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Localism and Schooling in Globalization : A Case Study of a School in Thailand – Laos Border

Wasan Sapphasuk*
wasan_sapphasuk@cmu.ac.th

Nongyao Nawarat**
nyayee@hotmail.com

Abstract

Mainstream education discourse which is normally presented in education area including border area has been penetrated and dominated by official knowledge. By the way, this research wants to reveal that schools, especially in border area of globalization, have been challenged by localism which has scrambled the definition of knowledge in order to let local people arrange the education by themselves. Moreover, there is also the opportunity to negotiate with the government and capitalism. The research questions are 1) How can localism become a new actor in education area and border area development? 2) Can localism success in knowledge contention in school? The methodology is qualitative case study approach. The data was collected by literature review, in-depth interview and participatory observation. Counter Hegemony of Antonio Gramsci and Cultural Capital of Bourdieu were used as concepts to criticize the data.

The findings are 1) Localism used symbolic capital as a tool to set up themselves to be knower and create a new set of knowledge which can negotiate and scramble education area in schools. 2) The power of localism is not strong enough to encourage, challenge and reveal itself in the core curriculum setting up by the government. Localism was misappropriated to be just a set of local knowledge in marginal curriculum.

Keyword: Localism, Official Knowledge, Local Knowledge, Local Curriculum, Border School

* Ph.D. Candidate (Education), Faculty of Education, Chiang Mai University

** Ph.D. (Development Studies), Associate Professor, Department of Education Foundation and Development, Faculty of Education, Chiang Mai University

Introduction

The discourse of mainstream education normally presents that education space is being forayed and dominated by official knowledge especially knowledge of the state. It was specified in the content in core curriculum, textbook, learning material and teachers in schools for reproduction, passing on and conservation of the ideology of economic, politic and nation state society. Consensus should be made to all classes of people in the state to make the consensus and agreement for people to follow (Gramsci, A., 1971, p. 527). As Apple said, the knowledge which is taught in school secretly consists of hidden ideology of state and capital. It also convinces students to be irresponsible to politic and creates compromising attitude among social conflict (Apple, M., 1982, cited in Dhammawinthorn, P., 1989, p. 27)

School is used as the state key mechanism in contention of the existence of consensus over civil society by repeatedly projecting and speaking to penetrate deeply in the idea and practice unconsciously (Gramsci, A. 1971, p. 527; Chaihung, P., 2015, p. 30 – 31). Gramsci said that education is very essential in hegemony of the various social groups in the nation (Gramsci, A., 1971, p. 666). So, school is important for main social class to use as a tool to success in the contention of dominating in politic, economic and society (Dhammawinthorn, P., 1989, p. 23). Thai state itself should use official knowledge as a mechanism in nation building. Since the reign of King Rama IX, it has been focused on building national consciousness of nation people to realize in Thainess and be literacy in Thai in order to be able to receive information from the government and other types of knowledge that is essential for country security and the nation development that was direction specified by the state (Buadang, K., 2007, p. 135).

In Thailand – Laos PDR border area, Chiang Khong District, Chiang Rai Province, Thai state uses school mechanism as a tool to reproduce consciousness and nation state ideology. Since 1921, it all started from temple school in the community which was the traditional mechanism. Buddhist priests and community helped in hands to teach by using Sala Wat Luang (Wat Luang temple hall) as a classroom. Then, when the mandate of the Education Act B.E. 2464 (1921) was launched, it had been transformed into community school named Tam Bon Wiang community School “Chiang Khong Ko Sal Wit” and managed to bring teachers to teach officially on 24th October 1933 (Ban Hua Wiang (Ko Sal Wit), 2016). After that, there was the establishment of many schools such as Ban Sob Som School (Teacher Day, 1957) in 1957, Chiang Khong Wittayakom School in 1961 and other community schools. Thus, the existence of public schools and the coming of official knowledge affected Buddhist priests and local philosophers in reducing their roles. Local knowledge was pushed to be marginalized knowledge and caused space or spatial culture in community (Keyes, C.F., 1991, p. 98 – 103)

In 1996, there was an existence of localism movement formed by local intellectuals called “Hug Nam Khong group”. This is a group of people who realized about the impacts of the development taking place in Mekong river and is a group that challenge, negotiate and response to the power and direction of development by state and capital. They use local knowledge of people in community through research process to make the work full of quality and creditably. They also create symbolic capital to challenge and scramble for knowledge defining in order to create space for local people to do education management for the young generation. Apple pointed out that it is essential to compete and scramble to know whose knowledge is the most valuable to learn (Apple, M., 2001, cited in Siwarom, S., 2008, p. 92) and be impressed in experience and in students’ way of life for a lifetime (Siwarom, S., 2008, p. 86).

This article aims to reveal that the school in border area with context of globalization is being challenged by localism movement, which tried to scramble the definition of knowledge which helps local people create education space for young people. Localism also tries to make power to negotiate with development direction of state and capital.

Research Issue Contexts

1) Localism movement

Localism movement is a kind of civil society movement, contention and negotiation about rights and power in local management (Kittiarsa, P., 2003, p. 99). Localism movement was affected by the development which believes in extreme globalization, sticks in the growth of economic, and focuses on city and industrial industry. In contrast, localism and local people's way of life were ignored (Kittiarsa, P., 2003, p. 19). This brings decadence of natural resource and environment. Local community was ostracized of the right to manage the resource. Loss of stability in the land, rivers and forests had to make a withdrawal from their original cultural production (Santasombat, Y. and researchers, 2004, p. 28) as happened to Pak Moon community, Lum Namkhong community, highland ethnicity communities in the North and West and Chaw Lae (sea gypsy) in the South of Thailand. This is the reflection of the trespass of globalization which has occupied locality and has pushed locality to be marginality which was devalued in right, voice, power and ability to negotiate.

A research, Localism, done by Pattana Kittiarsar (2003) pointed out that the growth of localism in Thailand which expanded rapidly after "Tom Yum Kung" crisis in 1997 and The Constitution law of the Kingdom of Thailand in 1997 was the symbolic that claim legitimacy for local participation in local conservation, local custom, traditional wisdom, management and the use of natural resource (Kittiarsar, P., 2003, p. 99; Na Pompech, B., 2012, p. 81). Moreover, localism became the discourse which was used to call for the importance of locality from government and relevant organizations as it was the basement and expansion of the industrial sector and the city since 1961 (Kittiarsa, P., 2003, p. 4).

2) Local Knowledge and Local Movement

There are several styles of the movement of localism such as confrontation, violence, road closure and mass power in order to convince the government to listen to public voice (Kittiarsa, P., 2003, p. 108). Lately, localism movement often scrambles knowledge definition by offering local knowledge and situated knowledge. Anan Kanjanapun (2001, p. 170 – 172) defined that knowledge is based on the changing of situation which has complex ongoing process. This relates to Yos Santasombat (1991, p. 40) that local knowledge is a process of changing, adaptation, contention and perpetuity between tradition and modernity. It is the combination of localism and globalization.

Local knowledge became a tool used to fight, negotiate and scramble knowledge and power between government and capital. As in Pinkaew Laungaramsri (1991), it was found that Karen community uses local knowledge about ecology in dealing with production system, way of living and concept of natural resource management and environment of the community. Moreover, it is also being a tool to respond to the changes caused by the power and the dominant of capital which was run by capitalist economic. Consistent with Prasert Trakansuphakon (2007) pointed out that the using of local knowledge of PgaK'nyau (Karen) was used to claim for the right to manage community forest and negotiate for the acceptance from the government to organize the forest by community tradition. There are also other communities which use local knowledge in order to negotiate with

the development. For example, Pak Moon community collected all local knowledge to make it credibility and academic via a research “Mae Moon” the return of fisherman (The Thai Baan Research at Pak Moon dam, 2002). Apart from that, Lum Nam Khong Group made Jao Ban (Local people) research named Mekong River, way of living and culture (Chiang Khong – Wiang Kaen research group, 2004). These local – made researches show that localism movement in many areas aware of the importance of local knowledge as an ideological mechanism of localism movement in order to compete for the idea ‘Warof Position’ to make it happen in civil society. It can be used as a tool to negotiate with mainstream development discourse.

3) Local Curriculum

The local curriculum became an interesting trend and also got attention again in the decade of 1990 when The National Education Act B.E. 2542 (1999) provided opportunities for individuals, families, community organizations, local administrative organization, professional organization and other social institutions. This is a great opportunity for learners to know more about their community (Seenieng, N., 2012, p. 2) and the community also be able to create knowledge and wisdom for themselves, families and communities (Nakorntub, A. and members, 2008, p. 86).

Local curriculum must make the students think about their origins, potential of the locality and the root of culture by integrating local knowledge with education management along with the participation in all steps of process in the curriculum. Ultimately, this curriculum will be a part of the sustainable local development (Nakorntub, A. and members, 2008, p. 103 – 104). Pattana Kittiaras (2003, p. 5) indicated that locality has resource root, wisdom, development and history of its existence. Locality is non – stop and fill with variety, complexity and relation between economic, politic, cultural society and ecological landscape.

Local curriculum was used to be a tool to present local knowledge in order to challenge the dominance of official knowledge. It is a chance for local development which took responsibility by local groups, families and communities via local curriculum management such as local curriculum “Boat and Way of living of Saladang Community”. This curriculum was created from the awareness of the problem which happened to Sansab canal. It shows the power of community in using local knowledge to solve community problem (Yotkrai K., 2005, p. 133 – 136). Apart from that, there is other community curriculum which called “Kon Num Khong” of Hug Nam Khong group located in Thailand – Laos PDR border.

Research Area Context

1) Thailand – Laos PDR Border, Chiang Khong District, Chiang Rai Province

Chiang Khong District, Chiang Rai Province, shares border with the Lao People’s Democratic Republic (Laos PDR) is hosting a variety of ethnic people. There is history about way of living, tradition and specific culture related to Mekong river. The change started after the end of Cold War in the region and many countries helped in hands to develop the growth of economic and got advices from international organizations. As a result, there are many mega development projects along Mekong river, for example, dam project in Mekong river, R3A road construction, 4th Thailand – Laos PDR Friendship Bridge and Stop Rapids Blasting Project (Santasombat, Y. and members, 2009, p. 2).

Since 1987, the development caused great impacts on the environment, economic and culture in local area, for example, a variety of species of fish and aquatic life, equilibrium of ecosystem, current variability, agricultural on the river bank, economic way, livelihood and food

security. Moreover, the locals were employed as workers in service industry while others became migrants to work in other places. Some farmers have turned to grow industrial crop and expand agricultural areas. This is the increasing of nature oppression and cycle of fishing, wood cutting and seeking for wild products (Santasombat Y. and members, 2009, p. 5 – 7).

Apart from that, in 2015, the government announced Chiang Khong district, Chiang Rai province to be Special Economic Border Zone Phase 2. This made Chiang Khong became logistic city and Eco industry (One Start One Stop Investment Center, 2017) where will be located in Boon Ruang Forest and Nam Ma Forest which are public area to make industrial estate. In contrast, local people were not participated in the development process even the public areas are for local people in order to use together and as economic foundation. As a result, it caused the concern to local community widely (Field Note, December 10th, 2016).

2) Ban Pra Buek School (alias)

Ban Pra Buek school (alias) is a secondary and high school located in Thailand – Laos border area. It was established in 1961. There are grade 7 – grade 12 students with the total number of 1,027 students (Ban PraBuek school, 2016, p. 2). There are several ethnic students such as Kon Muang (local people), Lue, Mong, Lao, Khmu, Yao, Akha and Lahu. Most of them live in Chiang Khong and other districts nearby such as Wiang Kaen, Mae Chan and Mae Sai while some of them came from other provinces such as Tak and Chiang Mai. They live in the dormitory which almost of dormitory is supported by religious organization and local foundation. Some students came from other countries which are Myanmar and Laos PDR (Field Note, February 6th 2017).

Current teaching system uses The Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (A.D. 2008) along with additional courses made by the government, for example, Special Economic Zone Curriculum, Dual Degree and Local Curriculum. The activities both in and outside classes are taught by teacher and local guest speakers. Every day, the school starts at 7:45 AM and finishes at 4:30 PM with 8 periods average (Field Note, February 6th 2017).

3) Hug Nam Khong Group (alias)

Hug Nam Khong group is a localism movement in Thailand – Laos PDR border. It was set by the local people, businessmen, government officers, policemen and doctors. They worried about the changes happened to Mekong river. They did many activities about natural resource and environment conservation which aim to create local awareness, using local knowledge to revitalize holistic locality under the principle “Respect for nature and faith for human justice” (Nam-ing(alias), interviewed, March 25th 2017).

Hug Nam Khong group runs many activities such as idea sharing, awareness campaign and concrete action doing with community and organizations. It started from Ruk Pa Doi Luang Project in 1995 – 1996. Donation was made in order to bring back big trees along Mae Tong river in Doi Luang area where deforestation occurred from wood trading. Another important project is Ruk Pra Buak and Ruk Chiang Khong Project which worked with Ban Had Krai community in 1996. Moreover, it also joined the community rights campaign to manage natural resource in the Constitution B.E. 2540 (A.D. 1997) and also joined the civil society for Stop Phee Long Rapid Blasting campaign in 2007 (SuksawangS. (Editor), 2009, p. 20; Yuenyong P., 2008, p. 198; Nam-ing(alias), interviewed, March 25th 2017). There are other issues from the development held by nation and organization in Chiang Khong that affect natural resource and environment. The suggestion about alternative development for organizations both public and private should be made appropriately.

Hug Nam Khong group also pays attention to education that help creating awareness and consciousness for local youth. They participated in making learning resource, non – formal education and local curriculum with education institution in Chiang Khong in order to create space for local knowledge in school (Nam-in (alias), interviewed, March 25th 2017).

Research Questions and Methodology

The research questions are 1) How can localism become a new actor in education area and border area development? 2) Can localism success in knowledge contention in school?

The researcher used qualitative research – Case Study Approach (Yin, 2009) and chose Ban PraBuek School (alias) and Hug Nam Khong Group (alias) to be key informants. The data was collected via documentation, in-depth interview from key informants - members of Hug Nam Khong Group and teachers - and participant observation. The researcher did the field work for collecting data since November 2016 until March 2017. The total duration is five months.

Concepts for analyzing

This study, the researcher used Counter Hegemony of Antonio Gramsci who found that counter hegemony is a challenge process for current state which based on the relation between economic and politic that leads to liberation of mankind (Zembylas, M., 2013, p. 2). Intellectuals are people who lead the movement in social awareness spreading among the mass in the society through Warof Position strategy (Ramesh, S., 2008, p. 59). The situation happened when the ruling class not be able to hegemonize successfully so Gramsci pointed out that the tradition intellectuals created the power through state organizations such as religion and schooling for producing and publicizing culture of hegemony. Thus, organic intellectuals who are subaltern tried to create ideology to respond to the hegemony by trying to build up individual consent. (Simms, R., 2003 p.446)

The concept, Cultural Capita of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, P., 1986, p. 47 – 48), defined cultural capital as it is the capital which is accumulated in each embodied state in the form of objectified state and institutionalization state. The individual has been modeled and reproduced in succession through education system. In addition, an output from the accumulated cultural capital is Taste which helps making a different and is used as a tool to maintain social class system.

Findings

1) Hug Nam Khong : New actor in education space and border area development

The border area of Thailand – Laos PDR in the context of globalization is being challenged by mega development projects under the cooperation of the state and capitalist in the Mekong sub - region. Local communities were pushed to be marginalized, subordinated, voiceless and surrendered to power without struggling. They were even driven from the area and the management of natural resources by the state and capital resource management (Santasombat Y. and members, 2009, p.3). The existence of Hug Nam Khong group is a reflection of clash in the context of globalization which continuously moved to take over the local space in terms of being phenomenon battle field. It also became the repercussion of the paradigm and the development strategy that shows a huge difference between state and public sector (Kittiarsa, P., 2003, p. 19). As a result, there is a group of intellectual who realize of the problem and its affect happened to local as the founder of the group said

“...Hug Nam Khong started from a group of ten people including teacher, doctor and other occupations. They shared their opinions about the future of Chiang Khong and Mekong river that must be sharply changed. They wanted to do something that help local community so it was the start of forming this group...” (Nam-ing(alias), interviewed, December 19th 2016).

This pointed out that most of members are state intellectuals or used to be state intellectual that worked in many sector, for example, teacher Nam-ing (alias) who is the founder used to be a government officer and a school director for more than ten years. This is the becoming from traditional intellectual to be organic intellectual (Kaewthep K. and Hinwiman S., 2008, p. 191) from the awareness of the affect happened to local and community along Mekong river. Apart from that, some members are good at media, research and experience about field trip in Mekong river area for more than ten years. This can be called that it is each member's embodied state.

Hug Nam Khong group began to accumulate capital in the form of local knowledge through Jaw Ban Research which came from Tai Ban Research of people living in Pak Moon Dam, Ubonratchatani province (Yuenyong, P., 2014, p. 205) with emphasis on the community participatory. The researchers came from the opportunities providing to local people affected by the projects. They did research about local knowledge, eco system, fish species, fish hunting tools, plants in Mekong river, agriculture on the Mekong river banks and community culture along the river banks of Thailand – Laos PDR (Research members of Jaw Ban Research in Chiang Kong – WiangKaen, 2006, p. 1-2) This is the learning exchange process between Hug Nam Khong group and local people.

“...Doing research with community and having research methodology for experiencing local people's livelihood including way of living, agriculture along Mekong river banks help the outsiders to understand local people. Also, local people will understand about the research...”(Nam-khong(alias), December 25th 2016).

“...Local people who have knowledge of livelihood will share this knowledge such as fishing, fish hunting tools and fish species. They already know about this. It is their everyday life...”(Nam-khong(alias), December 25th 2016).

The process of Jaw Ban Research help collecting and keeping local knowledge in a systematic way. It is easy to understand local knowledge in objectified state. For example, Research of Chiang Khong – WiangKaen : The Development of social marginalization from the past to the current change of political economy in Mekong sub – regions (2004), Handbook of local knowledge : Fish Species in Mekong River (2006), The Book of Mekong River : The River of Life and Culture (2004) and Mekong Post (2006). This type of knowledge is used to be a tool to scramble, negotiate and snatch the space and compete with the development from state and capital. It is a chance for opening local issues to academicians and other people to study further.

The rapid change in Mekong river especially rapid blasting problem and dam construction made Hug Nam Khong group realized that they can't fight alone. So, there is an existence between Hug Nam Khong and civil society group including Mekong river, Ingriver and Kok river in order to build a social capital network for working with university academia and the media around the world, nation and local continuously. It can be a mechanism to scramble and create a public space as the leader of Hug Nam Khong said unofficially that

“...We want to build a network with mass media, for example, Miss Nok (alias) from channel A (alias) or Miss Pla (alias) from channel B (alias). We will send them some news and ask for the air time. Sometimes, ask them to bring the microphone to the leader’s mouth ...”(Nam-ing (alias), unofficially interviewed, February 25th 2017).

At the end of 2016, Hug Nam Khong group opened “Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong” to be the office and institution for providing local knowledge in Mekong river. It is also a mechanism used to study the effect of changes resulting from the development and to create learning process in environment and culture in Mekong river (Hug Nam Khong group, 2015) under the principle “Respect for Nature and Equality of Human Beings.”

“...The main principle of the school is teaching to respect others. Respect doesn’t mean its meaning is respect to equality and human being. Men respect women and women respect men. Respecting cultural difference as we all are human being...”(Nam-ing(alias), interviewed, November 10th 2016)

This shows that Hug Nam Khong group lifted up cultural capital that accumulated in individual embodied state and objectified state into the institutionalization state. Moreover, they signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with many institutions both formal and informal school for promoting the cooperation in teaching emphasizing in local knowledge, wisdom, history and culture ecology (Nam-ing(alias), interviewed March 25th 2017). In addition, it is the education space for other movements in other places such as Bun Ruang community who want to conserve Bun Ruang community forest from space changing to be industrial estate (Nam-ing(alias), interviewed November 10th 2016).

With over two decades of working experience, Hug Nam Khong group, Jaw Ban Research and local knowledge have built legitimacy in struggle for the movement group and have proved to the society that they became experts in local knowledge, wisdom, history and culture ecology. They have been known by people in Chiang Khong and Wiang Kaen, Mekong sub – region, nation and other countries. This can be called building the symbolic capital which was used to struggle, negotiate and scramble with the mainstream development by state and capital. The group can be able to play a role in determining the direction of local development with other organizations such as Chiang Khong development strategy with balanced and sustainable “One City, Two strategies” and other project called 7 pointed star strategy “Chiang Khong – Gateway to the Future”. They also took the action in education by supporting local curriculum in formal education, informal education and life – long learning education.

Therefore, the contention in knowledge defining is very challenge to the dominance of knowledge through schools for more over a half of century to be an alternative for sustainable local development. Hug Nam Khong group finally became a new actor in education space and border development in Thailand – Laos PDR up until now.

2) Border School : As contention space in knowledge defining

The changes taking place in border area of Thailand – Laos PDR had formed symbolic capital of Hug Nam Khong group to be recognized and accepted as an expert in local knowledge as well as becoming a challenger who challenge and respond to the contention of knowledge in modern development over two decades.

When the government opened the space for local community in order to participate in education management in 70 : 30 ratios, it allowed Hug Nam Khong to scramble definition of knowledge by relying on local curriculum as a mechanism to participate in education management. This indicated that knowledge space in schools is a political of knowledge that full of contest. However, education usually makes political of knowledge seems to be compromising without contention in the form of the curriculum content, teaching and assessment (Apple, M., 1993 cited in Siwarom, S., 2008, p. 90).

Hug Nam Khong group started playing a big role in school system in 1999 by showing the research work of Jaw Ban Research which processing from local knowledge and wisdom into the form of an object such as media, documentary, journal and research book. Then, these media were given to schools as well as the suggestions for teachers who interested in local knowledge curriculum development. A member of Hug Nam Khong said

“...The research work provide us with a set of knowledge and wisdom. We think that local knowledge should be taught in local schools for an opportunity to learn local knowledge of our young and youth. Moreover, the teachers can use local curriculum and can get consulting about media and content from us...”(Nam-som(alias), March 24th 2017).

However, the making of local curriculum under the leading of Hug Nam Khong to be used in school had to face some problems from state traditional intellectuals who have negative attitude towards local knowledge. They believe that local knowledge does not conform to state requirements and it will affect learning process and interrupt the result of national test which is the main aim of a school. A teacher said

“...It is difficult because the ministry emphasizes the result of O-NET (Ordinary National Educational Test). The principle always assigns a new job. The students do a lot of studying. I do not care. If someone wants to do, just let they go. I would rather teach for doing O-NET examination. If the result is not good, I will surely get complaint...” (Todsob (alias), interviewed, March 3rd 2017)

This reflects that the official knowledge influences the way of thinking of the teachers who are state traditional intellectuals to be consensus in following the state mechanism without asking any questions about those knowledge. Therefore, local knowledge became just a mechanism to create legitimacy for the government in order to integrate local knowledge under control by the state. Montana Pipatpen (2004) pointed out that the integration of local knowledge in school system made the identity of wisdom disintegrate to official knowledge and local knowledge is classified as a secondary – level which rely on official knowledge, rule and standard of school.

Although at the beginning of local curriculum was not that successful, Hug Nam Khong group did not cancel their willing to challenge the state ideology and state mechanism. They started to

persuade teachers and students to participate in the activities. The leader of Hug Nam Khong talked to teachers that

"...Educating people is the most important to the world. I believe that teacher is the most important. Teachers educate people. Teachers need to understand and know that we all have to develop the young people and make they know themselves, know locality and love locality..." (Nam-ing(alias), interviewed, March 25th 2017)

Not every teachers think that official knowledge is more important than local knowledge especially the teachers who are local and grow up with livelihood along Mekong river. A local teacher said

"...I think we have to create local curriculum. We must know. If people along Mekong river don't know, how can others make us know..." (Sudjai(alias), interviewed, March 10th 2017)

This shows that even local teachers who are state traditional intellectuals and convey state ideology still feel familiar with local and realize the coming affect from the development of state and capital in their communities. So, they turned to be organic intellectuals and joined Hug Nam Khong group movement to help providing education to local youth as KanjanaKaewthep and SomsukHinwiman (2008, p. 191) said that intellectuals are not motionless. They make a move and be changeable at any time.

When Hug Nam Khong group can't play a big role in school, they opened local education institution called "Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong" in the late 2015 and made Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with schools in order to promote the cooperation in teaching about knowledge, wisdom and history of local eco – cultural (Opening of Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong Project, Mekong eco – cultural learning center, 2015). They develop a local curriculum called Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong Curriculum for using in teaching and learning process both in formal and informal education for local people and others (Kuenchiangsa, S., 2015) Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong became a learning center in history, ethnicity, culture and livelihood of local people as well as became a center for studying current changes of nature and environment along Mekong river.

"...The school is not just made in concrete building. We can learn under the trees. We want students to learn, to see and to know the changes of nature. They should know local knowledge and history. It is good to explore the world outside the textbooks..." (Nam-ing(alias), interviewed, November 10th 2016)

After the opening of Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong, Ban PlaBuek School started paying attention and opened space for Hug Nam Khong group such as inviting a guest speaker to lecture in an orientation day and opening the school for special class for many subjects. At the same time, the government launched a new policy "Teach Less Learn More" to encourage students to learn with the community. Many local teachers operated their class as learning center in Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong (Sapphasuk, W., 2016). This made Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong took a part in school increasingly. In 2017, teachers and administrators have ideas to improve the curriculum and draft local curriculum "Kon Nam Khong". A teacher said about this

"...We should make a new local curriculum for students in every grade. Currently, students study something too far from their life. They know Nile river but do not know about their community..." (Num(alias), March 25th 2017)

The local curriculum development "Kon Nam Khong" emphasized on the participatory between teachers and members of Hug Nam Khong group. They use eco – cultural history concept of Hug Nam Khong group as a framework. This local curriculum was used in elective courses in Social Study, Religion and Culture from grade 7 to grade 12. Each grade will study one subject per academic year. It will start in semester one of academic year of 2017.

"...We should help in hands to develop the curriculum because the teachers use it and we are the supporters. We will support the using of media, guest speaker and venue. We should go together. At the end of academic year, we will discuss and improve the curriculum again..." (Nop(alias), March 25th 2017)

The return of local curriculum was full of ideology of Hug Nam Khong group. This reflects that the power of the local movement that established itself to be a knower through accumulating local knowledge for over two decades in order to be used as mechanism to compete for definition of knowledge in border schools points out that in globalization especially in an area, state does not monopoly persuade, dominate and reproduce knowledge, wisdom and ideology for righteousness of state anymore. Schools became the stage to compete and scramble for space. Knowledge defining of border school is full of ideology, knowledge and many kinds of wisdom that need to compete and scramble for the most valuable knowledge to be learned (Apple, M., 2001, cited in Siwarom, S., 2008, p. 93). This precise knowledge should be remembered in experience and way of life of student for forever (Siwarom, S., 2001, p. 92). However, the power of localism movement especially Hug Nam Khong is not strong enough to convince, compete and open the local knowledge in core curriculum led by state. Local knowledge was pushed to be marginal knowledge as it happened to local curriculum "Kon Nam Khong".

Conclusion

Hug Nam Khong is a localism movement that was formed in 1996 from the awareness of local people about the impact of the development of the state and capital in the era of globalization that emphasizes on economic growth from 1961 onwards. This caused decadence of natural resource and environment including the local communities that were pushed to be marginalized, impotent, voiceless and loss of participation in any kind of development. Hug Nam Khong group consists of members from various occupations and many levels. They gather together for a mission which shares the same ideology (Kaewthep, K. and Hinwiman, S., 2008, p. 184 – 185). Gramsci named this group as Alternative Historical Bloc (Bhuddaraksa, W., 2014, p. 170). Hug Nam Khong became a new actor or alternative historical bloc which was existed to challenge, response and counter with the development of the state and capital in the area of Thailand – Laos PDR.

The establishing and creating the identity of Hug Nam Khong group had worked through the accumulation of cultural capital based on local knowledge via Jaw Ban Research. Local people especially community philosophers joined as researchers in order to collect the knowledge from

local people's everyday life that were accumulated since childhood and were passed from generation to generation. From the research, Hug Nam Khong group can be able to transform lesson learned and local knowledge into documentary, research, book, journal and other types of media systematically and credibly. Local knowledge is used to be a mechanism to compete and negotiate with the development of state and capital. It can be seen as evidenced by the demand for Stop Rapid Blasting Campaign and the dam construction in Mekong river or the claim to use the forest area of Bun Ruang community for building industrial estate.

The accumulation of local knowledge based on Jaw Ban Research for over two decades made Hug Nam Khong group became a strong civil society in the area of Thailand – Laos border area. The establishment of cultural capital to be local knowledge institution called "Hong Hien Mae Nam Khong" is important as it is a mechanism in enlightenment, reproducing and pass on local knowledge and ideology of Hug Nam Khong group to local youth. This help pushing the movement for providing social consciousness through the warof position contention strategy and make it take place over the mass (Ramesh, S., 2008, p. 59) until it became symbolic capital that local community, public organization and local private organization accept. It started playing a big role in local curriculum development for public school in border area. This reflects that Hug Nam Khong group tried to use many kinds of mechanism to create consent in people in the society by persuasion, convincing and enlightenment for people to produce the same form of ideology and concept (Forgacs, D., 2000, p. 420; Kaewthep, K. and Hinwiman, S., 2008, p. 177, Buddharaksa, W., 2014, p. 125 – 126).

However, the contention of local knowledge through local curriculum in Ban PraBuek School is not that easy. It have to face the idea of traditional intellectuals that believe in official knowledge from the state. They adhere to core curriculum and national test to be the core of teaching and learning. Because of this, local knowledge was pushed to be marginalized in school space. However, some teachers in school are not consent to state ideology completely but they can turn from traditional intellectuals to be organic intellectuals when there is an issue related directly to their class benefits or there is other condition which threaten the freedom of thought (Kaewthep, K. and Hinwiman, S., 2008, p. 191). Teachers, especially local teachers, including teachers who are aware of the problem from the development of the state and capital will encourage and support to open space and participate in education with Hug Nam Khong group and local community. They will be supporters who encourage to revise local curriculum that will bring participatory in "Kon Nam Khong" curriculum development together with teachers and members of Hug Nam Khong group again.

Thus, the movement in local knowledge contention reflects that it is difficult to play a big role in local curriculum in school that is full of ideology of official knowledge. Making contention needs various types of capital to be a mechanism to scramble and take over the mind set especially the mind set of teachers who are state traditional intellectuals before they release the students' mind set to free from the dominant of official knowledge of state and capital.

Last but not least, even it can take a part in ideology space of local curriculum, it is just a marginalized set of knowledge in marginalized curriculum that is not powerful enough to convince, persuade and open space for local knowledge to be existed in core curriculum or core subject under control of the state even in schools located in Thailand – Laos PDR border area.

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