A SOCIAL RELATIONAL APPROACH TO COMMUNITY-BASED ECOTOURISM DEVELOPMENT: POLICY INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

by

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Abstract

This study examines how policy intervention strategies facilitate or constrain the construction of positive social capital in a community-based ecotourism (CBET) context. It investigates CBET development policies in a specific Cambodian case study, explores implementation processes, assesses the level of social capital created, identifies the connections between social capital construction and development outcomes, and suggests how the policies contribute to social capital construction. The dissertation's case study research is conducted in Chambok, Cambodia's longest operating CBET development. .

The social capital concept used in the dissertation assumes that CBET communities are comprised of dynamic active agents who play vital roles in determining their own destiny, provided they are provided with appropriate capabilities. Social capital is positioned as a conduit through which communities access the necessary resources needed to build the capabilities required to participate in CBET collaborations. The appropriate construction of social capital can trigger sustained CBET outcomes. In this dissertation, social capital is viewed as playing four major roles. It diffuses information; transfers knowledge; promotes collaboration and collective action; and harnesses power in the local communities.

A multiple-method triangulated approach is used to examine CBET policies and development in Cambodia from the perspective of involved stakeholders. The information and model resulting from this research are designed to inform CBET collaborators, stakeholders and decision-makers about the significance of constructing positive social capital for the community; and the factors that affect its development.

Overall, the research offers: 1) an insight into the effects of social interactions on CBET development; and 2) an approach to building appropriate CBET social capital. This research contributes to the theoretical and applied dimensions of existing knowledge

concerning the role of CBET policies in a developing region context, and their effects on the building of community capabilities.

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Considerable support, assistance and facilitation from many memorable people have blessed me in my research journey. I am, of course, responsible for what eventually appears as a result of my research process and outcomes, but the strategies, insights, comments, corrections, contributions, and prods of others have greatly improved my end product. In addition, they have helped me to accomplish my study throughout different hardships. The people I recognize here have demonstrated strong commitment and kindness to me and to excellence. Their contributions and feelings of warmth and trust have stimulated me, and especially helped me to complete this program.

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List of Abbreviations

CC	The Commune Council
CBET	Community-Based Ecotourism
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CCBEN	The Cambodian Community-Based Ecotourism Network
CDC	Commune Development Council
CF	Community Forestry
CPA	Community Protected Areas
CPG	Clean Up and Patrol Group
DG	Dance Group
DM	The District Municipality
DRCPA	The Department of Research and Community Protected Areas
GDANC	The General Department of Administration and Nature Conservation
GG	Guide Group
HS	Home-stay Group
ICEM	International Center for Environmental Management
MB	Mlup Baitong
MC	The Management Committee
MoE	The Ministry of Environment
MoT	The Ministry of Tourism
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise
NLC	Night Literature Class
NPA	The National Park Authorities
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NRMC	The Natural Resource Management Committee
OXG	Ox-cart Group
PDoE	The Provincial Department of Environment
PDoT	The Provincial Department of Tourism
PM	The Provincial Municipality
RI	Religious Institution
SD	Sustainable Development
TO	Tour Operator
VDC	Village Development Committee
WA	The Women's Association

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Community-Based Ecotourism (CBET) was conceived as a result of global policy forces encouraging participatory conservation and development. It has gained popularity as a tool for integrating conservation and development projects, especially in a developing country context (Brown, 2002; Butcher, 2007; Carlisle, 2007; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Fennell, 2008; Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Neth, 2008; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008; Rith, 2004; Weaver, 1998). Its use is encouraged on the premise that it contributes to conserving local natural resources and to reducing poverty. As such, CBET projects receive growing attention and funding from both international development and conservation agencies. This support is focused on providing assistance to developing countries seeking to nurture participatory development approaches and to overcome current challenges associated with managing natural resources and implementing participatory development.

CBET projects have many aliases in the development literature. Sometimes they have been called ecotourism and /or community-based tourism developments guided by varying sustainable tourism development principles (Burn, 2005; Blackstock, 2005; Choir & Sirakaya, 2006; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Fennell, 2008; Murphy & Murphy, 2004). Other times, they have been positioned as vehicles for delivering enterprise-based development strategies in natural resource management contexts, and often as a part of integrated conservation and development projects or as a component of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) approaches (Brown, 2002; Butcher, 2007; Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997; Ken et al., 2005; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008; Rith, 2004). For the purpose of this dissertation, CBET is defined as tourism taking place in natural areas where local communities take an equitable role with other stakeholders in planning and

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management of its activities. It balances the communities' social needs and cultural[1] values with conservation goals while supporting a more sustainable form of tourism.

The growing support for CBET developments is largely due to its fundamental focus on integrating development and conservation objectives, as well as its instrumental role in promoting synergy, partnerships and collaboration – locally, nationally and internationally (Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005; Duffy, 2006; Ken et al., 2005; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008). In summation, the purposes of CBET development in the developing context are to implement participatory conservation policies and to provide incentives for the local communities to participate through generating tourism revenue (Jones, 2005; Carlisle, 2007; Ken et al., 2005; Kiss, 2004; Stem et al., 2003; Rith, 2004, 2006). Elements of the CBET approach may also be used to encourage community participation and collaboration in creating sustainable destination development strategies (Chilcher, 2007; Gill & Williams, 2005; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Fennell, 2008; Richards, 2000).

1.1.1. Rationales for the Study

The approach employed to develop CBET varies depending on the characteristics of the funding and / or implementing agency. In general, the approaches can be classified as being one of two models: 1) the NGO conservation model and 2) the government/ industry association model (Lash & Austin, 2003). These CBET models differ in terms of their sources of funding, choice of targeted sites, selection of involved stakeholders, and the complexities and technicalities of the development process. Both models focus on the physical, technical and institutional aspects of development and give limited attention to the human or cultural dimensions of the processes.

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[1]   Culture refers to the totality of a group's learned norms for behavior and the manifestations of this behavior. This includes the technological and economic mechanisms through which a group adapts to its environment, definitions, prescriptions, and assumptions which define and rationalize individual motivation and participation (Leacock, 1971).

It is widely felt that economic incentives and institutional arrangements motivate local communities to take part in CBET initiatives (Choir & Sirakaya, 2006; Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Ostrom, 1990). However, in many CBET contexts, ideas and activities are introduced by external experts through the repetition of experiences from other similar cases. Little attention is given to the characteristics of the local community with respect to its existing social structures and the socio-political factors underlying its operations (Butcher, 2007; Blackstock, 2005; Dredge 2006a; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008). Moreover, little consideration is given to a community's unique socio-cultural system. The community stakeholders are often considered as either stressors on natural resources or victims of exclusive environmental regulations (Brown, 2002; Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997). They become the passive recipients of outcomes from the processes implemented. As a result, some commentators observe that communities abandon CBET projects when the assistance ends, or they carry on "poorly" and are constrained by the uncertainty concerning the sustainability of initiatives (Kiss, 2004; Duffy, 2006; Butcher, 2007).

This situation highlights the limitations of rigid institutionalized and incentive-based approaches that pay little regard to human and cultural dynamics. Such limitations signal the need for an approach that pays more attention to people as well as their cultural and social relations. Consequently, there is an increasing recognition of the important role of partnerships and networks as an organizing concept for promoting joint action, specifically in community tourism destination contexts (Dredge, 2006a, 2006b; Gill & Williams, 2005; Gibb, 2005; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Jones, 2005; Murphy & Murphy, 2004). Strong social relations, which manifest themselves as networks of actors and/or social capital, are increasingly recognized as critical components of CBET development processes. Early researchers in community tourism in rural and protected areas suggest that the formation of social capital in the CBET setting triggers better outcomes and sustains such projects (Dredge, 2006a; 2006b; Fennell, 2008; Gibb, 2005; Gill & Williams, 2005; Jones, 2005; Williams, Gill & Chura, 2004).

Social capital theory is human-centered. It assumes that people are dynamic active agents and that they can play vital roles in determining their own destinies.

Without the community's meaningful participation in a development or conservation project, the project may be unsustainable (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Hess & Adam, 2007; Knowles, 2007; Knowler et al., 2004; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Pretty & Smith, 2004; Pretty 2003a; Pellini, 2005). A social capital approach to development may be particularly relevant for CBET destinations. The way in which networks operate across public-private domains, the catalytic nature of relations and the depth and breadth of knowledge building and sharing, as well as mutual empowerment all have important implications for shaping the capacity of communities to manage tourism. In addition, positive relations between stakeholders can play critical roles in generating collective actions that create mutual benefits and common understandings (Gill & Williams, 2005; Hall, 1994; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Scheyven, 2002; Williams, Gill & Chura, 2004).

A CBET destination can be prosperous and sustained when local community stakeholders have a thick stock of social capital that lays the foundation for joint action and provides them with the negotiating power and collective capacity to strive for sustainable community development goals (Blackstock, 2005; Hall, 1994; Jones, 2005; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Scheyven, 2002). Specifically, it presents opportunities for enhancing the human capital needed for CBET and community development (Gibb, 2005; Jones, 2005; Kilpatrick et al., 1999; Coleman, 1998; Pellini, 2007, 2005). It facilitates the mobilization of local resources and social capacity for development and conservation projects (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Grootaert, 1998; Knowles, 2007; Kilpatrick & Vancley, 2005; Lin, 2001; Woolcock, 2002). Finally, it can help harness the power needed to address external constraints (Ben & Onyx, 2005; Dredge, 2006a; Grootaert, 1998; Woolcock, 2002). It is theorized that building social capital may assist CBET communities overcome developmental challenges such as external dependency, limited management capacity and vulnerability to external power domination.

1.1.2. Research Framework

However, social capital's role in communities can be complex and challenging. It can be positive or negative depending on: how it is built; the broader socio-political

environment in which it operates; and the actors that shape it (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Fine, 2003; Falk, 2007; Hess & Adams, 2007). In this context, policies that govern the patterns and models of development in communities play a significant role in constructing or destroying the benefits of social capital (Ben & Onyx, 2005; Boydell, 2005; Dredge, 2006a; Hess & Adams, 2007). CBET projects can be strongly influenced by the policies of the donor agency, which funds such initiatives (Butcher, 2007; Duffy, 2006; Lash & Austain, 2003; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008). Consequently, the extent of the social capital created is often shaped by those same policies (Colleta & Cullen, 2002; Khan, Rifaquat & Kazmi, 2007; Molinas, 2002).

Since CBET projects are shaped by a range of policy directives, this study examines how specific policy strategies facilitate the construction of the positive social capital needed in CBET contexts. The study is conducted in the developing context of the "Kingdom of Cambodia," where influxes of funding tied to the policies of international institutions act as catalysts for CBET activities. The second oldest CBET destination in Cambodia, Chambok, is chosen for exploring how the policy directives hinder or contribute to building the social capital needed for the sustainability of the CBET project and for community development purposes.

1.1.3. Research Objectives and Questions

This study chooses social capital theory as the conceptual foundation for examining the performance of CBET developments in a developing region context. This dissertation examines how specific policy strategies facilitate or constrain the construction of positive social capital in a CBET context. For the purposes of this study, social capital construction is framed by Amartia Sen's "capabilities theory" (1999). It emphasizes a human-centered perspective of capacity building that leads to human empowerment. The thesis of this study is that positive contributions from social capital occur when: 1) the means by which it is created expand the capabilities of individuals, the community and cultures involved in CBET development, and 2) social networks enable CBET communities and stakeholders to achieve their development goals.

Two major hypotheses emerge from the exploration of the capabilities theory. The hypotheses are that CBET policies shaping positive social capital 1) require an appropriate mix of resource and opportunity structures that facilitate the expansion of the community's capabilities; and 2) such structures enable involved participants to achieve their development goals. Consequently, this study identifies those social capital factors that lay the foundations for human capacity development, and highlight the institutional arrangements that facilitate efforts to transform capacity into outcomes in host communities while respecting cultural traditions. Also, this research assesses the extent to which such constructions enable people to achieve their development goals. From these overriding research aims, specific supporting objectives in a Cambodian context are addressed. This research project seeks to:

1. examine CBET development policies in the context of developing countries;
2. identify implementation processes that are employed in developing CBET projects;
3. assess the level of social capital cultivated by the combination of specific policies and approaches in CBET communities;
4. investigate the connections between the existence of social capital and the success or failure of CBET developments; and
5. assess how CBET development policies contribute to the construction of social capital in CBET communities.

These research objectives are focused on understanding how policies facilitate the construction of the positive social capital needed for the success of CBET developments. However, while recognizing that specific case study findings cannot be generalized, it is hoped that the results from this study may offer direction for other broader community-based natural resource management and /or participatory-based development projects happening in other contexts, if there is a true focus on understanding and respecting social and cultural diversity.

1.1.3.1. Research Objective 1: Examination of CBET Development Policies

The first research objective focuses on examining policy directives that provide the impetus and foundation for CBET development in the case study site. Specifically,

the author investigates the profiles and orientation of the donors, implementing government agency and/or mediating NGOs. She then examines the resulting resource distribution patterns and overriding CBET development policies at the community level. This work addresses the following research questions:

> *Question 1:* *What policies characterize the development of CBET in Cambodia?*

> *Question 2:* *What principles and resource distribution patterns in these policy-making institutions exist with regard to CBET development and management?*

1.1.3.2. Research Objective 2: Identification of CBET Implementation Processes

The second research objective identifies specific planning and implementation processes employed in the study site that reflect the policy guidelines of the funding agency. The author explores which stakeholders participate in various development phases. This includes identifying their: roles and responsibilities; relations with each other as well as with local community stakeholders; intended effects and eventual outcomes expected from the CBET development initiatives. Particularly, it addresses the two following research questions.

> *Question 3:* *What planning and implementation processes and procedures are employed in the development of CBET in a Cambodian context?*

> *Question 4:* *What are the stakeholders' overriding motives, patterns of interaction and roles in each specific CBET implementation phase?*

1.1.3.3. Research Objective 3: Assessment of Social Capital Construction

In this phase, the author evaluates the stock and level of social capital that has been built as a result of CBET developments. The evaluation is conducted in three units of analysis: the individual CBET members, group or network in the CBET community and the CBET community itself. For each unit, the author identifies the current stock of

bonding, bridging and linking social capital generated. Overall, in this research phase her work investigates existing and added social threads and patterns of relations as well as their underlying policies and norms. It also examines how these existing and novel networks are forged and how they thrive, and finally it discusses the probability of their survival overtime. This phase responds to the following questions:

Question 5: *What stakeholder networks and norms existed in and are added to the communities? Which are convened at specific phases of CBET development?*

Question 6: *What resources and opportunity structures are provided to forge these networks in each CBET community?*

Question 7: *What stakeholder networks and norms will probably be enduring legacies of CBET development in each community?*

1.1.3.4. Research Objective 4: Investigation of Social Capital and CBET Success Relationship

This part of the research investigates the connection of social capital with the success or failure of CBET developments in each case study community. In particular, the author assesses the functions of social capital with respect to empowering local communities. Her work seeks to understand how these networks serve their members with regard to building their capacity and the community's capabilities, as well as enabling CBET stakeholders to achieve their development goals. It addresses the following research questions:

Question 8: *What are the functions of networks of social capital in the communities? Which are the constructive or destructive elements of this social capital?*

Question 9: *What are the characteristics of the positive networks that enhance community capabilities and enable stakeholders to achieve their goals?*

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1.1.3.5.   Research Objective 5: Evaluation of Means to Construct Social Capital

The final research phase of this study identifies how positive social capital is built into the case study. My research uncovers the utility of each overriding CBET policy in terms of facilitating the building and activating of social capital. It also highlights the limitations of those policies that intentionally or unintentionally create negative social capital. Thus, alternative policy strategies are recommended. The specific research questions addressed in this phase are:

> *Question 10:   What is the usability of current CBET development policies in facilitating the construction of social capital in the community?*

> *Question 11:   What policy strategies can intervene to facilitate better construction of social capital in the CBET development context?*

1.2. Study Area and Rationales for Selection

After the first national election in 1993, two major phenomena took place in Cambodia that provided the legal framework for CBET initiatives. First, the Royal Government of Cambodia reclaimed a protected area regime designed to preserve the country's depleting natural resources and biodiversity. Second, the government made a commitment to reform governance structures, including those involved with resource management. As a result, the SEILA program[2] and CBNRM approaches were launched country wide in order to provide the framework and to build local capacity for community-based approaches to sustainable development in Cambodia.

CBET emerged as a result of the combined efforts of the government and civil society organizations along with strong backing from the international community (Ken, Carson, Riebe, & Kaschke, 2005). CBET tactics were employed to reinforce the local

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[2]   SEILA was created after Cambodia's first National Election in 1993, when the government decided to follow the democratic path. It is the government's program to introduce and implement governance reforms under the auspices of the United Nations Development Program.

governance of natural resources associated with a CBNRM regime[3] (John, 2005; Riebe, 1999; Sok, 2003; Yin, 2003). Often the traditional livelihoods of the people in these areas (e.g., slash and burn agriculture, logging and hunting) were considered to be destructive (Chhun, 2007; Men, 2005; Mendoza, 2005; Kok, 2008; Rith, 2004; Sok, 2007). CBET strategies were utilized as a tool to provide additional livelihoods to local communities in and adjacent to protected areas.

Currently, there are around 30 CBET cases scattered across Cambodia (Rith, Williams, & Neth, 2009). Among them, there are only around ten projects that have completed their funded development phase.[4] This study conducts a case study of a prominent CBET development site that has finished its funded development phases. It offers a retrospective evaluation of relevant processes and procedures as well as a development outcome at Chambok.

Chambok is located on the outskirts of Kirirom National Park in the Chambok Commune, Kampong Speu Province, in the southwestern part of Cambodia. It is the second CBET initiative in Cambodia. In this commune, local people depend on farming and extracting natural resources in the boundary of the park for their livelihood. Chambok was already heavily degraded by the practices of family charcoal making, large scale commercial logging and hunting during the 1980s. For the most part, the locals were impoverished, and their conditions worsened when the government reclaimed the protected areas regime in 1993 (Chhun, 2008; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008; Rith, 2004). Through this process the local communities were legally excluded from accessing resources in the park.

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[3]   CBNRM regime in Cambodia refers to a system that enables the local community to co-manage the local commons with the government authorities. This is the government's efforts to introduce and nurture the new decentralization, co-management and poverty alleviation policies.

[4]   This means the partnering community still receives funding from donors and facilitation from NGOs or government agencies. The project development phase is completed when all funding ends, the facilitating organizations fully withdraw, and the community starts to manage and develop the project on its own.

Despite the legal restrictions, the communities continued illegally utilizing the park's resources for their daily subsistence because rice cultivation did not provide adequate food security. These activities strongly affected the effectiveness of the park's management. Therefore, while Mlup Baitong[5] assisted the government authority to manage the park in the late 1990s, it also extended its assistance to help the communities in Chambok. It did this by setting up a community forestry (CF) project, a community protected area (CPA) and other livelihood programs in cooperation with other existing NGOs. The Chambok CBET project supplements the on-going CF project. Its objectives are: 1) to conserve forest and natural resources in the park's boundary and the local area; 2) to improve local livelihood strategies; and 3) to educate locals and visitors about natural resource conservation and environmental management.

This project was strongly endorsed by the National Government's Ministry of Environment (MoE). The Ministry granted the community an extra 72 hectares of land in Kirirom National Park via a two-year renewable contract. It also assigned several government officers to work as counterparts with Mlup Baitong to communicate and coordinate actions between the two institutions. To run this project successfully and to achieve the above objectives, Mlup Baitong divided the project into five important components. They involved: 1) preparation of physical tourism infrastructure and services; 2) capacity building for management committee and service operators; 3) marketing of tourism services and networking with relevant stakeholders; 4) establishment of a Women's Association; and 5) integration of environmental management systems into tourism operations.

Notably, the techniques of micro-project/ business designing, implementation, and management were provided to community stakeholders (Va, Lay, & Chhum, 2007). This approach was intended to strengthen the capacity and ownership of the project within local communities. It was designed to help prepare the community for the next

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[5]   Mlup Baitong is a Khmer word that literally means green shade in English. It was established in 1998 as a part of British NGO attempts to address problems of deforestation in Cambodia. It became an independent national NGO in 2001.

phase of project planning, implementation and management. It was designed to encourage them to strive towards a community-based organization that fostered greater CBET sustainability.

Chambok has become a model for other emerging CBET cases in Cambodia. It has been recognized as a best CBET practice model and was rewarded a medal by the MoE (Va, Lay, & Chhum, 2007). As a consequence, study tours of Chambok have become a necessary capacity building component in most CBET projects in the region. Numerous research studies related to CBET operations and environmental practices have been conducted on Chambok by a wide range of academics and practitioners. Several papers written by students and faculty of the Royal University of Phnom Penh discuss CBET contributions to local poverty alleviation and environmental management, marketing and communication strategies, as well as gender empowerment in the Chambok commune (Kok, 2008; Men, 2005; Rith, 2004, 2006; Sok, 2007; Pen, 2009). Many of the research reports were submitted to Mlup Baitong and are available to other stakeholders.

Chambok CBET is a case study where public and civil society stakeholders collaborated to develop the project. Mlup Baitong (MB), as the initiator and implementer, has attracted various types of funding and support from agencies including the government. This NGO undertook inclusionary approaches to development. Consultation with donors, counterparts and communities happened regularly as part of the annual planning processes. As the project progressed, MB empowered the local Community-Based Organization (i.e., the CBET council) to take on more development initiatives via small grant funds.

Mlup Baitong also acted as a coordinator linking community stakeholders to other institutions such as government agencies, NGOs, as well as tour companies. It also facilitated conflict resolution activities between communities and other government authorities. Presently, the Chambok CBET continues to develop. Its CBET council is well respected and recognized by relevant stakeholders, and the area is being visited by a

growing number of tourists and scholars from within and outside the country (Kok, 2008; Pen, 2009; Sok, 2007).

The Chambok CBET site is the second oldest CBET site in Cambodia. It has lasted for more than eight years in a period when several other similar projects failed. The numbers of stakeholders involved in the project increased throughout the development period, and the project still contributes substantially to the development of the Chambok community (Chhun, 2008; Mendoza, 2005; Kok, 2008; Pen, 2009; Rith, 2004; Sok, 2007). These outcomes have been reported to be the result of efforts to promote the CBET project as a sustainable community development tool in Chambok (see Chhun, 2008; Kok, 2008; Mendoza, 2005; Pen, 2009; Rith, 2004;). Accordingly, it provides a rich context for exploring current trajectories with respect to social capital development, CBET sustainability, and sustainable community development. This study explores how specific policy strategies employed in the Chambok case shape the building of needed social capital. It builds on the findings of many other research investigations conducted in the area. The findings of those studies and the social capital accumulated in the study site over eight years provide an ideal environment for examining factors contributing to social capital development and its implications for CBET development policies.

1.3. Organization of Dissertation

The remainder of the dissertation is organized into eight chapters:

Chapter 2 explains the construction of the conceptual framework for examining the effects of policy strategies on the building of positive social capital in a CBET context. The chapter reviews global policies that characterize CBET development, the CBET implementation approaches and challenges, as well as the potential role of social capital in facilitating more sustainable forms of CBET development.

Chapter 3 presents the guiding methodologies used to conduct the study. This study applies both the quantitative and qualitative methods, as well as appreciative inquiry and participatory rural appraisal techniques to examine the dimensions and

elements of social capital in the community. These methods and techniques are customized to reflect the challenges of conducting fieldwork in a Cambodian CBET context.

Chapter 4 analyzes the overriding policies that provide the framework for the development of the CBET project in the case study site. It discusses the objectives, origin and agenda of the policies, as well as the conditions that promote or inhibit stakeholder collaboration in CBET project intervention and the empowerment of the communities.

Chapter 5 illustrates the processes and procedure of CBET development at Chambok from the beginning to the end of the project. Particularly, it provides a detailed account of how the facilitating agency, stakeholders and communities transform the overriding policies and principles into local actions, as well as how they negotiate to form the governing CBET rules for local communities.

Chapter 6 applies the social capital assessment framework and methods at the case study site. It describes the types of and the extent to which social capital, both the structural and cognitive dimensions, are constructed at Chambok as a result of the CBET development. The chapter also discusses factors, enabling structures and resources, as well as actors that contribute to or hinder the building of social capital.

Chapter 7 presents the impact of social capital construction on the Chambok community. Specifically, it discusses the extent to which the communities are able to achieve their community development goals as developed in the literature. It also identifies which social capital is positive and seems to work best in the context of Chambok and which does not, as well as the factors influencing such outcomes.

Chapter 8 discusses the findings as they relate to this author's original hypotheses. It demonstrates how policy strategies adopted in the study site contribute to or hinder the building of social capabilities and desired CBET development outcomes. This chapter identifies the advantages and limitations of the overriding policies, and determines the additional factors that help to construct positive social capital in CBET communities.

        Chapter 9 provides the conclusions emerging from this research study. It highlights major contributions related to: the theoretical significance of social capital in a CBET context; a new methodological framework for studying social capital in a CBET context; and policy intervention strategies for CBET development in a Cambodian context. The areas for further research directions will also be suggested.

2.   Literature Review

This chapter is divided into six sections as follows:

Section 2.1 starts with an analysis of the rise of a sustainable development paradigm and resultant global policies that promote actions at the local level. It focuses on the bond between sustainable development and inclusive approaches, and especially how these features provide the framework for multiple stakeholder collaboration and for empowerment of local communities.

Section 2.2 investigates the rise of CBET development. It identifies the processes and factors that promote CBET to be a strategy for implementing sustainable development policy, particularly for developing countries. It examines intervention and implementation processes and strategies, as well as actors and resources that transform the abstract global policy in order to be implemented as a grassroots program.

Section 2.3 investigates challenges deterring CBET implementation from achieving its intended sustainability outcomes. CBET implementation outcomes are interpreted by analyzing the attitudes and motives of those practitioners who employ the CBET strategies. This section also identifies and analyzes the development goals and agendas of CBET developers as well as the methods that they employ and their negotiation tactics that they use to achieve their goals.

Section 2.4 discusses a reflexive strategy that enables CBET to engender sustainability. This section provides an insight into the characteristics of the communities that inevitably and extremely impact on the effectiveness of development initiatives. It also reviews what should be better goals for CBET development in such communities; what resources and enabling structures are needed to develop such a project; and what processes should be carried out to minimize the undesired challenges as illustrated in the last section.

Section 2.5 argues for a human-centered and social approach to CBET development. It advocates the use and importance of social capital as a conduit through which CBET development stimulates sustainable development in the community. It identifies the elements and constructs of social capital that resonates international development policies, and contributes positively to both CBET sustainability and sustainable community development.

The following paragraphs describe each section in detail. Figure 2.1 illustrates the entire theoretical framework of social capital construction in a CBET context.

2.1. SD Policy Framework for Community-Based Approaches

Sustainable development (SD) is a contested concept. It emerged in the 1980s as the global response to the urgent needs for the concurrent achievement of both development and environmental protection. There is an abundance of literature about SD. Most of it strives to find proper definitions and indicators to adequately guide policy making (Williams & Millington, 2004). The line of thinking presented here does not take part in this debate, but rather it focuses on SD origins, fundamentals and principles, especially where it bonds with the concept of community and tourism.

The origins of the SD concept can be traced back to the growing concern for the environmental problems and social issues in earlier decades. White (1967) and Mebratu (1998) credit the three milestone reports – *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972), *A Blueprint for Survival* (The Ecologist, 1972) and *Small is Beautiful (*Schumacher, 1974) – for fuelling this momentous conceptual evolution. The three acknowledged publications warned the world of the severe danger of a "growth" ideology. They indicated that industrial society was going to exceed most ecological limits within a matter of decades, if it continued to promote the kind of growth witnessed in the 1950s and 1960s.

Figure 2.1.   Theoretical Framework of CBET Social Capital Construction

EXTERNAL SOCIO-POLITICAL FACTORS

♦ Economic Development
▫ Global-local nexus
▫ Community economic development

♦ Social Development
▫ Good governance
▫ Democratization

♦ Conservation
▫ CBNRM Strategies
▫ Resource Decentralization

CBET IMPLEMENTATION
Global/Regional/National Resources & Structures

COLLABORATION STRUCTURE

Civil Society Groups ⟷ Government Agencies ⟷ Market Actors

SOCIAL CAPITAL

♦ Structural Dimension
▫ Bonding:
  CBET Group organization
▫ Bridging: Between CBET Groups and Local Stakeholders
▫ Linking: Between CBET Groups and Resource Providers

♦ Cognitive Dimension
▫ CBET development policies
▫ Trust
▫ Reciprocity/Sharing
▫ Connectedness/Cooperation

RESOURCES

♦ Economic Facilities
  (access to land, natural resource, fund, and market mechanisms)
♦ Social Opportunities
  (skills: tourism operation & management, conservation and administration)
  (Basic education and health care facilities)

OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

♦ Protective Security
  (Risk management mechanisms)
♦ Transparency Guarantee
  (Communication system, accountability)
♦ Political Liberties
  (Civil right to group formation, dialogue and participation in decision making, social learning and interaction mechanisms)

COMMUNITY CAPABILITIES
♦ Conservation   ♦ Economic Development
♦ Human Resource Development   ♦ Community Health
♦ Community Empowerment
EQUAL PARTNER IN CBET PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT

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Later, the Brandt Report (Brandt Commission, 1980) added the consideration of severe social problems. This report linked social inequity to economic disparities and called for an all inclusive international summit to address these issues. Mainly, it called on developed nations to surrender national economic interests and priorities to an international program of assistance and reorientation in development strategies. This was proposed in order to lessen the burden that the existing economic systems in developed countries put on developing nations (Brand Commission, 1980).

Consequently, on the Commission's recommendation, the UN established the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1983 to address growing global challenges. The World Commission on Environment and Development produced a report entitled *Our Common Future* that re-examined perceived development problems with the intent to formulate realistic proposals to solve them. The Commission legitimized SD as an organizing principle for worldwide development. It defined SD as development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs (The Brundtland Report, 1987).

The Commission's SD definition highlighted underlying concerns about the long term perspectives of development, which to a great extent drew immediate attention to the limits of nature. Moreover, there was a call for all-inclusive and far reaching development processes capable of meeting all people's reasonable needs (The Brundtland Report, 1987). To reach these ambitious visions, SD had to adhere to certain sustainability principles. SD had to balance the "triple bottom lines" of environmental, social and economic imperatives (Mebratu, 1998; Williams & Millington, 2004).

The environmental imperative required that environmental protection had to be integrated into development policies and strategies. SD mechanisms had to be environmentally sound as well as less resource and energy intensive (The Brundtland Report, 1987). Therefore, SD strategies had to apply the precautionary approach and proceed with great caution in order to avoid actual or potential disruption of biodiversity and the regenerative capacity of nature. SD was to be based locally and was to discourage

relocation of materials or activities that could damage the health of human beings and ecological systems (Mebratu, 1998; Rapley, 2002; Williams & Millington, 2004).

The economic imperative compelled the application of a viable economic system for quality economic growth that contributes to human well-being (King, 2009; Sen, 1999). Sustainability did not dictate the end of economic development, nor did it ignore the need to alleviate and prevent poverty. In fact, sustainability encouraged employment of development strategies that assist in combating poverty.

The social imperative required that development fulfills people's social and cultural needs, as well as eliminates inequity and promotes social justice (Magis & Shinn, 2009). Development had to be achieved without undermining the possibility for future generations to attain similar standards of living and similar or improved standards of equity. Importantly, SD had to be endogenous and context-based. Local communities were to be included in decision-making that affected their lives (Carter, 2001; Mebratu, 1998; Richards, 2000; Sen, 1999).

As well, SD mechanisms had to abide by three overriding principles in order to achieve the stated imperatives. These principles were: 1) Equilibrium, 2) Holistic or Participatory, and 3) Equity (Mebratu, 1998; Roseland, 2002; Williams & Millington, 2004). The equilibrium principle took into account the long-term sustainability of SD, which meant ensuring that the triple bottom lines of social, environmental and economic imperatives were in balance.

The holistic principle involved applying the participatory approach in making decisions concerning the use of resources (Currie-Adler, 2005; Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997; Mebratu, 1998). Developers, planners and practitioners have to take into account the diverse values and needs of relevant stakeholders from various levels of society. This knowledge must be included in the planning process to be applied in management implementation and practices.

The equity principle ensured that every stakeholder (e.g., all nations, sectors and levels of population) had equal access to resources and the right to participate in benefits

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from development without technical or structural constraints (Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005). In addition, collaboration and assistance were accorded to the least developed and environmentally vulnerable countries, especially grassroots communities, where environmental problems linked directly with poverty and inequity (The Brundtland Report, 1987).

Many programs emerged from the principles and tenets of SD discussed above. Such efforts to implement SD innovative policy strategies have provided many places and groups of resource and opportunity structures for various small-scale projects such as CBET (Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005; Brown, 2002; Butcher, 2007). Myriads of authors suggest that in addition to the common goals and principles for development discussed above, SD policies provide a legal framework that brings the importance of the local community into the focus of SD strategies (Richards, 2002). The SD paradigm calls for ecological responsibility and stakeholders' symbiosis and interdependence in development implementation. This belief attracts a diversity of stakeholders with different resources to use CBET development strategies (Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005; Brown, 2002; Berkes, 2004; Butcher, 2007).

In sum, the SD paradigm brought an explicit recognition that in order to be sustainable, development programs should be solidly anchored in the communities to be developed. The concept of community is both instrumental for and a constituent of SD. It has been critical to try and ground the ideas and principles of SD into the basic compartments of society (Berkes, 2004). It has helped to link the global-based policies to the very individuals that constitute the social order (Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005). It emphasizes democratic bottom-up processes that can contribute to the quest for environmental and social sustainability. It must attend to the need for growth at the bottom. This is a need in which previous growth ideologies have failed society. The action at the community level is enabled by two movements: 1) democratization and social development, 2) governance system and decentralization of natural resources.

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2.1.1. Democratization and Participatory Development

In the policy arena, a way to democracy in SD lies in "community-based" approaches to SD. Community-based approaches, such as CBET development, imply important considerations. SD involves endogenous development, which disperses the benefits widely in the society, especially to members of the underprivileged population (Rapley, 2002). Thus, it has to be initiated from the bottom at the local level. The significance that "community" possesses within this approach, suggests the devolution of democratic involvement to individuals, including those who are most vulnerable. This restructuring of civil power, underpinned by a downward transfer of decision making, points immediately to conceptions of the decentralized management of resources and the participatory development process (Currie-Adler, 2005).

This approach underscores the understanding of the "local" as a self-reliant entity capable of rationally using and managing their resources. Community-based approaches acquire economic self-reliance, ecological sustainability, local control, and meeting of individual needs, as well as enhancing the local community and its culture (Carlisle, 2007; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Richards, 2000; Theodori, 2005; Timothy, 2002). The consideration of the local dimension as a crucial component for the achievement of progress signifies an important change in the searching for growth. The concept of SD was presented as a process of transformation that combined economic growth with ample social and cultural changes. It was intended to enable people to achieve their full potential. Policy makers determined that SD will only be achieved through well-planned, democratic, collaborative means, especially involving communities in decision making (The United Nations Conference for Environment and Development, 1992).

This position combines many perspectives. Some observers contend that most natural environments are socially and culturally constructed, so local communities and economic systems may hold the key to either their survival or destruction (Agrawal & Gibsons, 1999; Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997). After having been initially threatened with extinction through modernist rationalization, the place-based notion of community re-emerged as a vehicle for rooting individuals and societies in a climate of economic

restructuring, social and cultural growth, as well as political uncertainty (Richards, 2000; Telfer, 2002; Theodori, 2005). Communities were also repositioned as providers of the link between the local and the global. Local communities became important actors in terms of both preserving the immediate environment and forming part of a wider coalition to preserve the environment and to reunite the economic system globally (Duffy, 2006; Milne & Ateljavic, 2001; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008; Schilcher, 2007).

2.1.2. Governance and Natural Resource Decentralization

Interest in collaboration and partnership between state and non-state actors has simultaneously grown rapidly since the late 1980s. There is recognition that social and environmental problems cannot be solved solely by governments, nor can the market be relied upon as the alternative to the state. The quest toward sustainability has challenged traditional planning models and development approaches. In response, a new participatory and civic-based model is emerging. It delegates responsibility for planning directly to stakeholders who engage in face-to-face negotiations to seek consensus solutions to common resource management problems (Gill, 1997; Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003; Gunton, Day & Williams, 2003; Jamal & Getz, 1995). This movement advocated a SD mechanism for CBET developments.

Complexity, conflict and uncertainty are prominent features in the field of conservation and development (Eberts, 2004). In response to this, over the last two decades dispute resolution mechanisms have evolved from focusing on settlement of intensive conflicts through short-duration intervention toward more upstream conflict management approaches. Such processes seek to build long-term relationships and to establish the groundwork for collaborative action. Collaborative planning seeks the active participation of many potential implementing partners in order to increase the likelihood of developing a plan that is in the community interest, that minimizes conflicts and that generates the social capital needed for planned implementation (Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003; Moore, 2005; Yaffee & Wondolleck, 2003).

This line of thinking has brought the governance system into national policy. Governance does not merely include the actions of government, but extends beyond government to address the role of citizens, both individual and organized groups, in the policy process (Weiss, 2000). It includes the way groups and communities within society organize to make and implement decisions on matters of general concern. The emergence of SD policy places emphasis on the organization of new regimes of global governance. In this context, global governance is about dispersing power away from hegemonic centers of power, especially states, about extending and overcoming resistance to democratic values and procedures, and about ordering people through recourse to reason, knowledge and expertise (Weiss, 2000; Duffy, 2006).

In particular, these regimes encourage the partnership and collaborative approach between state and civil society stakeholders internally and externally to manage resources and to provide public services (Brinkerhoff, 1999). CBET project development is an example of the practice of such a regime. It demonstrates a collaboration between the international donor community, the state institution and market or/and NGO stakeholders to assist the local community to implement participatory development initiatives in the form of CBET (Brown, 2002; Duffy, 2006; Schilcher, 2007). To develop a CBET project, the government officers share the decision making power to manage natural resources for tourism and community development purposes with the NGOs and/or market partners as well as the local community. Once consensus decisions have been made, all parties have to respect them and to be responsible for carrying them out.

In developing countries, governance arrangements are frequently linked to a transition to more democratic political systems. Combining democracy with governance emphasizes the need to devise ways of managing resources in a participatory, transparent and accountable fashion (Brinkerhoff, 1999; Weiss, 2000). A growing body of research demonstrates that democratic governance provides the most promising enabling environment for broad-based socio-economic growth. It fosters not only competence and effective resource management, but it also encourages more shared, pluralist and informed decision making (Currie-Adler, 2005; Ken et al., 2005; Gunton, Day, &

Williams, 2003a; Wismer & Mitchell, 2005;). This type of governance also offers space for non-state actors, including non-profit and NGOs, as well as communities to operate, both independently and in collaboration with the state (Brinkerhoff, 1999). It is particularly suited to small scale development projects like CBET. The more precise processes for CBET development will be discussed subsequently.

2.2. The CBET Approach as a SD Policy Strategy

In developing countries, emerging legal frameworks and partnerships for development are enhanced through international conservation intervention programs and market assistance. SD attempts to promote democratic and decentralized management of natural resources for participatory endogenous development. However, contemporary economic and political systems have not yet been readily supportive of such a philosophy. As mentioned in the Brandt Report (Brandt Commission, 1980), social inequity is strongly linked to economic disparities in different regions. The level of growth varies. So does the capacity to deal with environmental problems. Urgent needs for survival and improvement in the standard of living of rural communities in developing countries make them unprepared and unable to quit the exploitation of nature and to embrace conservation.

This also brings into attention the issues of community capacity and readiness. It is realized that destitute rural communities rarely possess needed resources or the ability to participate in either conservation or development. Empowerment arises as a core tenet to assist the underprivileged groups to gain control over their fate. The Brundtland Report appeals to rich nations to surrender individual economic interests and priorities to an international program of assistance and reorientation in development strategies. The goal is to lessen the burden that the existing economic system put on developing nations (The Brundtland Report, 1987).

This requirement is dependent on external support and mediation in the early stages of development in order to prepare local communities to fully participate in

conservation and to further the development cycle. Initial intervention programs and assistance in both funding and technical capacity must be provided to enable structures for community initiatives and development. This appeal necessitates donors in both conservation and development fields to provide "heaps" of funding for SD innovation strategies and initiatives, such as CBET.

2.2.1. CBET Concept and Principles

In this context, CBET (i.e., ecotourism) is considered a core element of enterprise-based conservation strategies (Brown, 2002; Brosius, Lauwenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005; Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997; Moore, 2005). This model has been part of international intervention strategies in developing countries for many years (Brosius, Lauwenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005; Moore, 2005). In fact, CBET has been employed to foster participatory or decentralized natural resource management. It is also known as CBNRM and is an integral part of conservation and development projects. CBET in this context has two major goals: to conserve the pristine or distinct environment (i.e., in protected area settings) and to provide alternative livelihoods to local residents.

CBET projects are often situated in protected areas. It, especially, occurs in the area that is designated as a national or a global natural heritage site or an ecologically significant zone (Boo, 1990; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Fennell, 2008; Honey, 1999; Weaver, 1998). In such areas, the natural assets and the need to protect them are universally acknowledged while the livelihoods of dependent communities need to be addressed urgently. Hence, interventions in the form of CBET are both ideal and convenient for all. CBET development also enables the tourism industry to expand its frontiers and to diversify its products. Ideally, tourism revenues from CBET projects allow the local communities to meet their livelihood needs and the local government to better manage its natural assets (Abbot & Thomas, 2001; Bookbinder et al., 1998).

From neoliberal perspectives, localized cooperation, trust and networking are essential components in providing the right mix for successful tourism development outcomes (Dredge, 2006a; Gill & Williams, 2005; Grant, 2004; Milne & Ateljevic, 2001;

Williams, Gill & Chura, 2004). Involving local communities and other stakeholders in tourism planning and including their ideas and opinions seriously increases the resource span of tourism, the legitimacy of the plan and effectiveness of implementation. It also ensures more desirable product positioning and image development (Fennell, 2009; Gill, 2000; Gill & Williams, 2005; Jamal & Getz, 1995; 1997; Williams, Gill, & Chura, 2004). Therefore, the market actors, such as financial institutions and tourism organizations, also play active roles in funding and provide technical support for CBET projects.

The 1990s witnessed the emergence of a new global economy. It emphasized the necessity of global-local linkages that made the community-based approach a crucial component of tourism plans around the world. CBET (as part of community-based tourism) originally occurs, as the name suggests, when tourism development decisions and actions are driven by the community itself after a conscious reflection about their circumstances (Blackstock, 2005; Hall, 1994; Hall & Jenkins, 1995).

CBET is often viewed as a means for local empowerment and community development. It is intended to contribute to conserving critical development resources, which are primarily environmental assets (Carlisle, 2007; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Fennell, 2008; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Richards, 2000; Weaver, 1998). The defining characteristic of CBT is that it is based on local initiatives. It advocates a site-specific approach to problem-solving, management by community members and the use of community resources. The significance of community participation in this case comes from tourism stakeholders' deliberate choices and strategic responses to the consequences of previously more exclusive forms of tourism development.

The local communities hold the local knowledge and wisdom necessary for environmental management and tourism development. CBET is regarded as one way to balance the commercial orientation of tourism development with the needs and goals of local people. The goals are to enhance destination planning, to ensure the maintenance of a sense of place, to foster a better understanding of the entire development situation, to promote the formation of a common value base, to increase recognition of interdependence among stakeholders and to promote sustainability (Gill, 1997; Gill &

Williams, 2005; Grant, 2004; Hall, 1994; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Williams, Gill, & Chura, 2004).

2.2.2. Actors and Resources in CBET Intervention

Being an international intervention strategy, CBET in the developing context does not begin with independent community initiatives. CBET is a collaborative effort. This situation is due heavily to the complexity of tourism development and the conservation requirement as much as the rural communities' naivety and lack of necessary resources. In addition, stakeholder collaboration is essential for successful operation and management of community tourism (Gill & Williams; 2005; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Williams, Gills, & Chura, 2004). It is critical that tourism planning and implementation engage a wide range of local and external stakeholders.

CBET projects have been developed based on two underlying models (Lash & Austin. 2003). They are the conservation/NGO model (Figure 2.2) and the government agency/industry association model (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.2. Conservation NGO Model

Source: Lash & Austin, 2003.

In the "conservation/NGO model," projects are funded by an international biodiversity funder. The fund is transferred either a) to an international conservation NGO that then contracts a national conservation NGO, or b) directly to a national conservation NGO. The national NGO has expertise in local conservation issues, but may not have experience with community development or CBET. In situations where limited experience exists, it hires consultants or partners with a national community development NGO to implement the project (Figure 2.2).

In the "government agency/industry association model," the project fund, typically in the form of a loan, originates from an international development funder or bank, who then partners with a national tourism organization (NTO). The NTO may hire temporary local or foreign community development consultants or NGOs, who in turn partner with communities to implement CBET projects (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. Government Agency/Industry Association Model

Source: Lash & Austin, 2003.

The most frequently mentioned partnership model involves a combination of three partners (Hatton, 1999; Leksakundilok, 2004). Observers rarely find a government agency or civil society group who work independently with the local community (Lash &

Austin, 2003). For legality and legitimacy reasons, there is normally an inclusion of the third partner. The community collaborates with both relevant government institutions and appropriate civil society groups (Hatton, 1999; Ken et al., 2005; Leksakundilok, 2004; Rith, 2004). The diversity in the application of this model depends on: which party initiates the project and who gains stronger roles and responsibilities. In this model, the initiator typically becomes the main implementer and cooperates closely with the local community to provide financial and technical support in order to achieve their common and negotiated goals.

2.2.3. CBET Implementation Processes

The keys to developing CBET sustainably are stakeholder collaboration and active local participation in tourism planning and development. This strategy aims to achieve several goals. They include: to balance the physical and commercial orientation of tourism development with the needs and goals of local people, to enhance destination planning, to ensure the maintenance of a sense of place, to foster a better understanding of the entire development situation, to promote the formation of a common value base, and to increase recognition of interdependence among stakeholders (Gill, 1997; Gill & Williams, 2005; Grant, 2004; Hall, 1994; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985; Williams, Gill, & Chura, 2004;).

Jamal and Getz (1995) elaborate a three-step guideline for such collaborative planning in community tourism development. It involves problem-setting, direction-setting and implementation. These collaborative processes include the local communities as one of the major stakeholders and empower them to jointly decide the course of CBET development. To promote CBET collaboration, core tenets of SD such as democratic participation, decentralization of resources, and the empowerment approach must be applied. Jamal and Getz (1995) recommend the downward transfer of power to make decisions and to take actions from central planners to the stakeholders who are involved. The transferring process evolves through the problem-setting to the implementation phase. All stakeholders are engaged in the collective definition of the problems,

determining the ways problems shall be addressed and establishing who shall execute the discussed strategies (Jamal & Getz, 1995).

In the CBET problem setting stage, it is anticipated that active and lengthy discussions may be involved before a development consensus can be reached. This is because CBET developments mostly take place in protected areas with complex legal and social systems. Mediators and the local community have to convince various stakeholders of the need for CBET projects and the benefits it might generate for their collective betterment (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1.   A Collaborative Process for Community-Based Tourism Planning

Stages and Propositions	Actions/Step
Stage1. Problem-Setting	• Define purpose and domain • Identify convener • Convene stakeholders • Define problems/issues to resolve • Identify and legitimize stakeholders • Build commitment to collaborate by raising awareness of interdependence • Balance power differences • Address stakeholder concerns • Ensure adequate resources available to allow collaboration to proceed with key stakeholders present
Stage 2. Direction-setting	• Collect and share information • Appreciate shared values, enhance perceived interdependence • Ensure power distributed among several stakeholders • Establish rules and agendas for direction setting • Organize subgroups if required • List alternatives • Discuss various options • Select appropriate solutions • Arrive at shared vision or plan/strategy through consensus
Stage 3. Implementation	• Discuss means of implementing and monitoring solutions, shared vision, plan or strategy • Select suitable structure for institutionalizing process • Assign goals and tasks • Monitor ongoing progress and ensure compliance to collaboration decisions.

Source: Adapted from: Jamal & Getz, 1995 (used with permission from Donald Getz).

Collaborative planning in the direction setting phase is critical. The goals and strategies for CBET development must reflect the interests of all involved stakeholders in order to be applicable and implementable (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Therefore, all relevant stakeholders have to be present at the collaborative planning table in order to debate appropriate and responsive policies, rules, regulations and strategies for CBET implementation. Then the stakeholders involved have to carry on with their identified roles and responsibilities.

Stakeholder capacity is a major determinant of participation in implementation (Binkerhoof, 1999; Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003b; Jamal & Getz, 1995). Stakeholders in CBET settings vary. So does their capacity to voice their concerns and fulfill their implementing roles and responsibilities. Local communities, in particular, often lack the necessary resources in terms of natural resource management skills, tourism service provision skills and investment capital. This is often perceived as a challenge to collaboration. Some authors suggest the need for mediators to empower local communities by allocating needed development resources (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997; Yin, 2003) to organize supporting institutions. Such resources may be needed to help stakeholders constitute rules and regulations that reduce the barriers to meaningful participation (Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003).

Initially, CBET processes involve transforming rural villages and remote wilderness areas into tourist destinations. Construction of the supportive physical infrastructures for tourism operations is essential. It is the first visible step in CBET development (Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Sofield, 2003). The second step involves preparing the local communities and enabling them to provide satisfactory tourism services and to govern the local commons. This involves increasing the capacity of tourism operations and management (Rith, Williams, & Neth, 2009; Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Murphree, 2005) as well as training the locals about environmental conservation strategies (Abbot & Thomas, 2001; Bookbinder et al., 1998).

Finally, there is a need to build community-stakeholder relations and social networks construction to increase local capacity and community resilience (Dredge,

2006a, 2006b; Gibb, 2005; Jones, 2005). Several authors submit that social networks have a myriad of benefits in CBET development. Social networks and stakeholder relationships not only enhance operational and managerial capacity in local communities, but they also improve business management ability, marketing and promotion in tourism destinations (Gill & Williams, 2005; Gibb, 2005; Jones, 2005; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Williams, Gill, & Chura, 2004). So, the need for social capital development needs to be emphasized at all three stages.

2.3. Challenges to CBET Implementation

Notwithstanding its good intentions, CBET presents critical challenges for local communities in developing nations. There remains a wide gap in understanding the transformation and mobility of ideas from the global to the local scale, from broad SD principles to small CBET practices. The ambiguity of SD, in general, has opened space for a diversity of interpretations and "on the ground" implementation practices. As such, CBET has been critiqued as a political instrument for actors competing for control over local resources (Duffy, 2006; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008; Schillcher, 2007).

Though CBET actions are sustainability oriented, their outcome is uncertain. It is hard to judge implementation outcomes. Larsen (2009) and Few (2002) recommend that the best way to understand all the various strands and constructs about sustainability is to employ a system approach for tracking people, their motivations, and the consequences of their actions. Similarly, Albert, Gunton and Day (2003) recommend that in order to assess the effectiveness of a collaborative policy implementation an evaluator can look at the goals of the policy, the processes that implementers employed, and the outcomes of implementation. Indeed, the outcomes of CBET development are strongly influenced by the goals that are in place and how developers work toward achieving them. Based on the actor-motive-outcome strategy, the next section examines obstacles to CBET implementation in the developing context.

2.3.1. Applicability of CBET Goals

CBET goals vary depending on their origins. In principle, SD requires the balance of the three imperatives. In practice, emphasis on these priorities varies from project to project. The two models of CBET developed as discussed above generate different outcomes. The conservation model leads to accomplishing environmental goals, while the government model emphasizes economic development. Typically, the least emphasized imperative is the social one.

In a developing region context, there is a general consensus that the goals of social equity and community empowerment are rarely emphasized, though they are mentioned in policy (Blackstock, 2005; Butcher, 2007; Richard, 2000; Timothy, 2002). Utilizing Larsen's systematic approach to tracking involved actors, their motivations and the consequence of their actions, the limitations in the extent to which social imperatives are incorporated into CBET developments can be identified.

2.3.1.1. Economic Orientation in Government Agency Model

CBET project development in a Government Agency Model Approach is comprised of primary stakeholders from government institutions, private consultants, market actors and local community groups. Economic growth is a major motivation in this collaboration. This development process is funded by mostly loans from international development funders or the bank. CBET projects are expected to generate revenues and make profits for involved stakeholders, as well as to pay off loans.

CBET approaches involve aid recipient countries carrying out the structural adjustment programs. This strategy is designated to enhance democratization and governance (Hira & Parfitt, 2004; Lash & Austin, 2003). The interest in embracing CBET as a structural adjustment program strategy is part of the emergence of neoliberalism expressed through global environmental governance. It intertwines the concept of environmental governance and neoliberal notions of development through tourism. CBET is positioned as an engine of development (Harris & Schipanni, 2007; Sangkakorn, 2006). It is often seen as an agent for enabling rural communities devastated

by economic restructuring to regain and enhance their economic opportunities (Duffy, 2006; Schilcher, 2007; Neth, 2008; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2007; Yin, 2003).

The developing countries need to conserve their natural heritage while creating a future for their people. The governments in developing countries, facing financial problems, debt and a need to secure markets for their goods see tourism as an answer to their problems. CBET is seen as a vehicle for helping governments meet their environmental conservation commitment – contributing to eradication of rural poverty, and increasing the country's image for international aid and investment (Lekakundilok, 2004; Neth, 2008; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2007; Rith, 2004).

In this context, the space for CBET projects in protected areas has been promoted through the adoption of such policies as natural resource decentralization (Currie-Adler, 2005; Nhem, 2005; Oberndof, 2005). The application of exclusive protected area systems may deprive local access to natural resources through traditional ways (ICEM, 2002). Therefore CBET development in such contexts should focus on gaining a better quality of life for community members. This may involve creating new businesses and employment opportunities and increasing environmental awareness, or it may provide a range of other less economically focused opportunities for members of the community.

Reflectively, national tourism policies tend to be geared toward the generation of economic growth. In this regard, the concept of CBET development is almost synonymous with market actors' definitions of economic growth, westernization and modernization for governments. Essentially, tourism means employment, balance of payments, local development and foreign exchange more than other elements (Harrison & Schhipani, 2007; Schilcher, 2007). In many CBET studies, the structural adjustment program is viewed as a set of neoliberal ideas that have been translated into neoliberal environmental programs and policies (Duffy, 2006; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008; Schilcher, 2007). These policies aim to govern people, resources and activities through complex networks of actors, rather than through a single source of power and authority.

These policies are particularly matched with "state-civil society partnerships". Engagements between state and private actors are designed to reach a consensus about how best to tackle and resolve environmental problems (Campbell & Vainio-Mattila, 2003; Binkerhoff, 1999; Mohan & Stokke, 2000). The Government Agency approach to CBET development regards external stakeholders as facilitators or inhibitors of development, and the local community as victim and a recipient of intervention. Though it maintains local stakeholders as players in this collaboration, they are mostly treated as helpless and passive. So, the voice of the market and economic agenda is prioritized.

2.3.1.2. Environmental Orientation of Conservation Model

Some authors blame conservationists and NGOs as much as they do the economists for the failure to achieve local empowerment in many CBET projects (Abbot & Thomas, 2001; Butcher, 2007; Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997; Hulme & Murphree, 1999; Pimbert & Pretty, 1997). CBET developments are located in or adjacent to protected areas, and the interests of conservation stakeholders tend to prevail. Advocates and developers anticipate that the CBET acts as a revenue generation mechanism for protected area management and as a provider of alternative livelihoods for the local community, so that community members quit their assumed destructive traditional and cultural ways of livelihood.

The notion of environmental conservation and the goal to generate revenue for protected area management is problematic, but they are dominant in the conservation model. CBET has to be environmentally friendly if it is to be sustainable. However, the questions are: According to whose criteria can one judge if a development is "environmentally friendly"? And what has so far come up as evidence that large scale modernization models are destructive of the environment (Boo, 1990; Bookbinders et al., 1998). The CBET community should avoid these approaches. However, without any in-depth study of the real causes of environmental damage in specific CBET regions, prescriptive policies have been made and introduced to poor dependent communities (Duffy, 2006; Hulme & Murphree, 1999; Mendoza, 2005; Rith, 2004; Neth, 2008).

Biodiversity donors and environmental organizations provide a wide range of aid to ensure that resources, which are fundamental to development, are preserved and utilized according to specific principles. Ironically, this means the deprived communities have to follow conservation policies, which are pre-defined elsewhere irrespective of their broader social and cultural implications. The entire idea of raising funds for protected area management and keeping pristine environments for tourists reflects a "classical approach" to conservation. It denies local communities access to livelihood resources, which are often central to new local conservation policies and strategies (Blackie & Jeanrenaud, 1997; Hall, 2007; Hulme & Murphree, 1999). To many donors, environmental NGOs and others, saving environments still means that they have to become denuded of people's traditional livelihood activities.

2.3.2. Limitations of Intervention Processes

Doubts concerning the applicability of the collaborative methods in such contexts have also been pronounced. Collaboration is a concept originating from the Western world contexts and values. In principle, democratic political systems offer a more supportive enabling environment for local participation or state-civil society partnerships than authoritarian or limited democratic forms of government (Brinkerhoff, 1999; Hall, 2007; Wang & Wall, 2005). However, collaboration works when voices of all stakeholders are considered thoroughly before policy implementation occurs. Some commentators argue that issues of power relations often hinder the success of collaboration by putting a silence on those who are less powerful and by giving legal advantages to those who are more powerful (Blackstock 2005; Few 2002; Reed 1997). Understanding how practical CBET strategies might be in the less democratic atmosphere of isolated rural communities is critical. When CBET is viewed primarily as a mechanism for the structural adjustment program, the effect in this transition process is doubtful.

The elusiveness of power partly stems from its conceptualization as relational, originating in social interactions and being empowering, restraining and resistive (Few, 2002). In this dissertation, the concept of power originates from resource mobilization.

Resource mobilization is central to the development of power relations and the exercise of power. Gidden (1990) notes that the understanding of power requires an analysis of how resources are organized and interact with structure principles, institutions, practices and agencies. This conceptualization of power as a resource guides the interpretation of how stakeholders employ their power to achieve specific outcomes.

In addition, Larsen (2009) and Few (2002) suggest that in order to understand how power works, investigators can begin by examining actors that control development resources. Few's (2002) study of tourism in conservation areas in Belize provides a rare example of empirical research that explicitly attempts to specify the nature of power relations, resources, motives and tactics. He suggests that the power characteristics of intervention programs are shaped by motives, resources, and tactics.

Collaborative outcomes can be understood as the product of actors pursuing their motives by drawing on tactics and a range of resources (Few, 2002). Motives refer to an actor's reasons for intervening. They typically include strategic objectives (based on interests) regarding the outcomes of planning as well as articulations of identity. Resources enhance that ability. Power tactics are strategic social actions that draw on resources and that agents employ in power systems characterized by negotiation (Few, 2002).

While Few (2002) argues that his study of actors is mainly concerned with micro-foundations of power relations, he acknowledges the importance of macro level resources. He indicates that resources refer not only to personal skills and social connections, but also to the structural properties of social systems including policy directives. In addition, the value of focusing on the organization of resources in the study of power is that it provides insight not only into actor strategies, but into how these interact with the structural and institutional processes that are embedded in resources (Gidden, 1990). Gidden recommends that in social negotiation, resource organization can act as both enabling and constraint structures. Its use can include and exclude individuals or networks, which are not supportive of the agenda for discussion (1990).

Researchers in the field of collaborative planning or shared decision-making elaborate on this position. The extent of collaboration is dependent on resource availability, presence of stakeholders and their objectives, roles and responsibilities, as well as presence of supportive legal structures (Binkerhoff, 1999; Currie-Alder, 2005; Edwards-Craig, Williams, & Gunton, 2003; Few, 2002; Gunton, Day & Williams, 2003; Gunton & Day, 2003). The quality and quantity of resource that stakeholders have affect their capacity to participate in collaboration by shaping their ability to play their expected roles in planning and implementation. In addition, the overall implementation of collaborative plans depends on the degree of convergence in stakeholder objectives and their receptiveness to innovative options. Therefore, in order to understand the fairness and effectiveness of CBET collaboration, there is a need to examine the broader socio-political context, and identify both the enabling structures at the macro and micro levels, which may be supportive or destructive for the CBET effort.

Democratization and good governance can promote sharing of power and responsibilities among relevant stakeholders, especially those local community stakeholders involved with managing natural resources sustainably. It signifies a move towards greater equity, empowerment and social justice. As such, it has become a required form of governance in aid recipient countries. State actors are obliged to share their authority and work in partnership with civil society and the local community (Binkerhoff, 1999; Campbell & Vainio-Mattila, 2003; Duffy, 2006; Mohan & Stokke, 2000). Early community empowerment is encouraged, and government institutions are encouraged to cede control of resources to the communities and other stakeholders, as well as hold them accountable to consensus rules and regulations. In this context, governments are asked to play critical roles in fostering and supervising the collaborative process, ensuring that it is based on shared goals and principles of SD.

Participation in decision making is likely to be meaningful only where it is politically acceptable to the government (Bianchi, 2002; Timothy, 2007). Though, power sharing is not yet a favoured tradition in many developing countries, its integration into global systems and transition processes is growing. The legal framework for wider civil

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society and community participation are increasingly available. These legal frameworks consist of laws, policies, rules and regulations that are supportive of bottom-up and collaborative efforts. This signifies the presence of enabling structures, which is the major macro level resources, for community actions (Carlisle, 2007; Hall, 2007; Few, 2002; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Richard, 2000).

However, it is tricky to decide whether local actions taken in CBET development projects have extended to nurturing empowerment of civil groups and the local community. There is a need to examine strategies to mobilize the resources needed for collaboration and power sharing. The extent that CBET collaboration is successful is dependent on all stakeholders being able to channel their available development resources to adequately empower communities to participate in collaboration.

As noted already, the role that CBET might play in poverty alleviation receives ever increasing attention from government and industry stakeholders. When these two players are in partnership to empower the local community, economic benefits sharing is the primary focus of CBET development. In contrast, PBS reflects an interest in finding forms of development through which benefits actually reach the majority of the population, especially the grassroots communities (Finningan, Gunton & Williams, 2003; Wang & Wall, 2005). It is also supportive of macro economic growth. Industry and government in developing countries are increasingly promoting PBS as a primary method to enhance the democratization of CBET development. Development resources are now being channelled toward building tourism operational skills in the communities, so that tourism operations are able to satisfactorily service tourists (Kantamaturapoj, 2007; Wang & Wall, 2005; Wearing & McDonald, 2002). Resources allocated for other necessary indirectly related capacity and expertise are minimal.

NGOs view CBET projects as a mechanism to promote collective actions and natural resource management. Many NGOs involved in CBET projects are environmental organizations and are financed by biodiversity funders (Butcher, 2007; Lash & Austin. 2003); they often prioritize conservation capacity and channel their resources to do so. As a result, the local communities hardly have adequate understanding to make informed

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decisions on other matters. Participation in decision making as Wang and Wall defined it "political empowerment," which is a highest form of democracy according to Richards (2002) and Timothy (2002; 2007), does not happen. It is sometimes even impossible to affirm if rural communities have ever been able to make decisions on what they need from CBET or how CBET should be considered as either a failure or success.

In CBET collaboration processes, the extent that CBET projects may operate in favour of the poor people is dependent on the acceptance of the governments as well as the conscience of NGOs or the market groups who work in partnership with the government to lessen its absolute authority (Hatton, 1999; Leksakundilok, 2004; Lash & Austin. 2003; Murphree, 2005). It is also observed that the concept of "local community" is generally regarded as homogenous by policy makers. Intervention of a portion of the local population has been interpreted as empowerment of the local community. In fact, the community stakeholders are heterogeneous. Often these diverse groups are competing for access to the existing resources that are supposed to be the main assets of CBET (Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997; Mendoza, 2005; Men, 2005).

Intervention outputs and participation procedures have rarely been established on social consensus, but have already been pre-designed according to certain external agendas regardless of whether they would fit in with existing structures (sometimes they do not and the consequences are severe). The collaborators' intervention mostly concentrates on the community groups that are interested in CBET (Butcher, 2007) while the ground policies, rules and regulations apply to the entire local population. Frequently, this aspect provokes conflicts among community stakeholders. Power tactics in CBET collaboration often shatter the existing social fabric of recipient communities (Moore, 2005; Brosius, Lauwenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005).

From this discussion, it is clear that inadequate empowerment mutes the voice of the marginal vulnerable communities and CBET implementation attempts may fail. The local population's lack of capabilities to meaningfully participate in policy making (i.e., conservation or development) may make these policies unresponsive to their needs and interests. Moreover, this also means failure of these policies (including CBET

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intervention) because the local people who have to implement policies might not actively take part in their enforcement.

2.4. Sustainable CBET Development Strategies

This study considers SD policy forces as beneficial to developing countries and local communities if planned and implemented appropriately. CBET is positioned as a tool for supporting shifts in the broader global policy and planning system priorities toward a greater participatory and democratic approach to development. It is one of the rare mechanisms, which can address the complicated problems of ecological conservation, whilst responding to both long term and immediate needs for alternative livelihoods in local communities. As well, it can improve the status of the local community in the broader social order.

This dissertation recognizes that current CBET intervention strategies have limitations. The main purpose of this dissertation is to develop new strategies that are able to reduce these CBET limitations and to improve the effectiveness of current implementation processes. A reflection that emerges from all discussions is that CBET requires a strong and capable local community to succeed. It is evident that many communities in the contemporary developing world are far from being capable of CBET management (Butcher, 2007; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Jones, 2005; Leksakundilok, 2004). External assistance to build up the capacity of such places is necessary. Yet, precaution must be applied with regards to the socio-cultural aspects of the local communities, the processes of intervention and the goals of CBET development.

2.4.1. Understand the CBET Communities

In the tourism literature, there are four conceptualizations of community: 1) the use of the term community as a place-based entity (Hall, 1994; Murphy, 1985); 2) the idea of community as a local social system; 3) the understanding of community based on "togetherness" (Blackstock, 2005; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Milne & Ateljavic, 2001; Muphy

& Murphy, 2004); and, 4) the realization of community as an ideology often hiding competition and power relations (Gill, 1997; Reed, 1997; Timothy, 2002). Though none of these conceptualizations is complete, each of them grasps important aspects of the phenomenon.

The term community is used in CBET literature in a diverse number of forms. No matter which conceptualization scholars adopt, there are precautions that must be considered. First, research must avoid the tendency to idealize the concept of community, as if it were inherently good and that external influences were inevitably bad (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999). Second, the understanding of community as a homogenous social entity is a mistake. Unequal distribution of power and uneven flow of information usually characterize the existence of social groups, and therefore, not all members of a community are equally able to influence decisions, affect communal processes or benefit from the "togetherness" (Gill, 1997; Reed, 1997). Third, there is no space to understand communities as isolated and static entities (Milne & Ateljavic, 2001; Schilcher, 2007). Despite being permanently changing and mutating, the local is underlined when connected to the global.

There are a series of characteristics at the community level, which may make some communities better prepared than others for undertaking their own CBET process. Richards (2002) argues for instance that if CBET is to be sustainable, communities at least should be able to achieve meaningful participation, which includes the forming of groups by local people to meet predetermined objectives. Additionally, some suggest that the central aspects of social capital also influence the likelihood of a community to undertake SD development (Gibb, 2005; Jones, 2005; Pretty, 2003a). That is, trust, common rules, reciprocity and connectedness represent crucial tenets in the local struggle towards sustainability because they create the basis for community collective actions and because they generate synergy.

The antecedents that a community has in regard to the elements introduced in the previous paragraph are useful to assess the community's capacity to achieve CBET development. The participatory practices, reflected for instance in the number and type of

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organizations or groups within the community, may serve to reveal its capacity for achieving common goals. Likewise, the kind of power relations exerted within such organizations also help to underline decision making processes.

The following list describes a series of elements that if assessed, would help to determine the basis that communities have for constructing a CBET process: 1) type of information flow (Cole, 2006; Kok, 2008); 2) livelihood strategies and social conditions (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999); 3) political and organizational capacity (Dredge, 2006a, 2006b; Hall, 1994; Strati, 2000; Theodori, 2005); 4) conflicts, willingness for change (Moore, 2005; Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005); and 5) entrepreneurship (Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Hall, Kilpatrick, & Mitchell, 2005; Schaper, 2005). Therefore, in order to build a sustainable community, these elements have to be considered thoroughly.

These conclusions make more relevant the choice of capabilities theory as the overriding approach to community development. Capabilities theory has remarkable features that make it applicable and adaptable to research in many aspects including empowerment. These features include: the combination of economics and ethics (Sen, 1999). This approach acknowledges the value judgments that are inherent in development, social arrangement and policies. It recognizes that human well-being is multidimensional, and developers should advance many different kinds of capabilities at the same time in order to achieve the valued ends of development (Sen, 1999; Timothy, 2002, 2007).

CBET theory also recognizes that individuals and sub-groups within a community have many different values, interests, and preference. It draws attentions to group disparities, such as those based on gender, class, race, ethnicity, and others. Developers must take into account diversity and sensitivity when they introduce new technology or programs in order to avoid conflicts (Jones, 2005) and the instigation of deprivation (Sen, 1999). Capabilities theory regards people as participants and agents. It argues that people need to hold government and other sites of power accountable, and to scrutinize policies and choices (Sen, 1999). Last, it explicitly acknowledges that it contributes to (but is not sufficient for) a theory of justice. It argues that if equality or sufficiency are required in

any space (which is central to justice theory), it should be in the space of capabilities (Sen, 1999).

2.4.2. Revise CBET Development Goals

The primary problem concerning CBET development goals is the lack of adequate attention to social and cultural imperatives. CBET proponents must revisit and clarify their development goals if they intend to utilize CBET as a SD policy strategy. Social imperatives and purposes have to be emphasized. Social sustainability plays a paramount role in the continuous journey toward sustainability. Ultimately, it is the local communities that will determine economic and environmental well-being in their locality (Magis & Shinn, 2009). As clearly emphasized in the first article of Agenda 21, development has to be human-centered (The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992). Experiences prove that development plans and strategies that manipulate local communities do not bring about desirable outcomes (Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005; Gimmire & Pimbert, 1997).

Therefore, the utmost achievement that CBET, as a SD policy strategy, should strive to reach is to develop a sustainable community, not merely economic or ecological aspects (Epler-Wood, 2004; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Fennell, 2008; Timothy, 2007). This means to build a capable and resilient community that is able to take part equally with other stakeholders in the course of CBET development. As well, it means the local community members are capable of making their own decisions on how to best lead their own lives in an emerging new context and to further create a dynamic environment.

Understanding of local needs and aspirations is important. To inform the communities of what may be best for their communities was an obvious mistake in many international development programs (Sen, 1999). It is critical to assist the communities to determine what they actually need in their specific context. Therefore, the utmost goals that CBET developers should strive to achieve is building local capabilities and freeing

the communities from deprivation. These capabilities enable locals to become an active agent that bring about change in the world in which they live (Sen, 1999).

In the tourism development literature, many empowerment methods have been suggested to build local capacity to achieve the balance of the three imperatives. In this dissertation, a new sustainable community development framework is developed based on the combined experiences of other researchers in order to build the capabilities for local communities. The elements of these framework include: 1) economic development; 2) human resource development; 3) conservation strategies and outcomes; 4) community health and social well-being; and 5) political empowerment (Butcher, 2007; Carlisle, 2007; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Fennell, 2008; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Hall, Kilpatrick, & Mitchell, 2005; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Schaper, 2005; Sen, 1999; Thimothy, 2007; Weaver, 1998).

2.4.2.1.   Economic Development

Economic development is one of the most important empowerment goals for tourism development including in CBET projects, either the developer comes from the conservation or development sector. They frequently pay great attention to ensure that this goal has been achieved because it is the most urgent incentive for other actions such as conservation. The issue, however, associates with how developers define the term economic development. Mostly, community economic development is limited to the act of employing a handful of community members in the tourism sector (Duffy, 2006; Honey, 1999; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2007; Wang & Wall, 2005). This study argues that this action is inadequate.   In order to develop a community economy, the CBET project has to seriously consider the following criteria. They include: 1) job opportunities and job creation; 2) business and investment mechanisms; 3) economic development strategies; and 4) development model, supporting mechanisms and partnerships (Table 2.2).

Direct employment opportunities in the CBET development are mandatory. The local community should be the primary operator of tourism services (Gill & Williams, 2005; Murphy, 1985). Yet, the CBET project is small, thus employing a handful of locals is insufficient. The developers should strive to enlarge opportunities by carefully

composing business and investment mechanisms to accommodate further economic initiatives (Harrison & Schipani, 2007; Men, 2005; Neth, 2008; Schilcher, 2007). As many researchers debate, there should be mechanisms to ensure that CBET economic strategies contribute to the broader local development strategies because the CBET community is only a portion of the larger population in a geographical setting (Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2007; Richards, 2000). Besides, there should be enabling structures and policies that permit people to make decisions concerning options for further economic development strategies in their locality (Carlisle, 2007; Hall, Kilpatrick, & Mitchell, 2005; Neth, 2008; Wang & Wall, 2005).

Table 2.2.   CBET Development Outcomes and Measurement Indicators

CBET Development Outcomes	Measurement Indicators
1. Economic Development	• Job opportunities and job creation • Business and investment mechanism • Economic development strategies • Development model, supporting mechanism and partnership
2. Human Resource Development	• Basic education, acquiring wisdom • Human capital development • The integration of traditional and modern knowledge and technology
3. Conservation	• Existence of community conservation policies • Practice of conservation strategies • Outcome of conservation strategies • Record of good NRM governance
4. Community Health	• Human relationship including community's mental and spiritual health, social cohesiveness, and self-identity • Human-nature relationship including physical health and human attitude towards nature and environment
5. Community Empowerment	• Policy framework • Local governance • Level of local control and ownership • Organizational structures • Links with other relevant institutions

Source: Sen, 1999; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Schaper, 2005; Hall, Kilpatrick & Mitchell, 2005; Thimothy, 2007; Fennel, 2003, 2008; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Weaver, 1998.

2.4.2.2. Biodiversity Conservation

Conservation is as important goal as economic development in all CBET projects. Frequently, these goals are the driving force behind the development of the project (Butcher, 2007; Duffy, 2005; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Rith, 2004; Weaver, 1998). Indeed, it is crucial to achieve ecological objectives to ensure that the broader ecosystem and particularly the resources for CBET development are sustained, and that CBET has minimum negative impacts on the environment. These goals and objectives have been clearly defined in the ecotourism literature. They include: 1) existence of community conservation policies; 2) practice of conservation strategies; 3) outcome of conservation strategies; and 4) record of good NRM governance (Bookbinders et al., 1998; Chhun, 2008; Choir & Sirakaya, 2006; Courvisano & Ameeta, 2006).

Conservation policies must be developed specifically in each CBET project to ensure on-going local participation and compliance (Courvisano & Ameeta, 2006). The need to develop the local economy is huge; it is possible that the CBET development will be expanded in the future. Therefore, resource conservation and environmental management systems must be thoroughly designed to minimize the possible negative impacts of this potential expansion. Mechanisms to implement and monitor these policies must be carefully developed in order to ensure that policies are put into practice and that the outcomes of such policy implementation are desirable. Indicators for monitoring, however, need to be specially designed for the specific context to ensure that conservation strategies do not exceed the economic and social needs (Elper-Wood, 2004; Williams, 1995; Williams & Tood, 1997; Waldron & Williams, 2002).

2.4.2.3. Human Resource Development

The communities need to be capable of carrying the CBET development. This need is frequently considered as skills for tourism management and operations. Capacity building is one of the major policy strategies in developing projects such as CBET. Myriad training programs have always been observed in the process of the CBET development. This training, sometimes, provides the communities with basic knowledge of tourism development (Rith, 2004). However, they were frequently inadequate and

insufficient owing to the small scale nature of the CBET projects and contrastingly multiple aspects of the CBET development (Kiss, 2004; Jones, 2005). Kiss (2004) soundly criticizes that local communities in CBET settings are hardly competent tourism entrepreneurs at all. It is true that a capacity building program should take into account more than a few basic trainings to a few community members in order to enable them to become eco-entrepreneurs. Many researchers recommend that the following criteria should be considered: 1) basic education and acquiring wisdom; 2) human capital development; and 3) the integration of traditional and modern knowledge and technology (Jones, 2005; Schaper, 2005; Timothy, 2007).

These criteria seem to be ambitious and impractical in the context of small scale CBET projects. This study does not require, however, that project developers have to do all the work. Human capital development for CBET management and operations are the primary concern for the running of a project. This criterion, of course, should be prioritized. However, this study suggests that design for such capacity building policies should take into account how to diffuse knowledge and experiences widely among the communities; how the CBET project could contribute to the general education; and how to integrate local wisdom with imported knowledge so that the CBET project can offer the desired local flavours.

2.4.2.4.   Community Health and Social Well-Being

Magis and Shinn (2009) argue that a development strategy may not be able to promote sustainability if it fails to promote social sustainability. The social well-being in a community includes such criteria as the harmonious relationship between humans and nature, the good relationships among the community members, as well as social justice and recognition of community rights (Fennell, 2008; Larsen, 2009; Magis, 2009; Magis & Shinn, 2009; Roseland, 2002). The first criterion was discussed earlier, while the political aspect will be discussed later. This section focuses on the relationship among members in the community and the geographical setting.

It is widely acknowledged that people need the sense of belonging, social recognition and identity as much as they do economic benefits. As well, people need

social beliefs and principles that sustain their mental and spiritual health and bind them together in proclaiming their unified identity. A sound development project must seriously consider these social aspects and nourish them rather than deteriorate them. Kiss (2004) and Neth (2008) argue that some CBET projects encourage economic development at the expense of social fragmentation owing to uneven distribution of benefits and conflict of interests.

Likewise, a tourism project may fail to achieve its overriding goals if it neglects to acquire the social and cultural consent from the host community (Johnston, 2006; Robinson, 1999). To promote community development goals, the CBET intervention must ensure that social well-beings are properly considered. Specifically, the project has to ascertain that it encourages activities that respect local beliefs, enhance the mental and spiritual health, as well as unifies the community divides in order to promote integrated goals and cohesive identity (Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Fennell, 2008; Timothy, 2007).

2.4.2.5.   Political Empowerment

Jamal and Getz (1995) prescriptions for collaboration are an adjustment based on assumptions that each autonomous stakeholder has its own independent agenda and right to voice it out equally. Yet, in most CBET communities such equalities exist among external stakeholders only. The local communities are the least powerful stakeholder. Normally, the integration of rural communities and local institutions into larger, more complex and global systems often stifles whatever capacity for decision-making that the local community might have had and renders its traditional cultural knowledge and fragile institutions obsolete.

Therefore, it repeatedly emerges that community empowerment should be the central goal of CBET and all interventions should strive to engage community participation in order to achieve this goal. However, various authors are concerned with the interpretation of these two terms: participation and empowerment (Pimbert & Pretty, 1997; Timothy, 2002; 2007; Sangkakorn, 2006). The meaning of these two terms varies among stakeholders in CBET implementation, and it is one of the major reasons that lead to merely partial and sectorial empowerment.

In democratic terms, public participation in decision making and policy implementation denotes that people can have control over resources, initiatives and decisions that affect them. CBET collaboration involves a process through which a powerful stakeholder begins to share governance responsibilities with other interested stakeholders (Richard, 2000; Duffy, 2006). This sharing has to progress upto the level upon which it builds the capabilities of stakeholders, especially local communities to be able to participate equally in policy making in every aspect of their lives.

Capacities to participate and empowerment are multi-dimensional (Sen, 1999). Having only a part of it is inadequate and cannot eventually lead to a fair and just society. In CBET development, the community primarily participates in income generating activities as stated earlier. Timothy (2007) terms this as economic empowerment, a first level of empowerment. Wang and Wall (2005) divide local participation into two categories: participation in benefit sharing and participation in decision making. Participation in benefit sharing is also considered just the beginning of empowerment, while participation in decision making is regarded as an advanced type of empowerment.

In order for the communities to sustain the CBET project and to develop their community, they need to be able to make their own decisions. Developers can cultivate this empowerment by: 1) ensuring that the CBET communities are well posited in the policy framework for community-based development; 2) promoting the governance of local resource at the local level; 3) developing organizational and enabling structures for development management; and 4) ensuring that adequate linkages with a variety of supportive stakeholders are forged.

In summation, despite reception of assistance and openness to collaboration, various authors have identified crucial tenets of sustainable community development as key to CBET sustainability. Key aspects for sustainable community development include empowerment of local people in all important aspects, and enhancement of self-reliance and social justice. Working upon these criteria, CBET sustainability will be reached not only when the economic and ecological bases are improved to the full extent of autonomy, but also when the community as such is enhanced by enlarging its control

capacity, strengthening its social and cultural bonds, as well as building its resilience to cope with further collaboration and unanticipated risks in the future.

2.4.3. Procure Development Resources

Success or failure of CBET development is dependent on two major factors: 1) the community's capacity to operate and manage CBET effectively and 2) the capacity to maintain CBET as a community-oriented development. Transforming local communities from being rural farmers to eco-entrepreneur is painstaking. Some authors comment that CBET can fail when the local communities lack adequate technical capacity to operate and manage tourism when the external mediator (e.g., NGOs) withdraws from the project (Jone, 2005; Kiss, 2004). Conversely, in certain contexts local communities have managed to obtain necessary skills for CBET development. However, CBET can still fail when the more powerful actor, such as a tourism corporate, shows interest in the popularity of the destination and wants to capture the development right from local communities (Courvisanos & Ameeta, 2006; Carlisle, 2007; Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Weinberg, Bellows, & Ekster, 2002).

Therefore, local communities need multiple capacities including financial, technical, organizational and social capacities to develop CBET successfully (Courvisanos & Ameeta, 2006; Weinberg, Bellows & Ekster, 2002). Financial capacity refers to the availability of funds or loans for development initiatives, while technical capacity refers to possession of needed skills for tourism development. Organizational capacity involves the ability of local communities to act as agents for CBET development according to community principles. Social capacity implies the ability to mobilize and organize resources from relationships, and links to support local communities when necessary (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3.   Resources and Opportunity Structures in CBET Intervention

Required Resources	Measurement Indicators
1. Economic	• Accessibility to economic resources

Opportunities	• Rights to consumption, production & exchange • Conditions for exchange, pricing and market mechanism
2. Social Opportunities	• Social arrangement for education and health care center • Build capabilities to participate in economic and political activities
3. Protective Security	• Arrangement for risk management including permanent institutional arrangement for the vulnerable people or ad hoc arrangement in case of emergency
4. Transparency Guarantee	• Openness of development agenda and information • Preventive mechanisms for corruption, irresponsibility and underhand dealing
5. Political Liberties	• Civil right and implementation of democracy • Opportunities for political dialogue & dissent • Participation in selection of legislation and executives • Decision on who can govern and on what principles

Source: Sen, 1999.

These capacities can be obtained through access to basic freedoms including resources and opportunity structures such as: economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security and political liberties (Sen, 1999). Provision of economic facilities and social opportunities should be arranged from the beginning of the preparation phase of the intervention. Economic facilities refer to opportunities to engage in CBET remunerative activities. People are entitled economically to the degree that they have access to necessary resources (e.g., finance, land or natural resources, skills, and materials), which can be put to use or to conserve for CBET development purposes. Social opportunities include public assurance of services vital to enabling people's ability to access other freedoms. These include, for example, education, health care and social interactions.

For instance, local communities first need legal rights to access attractions, which are usually located in the PA boundary, and to utilize them for CBET development purposes (Carlisle, 2007; Figgis & Bushell, 2007). They, then, need financial and technical assistance to operate and manage CBET (i.e., start-up capital to spend for development costs, tourism operational and managerial skills, as well as conversation skills). This assistance enables local communities to gain employment or to begin self-enterprises within the CBET development framework (Gibb, 2005; Jones, 2005). As direct economic opportunities can be limited, developers have to prepare social mechanisms to spread tourism benefits to broader communities (Wang & Wall, 2005).

These social arrangements can be related to community well-being such as schools, health care centers, community meeting venues, and so forth. Finally, the local communities need not only rights to develop CBET, but also the right to protection against exploitation from tourism operators (Wearing & McDonald, 2002). Market mechanisms have to be in place to ensure that external parties respect local communities and their CBET development conditions and principles.

Because of the extreme dangers threatening those disaffected by the market, Sen (1999) asserts that protective security provides a formal social safety net designed to prevent people from falling into abject poverty. CBET projects often involve transformation of rural livelihoods from forest consumption to conservation through tourism (Abbot & Thomas, 2001; Bookbinder et al., 1998; Kiss, 2004). CBET plans and policies have to ensure that the majority of people, who lost income generation from logging and hunting, gain access to CBET economic opportunities. This means skill training and financial support mechanisms (i.e., micro credit loan or fund) have to be available in CBET communities (Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Jones, 2005). CBET policies also have to take into account *ad hoc* measures to cover risk and emergencies. Local communities need supporting structures and institutions to protect them from invasion of potential powerful corporations who may seize development opportunities when external intervention ends (Neth, Knerr, & Rith, 2008; Weinberg, Bellows & Ekster, 2002).

Political and civil freedoms refer to the opportunities people have to participate in resource governance (Sen, 1999). In CBET contexts, this may involve the right to act as an agent (Gidden, 1990) of CBET development. For example, local communities can mobilize themselves and organize managerial bodies (i.e., the community-based organization and collaboration with external stakeholders). They can establish local institutions and subgroups for CBET development execution. To do this, they need political entitlements such as freedom of dialogue and dissent, assembly, choice of group affiliation, voting and holding CBET institutions and mediators accountable (Sen, 1999). Political and civil freedoms have intrinsic value. They are important in their own right because deprivation of people's rights to participate in crucial governance issues restricts

their social, political, and economic lives. Political and civic freedoms also have instrumental value in that they directly contribute to the effectiveness of intervention and development processes.

Closely related to political and civil freedoms are transparency guarantees. Transparency guarantees are evidenced in a society that ensures openness and full disclosure and that promotes an environment of trust (Sen, 1999). Transparency guarantees are critical to enable transactions among people and to mitigate corruption. To ensure transparency in development projects such as CBET, open communication systems internally and externally are required (Kok, 2008; Cole, 2006). As previously stated, internal participatory practices are reflected, for instance, in the number and type of organizations or groups within the CBET community; they may serve to reveal its capacity for achieving CBET goals. Many authors recognize that individuals and sub-groups within a community have many different values, interests, and preferences (Gill, 1997; Theodori, 2005). Free flow of information, as well as honest and open communication is crucial for reducing conflicts and building trust and cooperation via bridging of the divides between community groups (Cole, 2006; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Kok, 2008; Murphy & Murphy, 2004).

In short, people need adequate access to both economic and social resources to build up their capabilities and to prepare themselves for CBET operational tasks and management. Resources needed for building community capability to manage CBET development are more than economic. They should include opportunity structures that enable the flow of information, exchange of expertise (external and local-based), access to development advice, political lobbying, supportive policies and institutional arrangements, and so forth.

2.4.4. Address Intervention Challenges

Notably, the overriding schemes of SD are concerns over the long term sustainability of the environment, which undeniably affects development performance. The focuses of the solution lie with the actors' performance and institutional

involvement. SD objects to the notion of autonomy and exclusion and calls for an all-inclusive and far-reaching development process capable for meeting all the people's reasonable needs (The Brundtland Report, 1987). This means all stakeholders should have a role and participate in making decisions for development policy and application.

SD assumes that partnership and collaborative decision making processes are prime problem solving mechanisms (Blackstock 2005; Duffy, 2006; Few 2002; Fine 2003; Gimmire & Pimbert 1997; Reed 1997; Schlicher, 2007). These processes are assumed to solve the actors' conflict of interests and will bring better solutions for grave global dilemmas. Yet, as explored above, collaboration works when all the voices of stakeholders are heard and considered thoroughly before policy formation occurs. When stakeholders in the development realm vary significantly in terms of power, the question of how to overcome power relations in such circumstances must be answered.

This dissertation's author realizes that collaboration may be time and resource consuming as well as challenging to existing power relations. It, however, can be justified because it potentially can avoid the cost of resolving conflicts in the long term, and it is more politically legitimate. Collaboration can build on social capital and stakeholder relationships as well as the store of knowledge and capacities of the involved stakeholders (Byrd, 2007; Currie-Alder, 2005; Fennell, 2009; Gallebo & Francis, 2006; Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003; Gunton & Day, 2003).

Furthermore, the pursuit of partnership and collaboration does not have to wait until democratic regimes have come to power and all the stakeholders become equal. Regarding participation and decentralization, collaboration can serve as demonstration efforts that help to push the envelope of possible outcomes. This is one way that sector specific partnerships can contribute to encouraging democratic governance. On the other hand, stakeholder institutions are not monolithic. Regimes of all types may incorporate agencies and actors that are more cooperative or repressive than the overall regime (Brinkerhoff, 1999). This means that while the regime type is important, especially for scaling up of partnerships and for their sustainability, finer-grained assessment is called

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for to determine the degree of receptivity and responsiveness of the particular stakeholder who could be a potential partner for CBET development.

From this line of thinking, collaboration in the CBET context can happen prolifically if the interventionists take time to carefully choose their implementing partners (Jones, 2005; Neth, 2008; Rith, Williams, & Neth, 2009). Choosing the right partners and building on positive relationships contribute to the success of intervention and later implementation processes. In the context of CBET intervention, Jamal's and Getz's collaboration model can be modified as in Table 2.4.

There are numerous benefits from collaborative planning and implementation in the literature, but building positive social capital is the most frequently cited and remarkable catalyst and glue for collaborative effort. In addition, we can see in this model that social capital generated from stakeholder networking and relationships occur at all stages of CBET development. In an empirical evaluation of collaborative land use planning in British Columbia, involved stakeholders acknowledged the difficulty of this method, but strongly appreciated the benefit of building up the stock of social capital in the collaborative processes (Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003a; Albert, Gunton, & Day, 2003; Calbick, Day, & Gunton, 2003; Edward-Craig, Williams, & Gunton, 2003). The participants of the studies revealed that social capital in collaborative planning promoted mutual understanding and leveraged their efforts to struggle for common goals. In addition, social capital built in the initial stage of collaboration apparently enhanced the quality of the process in the later stages and the likelihood for further collaboration.

Table 2.4.   CBET Development Stages

Intervention Stages	Actions/Step
Stage1. **Pre-intervention** Need assessment and understanding of socio-cultural conditions of local communities	• Define the need to intervene • Seek consensus from local communities • Identify the existing local social and legal structure • Identify local cultural systems and beliefs with regard to participatory conservation and development
Stage 2. **Community** **Preparation** Build local organization and capacity to participate in collaborative planning	• Identify a main mediator • Convene major development partners • Define community development issues and purposes • Mobilize local structure for collaboration • Provide the local organization the necessary capacity • Legitimize development setting and local stakeholders • Discuss collective goal and local stakeholder concerns • Build local stakeholders' commitment to collaborate by raising awareness of interdependence
Stage 3. **Planning and** **Making CBET Local** **Policies**	• Convene key stakeholders • Identify and legitimize stakeholders • Address collective and each stakeholder concerns • Collect and share information • Establish rules and agendas for making local policies • Arrive at shared decision, plan/strategy through dialogue and consensus • Ensure power distributed among stakeholders • Ensure adequate resources available to allow collaboration to proceed with key stakeholders, especially local communities, present at all time
Stage 4. **CBET** **Implementation**	• Discuss means of implementing and monitoring solutions, shared decisions, plan or strategy • Select suitable structure (external and internal) for institutionalizing CBET processes • Assign goals and tasks for each stakeholder • Add relevant and necessary stakeholders • Organize local subgroups within CBET community • Build the capacity and relationship between the subgroups for CBET operation and management • Nurture relationship between local stakeholders • Cultivate more relationships between CBET community and external stakeholders • Determine development phases and monitor local progress and development in each phase • Determine a practical withdrawal time
Stage 5. **Post-Intervention**	• Monitor ongoing progress and ensure compliance to collaboration decisions • Maintain relationship between mediators and CBET community • Seek opportunity for further collaboration

Sources: Jamal & Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997; Va, Lay & Chhum, 2007

2.5. Social Approach to CBET Development

Social capital is needed here. Remarkably, the significance of social capital is noted in the myriad development literature. This concept is suitable with the emerging requirements for SD and neoliberal ideologies, especially when the techniques such as the community-based approach, private-public partnership and stakeholder collaboration have become trendy. Social capital has been suggested as the community stakeholders' joint that promotes collective actions in community-based conservation (Berkes, 2004; Moore, 2005; Pimbert & Pretty, 1997; Pretty & Ward, 2001; Pretty, 2003a; Pretty & Smith, 2004). It is also a strong catalyst and determinant of outcomes in development and sustainable community building (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Dredge, 2006a; Grootaert, 1998; Knowles, 2007; Woolcock, 1998; Woolcok & Narayan, 2000;).

Evidently, social capital is also proved to be crucial in the tourism sector, especially community tourism (Dredge, 2006a, 2006b; Gibb, 2005; Gill & Williams, 2005; Jones, 2005; Williams, Gill, & Chura, 2004;). Above authors endorse the notion that social networks and stakeholder relationships enhance the status of the local community (in terms of improved human resources and managerial capacity for collaboration), and contribute to increasing business values, as well as creating better marketing and promotion strategies in the community destination.

Following the guidance and knowledge of the authors mentioned above, this dissertation suggests that social capital is closely connected with and supportive of SD policies. Its central aspects have a strong influence on the outcomes of SD programs, thus providing feasible solutions for contemporary research and policy dilemmas. Social capital, in the development context, is usually understood as the set of norms, networks, and organizations through which people gain access to power and resources and through which decision making and policy formation occurs (Grootaert, 1998). It is proposed that the concept of social capital, which implies individuals working together as a united institution and mutually empowering one another, is an essential requirement that is needed for CBET development.

Social capital has been activated and created in some CBET initiatives that are guided by SD principles. Social capital's role in building the local community capacity is embedded in several development policies. However, few specific strategies have emerged to precisely guide how to build needed social capital. It is the purpose of this dissertation to bridge this theoretical and policy gap. First, there is a need to define the appropriate theoretical and practical boundaries for a policy relevant definition of social capital in the context of CBET development, particularly in Cambodia. This section, particularly, focuses on defining social capita that resonates with contemporary development policies and identifies its building blocks in such contexts.

2.5.1. Social Capital Concept

The meanings and the usage of the social capital concept can be traced to the work of sociologists and anthropologists. Most recently, it has received the interest of development scholars. Most definitions of social capital include at least one or more of the following principles and/or components: trust, networks and group memberships, and a shared set of co-operative norms.

Definitions of social capital fall into two camps. First, it is seen as an additional asset or an extra capital that benefits a single individual or firm. This is sometimes referred to as social network capital to avoid confusion. Networks can be thought of as the people one knows or interacts with, which include informal interactions, in addition to associational memberships (Kilduff & Tsai 2003). For example, Lin (1990) refers to social capital as resources (information, ideas, support, etc.) that individuals are able to procure by the virtue of their relationships with other people. These resources are "social" in that they are only accessible in and through these relationships, unlike physical or human capital, for instance, which are properties of individuals.

In this stance, social capital focuses on the individual person or the group of people and the pattern of resource flow. The structure of a given network – who interacts with whom, how frequently, and on what terms – has a major bearing on the flow of resources through that network. Those who occupied strategic positions in the network,

especially those whose ties span important groups, can be said to have more social capital than their peers, precisely because their network position gives them heightened access to more and better resources (Burt, 2000; Hsung, Lin, & Burger, 2009; Kilduff & Tsai, 2003; Lin, 2001; Lin, 1990; Rowley, 1997).

Second, some scholars such as Coleman (1988) and Putman et al. (1993) see social capital as a stock of trust and an emotional attachment to a group or society at large that facilitates the provision of public goods and collective actions. This term captures the idea that social bonds and social norms are an important part of the basis for sustainable livelihoods. Coleman (1988) describes it as the structure of relations between and among actors that encourages productive activities. Through mapping of social capital or the community's associational life, one can determine its civic health and social cohesion. A range of social and related problems can be discovered and appropriate policies can be formulated for community development (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Ayres, Pellini, & Perez-Leroux, 2006; Woolcok 2002; Wookcok & Narayan 2000).

Social capital, which entails network and associations, is divided into two levels: micro (horizontal) and macro (vertical). The horizontal associations are those in which members relate to each other on an equal basis, whereas the vertical ones are those characterized by hierarchical relationships and unequal power among members (Grootaert, 1998). An association can be split into those that promote the interests of their members only (mostly micro), and those aiming to promote the interests of members and non-members alike (macro). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) divide social capital into three categories – bonding, bridging and linking - related to the notion of different spheres of trust. Building on Granovetter's (1973) notion of weak and strong ties, the two authors define bonding social capital as intimate links with family, friends and neighbors, bridging social capital as ties that are slightly more distant, such as with workmates and acquaintances, and linking social capital as the ability to benefit from ties with those outside one's immediate group of contacts and especially resource providers.

Memmott and Meltzer (2005) and Knack (cited in Knowles 2007) split social capital into government and civil social capital. Government social capital refers to an

institution that influences people's ability to co-operate for mutual benefits. The most commonly kind of analysis of these institutions include the enforceability of contracts, the rule of laws and the extent of civil liberties permitted by the state. Civil social capital encompasses common values, norms, informal networks, and associational memberships that affect the ability of individuals to work together to achieve common goals. Similarly, Grootaert (1998) talks about the macro level of social capital that also includes institutions such as government, the rule of laws, civil and political liberties, and so forth. Besides, the micro level includes informal norms and group memberships and networks operating at the local level, which can be shaped by the formal rule of laws operating at the macro level.

2.5.2. Social Capital Construct and Significance

This dissertation defines social capital, based on its diverse and distinct characteristics, and situates it in the context of CBET development, particularly in Cambodian culture and society. Social capital is defined in this paper as the set of networks and organizations, tied together by consensual and collective norms, through which individuals and communities gain access to resources and power that enable them to equally participate in and manage CBET development so that it assists them to meeting Cambodia's broader SD goals (Grootaert, 1998). Social capital in this context includes the binary perspectives. It benefits those individual members of networks and organizations, and helpfully directs them to the pursuit of collective actions for their community and their society's common good. Features of social capital that resonate with current development policies are discussed.

It emerges from the previous discussion that there are three distinct levels (i.e., bonding, bridging and linking) as well as two typical dimensions of social capital (i.e., structural and cognitive/nominal). Bonding and bridging refer to the horizontal micro level and more informal networks, while the linking level implies vertical macro level and formal ties. These distinct levels are closely related to the dimension of social capital. It will be subsequently explored.

2.5.2.1.   Structural Dimension

Structural dimension refers to the quantity, type and extent of a network (Memmott & Meltzer, 2005; Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Schuller et al., 2002; Warren et al., 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). This dimension maps and counts the nature and extent to which people participate in various types of social organizations and informal networks, and the range of contributions that one gives and receives from those networks (Grootaert et al., 2004; Grootaert & Basterlaer, 2002; Krisna & Shrader, 1999; Kilpatrick & Abbot-Chapman 2007; Memmott & Meltzer, 2005). In this dissertation, the structural dimension of social capital covers three facets: network ties (or type of connection), network configuration and network stability.

The structural dimension of social capital is divided into "embedded and novel" social capital. Embedded social capital mostly appears in the forms of "bonding" and "bridging". Bonding and bridging are referred to as "strong ties" (Granovetter, 1973). These forms of social capital refer to internal social connections that build on similarity, informality, and intimacy (Memmott & Meltzer 2005; Narayan, 2002; Schuller et al., 2002). They can be embedded networks in the community or novel ties constructed during the intervention. They operate at the horizontal level, mostly among the community members or community stakeholders with similar interests and situations as well as comparable capacity.

Linking social capital refers to as the "weak ties" or "novel social capital" (Granovetter, 1973). It refers to the external upward relationship with people in positions with authority and resources (or those who can facilitate this relationship) including government agencies, donor institutions, NGOs, the private sector, media groups and academia (Benn & Onyx, 2005; Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Pellini, 2005, 2007; Pellini & Ayres, 2005; Woolcok, 2002; Warren et al., 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Particularly, linking develops when the political, social and economic changes take place.

Social capital is essential in development projects like CBET, where local communities are struggling to find innovative livelihood strategies, but have limited capacity, power and control of resources. First, the local communities need strong

internal social capital to start collective actions for common purposes (Pretty, 2003a). However, the existing social assets of poor communities may be ineffective because they are isolated and undermined by the mainstream economic and political institutions (Dredge, 2006; Gibb, 2005; Grootaert et al., 2004; Grootaert, 1998; Jone, 2005). The process of economic decline, social exclusion and welfare retrenchment undermines the embedded social capital of poor communities; therefore, communities require strong leadership and third party intervention in order to work equally with other stakeholders (Colletta & Cullen, 2002; Cohen, 2001; Warren et al., 2001). Thus, social capital needs to operate at multiple levels in order to support successful CBET development.

In dynamic political atmospheres, novel connections subject to regular updates are more flexible than merely historically-embedded ties (Colletta & Cullen 2002; Pretty & Ward 2001; Pellini, 2005; 2006). Communities are more capable of creating their own future and managing successful CBET if they have sufficient experience with democracy, and arrangements are in place for them to build up their capabilities. The external linkages can provide opportunities for local communities to enhance their needed capabilities. This chapter adapts the theoretical classification described in the works of Grootaert (1998), Benn and Onyx (2005) and Woolcock and Narayan (2000). These authors identified three analytically distinct levels at which social capital operate to enable poor communities to undertake development projects.

This adaptation gives the prospect for promising synergy deriving from combination and integration. Synergy characterizes situations in which local organization, civil society, economic actors and state institutions work together for positive development outcomes. Power and conflict are cultural elements of any social change that involve collective action (Few 2002; Gidden, 1990; Reed, 1997; Warren et al., 2001; Moor, 2005); hence, stakeholders need to negotiate the common ground, and to balance their power in order to work together for desired development outcomes.

Synergy needs to be balance with the degree of autonomy and integration on the part of public institutions (Woolcock, 1998). Synergy seems to work best when there is support and action from the "bottom-up" and from the "top-down". From bottom-up, the

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community needs to develop effective strategies to encourage or compel private or public institutions to cooperate with their initiatives (Warrant et al., 2001). While, from the top-down, public institutions can initiate reforms to encourage and collaborate with community-based efforts (Taylor, 2002). To be successful, cooperative relationships must incorporate both strong community organization and professional public agencies with real accountability to the local community. Accordingly, the three levels of social capital in the CBET context are as follows:

2.5.2.1.1. Bonding Social Capital

Bonding social capital includes group membership ties within the CBET community. In CBET implementation processes, a number of groups have been created to serve various purposes of tourism operations and management. Bonding social capital refers to ties within each individual group. Usually, it contributes to the quality of life by promoting mutual understanding and support (e.g., emotional support, advice or investment capital, etc.). As noted above, it binds individuals together and directs them toward the pursuit of collective group needs and aspirations. It provides the foundation on which group members can develop their capacity to provide tourism services and address the shared CBET problems, to build the infrastructure activities, and to achieve measures of control over their lives (Narayan, 2002; Warren et al., 2001; Pellini, 2004; 2005; 2006; Pellini & Ayers, 2007).

2.5.2.1.2. Bridging Social Capital

Bridging social capital includes networks and ties among groups within the CBET community and between a CBET community and other similar communities within the locality. This chapter differentiates between intra and inter-community ties as these two forms operate differently and serve different functions in strengthening local communities. "*Intra-community bridging*" refers to local networks based on interest. They are ties among different operational groups within the CBET community. These ties provide a basis for shared identification and support CBET operations as well as they can

help to ameliorate the harsher effects of rapid change on a CBET community (Andrson & Milligan, 2006; Woolcock, 1998, 2002; Taylor, 2002; Pellini, 2005; 2006).

"Inter-community bridging" refers to ties across the "borders" of a CBET community. These may include networks between the CBET community and other compatible community-based development initiatives, local authorities and organizations within and outside the immediate geography. These ties are important for uniting and strengthening the local communities in general by creating "people power" and enabling them to access resources, opportunities, and legal support (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Jone, 2005; Pellini, 2005, 2006; Pellini & Ayres, 2007). They promote and strengthen the communities and empower them to relate with the outside world.

Activities at high levels rely on a certain degree of coherency and support from within the community and at the foundational level. Bonding and bridging need to be coherent and cohesive; they can be reduced or added in time and space, but the effective additional networks have to be parallel with the inherent social structures and norms (Taylor, 2002; Wilson, 1997). Bonding and intra-bridging leverage effects CBET operation and management, while inter-bridging enhances local solidarity and identity. To the extent that the local communities use their social capital to address their problems, they may confront economic and political structures in which others have vested interests. Bonding and bridging social capital provides the foundation for political power needed in this conflict (Dredge, 2006a; Pellini & Ayres, 2007; Taylor, 2002; Wilson, 1997). Thus, the fragility of these two levels may create local vulnerability to external power tactics, which may eventually lead to the failure of a CBET intervention program.

2.5.2.1.3. *Linking Social Capital*

Linking social capital refers to alliances between the CBET community and its members with formal power, particularly power over resources required for CBET development. Linkage to non-community members includes social networks with members outside one's geography or identity, as well as links to macro-level institutions of the state, civil society groups, the tourism industry, media or academic body

(Anderson & Milligan, 2006; Cohen, 2001; Messer & Kecskes, 2009; Taylor, 2002; Warrant et al., 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2002;). These types of ties are associated with trust in governance and expert systems (Fukuyama, 1995; Pellini, 2005; 2006).

In the bottom-up development programs, linkages to broader extra-community institutions are forged incrementally. A community's internal stock of social capital can be the basis for launching development initiatives, but it must be complemented over time by the construction of new forms of social capital, i.e., linkages to non-community members. Yet, linking needs to be supportive of needs at the bonding and bridging level. Diversity is the key to linking strategies (Ben & Onyx, 2005; Memmott & Meltzer, 2005; Molina, 2002). The diversity of links represents multiple types of resources that are needed in developing tourism business management capacity, conservation strategies as well as administrative and legal lobby and advocacy. Diversity is also useful in preventing domination on local communities from any specific external domain of power.

2.5.2.2. Cognitive Dimension

The normative/cognitive dimension of social capital refers to the qualities that make up social capital. They are common norms that tie the networks together (Grootaert et al., 2004; Kilduff & Tsai; Krisna & Shrader, 1999; Lin, 2001; Lin, 1990; Memmott & Meltzer, 2005). Norms are sometimes referred to as collective rules or rules of the game (Pretty & Wards, 2001). In case of the CBET development, it can be all rules and regulations that community members must abide by in order to develop the project in a uniform manner. They can be formal or informal, and become a mutually agreed upon or handed-down code of behaviours that place group interests above those of individuals (Dale, 2005; Pretty & Ward, 2001).

The cognitive dimension concerns the most important quality in any type of network including those associated with CBET development is "trust" (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Fukuyama, 1995; Gibb 2005; Grootaert et al., 2004; Jone, 2005; Pretty & Smith, 2004; Pretty 2003a; Pretty & Ward, 2001). Other norms and rules that are important and required for collective actions in the CBET context include reciprocity and sharing, connectedness and social inclusion (Ben & Onyx 2005; Dale & Onyx, 2005; Grootaert et

al., 2004; Jone 2005; Memmott & Metlzer, 2005; Pretty & Smith, 2004; Pretty, 2003a, 2003b; Pretty & Ward, 2001). The following paragraphs explain why these norms are essential for CBET development sustainability.

Trust is the extent to which people can believe in each other and in their networks and organizations overall. It is also represents the extent of beliefs in specific types of people or networks or a joint venture (Fukuyama, 1995; Herrero, 2004). Trust is important in any society or development program. It promotes cooperation and reduces the development costs. It also plays a great role in turbulent and complex environments, such as those of the developing world (Pretty & Ward, 2001; Lin, 2001; Fukuyama, 1995; Herrero, 2004).

In a CBET context, people need a certain level of trust in each other and in forms of business rules or laws that shape their social system in order to feel comfortable about cooperating in a joint venture or partnership (Gibb, 2005; Jone, 2005). Trust promotes collaboration for public objectives such as preserving the environment, constructing public facilities, providing revolving credit schemes, participating in selecting a leader or drafting rules and regulations (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Fukuyama 1995; Herrero, 2004; Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004; Woolcock, 2002; Pretty & Ward, 2001).

Connectedness is glue that holds group members in the CBET community together (Grootaert et al., 2004; Memmott & Meltzer 2005; Pretty & Smith 2004; Pretty & Ward, 2001). It enhances the sense of belonging in a CBET community. Groups in the CBET community are diverse and usually have numerous conflicts of interest and values. It is vital that these diverse groups have some sense of connection and mutual understandings. This helps them work toward common shared goals to some extent in order to support the successful operation and management of a CBET program (Ben & Onyx, 2005; Dale, 2005; Grootaert et al., 2004; Pretty & Ward, 2001).

Social inclusion implies connections to agencies and institutions (Grootaert, 1998; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Pretty & Ward, 2001). In CBNRM and tourism situations, this is important at both the micro and macro levels. Social inclusion is particularly important

in CBET situations where the broader social system has legitimacy and stakeholders are wholly connected to it (Hall & Jerkins, 1995; Hall, 1994; Murphree, 2005; Murphy & Murphy 2004). Social inclusion and connectedness values lead to cooperation and collaboration among individuals, groups and CBET stakeholders (Pretty & Ward, 2001).

Reciprocity and sharing norms capture the notions of diffusing and exchanging available resources, such as goods, ideas, manpower, knowledge, and so forth (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003; Lin, 1999, 2001; Pretty & Ward, 2001). There are two types of *reciprocity*: 1) specific reciprocity refers to simultaneous exchanges of items of roughly equal value; and 2) diffusing reciprocity refers to a continuing relationship of exchange that at any given time may be unrequited, but over time is repaid and balanced (Pretty & Ward, 2001). *Sharing* can occur between individuals and among communities. Personal sharing refers to sharing among selected kinspersons and intimate group mates, while community sharing refers to diffusing resources across the whole community and between communities (Memmott & Meltzer, 2005).

In CBET development, reciprocity and sharing especially help to reduce the transaction cost and the market imperfection issues in the developing world (Gibb, 2005; Jone 2005; Kilpatrick & Vanclay, 2005; Kilpatrick, Rowana, & Falks, 1999). As well, they facilitate the atmosphere for personal articulation, enhancing human capital, leverage group exchange and empowerment (Gibb, 2005; Coleman, 1998; Porter, 1998; 1990; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Reciprocity and sharing increase trust and imply long-term obligations, which are important parts of achieving positive collective actions (Memmott & Meltzer, 2005).

From a CBET business perspective, connections open opportunities for participation and ownership, and they facilitate the generation of innovations that reflects the uniqueness of the community, local flavour and sense of place that are vital components for successful community tourism (Blackstock, 2005; Dredge 2006b; Gill & Williams, 2005; Hall & Jerkins, 1995; Hall, 1994; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Williams, Gill, & Chura, 2004). In the development perspective, it is very important for community empowerment and democratic communication (Hall, 2007; Timothy, 2007, 2002).

Collective actions help strengthen community efficacy, unite groups and communities, and enable them to enhance their legitimacy and political liberties (Dale, 2005; Hall, 1994, 2007; Hall & Jerkins, 1995).

2.5.3. Social Capital Roles

In CBET ventures, a capable local institution is a required necessity for operating efficient tourism services, for maximizing benefits for the wider communities and for collaborating with relevant business and development stakeholders (Burns, 2005; Gill & Williams, 2005; Gibb, 2005; Jone, 2005; Sofield, 2003; Timothy, 2007;). Hence, strong foundational networks and sound strategic social alliances are very critical because the communities are striving to do things beyond their control. Additionally, efforts to build social capital for the local community trigger the outcomes of CBET development. Detailed rationales behind this argument follow.

2.5.3.1. Diffuse Information

Social capital can be seen as the non-market response to market imperfections. Market imperfection problems such as the uneven flow of information and the shortage of market mechanisms can be readily answered by the social capital concept, especially in relation to trust and collective action. It has been recognized that a high degree of trust and cooperation will increase the number of mutual beneficial trades (e.g., monetary transactions, lending, revolving credit schemes to overcome incomplete or non-existent capital markets) (Herreror, 2004; Knowles, 2007; Woolcock, 1998). The more people interact with each other, the better the information that they will have about each other and about the broader business environment and opportunities. This will help to reduce the uneven flow of information making it easier to set up activities to share experiences, and to introduce new technologies, (Knowles, 2007; Warrant et al., 2001).

2.5.3.2. Enhance Community Capacity

The roles of social capital in improving an individual and a community's capacity have been well cited in the community development and organizational development

literature (see Coleman, 1988; Kilpatrick & Vanclay, 2005; Kilpatrick, Rowena, & Falk, 1999; Kilpatrick & Abbot-Chapmana, 2007; Kilduff & Tsai, 2003; Pellini, 2007). Social capital acts as a catalyst to stimulate other achievements, especially with regard to capacity development. It is theorized that a worker with good working relationships can develop himself through constant interactions with his peers formally and informally at work (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003; Davision & James, 2007).

The interactions galvanize the transfer of knowledge and experiences, as well as sharing of information that enable workers to make informed and wise decisions for their tasks, which improve work efficiency (Svendsen, Boutilier, & Wheeler, 2003). In addition, a firm that is comprised of interactive employers is more likely to produce innovative products than those without (Libowitz, 2007). Likewise, a community whose members have a high inclination for social interactions and participation in group and social events has strong health and generates a broader social well-being for all members in return (Kilpatick & Abbot-Chapman, 2007).

2.5.3.3.   Promote Collective Actions

Social capital promotes collective actions and the provision of public goods (Putman et al., 1993). Social capital can be understood as institutions or customs that are recognized as important for development. As discussed above, aspects of social capital influence the readiness and likelihood of communities to undertake development and to manage it effectively (Berkes, 2004; Isham et al., 2002; Pellini, 2005; Pellini, 2008; Pretty, 2003a). For example, truth is important as it promotes cooperation and reduces the transaction costs among people. In turn, common rules and norms are the codes of behaviour that place group interests above those of individuals. They give individuals the confidence to invest in collective or group activities. Reciprocity increases trust and implies long-term obligations. Connectedness supports collaboration and co-operation.

2.5.3.4.   Promote Empowerment

Social capital raises the prospect for mutual empowerment (Ben & Onyx, 2005; Boydell, 2005; Cohen, 2001; Pellini, 2008; Pellini & Ayres, 2007). It is seen as networks

that bridge the gap between community stakeholders and between the local community and external stakeholders. Social capital has been credited with facilitating sedimentation and concentration of power within institutions and with agents (Few, 2002). It refers to people as active agents and creators of their society, not merely victims and recipients of their fate and government policy (Dale & Onyx, 2005). Communities that are able to bridge their own divides, and can mobilize themselves for collective actions create "people power" (Colletta & Cullen, 2002; Pellini, 2005). To the extent that the communities can act collectively toward common goals, they provide an opportunity to create consensual "symbolic power" that fortifies their position to reason with external stakeholders in both the conservation and market situations (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997; Lin, 2001; Hsung, Lin, & Breiger, 2009; Pellini, 2005; Pellini & Ayres, 2007).

2.5.3.5.   Promote Collaboration

Finally, social capital underlines a strong need for a variety of actor alliances that are supportive of the stakeholder collaboration scheme. The dual aspect of social capital, which enables both the individual actor and the wider society to benefit from social interaction and relationships, is particularly favourable in the SD arena. CBET development success depends on the effectiveness of communities to act together as an institution in order to work collaboratively with public and private institutions for greater resources, support and information. The more networks communities have in common with diverse stakeholders from a wide range of interests and influences the more there are opportunities to acquire resources and the power needed for development (Jone, 2005; Gibb, 2005; Isham et al., 2002). A strong community that is supportive of public policy and capable of undertaking a development program and that also has a solid social fabric and social cohesion, is what a state and its stakeholders need as a development partner (Calistle, 2007; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Pellini & Ayres, 2007; Richards, 2002).

2.5.4. Social Capital Limitations

Social capital is regarded as a product of SD policy strategy and as a remedy for the contemporary CBET development dilemma. However, social capital has limitations,

especially when married to neoliberalism (Fine, 2003; Fox, 1997). Not only can added social capital influence the outcomes of CBET programs under current global and local politics, politics also can reversely impact on the existing embedded social capital in the community.

Poor communities cannot address the development problems or poverty simply by building internal networks. These networks can build a foundation for binding individuals together and directing them toward the pursuit of collective aspirations (Granovetter, 1973; Isham et al., 2002; Warren et al., 2001). Yet, they need to reach out of their immediate environment for greater resource provision and legal support (Colleta & Cullen 2002; Cohen 2001). These basic needs create two types of social capital: 1) existing or embedded and 2) novel social capital.

2.5.4.1. Challenges of Embedded Structures

While social capital can function as networks that provide access to necessary resources, it can also be a constraint (Boydell, 2005; Colleta & Cullen, 2002; Cohen, 2001; Kilduff & Tsai, 2003). This concept embeds Gidden's theory of "structuration". This theory views structure as both enabling and constraining with the mutual dependence of structure and agency (Gidden, 1990) in seeking to explain the relationships among systems, structures and the interactions of individual actors, in particular communities or societies. The contemporary politics, which determine the legitimacy and the urgency of stakeholders, can damage the existing social capital and cultural elements by excluding some local groups and devaluing some traditional beliefs. It provides access and advantages to its members, but it blocks the non-members from needed resources.

For example, the fundamental problem associated with embedded social capital is the inherent danger that the development of social capital at the community level may lead to social closure rather than inclusion (Colletta & Cullen, 2002; Healy, 2002; Isham et al., 2002; Molinas, 2002; Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Schuller et al., 2002). A community may be well organized with strong institutions, but it is based on fear and power rather than trust (Colletta & Cullen, 2002; Pretty, 2003a; 2003b; Pretty et al., 2001; Schuller et

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al., 2000). The community may also use collective actions to achieve negative actions (Colletta & Cullen, 2002). The strong ties that bind communities with agreed upon norms, high trust and dense social network may serve to exclude those that are not part of them (Boydell, 2005; Cohen, 2001; Molinas, 2002). It may also hinder innovation and cooperation in case it deviates from the agreed norms of the communities, which may not be necessarily positive (Isham et al., 2002; Narayan, 2002; Warren et al., 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

2.5.4.2. Challenges of Enabling Structures

Novel social capital can be constructive or destructive depending on actors and politics that influence its formation. Some empirical research has found that external entities often hinder the formulation of collective goals at the collaborative planning table, and use their stock of advantageous resources to achieve pre-defined motives and strategic objectives (Benn & Onyx, 2005; Few, 2002; Reeds, 1997). The novel ties or external linking sometimes function as facilitators, and sometimes as barriers to the mobilization of strong ties depending on motives of those institutions or individuals that the linkage is tied to (Ben & Onyx, 2005; Boydell, 2005; Cohen, 2001).

The issues that manifest in stakeholder collaboration, such as the diversity of the stakeholder agenda and the definition of problems, interfere with the effectiveness of social capital (Boydell, 2005; Ben & Onyx, 2005; Colleta & Cullen, 2002; Cohen, 2001). For instance, criticism of neo-liberalism and its resemblance to modernization, emerges even greater in developing societies. As discussed in Section 2.3, the patterns of nation building, economic growth and modernization have some anti-participatory traits required for the SD mechanism such as CBET. CBET decision makers and stakeholders are diverse and strongly influenced by old theories such as human capital and modernization, which are clearly interpreted into development programs.

According to modernization theory, development problems of the third world community include shortage of capital and a deficiency in cultural value systems (lack of values such as a profit motive that would make them entrepreneurial). Developing communities need interventions such as aid, investments and examples from developed

countries (Rapley, 2002; Rostow, 1966) in order to engender SD. Human capital theory presumes that training and upgrading can improve the productive capacity of the labor force and make it possible to achieve development and economic growth (Rapley, 2002; Rostow, 1966). Education is seen as the essential instrument for the development of human capital. Westernizing elites, trained in the bureaucratic and entrepreneurial values of the developed world, are delegated to lead the local communities into the modern age (Escoba, 1995).

Effort has been made to include local capacity building and new institutions into a CBET program. However, in the process, local cultural values and a community's existing institutions, which are identified as barriers to development, are often ignored (Butcher, 2007). New groups and networks are most often cultivated at the expense of the embedded traditional ones. This may result in the empowerment of new groups, but ignores the old ones and makes fragmented communities (Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zerner, 2005; Moore et al., 2005). This social division often leads to CBET failure as it may galvanize community groups into violent confrontation with or silent withdrawal from a CBET development program (Mahanty & Rushell, 2002; Moore et al., 2005).

2.5.5. Conclusions

A growing number of community-based professionals working in CBET implementation in rural areas of the developing world play the role of "community builders" rather than developers (Carlisle, 2007; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Richards, 2002). Rather than focusing solely on programmatic interventions that directly impact economic opportunities, this intervention is characterized by a belief that significant, sustainable community development can only be brought about by developing and utilizing the social fabric of the targeted communities. The central tenet is that tapping into the social life of the community is a key step in catalyzing collective action, building collaborative relationships among key community members, and building community capabilities (Anderson & Milligan 2006; Dredges 2006; Jones, 2005; Scheyvens, 2002).

This is the basic idea behind building the social capital to support small community-based sustainable development initiatives, such as CBET projects.

The preceding discussion in this chapter suggests that, in the current political context of developing countries, the procedural model of collaborative tourism planning alone does not provide adequate guidance for community-based ecotourism planning and development. It requires deeper understanding of the effects of power differentials and interest structures that operate over time and across space (Blackstock, 2005; Dredge, 2006a; Reed, 1997). The concept of social capital offers tremendous potential to solve dilemma in the CBET intervention. Social capital is predicated on the value of more community self reliance sufficiency and resilience through individual and collective actions and through linkages and alliances with relevant stakeholders. In addition, participatory and democratic principles called forth by SD provide the opportunities for stakeholder collaborations and community involvement. This contributes to the construction of social capital in the community, which triggers CBET outcomes.

CBET development is usually a micro level project, but the outcome is not necessarily small. Conservation and economic development are primary objectives of CBET development, but the major goal beyond that, especially in a developing region, is "local empowerment" (Ken et al., 2005; Brosius, Lowenhaupt, & Zeners, 2005). The vision is to lay the groundwork for further endogenous development initiatives. Increasingly, professionals strive to foster a decentralization and empowerment culture in communities through CBET activities. Usually, the provision of CBET physical and structural infrastructures encourages locals to take part in CBET activities and in the process own the development resulting initiative and outcomes. The assumption is that over time local communities come to learn ways of democracy, and will use these experiences to improve the quality of their further participation and collaboration.

This approach to CBET development aligns well with Sen's people-centered perspectives. Promoting CBET sustainability needs the positive social capital, which enhances people's freedom to initiate and undertake development programs. Local people have to be actively involved – given the opportunities – to shape their own destiny, and

not just be passive recipients of development programs. This proposed approach requires a holistic social structure that is interactive, shares territory, common identity and goals. It certainly requires cohesive and coherent thinking about CBET programs from the community level up to the national level.

National policy supports the community by sharing control of resources with local people and by creating structures that facilitate actions. Community policy should focus on building community development structures and processes to further national development (Carlisle, 2007; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Richards, 2002; Sen, 1999; Scheyvens, 2002). Required attitudes and behavioural changes are substantial in this context. Community builders should focus on creating strategies that facilitate the ability of locals to design their own "ends" and "means". They should work with selected means toward consensual ends (Anderson & Milligan, 2006; Dale & Onyx, 2005; Sen, 1999). The communities should be more self-reliant, self-sufficient and self-determined. They should not view themselves as merely recipients. They need to be active players to decide their futures and in the process gradually minimize external dependency.

In many cases, current political atmospheres pave the path for structural interventions. With "heaps" of external aid, laying the structural groundwork and social infrastructures has not been difficult, though it still needs to be carefully cultivated. However, changing human attitudes and behaviours toward policy formation and development is totally different. Perhaps the most challenging part is building cognitive social capital or norms that effectively build positive networks and that positively influence behavioural patterns.

Norms in the preceding context can be viewed as patterns of expectations, regulations or even laws (depending on the degree of formalization) by which concrete patterns of social life are actually regulated (Dale & Onyx, 2005; Kilduff & Tsai, 2003; Hsung, Lin, & Burger, 2009). They reflect the degree to which community members and stakeholders agree to mediate or control their own behaviour for the common good. In a CBET context, constructing social capital means building capabilities both structurally and cognitively. The structural social capital may be very crucial for the operation of the

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current CBET. However, the cognitive dimension of social capital is the fundamental means for long term CBET sustainability and community resilience; it is the key to achieve the utmost CBET vision.

Because social capital is the conduit for building a community's capabilities, all resources and structures that are employed to build social capital will eventually stimulate the building of the community's capabilities. The necessity of multiple capabilities in order to sustain community development requires that social capital (i.e. resources that are provided by networks of stakeholders for such purposes) need to be diversified as well. Therefore, in this dissertation, the author deduces the theory of development means from the development context promoted by Sen (1999). According to Sen (1999), five types of means are needed for empowering local communities. They include: 1) economic facilities; 2) social opportunities; 3) protective security; 4) transparency guarantee; and 5) political liberties.

The added social capital has to be carefully constructed to ensure that it complements existing resources. This is needed so that conflicts and alienation of local culture and social fabric are minimized. However, social capital is sometimes criticized as an ambiguous and slippery concept as there is little agreement on its nature, characteristics and usage. Dale and Onyx (2005) warns that social capital works effectively among the equals; whereas, inequality, exploitation and power tactics are highly destructive of social capital. In addition, social capital at the local level can be shaped and constrained by the wider structural, economic and political forces operating at higher levels.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the construction of social capital focuses on issues related to community's capabilities for CBET development. The intent is to identify what factors nurture the culture of endogenous development in a community, and what strategies empower communities to become more active as an equal actor in the development process. The dissertation's question is how policy intervention strategies can contribute to construct positive social capital in a CBET context. The theory of this dissertation is that they require: 1) an adequate mix of resources and opportunity

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structures that facilitate the expansion of human and social capabilities; and 2) these social networks enable involved participants to achieve their development goals. The following chapter discusses how this research question has been carried out in an actual fieldwork situation at a Cambodian CBET site, Chambok.

3. Methods

3.1. Introduction

This study focused on identifying and examining those policies, factors and resources that helped sustain CBET development. More specifically, the author examined what policies shaped CBET development interventions in a Cambodian context, and what outcomes the implementation of those directives and actions generated.

Through this process, the investigation addressed the following questions: what policy directives characterize CBET development in the Cambodian context; what implementation processes are employed in developing CBET projects; what extent of social capital is cultivated by the combination of specific policies and approaches in CBET communities; what the connections between the existence of social capital and the success or failure of CBET developments are; and how CBET development policies contribute to the construction of social capital in CBET communities.

A case study method was employed to empirically examine the research questions. This approach was considered appropriate because it addressed both the contextual conditions as well as the phenomenon of the study (Yin, 1993). It allowed the author to adapt data collection procedures according to the availability of different types of evidence, either quantitative or qualitative. It was also complemented with other methods of investigation to enrich data collection and to enhance the author's understanding of the phenomenon (Yin, 1993). In addition, it helped the author develop lessons that were generalized to the major substantive themes of the dissertation (Yin, 1993). The following sections detail the Cambodian case study context and methods use to study each objective.

3.2. The Case Study Context

The empirical data for this dissertation were based on a case study of a CBET development in the Chambok commune, Cambodia. Historically, Cambodia's socio-cultural structures, and political situations did not align with SD imperatives. However, the Chambok CBET project was created as a political tool for demonstrating how the interventions of international agencies in environmental governance could be channelled to support overriding SD initiatives. The political orientation and subsequent emergent structures created to implement government SD policies provided a rich backdrop for the Chambok case study. More specifically, they offered a useful context in which to study how policy strategies shape social capital development. The difference between traditionally embedded social capital and structures and those that are politically constructed may have significant influence on CBET implementation. The following section provides a rationalization for and contextualization of the case study.

3.2.1. Ecological, Social and Economic Entanglements

The first national election in 1993 opened a new era for Cambodian history after nearly three decades of political turmoil and internal civil war (1960s-1980s). Cambodia commenced a journey of transformation towards becoming a modern state. In this transformation, Cambodia embraced a new global paradigm – that of SD. This included aggressively encouraging the decentralization and democratization of traditional top-down government responsibilities to more localized Cambodian societies. As a post-conflict country, Cambodia was obliged to make difficult choices about what and how specific SD imperatives would be addressed.

In a few short years, Cambodia has made efforts to cultivate democratic practices and ideas. Democracy is understood to include the right of citizens to participate equally in actions and decision making in matters that affect their lives (NGO Forum, 2000; Horng et al., 2005). To ensure that democracy is well rooted in Cambodia, the government has taken steps to ensure that all people, including local communities, have

the right to development. In the interests of SD, it is important that Cambodia take a development approach that fosters confidence building and trust. However, balancing macro-economic liberalization policies with micro-economic community-based strategies is an agonizing challenge.

Economic growth, poverty alleviation, social equity and natural resource management are intricately linked in Cambodia. Cambodia has the highest per capita endowment of arable land, water and freshwater fish, and possesses one of the highest endowments of forests in East Asia (World Bank, 2007). But, amidst the plenty, there is poverty. About 36% of Cambodians live on an income below the food poverty line of USD 14 per month (World Bank, 2007). Poverty remains widespread, especially in rural areas, where an estimated 90% of poor people live (ADB, 2001; ICEM, 2003; World Bank, 2007). Uneven population access to land and other resources is one of the major problems facing economic and social development in Cambodia.

The importance of land access is particularly critical for agrarian societies where the majority of people meet their needs directly from it (World Bank, 2007). Pressure on Cambodian land grows not only because of increasing demands for accommodation and livelihood opportunities, but also because of land ownership concentrations that limit access to a few, and further current social inequalities (Van Acker, 2010). In the past two decades, there has been an ongoing conversion of "common resources" into private property. Meanwhile, space to accommodate the country's demographic growth centers on encroachments into traditional forest and wetland regions. In response, the government has taken steps to manage these natural resources. Their strategies started with the establishment of an exclusive system of protected areas (PAs).

Cambodia has had an existing PA system since 1925, but it was inactive during the three decades of civil wars. A Royal Decree of His Majesty the King in 1993 permitted the Ministry of Environment (MoE) to renew this system. The National PA system falls under the mandate of the MoE. It covers over 21% of the country and comprises 23 PAs. In addition, a growing number of fish sanctuaries and protected forest areas have been set up through the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. These

developments have resulted in many rural poor societies being compelled to live near PAs that contain the "common resources" needed for their survival, while simultaneously being denied access to private concession lands (ADB, 2001). Unfortunately, a combination of population movements to the border of PAs, growing livelihood needs and commercial activities adjacent to PAs pose increasing threats to PAs and local societies, especially when the management systems are poorly financed and understaffed (ICEM, 2003).

3.2.2. Governance Reform Policies and Strategies

The government's approach to addressing the aforementioned challenges has been to focus on nurturing democratic governance systems critical to Cambodia's development and equity priorities. Governance and administration reforms are considered to be cornerstones for achieving social equity and social justice distribution. Building democratic governance in Cambodia, however, requires not only the appropriate technical frameworks but also the political commitment, technical capacity and financial resources to implement it. Unfortunately, Cambodia's performance is limited in all of these areas, and the need for supporting external interventions nurturing more democratic governance systems is recognized.

Simultaneously, international interventionist organizations clearly note that the prospects of improving human and development rights in Cambodia are dependent on conservation and poverty reduction programs that promote and support action at the local level. In many instances, their programs depend on the implementation of internal decentralization policies, which are fundamental for community-based actions.[6]

The government's interest in CBET development is to simultaneously promote broader social and economic development, while preserving the environment. To

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[6] Statement by the European Commission delegation and Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, "6th Consultative Meeting for Cambodia" (Phnom Penh: Cambodia, 20-21 June 2002).

accomplish and sustain such projects, local communities need legal access to resources and rights to develop them in a sustainable manner. CBET development is considered as much a tool for the structural adjustment program as it is a vehicle for SD and more local sustainable community development. A key step to achieving CBET goals involves reducing local resource deprivation and improving local development rights through decentralizing the allocation of resources and power. Therefore, CBET becomes an integral element of the internationally supported governance reform programs.

However, governance reforms were divided into two types: the central and sectoral reforms. The first one was carried out by the Ministry of Interior, and the second by the sectoral line ministries (e.g., MoE). SEILA was created by The Ministry of Interior under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programs for communal development. The rationale is to transfer decision making processes and service delivery from central authorities to the provincial and communal authorities with respect to economic policy, planning and development. Following the passing of Land Management and Administration Councils in 2002, commune elections took place in the entire country. The elected commune council (CC) is mandated to guide local development and resource management duties in association with the government agencies and NGO partners.

The second type is the government's sectoral reforms in NRM. CBNRM approaches in Cambodia focus on the implementation of co-management strategies. This involves collaboration between state agencies and local communities. The intent is to manage the national or local "commons" with consultation and intervention from NGOs. The state actors share management power with local community organizations to manage the local "commons." An overriding goal is to conserve the "commons" and legally utilize these resources according to state policies, principles, rules and regulations (Carson, Hou, & Srey, 2005; Meas & San, 2005). The CBET development programs in Cambodia mostly belong in this category, and follow one of CBNRM policies and approaches, which will be discussed in the next section (Ken et al., 2005). The case study

selected for this study is an example of an implementation of reform in forest resource management in a PA.

3.2.3. CBNRM and CBET Approaches

CBNRM initiatives often take place in conflicted areas in PAs, Biosphere Reserve or protected wildlife sanctuaries (Ferrari, 2002; Ken et al., 2005; Van Acker, 2009). Legitimacy of land access and utilization concerns issues of customary rights. The land tenure system in Cambodia prior to the renewal of the PA system and land reforms (Land Laws, 2002) was based on customary rights or collective ownership (Ferrari, 2002). Unfortunately, there was no clear demarcation or legal recognition of these rights. It was a socially accepted and practiced system that was passed on from generation to generation. However, the introduction of the legal tenure system and its associated division of state and provincial lands created serious implications for local communities.

The mandated institutions (e.g., MoE and the Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Forestry) recognized that the introduction of the PA system was done swiftly and without much prior assessment, largely because of security problems at that time. This realization led to various reforms in the legal framework and some joint scoping studies for CBNRM approaches in 1996 (Ken et al., 2005). For example, the MoE applied PA zoning strategies that included community protected areas (CPAs) designed to support local livelihoods and raise revenues for the support of PA management activities (Meas & San, 2005).

The implementation of CBNRM approaches varies according to the geographical conditions and circumstances in local communities. CBNRM efforts often focus on activities at the village or commune level. They include CBET projects that have a co-management rather than community-based emphasis (see Figure 3.1). Essentially, government institutions and the facilitating NGOs cooperate to build the capacity of local organizations in the early stages of development (Bradlow, 2009; Ken, 2009). Then the local community organization is responsible for carrying out NRM duties and is

accountable to both community user groups and the involved state agencies. Project monitoring is conducted at intervals after the external intervention ceases.

Figure 3.1. CBNRM Model of Natural Resource Management in Cambodia
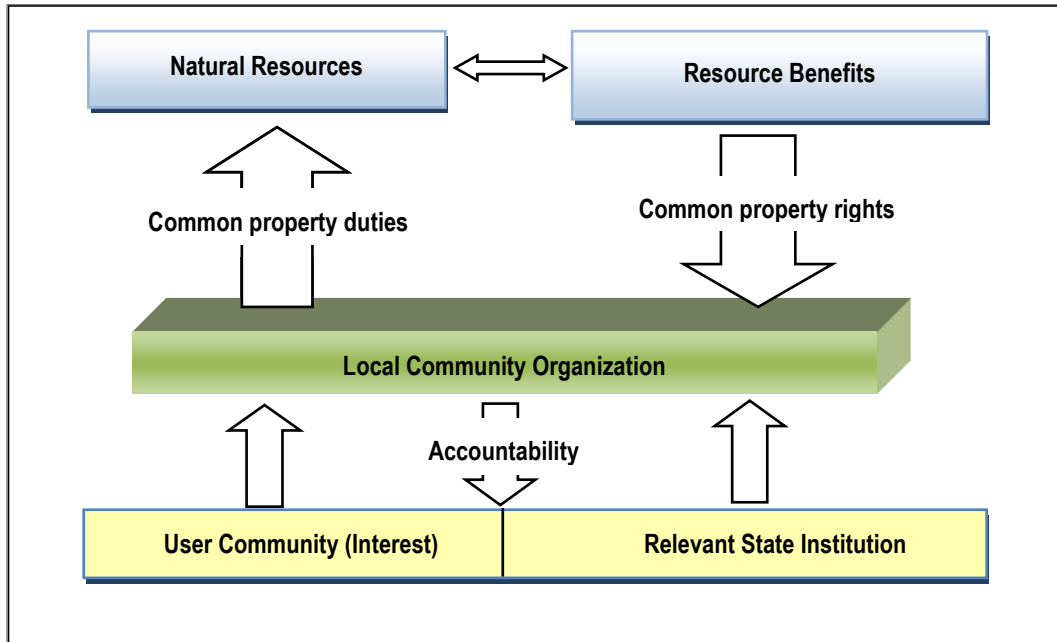
Note.   Adapted from Van Acker, 2010 (used with permission).

The CBET approach has been identified as a decentralization strategy and an integrated tool that addresses the complications discussed above (Ken et al., 2005; Rith, 2006; Rith, Williams, & Neth 2009). The Cambodian CBET projects aim to reduce environmental problems, to nurture democracy and decentralization and to alleviate poverty in rural communities (Ferrari, 2002; Ken et al., 2005; Ken et al., 2005; Rith, 2004). The number of projects rapidly increased from a few in the late 1990s to around 30 in 2009 (Rith, Williams, & Neth, 2009). There were about ten projects that had nearly completed the intervention stages at the time this dissertation was being prepared (http://www.ccbn.org). The Chambok CBET project was one of the few that had completed this phase.

3.2.4. Study Area Selection

To conduct a useful retrospective evaluation of the social capital effects of CBET development policies and procedures, this dissertation needed a case study that had completed the intervention stage. The Chambok CBET development project was selected because it was second oldest project to be implemented, as well as a recognized model of this form of development in Cambodia. Its prominence and longevity, as well as the author's familiarity with its evolution offered an ideal opportunity for an in-depth investigation.

3.2.4.1.   Study Site Description

The Chambok CBET is located in the Chambok commune, Phnom Srouch district, Kompong Speu province of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Kampong Speu province is located to the West of the capital city Phnom Penh and contains the major part of Kirirom National Park (Figure 3.2). The Chambok commune is on the outskirts of the park, approximately two hours drive from Phnom Penh capital. There are 731 households in the Chambok commune. Together they house about 3,396 people. Approximately 1,700 of them are female (The National Institute of Statistics, Census 2008). These people often live with extended family members in households averaging 4.6 people. Kompong Speu province and the Chambok commune in particular have a high rate of population growth (The National Institute of Statistics, Census 2008). A significant proportion (45%) of this population is ex-Khmer Rouge resettlers or migrants from other provinces arriving there after the national reconciliation in 1996. The people in Chambok follow the Buddhist religion.

Geographical isolation and a lack of schools have led to a very low literacy level in the commune. Most of the elder and middle-aged population are illiterate or have completed only primary school. Approximately 10% of the adult and teenage population have completed junior secondary level education or are pursuing a high school education (The National Institute of Statistics, Census 2008). The majority of the people (95%) are farmers and/or forest resource workers. Another 5% of the population are public civil servants or NGO workers.

Figure 3.2. Chambok CBET Location
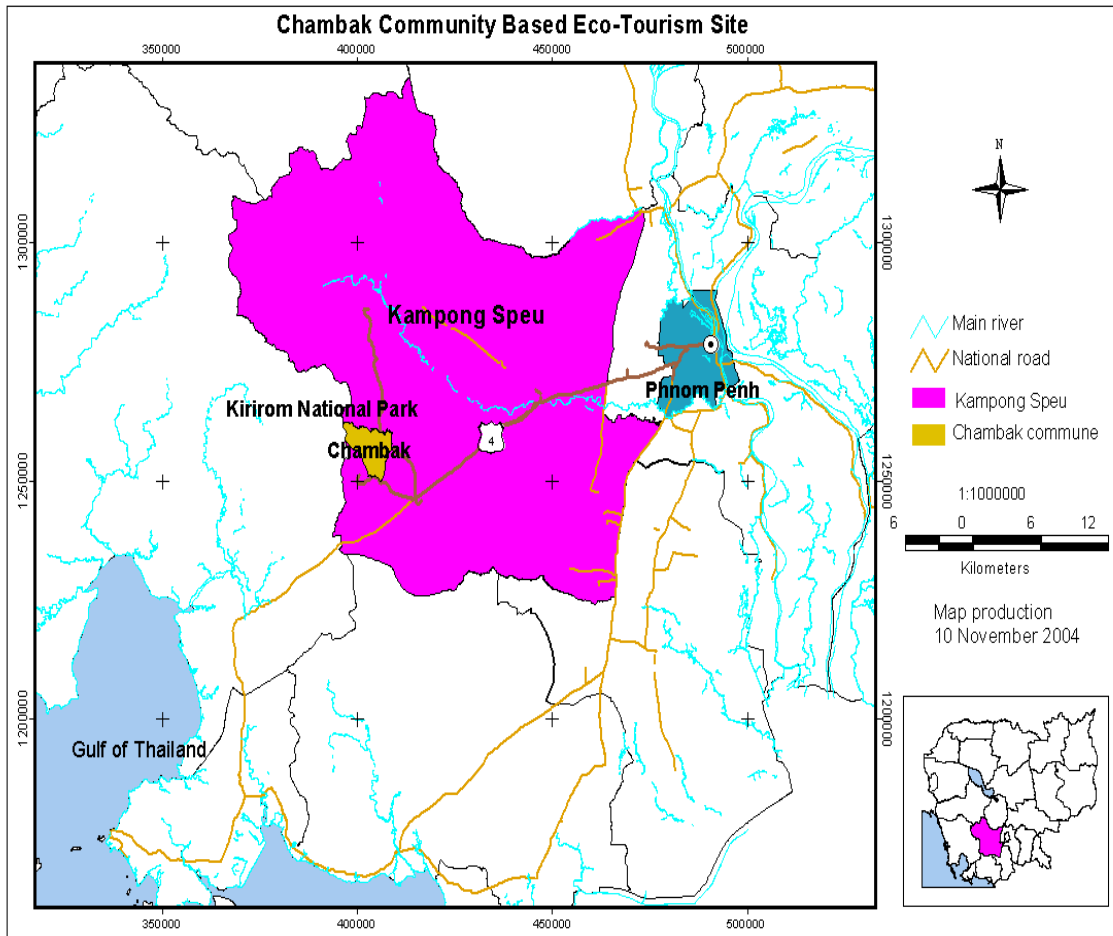
Source: Mlup Baitong, 2004 (used with permission from Va Moeun).

3.2.4.2.   Socio-Economic Situation

Kirirom National Park and the Chambok area contain dense rainforests and valuable hardwoods (Sandalwood and Beng[7]) as well as habitats and migration routes for numerous rare and distinct species of fauna (especially mountain goats) and flora. Despite these resources, members of the local communities live in chronic poverty. As typical of many hilly regions, the land in the area is not very fertile for domestic rice and nutritional crop cultivation. Owing to low yields from these agricultural lands, most

[7] Cambodian name of a very valuable hardwood with dark yellowish color

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people make their living from forest resources. Approximately 94% of households in the Chambok commune are engaged in forest extraction activities (MB, 2003a). These activities include timber cutting, fuel wood extraction, charcoal production, wildlife hunting, sandalwood collection and non-timber forest product harvesting. The challenges of difficult and high cost transportation to market, controlled market prices, and numerous forms of taxation conspire to keep Chambok income levels very low. This has led many residents to seek employment from commercial timber operations beyond the commune. Ironically, these large scale commercial activities have led to a rapid deforestation and severe degradation of forest and wildlife resources, which in turn led to deeper poverty levels.

3.2.4.3. Chambok Development Interventions

The preceding circumstances attracted the attention of several international organizations and NGOs. Many of them have focused their assistance on helping develop the public service systems and infrastructure needed to connect the commune to the outside world and enable them to be more self-sufficient. However, the enforcement of the PA system in 1993 restricted local access to natural resources within the park boundary. As a result, the livelihood opportunities of villagers were greatly constrained. Approximately 66% of the total population were identified as being extremely poor (MB, 2003a). This situation caused the government, civil society groups and international institutions to question the wisdom of retaining the exclusive PA system. In response, the government agreed to pilot a decentralization of its NRM program. Chambok was one of the earliest communes to participate in this experiment. Designed and managed by a national NGO (MB), it involved the creation of a Community Forestry (CF) program that focused on enabling local people to participate in the management of local area commons as well as the sustainable extraction of forest resources.

3.2.4.4. Sustainable Community Development Initiatives

According to MB officers, the CF intervention was insufficient and failed to respond as much as anticipated to the local people who were unfamiliar with CF co-management strategies, and did not understand their rights and roles in this process. They

viewed the CF program as being more of a constraint than aid to their livelihood goals. This perception hindered the enforcement of the CF program. In response to this situation, MB recognized the importance of establishing a more permanent and integrated alternative livelihood system –one that provided people with the necessary time to digest and absorb the new approaches and concepts of participation, conservation and sustainable development. Consequently, in cooperation with the local communities, MB initiated the CBET project in the Chambok commune in 2002.

Since about half of the project site's area was located within the National Park, under the MoE's jurisdiction, MB and the Chambok community also requested partnership from the MoE. Fortunately, the ministry was mindful of the need to support the villagers' livelihoods as well as to ensure protection of the park's resources. Consequently, in August 2002, MB signed a two-year renewable agreement with MoE for 72ha of land in the Kirirom National Park for "Community Conservation Areas". The Chambok CBET development project was initiated at that time and continues to run.

The Chambok case study was developed based on the MoE's CPA legal framework, and preceding CBNRM co-management implementation procedures. The implementing agencies used these specific policy frames to guide the Chambok CBET development. These policy frameworks provided the foundational documentation needed to address and answer the first overriding research question of this dissertation. That question is: What policy directives characterize the CBET development?

3.2.4.5.   Chambok Ecotourism Characteristics

The Chambok CBET site was officially opened to the public on January 04th 2003. Its major attractions were a roaring 40-meter waterfall, a pristine cascade river, a huge natural bat cave, several deep crystal clear water pools, beautiful scenery, as well as rare species of fauna and flora (e.g., wild elephant, mountain goats, sandalwood and so forth). The site was specifically positioned to attract adventuresome and nature loving types of tourists. Tourists visiting the sites could enjoy diversified activities with varying degrees of physical exertion including: 1) hiking in the forest and viewing the wildlife in various marked point of interests; 2) biking in the commune or on forest trails, 3) riding

the local ox-cart through the village or at the attractions; 4) bathing at the waterfall or swimming at the river and pools; 5) visiting craft-making workshops in the villages; and 6) studying local ways of living, rites and rituals, medicinal plants, and the management of community development initiatives.

Market segments for Chambok CBET were teenagers and middle-aged working persons looking for novelty and challenges in remote natural and rural settings in order to escape from their mundane urban environment. This segment spontaneously travelled in small groups with friends or relatives. Other segments were domestic and international university students, researchers, NGO workers and community members elsewhere in the country who were attracted to the site because of its well-known community development initiatives. Domestic organized-group visitors usually communicated directly with the CBET chief and tailored the activities to suit their group's needs. Its international market was divided into two types: organized groups of tourists and independent visitors. The regular group tours were coordinated by tour operators and the CBET chief. The occasional independent market (mostly researchers) frequently arranged their visit through the implementing agency (Mlup Baitong). Group tourists were provided by local guides free of charge when they bought the entrance ticket to the site.

From the capital city, it takes only two hours to reach the site by motorized vehicle. Therefore, tourists could either take a day-trip excursion or participate in an overnight stay in the Chambok commune. Tourists were encouraged to eat at the co-op restaurant run by the Women's Association, and stay in the houses of local residents in order to maximize their local experience and interaction (homestay) opportunities, in order to maximize opportunities to contribute to the local economy. No externally-owned hotels or guesthouses were permitted to be built in the commune. However, there were several guesthouses and bungalows in the Kirirom resort (within the park boundary) that is located about 20 kilometers away from the Chambok commune.

Since its opening in 2003, Chambok has become a popular destination, offering a welcome diversion from other forms of tourism operating in Cambodia at that time. Since its inception visitation has grown to over 10,000 visitors annually (to 2007). However,

the number of tourist arrivals tripled in the last two years (2008-2009). Throughout its history, the vast majority of visitors and associated revenues have come from domestic travellers. International visitation has also increased, with most of them and their related spending being linked to funds provided for community development initiatives.

3.2.5. Adjustment in Study Area Selection

The author initially intended to investigate two cases of CBET development in this dissertation. The Yeak Loam CBET project in Ratanakiri province was the second case. It was developed under the broader SEILA decentralization program for governance and administration reforms. It was also the first CBET project that received substantial funding and support from The Ministry of Interior and other international donor agencies. The Yeak Loam CBET case offered a potentially valuable contrast to the Chambok situation. However, it evolved under quite different structures and programs and involved distinct cultural groups, many of whom were indigenous Tumuon people.

A preliminary secondary data review on this CBET subject indicated that stakeholders involved in developing this site were primarily government-related institutions under the guidance of the SEILA program, especially the Partner for Local Governance project. Because the Yeak Loan CBET development contrasted so much with the Chambok case, the author's early intent was to compare and contrast two study areas with apparently different guiding laws and principles, types of communities, set of stakeholders, as well as the socio-political approaches to development.

However, the investigation could not be done at the time of this dissertation's work. The recommended key informants were either dead or in hiding owing to personal political charges. The communities were not cooperative with regard to being willing to participate in this study. In addition, the implementing agencies were dissolved. They, as the communities, were not interested in delving into the Yeak Loam project that (for them) had ended long ago. There were also several other CBET projects employing economic development approaches that were funded by development agencies (e.g., the Netherland Development Agency (SNV). All of them were still in the early stages of

development (i.e., after 2006 when the CBT policies of the MoT came into effect). Consequently, it was premature to compare any of those cases to the well-established Chambok project. The author, therefore, examined only the Chambok CBET project for the purposes of this study.

3.3. Research Tools

To design appropriate data collection, processing and analytical procedures for this study, several diverse methods were considered. This research employed mixed research methods. Qualitative procedures were used to study policy documents, and to examine identified key informants' (i.e., local and external stakeholders) motives, perceptions, attitudes and perspectives of the CBET project, as well as the emergent construction of social capital. Quantitative methods were used to assess how the broader CBET members perceived the outcomes of the CBET interventions, especially with regard to the existence and importance of social capital.

The approaches involved different human subjects, modes of inquiry, and methods of analysis. The choice of methods reflected the emergent character of the case study setting and processes. Both inductive and deductive reasoning processes were employed to understand and investigate the sensitive socio-economic and cultural contexts driving the Chambok CBET development processes and outcomes (Burn, 2001; Creswell, 2003; Newman, 2003; Warren & Karner, 2005; Yin, 1993).

For example, the pre-designed framework created via the literature review provided overall guidance for the investigation. It led to a set of guiding questions and indicators that enabled the author to systematically inspect the case study's CBET phenomenon. However, in keeping with Newman's perspectives (2003), these pre-designed indicators and questions were primarily deduced from studies elsewhere, and did not necessarily address all relevant social and cultural issues peculiar to this situation. Decrop (1999) recommends that a triangulation of several methods can address the problems. A combination of an ethnographic observation and other more open-minded

contextualizing strategies can enrich such a rigid pre-determined set of indicators in order to suit a specific context (Decrop, 1999). Therefore, the author used observational and several PRA methods (which will be described further in this chapter) to induce additional dimensions into the investigation's data collection processes.

As Yin (1993) points out, qualitative data can represent perceptual and attitudinal dimensions, real life events, and situations. In addition, Hess-Biber (2006) argues that qualitative data can be effectively employed to help researchers comprehend, interpret and measure complex socio-cultural aspects of livelihoods and development impacts expressed by community stakeholders. After field visits in Chambok, it became clear that the community livelihood system and social structure were definitely complicated, and the level of education of local people was quite low. The behaviour of most villagers was observed by the author to be suppressed and traumatized by a combination of factors including: the effects of a protracted civil war, political pressures, social intimidation, and complex power relations. In addition, issues related to forest-based activities; conservation policy enforcement and outcomes were considered dangerous subjects for open discussion. As a result, many of the informants interviewed in this study were reluctant to express their opinions on these subjects. Only through the use of sensitive qualitative interview methods was the author able to probe into these topics for underlying meaning and clarifications.

Both primary and secondary data were used to triangulate and confirm the findings presented (Decrop, 1999; Holland & Campbell, 2005). Primary data were collected to determine the perspectives and behaviours of specific stakeholders with respect to: CBET development policies, the policy implementing procedure, the shaping of CBET outcomes, and especially the shaping of social capital to enhance the achievement of intended outcomes. These data were collected using key informant and intercept survey questionnaires administered to case study stakeholders.

Secondary data were used to identify the emergence of SD policies and the adaptation of the CBET development as a policy implementation tool, as well as to examine the contents, objectives and outcomes of resultant local CBET policies. These

data were collected from different sources, such as government documents (national strategies, socio-economic development plans, etc.), NGOs and donors' reports, population census and statistics, research papers and theses, local and provincial authorities' documents and statistics, multi-sectoral documents and plans, materials provided at relevant forums, and related documents / regulations / laws / master plans of concerned ministries[8] and all policy papers and documentation at Chambok commune. To compile primary data, many methods were utilized and triangulated.

3.3.1. Methods for Analyzing CBET Policy

The first objective of this study was to examine policy directives that provided the impetus and foundation for CBET developments. In order to do so, the author employed the "objective verification" approach suggested by Dunn (2004a) as well as Mayers and Bass (2004). This approach requires the author to critically analyze the underlying meanings of a policy's objectives in order to examine its relevance and significance in the CBET development context. Falk (2007) elaborates that understanding these intentions helps to explain the motives and agenda of the policy creator(s). It provides ideas on how policy-makers anticipate their directives to be enforced, as well as how its outcomes serve the policy makers goals and the needs of the targeted population (Dunn, 2004a; Mayers & Bass, 2004). Objective verification procedures were used to analyze this policy's objectives, motives and approaches and its implications for CBET project developments in general as well as social capital construction in particular.

Data needed for satisfying this first objective was obtained through the review of the policy document (i.e., CPA Prakas[9] and guidelines), face-to-face interviews with the relevant policy-makers, as well as discussion with relevant officers in the implementing

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[8]   These ministries include: Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Forestry, Fisheries and Agriculture; Ministry of Tourism; Ministry of the Interior; Cambodian Development Center; and Ministry of Planning.

[9]   Prakas is a Cambodian word meaning laws that are reviewed and bound within the Ministry in which it is promulgated. For example, CPA Prakas is enacted by MoE.

agency. In August 2008, the author collected a copy of the CPA Prakas and its accompanying guidelines from the MoE's policy-makers. She made appointments with these relevant informants for subsequent interviews after conducting her own preliminary analysis of the documents.

A "conversational in-depth interview" technique (Warren & Karner, 2005) was used to collect pertinent clarifications and elaborations from the CPA policy-makers. In Cambodia, policy making reviews and assessments remain relatively closed to public scrutiny. The political atmosphere, especially after the national election in August 2008, when this phase of the research was conducted, was not favourable for formal interviews concerning public policy. Consequently, an informal in-depth conversational approach was employed to facilitate relaxed and amicable discussions on pertinent topics between the interviewer and interviewees (Warren & Karner, 2005).

In addition, the author employed an "organizational profile" procedure to obtain important data from the relevant institutions (Strati, 2000). This method focused on analyzing the characters, strength and capacity of a specific organization. It helped the author gather useful information from the MoE and MB. As suggested by Mayers and Bass (2004), developing this organizational profile helped the author understand the characters and capacity of the policy-making institutions, as well as what that meant for the motives behind and implementation strategies associated with policy. This included the profile of information concerning the managerial, social, technical and funding capacity of the organization (Strati, 2000). Essentially understanding MB's capacity helped the author determine whether the CPA policy provided adequate and appropriate enabling structures and resources for the Chambok CBET project.

The organizational profile of MB was conducted using four capacity criteria recommended by Strati (2000). These criteria were: financial, technical, social and managerial capacities. Collectively these four types of capacity provided an indication of how capable the organization was in relation to designing appropriate plans for fulfilling the organization's missions and objectives; financing the implementation of the organizational strategies; overcoming the technical challenges to plan implementation; as

well as coordinating and communicating with relevant stakeholders (Strati, 2000). Table 3.1 details indicators used to assess the status of each of these indicators.

Data for this profiling came from three main sources. These were web-based organizational information, project documentation, and interviews with the organization's directors and project officers. The author perused the organizational website carefully to note all information related to its respective field of expertise, the missions, aims and objectives, types of project being implemented by the organization, the targeted population, as well as the implementing partner and measures for communicating and sharing the project outcomes and experiences. She collected available materials and documents related to the CBET project, which were publicly accessible. The in-depth interviews were conducted afterward for the purposes of elaboration and clarification.

Table 3.1.   Criteria and Indicators for Assessing the Organizational Capacity

Capacity Criteria	Indicators
Managerial	• How appropriate were the designs of approaches, processes and techniques for planning and implementation in relation to the CBET project context?
Financial	• How was the organization financed? • Where did the organization's funding for the CBET project come from?
Technical	• How many people were employed in the project implementation? • How many were permanent staff and how many were contingent or external consultants? • What were the qualifications and experiences with regards to the CBET development context? • How often did the organization replace staff for the project?
Social	• What was the overall reputation of the organization within its respective field expertise? • What were its relationships with relevant stakeholder in its respective field? • Did it thoroughly consider the effects of the macro socio-political environment, as well as the embedded micro socio-cultural context and constitutions of the partner communities before designing implementation strategies? • Did it make an effort to make development approaches socially inclusive?

Source: Strati, 2000.

The author used email communication to introduce herself and the topic of the study to the interviewees. A short study description, approved by SFU's ethics committee was sent to all intended interviewees. Subsequent interviews were conducted in the

interviewees' offices or anywhere convenient for them. To reduce the interviewees' anxiety, the author presented no formally outlined questions or recording tools (Crestwell, 2003; Warren & Karner, 2005). She had to remember the key points for conversation that emerged from her initial analysis of the CPA Prakas. To help her in this task, she privately noted all the important points in her pre-designed analytical checklist immediately after the interview ended.

The author conducted a preliminary analysis of the CPA policy document prior to the interviews. This analysis enabled the author to understand various requirements of the policy. They included: 1) the stated ministerial objectives; 2) the forthcoming required process and procedure; 3) the emergent policy enforcement structures; 4) roles and responsibilities of the anticipated participating institutions; and 5) the openness for collaborative implementation. From this understanding, she developed the key guiding questions for in-depth interviews and an analytical checklist to record the response from the interview. The analysis checklist was based on the criteria to determine the suitability of the CPA policy for the CBET development. In other words, the criteria would determine whether this policy contributed to the building of positive social capital needed in the CBET development context.

The analytical checklist focused on questions related to the research hypothesis. The key concerns were: 1) MoE's motives for developing this policy; 2) the anticipated potential approaches for implementing this policy in order to achieve the intended motives; 3) roles of the MoE in implementing the policy; 4) MoE's attitude and perception of the CBET development approaches; and 5) the contribution of MoE and its policy with regards to the CBET development, especially in building needed social capital. The last key concern involved assessing the extent to which the CBET policy and its makers encouraged or constrained the process of social capital building. Particularly, it involved seeking answers to questions such as: 1) what policy frameworks or development requirements could be translated as opportunity structures for social capital building; 2) what resources were allocated or were able to be procured through the policy implementation; 3) what agencies could participate in implementing this policy and what

were their roles; and 4) how open was the policy to flexible interpretations based on the specific contexts in which they were to be applied.

The interviews were conducted as a normal conversation around the topic of the CPA policy making and implementing. Typically they lasted around two hours. Open-ended questions guided the conversation and provoked elaborations. The key points of discussion evolved around: 1) the origins and context of the CPA policy; 2) policy makers' aspirations and how the policy was intended to serve the target population; 3) the potential resource allocation; 4) anticipation for collaboration and implementation; and 5) explanation of key requirements stated in the policy. An example of guiding key questions is presented in Appendix A.

3.3.2. Methods for Examination of the CBET Implementation Process

This dissertation's second question examined how the implementing agency interpreted national policies and transformed these directives into actions at the local level. Specifically, it explored how these policies shaped the construction of networks, as well as policies and norms for practices at the local level. The CBET process and framework developed in the literature review section of this dissertation (Table 2.1) provided the basis for analysis. It extended from the conceptualization of the project with the partner community to the completion and withdrawal of the implementing agency.

The information for this objective was based on two sets of information sources. These were: 1) perspectives offered in face-to-face interviews with the MB director, the Chambok CBET project coordinators and officers, as well as the counterparts from MoE and CBET management committee; and 2) a documentary review and content analysis of reports available from public archives, meetings, and MB plans from 2002 to 2009.

After examining the CBET policy directives and interviews with policy-makers, the author has identified key implementing agencies and anticipated development protocols. The author began collecting secondary data from the implementing agencies and the community for content analysis of the CBET development process. The

secondary data collected from MB and the Chambok CBET community included minutes of meetings, monthly reports, financial proposals, the budget plan, the funding proposal and project plans from 2002 to 2008. The author critically reviewed all secondary data collected from the concerned institutions before proceeding to conducting face-to-face interviews. The in-depth interviews were conducted in order to probe into the interviewees' perceptions of purposes and motives for designing such processes.

Fortunately, the author had first-hand knowledge and experience in the CBET development process at Chambok through previous ecotourism consultation work in the area in 2003. At that time, she played a part with the MB team in helping the community establish the project site, plan the development strategies, and implement specific CBET activities. The knowledge that she gathered from informal conversations with the CBET council combined with the information she obtained from interviews with MB officers helped her to precisely identify the CBET planning stages, the overriding motives, as well as the development approaches and rationales for doing so.

3.3.3. Social Capital Assessment Methods

In this study, social capital was conceptualized as those community capabilities that were put into operation as required resources, structures, institutions and conditions supportive of the free agency of people. It was positioned as providing individuals and communities with the resources and opportunities to make free choices of action in regard to CBET collaboration and development. This investigation examined the elements that comprised the community activity infrastructures contributing to the creation of community capabilities and helped to produce CBET development outcomes.

3.3.3.1. Methods for Data Collection

To measure the social capital in a CBET context, the author gathered information related to local livelihoods and strategies, local asset bases, local historical accounts and their interactions with internal and external factors. This collection involved the use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods designed to triangulate the findings

uncovered (Decrop, 1999; Holland & Campbell, 2005). Decrop (1999, p.159) explained that "Method triangulation entails the use of multiple methods to study a single problem." The triangulation process involved the use of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation methods. These approaches were used to reduce the limits and biases of each method and to increase the credibility and dependability of data collected in the field. In addition, they helped to provide richer and more comprehensive data for analysis.

3.3.3.1.1. Administration of PRA Methods

PRA is an approach for conducting holistic analyses of local conditions and the formulation of problem-based strategies through the active participation of local stakeholders (Chambers, 1994; Carlos, 2004). By giving more freedom to local participants to express themselves, a researcher can use a range of visualization methods for group-based and individual-based analyses (Carlos, 2004). According to Carlos, these analyses enable a researcher to deal with spatial and temporal aspects of social and environmental problems as well as with intense sensitivity to community livelihood approaches. The effectiveness of combining tools for the PRA process to explore complex livelihoods, social structures and the influence of diverse levels of environment policies on rural people has been clearly demonstrated in many studies in Africa (Murray, 2001). Based on a review of PRA methods advocated by Ellis (2000) and Carlos (2004), four techniques were selected to guide the assessment of social capital at Chambok. These were: 1) transect walks or walk-about and cognitive mapping; 2) group meetings and discussions; 3) social mapping; and 4) VENN diagrams.

The first technique was used to identify socio-economic conditions, patterns of village settlement, community structure, and related geographical profiles of the Chambok commune. The second technique was conducted on an informal participatory basis. It entailed involving local participants who represented different resource users and beneficiary groups in discussions concerning their perception of the phenomenon of the study (Carlos, 2004; Ellis, 2000; Newman, 2003). Notably, the criteria for selecting a focus group for the discussions were principally based on: 1) variety of age and gender;

2) variety of occupation; 3) variety of length of stay in the village; 4) time availability; and, 5) variety of knowledge and experiences in the CBET development and NRM issues. It allowed all selected local stakeholders to interact actively in discussing, specifying and reasoning about their livelihood stresses, the status of their capital assets, the effects of internal (i.e., resource availability and access, social system and norms, etc.) and external (i.e., policies, institutions and processes) environments on their livelihood options and the solutions (Carlos, 2004; Few, 2002).

3.3.3.1.2. Interview Methods

Interview techniques were used with the locals to draw contextual social and historical backgrounds (past and present) and to envisage the overall picture of their communities with regard to livelihood problems, social and environmental evolution, the management of natural resources in their areas, and their aspirations for the CBET project. The PRA technique was carried out to identify the social complexity of local communities in Chambok. It was also useful for describing the power relations and communication between elements of the local system (villagers, their organizations and local authorities) and the executing civil society, government and development agencies based on different levels of influence and accessibility. In combination, these two techniques helped the author discover the existing social capital in the community prior to the CBET development, gradual changes in its extent and forms, and its status at the time of this dissertation's preparation in 2009.

In-depth interviews were conducted with relevant external and internal stakeholders. External stakeholders included representatives of the MoE, MB, the National Park authority (NPA), the Provincial Department of Environment (PDoE), the Provincial Department of Tourism (PDoT), the Provincial Municipality (PM), District Municipality (DM), tour operators (TO) and the MSME[10] assessor of the American private sector development project. Internal stakeholders was comprised of the CBET

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[10] MSME stands for micro, small and medium enterprises

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council (18 people), eight representatives of local stakeholders (e.g., the CF, CPA, CC and religious councils), as well as select CBET members (3 people).

The ensuring interviews provided information concerning: 1) plans for establishing the CBET project; 2) divisions of roles and responsibilities among stakeholders with regards to project planning and development; 3) project planning and development approaches utilized by each stakeholders; 4) potential resources for implementing identified activities; 5) stakeholders' perception of threats and opportunities for the communities through the CBET development; 6) stakeholders' evolving relationships with the CBET communities; and 7) the factors that encouraged or hindered the development of such relationships.

Interview permission from the Head of each of the interviewee's organizations was solicited prior to conducting the interviews. In this regard, an organizational consent form, the study's short description, as well as key guiding questions were posted to the Head of the organization prior to the interview appointment. Once permission was obtained, the interview arrangements were personally made between the interviewees and interviewers via phone communication.

Generally, there were two interviewers involved in the interviews: the author and her assistant. Interviews were not recorded electronically. Instead responses were recorded on paper and then reviewed and approved by the interviewees. As in the previous phase, she used a categorical checklist of key content themes to guide the interview and record the responses.

The purposeful survey with CBET members employed a face-to-face semi-structured questionnaire (Newman, 2003). The survey questions combined both closed and open-ended questions. The open-ended nature of the process allowed the interviewer to probe for greater understanding of responses to the pre-designed questions, as well as explore new topics and issues as they emerged (Byrne, 2002). The author was interested in learning the rationale behind the choice of answers as well as the choices themselves. The contents of the interviews focused on: 1) assessing the existence of local capital

assets; 2) the communities' aspirations for the CBET project; 3) their behaviour and attitudes toward such livelihood initiatives; 4) their participation modes in the CBET development; 5) their reception of benefits from the project; 6) their perceptions of the CBET by-laws and development activities; as well as 7) their suggestions for the improvement of the CBET project, especially in relation to social capital construction. Seventy-nine interviews were conducted with CBET members (Appendix A).

Frequently, the interviews took longer than planned (2.5 hours or more) because of the need for much explanation due to the low literacy levels of many respondents. As well, while being interviewed (typically in their homes), other members of the household (i.e., spouse, children, and relatives, etc.) were also invited to help the respondents answer the questions. This was useful for optimizing the depth of answers and the accuracy of data collected.

The survey took place in the rainy season (June-August, 2009) when most respondents were busy with farming. This lengthened the time needed to complete the survey program. Owing to challenges in gaining the trust of respondents in a relatively short time frame, the author solicited the help of two local assistants and two senior students from the Department of Tourism, at the Royal University of Phnom Penh. The local assistants were widely-known and popular persons in the commune and were able to work closely with the university students to administer the surveys over an extended period of time. Each of the four assistants was carefully explained the purpose and approach to the interviewing, and then was accompanied by the author to conduct their first few interviews, and elaborate on approaches to make the survey process work more effectively. After that, each interviewer worked in tandem with the others to complete the project's survey requirements.

3.3.3.1.3. *Administration of Observation Methods*

As mentioned by Newman (2003, p.381), a great deal of what researchers should do in the field is to pay attention, watch, and listen carefully apart from their interviewing tasks. Warren and Karner (2005) argued that many social research problems might not be

addressed sufficiently unless participant observation was also incorporated. This tool was to complement the PRA tools. It was applied to observe and assess the village characteristics and physical surroundings, daily life, social relationship and structure, modes of resource access and use and competition, and the context in which events occurred in Chambok. As well, the author participated as an observer in meetings among local stakeholders, the CBET council and external stakeholders that took place between August 2008 and May 2009.[11]

The author attended five regular local stakeholder meetings and two extra meetings where MB and NPA representatives were present. The local meetings were about normal updating of how CBET revenues were spent as well as the CBET council's plan for expansion. The extra meetings concerned the replacement of the CF Chief, who at the time of this research was elected by the commune population as a member of the CC. The author also participated in a trip of an MSME team who came to evaluate service quality and CBET entrepreneurship at Chambok. Being a complementary approach, observational techniques were intentionally used to help verify or triangulate the quality of information obtained from the PRA and semi-structured interviews.

3.3.3.2. Analytical Framework

The framework developed in Section 2.5.2 guided the assessment of social capital in the Chambok CBET project. In this study, it was examined in terms of three dimensions: bonding, bridging and linking. The following sections details the elements examined in this dissertation.

3.3.3.3. Bonding Social Capital

In this dissertation, the assessment of bonding social capital covers two facets: the presence of social capital (structural property) and the function of social capital (conditions for operation). The presence of social capital in a group or a community is

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[11]   The author requested permission to take part in meetings during her field visit, and was subsequently informed of all these meetings by the chief of CBET council via mobile phone communication.

determined by network strength that includes the size of the network, the diversity of its members, and the frequency and intensity of contact among members (Field, 2008; Grootaert et al., 2004; Meltzer & Memmott, 2005). Functions of the networks consider how networks are mobilized, what resources are expected by members, what the conditions for access to resources are, and what the actual reception of benefits is (Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Krisna & Shrader, 1999; Lin, 2001; 1999). The measurement indicators and questions for bonding social capital are illustrated in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2.   Measurement Indicators of Bonding Social Capital

Criteria	Questions	Indicators
Density	• Number of members in each group in CBET community	• Size of groups in CBET community
Diversity	• Number of contacts between members of a group/network • Socio-economic and demographical status of group/network members	• Years of residency in Chambok (CB) • Marital status • Economic status • Education • Age • Gender • Political view • Cultural background
Centrality	• Strength and nature of working relationships within a group/network	• Frequency of contact • Intensity of Contact • Stability of network
Function	• Formal/informal arrangements that help/hinder the interactions between members of a network • Mobilization of a network: conditions of access to resources • Expectations about available support/resources and questions on the support/resources actually received • Rules and Norms of a Network	• Perception of benefit • Resource availability • Conditions for access to resources • Rules for resource/benefits Distributions • Received benefits from the CBET project

Sources: Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Grootaert et al., 2004; Kilpatrick & Abbot-Chapman, 2007; Krisna & Shrader, 1999; Memmot & Meltzer, 2005.

3.3.3.4.   Bridging Social Capital

Similar to the assessment of bonding social capital, the assessment of bridging social capital was divided into two parts. The first part evaluated the strength of the CBET community (i.e., structural property of the community). The criteria for the

strength assessment included: the size of the network, the diversity of groups in the community, the members' support of diversity, innovation and different lifestyles, the level of connectedness and cooperation as well as the frequency of contact among members and the stability of the community. The second part examined the function of the community (i.e., conditions for network operation and access to resources). The criteria for the assessment of community function included: where resources for the CBET agency came from; the level of members' involvement in and support for the CBET goals; the extent to which CBET members could mobilize resources in the CBET community; the quality, openness and democratic aspects of the community; and finally members' views of how well the community functioned. Tables 3.3 and 3.4 illustrate the measurement indicators used to assess bridging social capital.

Table 3.3.   Assessment Indicators for Intra-Bridging Social Capital

Intra-Bridging Indicators
Strength of CBET Community
- Size: Number of groups in CBET community   - Diversity   - Acceptance of different lifestyles   - Support for diversity   - Level of connectedness between groups in the CBET community   - Expression of negative behaviour toward diversity   - Support for innovation (CBET initiatives)   - Frequency of contact   - Stability of the CBET community (no. of members)
Community Function
- Mobilization of resources in the CBET community   - Participation in common resource conservation   - Participation in CBET events   - Gap between expectation and reception of resources/benefits   - Level of involvement in the CBET community   - Stability of intra-organizational relations through various events that mark a network evolution   - Quality and democratic aspect of interactions, openness, and respect of actors, confidence in the contribution of each member of the community   - Assessment of community functioning

Sources: Ben & Onyx, 2005; Grootaert et al., 2004; Krisna & Shrader, 1999; Kilpatrick & Abbot-Chapman, 2007; Memmot & Meltzer, 2005; Onyx & Bullen, 2000.

Table 3.4.   Measurement Indicators for Inter-Bridging Social Capital

Inter-Bridging Indicators
Strength of the Commune
• Size: Number of organizations in a commune
• Density: Level of interconnections between organizations in the locality
• Frequency of Contact: Number and length of contacts between members of a group/network
Network Function
• Mobilization of organizations in the commune
• Gap between expectation and reception of benefits/goals
• Stability of relationships
• Quality and democratic aspect of interactions, openness, and respect of actors and common perception of issues

Sources: Ben & Onyx, 2005; Krisna & Shrader, 1999; Kilpatrick & Abbot-Chapman, 2007; Memmot & Meltzer, 2005; Grootaert et al., 2004; Onyx & Bullen, 2000.

3.3.3.5.   Linking Social Capital

At the linking level, the criteria for structural property are comprised of the size of the network, the diversity of external stakeholders, the level of members' involvement in shaping the network goals; and the extent to which members can mobilize resources, and the democratic aspect of the networks (Ben & Onyx, 2005; Catts, 2007; Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2002) (see Table 3.5). The functional criteria are based on two network theories in the business environment: density and centrality (Field, 2008; Lin, 2001). Density is a characteristic of the whole network (Lin, 1999). Resources for constructing social capital are obtained through linkages among the members. Ideally, these linkages should be diverse and heterogeneous because the availability of resources will be limited if the community is linked to only one domain, though it may link with many subdivisions within the domain (Granovetter, 1985; Lin, 2001). The number and diversity of members in the network indicates the richness of resources availability at bonding and bridging levels (Grootaert et al., 2004).

Density measures the relative number of ties in the network that link actors together and is calculated as a ratio of the number of relationships that exist in the network, compared with the total number of possible ties of each network member tied to every other member (Lin, 1999; Rowley, 1997). However, in this research study, rather

than focusing solely on the ratio and number of ties, the author emphasized the quality and issues of interactions. The richness of resources obtained from linkages was determined by frequency of meetings, issues for interactions, as well as intensity between the interacted parties.

Table 3.5.   Assessment Indicators for Linking Social Capital

Linking Indicators
• Size: Number of organizations in CBET development network
• Density: Level of interconnections between stakeholders and community
• Centrality: Closeness or direct contact the community has with relevant stakeholders
• Frequency of Contact: Number and length of contacts between stakeholders
• Mobilization of resources
• Benefit gap
• Stability of network
• Quality and democratic aspect of stakeholder relationships
• Formal/informal arrangements that help/hinder the interactions between members of a network

Sources: Ben & Onyx, 2005; Grootaert et al., 2004; Kilpatrick & Abbot-Chapman, 2007; Memmot & Meltzer, 2005;.

Centrality refers to a stakeholder's position in the network relative to others (Burt, 2000; Lin, 1999; Rowley, 1997). This measure evaluates a stakeholder's power. Centrality refers to power obtained through the network's structure. Centrality can be divided into: 1) degree centrality and 2) closeness centrality (Rowley, 1997; Freeman, 1979). Each of these indicators corresponds to a different aspect of a stakeholder's positional status. A network's degree of centrality can be defined by the number of ties it has with other stakeholders in the network. The intuition behind degree centrality is that stakeholders well connected – in terms of having many relations – in their environment will have access to many alternative sources of information, resources, and so forth (Lin, 1999; Rowley, 1997).

Closeness centrality defines a stakeholder's ability to access independently all other members of the network (Freeman, 1979). Freeman (1979) associates closeness centrality with efficient and effective communication, while Herrero (2004) associates it with high trust. A central stakeholder can reach other stakeholders through a minimum number of intermediary positions and is therefore dependent on fewer intermediary

positions than the peripheral stakeholder. Closeness centrality can be measured by adding the lengths of the shortest paths from the stakeholder to all other stakeholders (direct contact). However, instead of using the actual number of ties and length of path, this study focused on the perception of network centrality as perceived by users of the networks.

3.3.3.6. Analysis of Cognitive Dimension

The cognitive dimension of social capital refers to the quality of the common norms that tie the networks together (Grootaert et al., 2004; Kilduff & Tsai; Lin 2001; Krisna & Shrader 1999; Memmott & Meltzer 2005). Norms are sometimes referred to as collective rules or rules of the game (Pretty & Wards, 2001). They can be formal or informal, and become a mutually agreed upon or handed-down code of behaviour that place group interests above those of individuals (Dale, 2005; Pretty & Ward 2001).

In this research study, the assessment of cognitive social capital was divided into two categories: the formal CBET by-laws that were constructed as policy documents to govern the site, and the informal implicit norms that governed the behaviour of CBET members. In the literature review section, norms that were applicable in the CBET context included trust, reciprocity and sharing, connectedness and social inclusion. The last two norms were included in the assessment of structural dimension as a part of the conditions for network operations. Thus, this assessment focuses only on the emergent by-laws for the CBET development, as well as norms associated with trust, reciprocity and sharing (Table 3.6). The author gathered all local policy documents that were associated with the development process, analyzed their content, and examined how they were used as guiding principles for the CBET development.

Assessment of trust was based on six indicators: general trust, informal trust, institutional trust, leadership trust and feelings of safety, security and transparency. Assessment of reciprocity and sharing was based on three indicators: perceptions of reciprocity and sharing in the community, attitudes toward the contribution for the community collective actions, and behaviours in spending time and money for

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community activities. Detailed measurement indicators of these norms are listed as follows.

Table 3.6.   Assessment Indicators for Cognitive Social Capital

Indicators of Cognitive Social Capital

Trust Indicators

- Generalized trust
- Informal trust
- Institutional trust
- Trust in leadership/leaders
- Feeling of safety & security
- Feeling of transparency

Indicators of Sharing and Reciprocity

- Perception of reciprocity in the community
- Attitudes toward contributing to the community/collective actions
- Time or money spent on community participation activities

Assessment of Perception on CBET Rules and Norms

- How norms/rules were made
- Perceptions of rules/norms
- Reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction

Sources: Fukuyama, 1985; Herrero, 2004; Pretty, 2003a; Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004.

3.3.4. Social Capital Impact Analysis Methods

Multiple levels of social capital can build and strengthen a local community's capacity for CBET development. However, social capital's economic orientation and susceptibility to power and politics is also a threat to CBET success. This dark side must be addressed if positive attributes of social capital are to be fully captured. The fundamental tenet of this study is that social capital has to be closely linked with the attributes expressed in a "capabilities theory" in order to maximize its contribution to CBET initiatives. As discussed in Section 2.4, in order for a CBET project to be sustainable, CBET intervention needs to build components of community capabilities and resiliency into its activities. The central thesis of this dissertation is that positive social capital contributes to CBET sustainability when: 1) the means by which it is created expand the capabilities of individuals, the community and cultures involved in CBET

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development, and 2) these social networks enable the CBET community and stakeholders to achieve their development goals.

The ways of creating social capital have to be aligned with the means that contribute to community capabilities. This includes providing necessary resources and opportunity structures, as discussed in Section 2.4.3 (Table 2.3). From this perspective, CBET development involves the expansion of basic freedoms which lead to the achievement of community and stakeholders' goals. Three different external stakeholders may intervene in the development of CBET projects. These are: 1) the government institutions that aim to cultivate the culture of democracy and to build the local governance system at the community level; 2) the market actors that aim to expand the frontier of the tourism industry and strengthen the business management through global-local linkages; and 3) conservation stakeholders that aim to promote environmental awareness and green practices at the local level.

Ultimately, the outcomes of CBET projects have to reflect the integrated goals of these three types of institutions as well as those of the local community in order to be capable of moving forward in a sustained fashion. The CBET outcomes can be examined through an evaluation of CBET's contribution to community development goals such as those discussed in Section 2.4.3. They include: conservation, economic development, community health, human resource development and community empowerment. Consequently, to analyze the impact of social capital on CBET development, the author examined the impact of constructed social capital on these goals (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7.   Indicators for the CBET Development Means and Ends

Outcome Indicators	Resource Indicators
1. Economic Development • Job opportunities and job creation • Business and investment mechanisms • Economic development strategies • Development model, supporting mechanism and partnership	**1. Economic Opportunities** • Accessibility to economic resources • Rights to consumption, production & exchange • Conditions for exchange, pricing and market mechanism
2. Human Resource Development • Basic education, acquiring wisdom • Human capital development • The integration of traditional and modern knowledge and technology	**2. Social Opportunities** • Social arrangement for education and health care center • Build capabilities to participate in economic and political activities
3. Conservation • Existence of community conservation policies • Practice of conservation strategies • Outcome of conservation strategies • Record of good NRM governance	**3. Protective Security** • Arrangement for risk management including permanent institutional arrangement for the vulnerable people or ad hoc arrangements in case of emergency
4. Community Health • Human relationship including community's mental and spiritual health, social cohesiveness, and self-identity • Human-nature relationship including physical health and human attitude towards nature and environment	**4. Transparency Guarantee** • Openness of development agenda and information • Preventive mechanisms for corruption, irresponsibility and underhand dealing
5. Community Empowerment • Policy framework • Local governance • Level of local control and ownership • Organizational structures • Links with other relevant institutions	**5. Political Liberties** • Civil rights and implementation of democracy • Opportunities for political dialogue and dissent • Participation in selection of legislation and executives • Decision on who can govern and on what principles

Source: Fennell, 2008; Figgis & Bushell, 2007; Hall, Kilpatrick & Mitchell, 2005; Murphy & Murphy, 2004; Schaper, 2005; Sen, 1999; Thimothy, 2007;.

3.3.5. Overriding Policy Suitability Assessment Methods

Section 2.5.2 explained the dimensions and levels of social capital needed in a CBET context. Each dimension and level of social capital has its own distinct function in CBET development outcomes. Bonding promotes operational and managerial effectiveness, while the bridging promotes legitimacy, identity and power. Bonding and

bridging social capital are basic foundations for local initiatives (Macgillavray & Walker, 2002; Molinas, 2002; Colleta & Cullen, 2002; Narayan, 2002; Pellini, 2005), such as CBET. However, linking social capital is particularly vital, as it is a critical resource provider and acts as part of an enabling or constraining structure. The operation of social capital at the local level is shaped and constrained by wider structural, economic and political forces operating at the upper levels (Burt, 2000; Fine, 2003; Dale & Onyx, 2005; Gibb, 2005; Granovetter, 1973; Jone, 2005; Rowley, 1997; Pellini, 2005).

Accordingly, to examine the contribution of social capital to CBET sustainability, there is a need to address how the external linkages shape and affect operations at the bridging and bonding levels. This can be done through the examination of the provision of resources and opportunity structures that may be constructive or destructive to the existing community's social fabric and local cultures. It involves identifying what networks already exist in the community; what social groups or new institutions are added to the local community; which institution (s) build novel ties, and with what resources; how these new networks and norms interact with the existing ones; and whether they are complementing or conflicting with one another.

As a SD policy tool, CBET innovation has multiple purposes. So do the local capabilities needed to implement this type of development project (Sen, 1999). Previous discussions suggest several conditions that can enable social capital formation. These include: 1) the resources obtained through linkages should be focused on building multiple capabilities needed in a CBET context; 2) the added ties should complement those already embedded; and 3) different ties should address varying capabilities issues that cumulatively contribute to the achievement of crucial CBET goals identified above. The efficiency of existing CBET policy and associated development processes was judged based on these conditions.

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3.4. Sampling Frame

The approach to this research was mainly inductive and holistic in perspective. Consequently, the selection of key informants stressed their potential know-how to answer the questions and provide rich and relevant information for analysis and interpretation, as opposed to large numbers of people. Consequently, both snowball and purposive sampling procedures were used to identify respondents for interviews and discussions. Warren and Karner (2005) and Newman (2003) argued that these non-probability sampling techniques are useful to identify the relevance to the focus of study rather than the representation of the population. A deep understanding and explanation of social life through the selection of right samples, units, activities or events is the main concern of qualitative researchers (Hesse-Bibber, 2006; Mile & Huberman, 1994; Newman, 2003).

The author decided to select specific samples of respondents based on their understanding of different subject matters. In some cases the respondents were individuals, while in other situations they were groups and /or sub-groups participating in open meetings. These techniques were considered appropriate for the complex situations of the Chambok commune. In some cases, snowball sampling involving sequential open referrals from one key informant to the next was used to deal with special inter-connected networks of local communities and organizations. In other situations, purposive sampling worked well in selecting unique and particular informants for in-depth interviews.

These techniques were used to identify 20 participants (12 members of the CBET council that represent the nine villages in the commune and eight representatives from local stakeholders) for group meetings and interviews (see Table 3.8). According to the administrative map, there were only four villages in the commune, but the villagers traditionally considered themselves to be in nine villages based on natural partitions. These villages include: Thmey, Chambok Dangkum, Beng, Peam Lvea, Rumduol Thmey, Kraing Chek, Pech Angtung, Trapain Kranh and Chrak Saem. This traditional partition was seriously considered in the early planning process of the CBET

development. Therefore, the author decided to interview all these representatives in order to examine intra-organizational interactions and the potential differences in perspectives toward CBET development.

Table 3.8. Primary Data Collection Procedures Used by Research Objective

Objectives	Research Technique Employed	# of Person Interviewed/ Surveyed	Types of Respondent	When Conducted
1. Examining CBET policy directives	Key informant interview	4 persons	MoE (officers from GDACN)	Jul-Aug, 2008
2. Identifying CBET implementation processes	Key informant interview	22 persons	MoE counterparts, MB officers, CBET council members	Oct-Dec, 2008
3. Social capital assessment, and 4. Examining connection between CBET construction and CBET sustainability	PRA (VENN diagram, transect walk, social mapping, group meeting and discussion)		Chambok commune population	Jan-Feb, 2009
	Key informant interview	45 persons	MoE, MB, NPA, PDoE, PDoT, PM, DM, tour operators, MSME assessor, MoT, RUPP, CCBEN, and local stakeholders	Jan-Apr, 2009
	Survey semi-structured questionnaire	79 persons	CBET members, CBET council	Ju-Aug, 2009
	Participant observation	5 local stakeholder meetings	CPA, CF and CBET councils	Oct, 2008- Mar, 2009
		2 external stakeholder meetings	MB, NPA, DM, CPA, CF and CBET councils	Apr-May, 2009
		1 MSME assessment trip	CBET council and CBET service providers	May, 2010

Snowball and purposive techniques also provided the author with a wide range of information with which to build a close rapport with local communities and authorities and to appropriately select the eight knowledgeable local stakeholder representatives for in-depth interviews, and 79 CBET members for semi-structured interviews. The in-depth interviews with local stakeholders were conducted first. The semi-structured survey

interviews were designed based on information obtained from PRA techniques, participant observation and in-depth interviews. With an estimated membership of 500 people in the CBET community, the 79 interviewees conducted represented more than 10% of the total membership. The sampling frames for member interviews were those representing the small groups designed for CBET operation purposes. The sampling criteria included respondents' age, gender, CBET group affiliation and village of residence in the commune. While attempts were made to collect the perspectives of a good cross-section of the population, the realities of the field work situation could not ensure that this level of representativeness happened. Consequently, the findings emanating from the survey needed to be triangulated with those coming from the key informant interviews so as to increase the potential accuracy of the information reported. Table 3.8 above summarizes research object and primary data collection techniques.

Another 29 informants were chosen purposefully from the external stakeholder groups for in-depth interviews. These informants were senior representatives of the involved government agencies, civil society groups, the private sector, academia, as well as project officers working directly with local communities and local stakeholders. Specifically, they included four CPA policy-makers, two CBET project counterparts from MoE, eight officers from MB, two from Kirirom NP, one from the PDoE, one from the PDoT, two from Pnom Srouch District Municipality, two from Kompong Speu Provincial Municipality, two from the MoT, two tour operators and one MSME assessor, two researchers from the Royal University of Phnom Penh, and one from CCBEN. Each senior representative was targeted purposefully. They were interviewed about the CBET overriding policy, their intervention in the planning and development process, their perceptions of CBET success and failure, as well as their perception of other stakeholders' performances and social capital related issues in the Chambok commune.

3.5. Research Constraints

Despite a well-planned research process, the author encountered a number of constraints during her fieldwork. The obstacles were often related to socio-political

realities at play. The fieldwork was done immediately before and after the fourth national election in 2008. It is the nation's largest democratic election and is normally done every four years with extensive campaigns by different political parties waged prior to it. Due to the political situation, the author found it difficult to approach local and other key respondents and encourage them to speak and discuss her subject freely.

In the beginning, the author was regarded by local authorities as a political activist of the opposition party, a journalist or an NGO partisan who came to investigate illegal operations of forest resources and the living situation of the people in order to defame the government and its conservation agencies. This atmosphere persisted for several weeks until the author gained the trust of these groups and the local people. However, the time delays also hampered the implementation of the research plans, the timing for public meetings (i.e., group discussions and interviews), and the free expression of the locals in some cases.

The author also had to pay much attention to potential exaggerations in responses. This issue was most critical when she probed for information concerning the attitudes and culture of some locals in the Chambok commune with respect to information about their living conditions. With respect to this issue, respondents could be divided into two groups. One group consisted of those who did not want to reveal the truth for they were afraid of losing benefits from the CBET project. Another group included poor people who complained about their vulnerabilities, social intimidation and inequality to the author in an attempt to let outsiders know about their problems. This group expected that if they exaggerated their issues, the author might help them find potential benefactors to help them. In addition, the author had to address the recriminations that one institution might make against others. This often happened with responsible government agencies trying to highlight their achievements and good performances, while at the same time casting negatives about other institutions.

3.6. Data Analysis Methods

This section describes the qualitative and quantitative data analysis used. Different data collected in different ways required different methods of data preparation and analysis (Decrop, 1999). A combination of both quantitative and qualitative analytical methods was applied. Support for their use is provided in this section.

Two core methods were used for qualitative data analysis. The first approach was content analysis (Hesse-Biber, 2006; Mayring, 2000). It was positioned in this study as a an approach for systematically summarizing the written documentation apparent in pertinent texts, articles, documents, messages, reports, records or protocols of discourses, interviews, and so forth. As mentioned by Mayring (2000), the quality of this method lies with its gradual procedural analysis of materials by revising, fitting and categorizing them into different content analytical units or aspects based on their nature and relevancy. Based on these principles, this researcher used the technique to compare, analyze and interpret the contents of information that she obtained from governmental and non-governmental organizations working on the Chambok CBET project. This method helped to compile documents and analyze those written messages and themes related to the policy and institutional interventions that influenced community development and natural resource management / conservation in the Chambok commune.

The second qualitative analysis approach used in this study was framework analysis (Creswell, 2003; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). Different from conventional analytical approaches, this generic framework analysis method adapts a deductive approach by defining specific purposes of investigation or types of needed information before the fieldwork takes place (Creswell, 2003; Richie & Spencer, 1994). The advantage of this structured method lies in its ability to help the author to organize the data and intuitions obtained from the field through different record techniques in a systematic way for analysis (Newman, 2003).

The technique involves a systematic process of five major stages: 1) familiarization; 2) identification of a thematic framework; 3) indexing; 4) charting; and 5)

mapping and interpretation. The first stage focuses on the attentive engagement of the author in verifying and selecting data obtained from the field in order to list the key points and recurrence themes. The second stage involves the identification and classification of all the key issues, concepts, and themes by which the data can be assessed and referenced. By using the thematic structure, the third stage is to index the data in textual form through coding techniques. The fourth stage is to review and reorganize the data in accordance with the pre-design thematic forms in order to design charting that could illustrate the relation between each data set and heading. The last stage concentrates on defining key concepts for the analysis and forming of typologies or categories, as well as looking for the connection of patterns within and across categories and themes in order to interpret the results that address the individual objectives of the study (Creswell, 2003; Richie & Spencer, 1994).

This second method was used to analyze the data from group meetings and discussions, in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews, and expert interviews. Even though this deductive method was followed throughout the whole research process, the author also adapted an inductive approach in the process of data collection in order to increase the amount and value of data needed for the analysis. This adaptation allowed the author to collect a wide range of related information through different times and spaces as well as to assess the contradictions within and across the data in order to ensure the reliability and validity for her structured framework analysis. In addition, it helped the author to record data in a more flexible way and to recall what had been missed in her records after coming back from the interviews with each respondent.

For the quantitative portion of the analysis, descriptive and frequency tabulations were carried (Byrne, 2002; Holland & Campbell, 2005). They analyzed the survey data collected from CBET members. In this study, the survey interviews with CBET members were designed to investigate the existence of social capital and its function with regard to serving collective goals as well as individual members of the CBET community. It was designed to examine relationships between variables and indicators, as well as to determine the proportion and percentage of members who were aware of,

received benefits from, and contributed to social capital construction in the commune. This was done through procedures associated with the Statistical Programs for Social Sciences (SPSS), while the Excel program was only used for graphic descriptions of the summarized data (Byrne, 2002).

According to Byrne (2002) and Holland and Campbell (2005), basic Excel or SPSS program provides sufficient technical assistance to address numeral and statistical questions with minimal flaws. It also is useful in determining the presence or absence of relationships between variables. Due to the inherent limitations in employing the open-ended forms of questioning inherent in a research context of this type, several limitations in the use of quantitative forms of analysis emerged. Interviewees often provided multiple responses to questions and this made more sophisticated statistical reviews of the responses challenging and often impossible. For the most part, only opportunities for normal descriptive and frequency tabulations were possible. Consequently, the statistical assessment of the survey data had to be either reinforced and/or cross-checked with information obtained from qualitative analysis (Byrne, 2002; Decrop, 1999; Ellis, 2000).

4.   CBET Policy Analysis

This chapter addresses the question of what overriding principles and resources are provided by the CBET development policy, and especially, how this provision shapes the construction of social capital in a CBET context. Chambok CBET was developed using CBNRM development approaches. It was based primarily on CPA Prakas and guidelines provided by the Department of Research and Community Protected Areas of the General Department of Administration and Nature Conservation (GDANC), the MoE, Cambodia. The following sections describe the essence of this legislation and its contribution to CBET development. It is based on a review of the draft CPA Prakas 2009,[12] CPA Development Guidelines and face-to-face interviews with relevant policy-makers from GDANC.

4.1. Policy Objectives

According to Article 1 of the Prakas on the "Management of Community Protected Areas", the overall goals of CPA legislation focus on publicizing environmental issues and promoting community development through co-management of natural resources. To achieve these goals, this policy enables the construction of co-management structures through implementation of decentralization policies.

4.2. Policy Contents

CPA Prakas adheres to the PA laws of the MoE. However, unlike PA law that focuses mainly on conserving valuable ecological resources for public goods, this legislation centers on community empowerment, access rights and responsibilities as well

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[12]   The CPA legislation is in the Cambodian language, the English version and terminology is translated by the dissertation's author.

as the technicalities associated with establishing and managing CPA. Observably, it concentrates on public participation in sustainable resource management through construction of social capital and relationships among key players in the conservation field including local communities, government institutions and civil society groups.

4.2.1. Conditions for CPA Establishment and Development

While CPA can be organized within PA boundaries, zoning systems apply. A CPA can only be organized in a sustainably-used and community development zone[13]. Forest and wildlife resources in a CPA are strictly prohibited from commercial extraction. The CPA can be established only when at least 60% of the total population (counted in terms of household rather than individual people) in the locality registers. Specific goals for CPA management and development (e.g., ecotourism development) vary according to geographical context and the needs of the communities.

The process of establishing a CPA requires the cooperative efforts of many parties including: the Commune Council, National Park Authority, District and Provincial Municipalities, and Provincial Department of the Environment. It must eventually receive approval from the MoE. A legally recognized CPA will have the necessary supporting documentation including: the Project's Proposal, Memorandum of Understanding with the MoE, By-laws,[14] Agreement Paper and Environmental Management Plans.

These requirements intend to promote collaboration and participation from the grassroots to the ministerial level. They encourage the building of networks and relationships among internal and external actors in both conservation and development fields. At the community level, it primarily enables the mobilization of local people to participate in organizing their own local agency. Communities in a CPA must organize a

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[13] According to ICEM (2003), zoning in the Cambodian national parks was divided into three zones: 1) core zone (strictly prohibited from any commercial action); 2) buffer zone (allows access for traditional use); and 3) economic development zone (used for economic development purposes such as an economic or social concession)

[14] By-laws are internal rules and regulations created and used by each CPA community.

local council that acts as the local agency in negotiating and communicating with other stakeholders. The members of the council are elected by local members.

Noticeably, CPA requirements appear to promote social inclusion and equality among the local population. In principle, all CPA members have the right to stand for election if they are more than 25 years old, are Cambodian citizens from birth, have functional literacy and high morality, are knowledgeable of the local geography, and are not members of the local authority or are civil servants. Women are strongly encouraged to stand for election. CPA household members can take part in elections if they are 18 years old and above. The election is legally operated when at least 60% of household members take part in the election.

Interorganizational relationships are harnessed in the process of organizing the local council and applying for CPA establishment. The new local agency cannot be organized without the recognition of the existing relevant authorities. The CC and director of NP must actively take part in identifying council candidates and witness the process during elections. They must approve of the election procedures being free and fair. The result of the election must be formally recognized by the CC through a Deika[15] declaration 15 days after the election. These two agencies are also key collaborators in applying for a CPA establishment to the MoE. After the MoE approves the CPA application, the local council has to submit monthly reports of management results to the CC and Park director. The CPA council has no coercive power; it has to collaborate with the above two agencies to enforce local forest policies and to handle law breakers.

Linkages have also been initiated in the processes of CPA establishment. The CPA application must be approved by relevant external stakeholders such as the DM, PM and PDoE before it can obtain agreement from the MoE. Therefore, the local council has to build good relationships with these institutions. These linkages last throughout the period of the CPA implementation (i.e., 15 years) because these organizations have to

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[15]   Deika is a Cambodian word meaning the lowest level of legislation that can be applied to a geographical area of the province or the commune that enacts it.

closely supervise and monitor the local management of CPA. Participatory monitoring and evaluation of the management progress must be conducted every three years. If the results are not in accordance with the prior Master Plan, these agencies can withdraw their support.

4.2.2. Resources Allocation and the Implementing Agency

The CPA Prakas identifies that the MoE or the government provides conservation policy guidelines and legal recognition and technical expertise for CPA development. Its main intent is to gain local and public compliance and cooperation in conserving natural resources in exchange for rights to access those resources according to agreed upon terms and conditions. It seems that the MoE considers the recognition for decentralized natural resource governance structure as an act of sharing power and resources with local communities. The natural resources themselves are considered to be the major assets and capital that communities need to sustainably support their livelihoods. The recognition and acceptance of power sharing are what the MoE allocates. Other organizational and investment activities are the responsibility of either the communities or other relevant stakeholders (especially NGOs).

The CPA Prakas does not specify where implementing financial resources are to be obtained, while the CPA must be voluntarily proposed and organized by the community. In practical terms, Cambodian rural communities are barely functionally literate, and have virtually only a limited understanding of the government policy and the appropriate processes and procedures to plan and prepare their requirements for a CPA establishment. This situation provides an intervention point for external partners. Certain donors recognize the importance of financial support and tend to allocate funds to pertinent government agencies and NGOs to enact these policies.

Frequently, the conservation NGOs take part in this enactment. They usually play the role of facilitator in the community. They coordinate with relevant stakeholders, especially the MoE and its line departments to organize mediating structures and programs. This action is a catalyst for building the local organizational capacity needed

to prepare required documents for the development and management of the CPA. The author's interviews with policy-makers revealed that either the funds were allocated to the MoE or to NGOs; the MoE is willing to collaborate with all the stakeholders in the implementation process. This willingness and the designing of roles and responsibilities described below play crucial roles in the creation of social capital for local communities.

4.2.3. Roles and Responsibilities of Involved Conservation Agencies

According to the CPA Prakas, many stakeholders can be involved in the intervention and establishment of CPAs. However, the Prakas defines only roles and responsibilities of those agencies subordinate to the MoE.[16] Most of them are primarily facilitators and supervisors. CPAs are organized based on co-management principles; as a result, the local organization and the MoE counterparts share the prime responsibilities of implementation and management of the area's activities. It is notable that the MoE actors play roles of supervisor, regulator and facilitator. They make the laws all partners and stakeholders have to follow. The local agency and communities act as policy enforcers and implementers as well as direct guardians of the natural resources. Table 4.1 summarizes the roles and responsibilities of partners in a CPA co-management network. The upper scale lists the decision-making and regulatory roles; the lower scale moves from supervisory to facilitating and finally to recipient and guardian roles.

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[16] The effects of Cambodian Prakas are carried only within the specific Ministry (and its subordinate institutions) that enacts and promulgates them.

Table 4.1.   Summary of Role and Responsibilities of CPA Co-Managers

	Responsibilities	Agencies				
		GD ANC	NPA	DoE	CPA MC	CPA MEM
Decision- Making	Cooperate with relevant government agencies and stakeholders to develop CPA policies and guidelines	✓				
	Conduct participatory assessment to identify potential for CPA establishment	✓				
	Facilitate and provide technical assistance to the community during the preparation of by-laws, agreement paper, management plan, and other regulations supportive of CPA development	✓	✓	✓		
	Train and provide technical assistance to relevant stakeholders in CPA related issues	✓				
Supervisory/Facilitating	Sign and review CPA proposal, agreement paper and by-laws	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Review and approve the community management plan	✓	✓	✓		
	Collaborate with relevant organizations and NGOs to establish CPA	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Prepare report on implementation of CPA activities		✓		✓	
	Facilitate and resolve conflict involved with resource uses in CPA	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Participate in preventing and punishing law-breakers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Represent CPA members and make decisions on CPA issues				✓	
	Communicate and coordinate with local authorities and relevant agencies in order to improve management effectiveness				✓	
	Participate and facilitate in CPA boundary demarcation	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Participate in the preparation of by-laws, agreement papers and management plans according to CPA guidelines		✓		✓	✓
Implementer	Represent CPA members in signing agreements with the MoE				✓	
	Publicize to members about sustainable use of natural resources				✓	
	Ensure sharing of benefits equally in the community				✓	
	Play specified roles required in a community's by-laws				✓	
	Participate in management and utilization of natural resources according to by-laws and management plan					✓
	Enforce by-laws and implement agreement and management plan				✓	✓
	Monitor and evaluate the implementation of agreement and management plan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Source: Draft of CPA Prakas, 2009.

Note.   GDANC: General Department of Administration and Natural Resource Conservation; NPA: National Park Authority; DoE: Provincial Department of Environment; CAPMC: CPA Management Committee; CPAMEM: CPA Members/Local Communities.

According to the CPA policy, the MoE has the ultimate power over the creation of circumstances for social capital construction at all levels. The processes and procedures for CPA application facilitate social capital construction among the local communities and the government's conservation agencies. The local agency must work hand-in-hand with these institutions in order to develop and manage CPA effectively. The MoE designs rights and responsibilities for each involved institution. The strength of relationships among the institutions depends more or less on the roles and responsibilities that they share in the management of CPA. Also, it depends on how much power or resources each agency contributes to the development of CPA. Good relationships and effective coordination among all actors are extremely important for CPA management. The Prakas also opens opportunities for other external relationship building since CPA development needs further support from civil society stakeholders as well as all other relevant government agencies.

4.3. Donors and Implementing Agency

The national conservation NGO, Mulp Baitong (MB), was the implementing agency and facilitator in the Chambok CBET development. The CBET initiative materialized in 2002 when CPA laws were being drafted and debated. Therefore, the MoE was not able to grant the 15 years contract for CBET development, which was mentioned in the draft Prakas. Chambok became more of an experiment for both the MoE and MB. The local community and both agencies agreed to test the water with a two-year renewable contract. The MoE provided the technical and legal support, while MB facilitated the implementation, capacity building and funding processes.

The nature of the project was a challenge for a single donor to put the entire intervention and implementation processes into action. However, numerous donors with small or medium amounts of funding for either conservation or development initiatives participated. Donors for the CBET development have been from conservation and /or development agencies. Thus, CBET Chambok was divided into several phases that focused on specific issues for implementation, with each phase having its own

compatible funding agency. The detailed description of the processes and procedures for CBET development are provided in the next section. The following paragraphs provide the profile of each facilitating agency.

Mlup Baitong, literally translated as "green shade", is a dynamic national Cambodian NGO. It was first established in 1998 as a project of a British NGO to address the problems of deforestation in Cambodia. It focused on educating the general public on conservation of natural resources. In January 2001, MB became independent. It established its own Board of Directors and drew up a set of its own by-laws. The major missions of this organization were to increase environmental awareness and conservation, and to seek solutions to sustainable and equitable use of natural resources through education, training, advocacy and CBNRM activities.

Respondents from MB informed the author that MB mostly targeted its work on villagers in rural communities. MB perceived that the rural populations were most severely affected by the present state of the environment in Cambodia. However, MB also took into account issues of local capacity and diversity of interests in the locality. MB rarely initiates a single project in a community. Instead, it normally seeks to initiate several complementary long-term projects that cumulatively work to reduce local challenges and to build up stronger communities. MB officers indicated that they analyze and contextualize local challenges and needs carefully before initiating intervention projects. Its grassroots intervention projects focused on only three thematic areas: environmental education, community forestry and ecotourism.

Furthermore, MB is mindful of power structures and the community's socio-cultural and political contexts. MB respondents collectively revealed that their works in the same areas for many years has enabled them to build trust and good relationships with relevant stakeholders including the state and market actors as well as other relevant NGOs and donors. The MB Director reported that his organization has been a good partner of the MoE and the Ministry of Tourism (MoT). He stated that MB cooperates with provincial and local authorities in all community projects. The coordinating officials from these agencies in turn benefit from MB's capacity building measures and help to

facilitate the processes in all projects. In addition, CBET project officers added that in its efforts to enhance participation as well as educate the entire communities, MB seeks collaboration from identified influential local institutions such as schools and pagodas, depending on local requirements.

MB management ascertained that they paid attention to staffing and coordination for all project works. MB generally depended on good stakeholder relationships as well as well-planned processes and procedures to achieve its goals. It assumed roles urgently needing attention during the implementation process. For example, it acted as a coordinator who linked the local community to other institutions such as governmental agencies or civil society groups. It also facilitated conflict resolution sessions between and within community stakeholder groups, as well as between community and other groups in authority. MB dispatched specific staff from its headquarters to help with the implementation process in the province. Counterparts[17] from relevant state agencies were contracted to coordinate communication between the CBET project and their institutions.

Maintaining qualified human resources for the CBET project was a problem for MB. A key informant from MB divulged that the organization's CBET projects sometimes have problems with high staff turnover. As a conservation agency, MB had neither specific experts in ecotourism development nor stable funding for their salary. They needed to recruit new staff for each new CBET project and were dependent on funding from the project to pay for staffing. While most CBET funding grants were small grants, the staff were also not very well-paid. MB's requirement for the project staff to station as close to the community as possible also hindered its ability to maintain qualified personnel. He complained that there were not many knowledgeable people in the field of ecotourism development in the early 2000s, and the qualified candidates were not committed to work full time in the province for as long as the organization required them to. However, MB tried to resolve this by encouraging tourism student volunteers to

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[17] Counterpart is a term used to refer to one's work partner from a partnering institution in the development process (e.g., a technical advisor might serve as a counterpart to the government staff or vice versa).

join the team. MB also contracted external experts to deliver training and /or other capacities to the local organizations.

In summary, this analysis revealed that the CPA policy and its maker, the MoE, intended to strongly influence the character of CBET development as well as the construction of social capital in a CBET context. It did so by specifying the conditions for resource allocation. It required that CPA development prioritize conservation, and follow the co-management structures that were designed by the MoE. As a part of a decentralization procedure, this policy entitled local communities to local resources as warden, and enabled them to develop these resources according to the MoE's principles. Besides, this decentralized body had to collaborate closely with the line departments that were formed as a result of MoE's deconcentration procedure. By doing so, the MoE managed to maintain its interest and control of the natural resources, as well as to implement a requirement for governance reforms of the government.

Though it was much controlled, the MoE's CPA policy provided an opportunity for local communities to legally access economic facilities, as well as to build capacity and construct the needed local structures for managing resources and implementing development initiatives. The implementation of the CPA policy, thus, could be regarded as a sound beginning of a participatory conservation, as well as social and economic development at the local level. Furthermore, the MoE's encouragement of civil society's participation in the policy implementation broadened the prospect for democratic governance and development, as well as diversifying social capital construction.

4.4. Conclusions

To sum up, CBET development at Chambok was guided by the natural resource decentralization policy of the MoE. The major goal of these policy directives was to construct the structures that encouraged public participation in conservation. Especially they urged the civil society and local communities to participate in the management of the local resources in cooperation with the MoE. Consequently, the major implementing

agencies of this project were the MoE and the environmental NGO (MB). The resources for this CBET project development were, therefore, provided by both the government and the international donor agencies.

According to the discussions in this chapter the author learned that Cambodian co-management structure for the natural resources constructed through CBET project posited in the middle of the spectrum between government-based and community-based model of co-management. The authors found this arrangement specifically applicable for the contemporary Cambodian context. This dissertation supports Cambodia's move from a centrally-planned resource use toward a more inclusive approach, particularly the multiple stakeholder collaboration in resource governance. At present, the author believes that neither government actor nor the local communities are ready for implementing the community-based co-management strategies. The government agencies may not be willing to give up all the management responsibilities; while the local communities may not have enough capabilities and authority to successfully manage them autonomously.

5. Chambok CBET Development Processes

This chapter describes how the case study's implementing agencies interpreted national policies and transformed directives into actions at the local level. Specifically, it examines how these policies shaped the construction of networks, as well as policies and norms of practices at the local level (Table 5.1). It addresses the dissertation's questions 3 and 4 respectively: a) what are the planning and implementation processes employed in the development of CBET at Chambok; and b) what are stakeholders' overriding motives, patterns of interaction and roles in each specific CBET implementation phase?

Table 5.1. Summary of Chambok CBET Development Processes

Project Phases	Steps/Actions

Intervention Stage
  Project Establishment
  2002
	• Contextualize CBET in Chambok
	• Identify local divisions, cultures and power distributions
	• Identify and communicate with external collaborator
	• Legitimize the CBET project setting and local agency
	• Build capacity of local agency and integrate it into local structures

Implementation Stage
  Project Improvement
  2003-2006
	• A. Setting directions and making local policies
	• Convene external stakeholders
	• Set up steps and rules for internal and external meetings
	• Set up mechanism for communication and guarantee transparency
	• Install monitoring mechanism

	• B. Implementing CBET activities • Build/renovate physical tourism infrastructures • Design management and operation system and build local capacities • Install environmental management system • Launch marketing and promotion
Graduation Stage **2006-2009**	• Transferring Development Responsibilities • Building development capacity for local agency • Promote CBET agency as an independent Community-Based Organization • Transfer decision making, planning and development responsibility • Develop funding approach for locally-initiated development proposals
Post-Intervention Stage **2010**	• Keep linkage & Seek further collaboration opportunity

Source: Interviews with CBET MC and MB, 2008-2009.

The CBET process and procedure framework developed in the literature review section of this dissertation provides the basis for analysis. The information presented is based on two sets of information sources. These are: 1) perspectives offered in face-to-face interviews with the MB director, Chambok CBET project coordinators and officers, as well as the counterparts from the MoE and CBET council; and 2) a documentary review and a content analysis of reports available from public archives, meetings, and MB plans from 2002 to 2009. The Chambok CBET implementation process was divided into three main phases: project establishment, project improvement and project graduation. The "establishment" phase was completed in 2002. The "improvement" phase took place from 2003 to 2006. The third phase, "graduation" took place from 2007 to 2009. Table 5.1 lists the major stages and activities that MB conducted at Chambok.

5.1. Intervention Stage

MB termed the first stage of its intervention to be "project establishment phase". The phase started in 2001 and was completed in 2002. In this phase, MB conceptualized CBET development in Chambok with identified local stakeholders. Table 5.2 provides the chronological chart of CBET early initiatives.

Table 5.2.   A Chronological Chart of CBET Establishment Events

Date	CBET Development Events
July 2001	• MB contextualized CBET Project • MB experts analyzed local stakeholders and power relations
February 2002	• MB communicated verbally with Kirirom NP and MoE • MB applied funding for CBET project in Chambok • MB organized conception workshop with local stakeholder • MB and CBET agency mobilize local resources to construct tourism infrastructures
May 2002	• MB cooperated with NP and MoE to organize local agency • MB and MoE helped the local agency prepare application for CPA development • MB Collaborated with MoE to recruit external stakeholders for CBET project
August 2002	• MB signed a three-year contract of Chambok CPA with MoE • MB secured funding for CBET development at Chambok

Source: CBET MC and MB Interviews, 2008-2009.

MB used the information to shape decisions on how to organize and legitimize the needed local agency to handle CBET implementation activities, as well as to construct local policy documents for governing the project. In relation to social capital development, this phase focused on identifying existing networks and power relations in the communities as well as determining how to add the new CBET agency strategically into the existing structure.

The CPA Prakas did not specify that the implementing agency was required to have prior knowledge or relationships with partner communities. However, it was clear that MB's on-going relationships and understanding of the communities helped this agency develop effective ties with local communities. These connections helped it meet the spirit of the intended terms and conditions of CPA Prakas, as well as increasing their opportunities to build positive social capital for local communities.

5.1.1. Contextualizing Chambok CBET Project

MB needed to gain a consensus on goals and objectives of CBET initiatives. However, because of local circumstances, MB was mindful that local people were mostly allured by the economic prospects of CBET development. To them, CBET was a money generating machine, which was not the only thing MB wanted. One of the CBET project officers said, *"...the local people thought CBET was like a mass tourism development in other places that they were used to seeing, I needed to clarify with them that it is not the same..."* Thus, MB arranged several conception workshops with ecotourism experts in order to straighten out people's understanding of CBET. MB informants claimed that they wanted participants to understand from the beginning that CBET was more than employment opportunities; it came with certain rules and principles that had to be followed in order to sustain the benefits of CBET.

MB's ecotourism team indicated the important role of conservation as well as local participation and commitment in CBET development. An MB officer said that, *"...we convinced people to participate in conservation if they wanted to develop CBET. They needed to preserve their forests and scenery, keep the site clean and contribute a*

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portion of their individual earnings to commune development…" This team declared that they made it clear to the communities that MB would ultimately withdraw from the project, and local communities were expected to be active and responsible partners who would be CBET's owners in the future. It was made clear that MB would only act as facilitator and coach, and that it encouraged local communities to learn the ways of CBET development. MB highlighted that it was important for local stakeholders to critically think about the views of external groups and assert their own perspectives into the planning for their CBET initiatives.

MB's major partner in the first intervention stage was the MoE. The project site covers 161 hectares of forest (72 hectares is the Park's land) bordering approximately 750 hectares of forested CPA and 300 hectares of CF. In the early 2000s, the Ministry of Tourism (MoT) existed, but it had neither authority over resources in PA nor any specific policy about CBET development. It was not until mid 2006 that the MoT cooperated with the Netherland Development Agency (SNV) and World Tourism Organization (WTO) to develop national policies and guidelines for ecotourism and community-based tourism in Cambodia. The CBET project in Chambok followed the policy and guidelines for both CPA and CF.[18]

A key informant from MB affirmed that as a result of the conception workshop and negotiation with the MoE, participating partners and local stakeholders approved along with MB that CBET projects in Chambok should aim to empower the Chambok community to actively participate in sustainable NRM in the site for their community development. The objectives of the project included those activities designed to: 1) protect forests and natural resources; 2) provide income generating alternatives to local communities; and 3) educate locals and visitors about environmental conservation and

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[18]   CPA and CF policies were similar. In 2001, the two policies were exchangeable and had no clear distinction. In 2005, however, the MoE separated CPA policies from those of CF. Timber resources in the CF area can be extracted for collective commercial purposes, but CPA forests cannot. Using both policies and guidelines had been convenient since the CBET site bordered with both of these areas. While CPA policies were still in draft format, CF policies had been officially passed in 2002. Combining them gave MB reassurance of project sustainability.

participatory development. MB, on behalf of the Chambok community, signed the first three-year renewable contract with MoE to officially give local community rights to develop CBET. It was required that officials from the MoE work as counterparts with MB and local communities in all intervention and implementation processes. The MB director reported that all project costs had been funded by foreign donors.

5.1.2. Identifying Local Networks and Power Relations

According to the MB director, in order to construct the CBET organization and policies, MB identified key stakeholders, their interests, relationships, as well as their capacity to impact on collective actions particularly on CBET projects. Prior to the CBET initiative, the Chambok commune already had networks at all three levels. CBET development took place after the overall governance structure in the commune had been reformed according to the government's the structural adjustment program. Therefore, there were already linkages between the CC and other higher relevant governmental institutions, conservation organizations, and development organizations. There was a network of three organizations at the bridging level (Figure 5.1), and there were numerous relationships at the bonding level in the form of friendship, relatives and neighbour ties. All measurements were based on the informants' perception regarding power relations and strength of relationships among institutions in the commune.

This diagram was used as a guide for interviews with MB projects officers and the CBET management committee to discover how MB built relationships with the partner communities; what and how existing social capital had been activated in the communities; as well as what and how novel social capital has been added in the CBET project. This diagram enables the author to understand existing social capital in the locality at the early stage of CBET development, which is useful for the discussion in another chapter regarding the complementariness or contradiction about the existing and additional social capital needed in Chambok (Chapter 8).

Figure 5.1. Nature of CBET Chambok Commune Stakeholder Relations in 2002

Legend: The thicker the arrow, the stronger the perceive character of the relationship.
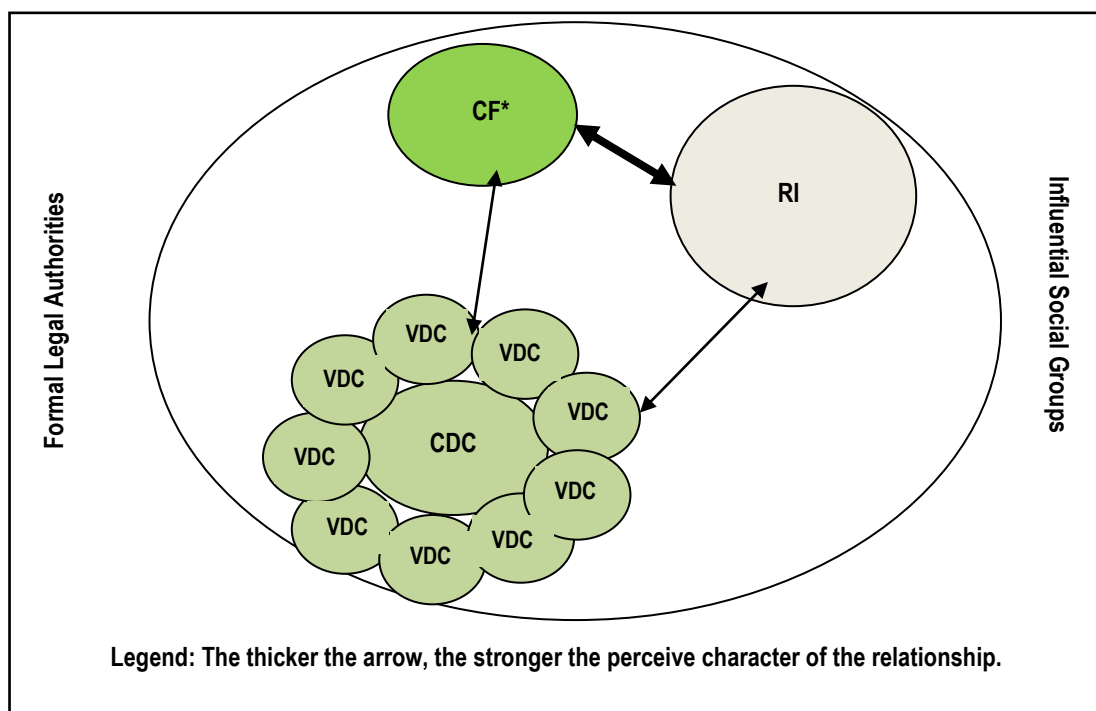
Note (*): See abbreviation list for the names of stakeholders
Source: MC and MB Interviews and PRA technique administration, 2009.

5.1.3. Building Local Agency

With MoE support, MB established two local councils following CF/CPA guidelines provided by the MoE counterpart. This committee would be responsible for collaborating with external stakeholders for CBET development. According to CPA policies, the council has to be elected by members. The Chambok commune had already elected the CF council; it was difficult to add another conservation agency since CF and CPA policies were not distinguishable in 2002. An MB officers said, *"… it is difficult to decide whether we should work with the existing CF committee or create a new one…we were afraid that too many cooks spoil the broth…"* According to the local circumstance, local stakeholders and MB agreed that initially CBET and CPA councils need to be a part of the CF management structure. This arrangement changed in 2005 when CPA laws were clarified and the MoE required the separation in the CPA management structure.

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The new organization was named, the "CBET Subcommittee." It had its own smaller group components, which were organized specifically for CBET purposes. This committee was comprised of 13 members that were representatives from nine villages in the commune. MB participants said that during the local conception workshop, CBET council had been identified as having five major components, which corresponded to CBET operation requirements and to the resource availability in the commune. These groups included: 1) finance; 2) guide; 3) ox-cart; 4) entrance and parking and 5) patrol and clean up group. Two more components, homestay and vending and catering group were added in 2003, while the dance group was added recently. The National Park authority, Commune Council and MB act as advisory members (Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2. Chambok CBET Management Structure
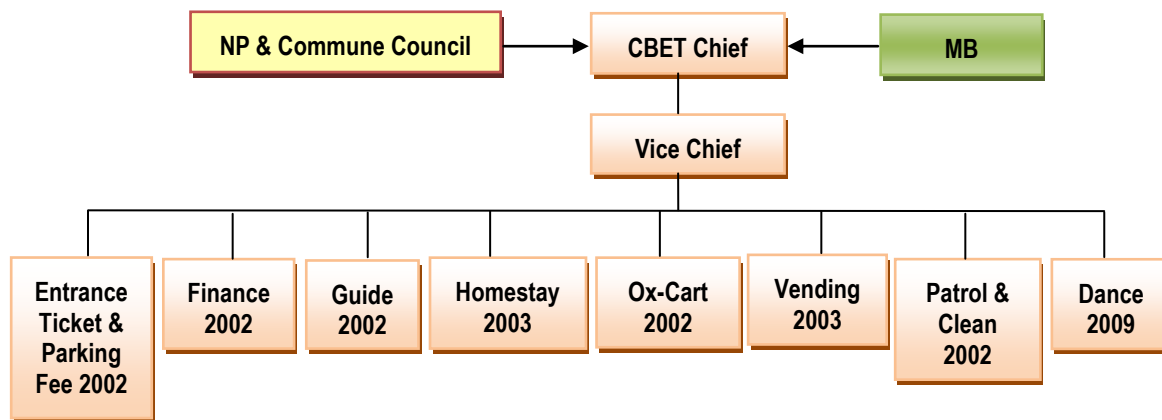
Source: MC Interviews, 2009.

When the MoE renewed the CPA contract in 2005, a revised CPA Prakas required the CPA and CBET council to be separated from CF, and to become an independent management structures. Another conservation umbrella – the natural resource management committee (NRMC) – was built within the commune as part of the commune administration. This was a result of the government's and the NGO's attempt to apply the integrated land use planning program. CPA, CBET and CF were part of the broader structure for NRM in the entire Chambok commune. All organizations were to be under the umbrella of the CC. As well, the Woman's Association that used to be a separate agency volunteered to be merged into a part of the CBET community.

All these arrangements aimed to ensure that internally the CBET council would manage CBET service operations effectively, while simultaneously it would contribute to the wider conservation and development goals of the Chambok commune. Externally, this structure ascertained that deconcentration laws were enforced and coordination among relevant development and conservation institutions took place. Figure 5.3 illustrates the Chambok community's integrated structure.

Figure 5.3. CBET'S Position in Administrative Structure of Chambok Community, 2005
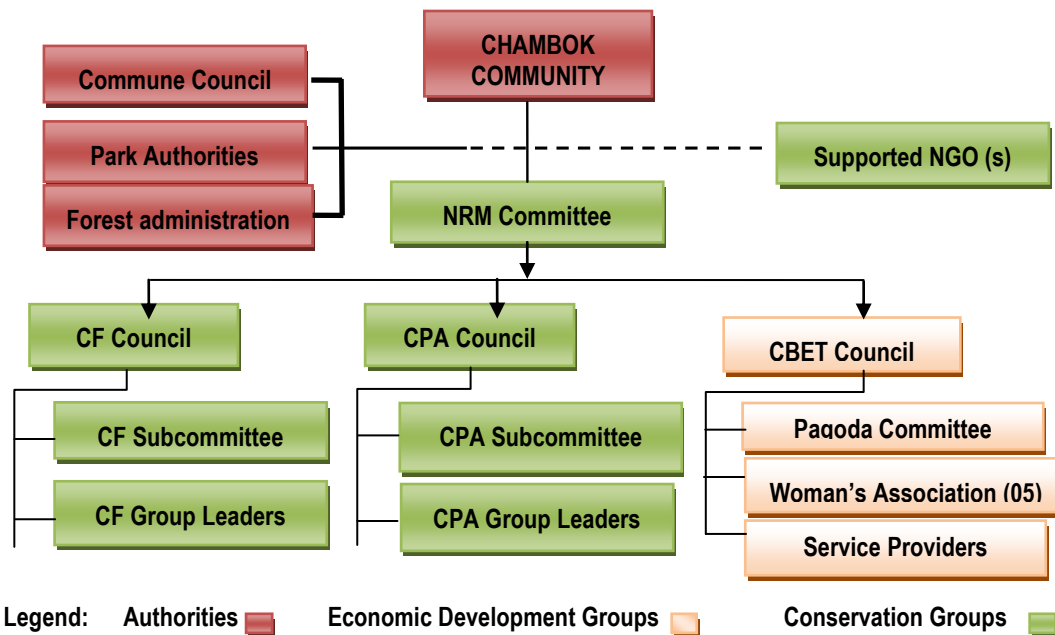
Source: MB Annual Record, 2007 (used with permission from Va Moeun).

5.2. Implementation Stage

This section focuses on how MB and the MoE helped the Chambok community to design CBET initiatives, to develop local policies, and to gain support from stakeholders for these plans and documents, as well as to implement them. Particularly, it illustrates how these processes contribute to the construction of social capital for the community.

5.2.1. Policy Making Processes

Planning for CBET policies and activities took place at two levels: local and external. Planning at the local level involved only local stakeholders, MB facilitators and MoE officers. External planning involved the CBET council, MB and all external stakeholders as in Figure 4.4. MB divided the entire policy making and implementation processes into six phases: 1) setting the Chambok CBET context and identifying local stakeholders (as described previously); 2) identifying external stakeholders and building linkages; 3) setting ground rules; 4) timing the process and designing steps, roles and responsibilities; 5) building local capacity; and 6) designing communication and monitoring strategies.

5.2.1.1. Identifying and Building Linkages

The CBET development at Chambok followed CF/CPA guidelines. This policy initially shaped the scope of stakeholders involved in CBET development. CPA policies ensured that adequate links between the local agency and all related conservation agencies were necessary. Following CPA guidelines, MB and the MoE officers engaged the NP Authority (NPA) and PDoE in the planning and development of CBET projects. However, as CBET development involved tourism as well as land use and economic aspects, MB also engaged the District Municipality (DM) and Provincial Municipality (PM) in the planning processes at the initial stage and added the MoT, and Provincial Department of Tourism (PDoT) at a later stage (Figure 5.4).

An MB officer informed the author that all the stakeholders took part in reviewing and signing the CPA application as well as sharing decisions concerning directions for the Chambok CBET project and the development of by-laws, rules and regulations, which were essential documents regarding how the CBET development site should be governed. All funds for CBET development activities were provided by donors through MB, while the MoE provided guidelines, as well as technical and legal support with regard to conservation. Other stakeholders mostly provided time and expertise during the stakeholder workshop for setting CBET directions and designing policies (see Table 5.3).

Figure 5.4. Types of CBET Stakeholders and Communication Linkages (2003-2006)
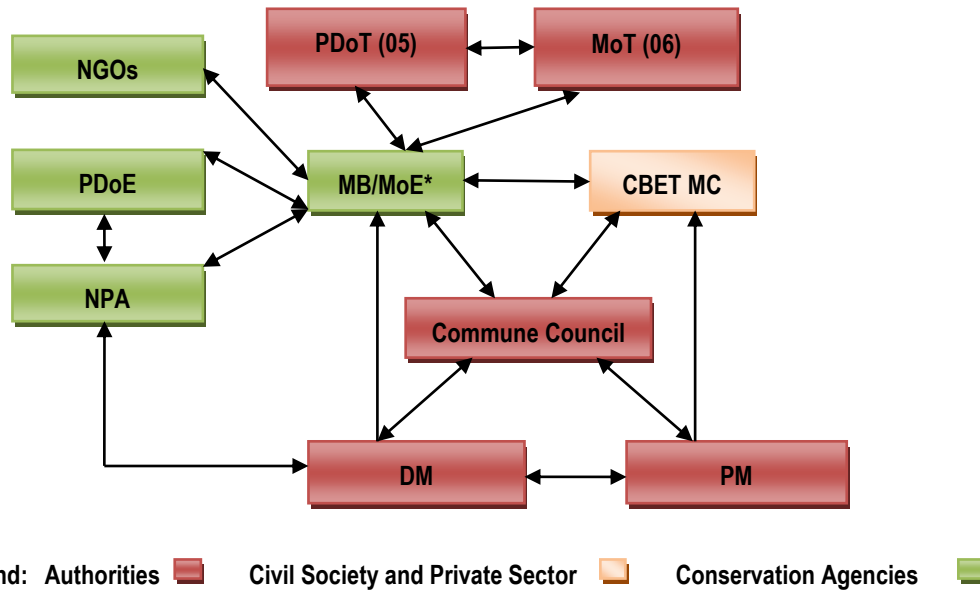
Note (*): See abbreviation list for the names of stakeholders
Source: CBET MC and Stakeholder Interviews, 2008-2009.

MB, as key coordinator and interventionist, plays the most important role in facilitating and shaping circumstances for social capital construction. MB controlled the distribution of resources for the development of CBET. It had executive power, but did not have legislative or coercive power. MB depended on the MoE's CPA legislation and power to implement the CBET project. Roles of external stakeholders, therefore, were divided according to CPA guidelines. Accordingly, the MoE and line departments (the NPA and the PDoE) played more roles than provincial authorities (i.e., DM and PM) and development agencies such as the MoT and PDoT.

Table 5.3.   Roles of External Stakeholders in CBET Implementation

	Roles	Organizations						
		MB	MoE	NP	DoE	DoT	DM	PM
Conservation	Assist organization of local agency	✓	✓	✓				
	Assist preparation of CPA master plan	✓	✓	✓				
	Assist preparation of CBET application	✓	✓	✓	✓			
	Review and sign CBET application	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Provide guidelines and technical support in CPA/CBET establishment		✓					
	Train local agency about conservation issues and techniques	✓	✓					
	Participate in CPA boundary demarcation	✓	✓	✓	✓			
	Participate in monthly local meetings for CBET activity planning and policy making	✓	✓	✓				
	Participate in external stakeholder workshops for reviewing CBET activity planning and policy development	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Assist in conflict resolution regarding use of natural resources and land tenure	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Development	Train local agency and community service providers on tourism skills	✓				✓		
	Promote and disseminate CBET development in Chambok to public and tourists	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
	Coordinate networking between local agency and relevant stakeholders internally and externally	✓	✓					
	Mobilize funding for CBET activities	✓						
	Facilitate meetings at local and external levels	✓	✓					
	Supervise implementation of CBET activities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Participate in monitoring implementation of agreed CBET activities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Provide on demand consultation for local agency	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Train and coach local agency on management and development techniques and skills	✓	✓			✓		
	Assist in developing marketing and promotion strategies for Chambok CBET project	✓	✓					
	Coordinate connection between local agency and tour operators	✓						

Source: Stakeholder Interviews, 2008-2009; CPA Guidelines, 2009.

5.2.1.2. Setting Planning Rules

The ground rules for this meeting included: 1) all local stakeholders being present unless they had other very urgent and acceptable commitments; 2) meeting results being carefully recorded; 3) participants discussing meeting minutes with their own group or organization; 4) participants announcing the results of meetings to their members and writing this information on the bulletin board; and 5) all participants having to ratify the minutes of the meetings by signing on the reports when there was no request for change.

5.2.1.3. Designing Processes and Roles

At the local level, MB project officers and the MoE counterparts worked with MC members five days per week. It was agreed as a rule that all MC members play the roles as local resource mobilizers and reporters for their own group. A committee member said that:

> ...we informed villagers about the meetings and read to them all minutes of those meetings. When CBET activities needed labour...we helped to recruit participants and tried to rotate and ensure that the majority of people could benefit from these activities....

There were two types of local meetings: 1) a bi-weekly meetings between CBET members and their village representative; and 2) monthly local stakeholder meetings with facilitators. In the first two years (2002-2003), representatives from every village conducted a bi-weekly meeting with their own members to brainstorm each village's proposed list of needs and preferences. Representatives also explained draft plans for CBET policies to their members to ensure that everyone took part in the meetings, and would comply with the proceeding CBET policies.

Facilitators reported that they helped the MC to draft rules and plan activities. They considered the list of options from all villages in order to establish future direction they would take. The options that MC made to balance stakeholder interests and to gain collective benefits for all villages would be reported and discussed during the monthly meeting. These meetings sought to reach consensus among local stakeholders on plans, directions and draft policies for CBET projects. All representatives could request

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clarification or propose omission of issues that were not fair or inappropriate to the community context. An MC said:

> *…we could not accept non-tree cutting rules drafted by MB officers…we did not only need non-timber forests products; we needed to be able to use some timber at least for housing or building community halls and bridges…we proposed this to MB and they agreed….*

The options and plans obtained from local discussions would become the agenda for external meetings when necessary. For example, MB participants reported that when locals proposed to use some timber in CPA, they had to discuss the issues with all the involved stakeholders. Designing of financial management systems, especially how the local council could manage "the Community Trust Fund" also needed approval from all stakeholders. There was no fixed date pattern for external meetings. MB facilitated those meetings when required. Representatives of local stakeholders including the chief of the CBET council, CF council and the CC must be present at these meetings. MB provided all the necessary expenses for all meeting trips to all invited stakeholders. MB invited representatives from another major development NGO in Chambok to partake in most of those meetings. The aim was to inform all relevant stakeholders of the project's agendas and plans. It also avoided unnecessary repetition in the same locality.

An MB informant explained that all these planning strategies were designed in such ways because the MB team wanted to provide time and opportunities for community stakeholders to learn and be accustomed to participatory approaches to CBET development through training and on-the-job coaching. MB informants also claimed that they wanted to ensure that all voices and all concerned were heard during the policy development processes. These collaborative planning strategies ascertained consensus and compliance among all the participants and collaborators.

5.2.1.4.   Local Capacity Building

MB respondents asserted that they prepared the community for the development processes. Facilitators from both MB and the MoE, as well as external trainers coached and built capacity for the CBET agency simultaneously while the internal and external

meetings were taking place. MB participants said they had certain courses designed in advance by the ecotourism team. In addition, when there were capacity related issues raised or realized during the process, MB and MoE officers also responded by designing correspondence courses.

5.2.1.5. Designing Communication and Monitoring Strategies

The CBET project in Chambok is one of the earliest of this kind in the country. Both policy makers and implementing agencies were testing the concepts and learning from on-the-ground experiences in Chambok. MB seniors monitored reports from the local staff. Moreover, the MB director and foreign advisors visited Chambok frequently to participate in either local or external meetings and to personally evaluate the process and identify the needs for further intervention. An MB informant revealed that:

> *my seniors often took part in the monthly meetings and read our minutes. When they realized that we and the local committee needed actual examples of CBET implementation they sent us to visit Yeak Loam and Thai CBET projects…we learnt a lot from those trips….*

For the purpose of communication and transparency, MB staff were required to keep records of all meetings and the necessary documents in the course of project development. The project staff were required to conduct annual monitoring and evaluation of the effectiveness of each component and to write reports for MB and all donors. MB sometimes invited involved stakeholders to participate in trips (always sponsored by MB) to conduct participatory monitoring in Chambok. The monitoring results were often used as agenda for provincial stakeholder meetings, MB alliance/donor workshops and at national level tourism forums. An MB officer said:

> *MB's monitoring report in 2004 conformed to evaluation researches of the Royal University of Phnom Penh. These documents indicated the need for more economic development strategies. We brought these results to negotiate with stakeholders in order to renew CPA contracts and discussed mechanisms to enhance economic opportunities for the communities….*

Ratified reports from all internal and external meetings were kept by the MB project officers, and made available at the local setting and the MB headquarter in Phnom

Penh for members, donors, researchers and public scrutiny. These communication tools played important roles in promoting credentials and symbolic power for MB and the local agency. The processes were exhausting and time consuming, but they ensured reviewers and auditor transparency and accountability of the development processes.

5.3. Graduation Stage

In this stage, MB empowered local councils socially and politically. MB used a micro-project empowerment approach to build this development capacity. As indicated in the timeline chart for capacity building activities (2007-2009), MB's responsibilities initially included planning and managing project activities, which was previously done or coordinated by MB staff. These activities were gradually passed on to the CBET council. This was the transitional period toward building the CBET agency as an independent Community-Based Organization.

In this graduation stage, the CBET council was encouraged to contact other stakeholders directly and on their own. MB sponsored them to take part in development forums, such as a national tourism forum, national CBT forums and other CBET related forums and discussions. They were to share experiences from Chambok with other participants. The CBET chief had also been frequently invited to be the guest presenter at other CBET communities or at related NGOs' conception or discussion occasions. He said particularly that, *"…since the medal reward ceremony in 2006 and my presentation at the national CBT forum in 2008, many people knew me and invited me to share our experience with their community members…"*

Furthermore, MB has set aside a large amount of funds for local initiatives since 2007. MB managed to persuade donors for funding to adopt a no strings or pre-designed criteria approach so that the CBET agency could be free to choose their own initiatives. A senior participant from MB said, *"…from 2007 to 2009 we hardly suggested any initiatives. We asked the CBET council to come up with their own designs and we funded them. So far, we have spent about 20,000 USD for these local initiatives…"*

The same respondent stated that this action was designed to ensure that the CBET council had freedom from MB to make their own judgment regarding their actual needs. MB also encouraged and facilitated the Chambok community-based organization to apply directly for funding from other donors. The community chief said that in the past few years, the communities received funding from the United Nations Development Programs for building a water supply system in three villages, several small grants from charitable tourists for renovating roads and bridges in the commune, several small funds for local students who managed to go to the high school level[19] and currently they were waiting for the result of their application to the United Nations Development Programs for construction of a micro hydropower facility in their commune. Figure 5.5 indicates the types of stakeholders and communication linkages from the graduation stage to 2009.

Figure 5.5. Types of CBET Stakeholders and Communication Linkages (2007-2009)
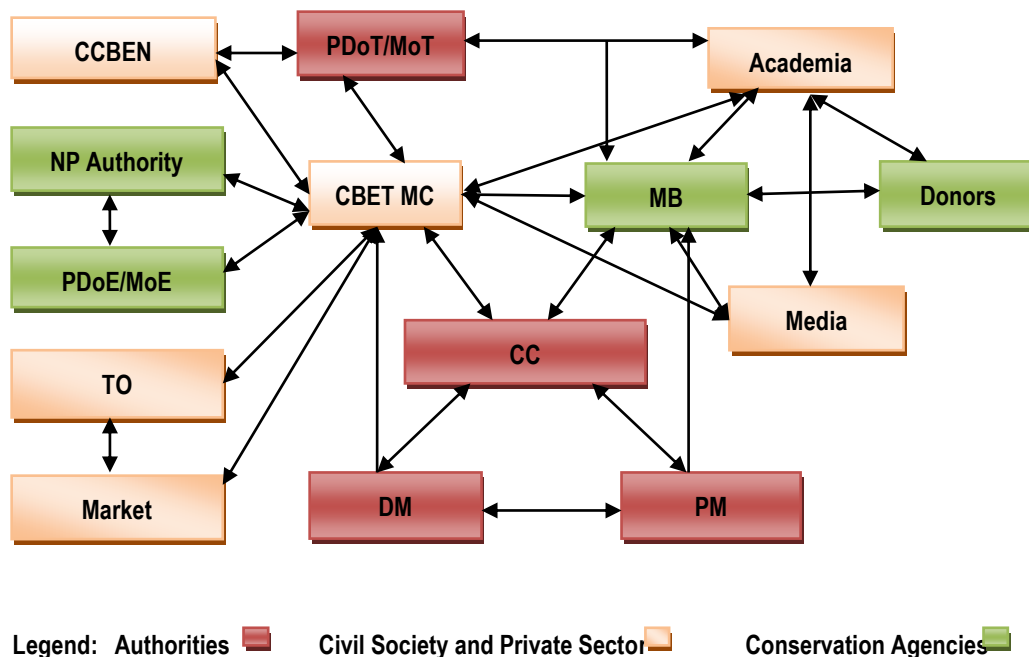
Legend: Authorities ▢   Civil Society and Private Sector ▢   Conservation Agencies ▢

Note (*): See abbreviation list for the names of stakeholders
Source: CBET MC and Stakeholder Interviews, 2008-2009.

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[19] Until presently, Chambok commune does not have a secondary level school. Children who need to further their education must go to the nearly town center (28km away). The cost of residency and schooling are usually more than their parents could afford. So in 2008, only four students managed to reach Grade 12 with charitable support.

5.4. Post-Intervention Stage

Throughout the last eight years, findings from both MB conducted and professional monitoring indicate many positive and potentially sustaining outcomes. The project received a steady increase in the number of visitors. At the end of 2003, there were approximately 4000 visitors. This visitation soared up to about 16, 300 (214 foreigners) in 2008 and 2009. From 2010 onward, Chambok is financially and politically independent from MB. MB keeps its alliance with the communities. It may provide advice when the communities seek it.

The stated actions above were highly appreciated by all stakeholders. Most local interviewees and interventionists revealed that these arrangements worked remarkably well in the Chambok context. The emerging CBET rules and norms were enforceable. Both local and external stakeholders seemed to comply with CBET by-laws and participate in designing and implementing CBET initiatives. There was little hindrance to CBET activities when all the relevant stakeholders believed in the impact of the projects. As a result, they promoted public trust in the effectiveness of CBET development and credentials of involved stakeholders, especially local communities.

In relation to social capital construction, these processes strongly promote trust and collectiveness among CBET members and local stakeholders. The CBET chief said that, *"...it was exhaustive to report everything to everyone; however, these efforts were worth trying because many people trusted me more and more when the CBET project advanced…"* These planning processes also promoted trust, recognition and cooperation at the upper level for the local agency. A senior provincial administrator claimed that:

> *...at first we thought the whole project was tiring...but the more meetings we had with other stakeholders, especially with local people (Mr. Morn[20]) we believed that they could do it. Now we were happy to endorse the CBET initiatives proposed by them….*

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[20]   Mr. Morn has been a charismatic chief of Chambok CBET from 2002 until 2009.

A senior officer from MB proudly announced that good outcomes and words from researchers and donors helped MB receive a "Medal of Appreciation" from the Chambok CC. The Chambok CBET also received a "Medal of Appreciation" from the Prime Minister. Outcomes from all these events were also reported back to the communities so that they could be aware of the trends and tendency in CBET development at the higher level. The community chief said:

> *I was proud to participate in the medal presentation ceremony. I learned more about the importance of CBET in that forum. Many people were impressed with our achievements and expressed willingness to support us further ... local villagers had more hope when they heard about others' interests in helping to develop Chambok....*

Chambok CBET has been a popular site for university students and media. Various topics related to CBET development and co-management strategy have made their way into theses, research and media broadcastings. The CBET council cooperated with visitors to enable research processes. Educational visits provided opportunities for local councils and people to have longer and more meaningful contacts with diverse civil society groups rather than NGOs. Outsiders' efforts to understand local contexts and circumstances for educational purposes also helped to promote quality relationship between researchers and communities. Some MC members mentioned that they could call for advice or political lobby from their academic friends when they needed help.

It is notable that MB also sought further collaborating opportunities with Chambok communities. In 2009, the Chambok community-based organization and MB collaborated with the Forest Administration to apply for funding from the Nature Conservation Agency for expansion of CBET in Chambok. This collaboration, according to MB participants and the CBET council, was faster and easier than before since all the partners already trusted each other. The CBET council and MB officers mentioned that they believed this new project would be as successful as the last one. They also revealed that the application was already funded because external stakeholders realized the prospect of this collaboration and endorsed the application.

5.5. Conclusions

This chapter illustrated that the implementing agencies had as much influence on CBET development as the CPA policy. The vision, agenda and capacity of these organizations strongly impacted the implementation strategies. The author found the development process at Chambok to be well-planned and collaborative internally and externally. The internal procedures were very remarkable, and contributed eminently to the construction of social capital, especially the cognitive dimension. A critical lesson that can be learned from this CBET development process is that there was an effort on the part of the implementing agencies to promote participation and collaborations based on co-management strategies.

The external procedures were well thought out. As conservation agencies, the MoE and MB intended to follow the CPA policy and link local communities with all required conservation agencies. This ensured that both MoE's and MB's agenda and principles were carried out. Surprisingly, they also managed to include development stakeholders that were not specifically required by the CPA policy, but very necessary for the sustainability of the CBET project. This inclusive intention provided enormous opportunities for local communities with regard to diversifying social capital and implementing the future community development strategies. The following chapter assesses to what extent social capital was built in Chambok. Is social capital developed according to afore plans and designs of implementing agencies?

6.   Social Capital Assessment

This section evaluates whether social capital was developed in the Chambok community as a result of CBET development processes described in the previous section. Social capital was defined in this study as the set of networks and organizations, tied together by consensual and collective norms, through which individuals and communities gained access to resources and power that enabled them to equally participate in and manage CBET development that assisted them in meeting Cambodia's broader SD policies (Grootaert, 1998). This assessment is divided into two parts: an analysis of structural and cognitive dimensions. This section also analyzes the outcomes of social capital construction in each stage of the CBET development process, and identifies the developers, opportunity structures and resources that enabled these constructions. Finally, it assesses the durability of social capital development in the communities (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1.   Summary of Social Capital Development in the Chambok Commune

Project Phases	Development of Social Capital in Chambok Community	
	Structural Dimension	Cognitive Dimension
Intervention Stage 2002	• Activate bonding and bridging social capital in Chambok commune • Develop linking social capital with MB, MoE, DoE, NP, DG & PG • Add CBET development structure • Restructure entire Chambok community	• Build a master plan for CPA management • Encourage the sense of sharing, connectedness and social inclusion
Implementation Stage 2003-2006	• Build linking social capital with MB, MoE, PDoE, PDoT, MoT, NPA, DM & PM • Strengthen bonding and bridging social capital among villagers, CF, CPA & CBET group, RI & CC • Develop linking social capital with academia, media, other NGOs, market & tourism industry actors	• Develop CBET and CPA local policy documents (by-laws) • Build trust among participants • Build the sense of reciprocity & sharing, equity, connectedness & social inclusion
Graduation Stage 2007-2009	• Strengthen bonding and bridging social capital • Maintain existing linking social capital • Develop linking social capital with donors • Expand linking social capital with relevant networks	• Strengthen and maintain trust • Strengthen the sense of reciprocity & sharing, equity, connectedness & social inclusion
Post Intervention Stage 2010	• Maintain and strengthen all existing structural social capital • Add more linkages with market actors	• Maintain and strengthen all existing norms and policies

Source: Stakeholder Interviews and Survey Interviews, 2009.

6.1. Structural Dimension

In order to assess all levels of social capital, this study mapped and counted the existence of networks in Chambok and examined its configurations and functions as well as factors that shaped them. Particularly, this study examined two aspects: the presence of social capital (structural property) and the function of social capital (conditions for operation).

6.1.1. Measurement of Bonding Social Capital

The previous chapter showed that bonding social capital was building in the Chambok commune from the early stage of CBET development, and was continuing to expand at the time of this study's field work completion in 2009. When the CBET project was introduced, more formal ties were organized in the form of CBET community membership and small specialized groups that supported the operation of CBET. This section maps the new networks that were organized in the CBET agency from 2002 to 2009. It also assesses what and how many resources came from these networks for CBET members. The presence of social capital in the community was determined by an indicator of network strength that was based on the size of the network, the diversity of members, the frequency and intensity of contact among members (Grootaert et al., 2004; Meltzer & Memmott, 2005). Functions of the networks considered how networks were mobilized and what conditions for access to resources were created (Krisna & Shrader, 1999; Onyx & Bullen, 2000).

Overall, nine subgroups were organized among the members of the CBET community during this period. These groups were: the CBET MC, entrance and parking, ox-cart, finance, guide, patrol and clean, homestay, vending and dance organizations. A committee chief informed the author that another informal group for community development purposes, and a night literacy class, had been organized in 2008 in order to educate illiterate adults and children in the commune. Among these groups, only the guide and homestay service providers had specific requirements for becoming members

in addition to overall CBET rules and regulations. As well, only members of the Women's Association could sell souvenirs and cater food at CBET sites. Finance and entrance control groups were a part of CBET MC; there were no other members in these two groups beside the MC.

All CBET members who had ox-carts were allowed to provide related services, provided that they followed the financial and rotational rules of the CBET MC. All CBET members could also give notice of their availability to representatives of patrol and cleaning committees in order to get paid for their service when necessary. Noticeably, most of the on-call paid services were provided to poor members who did not have any other means of participation in other CBET activities. All dance group members were school children in the commune. It was led by their teacher. Membership for a literacy class was voluntary. The teachers were CBET MC members, while the students were adults (both members and non-members of CBET) and children who had no opportunities for formal schooling. As a consequence, it is a subsequent section of this study, a full assessment of the extent of bonding social capital could only be conducted for four groups in CBET community: CBET council, Women's Association, Guide and Home-stay groups.

6.1.1.1.   Bonding Social Capital in the CBET Council

The CBET council network consisted of 13 members in 2002 and increased to 18 members in 2009 when there was an expansion of CBET sites in the commune and more council members were needed to manage this new site. The MC group was democratically operated and members were closely connected. The leader of this group was elected by MC members, while all members of MC were voluntary persons who had been voted into their positions by the entire membership of the CBET community (village-based). Any decision making in this group was preceded by group discussions (Overall 100% of the respondents concurred with this statement). Beside their busy livelihood activities, 92% of members met each other at least once to twice a month to discuss CBET works and the commune development related issues. Some met more frequently than that. Those who declared themselves to be friend met each other more

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than 61 times over the past year. Appendix B summarizes all the results of social capital assessment at Chambok.

Members of MC group were heterogeneous. A key respondent reported that according to CPA guidelines, there was no barrier to becoming a candidate for election if a person was willing, devoted and knowledgeable of local values and sensitive to the people's needs. Due to CPA criteria, the candidates' cultural background and commune experience were seriously considered. At the time of this research, all MC members lived in Chambok for more than ten years and were of Buddhist and Khmer ethnicity. Formal education, wealth and political tendencies were not primary electoral qualifications. This survey's findings suggested that only about 25% of the members had studied higher than primary school (Grade 6). No more than 8% of the MC members were classified as middle class.[21] All of them had varying levels of declared political affiliations. Questions concerning their real political tendency were not asked owing to the sensitive nature of this subject. However, personal observation suggested that they followed the three main political parties, including the opposition party.

Members of MC were able to mobilize a wide range of resources. Many members had overlapping memberships and frequently interacted with other groups either inside or outside of the CBET community. According to the survey, all members had CPA and CF membership. About 25% of them had memberships in both the homestay groups and Women Association. Another 10% of them had membership in the ox-cart group. As the MC managed CBET development, all members said that they frequently interacted with other CBET related groups as well as external agencies including NGOs, government officers, business persons, researchers and tourists.

This network functioned remarkably well. The gap between expectation and actual reception of resources was narrow. When entering the MC group, 100% of the members expected to receive grants/loans as well as spiritual support from facilitating

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[21] Middle class people are defined by having possession of 1 bike, 1 motorbike, at least 1 ox-cart and 2 oxen, Sre (rice paddy) at least 2ha and Chamka (orchard) at least 2ha.

agencies. About 75% anticipated education, esteem and recreation benefits. About 50% expected to receive advice and 25% hoped to gain more social credentials in the commune (Appendix B, Table B2.2). Though not all expectations were fulfilled, most of the respondents identified many positive benefits that they gained from CBET and their group. One hundred percent of respondents in this group said they received grants or loans from the CBET community. Approximately 75% said that they gained beneficial education and social credentials in the community and externally.

There were six types of norms this group followed. The importance of each norm related to the category of issues to which it applied. When providing grants/loans to members, reciprocity, trust and connectedness were most important. One hundred percent of the respondents said the CBET council provided loans based on reciprocity, while 75% said it was based on trust and connectedness. When providing a training opportunity collectiveness, equity and trust is important. One hundred percent of members said that they always requested facilitating agencies to provide training to all members if possible (collectiveness). In case only a certain number of people could enter the training, 75% said the selection criteria were based on equity (taking turns equally).

Overall, the CBET council had a thick and strong bonding social capital. All assessment indicators showed positive results. This group had a small number of members, but was diverse. They interacted frequently, and have many advantageous ties international and externally that enabled them to procure as many resources as possible. The benefits they received were remarkably high and diverse ranging from educational and monetary benefits to high level self-esteem and social credentials.

6.1.1.2. Bonding Social Capital in the Women's Association

The Women's Association (WA) was a dynamic group. Between 2002 and 2004, there were only 58 members, who were divided into four sub-groups according to their residency (village-based). The size of this Association increased remarkably between 2004 and 2009. In 2009, the Association was comprised of 304 members and 20 groups.

Group membership was diverse. There was no restriction to membership in relation to years of residency, education, wealth, political view or cultural background. Both rich and poor, educated and illiterate, permanent resident and new immigrant, as well as women of different political affiliation, religion and ethnicity took part in this Association. Table B2.3, Appendix B summarizes the assessment of the Association's social capital. Approximately half of the members had lived in Chambok more than ten years. The rest lived there for less than ten years. Less than half of the members were classified as middle class people. In addition, members of these groups consisted of both highly educated women (15% up to Grade 12) and those who had never entered school at all (30%).

Though this group had increased its size remarkably, not all members were closely connected. This result related to the village-based group division. About 50% of respondents said their group was comprised of only people who lived in the same commune, and 66% declared they had never met other members of this Association. The gap between those who lived in the same village and those who merely lived in the same commune was quite wide. About 50% of members were friends or neighbours who lived in the same village and /or were relatives. These members, therefore, were able to meet more frequently than the rest. Approximately 35% of respondents met at least once a month and often more than that.

Notably, resource availability was limited. The majority of respondents (more than 80%) said group resources came from members and the community (from providing CBET services). Only 11% mentioned some of the resources being provided by outside support groups. About 55% of the members had more than one group membership. However, there was less interaction both within and outside of the CBET community. Sixty-eight percent of members never interacted within the CBET community, while 82% never approached other people outside the CBET community.

The limited resource availability and the sparsely connected members impacted the Association's ability to mobilize resources for action in the network. When entering the Association, 89% of the members expected to receive a loan and more training in

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relation to CBET services and community development. Other benefits, such as recreation, self-esteem, advice, and social credentials were expected by about 23% of all respondents. Only 24% said that they received some loans, and less than 10% mentioned receiving training. Yet, the least expected benefit such as self-esteem, credentials and access to needed non-monetary support were mentioned by about 63% of members.

Despite these challenges, members of the WA were highly satisfied with their group function. More than 90% of them said their group functioned well. This score was strongly dependent on the democratic aspect of the group and the mutual understanding among its members. There was no restriction to become a member of the group. The leader had been voted in by the members, and most of the important decisions were the result of group discussion and consultation. About 93% of the respondents said decision making in the group was done through group discussion. The Association adhered closely to 3 important norms in providing loan and training as well as distributing service turns. These norms were: trust, reciprocity and collectiveness. About 97% of the women ranked collectiveness as their group's norm, while 67% said trust and reciprocity were the most important norms keeping the group active.

6.1.1.3. Bonding Social Capital in Homestay and Guide Group

Home stay and Guide groups were just two small groups within the CBET community. The Homestay group started with only three members in 2003 and had increased membership to 32 in 2009. In contrast, the size of the Guide group decreased from 27 in 2002 to only 20 in 2009. Similar to previously mentioned groups, these two groups were also heterogeneous and democratic. There was no restriction to becoming a member of these groups providing the member respected established rules and norms of behaviour. Table B2.4 and Table B2.5, Appendix B summarizes social capital assessment of Guide and Homestay groups.

Both networks were not well connected. More than 60% of the members from each group did not identify themselves as being friends, neighbours or relatives of each other, despite being in the same commune. In addition, more than 70% of the members from each group never met other members. In spite of their small size, only about 20% of

the members of both groups stated they frequently met to discuss issues related to their service operation and other issues.

The Homestay and guide groups did not have many resources to distribute to members. The most important source of support for these two groups was the CBET community. Less than 20% of the members from each group mentioned there was some support available for them outside the community. Despite their prominent roles in CBET service operations (guiding and catering) members of both groups stated they rarely interacted with other groups either within or outside of the CBET community. Approximately 10% of the members of the Homestay group said they frequently interacted with others inside and outside of the CBET boundary. About 17% of members from guide group said they had frequent contact with others. A small number of the members of these two groups had more than one group memberships.

Overall, about 81% of members of both groups assessed their group functioning as being good, while 19% said it was very good. Everyone in the Guide group mentioned that every decision was made through entire group discussion, and that they voted their leader in voluntarily. Members of Homestay group, however, were less sure of this aspect. Though, about 80% of members said their group used discussion method in making important decision, only 47% of respondents said they voted for their leader.

Members' ability to mobilize resources from the two networks was limited. In both groups, there was a big gap between expectation and actual receipt of benefits. Approximately 89% of the respondents from each group anticipated receiving loans, while 65% expected training when they entered the groups. Yet, these two types of benefits were scored very lowly with respect to actual reception (17% in the Homestay group and 10% in Guide group). About 40% of the respondents from both groups said they could access other members when they needed help. Another 34% of Homestay members stated they were happy to receive tourists in their home. About 50% of respondents from the Guide group said they received more social credentials after they became a guide in the CBET community.

Norms that were particularly valued in these two groups were not different from those expressed in other groups. Trust, reciprocity, connectedness, collectiveness and equity were very important norms. In the Homestay group, 82% of members ranked trust and connectedness (76%) as important norms when considering whether the group should provide grants/loans to members. About 87% of members said, collectiveness, trust (56%) and equity (56%) were most important when selecting members for training. In the Guide group, however, 86% of respondents said collectiveness was the most important norm in all aspects for their group, followed by trust (56%) and equity (50%).

6.1.2. Bridging Social Capital Measurement

The assessment of bridging social capital was based primarily on in-depth interviews with MC members[22] because they were representatives of the entire CBET community. The information from survey interviews also flavoured the analysis. At the bonding level, the MC group was a network of individuals who managed the CBET project. At this level, MC members' social capital was developed not only for their group but also for the entire community. Bridging social capital was divided into two levels: intra and inter bridging. Intra-bridging referred to the network of sub-groups within the CBET community (i.e., CBET council). Inter-bridging referred to the network of all agencies or organizations in the Chambok commune (i.e., the Chambok community). Please refer to the analytical framework in the methods chapter for a full explanation of the criteria and indicators that were used to guide the analysis in this section.

6.1.2.1.   Intra-Bridging Social Capital

In general, the CBET community was a growing organization in the commune. There were nine different groups in this community. These groups worked separately and served distinct functions in the CBET operations. In 2002, there were less than 200 members and only five groups that were concerned mostly via managerial tasks. The

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[22]   Questions for MC interview were also used with the internal stakeholder (CC, RI, CF & CPA) interviews

number of members and groups grew steadily over the succeeding years. In 2009 the nine groups (both managerial and operational) were comprised of 556 members. Table B2.7 and A2.8, Appendix B summarizes the assessment of intra-bridging social capital.

The CBET community was well-connected hierarchically, but sparsely connected horizontally. Figure 6.1 illustrates these connections. The magnitude of the triangle denotes the size of the group based on number of members. According to the survey, merely 20% of respondents stated that their groups interacted with other groups in the community. The interviews with MC members revealed how the CBET community worked. Members of MC met other CBET members more frequently than other members both in the early stage of development and in 2009. At the beginning, MC members had to engage other villagers in making CBET policies. Later, they met other members when they supervised service operations. As they came regularly to sites, they were able to meet a diverse set of members on a regular basis. In addition, if they had requests CBET members also contacted their MC representatives.

Therefore, the frequency of interaction was very high. CBET members met each other during policy discussions and training sessions at early stages and during service operations at later stages of the development process. Interactions across groups largely happened when they were on the CBET site together (e.g., cooks, guides and ox-cart driver) or when the chief summoned them to discuss important issues (mostly related to service quality, product development, financial management, capacity building and enforcement of CBET by-laws).

Despite the sparse inter-group connection, the CBET community was quite heterogeneous, and members had high regard for others as well as for the CBET development. More than 70% of the survey respondents acknowledged that CBET members were different with respect to socio-economic background, educational level, age, gender and number of years they resided at Chambok. However, there was a high level of tolerance for differences and these variances did not usually cause jealousy or conflict in the community.

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Figure 6.1. Communications and relationship in CBET community
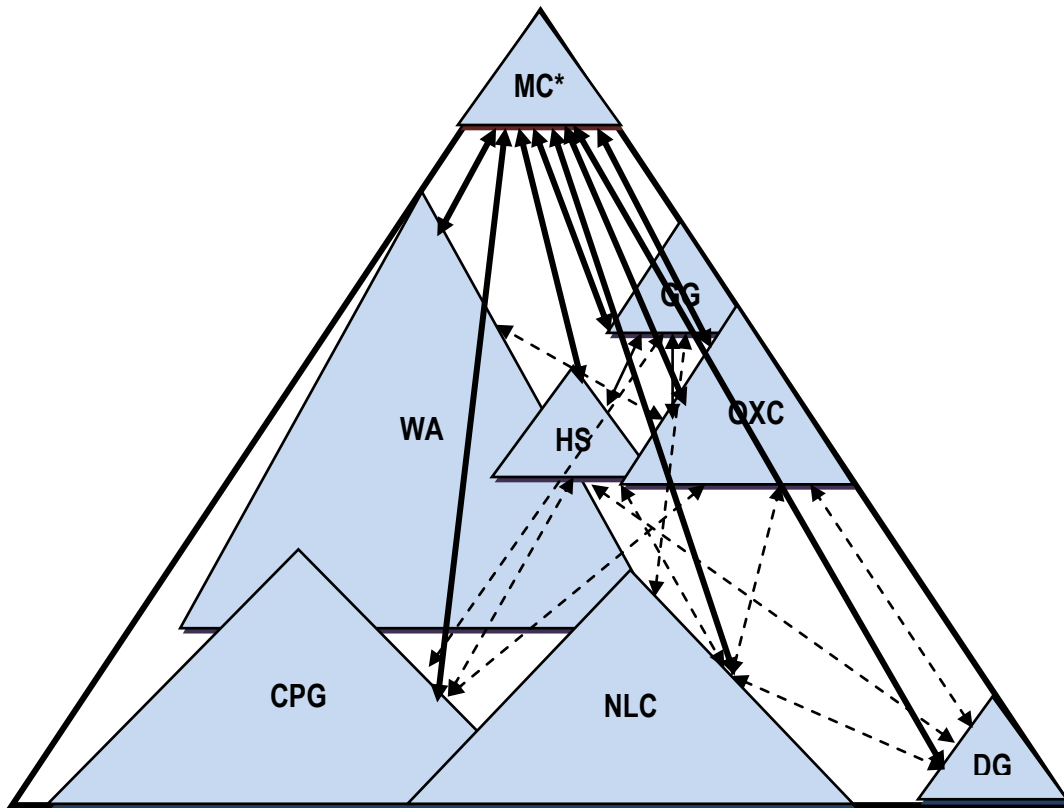
Legend: The thicker the arrow, the stronger the perceived character of the relationship.

Note (*): See abbreviation list for the names of stakeholders
Source: MC Focus Group Discussion and Survey Interview, 2009.

CBET members had a high respect for CBET innovation and policies. More than 90% of the informants pointed out that participation in CBET activities increased remarkably between 2007 and 2009. Approximately, 74% of the respondents said this increase was due mostly to improved awareness and understanding of the CBET project among broader population. About 16% said it was thanks to the encouragement from involved members, while about 10% said it was because of the final recognition that CBET was the right strategy for economic development in Chambok. More than 50% of the respondents divulged that their CBET income was low in comparison to previous livelihood activities. Yet, they still regarded CBET activities as important because they were safe, legal and beneficial not only to themselves but to the entire community. Because of these perceptions, the level of support for CBET policies was quite high.

Approximately 70% of the informants stated they would contribute both time and money to CBET activities that might not directly benefit them, but help the commune.

More than 60% of the respondents affirmed that those who did not participate in the CBET project were not normally criticized or discriminated against. According to Van Acker (2010), CBNRM projects like CBET are considered as clubs that made policies to serve members' benefit to the exclusion of non-members. This study, however, found that the CBET agency and its members did not feel this was the case in their work. Access to natural resources and other common CBET benefits pertaining to CBET projects were widely distributed to both members and non-members alike. For example, a sizeable amount of money from the CBET operation was kept in the community fund for supplementary development and emergency aid for the whole commune. Only about 20% of the respondents felt that there were some people who were excluded from CBET benefits. However, they felt that such exclusions were not directly related to the CBET operations, but more to trust and image of those persons (who continued illegal activities and usually were untrustworthy).

In general, the CBET community was perceived by members to function well. With regard to the resource dimension, the CBET community could mobilize a wide range of resources from internal and external alliances as well as from its own members. All MC members said they devoted both time and resources to CBET development from the beginning until the time of this research. They explained that everyone needed to work so hard (at more than one occupation) to survive in Chambok, but they still made sure to save time to frequent CBET meetings and discussions. They also brought to the community what was available at home and locally (local knowledge and construction materials) to save unnecessary expenses.

Other CBET members also had such feelings. More than 50% of the respondents felt that at least half to the CBET members supported CBET policies by participating in conservation and CBET development activities. Nearly 90% of the respondents were aware of decisions concerning CBET activities. Though they were not members of MC, nearly 50% of the respondents thought they were important and had some control over

decisions concerning CBET development. In addition, more than 70% of the informants said the CBET project was productive and successful because of their contributions and participation.

In the CBET community, the gap between overall expectation and actual reception of benefits was quite narrow. According to MC interviews, in 2002 they and the other involved members were interested in the CBET project because they were tired of outlaw activities and risky livelihoods. They thought the CBET project was their chance to grasp legal rights to access and manage natural resources, which were restricted to them in 1993 when the National Park and preservation policies were established. Moreover, they also wanted to develop their community. Chambok had always been a remote and isolated rural area with very limited development. Thus, they wanted to seize the CBET opportunity that was endorsed by both the government and NGOs. They hoped that the community could overcome their isolation and lack of entrepreneur skills by being able to capitalize on promised capacity building and empowerment components.

The CBET community members developed goals and objectives for the project according to these beliefs and expectations. Criteria and principles for implementation were widely discussed with members and combined with the agenda of supporting NGOs and the government agencies. Though individual members confessed that they gained low profits from CBET development, the community in general was able to gain some of what they expected. MC members listed the major achievements of CBET projects as follows: 1) development of infrastructure and amenities in the commune; 2) improvement of entrepreneurial skills and development capacity among members; 3) addition of employment opportunities; 4) development of documents and structures for decentralized conservation and development; 5) creation of a community fund for local development and emergency aid for vulnerable people in the commune; 6) creation of non-formal education classes for illiterate people and children; 7) reduction of forest destruction and hunting crime; 8) promotion of gender equity; and 9) recognition and support from stakeholders for development strategies in the commune.

All MC members and 35% of the CBET members were satisfied with the functioning of their community. This satisfaction was mainly due to their perception of democratic processes, cooperation and good management in the community (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Overall Community Assessment of CBET Community

Questions	Responses	Percentage	
		Adequate	**Inadequate**
Type and Adequacy of Resources Received	Access to needed services	44.5%	55.6%
	Information	82.2%	17.7%
	Training	62.0%	38.0%
	Grant/loan	42.2%	57.3%
	Spiritual support	91.1%	8.9%
	Advice	87.3%	12.7%
	Recreation	72.3%	17.7%
	Social credentials	55.1%	44.3%
	Self Esteem	51.9%	48.1%
Accessibility of resources/benefits		**Easy**	**Difficult**
	Access to needed services	60.8%	39.2%
	Information	94.9%	5.1%
	Training	89.3%	10.1%
	Grant/loan	60.0%	40.0%
	Spiritual support	94.9%	5.1%
	Advice	98.7%	1.3%
	Recreation	93.2%	6.8%
	Social credentials	40.5%	59.4%
	Self Esteem	22.8%	77.2%
Evaluation of the community functioning	Well		34.7%
	Neutral & Badly		65.3%
Reasons for functioning well	Good cooperation		21.5%
	Good management		18.6%
	Promote conservation		12.9%
	Promote equity and benefit sharing		21.6%
	Improve local knowledge & capacity in development		25.4%
Reasons for functioning badly	Inadequate engagement of members		21.5%
	Benefit a handful of people economically		32.6%
	Lack of transparency for wider public		7.1%
	Build capacity for a handful of people		21.6%

Source: Researcher's surveys 2009; No of total respondents 79.

More than 70% of the respondents stated that they were aware of decisions concerning most activities, which took place in the community. Though the sources of information were diverse, it was notable that they included oral reports, announcements from the CC and written words on the community bulletin board. This suggested that there were useful efforts to raise awareness and participation in the entire commune. About 89% of the respondents stated that it was easy to access capacity building programs. However, the attainment of economic and social benefits for individual members was still limited. Only about 60% of the respondents mentioned access to loans, while less than 40% mentioned the achievement of self-esteem and social credentials.

In general, in order to improve its performance and sufficiency members recommended that the CBET community: 1) add more capacity building initiatives for people who would like to be involved in the CBET operation at present (who missed the training at the beginning); 2) increase economic activities to enhance opportunities for more participation; and 3) improve connections among members (through the organization of community events) so that knowledge and experiences could be transferred and disseminated. CBET members noted that those who were very capable and could frequently participate in CBET activities were often relatives of the CBET Chief himself. This led some members to accuse the Chief of nepotism. Thus, about 10% of the respondents recommended that the Chief of CBET avoided nepotism in the community, so that chances of conflict and loss of solidarity in the community would not occur. This finding, however, was countered in the final community workshops. The accused respondent group defended that most of the Chief's relatives were actively involved in the CBET operations without receiving payment from the community. Their collective goal was to support their blood relatives and enable him to fulfil his duties well. This proved to be the case according to the author's observation too.

6.1.2.2.   Inter-Bridging Social Capital in Chambok Community

There were six formal organizations in the Chambok commune. These organizations were CF, CPA, CBET, CC, NRMC and RI. They formed a network of local policy-makers (conservation and development) and represented a decentralized

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governance structure in the commune. This network was roughly initiated in 2002, but only became fully structured in 2005. This structure was created because of required decentralization and integrated conservation and development policies. Each agency was organized by different government agencies or NGOs with distinct roles, but they all had to collaborate to develop the Chambok commune (Figure 6.2). The combination of these organizations helped create the strength and power of the Chambok community.

Figure 6.2. Relationship among Organizations in Chambok
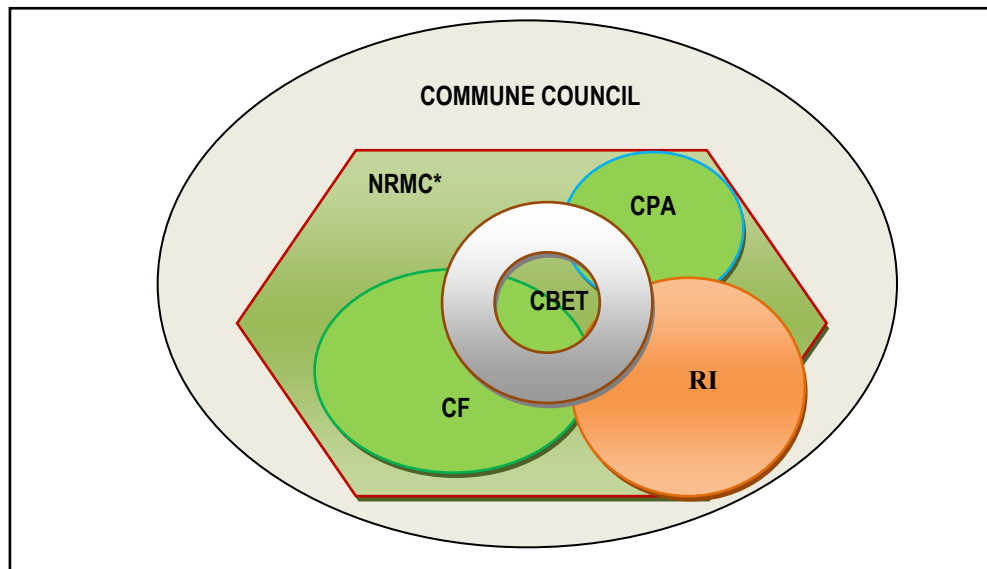
Note (*): See abbreviation list for the names of stakeholders
Source: Focus group discussions and interviews with local stakeholders, 2009.

The RI was an independent organization, but was partially subordinated to the CBET agency with respect to financial resources. The NRMC was a unit of the CC responsible for managing all natural resources in the entire commune. Members of this committee were comprised of representatives of all involved organizations (Figure 5.3). CF and CPA were conservation organizations responsible for specified plots of land in the commune and collaborated with different relevant higher government agencies. CF associated with Forest administration and managed forest land in the community to which the local community was entitled. CPA associated with the MoE and managed part of the PA that was also entitled to the local community. CBET was a development agency that used some part of CF and some part of CPA forests as well as infrastructures in the

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commune for tourism purposes. The CC was the umbrella organization. Only NRMC that was added in 2005; other organizations were already loosely organized prior to that. All Chiefs of local organizations stated that though there were not many organizations added to the commune, all organizations were better coordinated and the commune structure was more coherent and cohesive. Table B2.11, Appendix B summarizes the assessment of inter-bridging social capital.

The network of all these organizations in the commune was quite dense. The interviews with chiefs of these organizations indicated that each had moderate levels of contact with others, and they all knew each other. Each organization's chief stated they had their own rights to make decisions concerning their specific sphere, but those decisions had to be reported to others and finally endorsed by the CC. Each organization managed its own specified areas, but all would cooperate with others when the concerned tasks were integrated or overlapping.

For instance, land use planning in the commune, as well as financial and conservation policies in the CBET community were the collective concerns of all agencies in the commune. In the early 2000s, they cooperated to demarcate boundaries for CF and CPA as well as to draft CF, CPA and CBET by-laws. Later, they collaborated to implement the discussed strategies, develop further integrated action plans, and monitor CBET financial reports and forest management strategies. They usually met at the end of the month, year's end, or at notice if there was an urgent issue to be discussed or resolved. They communicated through face-to-face discussion, bulletin board announcements and written reports.

Contact among these organizations was often intense. They were mutually dependent, and helped each other in times of crisis and when there was conflict in the community. This aspect made the Chambok community quite strong and less dependent on external aid. More than 60% of the survey respondents stated that they helped each other and relied on each other when there was a disaster or a crisis happening in the commune. Furthermore, when there were conflicts concerning CBET decision makings, uses of natural resources and effectiveness of CBET management, approximately 80% of

the respondents declared that they always tried to discuss this with the community stakeholders before requesting an external intervention. Overall, local stakeholders were satisfied with the function of their network to some extent. This satisfaction was due to perceptions of effective resource mobilization and benefit distribution strategies, achievement of intended goals and agenda, as well as inclusive and democratic processes as well as stakeholder engagement strategies.

According to the interviews, chiefs of these organizations proudly announced that at present, resources for the operation of this network were mostly mobilized locally; though they were initially supported by MB. Resources for network maintenance and on-going activities were revenues from CBET operations. Chiefs of all local organizations said they got partial financial contributions from the CBET agency for conservation and development activities according to their organization's respective roles. In return, all local stakeholders participated in CBET actions, permitted the CBET agency to organize CBET activities on their respective plots of land, as well as utilize resources and infrastructures in the commune for tourism purposes. Since the beginning until presently, all stakeholders attended workshops and meetings to construct relevant local policies, implement consensus activities, coordinate with relevant upper administrations, encourage locals to participate in CBET activities and resolve conflicts in the community.

All local stakeholders affirmed that they endorsed CBET development as a sustainable community development strategy, and they were quite pleased that the outcomes of CBET development were not far from their expectations. The interviews revealed that the overall goals of the Chambok community network were to sustainably manage and utilize natural resources in the commune for the purpose of enforcing decentralized national conservation strategies, developing local economy, and enhancing local well-being. Stakeholders in these networks listed that the major outcomes of CBET development included: 1) development of integrated administrative structure for the Chambok community (this network); 2) establishment of a community fund for local development and emergency aid; and 3) establishment of a self-funding strategy for conservation of natural resources and development initiatives in the commune.

This study required all local stakeholders to list major activities that took place in the commune as a result of their network's operation and explain how they knew about them and what they thought of these activities and their network. This list included: 1) building of minor infrastructures (e.g., water pipes, wells, bridges); 2) providing emergency aid to sick and vulnerable people in the commune; 3) contributing to communal macro development fund (e.g., irrigation system, roads, schools); 4) improving human resources (initiate the night literacy class and support for poor high school students and entrepreneurial training); 5) strengthening solidarity in the commune (community halls, religious supports and an integrated management structure); 6) providing revenues for conservation strategies (e.g., forest patrols, botanical garden, fire path making); 7) establishing a community fund for micro investment loans; and 8) increasing of environmental knowledge as well as clean and safe living methods. Notably, each stakeholder listed the achievements that were related to their specified field. However, they also expressed awareness of other activities in the commune.

In general, the RI and CC were happy with the engagement and communication strategies utilized in the network. They believed the network was transparent and accountable. The conservation agencies (CF/CPA), however, were only somewhat satisfied with their network. They stated that the outcomes and general attitudes of all stakeholders toward conservation were fine, but they did not feel the financial management and distribution in the network were very transparent and accountable. Though conservation was one of the major agendas for the CBET development (which is also a sustainable community development strategy), they thought the network mobilized inadequate funds for this role.

The difference in stakeholder perceptions might be due to the inclusivity and democratic aspects of the network. As previously mentioned, decision makings concerning any activities in the commune had to be endorsed by the CC. Therefore, they knew and participated in resource allocation decisions most of the time. Conversely, the CPA and CF representatives complained that they mostly attended policy making processes, and did not always take part in financial monitoring or resource allocation

decisions. Representatives of these two agencies divulged that written reports and communication were mostly channelled hierarchically to external stakeholders and higher authorities. If they did not attend the meetings, they were not readily able to access those reports. In addition, the negative feelings toward accountability and transparency aspects of the network might have also been due to the fact that the majority of people in the commune were not very educated. Therefore, written communication among local stakeholders was not always effective.

6.1.3. Measurement of Linking Social Capital

In order for CBET development to take place in Chambok, there were wide linkages between the Chambok community and external stakeholders. These linkages were more or less dynamic according to the specific stage of CBET development. In the project establishment stage (2002), external stakeholder convention was based primarily on the requirement of the CPA policy guidelines. An NGO (MB) was the facilitator. Other stakeholders were conservation agencies (DoE, MoE, NP) and relevant upper land use authorities (DM, PM). In the project improvement phase, stakeholder linkages were expanded to capacity builders (PDoT, MoT, NGOs, CCBEN and academia) and industrial actors (tour operators & media). In the final graduation stage, facilitators helped to link the Chambok community directly with donors and private actors.

From stakeholder interviews, it was understood that linkages between the Chambok community and external stakeholders were forged because of two reasons: the co-management requirement specified in the CPA Prakas and the need to integrate Chambok CBET into the greater tourism industry. The stakeholder network, which convened in the first stage, was required by the policy. It was fundamentally a conservation network. Later stakeholder conventions were necessary for tourism development and management aspects as well as for effective CBET operations. It then became a development network. All linkages developed at all stages (as previously stated in Section 4.2) were in existence at the time of this research study in 2009. The following paragraphs examine the strengths and functions of these linkages.

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6.1.3.1. Social Capital in Conservation Network

The conservation network (CBET agency, MB, MoE, PDoE, NPA, DM & PM) collaborated to enforce the government's decentralized conservation policy. The government actors cooperated with the facilitating NGO to create a local agency and administrative structure that would co-manage the natural resources with MoE and its provincial line departments. Table B2.13, Appendix B summarizes the assessment of linking social capital.

According to the interviews, all stakeholders in this network declared that their overall relationship concerning CBET development was close and good. The MoE, NPA and MB had a mutually strong connection. The PDoE had a moderate connection with the NPA, MoE, MB and CBET/CPA community. Additionally, it had slight connections with both the DM and PM. The CBET council and Chambok community had mutually strong and direct relationships with MB, the DM, and NPA. They also had a moderate, but direct relationship with the PDoE, PM and MoE (Figure 6.3).

Though the conservation network was not quite as diverse and was comprised mainly of government actors, it was very dense. Most stakeholders related to the others and worked together to build the capacity of the local agencies. They collaborated to legitimize CBET and CPA agencies, develop important policy documents to govern the destination, as well as design, implement and monitor CBET activities. Their communication strategies were written reports of CBET/CPA implementation activities, face-to-face meeting in planning workshops, monitoring activities and patrolling the forest together. While there no schedule for the external stakeholder meetings, they met when the situation required intervention from higher authorities (e.g., resolving conflicts, repressing forest crime and monitoring local proposals for CBET implementation).

Figure 6.3. Conservation Linkage of Chambok Community
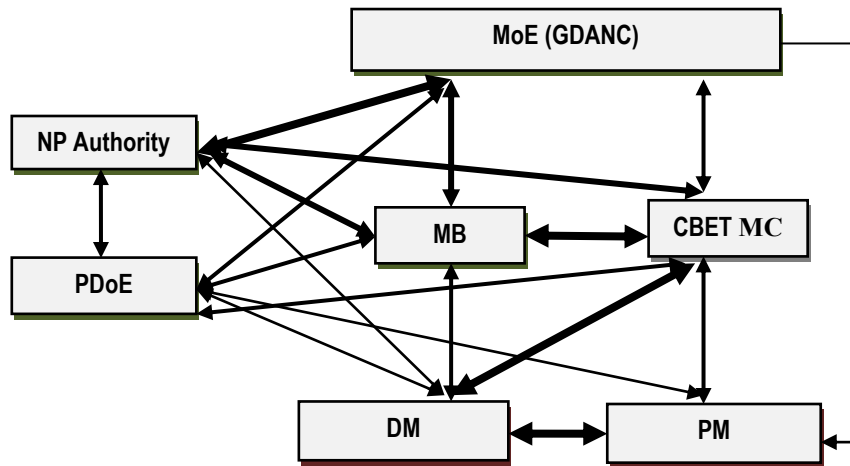
Note (*): See abbreviation list for the names of stakeholders
Source: CBET MC and external stakeholder interviews, 2008-2009.

Overall, stakeholders in this network thought the network functioned very well. Though external stakeholders had different agendas, they had a common goal. It was to implement decentralized conservation policies. This network was mainly coordinated and financed by MB. However, each stakeholder contributed its own resources for developing the community. The government actors provided guidelines that supported the establishment of a local agency, as well as the organization of a decentralized structure where they could share the management and development power over natural resources with local communities. The NGO stakeholder facilitated and financed these processes with both conservation and development donors' funds. The local agencies collaborated to implement decentralized policies and build their capacity to become independent community-based organization in order to further co-manage natural resources with other stakeholders in the network.

The CBET agency stated it was not difficult to mobilize support and resources from this network. Initially, MB coordinated actions in the network and assisted the local agency to plan and implement CBET activities. From 2007 to the time of this research, the CBET agency coordinated and communicated in the network on their own. All

government actors (i.e., the PDoE, NPA, DM & PM) endorsed the proposals and transferred management power where applicable. The MoE made final decisions and regulated that all action plans were in accord with the agreement. It also made sure that all stakeholders adhered to the consensus plans.

This network adhered to two main principles: trust and participation. All interviewed stakeholders were content with the conservation and political outcomes of the network. As required in CPA Prakas, they needed to plan CBET implementation collaboratively. The MB and local agency were entrusted to engage the wider communities in planning CBET activities. Then the network members would discuss the potential and impacts of the proposals and consent when applicable. Implementing agencies could carry out only actions that were approved by the network. The MB and the CBET council also communicated regularly with others through written reports, and conducted monitoring together. At the time of the interview, network members were trustful and confident of the local agency's capacity to carry on co-management tasks. They agreed that the processes of CBET implementations and its outcomes were quite transparent and accountable to them all.

In the past eight years (2001 to 2009), this network was able to achieve several major accomplishments. They included: 1) enforcement of intended national decentralized policy; 2) development and enforcement of CBET/CPA by-laws; 3) clarification of rights and roles in NRM and decentralized development among stakeholders; 4) construction of decentralized governance structure; 5) development of community capacity to co-manage natural resources; and 6) provision of on-the-ground examples for other CBNRM projects.

Stakeholders in this network were accordingly highly satisfied with these outcomes. Interviewees from the MoE and NPA confessed that the scope of work relevant to the PA management was huge, and it was difficult to accomplish these tasks without community participation. One of them said:

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...I was quite pleased that the local community finally saw the significance of conservation and was able to take part in the action. It would be impossible to enforce preservation laws if they would not participate. It was equally hard to arrest poor people who only wanted to survive....

6.1.3.2. Social Capital in Development Network

The development network collaborated to manage CBET development in Chambok. This network consisted of the CBET agency, MB, the DM, PM, MoT, PDoT, Tour Operators, CCBEN, Media, Donors and academia (Figure 6.4). It was convened gradually, after the CBET project at Chambok became recognized by all government stakeholders and conservation actors. At the beginning, MB facilitated and coordinated communication with those stakeholders on behalf of the local agency. From 2007 onwards, the community contacted those agencies directly. The function of this network was to build the capacity of the CBET agency and enhance the effectiveness of economic development projects. The following paragraphs examine social capital generated from this network for the local communities at Chambok in 2009.

The development network for the Chambok community was quite diverse. Stakeholders in this network were categorized into three clusters: government actors (PDoT, MoT, DM, PM), civil society groups (CCBEN, academia) and private sectors (CCBEN, Market, Tour Operators, Media). This diversity was beneficial for the CBET agency as it brought different resources to the local communities. The government cluster legitimized and promoted CBET development. They also aided the local community in capacity building and promotion activities. The civil society groups enhanced community developmental capacity, advocated community rights and lobbied for its symbolic power as well as promoted recognition and support for CBET development. The private sector improved tourism operations and service quality.

The findings suggest that the development network was regarded as being slightly dense. Many stakeholders in the network stated that they occasionally interacted with others who were concerned with similar issues, but they mostly contacted the local agency directly. The development network was shaped by two key norms: trust and reciprocity. Among the civil society groups, the CBET agency had the strongest link with

MB. It had only a moderate link with academia and CCBEN. From 2002 to 2007, the CBET agency worked closely and met regularly with MB officers. MB was the major capacity builder for the Chambok community and became a famous organization in CBET issues because of its exemplary roles in Chambok. MB remained the facilitator and had an equally strong relationship with the CBET agency and donors.

Figure 6.4.   Development Linkages in Chambok Community
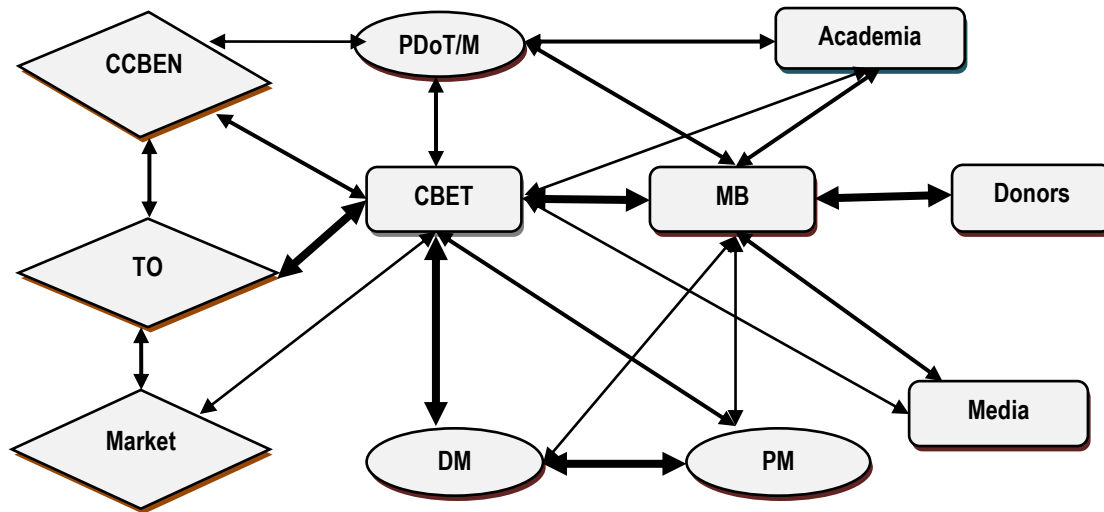
Legend: The thicker the arrow, the stronger the perceived relationship.

Note (*): See abbreviation list for the names of stakeholders
Source: Stakeholder Interviews, 2008-2009.

MB withdrew its earlier role in CBET development at Chambok in 2009. At the time this research was conducted, the CBET agency only communicated with MB through written reports and meetings only when necessary. However, MB kept coordinating actions between the local agencies and donors as well as intervening in conflict resolution when required. The Chief of CBET community appropriately expressed the nature of the relationship when he said, "…*MB is like our parents. It never gave us up; we could always seek advice and assistance when our challenges were beyond our ability*…"

With CCBEN and academia, the relationships were mutually dependent. The chief of the Chambok community had always been a prominent guest speaker at CCBEN

or in tourism courses at the university as well as a facilitator for community studies. CCBEN helped to market and promote CBET at Chambok and linked this community with more than 30 members of this network. CCBEN was an important advocate in many political challenges. The relationship between the Chambok community and academia was like a friendship. Both parties mutually exchanged theoretical and practical knowledge and experiences about their respective fields. Academics provided advice and capacity building, but also primarily helped to discover community challenges through research and recommended possible scenarios to solve those problems to community and NGO stakeholders.

The community had a strong relationship with tour operators and a modest relationship with other private sector groups. It communicated face-to-face and on the phone with tour operators. Some tour operators like Intrepid and Local adventure companies brought international tourists to Chambok as often as once a week. Their business operations were totally dependent on trust. Some tourists who came with these responsible tour operators became donors for micro community development initiatives. They kept in contact with the MC and provided consultations on service improvement, became volunteer capacity builders and provided funding for micro project proposals. The media group that included TV and radio stations as well as magazine and newspaper agents were linked with Chambok through various advertisement campaigns (paid and non-paid). They provided constructive advice on image improvement.

Finally, the relationship with the government sector (PM, DM, PDoT & MoT) was considered to be exemplary. It was quite close, but extremely different from that prior to CBET development. Previously, the communities were the incontestable recipient of the centralized downward government policies. Such a relationship was described by Un (2003) as conventional "patron-client" type. At the time of this study, the central government plays the roles of advisor and regulator. The Chambok community also collaborated with NGOs and local stakeholders (in the bridging circle) to draft action plans and programs, then proposed them to the higher levels of government for endorsement.

According to the commune chief and the CBET chief, the government sector has rarely rejected those proposals, though the processes are still bureaucratic and could be improved. Both groups reciprocate favours and assist each other in efforts to achieve their ultimate goals in development. The provincial agencies were highly regarded by higher levels of government for their supporting roles in CBET development at Chambok. In return, since Chambok received the Prime Minister's Medal for its model role in development and conservation, it has received more support from the relevant government agencies.

The development linkage for the Chambok community functioned partly well. The network was able to achieve major anticipated outcomes such as: 1) establishment of decentralized governance structure; 2) improvement of local human resources; 3) enforcement of participatory development strategies; 4) enhancement of destination image and product diversification; and 5) some improvement of CBET service quality.

About half of the stakeholders including the tour operators and the supporting and implementing agencies (MB and donors) were only somewhat satisfied with the outcomes at Chambok. These agencies stated that they were only partly satisfied because the development processes were a bit slow and costly. Tour operators mentioned they were not totally happy with the service quality provided at Chambok either. They required higher quality and better hospitality provisions from the CBET stakeholders.

Academia, media, the MoT and PDoT, however, thought the community was doing extremely well in relation to community development activities related to human resource development, construction of plans and strategies for local actions, as well as developing participation and engagement mechanisms. The supporting institutions including MB had specific agendas to follow and project timelines to meet. They were also initially concerned with the opportunity costs for the CBET development at Chambok in comparison to other communities. Representatives from DM and PM, on the other hand, explained that they were not fully content because apparently tourism revenues were still limited. They said, "… *it was important to help the community to have sufficient income; otherwise, the conservation strategies would not be effective…*"

They hoped that the community could come up with more initiatives to improve their economic prospects before local people withdrew their support and returned to the forest.

6.2. Cognitive Dimension

From the in-depth interviews with MC members and local stakeholders, it was apparent that the three most important norms for success in the Chambok project were trust, reciprocity and sharing/collectiveness. CBET members and local stakeholders agreed to form groups and collaborate together as long as they trusted each other, believed that they could mutually help each other, and shared the resulting benefits with the entire Chambok community.

6.2.1. CBET Policies and Regulations

Remarkably, the CBET development agenda that emerged from all the local meetings and stakeholder workshops covered many aspects of community development. Besides being a conservation agency, it appears that MB did not try to curtail non-conservation agendas or exclude some stakeholders. MB reported that the reasons for this understanding were involved with the character of CBET projects and available donors. MB saw CBET as a multi-dimensional project that required a participatory and holistic community development approach. MB's project coordinator said, *"CBET was about livelihoods improvement, conservation and local empowerment. To make the project work effectively, we had to pay equal attention to all aspects even though we are only a conservation agency…"*As well, MB was able to access varied types of funding from a wide range of donors for Chambok projects. A financial officer at MB stated that, *"We implemented all activities suggested by stakeholders since we had many different donors that sponsored different aspects…"*

To implement this project plan effectively and to achieve all objectives, MB divided implementation policies into six major components. This division helped ensure

smoother and more effective management, better implementation and easier follow-up and monitoring. A coordinator from MB indicated:

> *Having many suggestions to do at the same time was a challenge. We decided to divide them into smaller components. We knew that building capacity took time, and we wanted tourists to start coming, so tourist infrastructure and capacity building were done simultaneously. Doing this helped us to see to both management and development progresses.*

6.2.1.1.   CBET Infrastructure Construction Policies

The first component of CBET policies is the construction or renovation of infrastructure and facilities supportive of tourism operations. In this step, local services for CBET such as food, accommodation, performance and transportation within the site were also considered. Tourist vehicles and outside food caterers were not allowed inside the attractions. Visitors were encouraged to rent locally available means of transportation such as bicycle and ox-cart ride as well as eat at the WA's restaurant. MB provided all necessary funding for preparation of these services.

Efforts were also made to have visitors stay and eat with local residents (homestay service). The intent was to provide them with a taste of local ways of life, increase income generation activities, as well as build positive relationships between hosts and guests. A committee chief stated that:

> *…more communication between me and visitors took place in our house than at the attractions. This is good...some visitors from Intrepid were happy to donate their money for development activities at Chambok...they also spread news about us to their peers….*

To enable this service, MB secured loans for the necessary equipment (e.g., such as building a toilet and bedding materials) for locals who wanted to participate. The interested participants needed to be a CBET member, and follow certain rules and conditions developed by the group in order to receive the loan. MB and the MoE only partly paid local people for the needed facilities and supplies. They did this in an attempt to mobilize local resources and encourage participation and commitment that fostered community ownership of the ventures.

6.2.1.2. Capacity Building Policies

The second component involved the building of capacity for the management committee members and service providers. In this component, MB provided training and coaching in needed management and development skills. Table 6.3 lists training opportunities provided to the CBET agency over the eight years including and preceding this study. The training was provided by project officers where they are applicable. However, external consultants were also contracted to provide the training. With the networking outcome in mind, MB chose to vary the choice of trainer as much as possible. Those trainers were professionals from academic institutions, the PDoT, NGOs as well as national and international student volunteers.

Table 6.3.   Skills Provided to the Chambok CBET Agency (2001-2009)

Conservation[a]	Tourism Management	Community Development
• Environmental issues (waste management, wildlife protection, green production, clean air preservation…) • Forest protection techniques (patrolling, fire prevention, legal enforcement…) • Implementation of relevant conservation laws	• CBET concepts and principles • Tour guiding • First-aid • Basic English conversation • Classical dancing • Wood carving and wood handicraft production • Rattan jewellery production • Weaving skills	• Meeting facilitation skill • Problem solving • Negotiation and coordination • Communication skills and report writing • Micro-project/business designing • Project implementation and management • Implementation of laws • Bookkeeping • Accounting • Financial management • Computer skills

Sources: MB Minutes Meetings, 2002-2009.

[a]   CBET agency is not directly involved with conservation activities in CPA or CF areas. These conservation skills are specifically related to tourism operations and management. They are to complement the already trained conservation skills provided to CF and CPA Sub-Committee.

MB and the MoE participants stated that they were heavily involved with providing coaching skills related to conservation as well as community development and project management throughout the implementation period (2003-2006). They confessed, however, that they were not the only trainers; there were other experts from the MB headquarters in Phnom Penh and academia that took part in training in high level management techniques. These included information concerning micro-project/business

designing, project implementation and management, implementation of laws, and financial management. Table 6.4 provides information on the year of delivery and delivering agencies.

Table 6.4. Division of CBET Training and Coaching (2002-2009)

Skills	Capacity Builders	Years							
		02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09
Environmental management (e.g., waste management, wildlife protection, green production	MB and MoE		✓	✓					
Forest protection techniques (e.g., patrolling, fire prevention, legal enforcement)	MB and MoE		✓	✓					
Implementation of relevant conservation laws	MB and MoE	✓	✓						
Meeting facilitation skills	MB and MoE	✓							
Problem solving skills	MB and MoE	✓							
Negotiation and coordination	MB and MoE		✓						
Communication skills and report writing techniques	MB and MoE	✓	✓						
Bookkeeping	MB and MoE		✓						
Accounting	MB and MoE		✓						
CBET concepts and principles	MB/Academia	✓							
Basic English conversation	Volunteers		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Tour guiding	Volunteers			✓	✓				
First-aid	PDoT		✓						
Hygiene and sanitation	PDoT			✓					
Classical dancing	PDoT				✓	✓			
Wood carving and wood	PDoT				✓	✓			
Handicraft production	NGO				✓				
Rattan jewellery production	NGO				✓	✓			
Weaving skills	NGO				✓	✓			
Computer skills	Volunteers						✓	✓	✓
Micro-project/business designing	MB/Academia						✓	✓	✓
Project implementation and management	MB/Academia						✓	✓	✓
Implementation of laws	MoE and MB						✓	✓	
Financial management	MB							✓	

Source: MB Interviews and Meeting Minutes, 2002-2009.

They also revealed that they did not have much expertise in tourism services, so most of tourism's operational skills were provided by contracted academia, other concerned NGOs, the PDoT, as well as international and national student volunteers. The project also organized study tours to other CBET development projects in Cambodia and

in the region for the community stakeholders. These activities aimed to facilitate exchange of experiences and lessons learned as well as to allow the CBET agency to visualize the actual picture of CBET development.

6.2.1.3. Financial Management Policies

The third component consists of the establishment of financial management systems to facilitate equitable benefit sharing. In Chambok, revenue generating sources included: entrance tickets, parking fees, ox-cart rides, bike rental, food preparation, home-stay services, music and dance performances, souvenir vending, and visitor donations. Some of the services were dedicated to the WA to manage exclusively. Some were widely distributed to CBET members. To avoid nepotism and unfairness, a rotational basis was used for the division of service operations among participating members in each service group. A small portion (20%) of the operational fee from these services was extracted for the Community Fund.[23] Figure 6.5 illustrates the sources of income and channels for using funds for household livelihood and community development.

Tourism revenue grew steadily from 2005 to 2009. In 2005, the community saved about USD 10, 000 in the community fund after paying the service providers. The saving increased to USD 20, 000 in 2009. According the community chief, about 40% of this income came from entrance fees. The other 60% came from the ox-cart, homestay and food services. Income from performances was dedicated to local education (performers were school children). Up to the time of this research, all income from parking was divided into two equal parts and distributed for religious purposes and Chambok commune administration. Table 6.5 summarizes the income generation sources and expense criteria of the CBET revenue.

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[23] The Community Fund was a collective saving of the CBET community. The CBET council with the agreement from the CC can use the money in this saving for the purposes of commune development.

Figure 6.5.   Benefit Sharing Mechanisms

Source of Revenue	Beneficiaries	Benefit Sharing Mechanisms
Food /Souvenir Group saving	**Women's Association**	• Worker fees • Support women's group investment initiatives • Loans for members
Ox-cart rides Home-stay/food Performance Bike rent	**Community Service Providers**	• Pagoda Fund • Commune Development Initiatives • Contribution to building physical & social infrastructures • Emergency interventions • Loans for local business initiatives • Support marginal groups • Support local education initiatives
Entrance fee Parking fee Donations Grants	**COMMUNITY FUND** **MC & Worker Wages** **CPA/CF Management**	

Source: MC Interviews and Meeting records (2002-2009).

Table 6.5.   Distribution of Revenue from CBET Development

CBET Revenue	Income Generation Sources		Expense Criteria	
USD 20,000 (2008-2009)	• entrance tickets	40%	• Service providers	60%
	• ox-cart rides • bike rent • home-stay services	60%	• Conservation activities	20%
			• Community Fund (flood reliefs, counterpart fund[a] for commune infrastructure building, sick aids)	20%
	• art performances		• Local education	100%
	• parking fees		• Religion	50%
			• Commune administration	50%
USD 15,000 USD 20,000 (pending)	• Visitor donations and grant funding	100%	• Commune development and touristic infrastructure specified in funding proposals	100%

Source: Annual Report of the CBET Council (2008).

[a] The government requires that a community have a counterpart fund to share with the government if they propose to the government funding infrastructure constructions (e.g., dam, irrigation system).

A remarkable point emerged which from this finding was that all these constructions were the ideas of local communities and stakeholders. They were independent from MB in making decisions concerning uses of CBET revenues. Benefit sharing mechanisms and distribution of revenues from CBET development indicated the inclusiveness of this cognitive social capital. It did not only serve the CBET groups, but also the entire commune. This inclusive social capital was beneficial to many aspects of community development as will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.2.1.4. Environmental Management Policies

The promotion of environmentally sensitive practices and support for resource preservation initiatives were major objectives for the Chambok CBET project. The CBET community and MB made sure that measures for environmental management in the tourism destination were integrated into the management plans, and linked to benefit sharing mechanisms. Overall, about 40% of the net revenue from the CBET development was dedicated to CPA and CF management. In addition, "soft" management practices (i.e., waste management instruction, forest fire prevention strategies, and low or non-pollutant measures for air and water) as well as related educational programs were offered to local service providers and entire CBET communities.

For example, villagers and service providers were trained in waste (solid and liquid) management and green production. Environmental indicative signs were installed at attraction venues to raise environmental awareness and discourage unwanted actions. Non-pollutant measures were also strongly endorsed. For instance, measures to prohibit: the selling of chemically induced products; the use of motorized vehicles; the generation of loud noise music at attraction sites; the dumping of waste and soap streams; and the destruction or removal of natural species were established. While non-compliance penalties were not explicitly enforced, physical barriers preventing unwanted actions (e.g., designated parking areas) were installed in environmentally vulnerable areas. Similarly, guides were encouraged to communicate the significance of clean environments and natural resources to local people as well as visiting tourists. The guide leader said, *"Khmer tourists did not follow our codes well. They sometimes broke rules or*

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blamed us for having too many rules. We had to patiently and humbly explain to them and sometimes collected their litter for them as an example….”

6.2.1.5. Women Empowerment Policies

Rural Cambodian women do not usually have a say in family and development issues. Thus, raising awareness of gender equity and its roles in CBET development was part of the project's goal to empower marginal groups. The WA in Chambok was organized and integrated into the community management structure. It played a major role in providing some exclusive CBET services (see Figure 6.5). Members organized their own groups in the village to save incomes and plan for investment. They operate the women's co-op restaurant and souvenir vending cottages.

Besides being a part of CBET service providers, the revenue they earned is mostly used to address female issues. They have been relatively independent in managing the association's fund and choosing the investment for their own group. The chief of WA stated that, *“Chanthy nearly quit her final year at high school when her parents had no money to send her. We helped her and asked her to be the Association's accountant…”* Women empowerment policies were quite exclusive, and served the interests of women members only. It contributed enormously to promoting women's status.

6.2.1.6. Marketing and Promotion Policies

These policies focused on building networks with development and market actors. At the beginning, MB prominently promoted Chambok on its organizational website and forged connections with alliances for distributing Chambok information overseas. These actions helped to attract foreign tour operators and international volunteers to Chambok. They built connections between local agencies and market actors. The community chief indicated that some foreign tour companies (e.g., Intrepid) acted as both a tour operator and donor. He said some operators funded local development initiatives. For instance, some English students who came with the tours helped to spread the good word and sometimes returned as volunteers to help Chambok communities.

MB hosted many CBET related training activities for other NGOs in Chambok, as well as provided partial study tour support for university students. The PDoT and MoT helped to advertise Chambok in most of their promotion campaigns. An MB respondent said, *"... the big posters of Chambok that you saw along the major roads in the city and along the highways were developed and sponsored by the MoT as part of a promotion for CBET products in the country..."* Other agencies involved in capacity building and project development also took part in the Chambok advertisement program.

In 2007, a separate Chambok website was developed to allow direct communication between the CBET council and the market actors. The CBET leaders signed several long-term partnership contracts with domestic and international tour operators. Many brochures were published and disseminated widely. MB produced an advertising video clip for the site and contracted domestic TV and radio stations to broadcast them.

Furthermore, additional measures for promotion were also applied. The CBET project registered as a member of the Cambodian Community-Based Ecotourism Network (CCBEN). CCBEN has its own website that advertises and advocates for CBET development (http://www.ccben.org/). Through CCBEN, Chambok projects forged alliances with more than 30 organizations including donors, NGOs, responsible tour operators and academia that were interested in CBET development. Chambok CBET leaders participated in various tourism forums as both presenters and participants. These policies were very positive in term of building social capital in a tourism development environment. It helped to convert the CBET development focus from building governance structures and institutions to building entrepreneurship. As well, it eminently benefited the community development purposes as will be discussed in the next chapter.

6.2.2. Measurement of Trust

In terms of external institutions, respondents were asked to rate their trust level for NGOs, CC, Provincial authorities, the NPA and MoE (Table 6.6). Interestingly, their responses and their trust in specific institutions were heavily related to their perceptions

of the agents from those organizations. There was very high trust in the NGO officers, but lower trust was reported with respect to government agents. More than 90% of the respondents stated that they trusted NGOs officers who worked with them as well as civil society groups in general. They explained that NGOs were especially helpful with community issues and acted without ulterior motives (Table B2.15, Appendix B).

Table 6.6.   Comparison of Community's Trust in CBET Stakeholders

Stakeholders	Level of Trust			Reasons for Trust or Distrust
	Strongly	Depend on Issue	A Little	
NGOs and Civil Society	91.1%	5.1%	3.8%	Benefactor No ulterior motive
CBET Community	59.5%	31.6%	7.6%	Good management Knowledge and understanding of CBET development MC's responsibility Members' sense of belonging
Commune Council	29.2%	27.8%	43.0%	Corruption and nepotism
NP Authorities	24.0%	36.6%	39.3%	Nepotism Ignorance of community needs
MoE Agencies	20.5%	35.9%	43.6%	Nepotism Ignorance of community
Provincial Authorities	15.2%	39.2%	45.6%	Social and residential distance Corruption
Tour Operators		Neutral		Never interacts

Source: Own Survey 2009; Number of respondents 79.

In contrast, only 29% of the respondents mentioned that they trusted local authorities (the CC) due to their perceptions of corruption and nepotism among the council members. For higher level administrative (the DM and PM), 40% of the respondents stated that their trust for these institutions was dependent on the issues that they addressed. If the organizations were too high they felt that it was hard to really know if they were doing what was promised. Despite their prominent roles, the MoE and NPA were not especially trusted by respondents. About 40% of the respondents surveyed indicated that they did not really trust these agencies. They stated that people who

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worked for these institutions were often inconsiderate of poor people and incapable of making the right policies. Another 36% said they could trust the MoE and NP on certain issues that do not relate to finance and dealing with commercial operators (e.g., knowledge of laws and regulation as well as conservation strategies).

Trust in leadership is important for mobilization of social capital in communities (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). The vast majority of people (80%) in this study's survey indicated that they trusted the CBET chief. The level of this trust was quite high when compared to trust levels for other local leaders. A small share of the respondents (24%) trusted the CPA and CF chiefs. More than 60% of the respondents stated that they strongly trusted the CBET chief because he was a very helpful and devoted person. They thought that they belonged to the CBET community, and the leaders of this community were promoting members' welfare.

Overall, nearly 80% of the respondents said that they generally trusted the CBET community. Especially, about 90% of the informants stated that they particularly trusted other CBET members. Only about 38% of the people surveyed feared that CBET members might be opportunists who could take advantage of them if they were not careful. As people in Chambok were poor, their fear related mostly to financial issues. About 50% of the respondents stated that they did not trust other members enough to dare to lend them a lot of money. Nonetheless, nearly 80% of the informants believed CBET members were ready to help peers who had non-monetary problems.

Despite the preceding doubts, 84% of the respondents felt that the level of trust in the community was higher than before the CBET project's development. This was the case for several reasons. First, about 36% of the respondents felt that the CBET MC was comprised of responsible people who had good management skills. The general feeling was that they tried to engage people in CBET activities and solve conflicts in a timely fashion. They demonstrated their good intentions with actions and carried through with what was promised. Second, about 33% of the surveyed respondents felt that the community leaders were more knowledgeable in CBET development issues than others, and hence could be trusted to make the best decisions for the commune. Finally about

40% of the informants stated that their trust in the CBET community had increased because they thought that they belonged to the CBET community.

In addition to these explicit reasons, this study found that the level of trust also correlated with feelings of safety, security and transparency in the community. About 80% of respondents declared that the freedom to voice their concerns and point out negative results increased. They felt safe to contribute to community discussions and meetings or talk directly with the CBET chief. Furthermore, about 90% of the respondents felt the management and communication systems in the community were transparent. Nearly 90% of them stated that they knew about CBET on-going activities, and they felt that their access to information and communication with members and leaders had improved very much. Through increased CBET membership, they were better positioned to meet other members whom they rarely met otherwise.

6.2.3. Reciprocity and Sharing

In this section, only findings relating to general or non-CBET reciprocity and sharing within the commune are explored. In general, the level and perceptions of reciprocity in Chambok were considered to be strongly positive. Nearly 80% of the respondents stated that they usually or often helped others in times of trouble or when required. In addition, more than 70% of the respondents felt that about 50% of the people in the Chambok commune reciprocated favours related to farming, as well as giving a hand in special events (e.g., wedding, funeral) and building houses. They noted that the level of involvement in reciprocating favours had increased over the years due to their participation in the CBET community. They explained that their interaction for CBET purposes and the pursuance of common goals made them understand each other and have more trust and solidarity in the commune (Table B2.16, Appendix B).

Similarly, the perceptions of sharing among the wider commune, as well as the level of participation in collective actions were also deemed to be high. Approximately 50% to 90% of the respondents stated that more than 50% of the people in Chambok contributed time or resources for the community or collective actions. The percentage

varied depending on the nature of actions. About 50% of the informants mentioned that they felt at least 50% of people participated in collective actions such as building public roads or bridges and water systems. Remarkably, nearly 90% of the respondents said more than 50% of people would contribute time and money for building a community hall for village celebrations. Nearly 80% felt that this type of involvement had increased after the CBET was established. This was primarily because of the CBET's leadership style (62%), transparent approach to communication and sense of solidarity in the comunity (25%).

To confirm these responses, informants were asked to indicate if they participated in community activities in the past 10 years. Approximately 90% of the respondents indicated that they participated in such pursuits and listed their involvement in activities such as forest management (e.g., patrolling forest and planting trees), civic actions (clean the village, build roads and ponds), CBET monitoring activities and CBET development activities (building trails, information center and maintenance).

These findings revealed that CBET development had a positive impact on local norms. It enhanced trust, reciprocity and sharing among the entire local communities, as well as among the CBET members. It helped to promote solidarity and collective actions rather than fragmenting communities. However, the extent of trust was still weak at the macro level, especially with government institutions owing to past prejudice. Actions were needed in order to promote more trust in the governance system and stakeholders.

6.2.4. Perceptions of CBET Norms and Policies

The majority of respondents accepted the norms and rules for participation in CBET activities. About 70% of them believed that the rules were made by CBET MC and all members as well as the commune council. Generally, about 80% of them thought these rules and norms were good. They explained that this satisfaction was based on their perceptions of how these rules and norms helped to build their community. First, the largest proportion (38%) of informants thought these policies helped to promote equity and social fairness. Another 50% of them mentioned that these policies promoted

community development, enhanced community solidarity and encouraged conservation of natural resources in the commune (Table B2.17, Appendix B).

Though the overall satisfaction with the rules was high, about 67% of the respondents recommended that the CBET/CPA community revise some of the policies and by-laws to reflect more current circumstances. One informant said:

> *…it was good to strictly conserve forests in the last 10 years when the crime rate and destruction activities were high. Now people understand the impacts of their actions, but we need more economic activities than CBET can currently provide. I hope CPA and CF can revise their policies and view the scenarios for commercial activities and how to distribute benefits from commercial actions…surely the forests we have surpass the needs to use them only for traditional purposes….*

Furthermore, they felt that existing enforcement strategies and sanctions needed to be reconsidered. There were requests from 33% of the respondents for the CBET, CPA and CF committees to launch more campaigns for raising public awareness of these rules and policies. They stated that some people were still confused over the meaning of these rules and policies, and as a consequence made unintentional mistakes about their access rights to forest assets. As such, they felt that such people should not be unfairly sanctioned.

6.3. Conclusions

In order to assess social capital development at Chambok, this study devised three main questions: 1) what stakeholder networks and norms existed in and added to the communities; what resources and opportunity structures are provided to forge these networks in each CBET community; and what stakeholder networks and norms will probably be enduring legacies of CBET development in Chambok community. We found from this analysis that two dimensions of social capital, structural and cognitive, were built at Chambok in various stages of CBET development. The structural dimension consisted of all three levels: bonding, bridging (inter and intra) and linking. The cognitive dimension was comprised of both CBET policies and norms.

Linking and inter-bridging social capital was found to be remarkably strong, except for development linkages. These networks functioned well, and their function served both the CBET and community development. The construction of this social capital was the result of both CPA policy requirements and implementing agencies' insights about CBET situations. The CPA policy and guidelines provided a sound legal support for such construction, while MB and donors agencies supported them financially. These two levels of social capital were strongly intended to be legacies of CBET development as a part of resource governance and participatory development.

The construction of bonding and intra-bridging social capital, however, was not as well-planned and well-managed as the above two upper levels. Networks at these levels were both weak and malfunctioning. CPA policy required only the organization of the CBET council. Other arrangements were dependent on implementers' discretion. The author found that they were not considered as important, and thus received a small resource allocation. Despite the existence of networks at the bonding level, members could hardly procure resources from their relationships. These barely functioning groups were not likely to last very long if measures are not taken to improve them. The intra-briding level was moderately functioning. Yet, it was only the MC that functioned; other ties were stagnant. CBET members were building vertical relationships with MC rather than with their peers in the horizontal line. To a large extent this action misplaces power by empowering only MC, but it badly affects participatory development structures.

In contrast, the cognitive social capital, which includes CBET policies and cultural norms, were better promoted at the local micro level. CBET policies were the epitome of decentralized development policies. As discussed in the last chapter, the procedures to construct CBET policies were exceptionally inclusive. Therefore, the resultant policies were very integrated and holistic. They serve both CBET development and community development purposes, and provide local communities with a considerable degree of autonomy. The three integral cultural values (i.e., trust, reciprocity and sharing) were enhanced immensely among CBET members, as well as the population of Chambok commune. However, at the macro level, these norms were still very weak.

Though they strongly trusted the civil society groups, local communities still cling to their past prejudice and perception of the government actors and institutions. This division may severely affect stakeholder relations and partnerships. Measures have to be taken to address this issue. As well, there is a need to reconsider development aspects, and update both structural and cognitive social capital now that the development stage progresses.

7.   Social Capital and CBET Sustainability

This section examines to what extent social capital enhanced CBET sustainability. This study hypothesizes that positive social capital in the CBET context enhanced CBET sustainability when it contributed to building community capabilities and assisting stakeholders to achieve CBET development goals. Therefore, in this section we examine the functions of all networks with regard to building community capabilities and promoting achievement of all CBET development goals.

To examine the contribution of social capital to CBET sustainability, the author focused on how external linkages shaped and affected the operation at the bridging and bonding levels. More specifically, she investigated the provision of resources and opportunity structures to build novel social capital that complemented the community's existing social fabric and local cultures. She identified networks existing in the community, and groups or new institutions that were added to the community (as summarized above). She then identified organizers and resources that built those novel ties. This was followed by an examination of how these new networks and norms interact with existing ones; are they complementing or conflicting with one another?

Finally, the author investigated the functions of the combination of existing and novel social capital in accordance with CBET performance and outcomes. Do all the organizations at the bonding level contribute to effective tourism operations, which in turn enhance community human resources and economic development in the community? Do ties and norms at the bridging level strengthen the unity and solidarity in the community, which will lead to achievement of shared goals such as conservation of the commons, expansion of social opportunities, healthy community and protective local policies as well as accountable and transparent local polity? Five categories of indicators were used to determine the contributions of social capital construction to CBET sustainability. These categories were 1) economic development; 2) human resource development; 3) conservation; 4) community health; and 5) community empowerment

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(see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2). The following sections examine each of the five categories.

7.1. Economic Development Outcomes

The following section identifies the impact of the case study CBET initiatives on: 1) the site's economic development strategies and mechanisms; and 2) the impacts on CBET performance.

7.1.1. Impacts on Economic Development Strategies

The chief of the commune reported that in the past the local economy relied on farming, logging, hunting and charcoal making. After the introduction of new conservation policies, the last three categories were banned. Meanwhile, rice and crop production was insufficient owing to unpredictable weather, natural disasters (flood and drought), and the lack of an irrigation system. It was also hard to bring local production to market owing to the site's isolation and the lack of appropriate delivery mechanisms and infrastructure. Consequently the commune's short term economic development options depended strongly on CBET strategies and revenues (Table 7.1).

The response from the commune chief as well as *The Commune Development Plan* indicated a strong connection between two policies. The practical taxation policies were not yet applicable in Cambodia especially at the commune level, thus the CC did not actually have a self-financing strategy. Despite being decentralized, the CC still depended on the government's social and economic fund for local development. However, CBET financial policies enabled the CC to develop some ambitious plans that would not have been possible without its support. These contributions helped the commune to overcome many challenges in its new development context. For example, the CC planned the construction of certain physical and social infrastructures by using contributions from the CBET income (Figure 6.5). The CBET community endowed a hefty amount of revenue as a counterpart fund (i.e., the government's prerequisite for

macro development proposals). As a result, the CC was able to plan for needed large infrastructure development, which in turn facilitated other production and economic transactions in the commune (see Figure 6.5).

Table 7.1. Impacts on Economic Strategies

Cognitive Social Capital	Impacts
Financial Policies	**Commune Economic Strategies**
• Endowment for micro-development initiatives • Endowment for macro-infrastructure development initiatives • Loan for micro local enterprise	• Incentive to innovate economic initiatives and diversify economic opportunities • Infrastructure expansion and reduction of challenges to other livelihoods • Seed fund for expansion of local enterprise
Capacity Building Policies	**CBET and Commune Economic Strategies**
• Project planning and implementation • Management and development skills • Hospitality skills • Language skills	• Capabilities in CBET development and management • Effectiveness of CBET operation • Opportunities for new economic prospects
Women Empowerment Policies	**CBET and Commune Economic Strategies**
• Privilege on own financial management • Privilege service providers for catering and souvenir selling	• Opportunities to expand economic initiatives to the marginal segment of the community
Marketing and Promotion Policies	**Commune Economic Strategies**
• Linkages with private sector and market • Image promotion for the commune	• Prospect for further development opportunities and joint ventures

Source: CBET MC Interviews, 2009 and Commune Development Plan.

At the time of this research, the economic performance of Chambok relied on CBET development. The capacity building and women empowerment policies, which initially were meant to enable members to take part in CBET services, also served as a basis for expanding economic prospects in the commune. This was the case especially for previously neglected and marginalized women. Through CBET linkages the CC was able to seek further partnership and collaboration for expansion of the area's economic frontier. For instance, the CC stated that they were collaborating with MB and some new stakeholders to develop a new site that would help the people from the furthest corner of the commune to participate in tourism economic activities. The CC was contemplating a

proposed partnership with a private company for more tourism development in the area. The commune chief said:

> *it's a good opportunity for a joint venture once we understand what CBET is like and our rights as co-developer; however, we are still waiting for opinions from other organizations. We want to weigh the benefits and losses we may gain from being the sole owner and what we may expect from being a co-developer….*

7.1.2. Impacts on CBET Performance

In general, many stakeholders were supportive of the CBET performance, except two of the most influential stakeholders – the private sector and the land authorities (i.e., DM and PM). This potentially jeopardized the future of economic development in the commune. Table 7.2 illustrates the impacts of social capital on CBET performance.

Table 7.2.   Impacts on CBET Performance

Structural Social Capital	Impacts
Structural Dimension	**CBET Service Operation**
Bonding	
• Group organization for CBET service operations • Limited interaction and absence of mechanism to encourage knowledge transfer and innovative environment	• Limited service quality • Little satisfaction from private sector
Inter-Bridging	
• Cooperation with local stakeholders for local initiatives and destination management	• Clean site and aesthetic landscape • Protection of natural resources necessary for CBET development
Linking	
• Marketing and promotion strategies • Recognition and trust in conservation and business environment	• Knowledge of Chambok among private sector and market • Good communication and arrangement for CBET operation • Protective security and political liberties for CBET operations

Source: Stakeholder Interviews and Survey, 2009.

The results of the stakeholder interviews and survey revealed that social capital at the linking and inter-bridging levels generated several desired outcomes. The cooperation

amongst local stakeholders in the inter-bridging circle enabled the protection of the environment at the site and provided a favourable landscape needed for CBET development. Tourist security was also better ensured. Due to the development linkages, the CBET MC managed to directly reach the private sector and market. This permitted a flow of important market information and communication that enabled the necessary arrangements for operation of CBET services. Conservation linkages, on the other hand, ensured that the CBET community had protective security and political liberties to take actions for economic purposes on the government's protected lands (CF/CPA).

An interview with an MSME assessor exposed that service quality in Chambok was not consistent and did not reach the standards required for CBET developed by the CCBEN. Most of necessary services and amenities currently offered at the site needed improvement in order to create tourist satisfaction and to encourage longer stays, as well as repeat visits. This required CBET managers to come up with more than what was currently on the plate. A tour operator said:

> *...the site has the potential for our type of clientele, but the hospitality services and activities that we can do were a bit inadequate though our type of tour hardly required much...I believed the chief was a capable manager, but other than that only a small number of people can be rated as qualified service providers...a lot needs to be done with regard to entrepreneurship.*

This observation was confirmed by the CBET chief himself who said this might be the case because so many people took part as service providers, but not all of them had proper preparation. They also did not have sufficient training in hospitality skills from the beginning. However, there were some qualified service providers who reported that preparations took place, though it might have been inadequate. The problems with service quality here lie more specifically with the lack of knowledge transfer and innovation within and among CBET groups.

Innovation and knowledge transfer usually took place at the bonding and bridging level (Liebowitz, 2007; Williams, Gill, & Chura, 2004; Kilduff & Tsai, 2003) when communities and stakeholders collaborated to plan tourism activities. This means that with regard to CBET performance, bonding and bridging ties only existed, but they did

not actually generate resources to many individual members that would eventually lead to efficient service and innovation of new activities. The assessment of bonding and intra-bridging social capital in the previous section explains this finding. Though nearly half of respondents in the survey were satisfied with the function of the CBET community, the reasons for their satisfaction were mainly associated with managerial performance and collective aspects such as community development and conservation rather than personal benefits gained from their interactions or the community.

In addition, the assessment of bonding social capital in three major groups of service providers indicated this lack of knowledge transfer and communication within and among groups (see human resource development section). It is observable, however, that there was no mention from either MB officers or CBET MC about the need to encourage intra-group or inter-group interactions. It was automatically assumed that the organizing group would directly lead members to interact as well as share knowledge and experiences, when this did not actually happen in practice. The reasons for no or less interaction within the CBET community are simply related to a limited awareness among service providers themselves of the need to improve current standards of service and that qualified people in the community would be willing to help.

7.2. Human Resource Development Outcomes

To examine the impacts of social capital construction for CBET development on human resource development (HRD) in the commune, three indicators were used. They related to: 1) basic education and acquiring wisdom; 2) human capital development; and 3) the integration of traditional and modern knowledge and technologies. The capacity building component is a central aspect of any CBET development proposal. My research revealed that often capacity building related activities were prominent in the emergence of local CBET policies. In Chambok, CBET policies contributed to all three dimensions of HRD to some extent (Table 7.3). The subsequent sections of this chapter examine the effects of the CBET development on these dimensions.

Table 7.3.   Impacts on Human Resource Development

Social Capital	Impacts
Cognitive Dimension	
Financial Policies • Support high school education • No deduction for dance group	General Education • Students in the commune finished high school for the first time • Primary school improvement
Capacity Building Policies • Relationships with diversified capacity-builders • Management and development skills	Acquired Wisdom and Human Capital Development • Informal interactions and exchange • Flow of CBET and non-CBET information • Motivation and incentive to learn more • Open the window to the world
Women Empowerment • Privilege of own financial management • Privilege service providers for catering and souvenir selling	Basic Education and Acquired Wisdom • Motivation and incentive for women's and girls' education • Motivate woman to be confident and participate more in development activities
Structural Dimension	
Linking • Access to donors and funds for other development purposes beside CBET • Flow of information concerning socio-economic environment	Basic Education and Acquired Wisdom • Building of two new schools in the commune to improve local education • Knowledge of the prospects capable people can do
Bonding • Night literacy class • Little interactions	Basic Education & Human Capital Development • Enhancement of functional literacy • Not remarkable HRD

Source: Stakeholder Interviews and Survey, 2009.

7.2.1. Impacts on Human Capital Development in the CBET Field

Human capital development was the biggest impact emanating from the CBET project. As tables 6.3 and 6.4 suggested, several training courses were offered to the local community between 2002 and 2009. These courses not only provided necessary skills for CBET operations, but also built local capacity in management and development for the future projects. Efforts to diversify the set of capacity builders and to promote new linkages provided local communities with opportunities to access a variety of

acquaintances they had met during those activities. This accessibility and interaction permitted the flow of both CBET and non-CBET information internally and externally.

Such interactions opened a new window to the outside world for local communities. The stakeholders learned that there would be more prospects and opportunities out there for a capable person, and there would also be more development for their communities beyond the current state. From this knowledge, some of them were inspired to use opportunities associated with CBET financial policies to study more generally (as described in the next part) or do their best to learn what skills were specifically provided for CBET operations.

From observations and interview with tour operators, it was clear that capacity building policies and activities were considered most effective and beneficial to the management unit and a small group of participants. Training was typically conducted both locally and at various other venues outside the commune. When training took place locally, it was sometimes conducted at a time that rural people were busy with other livelihood activities. For external training, the quantity of participants might even be smaller due to limited funds for travelling as well as for training. Therefore, there might be a very limited number of participants. In many circumstances, MB did not mind the number of people attending the training they provided since they anticipated that those who were trained would come back to share knowledge and experience with their peers. One of the reasons that MB organized service provider groups was to enable the exchange of knowledge and experiences. Yet, this research indicated that there were limited interactions at the bonding level, especially among the service providers.

Only about 10% of the respondents mentioned that they received some sort of training from their peers with regard to catering and handicraft production. A member of WA stated:

> ...we had no training in cuisine or catering skill. We met only our own small group when we came to cook and sell souvenirs; we did what we could then and had no idea if other groups may do better or worse...we are not sure if other groups are willing to teach us if they do better....

Likewise, more than 70% of the guides and homestay participants said they had never met other members in spite of a remarkably small number of members in each group. In contradiction to the nature of their service, less than 20% of members in both groups had ever interacted with other groups within and outside of the CBET community. This may also mean that only a small number of qualified members provided the services. Though about half of the respondents from both groups indicated a need for training, only 10% of them mentioned they have received such support for their new professions. It emerges from this discussion that construction of cognitive and structural social capital was more effective at the management level than at the operational level. This limitation has to be addressed promptly as it extremely dissatisfies the market and impacts on the economic aspect.

7.2.2. Impacts on General Education

General education and acquired wisdom have typically been secondary but important outcomes of local CBET development policies. CBET developers and MC made sure to allocate funds supporting local education development. For example, they encouraged the organization of a night literacy class so that members could help the less literate and children with no formal schooling opportunity. A proportion of funding was also allocated to support poor students who managed to reach high school.

Women empowerment policies are also crucial since they encouraged recognition of women's roles and their significance to the community. According to the WA chief, this recognition motivated many parents to send their daughters alongside of their sons to secondary school.[24] In addition, efforts linking the local agency with other stakeholders and donors enabled the communities to reach a variety of resources besides those for tourism purposes. In 2008 and 2009, a new school was added to the Chambok commune for primary education and another one for secondary education was in the process of

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[24]   Rural people rarely allow their daughters to have more than primary education owing to economic constraints and distance from home to school.

being planned. Both schools were constructed with international donors' grants managed through the CBET community.

7.2.3. Impacts on Combination of Modern and Traditional Knowledge

This dimension was impacted the least of the three areas of human resource development. It was assumed that from all CBET policy making, planning, implementing, and monitoring activities examined that there would be many exchanges and combinations of knowledge and experiences amongst the stakeholders. However, linkages and co-management strategies aimed at promoting the exchange of modern knowledge from external stakeholders with the traditional wisdom of local communities was not particularly evident. Instead, there were plenty of training programs that encouraged local communities to learn and adapt to the modern technologies of their external stakeholders. This lack of integration and limited appreciation of external knowledge in the context of traditional settings and experiences might be a reason for the reported lack of creativity and innovation in the commune's CBET activities.

To sum up, policies and networking efforts during CBET development did manage to effectively build local capacity with respect to tourism operation. However, the strategies were most effective with regard to the management bodies and a small portion of community stakeholders. Additional measures that may strengthen the bonding and intra-bridging level of social capital need to be considered. These considerations would not only expand the HRD aspect of the commune, but would also enhance the economic performance by improving service quality and promoting innovation.

7.3. Impacts on Conservation Outcomes

Conservation and environmental policies and activities were the most carefully planned part of CBET development at Chambok. This was because the site was developed under the CF/CPA guidelines of the MoE. Besides, forest conservation and environmental education were the prime agenda of the facilitating agency MB. It was not

surprising to find that this goal was very successful though there was still room for improvements. In this study, impacts on conservation outcomes were investigated through: 1) existence of community conservation strategies; 2) enforcement of the established conservation strategies; and 3) outcomes of the conservation strategies and progressing record of NRM governance (Table 7.4). These dimensions are examined in the following sections.

7.3.1. Existence of Local Conservation Strategies

The investigation of the achievement of this component was based on two important conservation documents and CBET development policies. According to requirements in the CPA Prakas, as described in Section 4.1.2, in order to develop the CBET project the Chambok community needed to prepare an *Environmental Management Master Plan* and *Conservation By-Laws*. These plans and regulations had been prominently integrated into *CBET By-Laws* and *CBET Management Plan*.

According to Table 7.4, there were conservation supportive elements in nearly all CBET policies. For example, specifically in the conservation policies, all CBET members were not allowed to continue logging, hunting and making charcoal in the commune protected lands. In addition, they had to participate in patrolling the forest and reporting to MC all suspicious activities within CF and CPA boundaries. A considerable amount of CBET revenues were allocated for conservation activities (Table 7.4 and Figure 6.5).

Environmental impacts that may be caused by construction and visitors' activities had also been taken into account. MB had assisted the local community to develop the CBET project based on the principle of small scale first and use of locally available resources in order to avoid forest clearance for the purpose of infrastructure constructions such as accommodation, amenities and accessibility (e.g., use of homestay and avoidance of construction of concrete roads in the attractions). Most construction was encouraged to occur in the populated village land and not in the heart of the forest. In addition, an environmental management system addressing waste management, physical barriers and low and non-pollutant issues was to be carefully planned and implemented.

Table 7.4. Impacts on Conservation and Environmental Management

Social Capital	Impacts
Cognitive Dimension	
Financial Policies • Initially, CF and CPA MC received 40 USD per month each from CBET revenue for their management of the each community • From 2008, each small group in CF and CPA received up to 20 USD per month (Figure 5)	Enforcement of Conservation Strategies • The forest patrol biweekly • Construction of fire paths and tree-replanting • Construction of botanical garden
Environmental Management System • Green production • "Soft" environment management strategies • No use of motorized vehicle and pollutant in the attractions • Physical barriers & explanation from guide • Waste management	Environmental Management • Less intoxicated plastic litter • Increase of environmental awareness among locals and tourists • Decrease noise and air pollution • Decrease threats for wildlife and eco-system • Preserving clean environment and compost for plants in botanic garden
Conservation Policies • No logging, hunting and charcoal making for CBET members • Participation in patrolling and report of suspicious activities to CF and CPA MC	Conservation Records • Only a few charcoal making kilns in the commune • Reduction of anarchical logging crime • Reduction of open wild life trading crime
Infrastructure Building Policies • No grand development construction in the attraction • Use locally available facilities (e.g., homestay)	Conservation Records • No record of forest clearance for development purposes
Structural Dimension	
Linking and Bridging • Collaboration with external stakeholders to implement and enforce natural resource co-management strategies • Collaboration with local stakeholder to enforce integrated local conservation strategies	Conservation Strategies and Enforcement • Integrated local conservation by-laws that align with PA and CPA Prakas and guidelines • Support for repressing forest crime • Increase of forest resources

Sources: Stakeholder Interviews and Survey, 2009.

Conservation and environmental considerations were not only in policy papers, but the MB and CBET community also made tangible networking efforts to ensure they were addressed. Beside financial support for conservation activities, CBET MC collaborated with the CF and CPA communities as well as with relevant government

authorities (i.e., the NPA and PDoE) to repress forest crime whenever it was suspected to happen. The following section describes the types of enforcement activities undertaken and the ensuing effects.

7.3.2. Enforcement and Outcomes of Conservation Policies

The review of financial records from 2002 to 2009 showed that there were actually regular payments being made to 4 to 5 patrollers biweekly. Besides, there were numerous fire paths to prevent the spreading of forest fires and records of tree replanting events with support from the MoE. Moreover, the CBET community constructed a botanical garden to prepare the seedling of rare and valuable local tree species (Sandalwood, Beng, …) in the commune for selling and replantation. At numerous animal mobility routes, tourists and local people can also sight the wildlife more often than before.

The operation of tourism activities in the commune was observed to have low negative environmental impacts, too. We observed the instalment of designated parking places to prevent motorized vehicles in the site. Rubbish bins and "soft" management strategies were found everywhere in the attractions. There was also a site used for dumping organic waste to make compost for the botanical garden. The site was remarkably clean and authentic. For the purpose of this study, we did not interview tourists directly to see how they might feel about such an environment. However, from our observation, we saw the obvious signs of satisfaction with the tranquility and serenity because of the absence of loud noise and vehicles in the attractions. The local people were able to use the water from the waterfall as normal. From all our informal conversations during the stay, there was no complaining about pollution or the lack of water. Instead, the locals were happy to have water pipes and a clean water system.

From the transect walk exercise, we found only a few charcoal making kilns in the commune at the time of this research in contrast to more than 400 prior to 2002. Furthermore, there was little record of forest crime with illegal large scale gears undertaken by local people in comparison to those of the outside commercial operators.

No one mentioned it in the interviews; yet, from our observations, we detected land sale as well as hidden wildlife trade and commercial logging taking place in the commune. They were very discreetly operated.

We assume that such law-breaking ventures were closely related with the economic development aspect. According to the limitation of income earned from CBET activities, we were not surprised to find some discreet illegal activities. From the survey, only less than 20% of informants declared that CBET activities were very important to them in comparison to charcoal making, hunting and logging or farming. More than 50% of respondents said that CBET activities were somehow important economically. Yet, from our observation of the local attitudes, people were loud to announce positive effects but rarely mentioned anything negative directly. When they use the uncertain term "somehow" we could be assured that they mean more negative than positive.

We observed that local people still could not survive without those forest-based livelihoods yet. Though there was less report of local forest crime, and the results from the survey showing that more than 50% of CBET members have been to the forest only a few times in the past 10 years, we presumed that the rest still harvested forest resources. The biweekly patrol might not be adequate to catch all illegal operations. There was no technical forest inventory or quantity record of wild life in the commune to prove this assumption, yet it could be confirmed by the survey results. Despite their declaration of not going to the forest, they were very knowledgeable of its current state. More than 60% of the respondents stated as a matter of fact that the amount of NTFPs, wildlife and forest decreased despite attempts for conservation for nearly 10 years. As the senior officer from the provincial municipality correctly observed, local people might return to the forest full scale when MB completely withdraws if there are no more measures to increase other economic opportunities in the commune for both non-CBET and CBET members alike.

7.4. Community Health Outcomes

Impacts of social capital on the health of the community have been well sited in the literature (see Anderson & Miligan, 2006; Isham, Kelly, & Ramaswamy, 2002; Seagert, Memmot & Metlzer, 2005; Pellini & Ayres, 2005; Thompson, & Warren, 2001). The community health means the strength of relationships in the community (Colleta & Cullen, 2002). To examine this component, this study measured two major categories of indicators: 1) human relationships (i.e., community's mental and spiritual health, social cohesiveness, and self-identify) and 2) human-nature relationship (i.e., physical health and human attitudes toward nature and environment). The human-nature relation has been described in the section on impacts on conservation. In this section, we specifically examine the human relationship and social well-being dimension (Table 7.5).

Though it might be of secondary importance and was not directly stated in the goals of CBET development, the community health had been a major achievement. As discussed above, a human-nature relationship had been improved. Though not all, but the majority of local people had more regards for the existence of forest and wildlife as well as the importance of eco-system than they had prior to 2002. With respect to the human and social dimension, CBET policies and the networking efforts provided remarkably positive results.

Two policies had been more impactful on the social dimension than the rest. They were the financial and women empowerment policies. Local people in Chambok are quite religious; therefore, the CBET's support for the pagoda and the religious performance has been warmly appreciated. Buddhism encouraged its followers to be peaceful and tolerant. As a result, there was a visible solidarity and less alienation between CBET and non-CBET members. More than 60% of the respondents announced that they did not normally blame or discriminate against other people who chose not to participate in the CBET project. Besides, the financial contribution for constructing social infrastructure encouraged people to gather together and interact despite the differences.

Table 7.5.   Impacts on Health of the Community

Social Capital	Impacts
Cognitive Dimension	
Financial Policies	Community Mental and Spiritual Health
• Support for religious performance • Support for building social infrastructure (Figure 5)	• Mental support and solidarity • Moral education • Venue for social gathering and interaction
Women Empowerment Policies	Community Mental Health
• Privilege of own financial management • Privilege for service providers for catering and souvenir selling	• Social recognition of the marginal segment and their significance • Education and esteem for vulnerable segment
Structural Dimension	
Linking	Human Relationship
• Collaboration with external stakeholders to implement and enforce natural resource co-management and participatory development strategies	• Respect and recognition for the grassroots community • Promotion of self-esteem and motivation for future participation programs
Bridging	Human and Human-Nature Relationship
• Collaboration with local stakeholders to enforce integrated local conservation and development strategies	• Less conflict and more understanding and solidarity in the commune • Promotion of trust, reciprocity and collectiveness as well as shared visions for the commune's common future
Bonding	Mental Health
• Groups for CBET services	• Some monetary support to reduce economic anxiety • Peers' non-monetary support for esteem, confidence, recognition, advice and recreation

Sources: Stakeholder Interviews and Survey, 2009.

Cambodian society has always been a patriarchal society; there was a little respect for the importance of women and daughters in the family and society (Ledgerwood & Vijghen, 2002). This reflects in the low quantity of women in management or high positions in the country. Less than 10% of women currently hold managerial or important political positions (National Institute of Statistics, Census 2008). According to Ledgerwood and Vijghen (2002), decisions for the family and society were made by male head of that family or society; women had little or no say in such decisions. Worse, they observed that women seemed to accept such fate readily. In Chambok, the project was to

be congratulated in that women empowerment policies have ignited women in the community to see themselves from a different perspective.

They saw that they could make a difference for their family with their economic contribution, and they could also impact the success of the CBET operation as a whole. Among the 70% of respondents who believed they have impacted the success and productivity of CBET projects, about half of them were women. An interview with WA chief and female guide showed how proud they were to be men's equal in the tourism venture. One female guide said:

> ...we were at a disadvantage when it comes to forest excursions. My dad said girls could not explore dangerous territory. But, for jobs in CBET, he was happy to allow me to do it and I'm happy to be able to do what other men can do...it gives women some esteem!

From this new perception, it was observed that girls in the commune were more motivated to study at a higher level and women in general to receive more social recognition as capable people in the community. Among the four students who managed to reach high school in 2007, two were women. Presently, one of them was an accountant in WA and another was a representative of women in the CC responsible for domestic violence and divorce issues.

The structural dimension of social capital also had a remarkable impact on social health. From the linking efforts, other stakeholders started to see the local community as an active and capable agent rather than a mere rural pumpkin. For example, a senior provincial administrator claimed that:

> ...at first we thought the whole project was tiring...we were not exactly convinced it might work in this conflicted area and with ignorant people...but the more meetings we had with other stakeholders, especially with local people (Mr Morn) the more we believed that with support from MB and the MoE he could do it. Now we were happy to endorse the CBET initiatives proposed by him....

This acceptance, as previously stated, had provided local communities with esteem and confidence to take part in further participatory projects.

Moreover, the bonding and bridging social capital have quite positive impacts on human relationships and well-being. With the exception of monetary related support, of which the locals have very little, the grouping of service providers earned CBET members considerable mental support. More than 80% of the survey respondents mentioned they were happy to help peers with non-monetary problems. This response had been proved with the overall assessment results that more than 70% of informants stated they have benefits from CBET in the forms of receiving advice, recreation, general information and spiritual support when they were low. Though not very high, about as many as 45% of the respondents mentioned they gained some esteem and social recognition as a result of their involvement in the CBET community.

The utmost social outcome was the reduction of conflict and distrust in the community as well as in the whole development system. The construction of many agencies (i.e., CF, CPA, CBET, NRMC, and CC) within the commune that somehow played overlapping roles and to some extent appeared unnecessary and extravagant, did not bring conflict to the commune. In contrast, it promoted the balance of power and local identity owing to well-thought out and integrated policies and action plans (see the section on community empowerment). The communication and inclusion strategies, on the other hand, helped to promote trust, reciprocity and collectiveness among people in the commune.

According the survey result, 80% of the respondents said that they trusted other CBET members and their leaders. As well, more than 80% stated that reciprocity and trust had been gradually increased among CBET members and local people as a result of CBET involvement. About 80% of the respondents mentioned that they reciprocated favors and helped others in the community in time of trouble. Though at present, the level of trust in government agencies was still low, the reasons were very much related to the previous perceptions of those agencies. This study found that the reasons for people to trust new agencies such as CBET and NGOs were their novelty, engagement strategies and transparency. With well-selected communication strategies on how the whole development system has changed and has brought dependence on each other for success

as well as more attempts to engage local people in further commune development issues, they would have more respect for the government and increased trust in the general development and conservation system.

Reciprocity, sharing and collectiveness, especially trust, had nearly been eradicated from Cambodian society as a result of colonization, hardship, decades of civil wars and particularly the four-year genocide regime (Knowles, 2008; Öjendal & Kim, 2006; Un, 2004; Kim, 2001). Rebuilding them in the community, among stakeholders and in the new development paradigm was extremely important for sustainable community development and future participatory projects in Cambodian society (Knowles, 2008; Powers, 2005; Ledgerwood & Vijghen, 2002; Meas, 1999). What CBET development at Chambok had established was exemplary and should be duplicated in other projects in order to attain such desirable and needed outcomes.

7.5. Community Political Empowerment Outcomes

The preceding components are important for the on-going development management, but in order to sustain development the locals need to have political liberties that enable them to be engineers of their own destiny. To achieve this degree of freedom, they need the protection of a community-based policy framework, the right to self-organization and locally-based decision making on matters that effect their lives and rights to be others' equals, not merely recipients (Sen, 1999).   Therefore, to understand the impact of social capital construction on political rights, this study examined: 1) the policy framework that permits local actions; 2) the organization of local governance; 3) the level of local control and ownership; 4) construction of organizational structures in the community; and 5) linkages with other stakeholders (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6.   Impacts on Community Empowerment

Social Capital	Impacts
Cognitive Dimension	
Financial Policies • Decision on how to spend made by MC and local stakeholders with transparent community records • Micro-project endowments	Level of Local Control and Ownership • Rights to manage local income • Rights to initiate activities based on local needs and aspirations • Reduction of external dependency
Conservation Policies • Conservation by-laws	Legal Framework in NRM • Access to the needed local resources • Rights to take actions and make decision locally with regard to use of local resources
Women Empowerment Policies • Privilege of own financial management • Privilege service providers for catering and souvenir selling • Own financial by-laws for WA	Woman Empowerment • Rights to organize and take action for their own and collective goods • Promotion of gender equity
Marketing and Promotion Policies • Increase linkage with diversified stakeholders	Diversity of Linkages • Rights to linking with diversified resource providers and stakeholders
Capacity Building Policies • Recruits of diversified capacity builders and methods	Diversity of Linkages • Rights to linking with diversified capacity builders
Structural Dimension	
Linking • Collaboration with external stakeholders to implement and enforce natural resource co-management and participatory development strategies	Political Liberties • Right to organize a local agency • Recognition for the capability of local agency • Promotion of local agency status as an equal stakeholder in development and conservation • Political lobby for community actions
Bridging • Collaboration with local stakeholders to enforce integrated local conservation and development strategies	Local Governance • Promotion of shared visions, transparency, accountability and ownership • Increase of community power and identity • Right to decentralized development and conservation initiatives
Bonding • Groups for CBET services	Political Liberties • Rights to grouping, networking and setting discussion forums • Provision of rights to vote for their leaders and rules that govern them • Nurture of participation and ownership culture and attitudes

Sources: Stakeholder Interviews and Survey, 2009.

7.5.1. Impacts on Creation of Policy Framework for Local Actions

CBET By-Laws, CBET Development Plan and *Environment Management Master Plan* were documental legacies of CBET development at Chambok. These policy documents set the framework for local actions according to the CPA Prakas and PA laws, from which CBET development was engendered. These documents were produced in the first half of the development period (2002 to 2005) by the conservation network, and repeatedly with conservation guidelines. Apart from the land authorities, DM and PM, there was no other development agency involved in drafting these policies. Consequently, the conservation policies – *Environmental Management Master Plan* – were partial to non-use conservation strategies, though as a matter of fact it provided numerous opportunities for local communities. These policies required local communities to take stewardship of protected lands in exchange for permission to harvest NTFPs, use timber resources for collective and traditional purposes and initiate economic activities (e.g., ecotourism) provided they were not opposed to conservation laws.

CBET By-Laws has been an exemplary document. This policy provided the details of roles and responsibilities of CBET councils, as well as rules and regulations that must be followed. These policy documents provided rights to the local community up to the level that they could make decisions on use of their own resources locally and autonomously (see the following section). In terms of local political empowerment, this document has been superb.

CBET Development Plan, however, was a bit insufficient. As discussed in the economic section, these policies did not manage to enable local people to successfully embrace CBET ventures. There were hardly enough strategies in this document to guide people to proceed or expand CBET development to the level they needed. The required small scale nature of this project, which the author presumed originated from the conservation concept "*small is beautiful*" (Schumacher, 1974), didn't appear to fit well with the needs for economic development in the community. The CBET project was more of a conservation tool rather than an economic one, despite its stated goal to diversify people's livelihoods. From the private sector's point of view, apart from the

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human resource deficit, Chambok did not fully develop its tourism potentials. It was doubtful whether the current small scale development was necessary for the Chambok context.

This consequence may be caused by the shortage of development or private sector involvement in making tourism policies. Nonetheless, it was hardly anyone's fault. This project was one of the earliest in the country where collaborative planning and participatory development concepts were just adapted. The MoT and PDoT had neither the legal framework for community tourism nor did they initially express interest in collaboration. Besides, it was out of the question in 2002 Cambodia to expect that the private sector or other civil society groups would take interest in the place when it had not been transformed into tourism products.

So, the consequence was quite inevitable. However, it was not too late to rectify it. We do not assume that one master plan could be used to guide a destination development forever. Since that time, MB and the conservation network were open enough to allow the formation of a development network for the CBET council at Chambok, so the limitations could be rectified. It was helpful that *CBET By-Laws*, which had very important guidelines regarding local rights and roles in development, endowed the local community's rights to make decisions on further uses of their local resources. Now that the local management units were more capable of development management, they could take further steps to collaborate with development agencies and the private sector to develop Chambok to its full potential.

7.5.2. Impacts on Linkages with Other Stakeholders

It was remarkable to note that both the policy making and the implementation process at Chambok were designed to maximize the locals' ability to reach as many external stakeholders as possible. It appeared that Reed's fear about power relations (1997) concerning inclusion or exclusion of stakeholders did not occur. Neither the facilitating agency nor any involved stakeholders objected to the local inclusion in stakeholder forums. According to Section 5.2, local agency and stakeholders were

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required to participate in all external discussions on drafts of CBET policies and implementation strategies. The initial requirements for local presence facilitated familiarization, interactions and mutual understanding that enabled the ease of further collaboration (Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003; Svendsen, Boutilier, & Wheeler, 2003). When MB gradually withdrew its facilitating roles in 2007, the locals were reported to be able to communicate directly with important stakeholders on their own.

Moreover, it was also notable that the dark site of social capital (Fine, 2003; Colleta & Cullen, 2002; Fowler, 2002) did not play out in this context. From the interview, there was no stakeholder that attempted to constrain or resented local networking with other groups of stakeholders rather than their own. This is indeed a commendable tolerance. According to Dale and Onyx (2005) and Cohen (2001), linking structures (e.g., facilitating agencies) often act as both enabling and constraining structures. They often filter local access to other agencies that may have different or particularly a conflicting agenda.

Such filtration, however, was not observed in Chambok. From the assessment of linking social capital, we found two major networks – conservation and development – with an unexpected mixture of stakeholder composition. It was not surprising to find the conservation network since the site was developed under the umbrella policy of decentralized NRM. Yet, the permanent endorsement of civil society groups (like MB, though indirectly in the later stage) in the NRM co-management structure indicated a high degree of democracy and openness. In Cambodia, the relationship between state and civil society was uneasy; each regarded the other carefully and suspiciously (NGO Forum, 2000). The courage that MB took to include all relevant and necessary government agencies in the CBET development processes signified a great effort to forge a partnership between state and civil society in order to sustainably develop the local community. Neither NGOs nor government agencies seemed to try to seize the privileged role as a sole partner with Chambok communities.

Besides, the fact that a development network existed and was encouraged by conservation agencies through major CBET policies (e.g. capacity building and

marketing and promotion policies) meant a lot to local communities politically. The composition of the three clusters of stakeholders in this network also indicated a considerably high degree of political empowerment. The more diverse stakeholders the locals could access meant the more political lobbying they might be able to procure and the more knowledge and power they might be able to obtain for a further course of development (Coles, 2006; Colletta & Cullen, 2002; Jones, 2005; Khan, Rifaqat, & Kazmi, 2007; Timothy, 2007).

7.5.3. Impacts on Local Organizational Structure, Control and Ownership

Distrust, submission and non-participation were severe negative legacies that the previous political regimes left in Cambodian society, and which have managed to deter the process of participatory approaches sufficiently (Knowles, 2008). Even with the newly adapted more community-based policy framework, people were very reluctant to believe and embrace the new future (Hong et al., 2005). Yet, in order to sustain positive impacts of development projects when facilitating agencies withdraw, local communities must take ownership and management of the development (Cohen, 2001; Lapachelle & McCool, 2005; Taylor, 2000). Without appropriate preparations, this ownership would not easily happen. This tough preparation, however, was surprisingly managed at Chambok.

The major challenges to such an achievement hung on the people's confidence in themselves and trust in others enough to take part in a joint venture for collective purposes (Knowles, 2008; Nhem, 2009). They must see that they indeed impacted the outcomes of the project with their input, and this input would not be cunningly used to rob them of their survival resources (Knowles, 2008). Such confidence and trust take time to build and need much caution to maintain. In Chambok, they have been carefully planted in all levels and steps of development. According to Section 5.2, the CBET development process was designed to maximize the communities' engagement and to nurture local ownership. The local communities must vote for their own leaders and take

part in making decision on internal policies and CBET activities that all would consensually follow through.

This has been practiced in processes of decision makings at all levels too. From the assessment of bonding and bridging social capital, we found that the majority of the survey participants from all groups acknowledged that their group used discussion methods to decide the course of action they would choose to do. They had been informed of CBET progresses and activities of their senior members. From what they learned, up to 80% of the respondents believed that they have impacted CBET development. As previously mentioned, the grouping of local service providers for the purpose of service operations did not only serve this specific purpose, but also contributed to nurture the seedlings of trust, participation, confidence, collectiveness, and especially ownership and responsibility in whatever they undertook.

Furthermore, the analysis of CBET policies shows that nearly all of them were designed to empower the local community to control and own the action and outcomes. For example, it was stated in the financial policies that CBET MC, and not MB or any outsiders, must decide on how they would spend the revenues from CBET. To prevent delegating power yet to another authoritarian leader, it was required that any proposed expense needed the consensus of at least eight members (more than 60%) of the committee in order to proceed. To ensure transparency and accountability, a proof of expense must be produced for inspection. Control of resources, especially monetary, was the way the stakeholders exercised their power over the others (Few, 2002). Therefore, in order to fully empower the local agency and to release it from MB's influence, from 2007 MB introduced a financial independent approach. They set aside a large unspecified amount of funds and empowered the CBET council to initiate projects based on their actual needs. Then, MB supported them with minimal interference.

With the exception of the usual friendship, relatives and neighbourhood ties, there were few other networking arrangements taking place in rural Cambodia (Kim, 2001). Such an arrangement was cruelly prohibited in the Pol Pot genocide regime (Locard, 2004). According to Locard (2004), in this regime people were taught not to question

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their superiors and to distrust each other. Communication was to be avoided at all costs as people feared that whatever they conversed about with others would eventually reach the ears of Angkar[25] and they would be severely punished or accused of being a traitor. As well, people were despairing of the deeds for the sake of collective goods since this regime was reputed to adhere to communism. For these reasons, people were less inclined to communicate or participate in group or collective activities long after the regime ended in 1979 (Knowles, 2008).

The organization of the CBET council, small groups and local governance structures as well as the attempts to engage and communicate everything with communities were extremely useful in nurturing participation, cooperation and trust. They showed people what could be achieved when they unified and actively assumed ownership and responsibility, not resigning or solely depending on fate or others to deliver to them what they needed. Moreover, social interaction is critical for human well-being. The new arrangement at Chambok did not seem to harm existing ones, but enhanced the health of social relations. However, we will examine the impact of social capital on local governance in order to be precise about to what extent the new arrangements empowered local communities and enhanced their political health.

7.5.4. Impacts on the Organization of Local Governance

The impact of social capital constructed in a CBET project on the organization of local governance is critical. Good governance leads to production of legitimate consensus on resource management, production and redistribution based on transparent competition of ideas and proposals (The Royal Government of Cambodia, 2005). This process is the basis of a democratic and competent community that leads to sustainable community development. Yet, governance is a complex issue in rural Cambodia, especially with regard to resource management. The strategic Framework for Governance Reform (The

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[25]   Angkar was the name that Pol Pot comrades called themselves

Royal Government of Cambodia, 2005) details the government vision on sub-national governance.

In essence, political decentralization concerns the establishment of functional local polities. In this study, polity is understood to be civic bodies composed of peers, elected by their fellow citizens, who aim to achieve sufficient cohesion by finding common values that are acceptable to a majority of the political community, setting rules in accordance with those values and ensuring compliance (Van Acker, 2010). We found in this study that the CBET project enabled the construction of CBET/ CPA councils that, according the previous analysis, were capable of playing the stated roles. However, we are not in a hurry to claim that this organization leads to good local governance or that the CBET council as a local polity could be representative of the entire local political community.

CBET community, nevertheless, was just a segment of the local population that had to compete with others to use the limited available local resources for tourism purpose. It would be hardly possible that the CBET council could politically represent the interests of all other communities (CF and CPA) and the entire population of the commune. There is the presence of CF, CPA and Commune councils as representatives of local polities. Some authors were critical of the complication, and maybe ineffectiveness, of resource management in a Cambodian rural community caused by the organization of too many local polities, which to some extent, play duplicating roles but with different perceptions, agendas and priorities (Bradlow, 2009; Diepart & Sem, 2009; Van Acker, 2010; Whittingham, Tep, & Meng, 2009).

This arrangement, to a large extent, is caused by the blurring sphere of power and roles of various government institutions. In Cambodia, development power is divided into two categories: 1) central power that resides in the Ministry of Interior; and sectoral power that resides in line ministries according to type of resource it manages (e.g. the MoE, the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry). The Ministry of Interior, with the Law on Administration and Management of Communes/Sangkats conducted a nationwide election at the commune level, which established 1621 CCs. The CC is

expected to serve the interests of their citizens and improve socio-economic development, and have been granted executive and legislative authority to do so. Simultaneously, line ministries like the MoE or the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry could implement a co-management strategy for NRM in the same locality by organizing other local councils (e.g., CF and CPA). These other sub-national councils received specific management functions depending on the type of ministry it was associated with.

Though the CC has always been required to participate in the organization of these NRM related councils in the commune, their roles were merely facilitator and witness. They did not actually influence the making of rules and regulations for NRM very much. Each NRM council's intent was to protect the interests of its community of users and followed the guidelines of its relevant ministry rather than the priority needs of the commune. According to Van Acker (2009; 2010) and Diepart and Sem (2009), this management arrangement led to sectoral plans that might not cumulatively contribute to sustainable development in the commune at all. There is an urgent need to promote holistic integrated plans and strengthen the role of the CC, which is actually the most important representative of the entire political community.

The independence that ministries enjoy in deciding on decentralization reforms in their sector comes at a price: it distracts from a consistent and transparent method across all sectors, engages national and local institutions in project-specific approaches and fails to address the fragmentation of mandates and the duplication of roles and responsibilities. The co-management arrangement seemed to curtail the rights of the CC and implicitly maintain NRM power at the center rather than delegating it to the local polities (van Acker, 2009, 2010; Diepart & Sem, 2009). Therefore, the effort of the conservation linkage to empower the CBET council did not necessarily mean political empowerment of local communities. On the contrary, from the social capital's point of view it might even be seen as an attempt for the exclusion of some users.

So, in order to assess the impact of social capital construction on local governance, the author did not only examine the political capacity of the CBET council, but she also explored the relationship between this council and other local councils. The

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main questions are: 1) does the relationship contribute to a cohesive and capable political community that serves the interests and needs of the commune's population; and 2) do CBET policies complement or contradict the others, especially the commune development plan.

The assessment of inter-bridging social capital pinpoints relationships between CBET councils and other organizations in the commune. From this assessment, we observed that MB and the MoE's assistance to construct NRMC in the commune, which united all NRM councils and worked directly under the supervision of the CC, is a construction of positive social capital. This construction managed to strengthen the roles of the CC and returned this council back to its prominent position. Though each organization has its own set of rules and regulations, all conservation efforts have to consent to a common ground that permits the CC to implement socio-economic development plans. The construction of an NRMC provides a permanent structure for all conservation agencies to negotiate an agreement that serves the local's needs. The role of the NRMC is to encourage all local conservation councils to set the community's needs as their priority rather than just their own community of users.

For example, in rural Cambodia, the forest is the major economic production resource. With an exclusion clause in Law on Administration and Management Commune/Sangkats,[26] the CC would not be able to implement anything in lands designated to the CF council without their cooperation. As a major part of the Chambok commune is covered with forest, this exclusion limited the CC's economic strategies. The CC did not have access to other development funds besides the limited government fund through the SEILA program. Local taxation policies are yet to be implemented. At the

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[26] The CC has the rights to manage natural resources in the commune except protected forested land. The CC also cannot interfere with the management of CF since CF reports directly to another decentralized body FA. The reform of forestry has created a decentralized administrative structure (FA) that is disconnected from other decentralized political structure of the state. This reform implicitly rejects the role of the CC in the management of forest resources.

time of this study, timber sales were not an option for economic development,[27] only CBET activities that generate economic profits for the people in the commune. As well, only the CBET has the prospect of procuring further funds for expansion. Therefore, a negotiation took place among the NRMC to use another plot of CF land for CBET expansion in order to improve the economic situation in the commune.

This attempt to organize the structure for local governance has also been made possible by the conservation and financial policies of the CBET agency. CBET's conservation policies have been consistent with CF's. None of the CBET members were allowed to log or hunt, and they must take part in patrolling. In addition, a large part of CBET revenues were set aside for the conservation activities. Though the CF and CPA committee were not fully satisfied with CBET contributions and function, they were not at a disadvantage. This financial contribution from CBET has served as a contemporary financial support strategy until the councils are able to extract more timber from CF forests. Moreover, CBET allocated a sizeable amount of revenue for community development purposes that serve both CBET members and non-members. These policies and efforts at serving the larger communities as well as CBET members have earned CBET councils trust and recognition from the CC. As illustrated in Figure 6.2, the CBET council was currently posited at the heart of the commune and CBET was considered as a sustainable community development strategy.

The organization of local governance became smoother with the autonomy granted to the CBET council by the MoE and MB through its political empowerment policies and strategies. The CBET council can decide the use of their own revenues and did not have to follow CPA guidelines since the new CBET site was not located in the CPA boundary. With capacity building policies, the MoE and MB managed to build development management capacity for CBET MC. So, they are capable of developing further initiatives. The CBET MC has only to negotiate and keep accord with local

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[27] Forest resources have been heavily degraded in 2002 when the CBET project commenced, and did not sufficiently recover to enable timber harvest for economic purposes.

agencies within the bridging circle (CF, CPA, NRMC and the CC) to design its further development strategies. The present linkages with external development agencies and the private sector also provide a variety of options for the CBET development model that suited the Chambok community best.

7.6. Conclusions

In summary, the examination of the impacts of social capital constructions on CBET sustainability show more positive than negative outcomes. The construction of the structural dimension of social capital at all levels did not seem to conflict with the existing structures and relationships in the community. The construction of rules and norms, on the other hand, has quite a positive impact. In order of significance, social capital construction in Chambok positively impacted the aspects of social relations, community health, political empowerment and conservation outcomes respectively. The impacts on economic and human resource development aspects have not been totally negative; they were only limited.

The most commendable impact was associated with social relations and community health. This study found efforts to build social capital in the CBET project promoted trust, reciprocity and collectiveness among CBET members. These psychological impacts are very important since they are the basis for participation and collaboration at all levels (Knowles, 2008; Herreros, 2004). Political empowerment aspects include policy framework, external linkages, local organization and ownership, and especially organization for local governance. They have been admirably managed through the construction of both cognitive and structural social capital (esp. linking and bridging structure). This arrangement relieved the Chambok community from the dilemma facing various other co-management project sites in the country. Impacts on conservation have also been remarkable, especially with regard to minimizing environmental impacts of tourism development. However, the overall enforcement of conservation policies has not been fully effective and successful.

Impacts on conservation are greatly related to economic impacts. While economic effects were still small and insufficient for local livelihoods, conservation could not successfully proceed. The efficiency of CBET performance is critical since the Chambok community chose CBET as a sustainable community development strategy. CBET economic activities are important complementary livelihoods to rice and crop cultivation as well as cattle-raising. Participation in CBET economic activities is the only prospect that deters people from returning to logging and hunting. The support for conservation strategies is also nearly entirely dependent on CBET revenues. Therefore, should the CBET performance fail and tourist arrivals decrease the whole commune would suffer the consequences.

On the other hand, the CBET performance has been somehow constrained by insufficient entrepreneurship, the lack of innovation and the limitation of qualified human resources. CBET capacity building strategies have managed to build management capacity for local polities, but they did not manage to successfully build operational capacity for the majority of service providers. This study found the cause of such shortages to be the lack of or less interaction at the bonding level rather than the lack of training. The limited number of locals who attended numerous training sessions provided from 2002 to 2009 was found to be sufficient enough for service providers, but there was no mechanism to encourage knowledge transfer and innovation. Measures need to be taken to ensure that CBET entrepreneurship is improved and reaches the expectations of the market. The next chapter will discuss factors that influenced the CBET outcomes in order to provide policy intervention strategies to enhance the positive impacts of social capital construction in CBET projects discussed in the concluding chapter.

8.   Discussion and Interpretation

8.1. Discussion of Findings

Based on the findings emanating from this dissertation's research, this section discusses the extent to which CPA policies have helped nurture the construction of the types of positive social capital needed to sustain CBET development in the case study context.

8.1.1. Suitability of CPA Policies for CBET Context

In preceding chapters, the author examined social capital development catalysts and outcomes as they related to the achievement of CBET stakeholders' goals. In the process, she also identified positive and negative implications of such capital on various dimensions of CBET sustainability. This section discusses what directives and accompanying resources appeared to be most influential in shaping the types of CBET outcomes generated. Table 8.1 summarizes the resources allocated, social capital constructed, and the resulting impacts of social capital construction on the CBET project.

This research suggests that CPA/CF policies contributed (at least partially) to the construction of positive social capital in this study's CBET development case. However, some aspects of these policies created challenges to longer term CBET success. In particular, there appeared to be a clear need for more resources and enabling structures that facilitated the development of: legal frameworks supporting local action; technical expertise needed for human and social capacity creation; and funds for program implementation. For the most part, the analysis of CPA policies (Chapter 4) suggested that these directives supported social capital construction in this CBET case study's context. They promoted both participatory conservation and community development. While primarily focusing on the building of co-management structures for conservation, they also encouraged the implementation of economic activities, promoting NRM and local economy.

Table 8.1.   Summary of Resources, Social Capital and Impacts on CBET

a. Positive

Allocated Resources	Social Capital	Impacts on CBET
	Cognitive Dimension	
• Co-management of CPA/CF through decentralization policies • Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and conservation stakeholders	**Conservation Policies** • Rights to economic resources • Rights to CBET operations and development • Rights to create local councils and local by-laws	• Economic development • Community empowerment • Conservation of local resource for both private and public benefits
• Governance reform policies • Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and conservation stakeholders	**Financial Policies** • Rights to locally decide on the use of CBET revenues • Arrangement for emergency aid and community fund	• Community empowerment • Economic development • Community health
• Conservation and development fund through MB • Participatory conservation policies (gender equity) • MB and conservation stakeholders	**Women Empowerment Policies** • Rights to create WA and by-laws • Rights to decide group revenues for women's benefits and independent from CBET council	• Community empowerment • Community health • Economic development
• Co-management of CPA/CF through decentralization policies • Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and conservation stakeholders	• Capacity Building Policies • Build skills in development management for MC • Build skills in tourism operations for service providers	• Human resource development • Economic development • Community health
	Structural Dimension	
• Co-management of CPA/CF through decentralization policies • Governance reform policies • Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and MoE	**Linking** • Linkages with conservation stakeholders • Linkages with development stakeholders	• Conservation of local commons for public and private benefits • Economic development • Community Health • Human resource development
• Governance reform policies • Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and conservation stakeholders	**Inter-Bridging** • Local governance structure • Mechanism to prevent corruption and irresponsibility	• Community empowerment • Community health

b. Negative/Limitations

Allocated Resources	Social Capital	Impacts on CBET
	Cognitive Dimension	
• Co-management of CPA/CF through decentralization policies • Governance reform policies • Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and conservation stakeholders	**Capacity Building Policies** • focus on building capacity of local councils • Little preparation on hospitality and entrepreneurial skills	• Limited economic development prospects • Limited service quality and innovation
• Co-management of CPA/CF through decentralization policies • Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and conservation stakeholders	**Conservation Policies** • Partial to non-use approaches to natural resource management • Favor small scale strategies	• Limited economic development prospects
	Structural Dimension	
• Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and MoE	**Intra-bridging** • Not energetic due to little encouragement	• Limited service quality and innovation • Limited HDR
• Conservation and development fund through MB • MB and MoE	**Bonding** • Not energetic due to little encouragement	• Limited service quality and innovation • Limited HDR

Sources: Stakeholder Interviews, 2008-2009.

The most positive aspect of these policies was their push for entitlements allowing local councils to form for CPA/CF management (i.e., structural social capital) purposes. This contributed in a meaningful way to the political empowerment of local communities. Consequently, local councils were able to become local polities, and were able to represent and be accountable to their community members for decision making purposes. With this policy framework in place, the communities were able to construct their own local by-laws (i.e., cognitive social capital) and elect their own leaders. Although local by-law content had to still be strictly consistent with CPA/CF laws, local communities were afforded the protective security, control and opportunities needed to access forest resources in exchange for assuming stewardship responsibilities.

Legal access to these forest resources provided communities with economic rights and options to produce, consume, and exchange forest resources for development activities such as CBET developments. The stewardship requirement significantly strengthened local interest in conservation policies and practices. It helped to solidify and preserve the role of the "local commons" as a public good (e.g., ground water reservation

and flood prevention, etc.) as well as a place for community based economic benefits (e.g., CBET development enterprises). Community ratified conservation by-laws (i.e., a form of cognitive social capital) also acted as a protective shield against potential external private sector plans for the destination. As well, the establishment of local management councils provided the community's stakeholders with the political liberties needed to safely explore and engage in partnerships with external stakeholders in a range of complementary development initiatives as they emerged.

Beyond the legal and technical endorsement of local community rights and entitlements, the CPA/CF policies endorsed the need for greater inclusion of stakeholders. According to interviews with CPA policy-makers, the author found that the MoE had no limitation on the choice of CBET implementing agencies and related stakeholders. Rather than requiring solely that government institutions participate in the implementation of co-management projects, it encouraged the full participation from civil society groups. While the MoE prepared guidelines to help facilitate project implementation, they expressed a willingness to have other collaborators provide the technical assistance and communication processes for development projects. During the implementation phase at Chambok, the MoE required the building of local conservation by-laws according to its guidelines, but expressed no objection to other stakeholder groups and networks developing complementary by-laws as required in specific contexts.

Policy-makers comments revealed that CPA/CF policies were meant to provide the overall framework and guidelines, but the actual local by-laws could be adapted to the specific context and nature of project development. In this context, CBET development was only one of many CPA management mechanisms. A policy maker said, *"we understand the need for a technical facilitator, local participation and stakeholder collaboration in building such context-based local laws…"* This type of resource and power delegation was perceived by all informants to have had quite positive impacts on the construction of both the cognitive and structural dimensions of social capital.

CPA policies also had a limitation in relation to the CBET development. This limitation, as widely cited in the ecotourism literature (see Butcher, 2007; Duffy, 2006;

Hulme & Murphree, 1999), was an underlying partiality to the non-use approach to natural resource management for economic development purposes. This was particularly the preference for CBET projects, which were regarded as a non-extractive and less impacting form of economic activity. This bias favoured and tended to lead to the implementation of primarily small scale tourism developments. CPA policies favoured conservation over economic development, regardless of the actual needs of communities. In addition, they preferred small scale economic activities because such projects were perceived to have less impact on the natural environment than larger initiatives. This implicit requirement severely limited opportunities for local economic advancement, and was perceived by some stakeholders to jeopardize the overall effectiveness of existing conservation strategies (see Section 7.3.1). In the Chambok case, this situation worsened when the MB implementing agency began embracing deep ecological ideologies. This will be discussed in the next section.

8.1.2. Factors Impacting on Social Capital Construction

Beyond the preceding policy dimensions, the overall socio-political environment, human attitudes and organizational capacity shaped the construction of the case study region's social capital.

8.1.2.1. Socio-Political Environment

The Cambodian socio-political environment in the early 2000s was supportive of notions such as community participation, integrated conservation and development and state-civil society partnership in community development projects. In fact, it had rigorously adapted to new participatory ideologies, as well as emerging sustainable development concepts (Hughes, 2007; Knowles, 2008; Nhem, 2005).

In this context, CBET projects provided an experimental context in which to nurture a participatory culture among stakeholders and local communities, especially with regard to NRM (Carson, Hou, & Srey, 2005). The Chambok CBET project was developed in early 2002 after the enforcement of the government's the structural

adjustment program under the governance reform policies. While MB used CPA/CF policies to guide the development of this project, it also employed various other governance reform policies to nurture the construction of much needed social capital.

For example, while the CPA/CF policies did not state that government institutions should undertake the implementation task, there also was no explicit clause to encourage civil society groups to take part in the process either. It was from the deductive state-civil society partnership environment, which was encouraged by international funds, that collaboration between the MoE and MB took place in the Chambok CBET project.

8.1.2.2. Capacity of Implementing Agency

The capacity of the implementing agency was another influential factor impacting the construction of social capital in the community. In this study, an agency's capacity was divided into four categories: organizational, financial, social and technical. Each had different affects on the construction of social capital. From this study's analysis, it was apparent that the Chambok CBET development implementing agency had a level of capacity in the first three areas, but possessed more limited technical capacity.

MB had solid organizational management capacity. This capacity enabled it to develop a sound approach to community empowerment in the Chambok CBET project. MB's work emphasis varied according to each emerging circumstance at Chambok. As the project progressed, it gradually and strategically removed itself from being the community's advisor to its facilitator and finally to only being an assistant on demand. Being a national NGO, MB did not seem to own sufficient funds to bankroll the entire project. However, it had remarkable credibility and was able to obtain various types of funds from a variety of donors to sustain the Chambok projects for nine years. This was the longest running support provided to any CBET project in the country.

MB's social capacity was commendable. It was on good terms with most of the stakeholders. Despite being an NGO, it was well-respected by pertinent government institutions as well as social groups at the community level. It had a reputation of

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painstakingly engaging and encouraging external and internal cooperation from a wide range of stakeholder groups.

Despite its strengths, MB was hamstrung with respect to tourism planning and management expertise. It experienced high tourism staff turnover that reduced its capacity to nurture the social capital needed for understanding and collaboration with tourism stakeholders. When well informed tourism technical staff left the organization, they typically took with them the social capital and "social license to operate" (Ponsford & Williams, 2010) that eased working relationships with important tourism industry stakeholders. Under these conditions, more time than expected was needed to build trust and encourage affected groups to work energetically together again (Kilduff & Tsai, 2003; Field, 2008; Herreros, 2004; Svendsen, Boutilier, & Wheeler, 2003; Svendsen & Svendsen, 2004). In addition, while it possessed strong and ongoing environmental expertise, MB's capacities with respect to human resource and tourism management issues in a CBET context were subservient to conservation priorities.

As a result, the Chambok CBET development had not fully capitalized on its tourism potential at the time of this study's investigation. More specifically, it lacked the range and quality of attractions and services needed to attract tourists and /or prolong their stay. Innovation in tourism services was minimal, and the scale of developments did not align with community economic needs. Despite the well-crafted financial distribution policies, tourism's contributions to community revenue streams were limited. Ironically, the lack of such revenues was considered by political decision makers to be a threat to funding options for critical conservation programming. More well-trained tourism expertise was needed to ensure that the requirements for competitive participation in the travel marketplace were met. Other than a few international ecotourism advisors, most of the project's officers were newly trained university tourism graduates with limited industry experience. One of the officers stated:

> …I was trained as a tour operator at the university, so I was quite unprepared to deal with the rural development project instead. It was a challenge to engage suspicious and hardly responsive local people…it took me months to learn their ways and work with them well…by then I had nearly ended my contract already.

While the Chambok CBET development initiatives were creative and reflective on Cambodia's rural context, this was the result of knowledge sharing between international tourism experts and the project's initial local project officers. It was expected that external support would be needed at that lift off stage, because locals were largely unaware of tourism options and requirements. However, it was also anticipated that there would be ongoing mechanisms to engage locals in designing creative tourism activities that specifically fit with their context and market requirements as the project moved forward. This failed to happen at Chambok. Subsequent project officers failed to see the need for more innovative activities. As a result, the creativity and allure of Chambok for CBET was compromised by a lack of collaborative learning about tourism priorities, while other CBET sites were mushrooming in the country.

This was particularly evident with respect to insufficiencies in the delivery of services. Only a handful of people were qualified, and few attempts were being made to encourage intra-group and intra-community tourism and hospitality service capacity building. MB projects officers assumed such capacity building interactions would take place automatically. It did not happen due to a variety of local community factors.

8.1.2.3.   The Characters of Local Communities

While external factors contribute to the development of social capital, the characteristics of local communities are also critical to the success or failure of social capital construction in CBET developments. Based on this study's research, the following factors stand out as being especially influential in shaping social capital development in a CBET context.

8.1.2.3.1. Communication Patterns

Preferred forms of communication and local interests greatly affect the development of bonding and bridging social capital. Oral reports and meetings were particularly welcomed. This was one of the reasons why the majority of members trusted CBET leadership. The council painstakingly informed members orally of the development process. The communities scrutinized the CBET outcomes critically, and

repeatedly they were communicated orally and visually to local groups. They took the reputational issues and commitment seriously. However, these groups were less aware of power exertions beyond the commune boundary.

Local CBET members were most comfortable interacting with their peers in informal environments rather than in formal groups. In formal contexts, they tended to be listeners and observers. They only actively and openly discussed issues in formal meeting settings when their livelihoods were going to be affected (e.g., how to spend CBET revenues or sanction law-breakers). On-going concerns about the limited benefits that individual received from CBET projects dissuaded them from further strengthening their bonding and intra-bridging relationships. They were not strongly motivated to interact since they perceived it to be unnecessary. The economic benefits were too limited to make their formal engagement necessary most of the time.

8.1.2.3.2. *Willingness for Innovation*

This study found that the majority of the Chambok communities were interested and willing to change their situations through CBET initiatives. At earlier stages, the motivation for change was to overcome PA laws that restricted their freedom and opportunities to use the forests for livelihood purposes. At later stages, it was to develop and operate innovative tourism related projects that would secure more infrastructure development, construction of amenities, safety, security, recreation and social recognition for the communities. These motivations positively influenced the development of social capital in this case study region.

Prior to 2001, the major livelihoods of the Chambok community were agriculture and lumber based. However, rice cultivation generated low yields because of low soil fertility and unreliable water supply. Forest-based occupations were associated with dangerous working conditions (e.g., wildlife attack and fatal diseases such as malaria and dengue fever in dense rain forest situations). In addition, the monopoly of large scale timber companies and imperfect market mechanisms in that period kept local people from living prosperously from such livelihoods (ADB, 2001). The situation worsened in the

1990s when PA laws were re-established and enforced. As a consequence, the initiation of other diversified livelihoods such as CBET activities, which were perceived to be more secured and less risky, were warmly welcomed. These inspirations were clearly emphasized by local representatives (i.e., CBET council), which sought to secure legal stewardship, rights to access forest resources, as well as integrated other economic activities into CBET programming.

The construction of cognitive social capital (primarily via new conservation policies) provided local communities with greater control over forest resources than they had ever before. About 90% of the surveyed respondents felt that CBET policies had significantly and positively impacted their community well-being and infrastructure. In addition the majority of people (89%) believed that the Chambok commune was less ignored, less isolated and less deprived than before the introduction of the CBET project.

8.1.2.3.3. *Organizational Capacity*

The population of the Chambok commune in general has a low level of literacy. Despite a myriad international intervention in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the level of human resource development amongst locals has not improved substantially. In a rural context, this lack of schooling and low level of human capital development has led many interventionists to believe that the locals lack the vision and planning capacity to make substantive progress. However, this author does not necessarily agree with this perspective. While this researcher agrees that many of the community stakeholders lacked formal planning capacity, local folks did demonstrate the capacity to form visions of what they really wanted for their communities. From a CBET development context, this knowledge is what matters most.

For instance, MB possessed the capacity to facilitate on-going planning processes and coach the local council on how to enable self-planning cycles. However, there was a need to understand what mattered most for local folks from a visioning and planning perspective. For example, the author learned that the creative and integrated financial policies were suggested by the local community themselves. They wanted to use CBET

revenue to develop the commune as much as possible, so they made sure that what mattered to them was included in the policies. They enforced such policies wholeheartedly when they realized the laws were their own and were designed to protect their interests and develop their communities. Although individual members claimed they gained few economic benefits from CBET activities, 70% of them stated they still devoted time and money for CBET purposes if it benefited the commune.

8.1.2.3.4. *Tourism Entrepreneurship*

Limited entrepreneurship capacity was cited as a major capacity weakness in the Chambok CBET project. Community members were less aware of their tourism enterprise requirements, than they were about commune responsibilities. This lack of understanding severely impacted their economic development successes. As well, it dissuaded CBET members from interacting at the bonding and intra-bridging level.

The supply of tourism services and products was not well matched with market demand. In addition, the community had little knowledge of how to maximize profits from tourism and use their tourism potential wisely. Service quality was considered to be well below acceptable standards, and service providers appeared to care little about the satisfaction and comfort of their guests. Many community members considered themselves as humble stewards of the environment rather than entrepreneurs. A tour operator sadly confessed his resentment:

> *...the community did not feel the need to learn what tourists may need and how to make the trip enjoyable and memorable. I felt they thought we were obliged to come to help them conserve the environment and develop their community rather than to enjoy the tour...it is difficult in a business situation since we have our clients to satisfy in order to maintain our company profit....*

8.1.2.3.5. *Social Constitution and Political Capacity*

Finally, two other important factors rigorously impacted the construction of social capital. These factors were: the communities' social threads as well as their political affiliation. In Chambok, the presence of these two factors was readily apparent in the

CBET project. The CBET project was developed after the commune election in 2001. It provided the much needed political anchor required for other supportive decentralization projects. The socio-political threads needed for action were well in place at the time the project was installed. Governance reforms in Cambodia were already being driven by two separate forces: the central power of The Ministry of Interior and the sectoral power line ministries (The Royal Government of Cambodia, 2005). The Ministry of Interior conducted the commune election and established the foundation for the decentralized political community in the form of CC in the entire country. However, the notion of decentralization could not easily penetrate into the age-old "patron-client" culture of the local authority in rural areas (Kim, 2002; Kim & Henke, 2005; Ledgerwood & Vijghen, 2002; Un, 2004).

The Chambok communities were spared from much of this anguish. Its CBET project was established after the commune election, and the CC acted as a capable political anchor for new initiatives. The SEILA project developers had already established that the CC was the supreme power in the commune and that other CBNRM councils should be coordinated with this decentralized power structure in order to make the integrated action plan for the entire commune.

MB's industrious engagement of the CC in all planning and capacity building activities for the CBET project reflected local power relations. This recognition and the solidarity attribute of the communities strongly influenced the construction of inter-bridging social capital and strengthened the legitimacy, identity and power of the local communities. The willingness and agreement of all local councils to the formation of NRMC under the umbrella of the CC neatly saved Chambok community from conflicts and fragmentation as well as enhanced the local legitimacy and access to natural resources in the commune boundary.

9.   Conclusions and Recommendations

9.1.   Conclusions

CBET programs in a developing country were formed as a result of various SD policy directives. These policies were usually implemented in order to achieve goals associated with multiple agendas including poverty alleviation, natural resource management and community participation in development and conservation initiatives. In this dissertation, the author suggested that the ability to achieve these goals through the implementation of CBET programs initially required actions that nurtured the creation and maintenance of appropriate forms of local community social capital development. Such capital was essential to building local community capabilities and these capabilities triggered more sustainable CBET outcomes.

The social capital concept is human-centered. It assumes that local communities in a CBET setting are dynamic active agents who can play vital roles in determining their own destiny, provided the developers assist them to build appropriate capabilities. Social capital is perceived as a conduit through which communities access necessary resources that enable them to build their capabilities to participate equally and meaningfully in CBET collaborations. In CBET development contexts, social capital plays four major roles: 1) diffuses information; 2) transfers knowledge; 3) promotes collaboration and collective action; and 4) harnesses power in local communities.

In this dissertation, the author identified five integrated capabilities that the local communities needed to sustain CBET development project. They included: 1) economic development; 2) ecological conservation; 3) social health and well-being; 4) human resource development; and 5) political empowerment. These capabilities were interrelated and interdependent. Each stimulated the growth and sustainability of the others, whereas the lack of any of them reduced the performance of the others.

Because social capital is the conduit for building a community's capabilities, resources and structures that are employed to build social capital will eventually stimulate the building of the community's capabilities. The provision of resources and enabling structures must contribute to achieving the previously mentioned types of community capabilities. The necessity of having multiple capabilities available to sustain community development requires social capital to be diversified as well. These requirements align with Sen's conditions building people's capabilities. Sen (1999) helpfully paved the way for identifying the necessary means for development that helps minimize deprivation and empowers people. Building on Sen's work, this research suggests five means for building positive social capital in CBET development context. These means include nurturing: 1) economic facilities; 2) social opportunities; 3) protective security; 4) transparency guarantees; and 5) political liberties (Sen, 1999).

However, this dissertation also suggests that the construction of social capital is very much dependent on the place specific socio-political environment and public policy that exists. The author specifically examined how CBET policy strategies facilitated or constrained the construction of positive social capital in a place specific case study. Her overriding theory was that suitable policy intervention strategies require: 1) an appropriate mix of resources and opportunity structures that facilitate the expansion of human and social capabilities; and 2) that social networks enable involved stakeholders (to use these capabilities) to achieve their development goals. In order to investigate this theory in a Chambok CBET context, the author devised five objectives. Based on the dissertation's findings and preceding discussion, she offers conclusions for each of the study's objectives in the context of the theoretical framework illustrated in Figure 9.1.

Figure 9.1. Theoretical Framework of CBET Social Capital Construction

EXTERNAL SOCIO-POLITICAL FACTORS

♦ Economic Development
▫ Global-local nexus
▫ Community economic development

♦ Social Development
▫ Good governance
▫ Democratization

♦ Biodiversity Conservation
▫ CBNRM Strategies
▫ Resource Decentralization

CBET IMPLEMENTATION
Global/Regional/National Resources & Structures

COLLABORATION STRUCTURE

Civil Society Groups ⟷ Government Agencies ⟷ Market Actors

SOCIAL CAPITAL

♦ Structural Dimension
▫ Bonding:
  CBET Group organization
▫ Bridging: Between CBET Groups and Local Stakeholders
▫ Linking: Between CBET Groups and Resource Providers

♦ Cognitive Dimension
▫ CBET development policies
▫ Trust
▫ Reciprocity/Sharing
▫ Connectedness/Cooperation

RESOURCES

♦ Economic Facilities
  (access to land, natural resource, fund, and market mechanisms)
♦ Social Opportunities
  (skills: tourism operation & management, conservation and administration)
  (Basic education and health care facilities)

OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

♦ Protective Security
  (Risk management mechanisms)
♦ Transparency Guarantee
  (Communication system, accountability)
♦ Political Liberties
  (Civil right to group formation, dialogue and participation in decision making, social learning and interaction mechanisms)

COMMUNITY CAPABILITIES
♦ Conservation   ♦ Economic Development
♦ Human Resource Development   ♦ Community Health
♦ Community Empowerment
EQUAL PARTNER IN CBET PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT

9.1.1. CBET Development Policies

In theory, the implementation of a CBET development program in a developing region results from various SD policy directives driven by international funding agencies and programs. These policies range along a continuum ranging from conservation to development in orientation. However, their common goal is to achieve SD at the community level. Usually, CBET programs are motivated by efforts to integrate economic development with natural resource conservation, and simultaneously contribute to social justice by encouraging the local community's participation in sharing benefits from CBET development and managing the CBET project.

In Chambok, the CBET development was primarily facilitated by two types of Cambodian government policies. They were social development policies in the form of governance reforms, and ecological conservation policies related to natural resource management decentralization. These two sets of policies had mutually reinforcing goals. They were to: 1) promote democratization through encouraging the participation of stakeholders, especially local communities, in governing and developing natural resources; and 2) promote ecological conservation through the sustainable use of local resources. In combination, the policies supported CBET development by providing the enabling structures and resources needed to support governance systems (i.e., co-management structures) and institutions (i.e., CBET by-laws), as well as build the community capacity required to carry out environmental co-management duties and to enforce the newly constructed CBET institution.

These findings revealed that the CBET development policies were more about structural adjustments than a sustainable community development program. The supporting resources to implement the CBET development program at Chambok were more specifically concentrated on building local institutional capacity rather than human capabilities. While they particularly contributed to promoting the social and ecological imperatives of SD, they neglected to fully address important economic dimensions. This was the case especially with respect to community economic development. As a result, social capital that was built through the process of implementing these policies

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principally served conservation and governance rather than economic development purposes. Based on the concept and model of SD in this study's literature review, these policies only partially contributed to the achievement of SD goals. To be truly successful, there remained a need to address all three imperatives in a more balanced fashion.

In Cambodia, it is evident that current social development and conservation policies are contributing tremendously to the enhancement of social equity and security, as well as ensuring a more sustainable form of natural resource development. Fundamentally, they are providing a concrete foundation for community economic development. However, to expand economic opportunities, CBET development needs other policy support mechanisms that focus on improving the community's economic development capacity, along with providing locals with better access to markets. Such support will enhance the community's chances of developing local economic possibilities (by becoming a more equal and qualified collaborator in future development partnerships or collaborations).

9.1.2. CBET Implementation Processes

The Chambok CBET development program demonstrated outcomes emanating from the two aforementioned policy sets. It employed a collaborative planning approach. The collaborative planning for CBET interventions may promote desirable outcomes when collaborating stakeholders agree to a common goal, as well as their own specific organizational objectives (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Gunton, Day, & Williams, 2003). However, as Reed (1997) subtly reminded, achievement of a common goal in a CBET collaboration happens only when unbalanced power relations are significantly reduced. Without this happening, the objectives of the influential stakeholders will prevail and become the driving goals of the collective.

Stakeholders involved in the CBET intervention activities designed to foster the development of local institutions and nurture local capacity were mostly conservationists. These stakeholders controlled the process of CBET development. In the Chambok case, the key implementing agencies (the MoE and MB), which controlled the development of

the area's resources, had more influence than other stakeholders. The research findings indicated that the development agencies and market actors (e.g., Ministry of Tourism, Provincial Department of Tourism and market experts) were not invited to take part in the early planning of CBET development at Chambok until 2005. In addition, until the end of the project, these actors were primarily engaged in activities that did not address tourism related planning, development and management issues.

The major goals of their collaborative efforts were principally aligned with conservation objectives goals rather than the inclusive of the five integrated community development goals discussed previously and illustrated in Figure 9.1. Therefore, social capital that was constructed for the Chambok community and the CBET outcomes generated also aligned with and reflected the local conservation and institutional governance motives of the two implementing agencies. Conversely, other development and market actors had little influence on what transpired. Thus, the economic aspects of CBET development were insufficiently addressed, and the ability of local community groups to effectively optimize opportunities were constrained.

9.1.3. Social Capital Construction

However, this dissertation's findings confirmed that social capital was indeed constructed as a result of the CBET development process employed. The construction process conformed to the model of social capital developed in the literature review. The structural dimension emerged in the form of bonding, bridging (intra and inter) and linking social capital. The cognitive dimension was comprised of CBET policies and norms reflected in greater levels of trust, reciprocity and sharing. The expected roles of this social capital were to diffuse information and increase possibilities for collaborations that improved the availability of human resources, as well as to promote collective actions and community empowerment. Resources that were used for developing this social capital also aligned with those identified in Figure 9.1.

At Chambok, the implementing agencies were mainly responsible for allocating resources and initiating the building of the needed social capital. The problem was that

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the implementing agencies did not provide resources equally nor build all levels of social capital with the same enthusiasm. The structures and institutional frames developed as part of the CBET development process helped meet the agenda and mission of the implementing agencies and received much of the program's attention and resources. However, less attention and resources trickled down to the requirements and needs of the local communities.

Based on this dissertation's social capital construction model (Figure 9.1), the author initially believed that CBET policy directives strongly influenced the construction of social capital in the host communities. She theorized that social capital constructed by using organizational systems and resources directed by CBET implementing agencies, sustainable community development goals would be achieved. However, the findings at Chambok illustrated that other factors also appeared to shape the Chambok CBET development and social capital construction. These factors were: the capacity of the implementing agency, the overall socio-political environment and the circumstances of the local community. In Chambok, the MoE and MB were prepared to help create the economic agendas needed for stable CBET development. This willingness was driven by the influence of international funding agencies interested in projects that addressed CBET development from multiple perspectives. However, MB's limited capacity with respect to understanding the workings and needs of tourism enterprise constrained their ability to reach intended economic outcomes.

MB's organizational and social capacity had a positive influence on the building of local structures and institutions. Their success was enhanced by the cooperation of local communities seeking to address the exclusionary challenges in PA law, and their overall solidarity and willingness to take collective action. Overall, the findings suggested that for the most part, the relevant Chambok institutions were growing their institutional governance and development capabilities in ways which gave local councils the ability to implement future projects on a more responsive and collective basis.

9.1.4. Social Capital Construction and CBET Sustainability

In general, the function of social capital with regard to enhancing local capabilities for community development was only partly sufficient. The social capital constructed primarily served governance and conservation rather than economic purposes. For instance, the linking social capital (i.e., conservation network) and the inter-bridging social capital that served the natural resource governance and co-management purposes were carefully built and nurtured. Network users understood the goals, as well as their roles and responsibilities in it. They also saw precisely the advantages of being network members and maintaining its functioning. These networks will likely be one of the lasting legacies of the CBET development project at Chambok.

In contrast, the intra-bridging and bonding social capital was hastily cultivated and barely nurtured. These networks, however, were fundamental for the local communities. They were especially supposed to help bind the CBET members together in order to pursue their collective goals and to initiate beneficial innovations. They were also assumed to assist in transferring knowledge and diffusing information within and across the CBET community, as well as to help maintain transparency and accountability of organizations in the commune. They were intended to serve both economic development as well as social well-being purposes. Despite their prominent roles, these networks were hardly functioning at the time of this research. The network members were barely aware of the need to construct or maintain the relationships. As members principally ignored the networks, they are most likely to dissolve in the near future.

In sum, while the author found that social capital constructed at Chambok was only partly effective, she also felt that it was positive and might be able to be used in the circumstances of other Cambodian CBET development initiatives. In the early 2000s, the critical development challenges at the local level in rural Cambodia were social inequity (i.e., communities' lack of access to development resources), on-going environmental degradation and a lack of people's trust in outsiders and the new governance system. These circumstances led to pervasive non-participation and/or withdrawal from development projects by locals. However, in the Chambok case, positive social capital

was constructed as a result of the CBET development because the policies and subsequent development processes implemented focused on eliminating or at least minimizing these problems. The seeds of better security, social equity for local communities, trust and belief in participation and collaboration were implanted and led to better efforts at collective action towards some important common goals.

The negative part of the social capital construction at Chambok involved the exclusion of development agencies (e.g., Ministry of Tourism and Provincial Department of Tourism) and market actors (e.g., tour operators and tourism association) at the planning table from the beginning, as well as less attention to the foundation level of social capital. It resulted in a lack of local entrepreneurship and constructive economic networks being established. This type of social capital is needed to sustain the positive contributions of the other forms developed. However, from the establishment of social equity and security in local communities, as well as from their new-found spirit of trust and participation, one can expect that local communities may be better positioned to create the economic capabilities needed in their jurisdictions.

This is the most important contribution of social capital to CBET development. One can hardly expect a small CBET development project to construct all the necessary social capital for the broad purposes of sustainable community development on its own. However, effective social capital is dynamic and must be capable of adapting to new challenges as they emerge. Social structures and institutions constructed at one point in time cannot possibly be applicable forever. The critical thing is that this social capital provides those necessary requisites that enable local communities to continue to move forward as the circumstances change.

9.1.5. Policy Intervention Strategies

As previously discussed, the current CBET policy directives partly contributed to the fived sustainable community development goals identified in the literature (Figure 9.1). The economic capability is still lacking. To expand economic opportunities, CBET development needs other policy support mechanisms that focus on improving the

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community's economic development capacity as well as providing locals with better access to markets. Decision-makers have to realize this need and provide the local communities with these other necessary resources and enabling structures in order to build better capabilities to develop and manage the multiple agenda CBET initiatives.

The lessons from the case study at Chambok are that sustainable CBET development initiatives need multiple policy directives. Initially, the CBET program needed the current participatory conservation policy directives in order to establish the protective security, to access economic resources and to create local structures to handle the CBET collaboration. As the development course progressed into a more secure stage, the program needed policy supports in the form of participatory development and local entrepreneurship (e.g., the community-based tourism policy framework). The similar set of resources identified in Figure 9.1 would be needed in this new stage of the CBET development program.

However, CBET policy directives were only partially responsible for the lacking of appropriate resources. The implementing agency, the characters of local communities and development environment strongly influenced the function of social capital with regard to sustainable community development. These dimensions of the social capital development process were missed in the original conceptualization of the dissertation's CBET model. The human dimension of development and how development agents interpret policy directives are critical for CBET development processes and the resulting social capital constructed. In addition to Sen's five resource categories, the construction of positive social capital in a CBET development context requires the presence of specialized and qualified human resources within the implementing agencies, as well as strong and unified local communities that are willing to learn and adapt to new and sometimes rapidly changing development environments.

9.1.6. Social Capital Assessment Methods

Beside the theoretical and managerial dimensions discussed above, this research study also contributed new ways of exploring social capital. Typically, social capital

assessments use quantitative approaches to measure the extent, breadth and depth of these phenomena. This frequently involves the application of structured survey questionnaires that are designed to inform the creation of quantitative indices reflecting the extent of people's relationships and interactions. While this approach provides useful interpretations of the extent and type of capital created, it is less able to examine the human dynamics, as well as internal and external forces shaping its development and use. The dissertation's author believed that the essence of interactions and their outcomes could not be fully answered via the creation of numerical indices, as valuable as they might be in some circumstances.

The author felt that the outcomes of interactions depend also on their purposes and the perceived benefits that might accrue to them and others. Therefore, in this research study, the author combined qualitative and quantitative approaches to measure social capital. In-depth and semi-structured interviews rather than tightly structured survey questionnaires were employed in most situations. The acquaintance and interactions between interviewers and interviewee, as well as the opportunity for probing for clarification and provoking elaboration provided the author with a clearer picture of the extent of social capital in the community from the network users' point of view than from other methods. These more "conversational" methods of inquiry were found to work especially well in contexts where political sensitivities abounded. They also were particularly useful in circumstances where the respondents were quite illiterate or more comfortable responding to questions through examples and stories as opposed to single word or constrained response options.

9.2. Areas for Further Research

It emerges from this study that while macro policy directives influence the construction of structures and institutions at the micro local level, the development agents and the local communities shape the processes of policy implementation, and thus the eventual outcomes generated. The implementing agencies have their own perceptions and interpretation of the policy directives, as well as specific and often constrained capacities

to address the full scope of what needs to be done. Local communities have their own social constitutions and livelihood circumstances that challenge their ability to fully participate in CBET development project. Strategies to address these challenges and limitations are beyond the scope of this study, but should be pursued by others. Another study should examine how to overcome human created challenges in order to design a suitable CBET development process that contributes to transforming policy directives into positive and applicable local institutions.

The model developed in this dissertation is specifically applicable to the context of the Cambodian ethnic majority in general. However, it may not be applicable to the indigenous communities who have their special ways of living. As previously discussed, a local community's capacity, as well as its cultures and social constitutions strongly impact the process and outcomes of social capital construction. Indigenous communities in particular have their customary NRM regimes, and are rather closed to modern technological applications. In many cases, they have not addressed the latest nuances of co-management strategies, nor the workings of free market economies (Bourdier, 2006). The Tumpoun tribe in Cambodia for example, has its unique culture and ways of interaction and exchange. They have many social, cultural and political behaviours and rules (e.g., visitor protocols, communication behaviour, ceremonial rituals and sacred places, etc.) that constrain and inhibit easy interactions with other groups, including tourists (Bourdier, 2006). The author suggests that another study be conducted to determine the appropriateness of CBET development in such contexts, as well as how to specifically build positive social capital for such indigenous communities.

Finally, the Chambok CBET development was one of the oldest decentralization projects in the country when the government tried to combine many priorities into a single development program. At that time, Cambodia was quite young in democratic practices. Development rights for local communities were limited, and the poverty level in rural areas was extensive. Also the government had an environmental commitment to fulfil in order to gain support from supportive international communities. Equally as important, the short escape from prolonged civil wars crippled rural communities'

capabilities in most aspects of development. These challenges made the current shape and functions of social capital as emerged in this study applicable and positive for rural local communities in a CBET development setting.

Currently, Cambodia is more mature in democracy; governance reform programs have mostly been implemented; development agents are more capable in terms of knowledge and experiences in CBET development; and local communities have better physical, social and political infrastructures for development implementation. Therefore, one would expect that new CBET developments have different goals and are promoted by different actors. Social capital construction, therefore, must be taking on different shapes and serve other purposes in today's community development arenas. The author recommends that further study be conducted on CBET development in this emerging context in order to determine how to effectively build positive social capital in this new development environment.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

Interview and Survey Questions

Appendix A.1.   Guiding Questions for Organizational Profile

OP1.   What type of organization is it?

OP2.   How long has the organization been founded?

OP3.   What type of work does this organization focus on?

OP4.   What is it major mission, aim and objectives?

OP5.   Where does its support come from?

OP6.   Where do its funds for this specific CBET project come from?

OP7.   What is the size of this organization?

OP8.   What is its reputation in the broader sphere of its work?

OP9.   What is the organization's approach to this work?

OP10. What is its development approach in Chambok?

OP11. How does this organization work with the community?

OP12. What is its relationship with the selected CBET community, local stakeholders, and relevant stakeholders in CBET development?

OP13. Why does it choose to work with this community?

OP14. How long does the collaboration with the community last?

OP15. Who are the project staff who directly work with the community? What are their qualifications?

OP16. What activities has the organization conducted for the community?

OP17. What resources are allocated to CBET development?

OP18. How is resource allocation decided? Who? What? Why?

Appendix A.2.   Guiding Questions for Policy-Maker Interviews

PM1. What is your role in making this policy?

PM2. Why is it important to have this policy?

PM3. What agency support stimulated the development of this policy? Why?

PM4. What are the objectives of the policy? How were those objectives been made?

PM5. What could be the potential approaches to implementing this policy?

PM6. How does this policy serve the targeted population?

PM7. How does this policy serve your institution and other stakeholders?

PM8. How does your institution delegate its policy implementation duties?

PM9. What are your institution's roles in this policy's implementation?

PM10. What resources do you think can be generated/ provided for implementation?

PM11. Will your institution allow participation of other unintended stakeholders in the policy implementation processes?

PM12. What outcomes does your institution expect to achieve from this policy implementation?

PM13. Will your institutions allow additional non-conservation related community development strategies to take place at the implementation site?

PM14. Do you have a monitoring mechanism for examining the effects of this policy? What?

PM15. How will the monitoring strategy be implemented?

Appendix A.3.   Guiding Questions for CBET MC Interviews

MC1. What is your interest in CBET development? Why?

MC2. How do you support CBET development processes?

MC3. Did you provide support for group development? Did you provide support/ resources for CBET project development? How? What?

MC4. What have been your and your community's directions in CBET development?

MC5. Where did the resources for group development come from? Where were resources for CBET development coming from?

MC6. Have you mobilized local resources for group initiatives? Have you mobilized your group's support for CBET development? How? What?

MC7. Can you identify the CBET development stages in your community?

MC8. What were the social values and norms that you and your community adhered to when you were developing rules and regulations for CBET development?

MC9. What CBET activities have you participated during the development period? How were these activities designed? Who designed those activities?

MC10. How do you work with other groups/organizations in the CBET community?

How do you work with the supporting agencies?
How often do you meet with those external stakeholders?

MC11. Did you participate in making decision concerning resource allocations? How?

MC12. Did you and your group/community have specific priorities or an agenda for all the community/supporting agencies?

MC13. How do you communicate and report about development processes and outcomes to CBET members and the wider community?

MC14. What was your relationship with your collaborators and other MC members?

MC15. Can you list groups or organizations that your group/community has relationships with? What were the nature and conditions of those relationships?

MC16. What were your goals for CBET development in your community?

MC17. Can you list the main outcomes of this project?

MC18. How often did your group/community monitor the outcomes of CBET project?

MC19. Were you satisfied with the outcomes of CBET projects?

MC20. What are your recommendations for the effectiveness of further CBET development?

Appendix A.4.   Guiding Questions for Stakeholder Interviews

SH1.   What is your interest in CBET development? Why?

SH2.   How do you support CBET Development process?

SH3.   What type of institution is your organization?

SH4.   Do you provide support/resources for CBET community? How? What?

SH5.   What is your relationship with this CBET community?

SH6.   What are your goals for this CBET project?

SH7.   Where do your resources for this specific CBET project come from?

SH8.   Why do you choose to work with this community?

SH9.   How long does your collaboration with the community last?

SH10. What activities do you do with the community? What criteria are used to decide upon such activities? Who makes up such criteria?

SH12. How do you work with the community? From where? How often do you meet them?

SH13. How is resource allocation decided? Who? What? Why?

SH14. Do you have areas of priority set by your organization or do you allow for emerging issues and proposals from the community side?

SH15. What is your relationship with the people you work with and the people in the community?

SH16. What have you normally tried to accomplish by working with the community?

SH17. How often do you monitor the outcomes of the project? How do you determine criteria and indicators?

SH18. What do you determine as the main outcomes of the project?

SH19. Can you list the main outcomes of the project?

SH20. Are you satisfied with the final outcomes of the project? Why?

Appendix A.5.   Survey Interview Questions

Date: _____   Interviewer: _____

Interviewee's village of residence: _____

Background Interview

[Ask to speak to the male or female head of the household. The respondent should not be a relative, staying temporarily in the respective household.]

Hello, my name is RITH Sam Ol. I am a lecturer at Royal University of Phnom Penh. I am also completing my studies at Simon Fraser University in Canada and want to learn more about CBET in your community. In particular, I am interested in learning your views (as well as those of other local residents) on how CBET contributes to your community's development and opportunities for you and your family members. I hope that the information you and others in this community provide, will help to increase the value of CBET programs to you and your community.

Your information and that provided by others in this community will be kept strictly confidential. We will not require you to write your name or any other identifying information on any of the information we collect. Your personal answers to my questions will be held in a secure location to be accessed only by me and my supervisor in Canada.

I will ask you questions about your background, your social relations, your opinions about your community, and finally about how you feel you community is today compared to about 10 years ago. The interview will take around two hour of your time and I would really value your inputs.

Would you like to participate at this time?

[If yes, continue survey]
[If no, then ask if it would be more convenient to come back at another time]
[If yes, arrange a mutually agreeable time]
[If no, thank the respondent sincerely and end the interview]

Thank you for agreeing to participate. Where would you like to complete the interview?

Before we start, I would like you to know that your participation is entirely voluntary and that you may choose not to participate at any time with no consequence. The study results will be presented only as a summary along with the views of many other local residents, and your name will not be mentioned in the report.

Start Interview

I.   ABOUT YOU

1.   Gender of the respondent: ☐ Female   ☐ Male

2.   How old are you?   _____ years

3.   How many years have you been living in this village?   _____ years

4.   How many years of formal schooling have you completed?   _____ years

5.   What is your marital status?
    ☐ Married   ☐ Widow (er)
    ☐ Divorced   ☐ Single

6.   How many people in your household: _____ people

7.   Is your house made of cement, wood or mud planks? _____

8.   Do you own any bicycles, motorbikes, ox-carts, car/trucks?
    ☐ Yes: How many? _____ bike, _____ motorbike, _____ox-cart, _____car/truck
    ☐ No

9.   Do you own any rice fields?
    ☐ Yes: How many hectares? _____ hectares
    ☐ No

10. Do you own any chamka (farms)?
    ☐ Yes: How many hectares? _____ hectares
    ☐ No

II. ABOUT YOUR COMMUNITY SOCIAL RELATIONS

A. Your Involvement in CBET Community Groups

I'd like to start by asking you about the groups or committees to which you belong. These could be formally organized groups or just groups of people who get together regularly to do CBET activity or talk about something.

A1. Are you a member of any of the following groups?

Type of Organization	Y	N	Type of Organization	Y	N
1. Women Group			5. Religious Group		
2. Guide Group			6. Home-stay Group		
3. Ox-cart Driver Group			7. CF Group		
4. CBET Management Committee			8. Night Literacy Class		
9. CPA Group					

A2. What is the main benefit from participating in each of the groups in which you are involved (access to service, information, education or training, money, spiritual support, advice, recreation, social status, self-esteem, etc.)?

Type of organization	Perceived Benefits
1. Women Group	
2. Guide Group	
3. Ox-cart Driver Group	
4. CBET Management Committee	
5. Religious Group	
6. Home-stay Group	
7. CF Group	
8. Night literacy Class	
9. CPA Group	

A3. Of all the groups to which you belong, which are the three most important to you? (*Please put the order according to its importance to you*).

Name of Group	Order

A4.   How many times in the past 12 months did you meet this group
        (by attending meeting or do group work)?

Number of Group	Number of Times

A5.   Are you involved in the management committee of any of the three groups?
        ☐ Yes   ☐ No Which one? _____

A6.   Are members of these groups mostly from the same extended family,
        neighbours/friends or from the wider community in general?
        1. Mostly same extended family   2. Mostly neighbours/friends
        3. From the same village   4. Mostly from the same commune
        5. Unsure

Number of Group	Choice Number

A7.   How does one become a member of this group?
        ☐ Through Invitation   ☐ Through Acquaintance   ☐ Through Public Notice
        ☐ Others _____

A8.   Put (✓) in the box (es) provided below if the members of the group you belong to
        have the same category, and put (x) in the box if they are not the same.

Number of Group	Occupation	Religion	Political View	Level of Income	Ethnicity

A9.   When there is a decision to be made in each of the groups you belong to, how does this usually come about?
1 Decision is imposed from outside
2 The leader decides and informs the other group members
3 The leader asks group members what they think and then decides
4 The group members hold a discussion and decide together
5 Other (specify _____)

Number of Group	Choice No

A10.   When group 1 made decisions to distribute grants/loans, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she will pay back or will use the resource in an appropriate manner)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the support first, but he/she will have to support the other back in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (all member will get at least a bit of resource available)
5. Connectedness (one which affiliated with the group)
6. Social Inclusion (one who lives in the same commune)
7. Others:_____

A11.   When group 2 made decisions to distribute grants/loans, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she will pay back or will use the resource in an appropriate manner)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the support first, but he/she will have to support the other back in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (all member will get at least a bit of resource available)
5. Connectedness (one which affiliated with the group)
6. Social Inclusion (one who lives in the same commune)
7. Others:_____

A12.   When group 3 made decisions to distribute grants/loans, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she will pay back or will use the resource in an appropriate manner)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the support first, but he/she will have to support the other back in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (all member will get at least a bit of resource available)
5. Connectedness (one which affiliated with the group)
6. Social Inclusion (one who lives in the same commune)
7. Others:_____

A13.   When group 1 made decisions to select members for training opportunities, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she can learn and will transfer what he/she learn to the group)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the training first, but he/she will have to support the others in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (all member will get at least one chance)
5. Collectiveness (one who care for common interest of the group than his own)
6. Social Inclusion (anyone in the community who are interested to learn)
7. Others:_____

A14.   When group 2 made decisions to select members for training opportunities, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she can learn and will transfer what he/she learn to the group)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the training first, but he/she will have to support the others in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (all member will get at least one chance)
5. Collectiveness (one who care for common interest of the group than his own)
6. Social Inclusion (anyone in the community who are interested to learn)
7. Others:_____

A15.   When group 3 made decisions to select members for training opportunities, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she can learn and will transfer what he/she learn to the group)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the training first, but he/she will have to support the others in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (all member will get at least one chance)
5. Collectiveness (one who care for common interest of the group than his own)
6. Social Inclusion (anyone in the community who are interested to learn)
7. Others:_____

A16.   When group 1 made decisions to distribute service operation turn, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she will be able to provide competence services)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the support first, but he/she will have to support the others in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (rotation; all member will get at least one chance)
5. Collectiveness (one who cares for common interest of the group than his own)
6. Social Inclusion (anyone in the community)
7. Others:_____

A17.   When group 2 made decisions to distribute service operation turn, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
2. Trust (believing that he/she will be able to provide competence services)
3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the support first, but he/she will have to support the others in the future when another group member needs him/her)
4. Sharing (rotation; all member will get at least one chance)
5. Collectiveness (one who cares for common interest of the group than his own)
6. Social Inclusion (anyone in the community)
7. Others:_____

A18.   When group 3 made decisions to distribute service operation turns, what internal rules or norms does this group use? Circle the number that applies to your group. You can choose more than one answer.

   1. Equity (one member at a time; the priority will be determined by majority of members)
   2. Trust (believing that he/she will be able to provide competence services)
   3. Reciprocity (one in high need will get the support first, but he/she will have to support the others in the future when another group member needs him/her)
   4. Sharing (rotation; all member will get at least one chance)
   5. Collectiveness (one who cares for common interest of the group than his own)
   6. Social Inclusion (anyone in the community)
   7. Others:_____

A19.   How were these rules and regulations made? (e.g., who set them up and what factors were considered when they were established?)

   _____
   _____

A20.   Do you think these rules and regulation are good / bad for your group? Why? Or which ones work best and which ones work poorest? Why?

   _____
   _____

A21.   How are leaders in these groups selected?

   1 By an outside person or entity   2 Each leader chooses his/her successor
   3 By a small group of members   4 By decision/vote of all members
   5 By vote of all members and approval of local authority
   6 Other (specify _____)

Number of Group	Choice No

A22. In the past 5 years (or after CBET/CF establishment), has membership in the group declined, remained the same or increased?
1. Declined   2. Remain the same   3. Increased

Name of Groups	Choice No

A23. Does the group you belong to interact with other groups in the CBET community? Can you list three names of other groups with which your group interacts?
1 No   2 Yes, Occasionally   3 Yes, Frequently

Name of Groups	Choice No	Name of Groups Interacted

A24. Normally, what types of concerns / issues cause such interactions to happen?

_____

_____

A25. Does the group you belong to interact with other groups outside the CBET community? Can you list three names of other groups or institutions with which your groups interact?
1 No   2 Yes, Occasionally   3 Yes, Frequently

Name of Groups	Choice No	Name of Groups Interacted

A26. Normally, what types of CBET concerns lead to these interactions?

_____

_____

A27. What are the important sources of support/resources for each of your groups?
   1. From sources within the membership   2. From other sources within the community
   3. From sources outside the community   4. Others (Specify_____)

Name of Group	Choice No

A28. To what extent over the past 12 months did Group number 1 provide you with the following personal benefits?

✿ Access to Services	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Information	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Training	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Grant or Loan	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Spiritual Support	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Advice	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Recreation	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Social Confidential	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Self-Esteem	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal

A29. To what extent over the past 12 months did Group number 2 provide you with the following personal benefits?

✿ Access to Services	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Information	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Training	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Grant or Loan	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Spiritual Support	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Advice	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Recreation	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Social Confidential	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Self-Esteem	☐ None at all	☐A Little	☐Some	☐ A great deal

A30. To what extent over the past 12 months did Group number 3 provide you with the following personal benefits:

✿ Access to Services	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Information	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Training	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Grant or Loan	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Spiritual Support	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Advice	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Recreation	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Social Confidential	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal
✿ Self-Esteem	☐ None at all	☐ A Little	☐ Some	☐ A great deal

A31. Do you find it easy or difficult to get each of the following types of support/resources? Why?

✿Access to Services   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿Information   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿Education or Training   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿ Grant or Loan   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿ Spiritual Support   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿ Advice   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿ Recreation   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿ Social Confidential   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

✿ Self-Esteem   ☐ Easy   ☐Difficult
   Because:_____

A32. Do you think that the support you received from your groups is adequate / inadequate? Why?

✡ Access to Services ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Information ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Training ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Grant or Loan ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Spiritual Support ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Advice ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Recreation ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Social Confidential ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

✡ Self-Esteem ☐ Very Inadequate ☐Somewhat Adequate ☐ Very Adequate
 Because:_____

A33. Overall, how would you evaluate the functioning of the group of which you are a member?
☐ Very Bad   ☐ Bad   ☐ Neither Good or Bad   ☐ Good   ☐ Very Good

Please elaborate on what works best and what needs improvement and why?

_____

_____

_____

II. ABOUT YOUR COMMUNITY AND YOU

Now I would like to ask you about your views (with relation to trust, sharing and reciprocity, cooperation, connectedness and social inclusion) toward your friends, neighbours, other people within your group or neighbourhood and the CBET community.

B. About Trust

B1.   Generally, do you feel that most people in your CBET community can be trusted?
☐Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Unsure

B2.   In general, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
1. Agree Strongly   2. Agree Somewhat   3. Nether Agree nor Disagree
4. Disagree Somewhat   5. Disagree Strongly

Most people who belong to my CBET group can be trusted.	
In my CBET group, I have to be aware of others who may be likely to take advantage of me	
Most people who belong to my CBET group are willing to help me if I need it.	
In my CBET group, people generally do not trust each other in matters of lending money	

B3.   To what extent do you trust the following types of people in your community? Why?
1. To a Very Small Extent 2. To a Small Extent 3. Neither Small nor Great Extent
4. To a Great Extent   5. To a Very Great Extent

Type of people	No	Reasons
People from your ethnic		
People from other ethnic		
Local government officials		
District, provincial or ministerial govt. officers		
National park ranger		
Police or Police Military		
NGOs officers		
CF/CPA chief		
CBET chief		
CBET subcommittee		
Strangers		

B4. To what extent (over the last 10 years) has the level of trust in your CBET group increased or decreased?
☐ Increased a Lot   ☐ Somewhat Increased   ☐ Remained the Same
☐ Somewhat Decreased   ☐ Decreased a Lot

B5. To what extent (over the last 10 years) has your ability to speak out when you disagree with other people in CBET community increased or decreased?
☐ Increased a Lot   ☐ Somewhat Increased   ☐ Remained the Same
☐ Somewhat Decreased   ☐ Decreased a Lot

B6. In your opinion, what actually cause the change in trust level in your village/commune?
Causes_____

_____

B7. In your opinion, what actually caused the change in your ability to voice out your thoughts?
Causes_____

_____

C. About You and the Sense of Connectedness and Cooperation in CBET Community

C1. To what extent do people in CBET groups help each other out these days?
☐ Always Helping   ☐ Helping Sometimes
☐ Helping Rarely   ☐ Never Helping

C2. If your CBET group has a project activity that does not directly benefit you, but assists many others in the organization, would you contribute time and /or money to the project?
☐ Time   (1. Will not contribute time;   2. Will contribute time)
☐ Money   (1. Will not contribute money;   2 Will contribute money)

C3. If no, what factors would contribute to your decision not to help?

_____

_____

C4.   To what extent do you feel your CBET community would help each other if a
       natural disaster or serious crisis happened (e.g., flooding, forest fire, house fire,
       unyielding harvest) that affected the group members?
       1. Always   2. Often   3. Sometimes   4. Rarely   5. Never

Each family (e.g., brothers/sisters) would make repairs of their property on their own	
Neighbours/friends would work together to make repairs of each other's property	
The entire community would work together to repair homes and communal structures	
It would be up to government to solve the problem	
Others (please specify)	

C5.   When conflicts (involved with the use of natural resources) arise between people
       in your CBET community? Who usually responds and helps resolve the problem?
       1. Always   2. Often   3. Sometimes   4. Rarely   5. Never

Discussion among involved individuals	
Community discussion or meeting	
Police/government intervention	
NGO officer intervention	
Others (please specify)	

C6.   When conflicts (involved with decision concerning CBET activities) arise
       between people in your CBET community? Who usually responds and helps
       resolve the problem?
       1. Always   2. Often   3. Sometimes   4. Rarely   5. Never

Discussion among individuals	
Community discussion or meeting	
Police/government intervention	
NGO officer intervention	
Others (please specify…………………………………………….)	

C7.   When conflicts (involved with the management of CBET) arise between people in your CBET community? Who usually responds and helps resolve the problem?
1. Always   2. Often   3. Sometimes   4. Rarely   5. Never

Discussion among individuals	
Community discussion or meeting	
Police/government involvement	
NGO involvement	
Others (please specify)	

C8.   In the past 10 years, have you worked with others in your village to do something for the benefit of the CBET community?   ☐Yes   ☐No

C9.   What were three main activities of this type in the past 10 years?
Was this participation volunteered or required?

Activities	Volunteer	Required

C10.   How likely is it that people who do not participate in CBET community activities will be criticized?
☐ Very likely   ☐ Somewhat likely   ☐ Very unlikely

C11.   What proportion of people in CBET group contributes time toward common conservation goals such as making fire path in the forest?
☐ Everyone   ☐ More than half   ☐ About half   ☐ Less than half   ☐ No one

C12.   What proportion of people in CBET group contributes time toward common conservation goals such as patrolling forest?
☐ Everyone   ☐ More than half   ☐ About half   ☐ Less than half   ☐ No one

C13.   What proportion of people in CBET group contributes time toward common development goals such as making or repairing tour trails?
☐ Everyone   ☐ More than half   ☐ About half   ☐ Less than half   ☐ No one

C14.   What proportion of people in CBET group contributes time toward common development goals such as building kiosk or visitor information center?
☐ Everyone   ☐ More than half   ☐ About half   ☐ Less than half   ☐ No one

C15. What proportion of people in CBET group contributes time toward common development goals such as putting indicative signage?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C16. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as repairing public roads/path?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C17. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as building bridge in the community?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C18. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as building community hall?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C19. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as building water supply system (dam and pipe)?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C20. What proportion of people in CBET groups reciprocates favours such as farming for friends/neighbours?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C21. What proportion of people in CBET groups reciprocates favours in special event (ceremony, wedding or funeral) for friends/neighbours?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C22. What proportion of people in CBET groups reciprocates favours such as building house for friends/neighbours?
☐ Everyone ☐ More than half ☐ About half ☐ Less than half ☐ No one

C23. Has the percentage of people involved in collective action decreased, remain the same or increase in the last 10 years, especially after CF and CBET initiatives?
Why? ☐ Decreased ☐ Remain the same ☐ Increased
Because_____

_____

C24. Has the percentage of people involved in reciprocate action decreased, remain the same or increase in the last 10 years, especially after CF and CBET initiatives?
Why? ☐ Decreased ☐ Remain the same ☐ Increased
Because_____

_____

C25.   To what extent has the feeling of connectedness in CBET community changed over the past 10 years?
☐ Decreased a lot   ☐ Somewhat decreased
☐ Increased somewhat   ☐ Increased a lot

D. About You and CBET Activity Communication

D1.   To what extent are you normally kept aware of CBET related activities?
☐ Not at all   ☐ A Little   ☐ Somewhat   ☐A lot

D2.   If you are kept informed somewhat or a lot, how does this happen?
Via_____

D3.   To what extent, are you aware of how decisions concerning CBET activities are made? Why?   ☐ Not at all   ☐ A Little   ☐ Somewhat   ☐A lot
Because_____

D4.   To what extend do you feel you have control over decisions affecting CBET activities? Do you have…
☐ No control   ☐ Control over very few decisions
☐ Control over some decisions ☐ Control over most decisions

D5.   To what extent do you feel that you have the power to make important decisions that change the course of CBET development process?
☐ Not at all   ☐ A Little   ☐Somewhat   ☐ A Great Deal   ☐ Absolutely

D6.   Did you vote in the last election to choose the CBET leader?   ☐Yes   ☐No
Because_____

D7.   To what extent do you feel you know CBET committee activities?
☐ Not at all   ☐A Little   ☐ Somewhat   ☐A Great Deal

List three main activities of CBET committee that you know of.

1._____
2._____
3._____

D8.   Overall, to what extent do you feel you personally have had an impact in making CBET development in your community a productive project?
☐ Not at all   ☐A Little   ☐ Somewhat   ☐A Great Deal

D9.   Overall, to what extent do you feel you personally have had an impact in making CBET development in your community a successful project?
☐ Not at all   ☐A Little   ☐ Somewhat   ☐A Great Deal

D10.   What are the most important sources you use to gain information about what CBET Groups are doing with respect to CBET development?
☐ Relatives, friends and neighbours ☐ Community bulletin board
☐ CBET Committee ☐ Business or work associates
☐ Community leaders ☐ An agent of the government
☐ NGOs Officer ☐ Others_____

D11.   What are the most important sources you use to gain information about what CBET Groups are doing with respect to natural resource management?
☐ Relatives, friends and neighbours ☐ Community bulletin board
☐ CBET Committee ☐ Business or work associates
☐ Community leaders ☐ An agent of the government
☐ NGOs Officer ☐ Others_____

D12.   What are the most important sources you use to gain information about what CBET Groups are doing with respect to education or training opportunities?
☐ Relatives, friends and neighbours ☐ Community bulletin board
☐ CBET Committee ☐ Business or work associates
☐ Community leaders ☐ An agent of the government
☐ NGOs Officer ☐ Others_____

D13.   What are the most important sources you use to gain information about community chief elections?
☐ Relatives, friends and neighbours ☐ Community bulletin board
☐ CBET Committee ☐ Business or work associates
☐ Community leaders ☐ An agent of the government
☐ NGOs Officer ☐ Others_____

D14.   What are the most important sources of tourist information related to CBET activities (such as jobs, prices, etc)?
☐ Relatives, friends and neighbours ☐ Community bulletin board
☐ CBET Committee ☐ Business or work associates
☐ Community leaders ☐ An agent of the government
☐ NGOs Officer ☐ Others_____

D15.   Over the past five years, to what extent has access to the information and communication in your CBET groups improved, deteriorated, or stayed about the same? Why? ☐ Deteriorated a Lot   ☐ Deteriorated Somewhat
☐Stayed about the Same   ☐ Improved Somewhat   ☐Improved a Lot

Because_____

_____

D16. In general, compared to the last 10 years, has freedom to participate in CBET development activities improved, deteriorated, or stayed about the same? Why?

☐ Improved a Lot   ☐ Improved Somewhat   ☐ Stay about the Same
☐ Deteriorated Somewhat   ☐ Deteriorated a Lot

Because_____

_____

E. About Differences in Your CBET Community

E1. People in CBET groups are not necessarily all alike. For example, they may be different in their wealth, income, social status, ethnic background, or race. There can also be differences in their religious or political beliefs, or there can be differences due to age or sex. To what extent do any such differences characterize your CBET groups?   ☐ Not at all   ☐ A Little   ☐ Somewhat   ☐ A lot

E2. Do any of these differences cause problems?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

E3. To what extent does each of the following cause jealousy?
1. Not at all   2. A Little   3. Somewhat   4. A lot

Differences	Choice No
Differences in education	
Differences in landholding	
Differences in wealth/material possessions	
Differences in social status	
Differences between men and women	
Differences between younger and older generations	
Differences between long-term and recent residents	
Differences in political party affiliations	
Differences in religious beliefs	
Differences in ethnic background	
Difference in CBET group involved	
Difference in CF involvement	
Differences in CPA involvement	

E4.   To what extent does each of the following issues cause conflict?
        1. Not at all   2. A Little   3. Somewhat   4. A lot

Differences	Choice No
Differences in education	
Differences in landholding	
Differences in wealth/material possessions	
Differences in social status	
Differences between men and women	
Differences between younger and older generations	
Differences between long-term and recent residents	
Differences in political party affiliations	
Differences in religious beliefs	
Differences in ethnic background	
Difference in CBET group involved	
Difference in CF involvement	
Differences in CPA involvement	

E5.   Are there any people in CBET groups who are prevented from or do not have
        access to the following resources?

	1.Yes 2. No	How many are excluded? 1. Only a few people 2. Less than half of the village 3. More than half of the village
Schooling provided by government		
Tourism related training provided by NGOs		
Clean water system provided by NGOs		
Loan or credit provided by NGOs		
Economic activities stimulated by NGOs		
NTFPs in the community forestry or CPA		

E6.   Do you agree with this exclusion?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

E7.   Can you see why these groups of people should be excluded from accessing those
        resources?

Because_____

_____

E8.   Are there any activities in your CBET group in which you are not allowed to participate?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

E9.   Can you list three activities in which you personally are not allowed to participate?

_____

_____

_____

E10. Why are you not allowed to participate?
      ☐ Poverty   ☐ Occupation   ☐ Lack of education
      ☐ Gender   ☐ Age   ☐ Religion
      ☐ Political affiliation   ☐ Ethnicity   ☐ Language
      ☐ Social Status   ☐ Other (specify _____)

E11. Please elaborate on the factor that is most of a constraint to your participation

_____

_____

F. You and Local Forests

F1.   Over the last 5 years, how often have you been into the forest?
      ☐ Almost daily   ☐ Weekly   ☐ Monthly   ☐ A few times   ☐ Never

F2.   In your opinion, how much forest cover remains compared to 10 years ago? [If the respondent has been in area for less than 10 years, check "unsure" if they do not have an opinion].   ☐ Fewer   ☐ About the same   ☐ More   ☐ Unsure

F3. Since 1993, with the reestablishment of Kirirom National Park, the government implemented certain restrictions on the normal activities such as logging in certain areas. To what extent has your livelihood activities and work opportunities been affected by these restrictions?
      ☐ Affected Substantially   ☐ Affected Somewhat   ☐ Affected Little
      ☐ Remained the Same   ☐ Unsure
      Because_____

_____

F4. Compared with current government conservation policy, to what extent do CBET policies enhance or decrease your ability to reasonably use the forest resources? Why?

☐ Substantially Increased ☐ Somewhat Increased ☐ Remain the Same
☐ Decreased Somewhat, ☐ Substantially Decreased ☐ Unsure

Because_____

_____

F5. How important /unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as charcoal making?

☐ Very Important ☐ Somewhat Important ☐ Not at all Important ☐ Unsure

F6. How important /unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as logging?

☐ Very Important ☐ Somewhat Important ☐ Not at all Important ☐ Unsure

F7. How important /unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as farming?

☐ Very Important ☐ Somewhat Important ☐ Not at all Important ☐ Unsure

F8. How important /unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as hunting?

☐ Very Important ☐ Somewhat Important ☐ Not at all Important ☐ Unsure

F9. Compared to 10 years ago, to what extent has there been a change in the overall abundance of non-timber forest product?

☐ Increase in abundance ☐ No change ☐ Decrease in abundance ☐ Unsure

F10. Compared to 10 years ago, to what extent has there been a change in the overall abundance of wild animals?

☐ Increase in abundance ☐ No change ☐ Decrease in abundance ☐ Unsure

F11. Compared to 10 years ago, to what extent has your CBET development contributed to the community's overall well-being?

☐ Increased a Lot ☐ Increased Somewhat ☐ About the Same,
☐ Decreased Somewhat, ☐ Decreased a Lot

Please elaborate the reason why you think so?

_____

_____

_____

F12.   Are there any other comments you would like to make concerning CBET's contributions to you and /or your community?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank You for Taking Your Very Valuable Time to Complete This Questionnaire!

Appendix B.

Social Capital Analysis Tables

Measurement of Bonding Social Capital

Table B2.1.   Measurement of Bonding Social Capital

Indicators	Lines of Questions/Variables
Diversity	
Size of groups in CBET community	Based on record of group membership in CBET community
Diversity	
Year of Residency in Chambok (CB)	3. How many year have you been living in this area?
Marital status	4. What is your marital status?
Economic Status	5. Do you own any bike, motorbike, ox-cart, car/truck? 6. Do you own any Sre (rice field)? 7. Do you own any chamkar (orchard)?
Education	4. How many year of formal schooling have you completed?
Age	2. How old are you?
Gender	1. Gender of respondents
Political view	A8. Are the members of the group you belong to in the same category as your?
Cultural background	A8. Are the members of the group you belong to in the same category as you?
Centrality	
Frequency of contact	A4. How many times in the past 12 months did you meet this group (by attending meeting or do group work)?
Intensity of Contact	A6. Are members of these groups mostly from the same extended family, neighbours/ friends or from the wider community in general?
Stability of network	A22. In the past 5 years (or after CBET establishment), has membership in the group declined, remained the same or increased?
Function	
Perception of Benefit	A2. What is the main benefit from participating in each of the groups in which you are involved A28. To what extent over the past 12 months did Group number 1 provide you with following benefits A29. To what extent over the past 12 months did Group number 2 provide you with following benefits A30. To what extent over the past 12 months did Group number 3 provide you with following benefits
Resource Availability	A27. What are the important sources of support/resources for each of your groups?
	A23. Does the group you belong to interact with other groups in the CBET community?

Indicators	Lines of Questions/Variables
	25. Does the group you belong to interact with other groups outsides of CBET community?
Conditions for Access to Resources	A7. How does one become a member of this group? A9. When there is a decision to be made in each of the group you belong how does this usually come about? A21. How are leaders in these groups selected?
Norms for Resources/ Benefit Distribution	A10. When group 1 made decision to distribute grant/loan, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A11. When group 2 made decision to distribute grant/loan, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A12. When group 3 made decision to distribute grant/loan, what internal rules or norms does this group use? When group 1 made decision to select members for training opportunities, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A14. When group 2 made decision to select members for training opportunities, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A15. When group 3 made decision to select members for training opportunities, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A16. When group 1 made decision to distribute service operation turn, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A17. When group 2 made decision to distribute service operation turn, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A18. When group 3 made decision to distribute service operation turn, what internal rules or norms does this group use? A19. How were these rules and regulations made? (e.g., who set them up and what factors were considered when they were established? A20. Do you think these rules and regulation are good / bad for your group? Why? Or which ones work best and which ones work poorest? Why?

Table B2.2 Bonding Social Capital of MC

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
Strength			
Size of network	No of member	12 (2002-2008)	
Diversity of network	Residency	Live in CB more than 10 years	100%
	Economic status	Middle class person Poor[28] person	67.8% 33.2%
	Education	Less than Grade 6 More than Grade 6	75.1% 24.9%
	Political view	Different	100%
	Cultural view	Buddhist Religion Khmer Ethnicity	91.6% 91.6%
Frequency of Contacts	# of contacts in the last 12 months	Meet between 12-60 Meet more than 61	91.6% 8.4%
Intensity of Contacts	Relationship between member	Live in same commune Friends/Relatives	91.6% 8.4%
Stability of Network	Change in # of member	Increased (18person in 2009)	100%
Network Mobilization			
Perception of benefit	Expected benefit	Grant/loan Spiritual support Education/training Recreation Self Esteem Advice Social credentials	100% 50% 75% 75% 75% 50% 75%
	Received benefit in last 12 mth	Social credentials Self Esteem Grant/loan Education/training	75% 75% 100% 100%
Resource Availability	Sources of support/resources	In the community	100%
	Interaction with other groups in CBET community	Frequently	100%
	Interaction with other groups outside of CBET community	Frequently	100%
	Member who belong to more than one group	Homestay group Ox-cart group CPA group CF group Woman Association	25% 10% 100% 100% 25%
Network Function			

[28] Poor person is defined by having less possession than are determined for the middle class in number 21.

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
Conditions for Access to Resources	How to become member	Volunteer	100%
	Decision making process	Discussion	100%
	Leader selection	Vote	100%
Norms for Resource/benefit Distribution	Loan/grant rules	Reciprocity	100%
		Trust	75%
		Connectedness	75%
	Training rules	Collectiveness	100%
		Equity	75%
		Trust	50%
Group Assessment	Function	Good	100%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79 (# of MC = 12).

Table B2.3   Bonding Social Capital of Woman Association

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
Strength			
Size of network	No of member	58 (2002-2004)	
Diversity of network	Residency	More than 10 years	55.6%
		Between 5-10	40.7%
		Less than 5	3.7%
	Economic status	Middle class person	35%
		Poor person	65%
	Education	Less than Grade 6	55.6%
		More than Grade 6	14.8%
		No formal schooling	29.6%
	Political view	Different	88.5%
		Same	11.5%
	Cultural view	Buddhist Religion	96.3%
		Khmer Ethnicity	100%
Frequency of Contacts	# of contacts in the last 12 months	Meet between 12-60	31.6%
		Less than 12	2.5%
		Never meet	65.8%
Intensity of Contacts	Relationship between member	Live in same commune	50%
		Friends/Relatives	
			50%
Stability of Network	Change in # of member	Increased (304 person in 2009)	96.4%
Network Mobilization			
Perception of benefit	Expected benefit	Grant/loan	89.3%
		Spiritual support	47%
		Education/training	89.3%
		Recreation	23.5%
		Self Esteem	41.2%
		Social credentials	23.5%
	Received benefit in last 12 mths	Social credentials	52.9%

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
		Self Esteem	41.2%
		Access to service	70.6%
		Grant/loan	23.5%
		Recreation	11.8%
		Information	5.9%
		Education/Training	5.9%
Resource Availability	Sources of support/resources	In the community	74.1%
		From members	14.8%
		Outside community	11.1%
	Interaction with other groups in CBET community	Frequently	22.8%
		Occasionally	8.9%
		Never	68.4%
	Interaction with other groups outside of CBET community	Frequently	5.1%
		Occasionally	12.7%
		Never	82.3%
	Member who belong to more than one group	Homestay group	14.8%
		Ox-cart group	18.5%
		Guide group	14.8%
		MC	6.14%
Network Function			
Conditions for Access to Resources	How to become member	Volunteer	100%
	Decision making process	Discussion	92.6%
		Consultation	3.7%
		Leader decide	3.7%
	Leader selection	Vote	92.6%
Norms for Resource/benefit Distribution	Loan/grant rules	Reciprocity	66.7%
		Trust	66.7%
	Training rules	Collectiveness	96.3%
	Service operation rules	Trust	66.7%
		Reciprocity	66.7%
Group Assessment	Function	Good	81.5%
		Very good	11.1%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79.

Table B2.4   Bonding Social Capital of Homestay Group

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
Strength			
Size of network	No of member	3 (2003)	
Diversity of network	Residency	More than 10 years Between 5-10	81.3% 18.7%
	Economic status	Middle class person Poor person	55.6% 44.4%
	Education	Less than Grade 6 More than Grade 6 No formal schooling	62.4% 18.8% 18.8%
	Political view	Different	100%
	Cultural view	Buddhist Religion Khmer Ethnicity	100% 100%
Frequency of Contacts	# of contacts in the last 12 months	Meet between 12-60 Less than 12 Never meet	15.1% 5.1% 79.7%
Intensity of Contacts	Relationship between member	Live in same commune Friends/Relatives	64.7% 35.3%
Stability of Network	Change in # of member	Increased (32 houses in 2009)	100%
Network Mobilization			
Perception of benefit	Expected benefit	Grant/loan Spiritual support Education/training Recreation Self Esteem Social credentials Information	88.2% 47% 64.7% 5.9% 11.8% 11.5% 5.9%
	Received benefit in last 12 mths	Spiritual support Self Esteem Access to services Grant/loan Information Education/training Recreation	33.4% 16.7% 33.4% 16.7% 16.7% 16.7% 33.4%
Resource Availability	Sources of support/resources	In the community From members Outside community	76.5% 5.9% 17.6%
	Interaction with other groups in CBET community	Frequently Occasionally Never	8.9% 11.4% 79.7%
	Interaction with other groups outside of CBET community	Frequently Occasionally Never	10.2% 2.5% 87.3%
	Member who belong to more	Woman Association	25.2%

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
than one group		Guide Group	12.6%
		MC group	6.3%
Network Function			
Conditions for Access to Resources	How to become member	Volunteer	100%
	Decision making process	Discussion	88.2%
		Consultation	5.9%
		Leader decide	5.9%
	Leader selection	Vote	47.1%
		CBET MC decide	47.1%
		Volunteer	5.9%
Norms for Resource/benefit Distribution	Loan/grant rules	Reciprocity	64.7%
		Trust	82.4%
		Connectedness	76.5%
		Equity	35.3%
		Sharing	35.3%
	Training rules	Collectiveness	87.5%
		Equity	56.3%
		Trust	56.3%
		Reciprocity	31.3%
		Sharing	31.3%
	Service operation rules	Trust	81.3%
		Reciprocity	50%
		Collectiveness	75%
		Equity	62.5%
		Sharing	37.6%
Group Assessment	Function	Good	82.4%
		Very good	5.9%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79.

Table B2.5   Bonding Social Capital of Guide Group

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
Strength			
Size of network	No of member	27 (2003)	
Diversity of network	Residency	More than 10 years Between 5-10	58.8% 41.2%
	Economic status	Middle class person Poor person	58.8% 41.2%
	Education	Less than Grade 6 More than Grade 6 No formal schooling	35.3% 47.1% 17.6%
	Political view	Different	94.1%
	Cultural view	Buddhist Religion Khmer Ethnicity	91.4% 100%
Frequency of Contacts	# of contacts in the last 12 months	Meet between 12-60 Less than 12 Never meet	19% 1.3% 79.7%
Intensity of Contacts	Relationship between member	Live in same commune Friends/ Relatives	62.4% 37.6%
Stability of Network	Change in # of member	Decreased (20 person in 2009)	73.3%
Network Mobilization			
Perception of benefit	Expected benefit	Grant/loan Spiritual support Education/training Recreation Self Esteem Social credentials Information	88.9% 44.5% 83.3% 22.2% 50% 11.1% 5.6%
	Received benefit in last 12 mths	Social credentials Self Esteem Access to service Grant/loan Recreation Spiritual support	50% 40% 60% 10% 30% 40%
Resource	Sources of support/resources	In the community	75%

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
Availability		From members	6.3%
		Outside community	18.7%
	Interaction with other groups in CBET community	Frequently	16.5%
		Occasionally	5.1%
		Never	78.5%
	Interaction with other groups outside of CBET community	Frequently	8.9%
		Occasionally	1.3%
		Never	89.9%
	Member who belong to more than one group	Homestay group	11.6%
		Ox-cart group	23.2%
		Woman Association	29%
		CF Group	11.6%
Network Function			
Conditions for Access to Resources	How to become member	Volunteer	100%
	Decision making process	Discussion	100%
	Leader selection	Vote	100%
Norms for Resource/benefit Distribution	Loan/grant rules	Reciprocity	31.3%
		Trust	56.3%
		Connectedness	31.3%
		Equity	37.3%
		Sharing	31.3%
	Training rules	Collectiveness	85.3%
		Equity	42.9%
		Trust	50%
		Reciprocity	7.1%
		Sharing	28.5%
	Service operation rules	Trust	68.8%
		Reciprocity	31.3%
		Collectiveness	25%
		Equity	50%
		Sharing	25%
Group Assessment	Function	Good	81.3%
		Very good	18.7%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79.

Measurement of Bridging Social Capital

Table B2.6   Measurement of Intra-Bridging Social Capital

Intra-Bridging Indicators	Lines of Questions
Strength of CBET community	
Size:	Number of groups in CBET community
Diversity	Types of groups in CBET community
Acceptance of different lifestyles	E1. People in CBET groups are not necessary all alike. For example, they may be different in their wealth, income, social status, ethnic background, or race. There can also be different in their religion or political beliefs, or there can be differences due to age or sex. To what extent do any of such differences characterized your CBET group. F5. How important/unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as charcoal making? F6. How important/unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as logging? F7. How important/unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as farming? F8. How important/unimportant to your livelihood are CBET initiatives especially economic opportunities in comparison to other activities such as hunting?
Level of connectedness between groups in CBET community	MC13. How did you communicate or report activities with CBET members? MC14. Did you have relationship with other group in CBET community? A23. Does the group you belong to interact with other groups in the CBET community? A24. What types of concerns/issues cause such interaction?
Support for diversity	E2. Do any of these differences cause problems? E3. To what extent does each of the following cause jealousy? E4. To what extent does each of the following cause conflict?
Expression of negative behavior toward diversity	C10. How likely is it that people who do not participate in CBET community activities will be criticized? E5. Are there any group of people in CBET group who are prevented from or do not have access to following resources? E6. Do you agree with this exclusion? E7. Can you see why these groups of people should be excluded from accessing those resources? E8. Are there any activities in your CBET group in which you are not allowed to participate? E9. Can you list three activities in which you personally are not allowed to participate? E10. Why are not allowed to participate? E11. Please elaborate on the factor that is most of a constraint to your participation?

Intra-Bridging Indicators	Lines of Questions
Support for innovation	D16. In general, compared to the last 10 years, has freedom to participate in CBET development activities improved, deteriorated, or stayed about the same? Why?
	C2. If your CBET group has a project activities that does not directly benefit you, but assists many others in the organization, would you contribute time /money to the project?
	C3. If no, what factors would contribute to your decision not to help?
	C25. To what extent has the feeling of connectedness in CBET community changed over the last 10 years?
Frequency of Contact: Number and length of contacts between groups in CBET community	MC10. How do you work with other groups/organizations in CBET community?
Stability of CBET community	In the past 5 years, has number of group in CBET community declined, remained the same or increased? (meeting record)
Community Function	
Mobilization of resources in the CBET community	MC3. Did you contribute your time/resources for group development? What?
	MC5. Where did resources for group development come from?
	MC6. Did you mobilize local resources for group initiatives? How? What?
Participation in common resource conservation	C11. What proportion of people in CBET group contributes time toward common conservation goal such as fire path making?
	C12. What proportion of people in CBET group contributes time toward common conservation goal such as patrolling forest?
Participation in CBET events	D6. Did you vote in the last election to choose CBET leaders?
	C13. What proportion of CBET group contributes time toward common development goals such as making or repairing tour trails?
	C14. What proportion of CBET group contributes time toward common development goals such as building kiosk or information center?
	C15. What proportion of CBET group contributes time toward common development goals such as putting indicative sighs?
Gap between expectation and reception of resources/benefits	MC1. What is your interest in CBET development
	MC4. What have been your and your community's goals in CBET development?
	MC18. What have been the main outcomes of the project?
	MC19. Have you been satisfied with the outcomes of the project?
Level of involvement in CBET community	D3. To what extent are you aware of how decision making concerning CBET activities are made? Why?
	D4. To what extent do you feel you have control over decisions affecting CBET activities? Do you have?

Intra-Bridging Indicators	Lines of Questions
	D5. To what extent do you feel you have power to make important decisions that change the course of CBET development process?
	D8. Overall, to what extent do you feel you personally have had an impact in making CBET development a productive project?
	D9. Overall, to what extent do you feel you personally have had an impact in making CBET development a successful project?
Quality and democratic aspect of interactions, openness, and respect of actors, confidence in the contribution of each member of the community	MC9. What have you done during CBET development period? One what criteria or principles did those activities based? Whose principles/criteria have they been?
	MC11. Did you participate in resources allocation? What? How?
	MC12. Did you and your community have own priority or follow agenda of the supporting agencies?
	D1. To what extent are you normally kept aware of CBET related activities?
	D2. If you are kept informed somewhat or a lot, how does this happen?
	D10. What are the most important source you use to gain information about what CBET community is doing with respect to CBET development?
	D11. What are the most important source you use to gain information about what CBET community is doing with respect to CBET development or NRM?
	D12. What are the most important source you use to gain information about what CBET community is doing with respect to training opportunities?
	D13. What are the most important source you use to gain information about community chief election?
	D10. What are the most important source of tourist information related to CBET (such as jobs, prices, etc.)?
	C5. When conflicts (involved with the use of NR) arise between people in your CBET community, who usually respond and help resolved the problems?
	C6. When conflicts (involved with decision concerning CBET activities) arise between people in your CBET community, who usually respond and help resolved the problems?
	C7. When conflicts (involved with management of CBET) arise between people in your CBET community, who usually respond and help resolved the problems?
Assessment of Function	A32. Do you think the support you received from your groups is adequate / inadequate? Why?
	A31. Do you find it easy or difficult to get each of the supports/resources? Why?
	33. Overall, how would you evaluate the functioning of the group of which you are a member?

Table B2.7   Intra-Bridging Social Capital (Structural Property)

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Percentage
Strength of the CBET Community			
Size	Number of groups in CBET community	9 sub-groups	Record
Diversity	Types of groups	MC, guide, homestay, ox-cart, vending, entrance& parking, finance, patrol & clean and dance group	Record
Acceptance of different lifestyles	Level of different in CBET community	Not at all Little Somewhat A lot	7.6% 12.7% 21.5% 58.2%
	Important of CBET in comparison to charcoal making	Very important Somewhat Not at all	34.2% 53.2% 12.6%
	Important of CBET in comparison to logging	Very important Somewhat Not at all	32.9% 53.2% 13.9%
	Important of CBET in comparison to farming	Very important Somewhat Not at all	5.1% 69.6% 25.3%
	Important of CBET in comparison to hunting	Very important Somewhat Not at all	33.3% 50% 16.7%
Support for diversity	Problems caused by members' difference	Not at all Little Somewhat	73.4% 24.1% 2.5%
	Cause for jealousy	Education Landholding, wealth & Social status Gender/Age Year of residency Political affiliation Religion & ethnic background CBET, CF, CPA involvement	7.4% 21.9% 16% 6.9% 7.9% 16.4% 22.7%
	Cause for conflict	Education Landholding, wealth & Social status Gender/Age Year of residency Political affiliation Religion & ethnic background CBET, CF, CPA involvement	7.9% 21.6% 16.2% 6.7% 8% 24.6% 22.9%

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Percentage
Expressions of negative behaviors toward diversity	Criticism of non-participant in CBET community	Very likely Somewhat likely Very unlikely	2.5% 31.6% 65.8%
	Knowledge of people prohibited from CBET benefits	Prevented from schooling Prevented from training Prevented from loan/grant Prevented from CBET economic activities Prevented from using NTFPs	21.1% 20.9% 19% 20.9% 18.2%
	Perception of exclusion	Agree	24.1%
	Reasons for exclusion	Untrustworthy & bad image Commit illegal activities	10.1% 10.7%
	Are you excluded	Yes	2.5%
	Activities that you were excluded	Vending	2.5%
	Reasons for your exclusion	Not member of Women Association	2.5%
Support for innovation	Freedom to participate in CBET development	Decreased Improve some Improve a lot	3.9% 92.4% 3.8%
	Reasons for increase	Encouragement Accurate decision making More understanding	15.6% 10.7% 74.7%
	Level of support for CBET policies	Percentage of person contribute time Percentage of person contribute money	96.2% 73.4
	Reasons for not support	No ability No comprehensive plan	25.4% 3.8%
Cooperation/ Connectedness	Level of connectedness in CBET community	Decreased Increased	8.8% 91.1%
	Communication methods in CBET community	-Oral meeting between representative and members -Oral meeting between CBET community chief and members -Write announcement or result of meetings on the board in CBET office and community hall in each village	All MC members
	Inter-group relationship in CBET community	MC group interact within CBET community Guide group Homestay group Ox-cart group Vending (Woman Association)	100% 21.6% 20.3% 22.8% 31.7%
	Types of Concerns/Issues	Forest Management CBET development and management Recommendation on service	79.7% 93.7% 93.7% 96.2%

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Percentage
		quality	69.6%
		Benefit sharing	96.2%
		Sharing experience	69.6%
		Capacity building issues	98.7%
		Hygiene and sanitation	94.9%
		Product development	69.6%
		Social activities	79.7%
		Farming issues	
		Infrastructure development	
Frequency of contact	Working mechanisms in CBET community	-MC members met other CBET members (not belong to MC) very frequently because they often came to the site where everyone come to provide services. -Beside MC group, other CBET members meet face-to-face and call on the phone, but not frequently. -If they were not providing the same service, they met each other only when CBET chief or their group leader request for the meeting	All MC
Community Stability	Final number of membership	Increased (556 in 2009) One group was added in 2009 (dance)	Record

Sources: MC interview and own survey interview (No of respondents 79).

Table B2.8   Intra-Bridging Social Capital of CBET Community (Function)

Indicators	Variables	Response	Stakeholder/ Percentage
Community Function			
Community Mobilization	Contribution of time/resources to the CBET community	-Contribute time to discuss CBET policy for CBET development -Contribute time to patrol forest -Contribute time to provide CBET service with low paid -Contribute time to discuss new initiatives for community development -Contribute time to write report of community meetings -Contribute time to repair any necessary damage in CBET site	MC
	Resources/supports come from	-CBET members - NGOs (MB, LWF) - Local stakeholders (CC, CF, CPA, Religious groups)	
	Mobilization of group resources for CBET initiatives	-CBET members (time, labour, equipment, local knowledge)	
Participation in common resource conservation	Proportion of CBET member contribute time to making fire path	More than 50% Perhaps 50% Less than 50%	43% 41.8% 15.2%
	Proportion of CBET members contribute time to patrol forest	More than 50% Perhaps 50% Less than 50%	30.4% 51.9% 17.7%
Participation in CBET events	Participation in CBET leader selection	No Yes	64.6% 35.4%
	Reason for no participation	Don't know and no invitation No interest New resident and busy	31.7% 24.1% 6.3%
	Proportion of CBET members contribute time to repair hiking trail	More than 50% Perhaps 50% Less than 50%	45.6% 26.6% 27.8%
	Proportion of CBET member contribute time to building kiosks & information center	More than 50% Perhaps 50% Less than 50%	21.5% 31.6% 46.8%
	Proportion of CBET members contribute time to putting indicative signage	More than 50% Perhaps 50% Less than 50%	17.7% 20.3% 62%
Benefit Gap	Interests in CBET development	- Chance for legal economic activities that endorse by government & NGOs - Chance to improve people's general	MC

Indicators	Variables	Response	Stakeholder/ Percentage
		knowledge, environmental awareness, developmental skills & capacity - Chance to access forest legally & help people to be less dependent on the sparse forest resources	
	The community's goals for CBET development	- Enable locals to access forest legally through CF & CPA. - Conserve the degrading natural resources for younger generations - Increase community legitimacy & promote community development - Reduce illegal and risky activities in the community - Create employment opportunities - Diversify occupations & livelihoods strategies in the community - Enhance developmental and entrepreneur skills in the community - Reduce ignorance and illiteracy among local population - Enforce suitable conservation & development laws that favor poor people - Improve infrastructures in the commune	MC
	Main outcomes of CBET	- Development of infrastructures and amenities in the commune - Improvement of entrepreneur skills and development capacity among members - Many people have additional jobs - legal documents and structures for decentralized conservation and development - Community fund for development participation & emergency aid for poor & vulnerable in the community - Non-formal education classes for illiterate people and children - Less forest destruction & hunting - Promote gender equity - Recognition and support from external stakeholders for poverty reduction strategies in the commune	

Indicators	Variables	Response	Stakeholder/ Percentage
	Satisfaction of outcomes	Very satisfied Somehow satisfied	35% (of MC) 65%
Level of involvement in CBET community	Level of awareness of CBET activities	Little Somewhat Not at all	7.6% 88.6% 3.8%
	How to become aware of CBET activities	Via friends & relatives Via NGOs Via CBET MC Via meeting Via Observation	22.8% 24.8% 23.8% 4.5% 21.2%
	Level of control over decisions affecting CBET activities	Have no control Have control over a few decisions Have control over some decisions Have control almost over all decisions	27.8% 29.1% 16.5% 26.6%
	Level of significant in CBET development process	Have no or little power Have some power Have power over most decisions	43.2% 5.1% 41.8%
	Feeling of self impact on CBET productiveness	Somewhat A great deal A little & not at all	6.4% 74.7% 17.7%
	Feeling of self impact on CBET success	Somewhat A great deal A little & not at all	7.6% 74.7% 17.8%
Quality, openness and democratic Aspect of CBET community	Activities in the past 10 years	- Built tourist infrastructures (trails, VC, botanical garden, signage, bridges, vending booths, WA restaurant, kiosks...) - Built commune infrastructures (watery supply pipe, bridges, wells,..) - Provided additional jobs through CBET activities - Provided emergency aids for sick and poor people in the commune - Contributed counterpart fund for commune development activities - Built capacity for CBET participants - Strengthen local solidarity (built community hall and contribute to religious affairs) - Contributed to conservation activities - Established community fund and micro credit for local loan - Increased environmental awareness campaigns	MC

Indicators	Variables	Response	Stakeholder/ Percentage
	Criteria & principles for those activities	- Economic development - NR Conservation - Community well-being - Service quality and site uniqueness - Equity and social inclusion	
	Participation in resource allocation	Yes	All MC
	Criteria for resource allocation	- Based on community discussions (village meeting and MC meetings) - Combined with agenda of supporting agencies	All MC
	Level of awareness about decision concerning CBET activities	Not at all & a little A lot Somewhat	19% 8.9% 72.2%
	Reasons for some awareness	Meeting Involvement in those decision makings Community bulletin board	84.6% 8.5% 5.1%
	Reason for no or little awareness	Rarely communicate with others Not involved in those decision makings	3.8% 7.6%
	Source of information about CBET development	Community bulletin board Via friends & relatives Via NGOs Via commune council Via CBET MC	25.2% 38.9% 9.2% 22.3% 4.5%
	Source of information about NRM activities	Community bulletin board Via friends & relatives Via NGOs Via commune council Via CBET MC	24.7% 40.5% 7.6% 20.3% 7%
	Source of information about training opportunities	Community bulletin board Via friends & relatives Via NGOs Via commune council Via CBET MC	25.7% 36.5% 11.7% 23.5% 2.6%
	Source of information about CBET election	Community bulletin board Via friends & relatives Via NGOs Via commune council Via CBET MC	22.6% 40% 10.3% 14.4% 12.6%
	Source of tourist information	Community bulletin board Via friends & relatives Via MB & NGOs Via commune council Via CBET MC	25.2% 38.9% 9.2% 22.3% 4.5%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79

Table B2.9   Overall Assessment of CBET Community

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Percentage*	
Assessment of CBET Community	Magnitude of resource received		Adequate	Inadequate
		Access to needed services	44.5%	55.6%
		Information	82.2%	17.7%
		Training	62%	38%
		Grant/loan	42.2%	57.3%
		Spiritual support	91.1%	8.9%
		Advice	87.3%	12.7%
		Recreation	72.3%	17.7%
		Social credentials	55.1%	44.3%
		Self Esteem	51.9%	48.1%
	Difficulty in access to resources/benefits		Easy	Difficult
		Access to needed services	60.8%	39.2%
		Information	94.9%	5.1%
		Training	89.3%	10.1%
		Grant/loan	60%	40%
		Spiritual support	94.9%	5.1%
		Advice	98.7%	1.3%
		Recreation	93.2%	6.8%
		Social credentials	40.5%	59.4%
		Self Esteem	22.8%	77.2%
	Evaluation of the community functioning	Well	34.7%	
		Neutral & Badly	65.3%	
	Reasons for functioning well	Good cooperation	21.5%	
		Good management	18.6%	
		Promote conservation	12.9%	
		Promote equity and benefit sharing	21.6%	
		Improve local knowledge and capacity in development	25.4%	
	Reasons for functioning badly	Inadequate engagement	21.5%	
		Poor management	21.5%	
		Benefit a handful of people	32.6%	
		Lack of transparency for wider public	7.1%	
		Build capacity for a handful of people	21.6%	
	Recommendation to improve functioning of CBET community	Add more capacity building for the wider community	11.1%	
		Increase activities and opportunities for all members to be involved more frequently	32.5%	
		Improve connectedness among CBET members	10.5%	
		Need more coordination from NGOs	11.4%	
		Avoid nepotism (leader)	11.6%	
		Improve conservation	11.3%	

Source: Researcher's surveys 2009. No of total respondents 79.

Table B2.10   Measurement of Inter-Bridging Social Capital

Inter-Bridging Indicators	Line of Questions
Strength of the Commune	
Size: Number of organizations in a commune	
Density: Level of interconnections between organizations in the locality	MC13. How did you communicate or report activities with other organizations? MC15. Can you list name of organizations that your group has relationship with? What is the nature and conditions of these relationships? A25. Does the group you belong to interact with other groups outside CBET community? A26. What types of concerns/issues cause such interaction to happen?
Frequency of Contact: Number and length of contacts between members of a group/network	MC10. How do you work with other groups/organizations in CBET community? How do you work with the supporting agencies? How often do you meet with those external stakeholders?
Network Function	
Mobilization of organizations in the commune	MC3. Did your group contribute time/resources for CBET development? What? MC5. Where did resources for CBET development come from? MC6. Did you mobilize your group resources for CBET project? How? What?
Gap between expectation and reception of benefits/goals	MC16. What do you expect from CBET development? MC18. What have been the main outcomes of the project? MC19. Have you been satisfied with the outcomes of the project? MC20. What are your recommendations for the improvement of the project?
Stability of relationship	MC17. How often do you monitor the outcomes of the project? How have the indicators been designed?
Quality and democratic aspect of interactions, openness, and respect of actors & common perception of issues	MC9. What have you done during CBET development period? One what criteria or principles did those activities based? Whose principles/criteria have they been? MC11. Did you participate in resources allocation? What? How? MC12. Did you and your community have own priority or follow agenda of the supporting agencies?

Table B2.11   Inter-Bridging Social Capital (Structural Property)

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Stakeholder /Percentage
Strength of Chambok Community			
Size	Number of organizations in Chambok commune	Six	
Diversity	Types of organization in Chambok commune	CF, CPA, CC, CBET, NRM Committee Religious Group	
Density	Communication methods among internal stakeholders	- Collaborative planning - Participatory monitoring - Reporting of each integrated activity	
	Inter-organizational relationship in Chambok	-There were moderate (formal & informal) relationships among all these organizations. - Each has its own task, but cooperates with each other when tasks are overlapped or connected. - All organizations get partial contribution from CBET group	
	Types of Concerns/Issues	- Plan CBET & NRM activities - Draft CBET, CF, CPA by-laws - Close community account at the end of the month and each year - Discuss benefit sharing strategies - Discuss coordination and communication strategies	
Frequency of contact	Working mechanisms in Chambok community	-Meeting monthly -Meeting additionally at prior notice if there was urgent task to discuss or problem to solve -Reporting of CBET outcomes and implementation monthly	
Intensity of contact	Degree of dependency when disaster / crisis happened	Depend on family Depend on friend and neighbours Depend on the entire community to help each others Depend on government	17.5% 56.1% 63.2% 28.1%
	Who resolve CBET decision making conflicts	Discuss among involved individuals Discussion in community Police/government intervention NGO intervention	18.4% 78.9% 18.4% 34.2%
	Who resolve NRM conflicts	Discuss among involved individuals Discussion in community Police/government intervention NGO intervention	18.4% 78.9% 18.4% 34.2%
	Who resolve CBET management conflicts	Discuss among involved individuals Discussion in community	21.9% 87.5%

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Indicators	Questions	Responses	Stakeholder /Percentage
		Police/government intervention NGO intervention	6.3% 21.9%
Community Stability	Number of membership	Remain the same, but better organized and clearer division of tasks and benefit sharing	CF/CPA/CC/ Pagoda/ CBET
Community Function			
Community Mobilization	Contribution of time/resources to the CBET community	Yes (both time and organizational resources for CBET planning and implementation)	CC, CF, CPA, Pagoda committee
	Resources come from	All local stakeholders, MB, LWF, MoE, Kirirom NP, DoE,	
	Mobilization of group resources for CBET initiatives	- CC: legal support and recognition -Pagoda committee: spiritual support -CF & CPA: enhance legitimacy and advice for planning & monitoring	
Benefit Gap	Interests in CBET development	- Conservation strategies - Economic development	CF/CPA Pagoda/CC
	Stakeholders' goals for CBET development	- Revenue to support conservation strategies - Employment opportunities & contribution to developing infrastructure in the commune - Peace and well-being in the commune. - - Food security (food& health)	CF/CPA CC Pagoda committee
	Main outcomes of CBET	- Contributed to funding conservation strategies (fire path, plant tree, patrol…) - Contribute to overall commune development activities. - Source of emergency aid in the commune during disaster/crisis	
	Satisfaction of outcomes	- Partly satisfied (contribution is still inadequate, though substantial)	CF/CPA/CC/ Pagoda
Quality and Democratic Aspect	Activities in the past 10 years	- Built commune infrastructures (watery supply pipe, bridges, wells,..) - Provided emergency aids for sick and poor people in the commune - Contributed counterpart fund for commune development activities - Improve human resource in the commune - Strengthen local solidarity (built community hall and contribute to religious affairs)	CC & CBET CC & CBET CC & CBET CC& CBET CC& Pagoda CF/CPA

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Stakeholder /Percentage
		- Funded conservation activities - Established community fund and micro credit for local loan - Increased environmental awareness campaigns	CBET/CC CF/CPA
	Criteria & principles for those activities	- Conservation - Infrastructure development - Religious performance - Community development - trust, sharing & collectiveness	CF/CPA CC Pagoda CBET
	Participation in resource allocation	Depend on the nature of matters	CF/CPA/CC/ Pagoda
	Criteria for resource allocation	- Depend on CBET agency and MB, but ensure that benefit sharing are wide and inclusive of all important criteria	
	Assessment of the network	- Very satisfied and strongly endorse because the CBET management and communication was regular & transparent - Somehow satisfied with CBET community's attitude toward conservation - Not very satisfied with transparency in CBET financial management - Overall communication and coordination in the whole network was considerably well	CC & Pagoda CF/CPA CC & Pagoda CF/CPA/NRM committee

Sources: MC and internal stakeholder interview

Measurement of Linking Social Capital

Table B2.12   Measurement of Linking Social Capital

Linking Indicators	Line of Questions
Strength of CBET Development Network	
Size: Number of organization in CBET development network	
Density: Level of interconnections between stakeholders	MC2. How have you support CBET development? SH2. How has your supported CBET development? SH15. What have your organization's relationship with CBET community and those officers you collaborate with?
Frequency of Contact: Number and length of contacts between stakeholders	MC10. How have your worked with other supporting organizations? How often do you meet those organizations? SH12. How have you collaborate with CBET community? How often do you meet them?
Function of CBET Development Network	
Mobilization of resources	SH5. What has your organization's relationship with CBET community? SH7. Where were your resources for CBET project come from? SH8. What have your organization support CBET initiatives?
Benefit Gap	SH1. What was your interest in CBET development? SH4. Have you provided support/resources for CBET community? How? What? SH6. What was your organization's goal for CBET project? SH16. What have your organization tried to accomplished from working with CBET community?
	SH18. What have your organization determined as the main outcomes of CBET project? SH19. Can you list the major outcomes that you know of? SH20. Have your organization been satisfied with the outcomes of CBET project? Why?
Stability of network	SH9. How long have your relationship with CBET community last? SH10. What types of activities have your organization collaborate with CBET community? What criteria have the activities based on? Whose criteria were they? SH17. How often has your organization monitored the outcomes of the project? How has your organization determine the criteria and indicators?
Quality and democratic aspect of stakeholder relationships	A25. Do the group you belong to interact with other groups outside the CBET community? A26. Normally, what types of CBET concerns lead to these interactions? SH14. How have resource allocations for CBET project been decided?
Formal/informal arrangements that helps/hinder the interactions between members of a network	SH15. Have your organization own agency for CBET development or have your organization allowed for emerging issues and proposal from the community and facilitator side?

Table B2.13   Linking Social Capital of Chambok Community

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Stakeholder/ Percentage
Strength of the CBET Community			
Size	Number of stakeholders in CBET development	Multiple	
Diversity	Types of involved stakeholders	MB, LWF, DoE/MoE, NP, DoT/MoT, Tour operators, UNDP, USAid, Academia (five universities), Media (magazine, TV & radio stations), District & Provincial Municipality	
Density	Communication methods among CBET stakeholders	- Collaborative planning & monitoring – Face-to-face meetings & discussions - Written reports	MB, LWF, DoE/MoE, NP DoT/MoT DM, PM, Media Donors
	Stakeholder relationships in CBET development	-Moderate - Good & close - Distance	-DoT/MoT, Media, academia, -MB, LWF, DoE/MoE, NP, DM, PM Tour operator -Donors
	Types of Concerns/Issues	-CPA/CF establishment and monitoring - Plan CBET activities & by-laws - Funding community initiatives - Service management - CBET studies - Marketing and promotion activities - Community capacity building, marketing & promotion	DoE/MoE/NP DM/PM/MB Donors/LWF T. Operators Academia Media DoT/MoT
Frequency of contact	Working mechanisms among stakeholders	-Meeting monthly and at notice -Written reports monthly - Meeting when needed (rarely) - Phone informal communication	DoE/MoE/NP DM/PM/MB Academia

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Stakeholder/ Percentage
		- Meeting when necessary (rarely)	Media
		-Meeting or written proposal on request (very rarely)	Donors
		- Meeting when needed (rarely)	DoT/MoT
		- Phone communication (frequently)	Tour operator
Community Function			
Stakeholder Mobilization	Stakeholder's relationship with CBET community	- Discourse providers	DoE/MoE/NP
		- Coordinator/facilitator	MB/LWF
		- Endorsers & legal lobby	DoE/MoE/NP DM/PM/MoE
		- Funders	USAid/UNDP
		- Mutual friendship	Academia
		- Business relationship	Media/ Tour Operators
	Stakeholder's resources/supports for CBET project come from	- Conservation & development fund	Donors/MB/ LWF
		- Decentralization policy framework	DoE/MoE/NP DM/PM
		- Own business	Media/Tour Operators
	Criteria for support of CBET project	- NR Conservation & community development	Donors/LWF/M B/ Academia
	Stakeholder interests, goals & agenda in CBET development	- Rights & roles in NRM & development	DoE/MoE/NP DM/PM
		-Service quality	Tour Operators Media
		- Destination promotion	
	Ways stakeholder involved with CBET project in Chambok	- Regulate and coordinate actions	DoE/MoE/NP
		- Facilitate planning & implementation	MB/LWF
		- Endorse community legitimacy	

Indicators	Questions	Responses	Stakeholder/ Percentage
		- Fund proposed initiatives	DoE/MoE/NP DM/PM/MoE
		- Provide advice and consultation - Publish CBET study reports	USAid/UNDP Academia
		- Launch marketing & promotion campaign	Media/MoT
		- Bring tourists to Chambok	Tour Operators
	List of major outcomes of CBET project	- CBET/CPA/CF by-laws - Enforcement of by-laws - Reduction of forest crime rate - Clarify rights and roles in NRM and participatory development - Set examples for other CBET projects, students and researchers	MoE/DoE/NP/ MB/Academia
		- Improve community human resources - Improve local infrastructures - Improve local governance structure - Enhance decentralization strategies	DM/PM/ Donors
		-Improved destination image -Diversified tourism products	DoT/MoT Media
	Satisfaction of outcomes	Moderately satisfied	DM/PM/Tour Operator Donors/MB
		Highly satisfied	MoE/DoE/NPD oT/MoT Media
	Reasons for high satisfaction	-Decentralized NRM strategies has been implemented and enforced -Local community understand more about their roles and rights in NRM -Forest crime rate has been significantly reduced	MoE/DoE/NP
		-CBET implementation help to diversify Cambodian tourism products	DoT/MoT Media
	Reasons for moderate satisfaction	- Community service still limited	Tour operators /USAid
		-All implemented activities have been	DM/PM/

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Indicators	Questions	Responses	Stakeholder/ Percentage
		good, however, CBET strategies have limitation and cannot provide alternative livelihoods to many people	
		- Community capacity in business management, service operation and participatory development still limited -CBET implementation take so long time because people were less literate than expected and there are a lot more actions that need to be implemented but has no more fund	MB
Stakeholder Stability	Number of stakeholders that maintain relationship until the end of the project	All stakeholder enhance their trust and connection with Chambok community	
Quality and Democratic Aspect	Activities in the past 10 years	- Established CBET/CPA/CF by-laws - Enforced local by-laws & NR decentralized strategies - Reduced forest crime rate - Clarified rights and roles in NRM and participatory development	MoE/DoE/NP/ MB
		- Improved community human resources - Improved local infrastructures - Improved local governance structure - Enhanced decentralization strategies	DM/PM/ Donors
		- Launched marketing and promotion campaigns	DoT/MoT Media
			Academia
		- Promoted knowledge & understanding of CBET development strategies	
	Criteria & principles for resource allocation and implementation activities	- NR conservation and community development - Participatory and social justice	MoE/DoE/NP/ MB/Donors
		- Resource governance - Decentralized development	DM/PM
	Stakeholder participation in resource allocation	Yes involved in meetings and discussions to plan implementation strategies and resource allocation	MoE/DoE/NP/ MB/DM/PM DoT

Source: Stakeholder In-depth Interview, 2009

Measurement of Cognitive Social Capital

Table B2.14   Measurement of Cognitive Social Capital

Trust Indicators	Line of Questions
Generalized trust	B1. Generally, do you feel that most people in your CBET community can be trusted? B2. In general, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? B4. To what extent (over the last 10 years) has the level of trust in your CBET group increased or decreased? B6. In your opinion, what actually cause the change in trust level in your village/commune?
Informal trust	B3. To what extent do you trust the following types of people in your community? Why?
Institutional trust	B3. To what extent do you trust the following types of people in your community? Why?
Trust in leadership/leaders	B3. To what extent do you trust the following types of people in your community? Why?
Feeling of safety & security	B5. To what extent (over the last 10 years) has your ability to speak out when you disagree with other people in CBET community increased or decreased? B7. In your opinion, what actually cause the change in your ability to voice out your thought?
Feeling of transparency	D7. To what extent do you feel you know CBET committee activities? List three main activities of CBET committee that you know of. D15. Over the past five years, to what extent has access to the information and communication in your CBET groups improved, deteriorated, or stayed about the same? Why?
Indicators of Sharing and Reciprocity	
Perception of reciprocity in the community	C4. To what extent do you feel your CBET community would help each other if a natural disaster or serious crisis happened (e.g., flooding, forest fire, house fire, unyielding harvest) that affected the group members? C20. What proportion of people in CBET groups reciprocates favours such as farming for friends/neighbours? C21. What proportion of people in CBET groups reciprocates favours in special event (ceremony, wedding or funeral) for friends/neighbours? C22. What proportion of people in CBET groups reciprocates favours such as building house for friends/neighbours? C24. Has the percentage of people involved in reciprocate action decreased, remain the same or increase in the last 10 years, especially after CF and CBET initiatives? Why?

Trust Indicators	Line of Questions
Attitudes toward contributing to the community/ collective actions	C16. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as repairing public roads/path? C17. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as building bridge in the community? C18. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as building community hall? C19. What proportion of people in CBET groups contributes time toward common collective goals such as building water supply system (dam and pipe)? C23. Has the percentage of people involved in collective action decreased, remain the same or increase in the last 10 years, especially after CF and CBET initiatives? Why?
Time or money spent on community participation activities	C8. In the past 10 years, have you worked with others in your village to do something for the benefit of the CBET community? C9. What were three main activities of this type in the past 10 years? Was this participation volunteered or required?

Table B2.15   Assessment of Trust in CBET Community

Indicators	Variables	Response	Percentage
Trust			
Generalized trust	General trust in CBET community	Yes No Unsure	78.5% 7.6% 13.9%
	Trust in CBET member	Strongly agree Somewhat agree Strongly disagree	59.5% 31.6% 7.6%
	Opportunist in CBET group	Strongly agree Somewhat agree Strongly disagree	13.9% 38% 48.1%
	Helpful person among CBET members	Strongly agree Somewhat agree Strong disagree	79.7% 12.7% 7.6%
	Distrust in lending money among CBET members	Strongly agree Somewhat agree Strongly disagree	10.1% 50.6% 39.3%
	Stability of trust	Increased a lot Increased Some The same Decreased	6.3% 83.5% 5.1% 5.1%
	Reason for increased trust	Sense of belonging Good management Knowledge and understanding MC responsibility	10.8% 20.7% 33.3% 35.2%
	Reason for decreased trust	Unclear benefit sharing	33.5%

Indicators	Variables	Response	Percentage
		Lack of sense of belonging	33.5%
		Lack of CBET knowledge	33%
Informal trust	Trust of the same race	Strongly	7.6%
		Depend	34.2%
		Little	58.2%
	Reason distrust	Unfamiliarity	78.5%
	Trust in police or police military	Strongly	12.7%
		Depend	29.1%
		Little	58.2%
	Reason for distrust	Corruption & nepotism	46.9%
		Careless & unreliable person	28%
	Trust in NP rangers	Strongly	24%
		Depend	36.3%
		Little	39.3%
	Reason for distrust	Inconsiderate person & nepotism	55.7%
		Incapable people	17.7%
	Trust for strangers	Depend	10.3%
		Little	89.7%
Institutional trust	Trust in CBET committee	Strongly	20.5%
		Depend	35.9%
		Little	43.6%
	Reason for distrust	Do not widely engaged members	86.1%
	Trust in NGO officers	Strongly	91.1%
		Depend	5.1%
		Little	3.8
	Reason for trust	Helpful person and benefactors	82.4%
	Reason for distrust	Corruption and nepotism	68.3%
	Trust in district, provincial municipality	Strongly	15.2%
		Depend	39.2%
		Little	45.6%
	Reason for distrust	Social and residential distance	50.4%
		Corruption	10.2%
	Reason for trust	Leadership & helpfulness	16.5%
	Trust in the MoE	Strongly	20.5%
		Depend	35.9%
		Little	43.6%
	Reason for distrust	Inconsiderate & nepotism	55.7%
		Incapable	17.7%
Trust in leadership/leaders	Trust in CBET chief	Strongly	79.8%
		Depend	10.1%
		Little	10.1%

Indicators	Variables	Response	Percentage
	Reason for trust	Helpful and considerate of collectively	60.8%
		Capable and have leadership	21.5%
	Trust in CF/CPA community chief	Strongly	24%
		Depend	36.3%
		Little	39.3%
	Reason for distrust	Inconsiderate & nepotism	55.7%
		Incapable	17.7%
Feeling of safety & security	Increase freedom of speech	Yes	75.9%
		Little	16.5%
		No	7.6%
	Reasons to have more freedom	Self confident	34.9%
		Increased capacity	23%
		Sense of belonging	42.1%
Feeling of transparency	Knowledge of CBET activities	Somewhat	86.1%
		A little	7.6%
		Not at all	3.6%
	Access to information and communication	Deteriorated	1.3%
		Same	2.5%
		Improved	96.2%
	Reasons for increase	Frequent meeting and members' communication	51.9%
		Increased membership in CBET community	13.9%
		Outsider encouragement (NGOs and tourists)	6.3%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79.

Table B2.16   Assessment of Reciprocity and Sharing in CBET Community

Indicators	Variables	Response	Percentage
Sharing and Reciprocity			
Perception of reciprocity in the community	People in CBET group help each other these days	Always	57%
		Usually	21.5%
		Sometimes	21.5%
	Proportion of people reciprocate farming	More than 50%	72.1%
		Perhaps 50%	25.3%
		Less than 50%	2.5%
	Proportion of people reciprocate in special events	More than 50%	69.6%
		Perhaps 50%	27.8%
		Less than 50%	2.5%
	Proportion of people reciprocate building house	More than 50%	24%
		Perhaps 50%	30.4%

Indicators	Variables	Response	Percentage
		Less than 50%	45.6%
	Level of involvement in reciprocity	Decreased	6.4%
		Remain the same	14.1%
		Increased	79.5%
	Reasons for increase	Trust, solidarity & communication	27.9%
		More understanding	72.1%
	Reasons for decreased	Inequality of benefit sharing	5.1%
Attitudes toward contributing to the community/ collective actions	Proportion of people contributing time to repairing public paths	More than 50%	31.6%
		Perhaps 50%	26.6%
		Less than 50%	41.7%
	Proportion of people contributing time to building bridge	More than 50%	12.7%
		Perhaps 50%	32.9%
		Less than 50%	54.4%
	Proportion of people contributing time to building community hall	More than 50%	87.4%
		Perhaps 50%	6.3%
		Less than 50%	6.4%
	Proportion of people contributing time to water pipes	More than 50%	50.7%
		Perhaps 50%	29.1%
		Less than 50%	20.3%
	Level of involvement in collective actions	Decreased	6.3%
		Remain the same	15.2%
		Increased	78.5%
	Reasons for increased	Encouragement in CBET group	8%
		More understanding and belief in CBET plans and community	61.9%
		Good solidarity & communication in CBET	25.4%
	Reason for Decreased	No idea	5.1%
		No resource	12.7%
Time spent on community activities	Participation in the last 10 years	Yes	86.1%
		No	13.9%
	Involved activities	Forest management	73.4%
		Civic actions	65.8%
		Monitoring activities	98.7%
		CBET activities	92.4%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79.

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Table B2.17   Overall Perception of Norms/Rules in CBET Community

Indicators	Variables	Responses	Percentage
Assessment of Norms	How norms were made	CBET MC& members	54.4%
		CBET MC, CC & member	16.5%
		CBET MC	7.6 %
	Perception of Norms	Somewhat good	79.7%
	Reasons for satisfaction	Enhance solidarity	15.8%
		Promote equity and fairness	38.3%
		Promote community development	16.1%
		Promote conservation	15.6%
	Recommendation for amendment	Review CF/CPA/CBET by-laws and consider more about poor people	66.7%
		Explanation about the actual meaning of these rules and policies to the wider community in order to avoid confusion	33.3%

Source: Own survey/ interview 2009, No of total respondents 79.