

CHAPTER 2

Community of Meaning and Types of Capital

This chapter will focus on theoretical explanations of ideas and concepts that are used in this thesis to explain the realities of Mae kampong village. It will begin by touching upon the contemporary community studies. After mentioning community studies, this chapter will explain a French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu's works about three types of capital, namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Finally, as an essential element of community development in Mae Kampong today, theoretical arguments of community participation and leadership role will be mentioned in the last part of this chapter. All the concepts mentioned above are of great significance in considering the contemporary development in rural Thailand and particularly in Mae Kampong, which is going through drastic changes because of its newly emerging tourism industry.

2.1 Community Studies and Community of Meaning

The notion of community has been a central interest to social scientists who investigate any social phenomena occurring in any geographically-bounded areas. Classic attempts to disclose the veil of community as a social phenomenon failed to fully examine the non-materialistic ingredients of it, being obsessed with paying attention to its social practice. Traditionally, the concept of community has been approached from the angle of place-specific standpoint, commonly employing such words as locality. From this camp, a number of scholars attempted to examine community as a geographical area, as a group of people living in a particular place, and as an area of common life for people. For example, Parsons (1951) believes that 'A community is collectivity the members share in a common territorial area as a base of operations for daily activities' (Parsons 1951, cited in Delanty 2010: 24). Here it was believed that community was a domain of place where people have something in common, be it occupations, regional history, or kinship, and geographical elements of it were deemed the predominant factor to understand it. For this, the word "locality" was the most commonly used to seek for the

necessary conditions and ingredients of community. Another concept that has been well discussed to unveil the elements of community is interest. Interest is something that brings people together and confines them in a particular place. Because of a shared interest, people are linked together by such factors as economic and occupational orientation, religious belief, educational purpose, and sexual orientation. The significance of interest in forming community is obvious. For example, for an academician, he/she may belong to the city community, the university community, the social science community, and so on; these communities are what are termed as relational communities, in which the members are tied by some shared interests (Anderson 2010: 7). Importantly, by the same token, it can be said that the community of Mae Kampong emerged out of peoples' interest in the past in seeking the preferable farm land for Mieng production and their interest in Mieng farming has been binding the people together for more than a hundred years. The notion of interest in community building opened up the new conceptual space which does not necessarily need to pay attention to place-specific form of community and locality. Hence, the relatively new forms of community such as cyber community or on-line community can be situated within the conceptual space of interest-originated community.

Place and interest in terms of community studies are, of course, not mutually exclusive. In fact, they intertwine and well coincide in many cases. For example, occupational communities such as a fishermen community and a mining community, where many of the people who work in the industries live in the same areas, are the best examples in which people gather in a particular location because of their shared interests and later on dwell in the same places, having internal marriage within the community and extending their kinship ties. Undoubtedly, Mae Kampong falls in this category since the very first people in the late 19th century who came to the land started to do Mieng production, and their offspring are still working in the same industry in the same place. Presumably, this process of community formation with the concepts of place and interest overlapping each other is one of the most common cases in any parts of the world.

Through the course of the argument about the concept of community, the focal point came to shift towards examining the cognitive factors of individual members of a community. This is mainly proposed by the works of Western anthropologists such as that of Victor Turner and Anthony Cohen. According to Turner (1969), community

should be understood in light of a Latin word, *Communitas*, which means an unstructured community in which all members are equal allowing them to share a common experience (Turner 1969, cited in Delanty 2010: 31). Turner highlights a particular kind of social relationship that exists in any kinds of society and cannot be reduced to community in the sense of a fixed and place-specific group of people. The main idea of Turner's work is that community is best understood in opposition to structure, neither in a sense of anti-modern nor anti-thesis to society. The denial of structural elements of community leads to his understanding that community has a symbolic character in the sense of creating powerful links between members of a society or social group, stressing the binding nature of *Communitas* (Delanty 2010: 32). This view of Turner's has resonance with Benedict Anderson. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson (1983) states that having departed from primordial villages of face-to-face contact, all communities in the contemporary world are imagined and that it is not their falsity or genuineness but the style in which they are imagined that distinguishes communities (Anderson 2003: 6).

Anthony Cohen, owing much to Turner, maintains the symbolic nature of community and made a groundbreaking work in community studies. In his theory, community is something ought to be understood less as social practices than as a symbolic structure (Cohen 1985, cited in Delanty 2010: 2-3). According to Cohen, since members of a group of people often have something in common within the group, which distinguish themselves in a significant way from members of other groups, community can be understood as an entity that embraces simultaneously both similarity and difference within it. The concept of boundary is crucial for his argument. In an attempt to mark a boundary between a particular community and another, scholars prior to Cohen had focused on physical factors such as mountain range, sea, and conceptual factors such as law and culture. However, he opposed the conventional attempts to reduce community to institutional and spatial categories and strongly believed that boundaries can be thought of and they are existing in the minds of the beholders. In other words, community is constructed out of the symbolic order rather than existing in an objective reality, and it is symbolically constructed by the people's consciousness or awareness of reality (Delanty 2010: 33). Thus, for Cohen, boundary means people and the meanings they give to the community, which he coined as the symbolic aspect of community

boundary. Thus, in his theory, when thinking about community, consciousness of the community members is the most important element of it.

Cohen believes that different people, even in the same community, have different interpretation of any phenomena. For example, the word ‘fatherhood’ can be interpreted differently by those who have children and those who do not. In other words, things do not contain meanings by themselves; rather, it is found to be meaningful by an act of interpretation; people make sense of what they observe. He states that what people can share in community is just symbol, and people are allowed to attach their own meanings to things. In this way, community is just a boundary-expressing symbol, and the reality and efficacy of the community’s boundary, and therefore, of the community itself, depends on its symbolic construction and embellishment (Cohen 1985: 15). Therefore, community is where people learn and continue to practice how to be social and where they acquire culture. For Cohen, culture is a common body of symbol. Importantly, the fact that reality in community is experienced and interpreted differently by individuals means that community is not rigid but flexible and always subject to changes. For this, while the form of community keeps the same, the content can change although it does not appear so, making community endure changes and stable in face of transience (Delanty 2010: 34). Today, communities experience various changes, and the driving force of the changes is often the advent of new industries such as the tourism industry.

A number of Thai intellectuals show passion in exploring ideal communities. In Thai context, many scholars claim for the resurgence of the traditional local community in the good old days. The contemporary longing for the resurgence of traditional local community came out of the wide-spread resentment and concerns of the center-periphery development schemes of the Thai government, which, as the scholars often claim, has driven the rural areas into victims for development of the big cities, most notably Bangkok. As was mentioned earlier, Thailand’s post-war economic development started from the export of agro-products such as rice mainly cultivated in rural areas, by which in turn the government and businessmen invested into the industrial sector, leading to the advent of its import-substitution scheme. For this, it was recognized that rural areas of Thailand were sacrificed for the sake of development of the cities. This eventually came to form an academic and political debate, called community culture (*wattanatham chumchon*) movement.

Community culture movement was initiated mainly by Thai scholars and NGOs as a counter discourse to the government-led economic schemes. As major actors of the movement, a number of Thai scholars such as Chatthip Nartsupha, a Thai economic historian, lively reacted, and he argued that state and capitalism did not come to develop the village, only to extract benefit from the villagers (Chatthip 1999: 74). The essence of Chatthip's argument about Thai rurality is his absolute trust in villages as entities that have the capacity to strengthen themselves, and their morality and values can resist the power of capitalism and the state (Reynolds 2013: 1). Because of his distrust in the state, which he regards as an agent of capitalism and even a threat to the essence of being Thai, he was labeled as a "cultural nationalist" (Thongchai 2008, cited in Reynolds 2013: 3).

Similar to Chatthip, the proponents of the community culture movement believe: that the change of economic and social systems caused destruction of traditional communities as autonomous and self-reliant entities and the physical and psychological isolation for individual who used to belong to such communities; that the mainstream mode of economy sees local communities as something ought to be sacrificed for or even only a hindrance to their greater economic purposes and ends up in causing negative impacts to the local communities; and that a lot of people who used to lead self-sufficient lives were alienated from the community and ultimately themselves, by being incorporated into a bigger system of national and international economy (Sulak 2009: 30). For this, community culture movement states that people need to struggle to regain the self-sufficiency of local communities as competent entities that have rights and power to decide their own future even in the global economic system.

Understandably, it was the great economic crisis in 1997- because of the crisis, companies' sales dropped; many firms went bankruptcy; a great number of layoffs occurred; and the economic downward spiral continued for eighteen months (Pasuk and Baker 2000: 3) - that gave the momentum to the community culture movement, enabling them to disseminate their views of nostalgic images of agrarian communities as the ideal Thai communities through academics and mass media.

Moreover, after the great economic crisis hit Thailand, the ethics of the community culture movement got the legitimacy by King Bhumibol's (Rama IX) public speech on

his birthday in 1997. He said: *What is important is to have enough to eat and to live; and to have an economy which provides enough to eat and live...within a village or district, there must be a certain amount of self-sufficiency* (Cited in Pasuk and Baker 2000: 193). Since the public statement of King Bhumibol, the principles of self-sufficiency and self-reliance have become a central concern in the political and socio-economic debates. In fact, in Thai politics, starting from 1998, a large amount of national budget started to be allocated to facilitate programs to promote self-sufficiency and self-reliance to counteract the impact of the economic crisis (Pasuk and Baker 2000: 195).

In the field of civil movement, there are a number of attempts to incorporate the sense of grass-roots movement in the community culture discourse. For instance, a renowned Thai political activist, Sulak Sivaraksa (2009) states that there is a need to make communities socially, politically, and economically stronger by engaging community members to participate in the decision-making about their development in order to alleviate the negative effects that are caused by dependence on national and international trade (Sulak 2009: 29). These voices of community culture advocates largely derive from the concerns and resentfulness to the nation's involvement into cross-national economic and political dependency, namely globalization. Giddens (1999) says, globalization caused the peoples' longing for the revival of local cultural identities, and local nationalism (and also regionalism) came to fore as a response to the negative effects of globalization (Giddens 1999: 13).

However, although the above mentioned statements of the community culture movement attracted attention from numerous scholars and general public, the likelihood of the successful implementation of the belief into reality has been doubtful. For the fascinating ideas of community culture theorists, such questions as "How can we revive the self-sufficiency of rural community?" and "In the first place, did such self-sufficient rural communities exist in the past?" occurred.

For the first question mentioned above, Hewison (2000) says that, so far, exponents of the community culture movement have been unable to establish a viable economic alternative; and if community culture movement in Thailand is to provide an alternative development model to the globalization and neo-liberal vision, there is a need to

disentangle itself from the romantic and anti-urban rhetoric of the past community (Hewison 2000: 292).

With regard to the point of the second question, the following statement from Chatthip Nartsupha has been lively contested by other scholars: the 'village-community' is an 'ancient institution', 'naturally' set up by the people, based on 'subsistence production', 'self-sufficient', 'communal', 'self-sustaining', and 'relatively autonomous' (Chatthip 1986 cited in Rigg 1994: 124). For this, Rigg (1994) argues that in South East Asia, the notion of the village as a community unit is a creation of the colonial period for administrative purpose of governments and colonizers, and the idea that the village existed as a physical, social and economic entity before development and the state imposed themselves on rural South East Asia is highly doubtful (Rigg 1994: 128).

Similar to Rigg, Kemp (1989) elucidates the concept of village as an administrative unit with relation to a much larger social system. Today, a number of evidence shows that the village as the key prehistoric structure of Thai rural society never in fact existed (Kemp 1989: 10). As Breman (1980) states that in Java the history of the corporate village, which was presumed as a regional entity that had continued from the ancient time, is in fact a direct response to Dutch colonialism. In the same vein, Thailand's local administration system, of which the cornerstone was set by King Chulalongkorn at the end of the nineteenth century, is also based on European colonial models that aim to control a rural population and to generate revenue for the occupiers. Therefore, there is a great need of seeing the Thai rural village in the context of its articulation with a wider society and of realizing that village as a rural organization is unequivocally bound by the power structures of a much larger social system (Kemp 1989: 10).

Tanabe (2008), who studies particularly about Thai society and community, shows a clear insight for this argument. Although identity of communities in Thailand was set up within the framework of an administrative unit constructed by the state, most of them had existed even before administrative reforms as sites of social reproduction through kin, neighbors, friends, and so on, and the basis of the social reproduction has often extended to form a variety of human networks through marriage, migration, land reclamation, trading, patron-client relationships, and other forms of interaction with other communities (Tanabe 2008: 8).

However, according to Tanabe, Thailand is no exception, as other modern nation-states, as it has a paternal scheme of national and local governance, establishing various apparatuses for the state surveillance and discipline to govern its places and populace, such as administrative offices, monasteries, schools, barracks, police stations, prisons, hospitals, sub-district health services, and so on; and this turns people into, within the homogeneous network of settlements, Thai national subjects under its sovereign power, not local subjects who can possibly create property of local communities that can be potentially dissident and subversive to the nation-state (Tanabe 2008: 8). Therefore, it is wrong to believe that a community exists as a naturally autonomous entity like a number of Thai social scientists tend to state in support of its traditional morality and values against the capitalist system (Tanabe 2008: 9).

Similarly, Reynolds (2013) supports Rigg's statement, saying that "Even though Thailand had never been formally colonized, modern administrative practice adopted from the colonial regimes in Thailand's neighborhood mandated that there should be village in the hierarchy of government administration" (Reynolds 2013: 10). Thus, it can be said that the contemporary narrative of Thai rural communities revolves around the history of community formation. The point of the narrative is that in what context rural communities were formed and what functions the communities have had; and that whether it is a right decision to promote political and non-political schemes that could lead the nation to go against the internationally dominant current of development.

Advocates of community-oriented development tend to frame local communities as existing outside state and market institutions, and more radical thinkers often argue that states and markets are the main threat to local communities and common property management (Vandergeest 2006: 323). Similarly, in the area of modern social sciences, there is a tendency to see the state either as the enemy of the social, a kind of necessary evil as in liberalism, or as something to be abolished (Delanty 2010 :3), and community is a utopian ideal as expressed in the discourse of communism, socialism, and anarchism (Delanty 2010 :11). This kind of thought has a risk of casting community into an isolationistic discourse, and based on this point, now many of the statements made by community culture movement thinkers have been challenged. Therefore, it is wise for scholars whose interests lie in rural community development to stay neutral in

considering rural communities without being lured by the romantic view of the past that is often proposed by the community culture proponents.

As opposed to the view of the community culture movement, Mae Kampong is well connected with the outside institutions such as the government civil servants, NGO staff, and the royal project staff. Moreover, for example, in addition to a monthly meeting among all the homestay-serving households to discuss the tourism-related matters in the village, they have a meeting with the TAT officials to talk about some issues and future plans about the community tourism in a wider perspective every three months. This is a good occasion for not only the villagers in managerial duty but also the homestay owners to communicate and give their voices to the government office. Therefore, in this sense, it can be said that the system for the village to interact with outsiders is well established and the village is well linked to the external institutions. Nevertheless, despite the fact that there is a sophisticated system in which common villagers can give their voices to those who are in higher positions, the actual reliability of the common people's participation depends on the individual attitude and spontaneity. Next, attention will be paid to examining three types of capital as French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu maintains.

2.2 Types of Capital

2.2.1 Pierre Bourdieu's Concept

By illustrating types of capital, Pierre Bourdieu provides us with a clear insight into the mechanism that creates contemporary social hierarchy. His academic emphasis was on the explanation of the ways in which society is reproduced and how the people in the dominant class retain their power and positions. Therefore, his theoretical explanation is described as an attempt to disclose egocentric nature of the ruling class by mainly articulating the three types of capitals: social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. In fact, whereas contemporary academicians often see social capital and cultural capital as a fundamentally benevolent and warmhearted network of social connections and a bonding factor that is shared by community members as a form of culture, Bourdieu used the terms to explain the cold realities of societies (Grauntlett 2011: 23). Importantly, in Bourdieu's

explanation, social capital (e.g. social network), economic capital (e.g. money), and cultural capital (e.g. educational credentials) form a triangle-shaped relationship in which economic capital transfers into cultural capital, cultural capital in turn transfers into social capital, and again social capital transfers into economic capital. Importantly here, social capital transfers into economic capital because having social capital means that one has a social network that provides more opportunities (e.g. job recommendation from friends or relatives) and therefore economic capital which can be reinvested into cultural capital (Language as Bourdieuan Capital in the Era of Globalization 2012).

2.2.2 Social Capital

The concept of social capital is not new, but it actually is an academic explanation of the saying, “it’s not what you know, it’s who you know”, and it is known that the first use of the term can be seen in some literatures in the early 20th century, which used the particular word “capital” to stress the importance of the social structure in business and economic occasions. Nevertheless, today’s prevalent usage of the conceptual term of social capital derives from such scholars as Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam. In their works first published in the late 1980s, they stress the importance of informal resources that are found in family relations and a community’s social organization. The three scholars, namely Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam, are particularly well-known and made a significant influence on the academic arena wherein attempts were made to examine to what extent individual informal human relations are to affect a group’s entire performance, be it in companies, political organizations, or local communities.

The most influential work on Social capital is that of Bourdieu’s. He defines social capital as follows: “Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). His

theoretical explanation laid the basis of the contemporary theory of social capital.

As opposed to Bourdieu, who stressed the elite class as if they are the sole people who can make use of social capital, Coleman sees it as a larger social concept and thinks that it can apply to all kinds of people in communities such as the powerless and marginalized, not only elites. Therefore, Coleman broadened the conceptual frame of the concept of social capital, from Bourdieu's focus on individuals to its larger focus on groups, organizations, institutions, and societies. Coleman thinks that such elements as norms, interpersonal trust, social networks, and social organizations have important roles in the functions of the society and the economy (Coleman 1988: 96). For Coleman, social capital is one of the potential resources one can use in any economic activities and thus is no different than other resources such as one's knowledge, skills, expertise, business apparatus, and money. According to him, social capital can be seen in any parts of one's life. For example, if one lives in a community where he can ask his neighbors for their helping hands, this means he has an access to social capital, which is based on the reciprocal relations between the community members. Thus, when in turn his friends need his help, he is supposed to take an action for them. This reciprocal situation is made possible by well-established relationships with the neighbors. In other words, for Coleman, social capital is a resource a member of a community can resort to, based on trust and shared values in the community. This conceptual understanding of social capital has been widely accepted by a number of academicians and can be seen in many academic areas today.

Finally, Robert Putnam, the author of the well-known book, *Bowling Alone*, which examined the social pathology wherein people are detached from the traditional local communities in contemporary America. He also pays attention to a social benefit social capital can give to society. In fact, Putnam defines social capital as follows: "features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit". Also, he explains that whereas physical capital refers to

physical objects, social capital is something that lies in human connections among individuals. Therefore, social capital is quite dissimilar from other types of capital in that while other types of capitals lie in individuals, it lies in social relationships among individuals. Reciprocity and trustworthiness are the key for a better social environment. For this, according to Putnam, human interaction is the most important element in the contemporary American society because it enables people to make a better local communities where the members help each other in every corner of life, to commit themselves to each other based on reciprocity, and to knit the social fabric, which is becoming non-existent in many parts of the highly industrialized and fragmented world. Therefore, active individual engagement into social occasions, including local clubs, local festivals, church groups, volunteer work, and so on, as Putnam states, is needed. In fact, from the perspective of social capital in the contemporary society, what is important is not just a nominal membership, but an active and involved membership (Putnam 2000: 58).

From the theoretical foundations of social capitals as explained by the three major scholars above, it can be summarized that key elements of social capital are connections and interaction, networks, resources, norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness, as well as social structure. This study explores these elements of social capital from the perspectives of Mae Kampong villagers. Of crucial importance is the relationship of these elements to the social cohesion among villagers on the basis that social interaction enables people to build communities, to commit themselves to each other, and to knit the social fabric (Beem 1999: 20).

The concept of social capital is often employed when one articulates the significance of the formal and informal human relations in a particular community. When one talks about social capital, there is a great deal of obscurity since it is invisible and intangible, unlike economic capital. Nevertheless, the concept of social capital came to be used in various development agencies. For example, The World Bank refers to social capital as follows: “Social capital refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms

that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions... Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society; it is the glue that holds them together" (The World Bank 1999). In a more micro level, one can say that social capital is about links and shared values in community that facilitate mutual trust among people and collective actions for solving problems the members are facing.

Social capital is a valuable resource that provides members with other resources such as learning space, social space, and knowledge. In rural communities, many of which do not have sufficient economic resources for sound economic situations, social capital should play a significant role for economic development. It is widely recognized that entrepreneurship and ideas about solutions for community problems often emerge from social networks based on successive mutual interaction among community members. In other words, social space based on strong social capital can create new business opportunities and innovative solutions for the problems. Therefore, it can be said that social capital is essential for fostering communities' sustainable development since social network or social space can decrease the risk of individual isolation in communities, increase business opportunities and information transparency, and enhance self-esteem of community members by involving them in various community activities.

Some practical cases show that social capital benefits society. For example, it is recognized that in a society where local people have a high rate of community activities participation such as PTAs and community clubs, people are inclined to cooperate with and help each other, which leads to a cleaner public space and fewer crime case rates compared to another society that is poor in its social capital. The World Bank also shows an example in which social capital contributes to individual and group performance. According to the World Bank, in schools, education works more effectively when parents and other local people are actively involved in schools; "Teachers are more committed, students achieve higher test scores, and better use is made of school facilities in those communities where parents

and citizens take an active interest in children's educational well-being" (The World Bank 1999).

Although social capital benefits society in many ways, there is also a problem pertaining to it. In a closely tied communities, such as some ethnic groups, people have a strong sense of social bond and rely heavily for support on each other so that they can have self-contained economic and social systems. Simultaneously, this kind of sense of self-contained systems and social bonds sometimes leads to the lack of social bridge with people from outside societies, resulting in a loss of opportunities for economic and social interactions. Thus, ironically, practices of inclusion for local community members could result in exclusion of themselves from the wider society.

For this, there is a need to categorize social capital according to the nature of human relationships with others. According to Woolcock (2001), there are three types in social capital: Bonding social capital; Bridging social capital; and Linking social capital (Woolcock 2001: 13-14). First, bonding social capital means a close relationship between those who are in a similar situation, including family and close friends. This type of social capital explains the most closely tied human relationship, and this is the most valuable and effective for community-based actions. Second, bridging social capital encompasses wider and looser social relations, including casual friends, colleagues, and acquaintances. For better implementation of community-based actions, making use of and strengthening this type of social capital is one of the key elements since much of human relations in communities fall into this category. Third, linking social capital refers to community's linkages with other people and organizations outside the community. This type could include those from other communities that have shared interests, such as government officials, NGO staff, etc. As is mentioned earlier, some communities tend to focus too much on social bonds only within the communities, the notion of linking social capital is as much important as other two types of social capital. By emphasizing linking social capital, community members can leverage a wider range of resources

than what they can get only in the community, and they can learn from outsiders.

As is often the case in communities in peripheries as opposed to the centers of the nation, people in Mae Kampong in the past had a strong sense of cooperation and bond among the villagers. This is particularly important for its community program since social networks of community members can make it possible for them to build a strong human relationship that can foster the sense of cooperation and trust among them. Also, since Mae Kampong (Particularly through the former village headman) usually works well with external institutions such as sub-district offices, Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), and NGOs, linking social capital of the village is also strong. Those features-human relationship, social networks, cooperation, and trust- of community can be termed as social capital. For local Thai villages that tend to lack economic capital, the notion of social capital is quite important because it can enhance the efficiency of any community-based activities by encouraging the members to form collective actions.

2.2.3 Cultural Capital

In the same vein as social capital, the concept of cultural capital first came to be popularized by the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Cultural capital can be defined as following: “Cultural capital is the set of values, norms, traditions and behavior which individual group members and groups as a whole can develop into assets or resources to leverage economic, political and social gains” (Dalziel and Fyfe 2009: 14). For this, cultural capital in such forms as local festivals, rituals, etc., through its conversion into other forms of capital, can contribute to social cohesion. In this sense, cultural capital is an essential element of social capital and social capital is a result of cultural capital in practice. These two concepts are in fact overlapping so well with each other that the distinction between the two kinds of capital often becomes unclear.

Cultural capital is different from social capital in that while social capital refers to the network generated from among the people who share the same time and space, cultural capital is something transmitted from generation to generation. In other words, cultural capital derives from the cross-generational connections of the community of which people in the current generation receive various cultural assets such as traditions, value systems, heritages, arts, and so on from the previous generation. By the same token, cultural capital inherited, adapted, and extended by the current generation is also passed down to the next generation. For this, according to Dalziel and Fyfe (2009), cultural capital can be also defined as follows: “Cultural capital is a community’s embodied cultural skills and values, in all their community-defined forms, inherited from the community’s previous generation, undergoing adaptation and extension by current members of the community, and desired by the community to be passed on to its next generation” (Dalziel and Fyfe 2009: 14). Therefore, cultural capital is a fruit of long-lasting people’s ways of life in a community or a society.

Cultural capital includes tangible items (heritages, buildings, foods, goods, paintings, sculptures, etc.) and intangible items (ideas, practices, beliefs, traditions values, etc.). Cultural capital thus refers to both tangible and intangible assets that consist of stock of cultural value, which serve to identify and bind together a given group of people (Dalziel and Fyfe 2009: 17). For categorization of cultural capital, Bourdieu breaks it down into three types: (1) embodied capital, also known as habitus, a set of ideas or dispositions that form an individual’s character or guide his/her actions and tastes; (2) objectified capital, means of cultural expression including painting, buildings, heritages, writing, dance, and so on; and (3) institutionalized capital, the academic credentials that secures the holder a specific value of a given qualification (Bourdieu 1986, cited in Jeannotte 2003: 38).

Examples of cultural capital that contribute to social cohesion and social well-being have been mentioned by a number of academicians and social workers. For example, according to Jeannotte (2003), the *Comedia*

foundation in the United Kingdom found: first, active participation into arts has a positive effect on social cohesion by bringing people together, reducing the crime rate, and promoting neighborhood security; second, arts participation helped people build organizational skills and capacities and enabled them to gain control over their lives and to become more active citizens by generating neighborhoods; and third, active participation in the arts contributed to betterment of the local image and identity by allowing the people to celebrate local culture and traditions, affirming the pride of marginal groups, and encouraging involvement in environmental improvements (Jeannotte 2003: 41).

Because of the bonding nature of cultural capital that connects people together, investing into a community's cultural capital can make a significant contribution to its social cohesion. In fact, ignoring a community's cultural capital through cutting budgets for public libraries and heritage restoration, or any kind of program that intended to create cultural capital can have negative implications for the sustainability of the community or society (Jeannotte 2003: 48). This is particularly important for Mae Kampong, which is experiencing drastic changes in economic, cultural, and social corners of the village life. In Mae Kampong's case, the importance of Mieng as cultural capital should be recognized again, and more effort should be made to preserve the cultural value of Mieng in order to maintain the community's social cohesion. This point will be mentioned and discussed again in the next chapter. In addition to the cultural aspects of Mae Kampong, it is also important to examine the village in terms of participation and leadership.

2.3 Participation and Leadership in Communities

2.3.1 Community Participation

The essence of community-based actions such as CBT lies in its administrative system based on community members' participation. As is often mentioned, integrating the local community members into decision-making process is essential in order to build a great efficiency of the

management of community development. Community participation is a key element for the long-term sustainability of communities since the lack of it can lead to the communities' dependence on some external institutions such as corporations, NGOs, and governments. In other words, conversely, the sense of community members' participation in development projects is a strength and key element of any community-based actions, which could help them achieve a great efficiency for the local development. Community participation can be theoretically defined like this: community participation is a process by which community members can have the right and power to respond to the shared concerns, convey their opinions about decision-making, and take responsibility for the future of the community (Mathbor 2008: 8).

Through participation into the decision-making of community projects, community members, who are the ones experiencing the problems, can attain the sense of empowerment from bottom-up and responsibility for dealing with a variety of economic and social issues. Thus, the idea of grass-roots participation can foster the sense of ownership of the projects and responsibility for the decision-making among the community members, and for this, support from such institutions as NGOs and governments should be given on the premise that their roles are supplementary to the communities so that they can retrieve the in-born notion of self-empowerment for themselves.

Even in communities of which traditional self-sufficient social and economic systems were devastated by external shocks such as strong influence from mainstream market economy, the in-born notion of self-empowerment of communities can be revitalized through revival of their traditional ways of community management and decision-making. Because it is often the case that long-lasting communities have passed through a lot of crises that had put the communities in danger of extinction, the communities usually have managerial and administrative know-how so as to sustain themselves. This know-how is often reflected in the forms of management system, rituals, cultures, customs, and social capital.

Importantly, those traditional cultural capital and social capital can be strengthened by the active involvement of the community members into community-based projects, which will enhance the bond of community among members.

According to Mathbor (2008), there are four elements for effective community participation to be achieved: decision-making, implementation, benefits, and evaluation (Mathbor 2008: 12). The four elements represent each stage community members need to get themselves involved in for effective participation. First, decision-making refers to what has been mainly discussed above. Any decisions that can influence community members should be made based on full discussions among the members and thorough consideration by each member. This is totally different from the usual long-lasting mindset that social economic and political conditions facing today's communities are subject to and controlled by outside institutions and cannot be changed by the powerless community members. Thus, community members' involvement in a decision-making process of community-based actions can enhance the sense of empowerment and responsibility among the members for any actions they take. Second, implementation refers to practical activities in the community. In community-based projects, main actor of any practices should be first and foremost the community members, not outsiders. The success of implementation of them always depends upon the performance of the community members, and the role of outside institutions such as governments and NGOs must be supplementary in supporting the members through funding, education, advertisement and so on. Third, the concept of benefits is about building a system in which all members can equitably benefit from community-based activities. In any activities, a certain level of inequality is unavoidable since it is the case that an individual level of performance within any activities differs from person to person, and appraisal of individual performances should be based on a fair rule of competition. However, what is important is to make a system where no member feels unequal in terms of profit distribution even though they take a

competitive system of income distribution. Thus, community social welfare system and community funds for individuals can play an important role in supporting the members to get benefits from them. Fourth, evaluation refers to a checking system by community members for any community-based projects so that they can distinguish what leads to bad situations and what makes good for the community and can have learning space for future decision-making and implementation.

2.3.2 Leadership Theories

When one discusses community participation, it is essential to pay attention to the importance of a leader's role in a community. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to look at some attempts to formulate leadership in community and corporations. A number of scholars have attempted to define leadership in their own terms. Some examples of them are as follows: "Leadership is the process of influencing the activities of an organized group toward goal achievement" (Rauch and Behling 1984: 46); "Leadership is the process of making sense of what people are doing together so that people will understand and be committed" (Drath and Palus 1994: 4); "Leadership is about articulating visions, embodying values, and creating the environment within which things can be accomplished" (Richards and Engle 1986: 206).

Over the past several decades, the concept of leadership has been vigorously discussed by scholars who have special interests in community management or cooperative management. They have been paying attention to traits, behavior, and power of leaders as essential characteristics for them to become the heads of groups of peoples. For this, the mainstream academic narratives of leadership theory have been revolving around the following four approaches: (1) the trait approach; (2) the behavior approach; (3) the power-influence approach; and (4) the situational approach (Yukl 2002: 11).

First, the trait approach is one of the earliest theoretical attempts to examine leadership. It focuses on leaders' personalities, values, skills, etc. as necessary traits for them to be natural leaders who are inherently endowed with some attributes that can lead ordinary people. Therefore, this approach

is an attempt to identify the key characteristics of successful leaders in terms of their traits. According to Gosling et al (2003), successful leaders are generally found to have such traits as technical skill, friendliness, task motivation, application to task, group task supportiveness, social skill, emotional control, administrative skill, general charisma, and intelligence (Gosling et al 2003: 7). However, various researches revealed that there were no traits that necessarily determine successful leaders- it was often reported that some successful leaders possess certain traits while some other successful ones do not have them-, and therefore, the results of such researches have been proved inconclusive.

Second, the behavior approach focuses on leaders' behaviors. Unlike the trait approach which is unable to measure the leaders' attributes such as honesty and diligence, the behavior approach enable researchers to objectively measure one's quality as a leader. In the behavior theory, there are three types of leaders as follows: Autocratic leaders; Democratic leaders; and Laissez-faire leaders. Firstly, Autocratic leaders refer to leaders who make decisions without consulting their teams; secondly, democratic leaders refer to leaders who allow the team to provide input before making a decision, though the degree of input can vary from leader to leader; and thirdly, Laissez-faire leaders refer to leaders who do not interfere with other community members. The behavioral theory's key point is that many of these leadership behaviors are appropriate at different times, and the best leaders are those who can use many different behavioral styles and choose the right style for each situation.

Third, the power and influence approach emphasizes the use of power and influence exercised by a leader within a group. This approach aims to examine the effectiveness of leadership by paying attention to the amount of power held by a leader, the types of power, and how power is exercised. This theory explains that power is important not only for influencing subordinates under this approach, but also for influencing peers, superiors and people outside the organization, such as clients and suppliers (Yukl 2002: 12). Also, this theory articulates how power within a group is

exercised by a leader by categorizing power into various types such as legitimate power, reward power, and coercive power.

Forth, the situational approach is a relatively new approach, also known as contingency approach. This approach stems from inconclusive results of the trait approach and the behavior approach that attempted to find favorable traits or behaviors of leaders that can fit any cases, situations, or projects. In fact, nowadays, there is a consensus among researchers that no one leadership style is right for all leaders under all circumstances. For this, the situational (or contingency) approach indicates that a favorable leadership style is contingent upon such factors as the situation, the people, the task, the organization, and other environmental variables (Gosling et al 2003: 7).

These are the significance of community participation and also community leadership in any community-based actions and the elements for better implementation of them. These concepts are essential elements that could determine whether community-based actions can be successful or not.

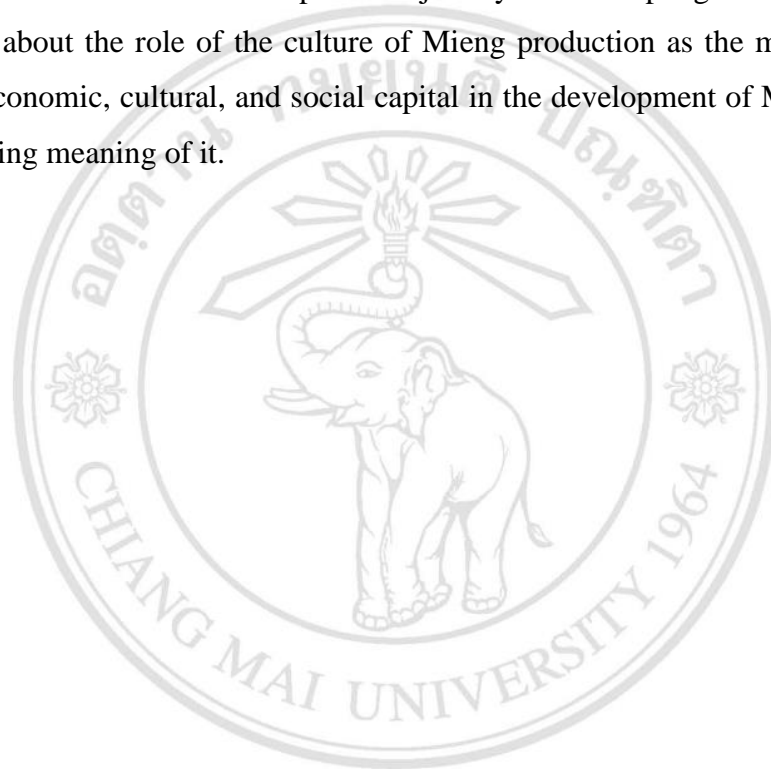
Summary

In this chapter, contemporary arguments pertaining to community theory, Bourdieu's three types of capital, namely economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital, and community participation and leadership role were discussed. In community studies, examining place, interest, and identity is essential because they are what connect community members together as a group of people. These days, examination of community identity such as Anthony Cohen's explanation about symbolic meaning of community, known as community of meaning, is becoming the mainstream among scholars in the field of community studies.

Bourdieu's categorization of capital into three types: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital, is quite important in examining realities that are happening in Thai rural communities. What is important is that each type of capital can be transferred into another type of capital, and this makes social cohesion within the community. This is also true in Mae Kampong, and this point will be mentioned in the following chapter.

Community participation and leadership role are also quite important in considering the development trajectory in Mae Kampong. In Thailand, there is often a power relation between common villagers and the rural authority including village headmen and sub-district officers. For better direction of community development, empowering common villagers is essential in this power relation so that they can give their voices to the authority. This point will be examined in details in chapter 5.

Next chapter will examine the development trajectory Mae Kampong has been taking. It will also talk about the role of the culture of Mieng production as the most important reservoir of economic, cultural, and social capital in the development of Mae Kampong and the changing meaning of it.



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