personal communication, 14 July, 2020).

Hence, attitudes can be seen to have changed. Interdependence on each other in the past and working toward a common good has been eroded by capitalistic and individual gains.

4.3.4 Benefit Sharing

Central to the perceived success of tourism in Mae Kampong is the ability of the community to manage the distribution of income generation. The circulation of income has had social, environmental and economic benefits across the community. However, these benefits are not necessarily equal and are dependent on numerous factors that will be discussed below.

One of the core principles of CBT, and repeated throughout research participants, is the equitable distribution of economic benefits within the community. This is considered one
of the most prominent assets and institutions within Mae Kampong. The circulation of income is derived from tourism revenue generated from homestays and all tourism programs, where generated income is reallocated toward village development; divided into six budget funds; (1) Tourism Management, (2) Electricity Fund, (3) Community Development Fund, (4) Welfare Fund, (5) Community Administration Fund and (6) Natural Resource & Environment Fund.

Participation and the contribution(s) to the system, either from; payments from tourism receipts or time supplied for communal labour, has become "a naturally occurring phenomenon" (Interview #1, personal communication, 1 July, 2020). Pradit also emphasised the disciplinary action for non-compliance, where amongst multiple interviews, it was also stated that due to the restriction of access to communally beneficial funds for non-compliance, all residents now participate and contribute because everyone receives benefit(s) from the circular economy. Interestingly, it was noted by a lifelong villager that those who would not contribute were *outsiders*, but the ones who did not comply have left. Thus, it can be viewed that the social norms and values regarding this asset is a major contributor to reinforcing social capital amongst community members through the enforcement to act in communally beneficial means.

However, the distribution of benefits has been restructured due to the proliferation in the emergence of guesthouses, and those leaving the homestay

program. The fairness in contributions to the community can also be questioned. There have been noted pros and cons of being in either of those categories for overnight accommodations. Hence, amongst those interviewed that owned or operated overnight accommodations, as well as external stakeholders, identified the following;

HOMESTAY

Benefits;

- *Local Ownership*; the homestays were locally owned and operated by families in the community
- *Branding*; the community is renowned for its homestay program, so being a member of the community, operators receive benefits from this recognition and don't need to individually market themselves
- *Rotation System*; the homestays are not in competition with each other, as they are in a rotation system* (*discussed below)
- *Lower-Cost to Entry*; although adhering to the homestay standard, the type of accommodation service requires less economic capital to meet the standard

Disadvantages;

- *Amenities*; the lower-cost of entry is counterpoised by the lack of physical comforts that increased quality of accommodations provide. Hence, as tourist trends change and potential visitors require greater comforts (i.e. air conditioning), the homestay option may not be preferable
- *Rigid*; the homestay arrangement is rigid for the owner/operator. The fee of 550THB must cover all expenses of the visitor, including meals. The rotation system also prevents tourists from choosing where they wish to stay.
- *Labour Intensive*; as compared to the Guesthouse, the homestay operators must spend more time preparing for their guests; meals and preparation
- *Costs*; related to the two aforementioned disadvantages, whereby the costs incurred for meals, cleaning/washing services are taken from the profit margin after the contribution of 100THB to the community funds.

GUESTHOUSE

Benefits;

- *Price Setting*; Guesthouses are free to set their own price, not fixed like Homestay operators, although the price cannot be lower than the cost of the homestay. This leads to greater margins – an advantage over the Homestay owners.

- *Amenities*; the amenities of the Guesthouses are superior to that of the Homestays, including bedding, decorations, services, air conditioning.

- *Flexibility*; Guesthouses operate with more flexibility regarding services, providing the incentive of choice for tourists (i.e. meals, location)

Disadvantages;

- *Non-Local Ownership*; some of the Guesthouse's are owned, or partially owned by 'outsiders'; leading to negative effects such as economic leakages, local employment in low paying/less agency.

- *Higher Expenses/Cost of Entry*; in providing the services and amenities (from construction to daily operations) and on marketing, as they are not in the rotation system – leading to increased competition

- *Less Contribution to Community*; guesthouses only need to pay 50THB per person/per night contribution to the community funds. This is much less than the Homestay program.

Therefore, although the Homestay's have benefits that are initially lower in cost, the value on returns diminish compared to the less rigidity and expenses surrounding the operation of Guesthouses. This can be viewed as a contributor to the rise of competition experienced in the village, as noted from the interview with a Guesthouse owner, whom emphasised the expenses proportion of being 'individual' but failed to mention the increased margins they received from guests staying at their establishment. Furthermore, the rotation system does not come without flaws. One interview with an external stakeholder recalled a story of a Thai couple visiting the community and wanting to experience the Homestay option. The assigned home for them was located next to the village' funeral home, where deceased bodies are burnt.

The Thai couple were extremely uncomfortable with the location, and therefore, were moved to another homestay. However, the interesting note of this relocation, was the homestay the couple were relocated to was not next in line on the list, yet to an operator that held a position of power within the village (Interview #15, personal communication, 7 July, 2020). Hence, the rotation system that is presented as fair, may not be as transparent as it is portrayed. It begs the question as to how many times, or how frequent this occurs.

The distribution of economic benefits is closely associated with the theme of *rules and norms*, as the access to and receiving of distributional benefits are contingent on the adherence to the community's rules. The consensus amongst local residents was that the distribution system is fair, and that everyone benefits directly by contributing to the system. However, when comparing different economic functions and the contributions of such, the fairness is questionable, especially the disparity amongst homestay and guesthouse operators.

Homestay	Pro	Local ownership Branding Rotation System Lower-Cost to Entry ' Authenticity' - Interaction with Tourists
	Con	Amenities - Basic infrastructure Rigid Tourist Choices Limited Labour Intensive Costs
Guesthouse	Pro	Price Setting - Greater Margins Amenities Flexibility Tourist Choice
	Con	Local & Non-Local Ownership Higher Expenses - Marketing - Amenities Less Contribution to Community

Table 7: Homestay vs. Guesthouse

Overheads prior to the operationalizing of either overnight accommodations, the contribution to the community funds based on income received and time spent on labour is not even. A search on third-party accommodation providers such as Booking.com or Agoda.com, guesthouses charge, on average, double the amount than homestays. Yet, homestays contribute twice the amount to community funds. The major advantage the guesthouses have over the homestay program is the add-on value goods and services they supply; meals,

activities, transport, all of which is added profit. The homestay program does not have this luxury, as meals are provided, and tours are running through the tourism cooperative. Hence, guesthouses have an advantage over the homestay owners.

Of course, the homestay operators have the added security of being a part of the homestay cooperative, however, the agency to take control of what they can and can't do is determined by the larger body. Guesthouses have greater agency, and also have greater access to external networks through the utilization of travel booking platforms and the greater flexibility they can afford to prospective tourists. Thus, taking this into consideration, the emergence of more guesthouses and the conversion of homes formerly associated with the homestay program becoming independent, is viewed as resultant of the increased economic advantage this change entails. Understandably, as access to income generation is not equal, competition has emerged, and plays a role in eroding the social capital of the community.

4.4 Conclusion

Through the exploration of the domains of social capital in the application to the assessment of this resource in Mae Kampong, the community can be observed as pertaining a strong foundation of such. The shared history of collaboration has been instrumental in solidifying and subsequent transposition of the gains developed through bonding and bridging capital amongst the community. The catalyst that drove this change can firstly be seen through the structural change in the community, whereby universal membership bought together the six hamlets comprising Mae Kampong as a collective, whereby this development bought in socio-economic benefits. Secondly, the visionary and benevolent actor of the former village head was the key internal agent that drove the transformation in the community. Hence, trust and solidarity formed as key elements affording the community this transition, having mutual confidence in the former village head. This confidence can be seen to have been derived from the inclusiveness of the participatory process in the planning, management and operations of activities in Mae Kampong. The development of a locally, democratically devised social contract has established a foundation for the villages observed level of norms and values, forming as both an input and output for

collective action.

However, as the community has experienced increased growth of economic activity, the equilibrium between competition and collaboration has been contested, with antagonism arising between insiders and outsiders. This can be explained through the tenet of equitable distribution and the adherence to the social contract. Outsiders, forming as those foreign to Mae Kampong, have been deemed to not adhere to the community's guidelines and values, in the effort to drive profit. Additionally, profit margins have appeared to favour those independent of the homestay cooperative system, often owned by outsiders. Thus, the community has set to rectify this, and the institutionalization of the social contract now enforces the inability of outsiders to deal in these businesses, restricting outsider involvement to only agricultural developments. This can be seen to have restored a sense of equilibrium, however it not a barrier fully overcome. Access to forms of social capital, particularly that of linking capital, is reserved for those with higher position of authority, or seemingly, economic capital and independence from the cooperative structure. Obtusely, those involved in the various cooperatives, can be deemed to possess stronger bonding and bridging associations, through a higher density of network association.

Chapter 5: The Influence of Tourism Development on the Resilience of Mae Kampong

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will present how tourism development in Mae Kampong has contributed to the resilience of the community. Tourism has undoubtedly increased the resilience of the community across its community capitals. The adoption of tourism is understood as the communities first bounce-forward; the proactive mobilization of its resources in order to create a buffer to changes experienced in the local and broader context. The ability for Mae Kampong to do so cannot be taken without the consideration of social capital as a profound resource for achieving this.

However, the resilience of Mae Kampong can also be understood as being supported from the broader socio-political, economic and cultural context. The role of external stakeholder's support through various stages of development has been paramount, whilst the instillation of the Sufficiency Economy Principle has also been found to have a profound influence on the population. Thus, when taken as a sum, Mae Kampong may be more resilient than other communities. However, when delving deeper into the community, it is apparent that individuals or groups in the community are more resilient than others.

A series of questions were devised under the umbrella term of '*resilience*'. Internal participants were asked questions based on their perceptions of change, the ability to plan for or enact change, potential challenges the community will face in the future, and how the community (and individually) were dealing with the current Covid-19 pandemic. External stakeholders were asked on their perceptions of the ability of the community to absorb, adapt or transform to change, and similarly to internal participants, what challenges do they community face toward becoming resilient to shocks and stressors.

The following chapter will follow the framework for assessing socio-

ecological resilience as outlined by Berkes & Seixas (2005), applying the findings obtained from Mae Kampong to the four characteristics mentioned in Chapter 2, supported through observed experiences elicited from the responses obtained through the interviews with internal and external research participants. Lastly, this chapter will provide a summation that CBT and social capital have enhanced the resilience of Mae Kampong, particularly through the global pandemic of Covid-19. However, the dominance of CBT may prove to have created an over-reliance and shift of the economy on a potentially vulnerable sector, whilst also observing that some individuals may be more resilient than others when compared to the whole sum of Mae Kampong.

5.2 Learning to Live with Change and Uncertainty

Inherent to socio-ecological systems, change and uncertainty are omnipresent factors that communities face. The assumption of stability, or the attempt to create stability, particularly in regard to environmental concerns, is problematic under the notion of sustainable development (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). Hence, Ruiz-Ballesteros (2011) posits, what happens if and when elements of such stability change? It is paramount then, that communities have the capacity to learn and recognize, operating in a state of flux, whereby change is certain and may occur or be incurred from internal, external or a combination of both variables. Hence, the capability of learning to live with change and uncertainty must be met with an attitude that acknowledges this, whereby the integration of tourism as an integral component of the community in Mae Kampong has fostered an increased attitude of environmental consciousness.

Environmental consciousness can therefore be seen, arising from the shift in the decrease in miang demand and the consequence of environmental abandonment. Hence, dwindling economic prosperity and poor land management in the community, triggered the requirement of change in the community. Hence, identified as the bounce-forward in Mae Kampong, tourism was identified as tool to combat these effects. The agent of this transformation was Teeramate, whom as the village head, identified that the community was needing to diversify its income generation portfolio, whilst maintaining the integrity of the community's natural resources.

Hence, Teeramate, due to the trust and respect built on years of benevolent action, was able to catalyse this transformation. Most importantly, tourism was to be incorporated into an integrated land use structure, that through the conservation of natural resources, value was added to the environment in the form of enhancing the tourist product.

However, CBT in Mae Kampong initiated a widespread transformation across many facets of the community. Fundamentally, the community has shifted from an agrarian society, to a service-based society, as 90% of households now participate in tourism, and tourism forming as predominant source of income generation (Interview #1, personal communication, 1 July, 2020). The former agrarian focus, on the cultivation of miang, and more recently coffee, amongst other types of mountain herbs, have formed as secondary, complementary sources of income. This is then a problematic issue for Mae Kampong, as tourism itself is unstable, and the reliance on tourism for income generation overrides the philosophical underpinning of CBT, in the fact that tourism itself should be a complementary asset to existing economic functions. Although CBT has lengthened the occupational opportunities in the village, the focus on these opportunities is centred on tourism (accommodation, tour guides) and tourism related services (e.g. handicrafts, massage). Hence, creating vulnerabilities to shocks, as experienced within the context of Covid-19. This proves to be a barrier to the resilience of the community; as economic divergence from subsistence practices has seceded, the portfolio of economically viable diversity of income generational activities has become more vulnerable.

However, the natural assets of Mae Kampong, and the fact the most households still participate in subsistence living practices (poultry, vegetables, collection of mountain herbs) have afforded the community another buffer to the effects of Covid-19. Therefore, it can be understood that due to the abundance of natural resources available, and socio-cultural practices (e.g. SEP), the community has been able to absorb the effects of the pandemic.

Asked directly of how Covid-19 has affected the community, residents

highlighted that people were helping each other. Residents would exchange goods with each other, with one example given being vegetables traded for eggs between neighbours, saying this was common practice (Interview #9, personal communication, 23 June, 2020). Therefore, although economic capital saw a decrease, other community capitals, particularly bonding capital (Chapter 4), filled the void left from the reliance on tourism income generation. Hence, although economic capital is important, other factors that the community has accessed historically (natural, cultural capital) or been built through tourism (social capital; welfare fund), have afforded the community the ability to sustain their livelihoods.

5.3 Nurturing Diversity for Reorganization and Renewal

The nurturing of environmental and social memory has been deemed a source of innovation and novelty (Berkes & Seixas, 2005), both of which are important characteristics and assets capitalized on in the development of tourism in Mae Kampong. The tourist experience in the community relies heavily on the experience of the *other*, whereby in CBT, a core tenet of which being is that it is educationally informed. Meaning, the socio-cultural ecosystem becomes a part of the product that is being consumed, developed through collective reimagination. This is realized through various occupational functions and activities in the community. Tour guides lead visitors on jungle treks, whereby visitors not only experience nature, they are exposed to and have the opportunity to participate in the harvesting of miang and coffee and learn of the community's management of integrated land-use. Tourists are also afforded the ability to experience traditional folk dancing, music and local handicraft production (e.g. bamboo weaving), representing locally developed traditions that not only showcase cultural heritage, but also help to preserve such heritage through the reproduction and reimagining of traditional practices. Therefore, tourism plays an important role in the consolidation of memory, enhancing the resilience of the socio-ecological system.

Berkes & Seixas (2005) propose that diverse social institutions have the ability to nurture resilience through the creation of social spaces that encourage experimentation. Hence, the structure and organization of CBT management in Mae

Kampong can be seen as possessing these qualities. CBT is centred on the creation of the tourism committee, operating under the general community assembly, highlighting the importance of structural and cognitive social capital in the operation and management of CBT in Mae Kampong. Occupational groups are also represented by a body of individuals as well, in a similar sub-committee type structure, whereby members are able to use these spaces to share ideas and develop goods and services based on the collection of the group. The formation and participation within and of these institutions afford the social sphere for experimentation, reflection and ultimately, trust-building. The stipulation of monthly meetings, with member participation mandatory (absence allowed through exception), is an important forum for community politics. Through meetings and consultation, community guidelines have been debated and developed, shaping Mae Kampong's communal values and norms. These forums allow for open discussion, and form as a key asset to conflict management in the community. Therefore, the institutional structure of Mae Kampong is seen as a productive mechanism for social organization and control. Hence, it can be seen that the strong foundational base of social capital in the community has contributed to the installation of social institutions that allow for the ability to nurture diversity and create forums for reorganization.

The case of miang as a cultural capital in Mae Kampong is of an interesting note. Although the traditional use of miang, as an edible fermented tea has changed, the leaves have been applied to new applications. Tea leaves are being used to fill the inside of pillows, that are thought have therapeutic benefits and have found its use in aromatherapy. Although the use has changed, the community's cultural tie to miang has been reimagined in new, innovative ways, whereby cultural connection has the ability to remain. Furthermore, the new use for the tea leaves has provided new economic opportunities for the community, where the pillows have been awarded a graded rating amongst OTOP products, with the community now looking at new and innovative ways for their products to reach further markets (e.g. online sales). Hence, identity within, and particularly of the community has the ability to be refocussed, through the brand recognition of new products.

Hence, the formation of one of the founding principle social institutions in the community; the circulation of economic benefits, has been observed as contributing to the development of the community in the most interesting circumstance. The access and support derived from community funds, has been used to help support the younger generation to further their education. The benefit of this now evident through the knowledge and skills developed through gaining further education to the application of business and community business diversification. A concern in past research presented by Harada (2016) was the gradual shift away from the cultural heritage of miang (cultural deterioration), and how this could be harnessed to prevent cultural drain as modernization progresses in the community.

Harada (2016) emphasized this more so in the application of tourism-related activities, however, the onset of Covid-19 and travel restrictions (domestic and international) was found to present new and creative means for the residents of Mae Kampong to increase income capacity. Therefore, the younger population has utilized the skills afforded to them from furthering their education to assist in the promotion and selling of locally manufactured goods online, particularly that of the OTOP graded tea leaf pillow. Thus, the shift to online sales can be seen to aid the community through;

1. *Economic Diversification*; creating a buffer from external shocks in the future, whilst filling the tourism void in the present.

2. *Enhancing Cultural Capital*; encouraging tea leaf cultivation in tourism downturn, reinforcing attachment to cultural heritage, and

3. *Enhancing Social Capital*, strengthening social capital through the collaborative manufacturing of local goods.

Furthermore, the role of external agents will also be paramount in additional development and support for such products to reach market. Similarly, to the input from the Royal Projects Office regarding the production and logistical support of coffee and miang products in the past; to increase economic benefits derived from new products, the greater the access to forms of linking capital with external agents

will aid in the sales, marketing, logistics and demand for such products.

More recently, coffee has been an increasingly viable economic tool, where Teeramate himself is again an influential figure in this. A coffee farmer, whose been a farmer his whole life in Mae Kampong, has shifted from miang to coffee, as it was economically more beneficial for himself and family. Over twenty years ago, the resident sold their beans to the RPO, however, this was before the coffee industry "blossomed" and was dissatisfied of the selling price of 1THB per kilogram to the RPO. After abandoning the coffee plantation, the resident went to work for the RFD. However, once coffee became in fashion, they restarted the plantation. At first, they sold again to the RPO, but the rates were still low, until Teeramate started a private coffee business, buying coffee off the local residents at a much better rate. Notably, the resident said that they received little support from the RPO. Although enjoying the coffee plantation, the resident has started to question their purpose, because their partner also runs a homestay, with the income from that being higher and more stable.

5.4 Combining Different Kinds of Knowledge

Folke (2003) identifies the necessity of local knowledge in the management of community resources, and the importance of such to aid in the development of external decision-making. Local, complex ecosystems are dynamic, where Folke (2003) contends that such ecosystems require the input and operationalizing of local knowledge to achieve best management practices. However, local capacities need to be developed or enhanced in order to achieve such best practices. Therefore, it is imperative to combine both local and scientific (external) knowledge.

The combination of local and external (scientific) knowledge can be seen to have occurred through different periods in Mae Kampong. The involvement in government led initiatives, such as the Royal Projects Initiative, have aided in agricultural extension in the community. The planning, management and operationalizing of CBT in Mae Kampong has also been heavily influenced and aided from the help of external stakeholders. Assistance from various stakeholders has centred on capacity building, whereby training and skill development has taken place

to improve the human capital within the community. Currently, as coffee is becoming an increasingly economically viable resource in Mae Kampong, the only exception to the 'no foreign ownership' rule in the village is granted to foreign entities that can aid in the extension of agricultural activities, enhancing skill and knowledge transfers. Hence, as Teeramate himself has begun his own coffee cooperative business, external knowledge will be paramount to aid in the process of locally managing the process(es) of cultivation to product development and finally manufacturing (e.g. roasting, packaging). Hence, further highlighting the important role of linking and bridging capital in the value-addition of products and services required to progress development in Mae Kampong.

An interesting finding can be attributed to an interview with a local tour guide, whom is categorized externally as an outsider, as they have only been in the village for three years. The tour guide has worked previously in and around Chiang Mai as an accredited tour guide. Currently, tour guiding is Mae Kampong does not have such accreditation. Guides are generally made up locals, with no formal training, referring to the guiding system as more of a "local voluntary guide". Curiously, the interviewee was very reluctant to elaborate on the conflicts involved in the community but noticed a considerable discrepancy between insiders and outsiders operating within the community. Although a member of the tour guide association in the community, as an outsider, his suggestion of accrediting tour guides (in the effort to standardize and improve services), was not well received. Thus, as an outsider, his experience as a tour guide could offer a better change to service improvement in Mae Kampong. However, barriers exist within the community in adapting to change, highlighting the structure/agency nexus and discrepancy between community resilience and inclusive community resilience.

Thus, when compared to CBT in Agua Blanca (Ecuador), tour guides are the preeminent figures in reproducing collective memory and form as the most influential figures within the community (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). Hence, as tour guides have great exposure to visitors, improving the guide service built around the standardization of services could then potentially enhance the reproduction and spread

of local social memory in Mae Kampong.

5.5 Creating Opportunity for Self-Organization

Self-organization is inherently linked to social capital, comprising the types and forms of networks (organizational structure), communication (relations; norms and vales) and collective action (the output) (Berkes & Seixas, 2005). However, in order to foster an appropriate manner of social functioning within socio-ecological systems, the integration of diverse knowledge(s) must be incorporated through the implementation of participatory strategies. Hence, such strategies must entail mechanisms based on the management of conflict, community capacity-building and fair access and allocation to and of resources. Insofar, the presence of these characteristics is complementary to the exhibition of resilience functioning within a community, deeply rooted in the domains of structural and cognitive capital (Chapter 4).

In that regard, CBT in Mae Kampong is considered a true manifestation of community self-organization, where the ability of the community to do was driven internally, catalysed by Teeramate through universal consultation and mediation with community members. External assistance in the form of building community capacities (human capital) and funding (economic capital leading to built capital) drove the development. The tourism committee, and the efforts that it has strived to accomplish can be widely viewed as the strongest asset of the community toward managing its operations.

Teeramate and the tourism committee's role within Mae Kampong is a clear example of self-organization. Built on the grounds of representation, participation and consensus, local residents deemed the management in the community to be efficient and well trusted. The regular meetings, affording open forums of communication, a form of social input, has fostered outputs that has produced amplified feedbacks of trust, solidarity and collective action through the transparency and responsiveness to and of member's participation. Hence, the community has been able to foster cohesiveness, through the rigorous development of a community code of conduct, that

is strongly adhered to. Thus, similarly to Ruiz-Ballesteros and CBT in Agua Blanca, the institutional make-up of Mae Kampong, particularly the tourism committee, proves to be an effective asset to the community, through the creation of a socio-political sphere where reflection, debate, planning and evaluation occurs to great efficacy.

However, as aforementioned in the previous chapter, although tourism is managed at the community level, those within the community itself experience access to networks and various resources to varying degrees. This can be explained by the form of Thai administration, whereby, although committees operate and control (or co-manage) resources locally, contact to external administrative bodies is reserved to those with positions of power (i.e. village head). This also extends to non-governmental external stakeholders. Therefore, regarding the structure/agency nexus, positions of power pertain to greater agency, whereas others are left to community devices, reliant on the benevolence of the system. Thus, as income generation and distribution, although beneficial to all, is observed to have favoured others based on economic capital, geo-spatial location and/or positions of power.

Therefore, leadership (discussed previously in Chapter 4) is viewed as both the enabler of transformation, as well as potentially a constraining factor in the resilience of Mae Kampong. Teeramate acknowledged himself the level of influence that he has within the community. Particularly, when issues or suggestions are raised within the community;

> *"If I agree to an agenda, that means there is an immediate 50% chance of increased consensus"* – (Interview #2, personal communication, 1 July, 2020)

That statement signifies and reinforces trust in the decision-making of those with greater authority. Teeramate extends this, noting that the ability to maintain peoples trust was contingent on maintaining a good track record, whereby "*one failure will lose people's trust and respect*". However, leadership could also inhibit

original thoughts, amendments or challenges to issues or suggestions in the community; socio-political lock in effects (Wilson, 2014). Thus, in this regard, power-relations form as a structural factor that can constrain changes in the community, a potential factor that instils a lock-in effect preventing change, maintaining steady-state stasis, if new ideas are not injected or implemented, reinforcing structural embeddedness due to Teeramate's power and influence.

The prominent issue surrounding Teeramate is what will entail when he is no longer present in Mae Kampong. This sentiment was present across interviews with external stakeholders, and also present in previous literature (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014 for example). However, this was addressed through Interview # 7 (personal communication, 15 July, 2020), a youthful member holding a position in the community's administrative arm, whom emphasized that the philosophy set out by Teeramate in regard to CBT needed to remain, and this was generally agreed upon amongst their peers.

Hence, leadership forms as both an enabling and constraining factor toward implementing change in the community. Under new leadership, going against the grain could be met with discontent. Whereas, following suit would again entail steady-state operation, potentially hindering the ability for the community to nurture diversity and prevent the effective combination of knowledge

5.6 The Bounce Forward for Enhancing Community Resilience

It is suggested that the community's shared experience of *communally beneficial action* was enhanced through the MHP development in the 1980's and the formation of the hydropower *cooperative*. This cooperative model was found to be transposed to the development and management of CBT. Key characteristics of social capital; trust, collaboration, reciprocity and sharing are then deemed central tenets in the creation and sustaining of the MHP project. These characteristics were later reinforced through the transformational leadership of Teeramate, who capitalized and built on these factors, informing the core tenet of CBT; equitable distribution of economic benefits. Through interviewing an academic familiar with the introduction

of hydropower in Mae Kampong, it was noted that the hamlets had previously experienced limited collective action. Thus, the collaboration for and within this context aided in supporting bridging capital, enhancing relations amongst those with weaker associations, whilst also building structural and cognitive capital conducive for the aforementioned factors that enhance resilience. Additionally, borrowing from resilience thinking in its application to peacebuilding, this historically shared experience and process of developing and mainting hydropower in the community has reinforced the characteristics of social capital, lending to increased community capacities forming an asset that was mobilized into tourism development.

This corroborates research undertaken by Jones (2005), whom attributed the success of tourism development in The Gambia in a dual site case study sharing similarities; ethnically homogenous with a history of communally beneficial action (farming, hydropower). Additionally, the consequences of non-compliance of participation in required community tasks also reinforces social capital whilst encouraging collective participation, again highlighting the important role the community's social contract plays in finding the balance between collaborative organization and control.

Therefore, the ability to transform the community toward adopting tourism in the effort to learn and live with change and uncertainty may not have been as effective without this past experience and the important role of social capital. The same can be said about components (2) and (3), especially the ability to combine knowledge and work collaboratively within the community and effectively with external stakeholders. Lastly, the ability to self-organize, and how this was operationalized can draw significant influence from the structure of the MHP cooperative. The transposition of collective management and benefit sharing was transposed and formed the cornerstone foundations for the development of tourism, leading to their first bounce-forward and furthering socio-economic, political and environmental benefits and affording the community a buffer to and to deal with shocks and stressors.

5.7 Covid-19 and Community Resilience

"The village business has been in operation for a long time, it has a strong foundation… so it will not fall apart easy" – (Interview #4, personal communication, 25 June, 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic forms as an external stressor that has had a direct impact on the community, albeit, not to as large as an effect as anticipated prior to the conduction of this research. The Thai government implemented strict travel restrictions in April, especially the closing of international tourist arrivals, but also inter-provincial travel and a shelter-at-home strategy to mitigate the spread of Covid-19 throughout regions of Thailand. The effects of this were found to only have affected the community for a short period of time, whereby in May, although low season for tourism, arrivals to the village were already back to standard levels, and by early June, the village was at capacity (Interview #1, personal communication, 1 July, 2020). Thus, as mobility was restricted, especially from international visitors, Mae Kampong is an example of a community that does not rely on foreign tourists to sustain tourism operation in the village.

However, for that period (c. one month), the community received restricted amounts of tourists, and income generation from tourism was at a standstill. An interview with a CBT planning expert (Interview #17, personal communication, 24 July, 2020) highlighted that numerous residents in the village they had spoken to, regarding Covid-19 and its impacts, had concerns of tourisms economic dominance in the community, or that personal savings were little to non-existent. Hence, this provides a new challenge for residents, and an opportunity to learn, so as to prepare economically for not if, but when, a major shock such as this occurs in the future.

However, regarding the resilience of Mae Kampong's social structure, the community has been able to absorb the effects of this major disruption. The community has been able to self-organize and rapidly respond to the changes, changing practices in order to mitigate the risk of Covid-19 entering the village. In fact, the community was a pioneer in the region, as other CBT communities were

waiting for the response of Mae Kampong in (a) handling the crisis and (b) strategies for reopening. Mae Kampong was the first CBT in the region to reopen to tourism after the lockdown. Community members interviewed noted that the village leaders took a leading role early in the crisis, holding an emergency meeting and setting new regulations (i.e. implementation of security checkpoints for temperature). During the downturn, Pradit saw this as an opportunity to perform village and forest maintenance efforts. Labour was used from the village and paid for using the village funds created from tourism. Activities included maintenance on the forest firebreak and dam. Pradit noted that the community received little external support in combatting the crisis, and the recognition of how they navigated the crisis was a credit to the leadership and community themselves, highlighting the community's ability to self-organize.

Furthermore, emerging from an interview with a guesthouse owner (Interview #9, personal communication, 23 June, 2020), the role of socio-cultural influences external and complementary to the community itself were important contributors to the communities ability to absorb the downturn. Thus, the participant eluded to the SEP, referring to it as a means that helped the community through the Covid-19 downturn. The interviewee said that because of people's adherence to the principle and the villager's simple way of life, it made it easier to cope with the downturn, because, people could gather what they need from the forest, or from support amongst neighbours. The notion of moderation was strong, as villagers also received financial support from the village. Thus, it can be seen that the villager's acted in line with the SEP, whilst accessing natural resources in the local area to provide and meet basic needs. Access to funds from the community welfare fund helped those to purchase the goods that could not be sourced or grown locally, albeit, to a minimal amount.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, it is presented how the community functions in the socio-ecological context. The experience of Mae Kampong is juxtaposed to the four functions that constitute the form of appropriate functioning in regard to the environment that fosters resilience. Function (1) is highlighted by the community's increased environmental consciousness and efforts toward conservation of its natural

resources. Tourism development has undoubtedly played a significant role in this; however, the adoption and dominance of tourism has decreased diversity in economic portfolio's outside of tourism itself. This is a barrier to resilient functioning. (2) The community has been able to nurture environmental and social memory through the development tourism. Occupational groups, notably tour guides, folk dancers, musicians, and tea-leaf related products and producers are key to the reproduction of collective memory in the community. The tourist experience is educationally informed, spreading the ability to learn and share mutually between residents and visitors. (3) Different kinds of knowledge have informed the development of tourism in Mae Kampong, as well as contributing to the effective management of its natural resources. (4) Most importantly, the ability for the community to self-organize has enhanced its ability to deal with change, conflict and capacity-building, through the development of strong social institutions and the openness to further develop these through internal and external assistance. Thus, amongst these four factors, social capital and its domains play a significant role in building or exhibiting indicators conducive for community resilience.

However, at a meso-level, the community may present as pertaining the characteristics of enhanced resilient functioning according to Berkes & Seixas (2005), this can be contended at the micro-level. This is especially the case, when looking at (4) the ability to self-organize and its inherent link to social capital. Thus, as discussed in the former and present chapter, access to some resources of social capital, such as linking capital, is reserved for those in positions of power or influence. Additionally, economic capital and geo-spatial location can also hinder access to resources. Therefore, the agency of those in the bottom of the pyramid is considered to be restricted, affecting individual resilience.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the amalgamation of the previous two chapters in the attempt to identify and present how social capital is an extremely valuable resource in the development of CBT. Thus, through the utilization of resilience thinking as a lens and vehicle, we can understand how the community of Mae Kampong has built resiliency from the strong foundations of and links to social capital. As prolific authors in the field of tourism, such as Moscardo (2017), whom recently identify more attention to social capital is required, this research identifies that social capital was profound in the development of CBT in Mae Kampong.

The role of social capital in Mae Kampong was not only present in the planning phase but has been a continual process since its inception. The emphasis on social capital by and from the community itself has contributed to feedbacks from early inception coming 'full circle', where the benefits from the institutionalization of social institutions and community rules and norms have shaped the cognitive capital of the community, and increased community capacities to deal with change and uncertainty. However, as Mae Kampong experienced growth and development, we see that forms of antagonism amongst residents has emerged. Thus, barriers to the resilience of the community are present at the individual and community level, that can be understood through the aforementioned 'lock-in' effects. Thus, to manage these, will prove to be a major concern in further development.

6.2 Community Based Tourism or Tourism in Communities(?)

The biggest challenge to the analysis of the community from a researcher's perspective is the classification of what Mae Kampong really is. Is it a CBT community? Is it tourism that occurs within a community? Or something else? It is evident, that although containing numerous, important characteristics of CBT, as the community has developed and tourism has consolidated in the village, the practice of CBT has diverged from philosophy, no matter how fuzzy the concept may actually be. Past literature refers to the negative effects of tourism, including; cultural drain

(Harada. 2016) and change to socio-economic relations (Harada, 2016, Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014), which in some regards, has occurred in Mae Kampong. However, amongst those interviewed in the community, the notion of these changes were met with mixed reviews. Some residents noticed a definitive change, some were elucidated through villager narratives, whilst others eluded to greater social cohesion and harmony in the community, forming a strong asset to the management and operations of tourism and other livelihood activities. Therefore, one must look at the goals of the village that, when turning back 20 years, was to develop the community, emphasizing socio-economic development as well the restoration and conservation of the environment.

In that regard, CBT in Mae Kampong undoubtedly has been able to achieve community development across all pillars of society. Incomes have increased, employment opportunities have been created, urban migration has decreased, environmental consciousness has grown, and the community has been able to build institutions affording it the ability to absorb, adapt and transform to uncertainty and change. However, direct benefits of tourism have favoured those participating in tourism and tourism-related activities the most. Equitable benefit-sharing may not be equal, due to restrictions on residents experienced through a lack of financial capital or geo-spatial location (entries to tourism), however, the indirect benefits have reached across the community through the form of welfare funds and management. Thus, as Jitpakdee et al., (2016) identified, most residents are satisfied with tourism in the community, as it was able to progress the community toward bridging the issues of low-income economic activities, unemployment, environmental degradation and general social development in the community.

Therefore, similarly to the progress of Mae Kampong's development, enacted through tourism development, CBT may be understood as a steppingstone, or truly, a development tool in order to progress to the next stage of the community's development. There is still a place for CBT to operate within the community, however, the community must then be understood as a larger enterprise, whereby CBT is just a component of this. In that regard, CBT may provide the foundation of

social and economic capital that drives the next bounce-forward, just as the MHP provided for the adoption of a model of tourism deemed more effective than most.

The maintaining of the homestay program will remain a central asset of the community, as tourists will remain to seek the other. However, as is evident through the increase of guesthouses that offer improved accommodations and services, this will cater to the change of tourist trends and demands. However, residents in the homestay cooperative, when compared to guesthouse owners, have less agency and control over their operations. The adherence to the MoTS Homestay Standard, although improving the integrity and quality of accommodations, restricts freedoms of homestay owners. The rotation system is vulnerable to tourist preference and the benevolence of the system itself, where it has been noted that tourists may not want to stay in a designated arrangement further away from the 'centre' of the village, or the system is bypassed by particular individuals. Guesthouses on the other hand offer greater flexibility to their guests, as well as value-added services, such as meal flexibility, increasing profit margins for the respective owners.

6.3 Power & Agency

Although the social organization of Mae Kampong has been more participative than most, power, or the ability to influence or control resources and decision making is vested in the hierarchical relations present in the community. Although forums exist for participation, the community's agenda is, on the macro level, is a vulnerable agent of the state's socio-political, economic and environmental agenda. This is evident through the adoption of various government-led development programs in Mae Kampong, as well as marketing support from the TAT. On the meso-scale, the community is represented by the sitting village head, whom is an agent of the state's administrative apparatus. Although not holding a titled position of power, the community is also still heavily influenced by the former village head regarding development decisions and conflict management, as well as their personal links to external agents. The micro-scale, of individuals themselves, have much more limited agency and are vulnerable to the system of governance. Meaning, that although constructed to operate benevolently, any changes or disruptions to the mode

of governance or reorganization (i.e. changes to distribution benefits, rotation system for homestay) will affect those with lower status being influenced the most. Hence, the proliferation of guesthouses as opposed to homestays can be seen as influenced not only by the economic benefits it provides, but the increased agency for guesthouse owners afforded by the greater freedom they can exhibit toward their business.

Issues of power relations have also occurred between insiders and outsiders. This was exemplified from an interview with a current figure of authority in the community, whom mentioned; residents whom are employees of non-locally owned establishments are pawns of their owner's objectives. Pradit expressed that conflict arising in the community regarding issues such as zoning and building regulations were being expressed by 'insiders' on behalf of their 'outsider' employers. An example provided was the owner of a business wanting to extend their balcony to be closer to the stream, as they deemed this to be essential toward attracting guests. The community rules stipulate that all built structures must remain a minimum two metres from the stream, implemented in order to prevent pollution contaminating their water resource and natural attraction. Pradit was deeply concerned with the matter, as it was "*insiders fighting for the benefits of outsiders*", especially in this case, as the owner does not reside in Mae Kampong, utilizing the community's resources to their benefit. The employee was approached by Pradit to offer a warning that the construction could not go ahead – and they were met with "aggressive" antagonism from the local resident.

Thus, this example highlights the structure/agency issue that the community faces as a result of non-local interests. Guesthouses, as aforementioned, do not contribute fairly to the overall benefit the establishment receives from being situated in a well-recognized tourist destination. The employee, whose employment relies on the fulfilment of their duties is vulnerable to the demands of their employer holding power over them to participate and/or orchestrate tasks that go against the community's values. Hence, as tourism destinations need to find an equilibrium between competition and collaboration to boost innovation, the scale has been tipped in Mae Kampong, where antagonistic rivalry has created tensions between insiders

and outsiders; those with greater economic and agency against those who don't. Additionally, this highlights the rift between outsiders and insiders on the social contract, that has been effective in the management of resources, as some outsiders' values can be viewed as non-compliant with those of the insiders and wider community.

Additionally, as one academic interviewee (Interview #10, 19/06/2020) noted, due to the combination of the community's set structure and the embeddedness of history in cultural practices in Thai society, the ability of a "rogue agent" emerging in the community is hindered. Thus, structural embeddedness forms as a what Wilson (2012) posits as a structural lock-in. Of course, there are a lot of moving components, however, the former village head was able to transform the community's development trajectory due to their position of power in the community. This is understood to have been less likely to have occurred if the development proposal were to be initiated by a person(s) of a lesser status in the community. Furthermore, the structural embeddedness is then an agent that implies the perpetuation of practices. Complementary to this notion also implies the agency of generational differences, whereby decision-making has largely been reserved for elders in Thai communities. An interview with a younger resident of Mae Kampong highlighted this, however, once their knowledge, or new knowledge was deemed valuable, only then were the voices of their generation heard (Interview #7, personal communication, 15 July, 2020).

A major barrier that external stakeholders identified in the future of Mae Kampong, is the role of the next generation in managing the growth trajectory of development in the community. The social structure of Mae Kampong, where positions of power have largely been reserved for elders, has been a constraining manifestation on the community, or a negative effect of management, thus, constraining the voices of the younger generation. However, the effects of Covid-19 has been a catalyst to change the relations between generations. As highlighted by a young resident in the community, whom identified that elders in the community questioned the legitimacy of them holding a position in the administration of the

community's affairs. However, due to their proficiency, as well as other younger members of the community with technology, the value of their knowledge has been proved through the adoption of technology for businesses to gain further reach through advertising and the selling of products through Facebook, Instagram and Line. Hence, combining knowledge of generations in the current era is an important tool for enhancing the resilience of the community.

However, there appears to be a divide amongst the younger generation on the development trajectory of Mae Kampong, particularly livelihood portfolios. It was identified some members of the next generation are not interested in any form of agricultural work, and only wanted to manage a homestay. Pradit views this as the biggest challenge the community faces moving forward. The generational change must adhere to the values that have been created, and is concerned that the accommodational form may change, through the development of 5-star resorts. On the other hand, the young resident in the community's administration identified there was a strong belief in the philosophy that Teeramate has instilled in the community, and that future development in Mae Kampong should still adhere to this. Thus, the management of conflict arising from alternate views on development in the shift of generations will be a major barrier to the ongoing story of Mae Kampong.

6.4 Conflict Management in Mae Kampong

One of the major barrier's businesses face, whether corporate or a community-based enterprise such as Mae Kampong, is the management of conflict in the planning, management and ongoing operations of their enterprises (Murphy & Murphy, 2004). This is also a key factor for what Berkes & Seixas (2005) identify as a key contributor to the social form that complements sustainable development that builds resilience in communities. Mae Kampong can be seen as a strong exhibitor for the creation of institutions that manage conflict, through the creation of socio-political spaces that encourages debate and experimentation. The origins of this, in the community's tourism age, can be dated to the initial process of community based research when developing tourism in the beginning. The participation and consultation of community members, through focus group discussions, working

groups and mediation, the community organically fostered a space for socio-political interaction.

The formation of the the village committee is representative, made up of the; village head, head of woman's group, head of youth group, head of elderly group and a representative from sub-district administration organization committee. The community has 8 different committees, or working groups, delegating the role of decision-making to these committees. The community guidelines require these groups to meet regularly, where participation from all households is a requirement. These meeting provide the meeting ground to engage with the community and encourage open discussion. Consensus is key to the effective management of conflict in Mae Kampong.

6.5 Planning for Community Resilience Through CBT

Through exploring the important role of social capital in the development of tourism, as well as how tourism development has the ability to influence the resilience of a community, the question leads to; how can these lenses contribute to a CBT development model that builds on and capitalizes from these experiences toward a community that exhibits the foundational form supporting socio-ecological resilience?

The case-study of Mae Kampong viewed though the novel conceptual approach utilized in this research has the ability to better inform the planning of CBT. Thus, this analysis has the ability to not re-write the history or practical application of CBT planning models, yet, to update and improve on them using a multi-disciplinary application of resilience thinking as a vehicle, placing social capital at the fore, using the experience of Mae Kampong to inform this model. Hence, similar to other proposed CBT planning models that assuming tourism will/should go ahead (e.g. Moscardo, 2008), and Suanrsi's (2003), CBT development models starting point of strategic planning should begin with a hybrid-model that incorporates components of Interpeace's *Framework for Assessing Resilience* (2016) through community based research (*figure 11*). Hence, this proposed framework (in *figure 11* and *table 8*) also assumes that step 1 of the FAR has also been met, assuming the context of the given

community has the ability according to state apparatus to proceed with tourism. The importance of this proposed framework lies in the essence that it incorporates all stakeholders and encouraging communities to look internally at their endogenous assets and attributes.

This approach implies an iterative process, where the experience fosters a ground for socio-political learning and experimentation, whilst participation creates opportunities for the empowerment of individuals. Thus, contributing to a sense of local ownership and belonging; key to the development of CBT. The proposed framework then forms as a tool that can be utilized by researchers, planners, and other tourism related stakeholders.
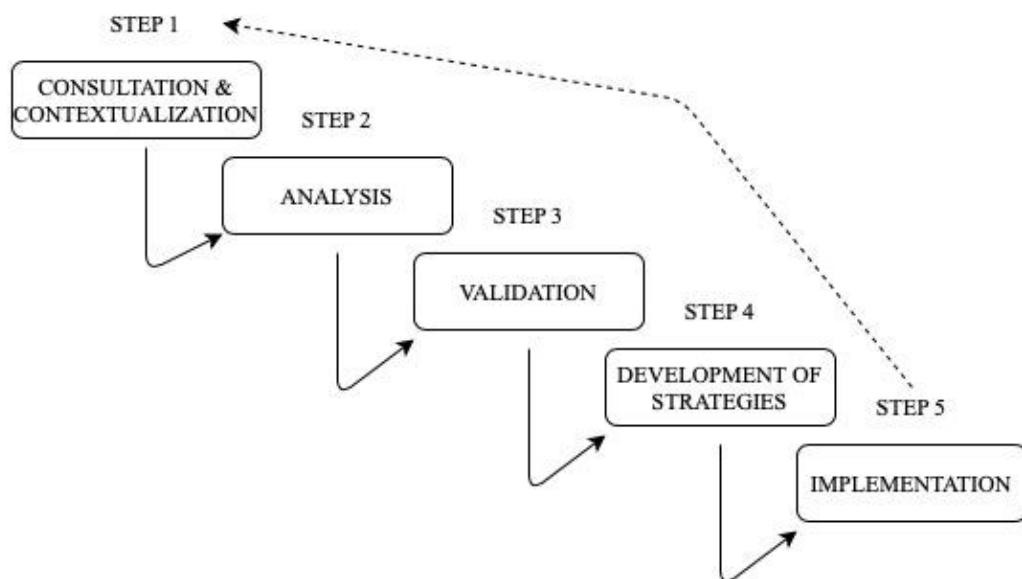
Figure 11: Proposed Framework for Resilient Strategic CBT Development

Table 8: Steps of Strategic Planning for Resilience in CBT

Steps	1. Consultation & Contextualization	2. Analysis	3. Validation	4. Development of Strategies	5. Implementation
Purpose	Provide the social space, or meeting ground, for all stakeholders to open communication on tourism development	Conduct analysis and complete documentation of findings from consultation and contextualization	To validate the findings of analysis and disseminate amongst stakeholders	Develop a framework of CBT implementation that supports resilient functioning	Implement the developed strategies
Key Actors	Universal participation of host community and relevant external stakeholders; focus groups, key informants, survey	Research teams, working groups, focus groups and key informants	Working groups, key stakeholders, key informants	Working groups, CBT development partners	The community, CBT development partners
Objectives	Generate knowledge on the concerns, capacities, potentials and resources within the community for tourism development (including what needs conserving)	Provide a systemic analysis of internal assets and capacities that can enhance the resilience of the community/the community can build on	Share the findings of consultation with all relevant parties	Create a framework for the development of CBT that incorporates philosophy into practice and consideration of organization form in line with SES	To diversify the community's economy and ensure sustainable development
Outputs	1. Mobilization of individuals, organizations and networks to address the concerns, capacities and potentials of the community 2. Identification of risks, opportunities and conflict drivers	Assets and capacities identified that provide the base for or need addressing toward effective CBT development.	Dissemination of findings, feedback obtained and revisited to address any further concerns	1. Creation of clear path for tourism development 2. Creation of the foundations of set roles, rules and actions in accordance to CBT ideals	The employment of a development strategy that enhances socio-ecological resilience, enhancing livelihoods and conservation of natural resources

Step 1: Consultation and Contextualization

Step 1 must begin with the creation of the social space, or meeting ground, for all stakeholders to open communication on tourism development. This is the creation of a socio-political space where reflection and debate are encouraged by all residents to transparently discuss the positive and negative drivers of tourism, as well as the repercussions of following this development path. The objective is to generate knowledge on the concerns, capacities, potentials and resources within the community for tourism development, including; what needs conserving, what are the needs of the community, what are they hoping to gain from tourism?

The key actors and processes involved in Step 1 includes universal participation amongst the host site, and relevant external stakeholders (e.g. local government authorities, NGO's, tourism operators, experts/academics). The process should involve focus group discussions, key informant presentations and survey mechanisms. The major outputs in this stage is the mobilization of individuals, organizations and networks to address the concerns, capacities and potentials of the community and the identification of risks, opportunities and conflict drivers

Step 2: Analysis

Step 2 is the process involving the conduction of analysis and complete documentation of findings from Step 1's consultation and contextualization. This step will provide a systemic analysis of internal assets and capacities that can enhance the resilience of the community/the community can build on. Hence, planners and the community alike are encouraged to identify existing socio-cultural resources that exhibit components that are related to the creation of social capital (e.g. history of collaboration, sharing, trust), or how the community has previously been organized (e.g. cooperative, individual). This stage has the ability to identify any pre-existing assets that can be capitalized upon to base the development of tourism.

The key actors and processes mobilized in Step 2 are research teams, working groups, focus groups and key informants. The major output of Step 2 is the

identification of Assets and capacities, or lack thereof, identified that provide the base for or need addressing toward effective CBT development.

Step 3: Validation

Step 3 is the process of validating the data stemming from the analysis undertaken in Step 2. Validation is achieved through the dissemination of this information to all stakeholders, internal and external. This step provides the presentation of data collected in the previous stages, conducted in open forums that allows for concerns and support to then be addressed or contested.

The key actors and processes mobilized in Step 3 are working groups, focus groups and key informants. The major output for this step is the dissemination of findings, where feedback is obtained and revisited to address any further concerns. The culmination of steps 1,2 & 3 lay the foundation for Step 4, where these inputs form the basis for the strategic development of plans.

Step 4: Development of Strategies

Step 4 is arguably the most important stage in this framework. Hence, Step 4 seeks to develop a framework of CBT implementation that supports resilient functioning. In this step, it is important to combine the findings of the host communities wants, needs and desires as well as their internal assets and characteristics, complementary to the philosophy of CBT and incorporating the lessons learnt from past literature and experiences emphasizing the role of social capital and resilience indicators.

The key actors and processes mobilized in Step 3 are working groups, focus groups and key informants. Where the major outputs are the creation of clear path for tourism development and the creation of the foundations of set roles, rules and actions in accordance to CBT ideals.

Step 5: Implementation

This stage entails the deployment of the strategies devised in the previous step.

The objective here is to implement CBT that meets the wants, needs and desires of the community, whilst creating a buffer and self-organizational capacity to deal with shocks and stressors.

The major output of this step is the employment of a development strategy that enhances socio-ecological resilience, enhances livelihoods and the conservation of natural resources. This is mobilized from the involvement of the whole community and encourages the perpetuation of actions based on the notion of equity amongst the community and ecosystem in which they reside. Importantly, post-implementation, the community must re-visit the process in order to either advance development strategies, or, as a tool to mitigate any negative effects that may have arisen from the development of CBT.

It is possible to see, from this proposed framework, that Mae Kampong experienced key steps and processes in their local tourism development experience. Thus, as the community has been referred to as a model CBT community (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2014, Boonratana, 2011), the mode of transformation can then be remodelled through this framework, highlighting improvements on their tourism experience. These improvements lie on addressing the nature of tourism dominating the local economy, providing a more equitable contribution/distribution system if foreign ownership is decided to be needed, creating opportunity for residents holding powerless positions to access external resources and setting parameters on growth (carrying capacity).

6.6 Future Research

Extending from this research's limitations, it would be interesting to re-apply this lens to the community in 18 months to 2 years' time, after the initial effects of Covid-19 have settled (knowing that tourism has already bounced back to capacity in June, 2020). It would be interesting to see how or if the community has;

    1. Made structural changes to the effects of Covid-19

2. The community has capitalized on new technologies to reach new markets for locally manufactured goods

3. Diversified livelihood portfolios

The addition of a quantitative analysis through the form of a survey would also potentially yield some interesting insights into the community. Particularly, measuring the attitudes of members depending on socio-economic status, geo-spatial location and age (generation) toward their beliefs and future aspirations for development in the community.

The application of this approach could also be utilized to assess the development of CBT/ecotourism in other locations. When considering the factors that build resilience according to Berkes & Seixas (2005), these factors are largely tied to the concept of social capital. Thus, identifying indicators of resilience, or the lack there-of, can better inform the practices of CBT already in operation, or areas to address in the initial planning of CBT as a development tool. Thus, incorporating these factors, through a CBT development framework that emphasizes resilience in its process can better build communities and their capacity to absorb, adapt or transform in the face to or of change.

6.7 Conclusion

A delineation can be drawn between social capital, sustainable tourism development and the building of community resilience. Resilience needs to encompass the ability of a community to bounce forward, back and beyond from and to change. Insofar, there is a strong link between social capital and the formation of indicators that create the basis for communities to enhance the resilience of themselves socially, economically and the ecosystem in which they reside. Hence, Mae Kampong proves to be an interesting case-study through the application of this novel approach. Insofar, the case of Mae Kampong provides insights in that the development of tourism has been an influential tool toward building community resilience.

Not only has CBT been used as a strategy to diversify the rural economy of the village, it has fostered the ability of Mae Kampong to create the capacities to absorb, adapt and transform to and from change. The role of social capital, and its various domains, provide an important lens in understanding the success factors of CBT. Building on the shared history from the MHP development, the community was able to transpose and further develop the assets of social capital into the planning, management and operation of CBT. These assets have created benefits extending across social, economic, political and environmental domains.

However, it is acknowledged that CBT has not necessarily proved as beneficial for all, where the agency of individuals whom exhibit less economic capital, hold positions of lesser authority or are geographically situated further away from the centre of tourism activities are the most disadvantaged. Mechanisms for these residents have largely been unaddressed and have only received indirect benefits that tourism in the community has provided. Structural and political lock-in effects can aid in the explanation of this, but more so, the divergence from CBT's philosophy to practice in Mae Kampong, catalysed by exponential and unchecked growth (from inception to 2017), have driven competition and subsequent inequalities. Hence, it is recommended that future research on this phenomenon should look further into individual resilience and the enabling/constraining factors of inclusive community resilience in Mae Kampong.

However, Mae Kampong can still be regarded as a model CBT community, in the sense that it does do many things right. The downfalls, through the application of this conceptual lens, can therefore be improved upon for the development of CBT in other communities. Thus, in order to obtain a truly collaborative CBT enterprise, communities must have strong social capital that extends from within the community (bonding and bridging) and supported from beyond (linking), with the social structure encouraging and affording the ability of residents to be their own agents (in line with community rules and regulations). Furthermore, equitable social norms (cognitive) and institutions (structural) must be communally defined, engaged with and encourage equal access to and of benefits. Insofar, social capital can then be improved

and reinforced through increased collaboration and collective agency from within a community; the feedback experienced within a system.

Therefore, this research's contribution to the field of development studies, and in particular to tourism research, lies in the application of these findings to fill the current knowledge gap that is present amongst academic literature. This research provides empirical evidence that shows how the coupling of social capital and resilience within the context of CBT is an extremely valuable tool, as both a lens and vehicle, and must not be overlooked in future research and practice. As a lens, this framework helps to not only understand the ability of how social capital plays an important role in the effective implementation of CBT as a practice and development tool, but how CBT has also shaped and reshaped the social capital of a community that, in turn, has fostered greater community resilience. Therefore, as a vehicle, the domains of social capital (presented in Chapter 4) and the indicators of resilience (presented in Chapter 5) present in Mae Kampong can help to better inform the planning and management of CBT, whereby the model offered earlier in this chapter has the ability to bridge and address the implementation gaps for effective and resilient CBT.

Hence, in the development of CBT, planning for resilience, placing social capital at the fore has the ability to build upon further community capitals, creating the buffer that allows communities to build resilience through their ability to; learn with living amongst change and uncertainty, nurture diversity, combine knowledge and create the ability for self-organization.

REFERENCES

Aall, P., & Crocker, C. (2019). Building Resilience and Social Cohesion in Conflict. *Global Policy*, 10(S2), 68-75.

Adger, W. (2000). Social and Ecological Resilience: Are They Related?. *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(3), 347-364.

Aldrich, D & Meyer, M. (2015). Social Capital and Community Resilience. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(2), 254-269.

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. (2010). *Effective Community-Based Tourism: A Best Practice Manual*. Sustainable Tourism Research Centre, Queensland, Australia.

Baker, S. (2006). *Sustainable development (Routledge introductions to environment series)*. London: New York: Routledge.

Beeton, S. (2006). *Community Development Through Tourism*. Collingwood, Victoria: Land Links.

Berkes, F., & Ross, H. (2013). Community Resilience: Toward an Integrated Approach. *Society & Natural Resources, 26(1)*, 5-20.

Boonratana, R. (2011). Sustaining and Marketing Community-Based Tourism: Some Observations and Lessons Learned from Thailand. *ABAC Journal*, 31(2), 48-61.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson, J. (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood Press, New York, pp. 241–258.

Brandon, Katrina. (1996). Ecotourism and Conservation: A Review of Key Issues. *Environment Department Paper #33*. World Bank, Washington, DC.

Brandt, J., & Buckley, R. (2018). A Global Systematic Review of Empirical Evidence of Ecotourism Impacts on Forests in Biodiversity Hotspots. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability, 32*, 112-118.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006) Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2). pp. 77-101.

Calgaro, E., Dominey-Howes, D., & Lloyd, K. (2014). Application of the Destination Sustainability Framework to Explore the Drivers of Vulnerability and Resilience in Thailand Following the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 22(3), 361-383.

Cater, E. (1993). Ecotourism in the Third World: Problems for Sustainable Tourism Development. *Tourism Management*, 14 (2), 85–90.

Ceballos-Lascurain, H. (1987) The Future of Ecotourism. *Mexico Journal (January)*, 13–14.

Chapin III, F, S., Kofinas, G. P., & Folke, C. (2009). Principles of Ecosystem Stewardship Resilience-Based Natural Resource Management in a Changing World (1st ed.). Springer, New York, USA.

Chaskin (2008). Resilience, Community, and Resilient Communities: Conditioning Contexts and Collective Action. *Child Care in Practice*, 14(1), 65-74.

Chen, F., Xu, H., & Lew, A. (2020). Livelihood Resilience in Tourism Communities: The Role of Human Agency. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 28(4), 606-624.

Cochrane, J. (2010). The Sphere of Tourism Resilience. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 35(2), 173-185.

Coleman, J. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(1988), S95-120.

Davidson, D. (2010). The Applicability of the Concept of Resilience to Social Systems: Some Sources of Optimism and Nagging Doubts. *Society & Natural Resources*, 23(12), 1135-1149.

Delang, C. O. (2011). Deforestation in Northern Thailand: The Result of Hmong Farming Practices or Thai Development Strategies?. *Society & Natural Resources*, 15(6), 483–501.

Diamantis, D. (1999). The Concept of Ecotourism: Evolution and Trends. *Current Issues in Tourism, 2(2-3)*, 93-122.

Doak, D., Bakker, V., Goldstein, B., & Hale, B. (2014). What is the Future of Conservation? *Trends in Ecology & Evolution, 29(2)*, 77-81.

Dodds, R., Ali, A., & Galaski, K. (2018). Mobilizing Knowledge: Determining Key Elements for Success and Pitfalls in Developing Community-Based Tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 21(13), 1547-1568.

Donohoe, H., & Needham, R. (2006). Ecotourism: The Evolving Contemporary Definition. *Journal of Ecotourism, 5(3)*, 192-210.

Farrell, B.H. (1999) Conventional or Sustainable Tourism? No Room for Choice. *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 189–91.

Flora, J. (1998). Social Capital and Communities of Place. *Rural Sociology*, 63(4), 481-506.

Flora, C. B. (2001). *Interactions Between Agroecosystems and Rural Communities*. CRC Press.

Flora, C. (2004). *Rural Communities: Legacy and Change* (2nd ed.). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Folke, C. (2003). Socio-Ecological Resilience and Behavioural Responses. In A. Biel, B. Hansson, & M. Martensson (Eds.), *Individual and Structural Determinants of Environmental Practice* (pp. 226-287), Ashgate Publishers, London.

George, E. W., Mair, H., & Reid, D. G. (2009). *Rural Tourism Development Localism and Cultural Change*. Channel View Publications.

Gibson-Graham, J., Hill, A., & Law, L. (2016). Re-embedding Economies in Ecologies: Resilience Building in More Than Human Communities. *Building Research & Information*, 44(7), 703-716.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge, England, Polity Press.

Goodwin, H & Santili, R. (2009). Community-Based Tourism: A Success?. *ICRT Occasional Paper 11*.

Guo, Y., Zhang, J., Zhang, Y., & Zheng, C. (2018). Examining the Relationship Between Social Capital and Community Residents' Perceived Resilience in Tourism Destinations. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(6), 973-986.

Harada, K. (2016). The Village in Transition: Development and Socio-Economic and Cultural Change in Mae Kampong Village, Chiang Mai. *Chiang Mai University Press*, Chiang Mai, Thailand.

Haque, M. (2000). Environmental Discourse and Sustainable Development: Linkages and Limitations. *Ethics and the Environment, 5(1)*, 3-21.

Hawkins, D. E. & Khan, M. M. (1998). Ecotourism Opportunities for Developing Countries. In W. Theobald (Ed), *Global Tourism*, vol 2 (pp. 191-204). Oxford and Woburn: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Holladay, P., & Powell, R. (2013). Resident Perceptions of Social-Ecological Resilience and The Sustainability of Community-Based Tourism Development in The Commonwealth of Dominica. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 21(8), 1188-1211.

Holladay, P., & Powell, R. (2016). Social-Ecological Resilience and Stakeholders: A Qualitative Inquiry into Community-Based Tourism in The Commonwealth Of Dominica. *Caribbean Studies*, 44(1/2), 3-28.

Holling, C. (1973). Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 4, 1.

Holling, C. (2001). Understanding the Complexity of Economic, Ecological, and Social Systems. *Ecosystems*, 4(5), 390-405.

Hopkins, R. (2010). Localisation and Resilience at the Local Level: The Case of Transition Town Totnes (Devon, UK). PhD Thesis, *School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences, University of Plymouth, UK*.

Hugé, J., Waas, T., Dahdouh-Guebas, F., Koedam, N., & Block, T. (2013). A Discourse-Analytical Perspective on Sustainability Assessment: Interpreting Sustainable Development in Practice. Sustainability Science, 8(2), 187-198.

Interpeace. (2016). Assessing Resilience for Peace: A Guidance Note. *Interpeace*, Geneva, Switzerland.

Jones, S. (2005). Community-based Ecotourism: The Significance of Social Capital. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(2), 303-324.

Kaosa-ard, M. S. (1994). Thailands Tourism Industry – What Do We Gain and Lose?. *TDRI Quarterly Review, 9(3)*, 23-26.

Khaokhrueamuang, A. (2014). Sustainability of Rural Land Use Based on an Integrated Tourism Model in Mae Kampong Village, Chiang Mai Province, Thailand. *Geographical Review of Japan Series B*, 86(2), 157-173.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (1999). Sustainable Tourism or Sustainable Development? Financial Crisis, Ecotourism, and the 'Amazing Thailand' Campaign. *Current Issues in Tourism, 2(4)*, 316-332.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (2005). Community-Based Ecotourism in Phuket and Ao Phangnga, Thailand: Partial Victories and Bittersweet Remedies. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 13(1)*, 4-23.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N., Churyen, A., & Duangsaeng, V. (2014). Success Factors in Community-Based Tourism in Thailand: The Role of Luck, External Support, and Local Leadership. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 106.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N., Churyen, A, & Duangsaeng, V. (2013). Homestay Tourism and the Commercialization of the Rural Home in Thailand. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 20(1), 29–50.

Krishna, A., & Shrader, E. (2000). Cross-Cultural Measures of Social Capital: A Tool and Results from India and Panama. *Social Capital Initiative Working Paper No 21*. Washington DC: World Bank.

Lacher, G. R., & Nepal, S. (2010a). From Leakages to Linkages: Local-Level Strategies for Capturing Tourism Revenue in Northern Thailand. *Tourism Geographies, 12(1)*, 77-99.

Lacher, G. R., & Nepal, S. (2010b). Dependency and Development in Northern Thailand. *Annals of Tourism Research, 37(4)*, 947-968.

Laverack, G., & Thangphet, S. (2009). Building community capacity for locally managed ecotourism in Northern Thailand. *Community Development Journal, 44(2)*, 172-185.

Lew, A. (2014). Scale, Change and Resilience in Community Tourism Planning. *Tourism Geographies: New Research Paradigms in Tourism Geography*, 16(1), 14-22.

Lin, N. (2001). Building a Network Theory of Social Capital. In *Social Capital: Theory and Research* (1st ed., pp. 3-28). CRC Press.

Liu, Z. (2003). Sustainable Tourism Development: A Critique. Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 11(6), 459-475.

Maclean, K., Cuthill, M., & Ross, H. (2014). Six attributes of social resilience. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 57(1), 144-156.

Magis, K. (2010). Community Resilience: An Indicator of Social Sustainability. *Society & Natural Resources*, 23(5), 401-416.

Malakar, Y., Greig, C., & Van de Fliert, E. (2018). Structure, Agency and Capabilities: Conceptualising Inertia in Solid Fuel-Based Cooking Practices. *Energy Research & Social Science*, 40, 45-53.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*. Wiley.

Marshall, N. A., & Marshall, Paul A. (2007). Conceptualizing and Operationalizing Social Resilience within Commercial Fisheries in Northern Australia. *Ecology and Society*, 12(1), 1.

Marshall, M. (1996). Sampling for Qualitative Research. 13(6), 522-526.

McDowall, S., & Wang, Y. (2009). An Analysis of International Tourism Development in Thailand: 1994-2007. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 14(4)*, 351-370.

Moscardo, G. (2008). Community Capacity Building: An Emerging Challenge for Tourism Development. In *Building Community Capacity for Tourism Development* (pp. 1–15). CABI. https://doi.org/10.1079/9781845934477.0001.

Moscardo, G., Konovalov, E., Murphy, L., McGehee, N. G., & Schurmann, A. (2017). Linking Tourism to Social Capital in Destination Communities. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 6(4), 286–295.

Mtapuri, O., & Giampiccoli, A. (2019). Tourism, Community-Based Tourism and Ccotourism: A Definitional Problematic. *South African Geographical Journal*, 101(1), 22-35.

Muangasame, K., & Mckercher, B. (2015). The Challenge of Implementing Sustainable Tourism Policy: A 360-Degree Assessment of Thailand's "7 Greens Sustainable Tourism Policy". *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 23(4)*, 497-516.

Murphy, P. E., & Murphy, A. E. (2004). Strategic Management for Tourism Communities: Bridging the Gaps. Channel View Publications.

Musavengane, R., & Kloppers, R. (2020). Social Capital: An Investment Towards Community Resilience in the Collaborative Natural Resources Management of Community-Based Tourism Schemes. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 34.

Naipinit, A., Promsaka N. T., & Kroeksakul, P. (2013). Sufficiency Economy for Social and Environmental Sustainability: A Case Study of Four Villages in Rural Thailand. Asian Social Science, 10(2), 102-111.

Newsham., A & Bhagwat, S. (2015). *Conservation and Development* (Routledge Perspectives on Development). Taylor and Francis.

Nitikasetsoontorn, S. (2015). The Success Factors of Community-Based Tourism in Thailand. *NIDA Development Journal, 55(2)*, 24-58.

Okazaki, E. (2008). A Community-Based Tourism Model: Its Conception and Use. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 16(5)*, 511-529.

Pfefferbaum, B., Van Horn, R., & Pfefferbaum, R. (2017). A Conceptual Framework to Enhance Community Resilience Using Social Capital. Clinical Social Work Journal, 45(2), 102-110.

Pfefferbaum, B., Van Horn, R., Houston, R., & Houston, J. Brian. (2015). Community Resilience Interventions: Participatory, Assessment-Based, Action-Oriented Processes. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 59(2), 238-253.

Pforr, C. (2001). Concepts of Sustainable Development, Sustainable Tourism, and Ecotourism: Definitions, Principles, and Linkages. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 1(1)*, 68-71.

Pookhao, N. (2014). Community Based Ecotourism: The Transformation of Local Community. *SHS Web of Conferences,* 12, 01033.

Pookhao, N., Bushell, R., Hawkins, M., & Staiff, R. (2018). Empowerment Through Community-Based Ecotourism in a Globalised World Global-Local Nexus – Three Thai Villages as Case Studies. In *Tourism and Ethnodevelopment* (1st ed., Vol. 1,. 65–81). Routledge.

Popradit, A., Ishida, A., Murayama, T., Srisatit, T., Utarasakul, T., Kiratiprayoon, Outtaranakorn., S. (2015). Assessment of Human's Attitude Towards Natural Resource Conservation in Protected Area in Thailand. *Suan Sunandha Rajabhat University Journal of Science and Technology, 2(2)*, 18-23.

Prosser, R. (1994). Societal Change and The Growth in Alternative Tourism. In E. Cater and G. Lowman (Eds) *Ecotourism: A Sustainable Option?*. Chichester: John Wiley, 19-37.

Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1), 65-78.

Rodriguez-Giron, S., & Vanneste, D. (2019). Tourism Systems Thinking: Towards an Integrated Framework to Guide the Study of the Tourism Phenomenon. *Tourism, Culture & Communication*, 19(1), 1-16.

Rossi, A. (2012). Turning Red Rural Landscapes Yellow? Sufficiency Economy and Royal Projects in the Hills of Nan Province, Northern Thailand. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Südostasienwissenschaften*, 5(2), 275–291.

Ruiz-Ballesteros, E. (2011). Social-Ecological Resilience and Community-Based Tourism. *Tourism Management*, 32(3), 655-666.

Saarinen, J., & Lenao, M. (2014). Integrating Tourism to Rural Development and Planning In The Developing World. *Development Southern Africa, 31(3)*, 363-372.

Salmons, J. (2016). Doing Qualitative Research Online. London: Sage Publications.

Satarat, N. (2010). *Sustainable Management of Community-Based Tourism in Thailand*. (Doctor of Philosophy). National Institute of Development Administration, Thailand.

Sattayanurak, A. (2010). Changes in the Perceptions of "Thai Rural Society" and a New Model for Resource Management. *Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization*, 455.

Scheyvens, R. (1999) Ecotourism and The Empowerment of Local Communities. *Tourism Management*, 20(2), 245–9.

Shamsub, H., Lebel, L., Lorek, S., & Daniel, R. (2010). Enhancing Sustainable Tourism in Thailand: A Policy Perspective (p. 211-235). *In Sustainable Production Consumption Systems: Knowledge, Engagement and Practice*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.

Sherrieb, K., Norris, F., & Galea, H. (2010). Measuring Capacities for Community Resilience. *Social Indicators Research*, 99(2), 227-247.

Sitikarn, B. (2008). Ecotourism SMTEs Opportunities in Northern Thailand: A Solution to Community Development and Resource Conservation. *Tourism Recreation Research, 33(3)*, 303-311.

Skerratt, S. (2013). Enhancing the Analysis of Rural Community Resilience: Evidence from Community Land Ownership. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 31(C), 36-46.

Smits, M. (2012). The Benefits and Complexities of Distributed Generation: Two Energy Trajectories in Laos and Thailand. *Forum for Development Studies*, 39(2), 185-208.

Spradley, J. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Steiner, A., & Markantoni, M. (2014). Unpacking Community Resilience Through Capacity for Change. *Community Development Journal*, 49(3), 407-425.

Strickland-Munro, J., Allison, H., & Moore, S. (2010). Using Resilience Concepts to Investigate the Impacts of Protected Area Tourism on Communities. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37(2), 499-519.

The Ministry of Tourism and Sports. (2017). *"The Second National Tourism Development Plan: 2017-2021."* Bangkok, Thailand.

United Nations Environment Program & World Tourism Organization. (2005). *Making Tourism More Sustainable: A Guide for Policymakers*.

Uphoff, N. (1999). Understanding Social Capital: Learning From the Analysis and Experiences of Participation. In P. Dasgupta & I. Serageldin (Eds.), *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective*. Washington: The World Bank, 187–203.

Uphoff, N., & Wijayaratna, C. (2000). Demonstrated Benefits from Social Capital: The Productivity of Farmer Organizations in Gal Oya, Sri Lanka. *World Development*, 28(11), 1875-1890.

Vandergeest, P. (1996a). Mapping Nature: Territorialization of Forest Rights in Thailand.
Society & Natural Resources 9, 159-75.

Vandergeest, P. (1996b). Property Rights in Protected Areas: Obstacles to Community Involvement as a Solution in Thailand. *Environmental Conservation, 23(3)*, 259-268.

Vera-Toscano, E., Garrido-Fernández, F., Gómez-Limón, E., & Cañadas-Reche, J. (2013). Are Theories About Social Capital Empirically Supported? Evidence From the Farming Sector. *Social Indicators Research*, 114(3), 1331-1359.

Wilson, G. (2012). Community Resilience, Globalization, and Transitional Pathways of Decision-Making. *Geoforum*, 43(6), 1218-1231.

Wilson, G. (2014) Community Resilience: Path Dependency, Lock-In Effects and Transitional Ruptures, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 57:1, 1-26.

Wittayapak, C. (1996). Tenure Insecurities in Protected Areas of Thailand. *Voices from the Commons*. International Association for the Study of Common Property. University of California, Berkeley.

World Commission on Environment and Development. (1987). *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Tourism Organization. (2013). *Sustainable Tourism for Development* (1st Edition). UNWTO, Madrid, Spain.

World Tourism Organization. (2019). *International Tourism Highlights 2019 Edition*, UNTWO, Madrid, Spain.

World Travel & Tourism Council. (2018). *Travel & Tourism: Economic Impact 2019 (Thailand)*. WTTC, London, UK.

World Travel & Tourism Council. (2019). *Travel & Tourism: Economic Impact 2019 (World)*. WTTC, London, UK.

Zimmerman, R. F. (1976). Insurgency in Thailand. Problems of Communism, 25(3), 19–39.

Appendix

List of Research Participants

Interview Number	Participant	Date of Interview	Internal/External
1	Pradit Tomma (Village Head)	1 July & 8 September 2020	Internal
2	Teeramate (FKA Prommin, former village head)	1 July 2020	Internal
3	Coffee Cultivator	13 July 2020	Internal
4	Tour Guide	25 June 2020	Internal
5	Guesthouse Owner #1	13 July 2020	Internal
6	Coffee Cultivator / Homestay Owner	14 July 2020	Internal
7	Homestay Owner	15 July 2020	Internal
8	Women's Group	13 Aug 2020	Internal
9	Guesthouse Owner #2	23 June 2020	Internal
10	Academic #1	17 June 2020	External
11	Academic #2	24 June 2020	External
12	Academic #3	2 July 2020	External
13	Academic #4	2 July 2020	External
14	Academic #5	2 July 2020	External
15	Academic #6	7 July 2020	External
16	CBT Planning Expert	24 July 2020	External
17	Non-Local Resident	27 July 2020	External
18	Tourism Operator	23 June 2020	External

Hawkins & Khan (1998) checklist for eco-development through ecotourism: Assessment of Mae Kampong

1. Respect for the integrity of ecosystems	Yes	Yes / Partial (Improvement Needed)	No	No Information
1. Emphasize the importance of natural environment to sustain tourism	✔			
2. Keep level of development small-scale, controlled and locally managed			✔	
3. Use site-specific development	✔			
4. Plan development to be compatible with natural surroundings	✔			

	Yes	Yes / Partial (Improvement Needed)	No	No Information
5. Use indigenous material, knowledge and labour	✓			
6. Design facilities that utilize equipment that conserve energy				✓
7. Practice recycling, reducing and reusing	✓			
8. Emphasize development that is cost-effective with minimum strain on the environment	✓			
9. Preserve vegetation, reduce deforestation whenever possible	✓			
10. Multiple-land use when possible		✓		
11. Use alternative technologies that are sustainable		✓		

2. Local Participation	Yes	Yes / Partial (Improvement Needed)	No	No Information
1. Promote local participation as much as possible	✓			
2. Create opportunities for local empowerment	✓			
3. Convey a sense of local ownership and leadership	✓			
4. Create opportunities through group projects	✓			
5. Create opportunities for locals to control and manage valuable natural resources	✓			
6. Provide alternative local measures	✓			
7. Promote socio-cultural pride by organizing community programmes	✓			
8. Use local knowledge and practices	✓			
9. Incorporate local cultural values and traditions	✓			
10. Respect local ideology and heritage	✓			

11. Provide opportunities for hosts and guests interaction	✓			

3. Economic Opportunity for Local Community	Yes	Yes / Partial (Improvement Needed)	No	No Information (Unknown)
1. Coordinate all elements to optimize local economic benefits	✓	✓		
2. Provide employment for local community	✓			
3. Provide local ownership	✓			
4. Incorporate community ideas in policy decisions	✓	✓		
5. Distribute economic benefits	✓	✓		
6. Recognize local services/efforts				✓
7. Create markets for local products	✓			
8. Encourage profits to be used for conservation/preservation efforts	✓			
9. Link community programmes, education, environmental awareness	✓			
10. Use local material and labour to keep money in the local economy	✓			
11. Keep management decentralized		✓		

Semi-Structured Interview Template
Participant: General - Mae Kampong Resident

E.g. Name, Age, Occupation etc…

BACKGROUND INFORMATION
How long have you been living in Mae Kampong?
  a. How long have you been involved/working in the tourism industry?
  b. How did you arrive to this position?

What do you think about tourism in your community?
  a. How was tourism influenced or changed the community? Elaborate…
  b. Has tourism been beneficial? In what way(s)?
  c. Has tourism helped you in any particular way?
  d. Have the benefits been equal? Have you observed any changes to the distribution of money in the community?

STRUCTURE/AGENCY
Collective Action
How important is working together in this community?
  a. How is this done?
  b. Can it be done better?
  c. How often are these tasks done?
  d. Do you take part in these tasks?

Structural
What groups would you say you are associated with in the community?
  a. Are people easily identified by the group? i.e. Profession? Gender?

Cognitive
Are rules and values prominent in the community?
  a. Are they followed?
  b. Are roles in the community well-defined?
  c. Can these roles be changed?

Would you prefer to keep your fully generated income? Or are you happy with contributing toward communal funds?
  a. Are people more interested in their own welfare, or the communities?
  b. Has this attitude changed over time?

Power
How are decisions made in;
  a. Your household?
  b. Amongst co-workers?
  c. Amongst the community?
     Do you have the ability to influence these decisions?

How do you participate and engage in tourism activities?
   a. Is it easy for you to participate and engage in tourism activities?
   b. If so, how? If not, why?
   c. Do you choose to participate? Or what stops you from doing so?

How easy is it to engage with the community as a whole?
   a. Are there committees? Meetings?
   b. Is your voice heard? Others?
   c. Do some people have better access/influence to/over decisions than others?

Perceived Resilience
How open are you to change in the community?
   a. Is change important?
   b. Do you have capacity to change jobs, direction?
   c. Do you think the community is ready and capable of change? Why or why not?

BRIDGING (*trust and reciprocity*)
What is your relationship like with other community members in the tourism industry in Mae Kampong?
   a. Do you have trust in them?
   b. Does everyone work together for the same goal? *(Have they? Do they? Has it changed/observed any changes?*

What is your relationship like with those you don't usually work/socialize with in the community?
   a. Do you have trust in them?
   b. Does everyone work together for the same goal? *(Have they? Do they? Has it changed/observed any changes?*

LINKING (*trust and reciprocity*)
What is your relationship with local government, and outside groups and associations?
   a. Do you trust? Do they have your best interests in mind?
   b. Are you a member of any other organizations or groups outside of the tourism industry? E.g. committees? Learning groups?

CURRENT CRISIS
How has Covid-19 affected the community?
   a. Has the community come together?
   b. Has the tourism committee helped in any way?
   c. Has any external organizations/groups aided the community in this time?
   d. Will this experience of Covid-19 change the practices in the community?

How do you think the community will react in the recovery from Covid-19?
   a. Do you think this will change the fabric of the community? Will people become more community-focussed or individual?
   b. Will the economy of Mae Kampong change?

How could you make the community better? Suggestions?

Interviews with the other categories of research participants followed a similar mode of questioning; placing emphasis on the drawing out of responses that align with the concepts of resilience and social capital in relation to the community.

Interview: *Non-Tourism Employed/Coffee Cultivator*

Background

Name, Age, Gender:
Occupation:
Years of residence:

A. Community and the self-involvement in it
1. How long have you been living in Mae Kampong?
    a. What have been some of the biggest challenges the community faced? Including before tourism development?
    b. How did the idea for tourism, i.e. homestay, originate? What were the driving forces?
    c. How important was past shared experience, i.e. hydropower cooperative, in building communally beneficial action?
    d. Was there opposition to tourism amongst the community? How was this overcome?

2. What do you think about tourism overall in your community?
    a. How was tourism influenced or changed the community? Elaborate...
    b. Has tourism been beneficial? In what way(s)?
    c. Has tourism helped you in any particular way?
    d. Has the benefits been relatively equal?

3. In your opinion, what were the key factors that lead to Mae Kampong's success story/development?

4. How has tourism affected your livelihood(s)?
    a. Has tourism been beneficial for you? The community?
    b. Has tourism affected the value of your income? Increased or decreased opportunity?

B. Social Capital related questions

5. How were/are decisions made in; (were = before tourism, are = current)
    a. Your household?
    b. Amongst co-workers?

c. Amongst the community?

d. Do you have the ability to influence these decisions?

e. Do some people have greater influence over others? Who are they? Why is that?

6. How are you able to engage with the community as a whole?

a. How were you able build trust? What were the major challenges? How were these overcome?

b. How are you able to voice your concerns and opinions? Are they listened to/acted?

c. Are people (and you) in general fully participated in meetings, influencing any decisions?

7. How important was/is leadership in the community? (was = past, early CBT development, is = current)

a. Has the role/influence of leaders changed over time

b. What are challenges that leaders face?

c. How have the village heads style of leadership been different?

d. How were they able to deal with potential conflict? (i.e. mechanisms in place)

8. How important is working together in this community?

a. How is this done? How was this done before tourism development/after?

b. Can you describe different community tasks?

c. How often do you participate in community tasks? Others?

d. Can it be done better? Has people's involvement changed? Why/Why not?

9. How important is the circulation of income distribution?

a. Are people more interested in their own welfare, or the communities?

b. Has this attitude changed over time

c. Would people prefer to keep their full earnings, or share with community funds?

d. Has the economy or philosophy of this changed?

10. Are rules and values prominent in the community?

a. Are they followed? (Who follows, who doesn't, why/why not?

b. Are roles in the community well-defined?

c. Can these roles be changed?

d. How open are/were you to change in the community

e. Do you think the community is capable of change again?

f. Are some better positioned to change? Yes/No, Why/Why not?

Bonding – Bridging – Linking

11. What is your relationship like with close family and friends?

a. Has this changed as the community has had better access to opportunity (economic, educational etc…)

b. How have these relationships been enabled/constrained in building closer bonds?

12. How important were external agents in the development of tourism? i.e. government (sub-district; OTOP, researchers/academics, NGO's; REST, CBT-I, tour operators).
    a. What is your relationship with local government, and outside groups and associations? How were these relationships built?
    a. How did you build these relationships? How was trust developed?
    b. Are you a member of any other organizations or groups outside of the tourism
    industry? E.g. committees? Learning groups?

13. What is your relationship like with other community members in a) the tourism industry, and b) those not involved directly in tourism in Mae Kampong?
    a. Do you have trust in them? Is trust displayed differently amongst groups in the community?
    b. Does everyone work together for the same goal? (Have they? Do they? Has it changed/observed any changes?

14. Have you noticed any observable change between people in the community?
    a. i.e. between occupational groups? Insider vs outsider?

C. Resilience related questions
Adaptive Capacity

15. The community has transformed in the past; in the 1960/70's with the Royal Project, 1980's with Hydropower, 1990's/2000 with tourism…
    a. How important is change?
    b. How has this change affected the community; Economic? Cultural? Social?
    c. Do you think the community is ready and capable of change again? Why are they? Why not?
    d. b. Do you/the people have the capacity to change jobs or direction? How can you do this? Is it possible; barriers or enabling factors?

16. How has the community changed in the past 10 years?
    a. What changes did you address/observe? (economic, social, cultural, enviro)
    b. What caused them? How were the done
    c. Was the community involved in enacting change? How/Why not?

17. How open are you to change?
    a. Are you prepared for change; in employment?
    b. Do you have the ability to change your own personal circumstance? i.e. employment, income capability etc…

18. How has Covid-19 affected the community?

a. Has the community come together?
b. Has the tourism committee helped in any way?
c. Has any external organizations/groups aided the community in this time?
d. Will this experience of Covid-19 change the practices in the community

19. How do you think the community will react in the recovery from Covid-19?
a. Do you think this will change the fabric of the community? Will people become more

community-focused or individual?
b. Will the economy of Mae Kampong change?

20. What do you think are the biggest challenges for further development in the community?
a. Challenges for the tourism industry?
b. Non-tourism industries?

21. With the changes experienced in Mae Kampong, what suggestions could you make the community better, if possible?

Interview: *Homestay/Guesthouse*

Background
Name, Age, Gender:
Occupation:
Years of residence:

A. Community and the self-involvement in it
1. How long have you been living in Mae Kampong?
a. What have been some of the biggest challenges the community faced? Including before tourism development?
b. How did the idea for tourism, i.e. homestay, originate? What were the driving forces?
c. How important was past shared experience, i.e. hydropower cooperative, in building communally beneficial action?
d. Was there opposition to tourism amongst the community? How was this overcome?

2. What do you think about tourism overall in your community?
a. How was tourism influenced or changed the community? Elaborate...
b. Has tourism been beneficial? In what way(s)?
c. Has tourism helped you in any particular way?
d. Has the benefits been relatively equal?

3. In your opinion, what were the key factors that lead to Mae Kampong's success story?

4. How does the homestay/guesthouse system work?

    a. Homestay: are you happy with the rotation system? Do people accept this? Is it followed? Do people try and undermine the system?

    b. Guesthouse: how do you contribute to the community funds? How is private guesthouse different to the homestay?

B. Social Capital related questions

5. How were/are decisions made in; (were = before tourism, are = current)

    a. Your household?

    b. Amongst co-workers?

    c. Amongst the community?

    d.Do you have the ability to influence these decisions?

    e. Do some people have greater influence over others? Who are they? Why is that?

6. How are you able to engage with the community as a whole?

    a. How were you able build trust? What were the major challenges? How were these overcome?

    b. How are you able to voice your concerns and opinions? Are they listened to/acted?

    c. Are people (and you) in general fully participated in meetings, influencing any decisions?

7. How important was/is leadership in the community? (was = past, early CBT development, is = current)

    a. Has the role/influence of leaders changed over time?

    b. What are challenges that leaders face?

    c. How have the village heads style of leadership been different?

    d. How were they able to deal with potential conflict? (i.e. mechanisms in place)

8. How important is working together in this community?

    a. How is this done? How was this done before tourism development/after?

    b. Can you describe different community tasks?

    c. How often do you participate in community tasks? Others?

    d. Can it be done better? Has people's involvement changed? Why/Why not?

9. How important is the circulation of income distribution?

    a. Are people more interested in their own welfare, or the communities?

    b. Has this attitude changed over time?

    c. Would people prefer to keep their full earnings, or share with community funds?

    d. Has the economy or philosophy of this changed?

10. Are rules and values prominent in the community?

    a. Are they followed? (Who follows, who doesn't, why/why not?

b. Are roles in the community well-defined?

c. Can these roles be changed?

d. How open are/were you to change in the community?

e. Do you think the community is capable of change again?

f. Are some better positioned to change? Yes/No, Why/Why not?

Bonding – Bridging – Linking

11. What is your relationship like with close family and friends?

a. Has this changed as the community has had better access to opportunity (economic, educational etc…)

b. How have these relationships been enabled/constrained in building closer bonds?

12. How important were external agents in the development of tourism? i.e. government (sub-district; OTOP, researchers/academics, NGO's; REST, CBT-I, tour operators).

a. What is your relationship with local government, and outside groups and associations? How were these relationships built?

a. How did you build these relationships? How was trust developed?

b. Are you a member of any other organizations or groups outside of the tourism

industry? E.g. committees? Learning groups?

13. What is your relationship like with other community members in a) the tourism industry, and b) those not involved directly in tourism in Mae Kampong?

a. Do you have trust in them? Is trust displayed differently amongst groups in the community?

b. Does everyone work together for the same goal? (Have they? Do they? Has it changed/observed any changes?)

14. Have you noticed any observable change between people in the community?

a. i.e. between occupational groups? Insider vs outsider?

C. Resilience related questions
Adaptive Capacity

15. The community has transformed in the past; in the 1960/70's with the Royal Project, 1980's with Hydropower, 1990's/2000 with tourism…

a. How important is change?

b. How has this change affected the community; Economic? Cultural? Social?

c. Do you think the community is ready and capable of change again? Why are they? Why not?

d. b. Do you/the people have the capacity to change jobs or direction? How can you do this? Is it possible; barriers or enabling factors?

16. How has the community changed in the past 10 years?
      a. What changes did you address/observe? (economic, social, cultural, enviro)
      b. What caused them? How were the done
      c. Was the community involved in enacting change? How/Why not?

17. How open are you to change?
      a. Are you prepared for change; in employment?
      b. Do you have the ability to change your own personal circumstance? i.e. employment, income capability etc…
      c. Is there any support from the community to achieve this? i.e. access to funds, training?

18. How has Covid-19 affected the community?
      a. Has the community come together?
      b. Has the tourism committee helped in any way?
      c. Has any external organizations/groups aided the community in this time?
      d. Will this experience of Covid-19 change the practices in the community

19. How do you think the community will react in the recovery from Covid-19?
      a. Do you think this will change the fabric of the community? Will people become more community-focused or individual?
      b. Will the economy of Mae Kampong change?

20. What do you think are the biggest challenges for further development in the community?
      a. Challenges for the tourism industry?
      b. Non-tourism industries?

21. With the changes experienced in Mae Kampong, what suggestions could you make the community better, if possible?

Interview: *Tour Guide*

Background

Name, Age, Gender:
Occupation:
Years of residence:

A. Community and the self-involvement in it
1. How long have you been living in Mae Kampong?
      a. What have been some of the biggest challenges the community faced? Including before tourism development?
      b. How did the idea for tourism, i.e. homestay, originate? What were the driving forces?

c. How important was past shared experience, i.e. hydropower cooperative, in building communally beneficial action?

d. Was there opposition to tourism amongst the community? How was this overcome?

2. What do you think about tourism overall in your community?

a. How was tourism influenced or changed the community? Elaborate...

b. Has tourism been beneficial? In what way(s)?

c. Has tourism helped you in any particular way?

d. Has the benefits been relatively equal?

3. In your opinion, what were the key factors that lead to Mae Kampong's success story?

4. Is there any qualification to becoming a tour guide?

a. License? Registration?

b. How are you assigned tourists? i.e. rotation system? Individual clients?

B. Social Capital related questions

5. How were/are decisions made in; (were = before tourism, are = current)

a. Your household?

b. Amongst co-workers?

c. Amongst the community?

d. Do you have the ability to influence these decisions?

e. Do some people have greater influence over others? Who are they? Why is that?

6. How are you able to engage with the community as a whole?

a. How were you able build trust? What were the major challenges? How were these overcome?

b. How are you able to voice your concerns and opinions? Are they listened to/acted?

c. Are people (and you) in general fully participated in meetings, influencing any decisions?

7. How important was/is leadership in the community? (was = past, early CBT development, is = current)

a. Has the role/influence of leaders changed over time?

b. What are challenges that leaders face?

c. How have the village heads style of leadership been different?

d. How were they able to deal with potential conflict? (i.e. mechanisms in place)

8. How important is working together in this community?

a. How is this done? How was this done before tourism development/after?

b. Can you describe different community tasks?

      c. How often do you participate in community tasks? Others?

      d. Can it be done better? Has people's involvement changed? Why/Why not?

9. How important is the circulation of income distribution?

      a. Are people more interested in their own welfare, or the communities?

      b. Has this attitude changed over time?

      c. Would people prefer to keep their full earnings, or share with community funds?

      d. Has the economy or philosophy of this changed?

10. Are rules and values prominent in the community?

      a. Are they followed? (Who follows, who doesn't, why/why not?)

      b. Are roles in the community well-defined?

      c. Can these roles be changed?

      d. How open are/were you to change in the community?

      e. Do you think the community is capable of change again?

      f. Are some better positioned to change? Yes/No, Why/Why not?

Bonding – Bridging – Linking

11. What is your relationship like with close family and friends?

      a. Has this changed as the community has had better access to opportunity (economic, educational etc…)

      b. How have these relationships been enabled/constrained in building closer bonds?

12. How important were external agents in the development of tourism? i.e. government (sub-district; OTOP, researchers/academics, NGO's; REST, CBT-I, tour operators).

      a. What is your relationship with local government, and outside groups and associations? How were these relationships built?

      a. How did you build these relationships? How was trust developed?

      b. Are you a member of any other organizations or groups outside of the tourism industry? E.g. committees? Learning groups?

13. What is your relationship like with other community members in a) the tourism industry, and b) those not involved directly in tourism in Mae Kampong?

      a. Do you have trust in them? Is trust displayed differently amongst groups in the community?

      b. Does everyone work together for the same goal? (Have they? Do they? Has it changed/observed any changes?)

14. Have you noticed any observable change between people in the community?

      a. i.e. between occupational groups? Insider vs outsider?

C. Resilience related questions

Adaptive Capacity

15. The community has transformed in the past; in the 1960/70's with the Royal Project, 1980's with Hydropower, 1990's/2000 with tourism…
      a. How important is change?
      b. How has this change affected the community; Economic? Cultural? Social?
      c. Do you think the community is ready and capable of change again? Why are they? Why not?
      d. b. Do you/the people have the capacity to change jobs or direction? How can you do this? Is it possible; barriers or enabling factors?

16. How has the community changed in the past 10 years?
      a. What changes did you address/observe? (economic, social, cultural, enviro)
      b. What caused them? How were the done
      c. Was the community involved in enacting change? How/Why not?

17. How open are you to change?
      a. Are you prepared for change; in employment?
      b. Do you have the ability to change your own personal circumstance? i.e. employment, income capability etc…

18. How has Covid-19 affected the community?
      a. Has the community come together?
      b. Has the tourism committee helped in any way?
      c. Has any external organizations/groups aided the community in this time?
      d. Will this experience of Covid-19 change the practices in the community

19. How do you think the community will react in the recovery from Covid-19?
      a. Do you think this will change the fabric of the community? Will people become more community-focused or individual?
      b. Will the economy of Mae Kampong change?

20. What do you think are the biggest challenges for further development in the community?
      a. Challenges for the tourism industry?
      b. Non-tourism industries?

21. With the changes experienced in Mae Kampong, what suggestions could you make the community better, if possible?

Interview: Past/Current Village Head

Background

Name, Age:
Occupation:
Population: Number (x) - Native (%?), Non-Native (arrivals/outsiders - %?),
Seasonal?
Economic Industry:

> a. What economic activities take place; tourism (%), agriculture (coffee %, miang %, others…)
>
> Ownership: do villagers own land? Outsiders? How is land used/divided?

A. Community and the self-involvement in it.
1. How long have you been living in Mae Kampong?

> **a. What have been some of the biggest challenges the community faced before tourism development?**
>
> b. How did the idea for tourism, i.e. homestay, originate? What were the driving forces?
>
> c. How important was past shared experience, i.e. hydropower cooperative, in building communally beneficial action?
>
> d. Was there opposition to tourism amongst the community? How was this overcome?

2. What do you think about tourism overall in your community?

> a. How was tourism influenced or changed the community? Elaborate...
>
> b. Has tourism been beneficial? In what way(s)?
>
> c. Has tourism helped you in any particular way?
>
> d. Has the benefits been relatively equal?

3. In your opinion, what were the key factors that lead to Mae Kampong's success story?

B. Social Capital related questions
3. How were/are decisions made in; **(were = before tourism, are = current)**

> a. Your household?
>
> b. Amongst co-workers?
>
> c. Amongst the community?
>
> d. Do you have the ability to influence these decisions?
>
> Do some people have greater influence over others? Who are they? Why is that?

4. How were you able to engage with the community as a whole?

> a. How were you able build trust? What were the major challenges? How were these overcome?
>
> b. What was your role in the formation of committees? What is the role of committees?

How was the committee formed?

5. How important was/is leadership in the community? (was = past, early CBT development, is = current)

a. Has the role/influence of leaders changed over time?

b. What were challenges you faced in your role as a leader?

c. Was there any conflict in your time as the village head?

d. How were you able to deal with potential? (i.e. mechanisms in place)

6. How important is working together in this community?

a. How is this done? How was this done before tourism development/after?

b. Can you describe different community tasks?

c. How often do you participate in community tasks? Others?

d. Can it be done better? Has people's involvement changed? Why/Why not?

7. How important is the circulation of income distribution?

a. Are people more interested in their own welfare, or the communities?

b. Has this attitude changed over time?

c. Would people prefer to keep their full earnings, or share with community funds?

8. Are rules and values prominent in the community?

a. Are they followed? (Who follows, who doesn't, why/why not?)

b. Are roles in the community well-defined?

c. Can these roles be changed?

d. How open are/were you to change in the community?

e. Do you think the community is capable of change again?

f. Are some better positioned to change? Yes/No, Why/Why not?

Bonding – Bridging – Linking

9. What is your relationship like with close family and friends?

a. Has this changed as the community has had better access to opportunity (economic, educational etc…)

b. How have these relationships been enabled/constrained in building closer bonds?

10. How important were external agents in the development of tourism? i.e. government (sub-district; OTOP, researchers/academics, NGO's; REST, CBT-I).

a. What is your relationship with local government, and outside groups and associations? How did you build these relationships?

a. How did you build these relationships? How was trust developed?

b. Are you a member of any other organizations or groups outside of the tourism industry? E.g. committees? Learning groups?

11. What is your relationship like with other community members in a) the tourism industry, and b) those not involved directly in tourism in Mae Kampong?

        a. Do you have trust in them? Is trust displayed differently amongst groups in the community?

        b. Does everyone work together for the same goal? (Have they? Do they? Has it changed/observed any changes?)

12. Have you noticed any observable change between people in the community?

        a. i.e. between occupational groups? Insider vs outsider?

C. Resilience related questions

Adaptive Capacity

13. The community has transformed in the past; in the 1960/70's with the Royal Project, 1980's with Hydropower, 1990's/2000 with tourism…

        a. How important is change?

        b. How has this change affected the community; Economic? Cultural? Social?

        c. Do you think the community is ready and capable of change again? Why are they? Why not?

        d. b. Do you/the people have the capacity to change jobs or direction? How can you do this? Is it possible; barriers or enabling factors?

14. How has the community changed under your leadership?

        a. What changes did you address/observe? (economic, social, cultural, enviro)

        b. What caused them? How were the done?

        c. Was the community involved in enacting change? How/Why not?

15. How has Covid-19 affected the community?

        a. Has the community come together?

        b. Has the tourism committee helped in any way?

        c. Has any external organizations/groups aided the community in this time?

        d. Will this experience of Covid-19 change the practices in the community?

16. How do you think the community will react in the recovery from Covid-19?

        a. Do you think this will change the fabric of the community? Will people become more community-focused or individual?

        b. Will the economy of Mae Kampong change?

17. When you stood down as village head, what do you think were the biggest challenges for development in the community?

18. With the changes experienced in Mae Kampong, what suggestions could you make the community better, if possible?

External Stakeholders - Interview Examples

Interview: Academic #6

Background:

When was the research taken out:
How long did you spend there:
What accommodation was used:
Main observations:

1. What was your motivation for exploring Mae Kampong utilizing a CIPP approach?
      a. What were the key findings that drew your attention the most?

2. Can you please describe to me the research participants?
      a. Why you chose the participants?
      b. Did information/attitudes vary between and within groups?

CONTEXT:

3. What did you find were the strongest assets in the community?
      a. How were these used/mobilized?

4. You mention about the natural and cultural 'resources', how about social capital?
      a. Did you focus attention on this capital? Or did it arise through interviews?

5. How important was external actors in the development of CBT in Mae Kampong?
      a. You mention OTOP and the TAT; was the success at the time 'stategic' or 'luck'?
      b. Training and development; important external roles?

INPUT:

6. What were the 'inputs' that were mobilized toward development of CBT in the community?

7. Can you describe to me the cultural resources that were mobilized in Mae Kampong?
      a. Do you think cultural capital is linked to building social capital?

8. Can you describe the villages 'rules and regulations'
      a. How were they developed?
      b. Were they adhered to?
      c. Did conflict arise in the development of rules and regulations?
      d. How were conflicts of interests/values overcome?

PROCESS:

9. How was the decision making process facilitated in the early development of CBT?
    a. Was participation by all community members true participation?
    b. How was the committee formed? Was it representative?

10. How was the distribution/circulation of income developed?
    a. Why wasn't all people satisfied? How was this overcome?
PRODUCT:

11. How do you evaluate the 'success' of CBT in Mae Kampong?
    a. What makes it 'successful'?

12. How equal is the distribution of income generation in the community?
    a. How important is this?
    b. Could it be more fair? How so?
    c. Are there barriers to fairer distribution?

13. How do external agents (i.e. non-native residents) factor into this question?

GENERAL:

14. Your assessment is constructed in a positivist nature;
    a. What were some 'negative' opinions/beliefs/findings that arose in your research?
    b. What were some barriers that were needing to be overcome in the CBT development?

15. You mention human, cultural and environmental resources, however, social capital was not discussed directly – is there a reason for this?

16. What characteristics do you think are present in the community that can either allow/disallow for change to occur?

17. How flexible and adaptive do you think the management system is?
    a. Can it be improved?

18. What do you think is the major challenges for development and overall resilience within Mae Kampong?

Interview: Academic #1

1. How long did you spend in the Mae Kampong?

2. How important do you think shared history and history of communally beneficial action (i.e. hydropower) was to the implementation of CBT?

3. How was the Village Tourism Committee formed? Who was selected? How was this done?
        What was the general makeup of this? Gender?

4. Over 30 interviews were conducted, and utilizing thematic analysis, can you recall of any themes that didn't make the final paper? Such as outliers or little mentioned?
        e.g. concerns of a particular group?

5. Could you elaborate on the decision-making process in the community?
        If issues were raised; who could raise them? How would they be addressed?

6. Did you observe set rules and norms; the way people operated in the community?
        a. Were they adhered to?
        b. Residents opinions on this?

7. You mention the ability to 'internally mobilize', what do you think is/was the driving factors for this?

8. Your paper is constructed in a largely positivist nature, what are the major alarm bells or challenges you feel the community would face to ensure the sustainability of the positive factors, or 'success' of CBT?
        a. What social institutions were in place that led to; trust, solidarity and collaboration?

9. You briefly mention conflict management; could you please elaborate on that?
        a. What were some of the main issues/barriers that were needed to be overcome?

10. You mention transformational leadership as a core ingredient to the success of CBT
        a. How was Prommin able to build trust and reciprocity amongst the community?
        b. Did this change when leadership changed?

11. You mention participation as a core ingredient to the success of CBT, could you elaborate on how participation was developed…
        a. Do you believe that participation was meaningful? Or considered 'pseudo'?
        b. Do you think that participation had/has the potential to become pseudo?

BRIDGING

12. You mention about the village head structuring the population into occupational groups?
      a. How was this done?
      b. Was there a say in this?
      c. Do you think it's a dangerous trajectory to define groups? E.g. identity with economic function? Tourism v non-tourism?

LINKING

13. How important was the role of external stakeholders?
      a. How did they build trust with the community?
      b. In what ways was 'capacity building' most prevalent?
      c. Did/do all members have access to external support?

POWER RELATIONS

14. When I talk about the relationship between agency and structure;
      a. Do you think those in higher positions; committee, have greater power in decision making?
      b. Do you think that power is evenly distributed?
      c. Do all community members have the ability to be human agents, or is this hindered by the embeddedness of social structure? i.e. this is how it's been done in the past, it worked,
      d. Have certain people/groups had to completely change their practices?

15. Can you recall any major divisions within the community?
      E.g. Gendered division of labour?

RESILIENCE

16. At the time of your study, Mae Kampong was experiencing exponential growth in tourist arrivals and economic value; You identify some of Prommin's concerns, and some of these have come to fruition; low-volume has become higher volume, homestay to guesthouse and other business ventures – do you think the community has the ability to adapt and maintain its core values of CBT? i.e. equal distribution, maintain ownership throughout, meaningful participation?

17. You end on a note that can be viewed through a lens of resilience; 'plan for possible disruptiuons' and focus on external actors; how do you think they can also handle disruptions internally? i.e. benefits?
      a. Do you think that the community is vulnerable to lock-in effects?
      i.e lack of transformational leadership

VITA

NAME   Michael John Young

INSTITUTIONS Monash University
ATTENDED
AWARD RECEIVED B.A (International Studies)
        B.Sc (Geographical Science)