

**Civil Society in Thailand:  
Strengthened by Municipality with Partisan Politics**

A Ph.D. Dissertation

Submitted to the University of Tsukuba  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Chalermpon KONGJIT

April 2017



## **Abstract**

Civil societies are voluntary groups of non-market and non-state sectors that support their own associational life and public interests. However, according to rules of law and instruments, the legitimate state and the political-institutional actions directly and indirectly influence the development of civil society organizations. Therefore, the state still holds the legitimate sovereignty to foster, regulate, and readjust the nature of civil society. This study highlights the importance of how civil society and its roles can be structured and molded by the state.

In Thailand, according to the provision of the 1997 constitution, there is a new particular pattern of local groups of residents that have been structured by the state in the city areas. Central and local governments have provided administrative guidance and financial support as incentives to encourage and support those groups' establishments and activities. The municipality as a local government has used political instruments such as rules and regulations in order to structure the group formation and management style. Apart from that, both even though those groups provide public interests, it is imperative for them to be able to provide the collaborative mechanisms between the local government and local residents. Thus, it is possible to say that those groups are promoted as political partisan groups through the state-designated local group of residents.

Therefore, this study explores the new patterns of development of a local group of residents based on a geographically delimited condition that has been influenced by the state and to grasp its roles as a civil society organization. Furthermore, this study aims to determine the politicized conception of civil society

through the collaborative mechanisms between state or political institutions and local residents.

The study has first employed analysis to generate a broad understanding addressing the basic characteristics of civil society. It has then elucidated features, types of functions and the nature of activities of neighborhood communities including its relation with institutions in the Thai political context. The comparative perspectives with previous literature review and the empirical survey data have been used.

The result reveals that neighborhood communities are voluntary organized groups that have been shaped by state designation. The policies and financial supports of the government guide and fund most activities of neighborhood communities. These resulted in a high cooperation with the municipality that may contribute to building up social capital and developing the capacity building of the community. This could significantly illustrate the vitality and the strength of civil society organizations at the grassroots level. For this reason, the relationship between neighborhood communities and the municipality can be viewed as a reciprocal exchange. This relationship would be deeply embedded based on feelings of a debt of gratitude due to the political patron offering help through various political instruments like policies and financial instruments. Therefore, the depth of the relationship between the municipality and neighborhood communities will be advantageous for the local government and local politicians to gain neighborhood communities as partisan groups.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to take this opportunity to express my debt and thanks to a number of individuals and institutions, continued support and encouragement of whom helped me shape this thesis through its different stages.

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my academic advisor Professor Yutaka TSUJINAKA for the continuous support of my Ph.D study and related research, for his patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. I could not have imagined having a better advisor and mentor for my Ph.D study.

It is my great pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to three other members of my Thesis Committee. Special thanks to Professor Leslie M. Tkach-Kawasaki for her kind advices, generous support that helped me upgrade the standard of my research. I extend sincere thanks to Professor Takafumi Ohtomo and Professor Liang Pan for their insightful comments and encouragement, but also for the hard question which incited me to widen my research from various perspectives.

I convey my heartfelt thanks to the Institution of Japan Society and the Promotion of Science under JSPS RONPAKU Dissertation Program for awarding me the Scholarship, which has supported my study and stay in Japan.

I am grateful to my friends at Tsujinaka Seminar for their encouragement, support, intellectual comments on my research and extended help in solving various difficulties I had to encounter being a foreign student in Japan.

I thank my colleagues of the College of Arts, Media and Technology, Chiang Mai University for their cordial support and cooperation during the study period.

I also would like to thank my research team for extending their help to conduct the survey in Thailand. Without their support, I cannot complete this research work.

Lastly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my Parents and my Family without whose constant support, cooperation, understanding and motivation it would have been impossible for me to finish the study.

## Table of Contents

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Abstract  | III  |
| Acknowledgement                                     | V    |
| Table of Contents                                   | VII  |
| List of Tables                                      | X    |
| List of Figures                                     | XII  |
| Chapter 1 Introduction                              | 1    |
| 1.1 Introduction                                    | 1    |
| 1.2 Problem statement                               | 3    |
| 1.3 Research question and scope                     | 6    |
| 1.4 Implication                                     | 8    |
| 1.5 Brief introduction of civil society in Thailand | 9    |
| 1.6 Chapter arrangement                             | 15   |
| Chapter 2 Literature Review                         | 19   |
| 2.1 Theoretical relation to the objective           | 19   |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| 2.2 Concept of civil society  | 20   |
| 2.3 Clientelism   | 28   |
| 2.4 Corporatism   | 36   |
| 2.5 Civil society in Thailand and its relation to the concept of<br>partisan politics | 42   |
| 2.6 Analytical model  | 46   |
| 2.7 Methodology   | 48   |
| Chapter 3 Emerge of Civil Society through Political Structure                         | 55   |
| 3.1 Introduction  | 55   |
| 3.2 Political structure as elite democracy in Thailand                                | 56   |
| 3.3 Influence of political structure upon civil society                               | 69   |
| 3.4 Redefinition and reshaping of civil society                                       | 73   |
| 3.5 Summary   | 81   |
| Chapter 4 Civil Society and Neighborhood Community in Thailand                        | 85   |
| 4.1 Introduction  | 85   |
| 4.2 Nature of civil society organization surveyed in Thailand                         | 93   |
| 4.3 Neighborhood community as civil society in Thailand                               | 112  |



|  | Page |
|--|------|
| 4.4 Summary  | 145  |
| Chapter 5 Neighborhood Community and Political Relation                          | 150  |
| 5.1 Introduction   | 150  |
| 5.2 Neighborhood community and its personal relation                             | 151  |
| 5.3 Political activities conducted by neighborhood community                     | 156  |
| 5.4 Summary  | 165  |
| Chapter 6 Conclusion   | 169  |
| Appendices   | 178  |
| Appendix 1 Survey on Neighborhood Community in Thailand<br>Northern Region 1     | 178  |
| Appendix 2 Survey on Civil Society Organization in Thailand<br>Northern Region 1 | 192  |
| References   | 201  |

## List of Tables

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Table 2.1 Survey conducted in Thailand  | 50   |
| Table 3.1 Characteristics of the political structures and civil society in Thailand                 | 83   |
| Table 4.1 JIGS sample distribution and return   | 91   |
| Table 4.2 Nature of self-classifications by civil society organizations                             | 95   |
| Table 4.3 Objective of civil society organizations  | 99   |
| Table 4.4 Number of employees and volunteers of civil society organizations                         | 101  |
| Table 4.5 Funds providing sources for civil society organizations                                   | 102  |
| Table 4.6 Relation of civil society organizations with government in perspective                    | 106  |
| Table 4.7 Influence of civil society organizations in perspective                                   | 108  |
| Table 4.8 Selection means of neighborhood community president, committee and director               | 127  |
| Table 4.9 Profiles of president, committee members and subgroup director                            | 129  |
| Table 4.10 Occupations of neighborhood community president, committee members and Subgroup director | 130  |
| Table 4.11 Average of the Significance of local government policies                                 | 134  |
| Table 5.1 Relationship of neighborhood communities and important institutions                       | 152  |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Table 5.2 Subcontracted task from municipality       | 155 |
| Table 5.3 Lobbying activities                        | 157 |
| Table 5.4 Evaluation of the municipality's response  | 159 |
| Table 5.5 Success and influence on political process | 161 |

## List of Figures

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| Figure 2.1 Analytical model in studying civil society                                | 47   |
| Figure 4.1 Gross domestic product (GDP) in year 2013 classified by country           | 88   |
| Figure 4.2 Freedom House score in year 2013 classified by country                    | 88   |
| Figure 4.3 Model for comparison  | 89   |
| Figure 4.4 Top 5 policy interests of Thailand, The Philippines, Bangladesh and Japan | 96   |
| Figure 4.5 Pattern of individual members of civil society organizations              | 100  |
| Figure 4.6 Annual budget of civil society organizations                              | 103  |
| Figure 4.7 Nature of formal relation with government                                 | 105  |
| Figure 4.8 Influence of civil society organization to the government policy          | 107  |
| Figure 4.9 Success in policy-making and policy-blocking in perspective               | 109  |
| Figure 4.10 Lobbying activities  | 110  |
| Figure 4.11 Classification of Thailand's municipality                                | 117  |
| Figure 4.12 Establishment period of neighborhood communities                         | 121  |
| Figure 4.13 Scale of participating households of neighborhood communities            | 124  |

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| Figure 5.1 Relationship of neighborhood communities and important actors | 154  |
| Figure 5.2 Implementation status of monitoring                           | 162  |
| Figure 5.3 Actual mobilization experience                                | 163  |
| Figure 5.4 Involvement in election                                       | 164  |

# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The concept of civil society has been discussed in a variety of uses and definitions among numerous scholars in different time periods. Many scholars have depicted that civil society organizations are non-state sector and have more roles and social power for public interests. Tocqueville accounted civil society as a sphere of mediating organizations between individuals and the state. His concept was based on a limited state that operated in conditions of socioeconomic equality and political freedom and mediated between personal interest and the national common good (Alagappa, 2004). In line with this, Frank Schwartz conceived civil society as a sphere that intermediated between families and the state in which social actors pursued neither profit within the market nor power within the state (Schwartz, 2002). For the modern concept, civil society refers to the shift that consists of sustained organized social activities which occur in groups that are formed outside the state, the market, and the families (Alagappa, 2004; Pharr, 2002; Tsujinaka, 2002). Considering and recognizing the aforementioned definitions of civil society, in this study, I have assumed that civil society is the third sector in which voluntary groups that are non-market and non-state sectors are contributing a vast sphere of support to sustain associational life and public interests.

Civil society had been used as a key variable to explain democratic political changes due to its connection with democracy. Civil society was reckoned as having the potential to liberate citizens from the oppressive state and to confer full liberal

economic and political freedom in the transition to democracy. The beginning of the 1980s illustrated the struggle of civic movements against an authoritarian regime, especially between the communist and the military dictatorship in many countries. In Eastern Europe and Latin America, civil society was perceived as the social power that confronted political authority suppressing the liberty and legitimacy of public. In the late 1980s, this occurrence was replicated in some Asian countries such as the Philippines, Bangladesh, South Korea, Indonesia, and Thailand wherein civil society was criticized for democratic transition and consolidation. They mostly erupted in a variety of form of citizens' organizations (students, workers, farmers, professionals) combined efforts to mobilize public opinion struggling against their authoritarian government and military dictatorship to demand or prevent changes in the political system. However, they seemed an arena of power and struggle among competing interests, are lacked the capacity for permanent organization that therefore resulted to their immediate disbandment after their purposes were realized (Alagappa, 2004). In the mid-1990s, it should be noted that the Soviet collapse was the victory of the ideology towards democratic political changes in which the collapse of communism indicated the crucial role of civil society. The understanding about civil society through these periods was therefore looked into including the nature of the contrasts between the state and civil society. Civil society was credited as a political force concerning the transition from authoritarian and communist regimes to democracy. The nature of contrast also reflected the weakness of the state while it underscored the strength of civil society with its significant roles played in democratization.

The changes in the political system and political structure have brought about more liberty and freedom to the relationship and roles between the state and civil society. In addition to probing into the understanding about civil society, the nature of the cooperation between the state, its institutions, and civil society have also been examined. Rather than oppositional to the state, the emerging trend of civil society is based upon the influence of the state and political institutional actions. Along with rules of law and instruments, the legitimate state and political institutional actions pervasively influence directly and indirectly the development of civil society organizations. The state has structured the organization of civil society with strict regulations in several countries wherein civil society sometimes becomes a link to political and economic governance. Moreover, civil society is sometimes organized as a mechanism to respond to state policies in delivering social services and in helping vulnerable groups while in some cases civil society is organized autonomously beyond the control of the state, focusing on the cooperation with the state institutions in solving social and economic problems. Therefore, if the nature of civil society organizations is that of a non-state sector, this study highlights the importance of how civil society can be structured by the state and how its roles are molded by the state.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

Social integration has been specifically meant to make the Thai civil society express its public opinions and to create bargaining power with the state through the forms of social movement like in other countries. There were various social groups from time to time such as in 1973 and in 1976 wherein the student groups led by the



National Students Center of Thailand protested against the military dictatorship government in the democratization process to demand a more liberal politics and aiming to confer full democracy. Also, other social groups emerged from the significant changes in Thai economic influence during the 1980s. Some of those social groups were farmers, laborers, assembly of poor people, slums, and marginalized people and others who protested against the government's policies such as price guarantee of agriculture goods, employment minimum wages, tax rates, community rights and land holding. Nevertheless, such movements were disbanded soon after achieving their immediate purposes. The outcome exposed that Thai civil society was in opposition to the state because groups were informally structured, unorganized, unsustainable, and seemed to be easily controlled by the state.

Yet people uprising in May 1992, who were mostly from the middle class in Bangkok, a city that resisted the authoritarian government, brought about political reform. The protestors overthrew the military dictatorship, which led to the crackdown and clashes between the military and the public causing numerous deaths and casualties. In the end, the military government resigned and put a halt to the long military-dominated regime which was the impetus to a lot of debates on political reform and drove the public to reconsider Thai's political reform. Consequently, the new constitution<sup>1</sup> promulgated in 1997 stipulates the rights and liberty of the people in public participation and political decentralization.

---

<sup>1</sup> The first constitution to be drafted by popularly elected Constitutional Drafting Assembly which was formed with 99 members: Seventy-six of them were directly elected from each of the provinces and 23 qualified persons short-listed by the Parliament from academia and other sources. A process of public consultation took place on a nation-wide basis.

Along with the provision of the 1997 constitution, people could have rights and liberty to unite and form an association, a private organization and other groups for protecting the public interest, maintaining public order and strengthening families and communities, etc. Subsequently, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), nonprofit organizations (NPOs), unions, foundations, neighborhood associations and other voluntary associations, including people in the corporate group level have started to grow and expand throughout the country. During 2001 to 2006, the number of NPOs had increased to approximately 1,930 per year<sup>2</sup>. From 2006 to 2008, there were 70,792 organizations all over the country<sup>3</sup>.

To ensure the provision of 1997 constitution, there is a new particular pattern of a local group of residents that have been structured by the state in the city areas of Thailand. It is assumed that the state tried to promote a particular pattern of neighborhood community as a civil society in modern Thai politics.

According to state sovereignty, the state powerfully shapes the organization of civil society through legality, regulations, and incentives as well as building relationships by means of distributing benefits and privileges to gain control and capture. The municipality has used political instruments as rules and regulations to structure the group formation and management style. Moreover, both central and local governments have intended to provide administrative guidance and financial support as incentives to encourage and support those groups' establishments and activities. Even though those groups provide public interests, it is essential for them

---

<sup>2</sup> Survey report of National Statistical Office indicated that the number of NPOs was 55,805 organizations in the year 2001, until the year 2006, there were 65,457 organizations. ([www.nso.go.th](http://www.nso.go.th))

<sup>3</sup> The report of the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESBD) and the Johns Hopkins University Center for Civil Society Studies (JHU/CCSS) 2006-2008 Edition

to be able to provide the collaborative mechanisms between the local government and local residents. Thus, it is possible to say that those groups are promoted as political partisan groups through the state-designated local group of residents.

Therefore, this study explores the new patterns of development of a local group of residents based on a geographically delimited condition that has been influenced by the state and to grasp its roles as a civil society organization. Apart from that, this study intends to determine the politicized conception of civil society through the collaborative mechanisms between the state or political institutions and local residents.

### **1.3 Research question and scope**

The previously mentioned problem statement talks about the new pattern of neighborhood association that is widespread in the municipalities of Thailand based on the state-designated local groups of residents.

The 1997 constitution had provided the direction to open the means for widespread political participation and decentralized politics. It had indeed opened opportunities for people to participate in politics and extensive decentralization to localities for the purpose of independence and self-determination of local affairs to ensure democracy. The state has to regard human rights and liberty to unite and form an association, union, foundation and entity groups, to promote and encourage public participation, plus to reinforce and to develop families and the strength of communities. Consequently, the Ministry of Interior delegated the municipalities to encourage and support the gathering of local groups of residents to form their neighborhood community (self-reliance community) under the government's

guideline structures and incentives, and exercise their involvement towards local affairs.

Due to underscored points, my main research question asks how the state can structure neighborhood communities as a civil society in modern Thai politics. I have proceeded with this investigation by using the results of a survey of civil society in Thailand including the cross-national information from other JIGs countries to explain broadly the overall civil society structure in Thailand. Then, I have utilized the empirical survey data to investigate the nature and trends of neighborhood communities to reveal its features, types of functions and nature of activities. In addition, I have added the comparative perspective with the neighborhood association from the previous literature to show the distinctive characteristics of neighborhood communities as civil society in Thailand.

The second research question pertains to analyzing the roles of Thai neighborhood communities towards participatory activities. These groups would realize the importance of public goods, be voluntary and autonomous status, from their privileged relationship with the state. However, based on Thai political culture and political structure, I contend two things. First, the government sponsorship of organization would impact the political goals. Second, the political goals would be expressed through the role of civil society in response to the state policies. The fact that the state by municipality is structuring the pattern of neighborhood community and is giving them incentives and privileges makes me wonder whether the state is steering the civil society as a political partisan. In this analysis, I address the question: What are the roles of neighborhood communities towards the political relations in the Thai political context? To answer this question, the empirical survey

data has been utilized to investigate the nature of the participatory role and relation of neighborhood communities with the government in Thai political context.

#### **1.4 Implications**

The modern term used for civil society is as the third sector that consists of sustained, organized social activity that occurs in groups which are formed outside the state, the market and perceived as social actors that pursue neither profit within the market nor power within the state (Alagappa, 2004; Pharr, 2002; Schwartz, 2002; Tsujinaka, 2002). However, Pekkanen (2006) argues the legitimate roles of the state and its institutions in shaping civil society in Japan with state intervention and incentives as well as civil society in China that are shaped in response to the state policies (Yuanzhu, 2003). It shows that the significant roles and phenomenon of civil society, reflected through multi-dimensional factors like policy, cultural norms as well as political institutions, tend to be in cooperation with the state.

While not underestimating the value of such highly distinguished roles and phenomenon of civil society, the present study points out the influence of state action in relation to the state policy. The combination of factors such as the norms in patron-client relationship and institutions that promote a particular pattern of civil society organization in Thailand and political instruments may affect the formation of civil society organizations and may lead to them becoming a political partisan group.

Based on rule of law, the state is the main institution that has the autonomy to adopt its interventionist policies to control or manipulate all kinds of institutions as well as social groups. Moreover, the state may create the reciprocity and

inequality of uneven power and status through a patron-client relationship with the society for gaining a long-run loyalty and support. Therefore, it is easy for the state and its institutions to adopt the rules, regulations, and incentives, which may concern the process of social groups' formation and the development of the pattern of civil society.

This study does not only accept civil society as an organized group, sustained and voluntary association in achieving public goods. The case study will present a type of voluntary groups in the form of neighborhood communities based on self-reliance policies which are molded and strengthened by local governments. For these aspects, the state plays a role in fostering an environment in which many civil society organizations can flourish while those groups could be organized in response to the state policies. The creation and incentive of neighborhood communities of the state show the virtue of the state which provided the citizens more attention to social development. However, it also illustrates that the state as a political patron is directing civil society organizations in the municipality by giving them incentives and privileges so that they could support a political goal and may become a partisan that implicate the connection between civil society and democracy.

### **1.5 Brief introduction of civil society in Thailand**

The basic trends of the conception of Thai civil society was a realm independent of the state (Schwartz & Pharr, 2003), it was organized in distinction from the state sector and recognized as a civic association that mainly focused on the area of charities and social services. The latter of the ideas of civil society has often

been viewed as an intermediate realm in which society can organize itself aiming in opposition and coalition to the state. This study analyzes the civil society in Thailand as a realm of charities, political ideology, and perspective of law and policy.

### **Realm of charities**

Thai civil society has a long tradition of philanthropic organizations, which mostly emerged throughout the early 1960s with varied purposes and roles (Pongsapich, 1993) and which were formed as voluntary groups in relation to religious organizations and civic groups. According to the NESDB's<sup>4</sup> survey in Thailand, it was revealed that about 70% of non-Profit institutions and its volunteers in 2006 were related to religious organizations that included temples, churches, clubs and associations administering religious services. Moreover, its revenue at 9.6% was considerably very high, 0.7% higher compared with eight other countries<sup>5</sup> (The National Economic and Social Development Board, 2006 – 2008).

Pongsapich (1993; 1995a; 1995b) explained that Thailand's long traditional Buddhist temples have long performed philanthropic functions by providing refuge for the needy and serving as community centers and their schools offering education to the public. The Christian missionaries<sup>6</sup> also provided the philanthropic activities

---

<sup>4</sup> National Economic and Social Development Board is a national economic and social planning agency of Thailand, providing directly the recommendations on national economic and social issues to the government, composes of 15 economic and social experts, including the governor of the Bank of Thailand and the director of the Bureau of the Budget.

<sup>5</sup> Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Japan, New Zealand, United States.

<sup>6</sup> The first Catholic missionary arrived in 1567-1568 while Protestant missionaries first arrived in 1828 (Pongsapich, 1993).

in the form of church, hospitals and school activities and work for hill tribe people and poor people towards community development.

There were other organizations in the form of ethnic minorities. According to Pongsapich (1995) and Tangchonlatip (1997), the nationalist movements in Thailand and the threat of overseas communist ideology among Chinese brought about many conflicts and mistrust among the people of different ethnic origins. The mistrust of Chinese led to the association of Chinese immigrants in the form of “secret societies” that provided assistance and protection to a certain group of people. These associations were later transformed into mutual aid and speech associations that serve the needs of occupational groups and new immigrants. Another type of Chinese philanthropic organization was the “Po Tek Tung” Foundation formed in 1920 and had been recognized as the first official philanthropic organization in Thailand to be registered since 1937. Initially, this foundation supported the poor Chinese people in Thailand and expanded its role and scope of operation to social welfare and disaster, then later became recognized as the benevolent society in Bangkok. In addition to these welfare associations were the Cantonese Association who founded a cemetery in 1884 and a clinic in 1903 as well as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce that was founded in 1932 to 1933.

There were likewise the modern forms of philanthropic organizations initiated by Thai citizens. According to Pongsapich (1995b), Sapa U-nalom Deang formed in 1890 which later became the Thai Red Cross, was recognized as the first non-government organization. The organization’s objective was to care for wounded soldiers and to provide general medical and other supplies. The Women City Club (Samakhom Satri Thai Haeng Sayam) was formally established in 1932. The



Women's Culture Club was formed in 1943 in order to promote social activities and culture and provide welfare to those in need. During that period, many more Thai organizations sprang up, for instance, international clubs such as Rotary, Lions, Sontas, and Youth Men's Christian Association (YMCA) came to existence as national networks with branches in the provinces (Pongsapich, 1995b). Although these clubs were associated with the provision of social welfare, most of the associations and the clubs represented philanthropic activities of the upper class or persons who have high social and financial status. Most of the activities performed aimed to provide contribution more than to enhance or strengthen social development.

### **Realm of political ideology**

In the early 1970s, the concept of civil society has been presented to the public as the new political ideology. Civil society organizations could be considered as organized interests and could act as interest groups or pressure groups which influence the election and affect the policy-making process in the political system (Tsujinaka, 2008, p. 6). Some groups have emerged in the form of civic movements to protest against the authoritarian government and pushing for a transition to full democracy. The student groups demonstrated against military dictatorships in 1973 and 1976 to demand a more liberal politics and to confer to full democracy. Later, there was the middle-class uprising in May 1992 against the authoritarian government led by the Confederation of Democracy, Assembly of the Poor, Labour Union, the Student Federation of Thailand, Farmers Federation of Thailand and others which affected political reform in terms of decentralization and public

participation. Hence, the history of Thai politics evidently shows that civil society has an impact on democratization in Thailand (Dhirathiti, 2002).

Up to the present, there are other political pressure groups which may be considered as political alliances of social movement embedded in notions of conservative against neo-liberal and pro-rich cronyism. The People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) or the Yellow Shirts was originally the anti-Thaksin coalition and the conservative force associated with the royalists and the military (Kitirianglarp and Hewison, 2009, p. 454). The PAD membership was not mainly consisted of a group of ultra-royalist but also included conservative Buddhist groups, working-class Bangkok residents, and anti-Thaksin Southerners. They played crucial roles in the civic movement in the Thailand political crisis of 2005 to 2006, and 2008. On the other hand, the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD) which is commonly called Red Shirts, is a political pressure group opposed to the military government and the PAD since 2006. The UDD is composed of mostly rural masses from the Northeast (Isan) and Northern Thailand and of urban lower classes from Bangkok and of some intellectuals. The movement seems to have received support from former Prime Minister in exile Thaksin Shinawatra. Due to these, Thai civil society organizations not only accounted for the democratization but were also depicted as pressure groups to protect their political ideologies and interests and seemed to play a crucial role in political partisan.

### **Realm of law and policy**

During the late 1990s, there was a growing perception that social groups have started to grow and expand throughout the country of Thailand to conform with

the provision of 1997 constitution related to the rights and liberty to unite and form an association. Pekkanen (2006) asserted that the state, based on rule of law, powerfully shapes the organization of civil society. With regard to differences in law and regulations, the state and institutions can create varying incentives for the organization of civil society. Under the circumstances that Thai society has a long history of state influence, Lertpaithoon (1999) described civil society from the perspective of law and policy.

In line with the perspective of law, civil society can be roughly classified into groups that are recognized and unrecognized by law as a legal person. The state uses the rule of law as a mechanism pushing civil society to fall into such categories as foundations, associations, cooperatives, and unions, which are bound by many clauses and limitations but provide some grant support and privileges. On the other hand, civil society that is unrecognized by law such as clubs, forum of the poor, students federation may be weak in cooperation with the state and can form itself without grant supports and privileges.

According to the perspective of policy, civil society could be structured in consonance with the state's desired policies. In this regard, it is necessary to raise awareness on the potential mutual benefits of establishing closer and continuous cooperative mechanisms of the governmental and civil sector throughout the policy making process. Following the purpose of the 1997 constitution of Thailand that stresses public participation and democratic decentralization, the Ministry of Interior by Department of Community Development has promoted itself to local residents as a voluntary group at Tambon and Village<sup>7</sup> level to manage, maintain and conserve

---

<sup>7</sup> Detailed explanation is given in chapter four.

their environmental resources. Moreover, the Department of Community Development also has promoted and has supported local residents to establish the Women Clubs in order to provide and develop their basic knowledge about vocational and health care training for women in local areas. Conversely, when the assembly of people make various demands, these tend to be regarded with suspicion and mistrust and are always subjected to control and scrutiny (Lertpaithoon, 1999). These may be the effect of various rules and regulations which were issued to control the people assembly and led to state policies that aim to control and inspect the organization of civil society.

According to the socio-political change and modernization, the state has to change its roles to engage in social responsibility and to be more open to the society while the public sector increases its power. The stipulation of 1997 constitution has brought significant changes to modern Thai politics like NGOs that extend to NPOs which have started to grow and expand in both cities and rural areas. The state is also structuring and promoting the civil society through empowering and strengthening many voluntary organizations under the type that the state desires, including supporting state organizations to act as the civil society organizations through its policies.

## **1.6 Chapter arrangement**

Following this brief introduction, Chapter 2 covers literature review relating to the theoretical framework based on state-society relations. Different literatures in relation to the present research have focused on the concept of civil society and the other two concepts about clientelism and corporatism which demonstrate the

relevance of the concept of civil society to modern political theory and relate to the political structural influence on civil society. The literature of civil society encompasses the basic trends from the discourse in a variety of uses and definitions to describe the development and the pattern of using civil society in Thailand's context. Clientelism denotes the linkage between patron and clients derived from the kinship of the patrimonial social system which is perceived as cultural practices and strategies. The literature in corporatism has shown the socio-political process in which organizations representing monopolistic functional interests engage in political exchange. These concepts have described the relation of the state and civil society under the circumstances that the state constructed civil society organizations. The others are concerned with the dissertation development, including conceptual framework and methodology used in the research.

Chapter 3 aims to identify the emerging trend of civil society based upon the influence of the state and political institutional actions. This chapter first discusses Thailand's political structures and political cultures. The previous literature, researches and other documents have been added to provide discussions related to the political structure and the emerging role of civil society in Thailand. The state could promote several patterns of civil society organizations based on rules and regulations of political systems and state sovereignty. Sometimes, civil society is adopted as a mechanism in response to the influence of state policies through political opportunity structures. The second section remarks on the several ramification characteristics of the civil society in Thailand which is tied beyond the political structure like civic association, social movement, pro- and anti-state and the new form of neighborhood community.

In Chapter 4, I have tried to explain broadly the civil society characteristics, functions, and issues and to investigate the nature of participatory role and relation with the government. In this chapter, the characteristics of the civil society in Thailand has been focused on and analyzed based on the comparative discussions, previous literature reviews and the study on neighborhood organization. The first part of this chapter provides cross-national perspective information from the survey in Thailand and other JIGS<sup>8</sup> countries that reveals civil society's basic characteristics and tendencies of activities of civil society organization. Moreover, the civil society organizations in Thailand could consider themselves as the associational life that provides public capacities to support and serve the needs of their members and the public. The second part relates to investigating the tendency of civil society organizations beyond its interactions with the state. As an autonomous group, they received the administrative guidance and work in cooperating with and supporting policies and budget activities of the government. The use of forming coalitions and network, including civic movement, mass protest, and demonstration may be the most vital democratic means for lobbying in Thailand. The third part discusses the descriptive feature of civil society organization, focusing on the neighborhood community in the municipality of Thailand. This chapter presents how the state has molded and strengthened civil society organizations in the new form of neighborhood community. Those groups encourage the gathering of local groups of residents to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness in providing social services. The empirical survey data have been

---

<sup>8</sup> Detailed description of using this survey has been discussed in the second section of chapter two.

adopted to investigate the basic characteristics, nature of activities, the relationship among associations in the social and political process, and the interaction with other social, political and economic actors. Furthermore, the comparative perspectives with the previous literature especially the neighborhood association in Japan, have been added to present the neighborhood community's basic nature, its features and functions, its nature of activities and its relationship with the government. The final part covers the broad understanding of civil society while sketching out the nature of neighborhood community based on the state that has shaped and strengthened the civil society in the municipality of Thailand.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the relationship between neighborhood community as a civil society organization and politics in Thailand. Contrasting the state and civil society, the state is powerfully shaping the organization of civil society through legality, regulations and incentives, building relationships between them by means of distributing benefits and privileges to gain control and capture. This chapter utilizes the multidisciplinary research design to analyze how civil society works in Thailand through the state-shaped structure and culture of civil society organization. The findings would show the role and pattern of the state - civil society relationship in modern Thai politics.

The concluding chapter summarizes the main discussion towards the civil society organization like neighborhood community in Thailand as a new pattern towards state-shaped civil society which could be recognized by its contribution to local development and social welfare based on self-reliance. However, the political implication of the study reflects the ramifications on the democracy with the partisan in modern Thai politics.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Theoretical relation to the objective**

This chapter relates to a theoretical framework based on state-society relations. The literature related to the present research has focused on three concepts: civil society, clientelism and corporatism. The literature on civil society encompasses the nature and trends of the discourse in a variety of uses and definitions to describe the development and the strength of civil society. In view of the several discourses that vary in using the concept of civil society in different situations and conditions, researchers concluded that political environment and political culture variables may have an impact on its roles and phenomenon in different political outcomes. Clientelism denotes to the linkage between patrons and clients derived from the kinship of patrimonial society system that includes cultural practices and strategies. The literature in corporatism, under state capitalism, has shown the socio-political process in which organizations representing monopolistic functional interests engage in political exchange and intervention. These concepts could not only give support in describing the relation of the state and civil society but could also fundamentally explain the nature, trends, and phenomenon of civil society in such environments. Clientelism and corporatism link the concept of civil society to modern political theory and to the political structure in Thailand. This research stresses on the circumstance in which the state has molded the civil society organizations in Thailand. It also suggests ways for analyzing how the prevailing state's mechanisms and strategies connect with civil society, which may have an



impact on political partisan in Thai's political context. This chapter also provides a detailed discussion regarding the methodology used and its relevance to the present study.

## **2.2 Concept of civil society**

The concept of civil society discourses is according to its phenomenon in relationship with the state. Earlier analyses viewed civil society in opposition to the state and further political discourse perceived it as having played a crucial role in opposition to the state as explicitly demonstrated during the struggle or reaction against oppressive state power and in the accompanying democratic transitions. Civil society is deemed as a class struggle to gain acquisitive power between rulers (elites) and those ruled. In addition, the liberal democratic regime views civil society as having the potential to liberate citizens from oppressive state and to confer full economic and political freedom on them, using power as the motor of the political system as the profit is the motor of the economy (Alagappa, 2004).

On the other hand, others view civil society as a coalition to the state. The state can play its role in fostering the political environments in which many civil society organizations can flourish. Civil society is generally perceived as the associational life or social actor that works autonomously for neither profit within the market nor for power within the state. As the state becomes more legitimate, it gains an ambiguous status indicating that civil society is possibly organized and/or shaped by the state. Rather than working autonomously, civil society would be recognized as an organized group that cooperates with the state in serving public needs and enhancing public capacities to serve and support state policies and their

interests. In the case of economic growth, the development of civil society could be regarded as the solution to the socio-economic problems because of its cooperation with the state sponsorships and incentives. Hence, it is comfortable for the state to gain civil society as a partisan group through government's sponsorship of organization and resource endowments. As several discourses differ in using the concept of civil society, they suggest ways for analyzing its nature and trends including its roles and phenomena in different environments. In line with this, the following literature describes the development and strength of civil society based on a variety of uses and definitions.

### **Civil society and the opposition views**

Early analyses viewed civil society through the political discourse that it can organize itself in resistance to the state power. Marx denoted civil society as an arena of alienation and exploitation that had to be overcome entirely through revolution (Alagappa, 2004). Moreover, he viewed civil society as an element to retrieve the right of people that lean against the state hegemony, especially an authoritarian or totalitarian state. The civil society was a deep structure of class inequality wherein the state actually furthered the dominance of the bourgeois class over subordinate classes in civil society (Baker, 1998, p. 4). Furthermore, Robert Cox (1999) commented on the role of civil society as a surrogate for revolution "an alternate social and world order". He considered civil society as the "crucial battleground" for citizens to regain control of public life and as a potential agent for the transformation of the state (Alagappa, 2004, p. 29). These contexts illustrate civil society as a sphere of action that expresses the struggle of civic movements to lean

against an authoritarian regime, especially totalitarian state and military dictatorships.

Similarly, Cohen and Arato (1992) explicitly indicated that the opposition between the state and civil society illustrated an inadequacy of power or the gap between rulers (elites) and those ruled. They mentioned in their book “Civil Society and Political Theory” that modern political thoughts, both liberal democratic and communitarian regimes, would be affected in the transitions against authoritarianism and dictatorship. Civil society in this context indicates a shift concerning the transformation of structural reform achieved because of organized pressure from the ruled. This phenomenon has led to a reaction against centralized state power and has become the social revolution in European countries such as in Poland, France, and West Germany.

According to Cohen and Arato (1992, pp. 31 - 35), the opposition between civil society and the state in Poland from 1976 presented the relationship between polarizations that were society against the state, social order against the political system, public life against the state, and private life against public power. The idea of such relationships was the protection and/or self-organization of social life in the face of the totalitarian or authoritarian state. The opposition represented a shift concerning the target of democratization and structural reform from below of a highly-articulated, organized, autonomous and mobilizable civil society accompanying the transformation of a self-organizing society aiming at social and/or political structure reforms.

It is noteworthy that the French discourse of civil society derived from the political culture of the French is deeply connected to totalitarian statism and

capitalism. Cohen and Arato (1992, pp.36-41) explained that the state is an instrument beyond conflict, while capitalism asserts the administrative penetration of society by the welfare state. The French discussion has also preserved Tocquevillian distinction among civil society, political society, and state. The concept of civil society is the space of social experimentation for the development of new forms of life, a new type of solidarity and social relations of cooperation and work. The political society included the public sphere for negotiation and compromise among autonomous groups. Therefore, the French case implicated an independent civil society for the development of new forms of political society self-organization, which is perceived as the sphere of private, voluntary association secured by rights. The forms of self-organization of political society can be maintained without the protection and development of independent but political forms of solidarity, interaction, and a group of life.

Cohen and Arato (1992, pp. 42-46) has further described that West Germany mediated between the state and civil society. The welfare state was a mechanism of the repoliticization of the economy and for dissolution of boundaries between state and civil society. The point, however, implicates that the social or welfare statism, asserted by Claus Offe, links to the classical Marxian concept about the capitalist bourgeois society. The state intervened into the capitalist economy and various spheres of civil society through the welfare state, which created fiscal and administrative problems and led to the defense of the ruled against the state and politics.

The distinction in Latin American dictatorships presented the transition from military bureaucratic authoritarian rule to the restoration of individual and group

rights called “liberalization” and to the establishment of citizenship participation also known as “democratization” in the early 1980s. According to the repressive regimes, civil society culminates from mediating between individuals and the state through a network of groups and associations which are mobilized and concentrated form of mass mobilization. Nevertheless, such civic movements were based on a minimal set of demands in distinct and successive layers of groups, associations, and organizations that lacked the capacity for coalescing into one permanent organization. Moreover, they were disbanded immediately, “self-dissolution”, if their purposes were realized. Significantly, the features of civil society in this democratization process are possible potential rollbacks of military coups, polarized and zero-sum that endanger democratic consolidation and weaken political society’s ability to resist renewed authoritarianism.

Alagappa’s (2004) project on civil society has been also deployed as a compelling perspective to explain political changes. Western political leaders and liberal scholars credit civil society as a normative ideal toward its roles in the collapse of communism and authoritarianism and in the transitions to democracy. Civil society has the potential to liberate citizens from the oppressive state and to provide full economic and political freedom to them. Civil society has shown a positive force in the development of democracy from the beginning of the 1980s in the context of fundamental political and economic changes, “human rights” and “free market capitalism”, and in the transitions throughout the world from authoritarian and communist regimes to democracy. The wake of the Soviet collapse in Eastern Europe was the most celebrated democratic transition. The outcomes of the collapse of communism led to the citizenship (people) participation because of

more liberation and freedom based on rule of law and enhancement of accountability in politics. Additionally, civil society can affect state power and make demands from the state in pursuit of public interest.

The concept of civil society is not only limited in the Eastern Europe, but it is also necessary to the understanding of the democratic change in Asian countries, such as the Philippines, South Korea, Thailand, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Burma, and China throughout the late 1980s to late 1990s. The substantial part of the said change is related to the mass rallies and protests of citizens, organizations, and movements that ousted a number of authoritarian governments. The members of the organizations were students, workers, farmers, merchants, professionals, and journalists. The mass movements, rallies, and protests are one manifestation of civil society which played an important role in mobilizing public opinions with the purpose of expressing support or disapproval of an incumbent government and to demand or prevent a change in the political system. However, such mass protests are based on a minimal set of demands due to the lack of capacity for permanent organization and representation so that they were disbanded after their immediate purpose was realized. The civil society in Asian countries is the transition phase of power, inequality, struggle, and cooperation of both voluntary and non-voluntary groups operating through its political orientations, interests, resources, capacities, and methods (Alagappa, 2004).

### **Civil society as coalitions**

The influence of capitalism stimulated most scholars to view civil society as an intermediate group that consists of sustained and organized social activity that are

formed outside the state, the market, and the family (Schwartz & Pharr, 2003). Tocqueville presented his concept of civil society as a sphere of mediating organizations between the individual and the state (Tocqueville, 1873, p. 190). His concept is based on a limited state and legal framework that operated in conditions of socioeconomic equality and political freedom and also mediated between personal interest and the national common good (Alagappa, 2004). It shows that the role of civil society is linked to the political and economic governance, and has become a mechanism in serving the public good.

The state normally holds legitimate sovereignty and can foster, create, sustain, regulate, and readjust the good civil society. According to Tsujinaka, civil society organizations could initiate themselves as social groups in society. When they become aware of the public good and become politically active, they may have political and policy interests and try to participate in the political process or become more actively involved in political process to achieve various public goods in various activities, in this sense, the civil society organizations become organized interests (Tsujinaka, 2008, pp. 6-10). These organized interests would act as interest groups or pressure groups, which influence elections and affect the policy-making process in the political system. However, it is important for civil society organizations to be permanent, voluntary, active and realize the importance of the public good.

In many countries where the state holds legitimacy, the state has structured the organization of civil society. Jonah Levy pointed out in his book *"Tocqueville's Revenge"* that French civil society has been shaped not only by the legacies of policy-making but also by the political and institutional forces that have impeded

healing state intervention (Levy, 1999). In China, there are groups organized in response to state policies that cooperate with the state in delivering social services (education) and in helping vulnerable groups (Yuanzhu, 2003).

Pekkanen (2006) expresses that the state has shaped civil society everywhere. He adopts the perspective of state-shaped civil society to investigate the patterns of development of civil society organizations in Japan. According to him, state institutions in Japan, directly and indirectly, shape or create such a pattern of state-civil society relations. The term “directly” refers to purposeful attempts to influence the configuration of organized civil society which can be the regulation of a group’s legal status or activities, tax benefits, direct financial flows such as grants and contracts and the like. Pekkanen asserted that direct state actions have even greater effect in patterning civil society. This category includes legislation about the formation or operation of civil society organizations or tax codes relating to such groups. In contrast, “indirectly” refers to unintentional influences on civil society’s organization that are the by-products of institutional structure. The indirect category is concerned with service or in the interest of the state’s institution.

Civil society might have a distinguishable concept in two approaches. First, civil society refers to the organized distinction from the state sector. The literature of civil society during the 1980s to 1990s encompasses the important roles of mass movements, rallies, and protests of civil society to mobilize public opinion with the purpose of expressing support or disapproval to the government and to demand or prevent a change in the political system. It assumes that most of the civil society actions in resistance to the state resulted from inequality and inadequacy of power, oppression, political ideology, and cultural variables. Most of those actions played a



crucial role in serving effective functions to liberate citizens from the oppressive state and to confer full liberal economic and political freedom. Hence, civil society had been used as a key variable accountable for democratic political changes. Nevertheless, those groups were informally structured, unsustainable, unorganized, and easily disbanded. The second approach is that the roles of civil society are linked to political and economic governance and became state mechanisms in serving the public good. It is noteworthy that these trends have impacted the outcomes of the collapse of communism and authoritarianism and the transition to democracy, which has led to the civil society's participation based on rule of law and enhancement of accountability in politics. Civil society was therefore looked into as to its nature of cooperation with the state, which presented its roles as the necessary effective function that nurture and strengthen democracy. In addition, through the legal framework, the state legitimately regulates and molds civil society while civil society normally organizes itself as a social actor that pursues neither profit within the market nor power within the state.

### **2.3 Clientelism**

Clientelism has been discussed in several meanings. Clientelism may be defined through the explanatory statement of social anthropology to politics related to social exchange, class or ethnicity formation, patron-client ties and the dynamics of the factional system. Generally, clientelism describes the life expectancy through the exchange of mutual benefit and dependency based on the pressure of force. It is the linkage between patrons and clients derived from kinship of patrimonial society system as well as a deep-rooted inheritance derived from political culture. Referring

to Lemarchand's work, clientelism cited a specific type of social structure. Patron-clients ties involve dyadic bonds that exhibit face-to-face relationship of exchange between individuals of unequal power and socioeconomic status (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981). Individuals enter this relationship voluntarily and acquire their legitimacy from expectations of mutual benefits in which asymmetry, diffuseness, and reciprocity between patron and clients are basic features of its social structure (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981, p. 15). There are three characteristics of the exchange that result in patron-client ties: first, the inequality in power and obligation in terms of personal identity and interpersonal sentiments, second is by voluntary relations and mutual obligations, and third is by the mutual obligation and reciprocity between patrons and clients with informal and/ or illegal practices (Eisenstadt & Ronider, 1984, p. 49).

Clientelism can be understood as a key element in the mechanisms of dependency and control of class domination. Lemarchand (1981) commented that clientelism has three perspective changes in the scale and structure of patron-client ties that are related to the social and economic process. The basic historical trend can be conceptualized in terms of a shift from patrimonial to a repressive form of clientelism. In consonance, economic and political modernization has radically altered the bargaining relationship between traditional patrons and their clients from patrimonial to repressive forms of clientelism. The term patrimonial ties are characteristics of those rapidly disappearing relationships in which there is overt acceptance of traditional values by the subordinate and where crude physical coercion is mitigated by the paternalism of the rural patron. On the contrary, repressive clientelism is a coercive response to the assault of modernity on

legitimacy. Repressive clientelism represents the expansion of the patterns of social exchange to the advantage of patrons and makes the condition of the dependence of clients increasingly exploitive or oppressive (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981, pp. 17 - 18).

Furthermore, Eisenstadt & Lemarchand (1981, pp. 19 - 20) remarked that clientelism also has an aspect of machine politics behind political modernization. The clientelistic forms go straight to the patterns of dependency and loyalty between patrons and their clients. The pattern of relationship has often been emphasized through the electoral competition pursued by political entrepreneurs. This has enabled the clients to use the vote as an instrument to shift the balance of exchange to their advantage and promoted the expansion of reciprocities between the politicians and constituencies. Moreover, the societal fragmentation is through the organization of political machines wherein class formation preceded the introduction of suffrage that has made it possible for parties to organize themselves and articulate their demands in class terms. However, in practice, the clients have done the election without a choice while the dependency relations have done it through the selective allocation of patronage resources and the extension of special favors. For these aspects, the patron-client ties promote the emergence of clientelistic machines, which ties to the expansion in scale of clientelistic networks.

In addition, Lemarchand remarked about the atrophy of clientelistic nets that restrict the scope of patron-client ties to the ruling cliques like what has occurred in many states of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. It was a new type of clientelism sets, which are primarily focused on armies and bureaucracies with the elimination of the electoral process and the removal of participatory structures. This failed to

accomplish such results through its anarchic system; the social exchange thus takes the form of unrestrained corruption and extortion. It operates among highly personalized cliques and is used in the form of an exploitative monopoly of public resources (Eisenstadt & Lemarchand, 1981, pp. 25 - 26).

Clientelism can be described as patron-client ties that are based on the power imbalance reflected through a minimum requirement of bargaining and reciprocity of each partner who provides a service that is valued by the other. According to the basic operation of personal exchange, it is the linkage between patron and clients. The patron is an individual of higher power and socioeconomic status, who uses his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits for the client who has a lower status and reciprocates these by offering general support and assistance, including personal services to the patron (Scott, 1972, p. 92). Scott asserted that there are three factors related to the patron-client ties. The primary idea of inequality is concerned with the imbalance of exchange between the two partners. The imbalance expresses and reflects the disparity between the two partners' relative wealth, power, and status. A client is someone who has entered an unequal exchange relation which highlights how dependent the client is on his patron's service, along with a sense of debt or obligation and the buildup of the cost that the patron can draw on to obtain advantages at a later time. The second is the personal quality of the relationship of the patron-client ties that is derived from continuous dyad face to face. This interaction cultivates trust, loyalty, and affection between the partners, which create fictive kinship tie. The third distinctive quality of patron-client ties is diffused flexibility to which the patron may have a client who is connected to him by friendship, past exchanges of services and the past tie of each parent's partner. It

is perceived as the multiplex relationship that reflects complete affection, which allows both the patron and the client to ask for flexibility, based on each partners' needs and resources. The nature of exchange may cover a wide range of potential exchanges (Scott, 1972, pp. 93-95).

The structure of patron-client roles from dyadic ties could expand to clusters and networks (Scott, 1972). The patron is a partner of the dyadic exchange who owns resources or power and functions as an intermediary or a broker to provide downward distribution of tangible benefits. In return for votes flowing up the vertical chain of patron-client structure, each patron depends on the downward distribution of patronage in the form of administrative favors in order to keep his own clients as followers. Elections have shifted the balance of exchange so that it favored the client somewhat more than before. The consequence of this shift in exchange terms was a greater flow of material benefits toward the base of the patron-client network.

In connection with the patron-client politics in Southeast Asia, Scott (1972) expressed his idea that the party competition on patron-client bonds and unstable features of patron-client democracies has an impact on electoral politics. He described that the improvement of the bargaining position of clients with the patron has affected the candidates by adding the new resources as their votes. The voters may ask a politician to favor them because of a personal obligation to reciprocate. In which case, the electoral patron obtains social approval and triumph at the polls over rivals or other candidates that reflect horizontal relationship by generally offering his clients better terms. Thus, it is necessary to promote the vertical integration of patron-client structures from the local level to the central government by

establishing a network of links extending down to the local level and taking advantage of the existing patron-client clusters and incorporating them into its structure. It is noteworthy that a party, which bested the polls, has to affiliate and secure the adhesion of the important local patrons who would consistently deliver to their clients. This establishes the reason why those parties have tried to create new links with village leaders which may give the local patron extensive discretion in administrative and development decisions affecting the locality. However, in return, the powerful local base is likely to lead to a certain localization of power. This feature of the patron-client structure has led to promote the expansion of patron-client ties and the politicization. Knowing that an electoral vote is important, a local patron with a modest follower will try to obligate more clients to him in order to strengthen his electoral position. The final point about the impact of elections on patron-client structures is that they tend to heighten factionalism not unless one cohesive party completely dominates to promote the survival of local opposition factions (Scott, 1972, pp. 109-111.)

According to Tomsa and Ufen, clientelism highlights the relationship between people that are bound together via social, economic or political networks. Clientelism is a means or strategy of linking parties to voters. There are three key elements which are regarded as central to a clientelistic relationship that would preserve the clients to be a partisan in the political term. The first element is the status inequality in which generally, the patron is of higher social, economic or political status than the client. The element of iteration is necessary for repetitive exchange to maintain the loyalty of clients and a steady support by the patron. Reciprocity, the third element, is essential for clientelism to be maintained easily

because both the patron and client are mutually benefiting from the exchange (Tomsa & Ufen, 2013, p. 6). However, clientelism would undermine partisanship based on attractive options from many parties that have a bond with the voters. Political elites are often unable to make a credible pre-election promise and therefore tend to provide targeted transfers to narrow groups of voters rather than universally accessible public goods. Nevertheless, all parties need to fulfill the high expectations of voters. The outcome of the patron-client relationship would be the dependency and negotiation between those involved which promotes uneven relationship.

In political modernization, clientelism pervades through anonymous machine politics and competition between the providers of selective incentives. According to Kitschelt (2000), such clientelist linkages electoral constituencies that involve two different circuits of exchange. First, resource-rich but vote-poor constituencies provide politicians with campaign funds in exchange for material favors, which build up practices of rent seeking and market distortion. Second, vote-rich but resource-poor constituencies provide vote and receive selective material incentives before and after elections in exchange for accrual of supporters (Kitschelt, 2000, p. 849).

In recent years, clientelism almost has become a catchall phrase that is often used synonymously with a whole range of informal and/or illegal practices including patronage, vote buying, bribery and outright coercion. The importance of political parties has been regarded as political apparatus in order to aggregate and represent competing societal interests, recruit new personnel into the political decision-making process, craft public policy agendas and to mobilize citizens into political

participation. At present, a new form of political activism based on social media and other online telecommunication tools have further highlighted the declining importance of political parties for the ordinary person. In Thailand, formal organization party structures are so poorly institutionalized illustrating more political influences on factions than parties. In this sense, political parties represent the interests of a certain social group and implement policies in favor of these groups (Tomsa & Ufen, 2013, pp. 2 - 4).

Tomsa and Ufen attribute to the factors of modernization and political economy that erode clientelism wherein the relationship between business and politics becomes important. The costs of clientelism increase as development and mobility rise based on anonymous machine politics. Thus, modernization would be the systematization and monetization of the old clientelism. In Thailand, for example, the economic boom since the 1970s ushered in the rise of local and regional businessmen in politics. Moreover, a large public sector and a high degree of state intervention seem to be favorable for clientelism (Tomsa & Ufen, 2013, p. 8).

Thailand has a long-term political culture of a patron-client relationship through the patrimonial bureaucracy and monarchy. The state is the main institution and has the autonomy in relation to other internal actors or institutions within the political, economic, and social system. It has the legitimacy to control or regulate all kinds of institutions and social groups. Hence, clientelism relates to wealth, status, power of patrons, and the dependence of clients. The competition for gaining political power, whoever wins the election, is significant, especially among business groups. The using of party (money) politics and the patron-client relation is a basic



mechanism for gaining long-run loyalty and support that will lead to the partisanship of the dependent clients. Since 1970, the economic growth of Thailand definitely enhanced the attractiveness of public office and raised the stakes for party politicians. The stronger businessmen are in politics, the more they become dependent on the state apparatus for licenses, credits, public offers, etc. Thus, clientelism flourished from the use of patronage as a key strategy to maintain smooth relations between business and politics including between the parties and its clients. This relationship was deeply embedded in fictive kinship structures and feelings of a debt of gratitude, including clientelistic network which is not only due to the supply side of political patron offering help, security, and prosperity for the clients in exchange for votes and long-term loyalty but also to the clients' demand for such support. During the election period, politicians tried to earn the loyalty of voters by creating new policies and campaigns to show their commitment, including building relationships between them by means of distributing benefits and privileges. The pattern of relationships is seen through the provision of goods and services, also known as incentives, which showed the collaborative mechanisms between the patron state or political institutions and local residents as a political partisan.

## **2.4 Corporatism**

Corporatism is seen as a highly complex phenomenon and has been defined differently. It is denoted as the representative of the sectoral interests. The corporatization of interest representation is related to certain basic imperatives or needs of capitalism to reproduce the conditions of its existence and to continually

accumulate further resources. Differences in the specific nature of these imperatives or needs at different stages in the institutional development and international context of capitalism, especially as they affect the pattern of conflicting class interests, account for the difference in origins between the societal and state forms of corporatism (Schmitter, 1974, p. 107). According to Alan Cawson, corporatism is a specific socio-political process in which organizations that represent monopolistic functional interests engage in a political exchange with state agencies over public policy outputs and involving those organizations that combine interest representation and policy implementation through delegated self-enforcement (Cawson, 1986, p. 38). He classified corporatism into three approaches: post-capitalism, a new form of state, and a political system of interest intermediation.

### **Corporatism as post-capitalism**

This approach indicated the shift in the directive role of the state over economic-productive units, which take place within a market system by increasing state interventionism. The state develops a considerable degree of independence from economic interests in which the state predominantly directs and controls privately owned businesses and is able to impose its will upon producers (Winkler, 1976). Evidently, the state is directing private capital and is not an instrument of a dominant class but embodies a kind of general will which is enshrined in the state policy. It is noticeable that corporatism is designated as an economic system opposed to market liberalism and having connotations of managerial bureaucratization and state intervention in the economy and planning (Lehmbruch & Schmitter, 1982, p. 3). By this regard, it seems that the system is no longer capitalist

for the reason that the state predominated over the rights of private capital and the market mechanism (Cawson, 1986, pp. 22-23).

### **Corporatism as a new state form**

This approach describes corporatism as the state form taking the possible political structure of capitalism. Corporatism is the fusion of the process of representation and intervention determined in the form of corporations constituted based on their members' economic functions. By contrast, the old form of state is a combination of institutions in which political interests are represented and forms of intervention are determined. A parliamentary form involves the representation of citizen within the state by means of elections and the administration of state policy through bureaucracies in the context of the rule of law. In this sense, the process of representation and that of intervention are institutionally separated; the parliament and the permanent bureaucracy. In terms of corporatism, however, the new form of state shifts power into the social formation and stateless. Thus corporatism is seen as emerging alongside, and then domination, a parliamentary state form and combined functions of representation and administration. Also, there is no separation between making the policy and implementing it (Cawson, 1986, pp. 24-25).

### **Corporatism as interest intermediation**

Schmitter developed the most systematic presentation of corporatism as interest intermediation. He initially viewed corporatism as a concrete set of an institutional practice in which the interest intermediation systems are arranged for linking the state and organized interests. Schmitter portrayed his ideas on

corporatism as a distinctive, modern system of interest or attitude representation, including the development of a particular model or ideal-typical institutional arrangement for linking the associational organized interests with the decisional structures of the state (Schmitter, 1974, pp. 85-86). With reference to Schmitter's ideas, corporatism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, noncompetitive, hierarchically-ordered and functionally-differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain control on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports (Schmitter, 1974, pp. 93-94).

However, among the different types of corporatism, Schmitter distinguished two forms of corporatization of interest representation, namely societal or liberal corporatism and state corporatism. Societal corporatism refers to the management of conflicting interests between organized societal groups. On the other hand, state corporatism refers to the relations between the state and organized interests. The liberal or societal corporatism accounts for the democracy and that the state is not directly in position to dictate the terms of the agreement between sectors but involves institutionalized bargains struck between consenting parties in an effort to balance their own group interests and the gains for a wider public interest. The active interventionist state often helps to organize the relations between the various sectoral organizations. However, the state does not dominate directly, it leaves some degree of autonomy to the organizations and its intervention demands to control a common good of national interest which will be implemented effectively (Urger &

Chan, 1995, p. 30). On the other hand, the authoritarian or state corporatism stands for the top-down control. The weight of decision-making power lies on the side of the state in which the government takes charge of creating and maintaining all of the corporatist organizations and grants power to the assigned leader at will (Urger & Chan, 1995, p. 31).

In summary, corporatism is referred to as a system of economic, political or social organization that involves the association of the people because of common interest into corporate groups. Furthermore, corporatism has been used to describe the political arrangement under governments, including the peak organization<sup>9</sup>, both democratic and undemocratic. It seems that the role of the modern state is thus central to the concept of corporatism in which the state is the arena wherein the process of corporatist politics takes place. Upon rapid development, the state involvement in securing national interest has made particular the development strategy in adopting state-corporatist solutions through state-inspired modernization. For instance, the Japanese state had begun erecting corporatist structures to control and co-opt the agricultural cooperatives in the early 1990s to handle the purchase of agricultural inputs, sales of produce, and provision of credit with the government-assigned association. In the 1930s, Japan's small business sector was organized into government-aligned peak organization, which was sanctioned to control their membership. Similarly, since the early 1950s in Taiwan the state also took an active interest in regulating and controlling associations like industrial and commercial associations, professional, labor unions, including religious organizations. Also in

---

<sup>9</sup> A group is organized into national, specialized, hierarchical, and monopolistic organization that the state determines which organizations will be legitimate and get channeled into the policy-making processes and often help implement state policy on the government's behalf.

1963, Korea introduced legislation requiring all unions to be legally recognized by the government and stipulating that they were to be unified under a single union for each industrial sector, with the state given the power to intervene in their operations (Urger & Chan, 1995, pp. 33-35).

Thailand's democracy is variable from time to time, accompanied by a long term of bureaucratic regime. Since the 1980s, the external capitalism has effected Thai socio-political changes to a more liberal democratic system. The bureaucrats and non-bureaucrats, who are businessmen and politicians, share political power as the main actors and the shift in power has occurred mainly within political parties and the government. Therefore, they have become the bureaucrats in new forms of business politicians (conglomerates) who allocate and distribute power and benefits in the government. This power extends to the peak organization that could serve the decision-making power as a hierarchal top-down control in harmony with the consensus of corporatist organizations to enforce political and social stability. In addition, the state-corporatist ideal has been adopted and embedded to control the grassroots through the policy-implementing process. For instance, Thai state established government-controlled with the state's pro-poor populist policies, especially when Taksin and his Thai Rak Thai party won the election since 2001. The three important populist programs were the 30-Baht Health Care scheme, the Village Fund program, and the OTOP program that have been launched directly to the grassroots level. These populist programs account for the shift in the economic and political power including the constitutional fashion as well as the partisan in Thai politics.

## **2.5 Civil society in Thailand and its relation to the concept of partisan politics**

As mentioned earlier, civil society is considered as the third sector in which voluntary groups of non-market and non-state sectors are contributing in the vast sphere of support to sustain the public interests and social service. This concept has been known as the basic characteristic and general function of civil society event in the modern world. A number of classical and contemporary research works have been conducted on the concept of civil society from different perspectives and in most cases those have addressed on its roles in opposition to the state. However, this section shall focus on the ideas, which reveal the cooperation between the state and civil society on the circumstance that the state has molded civil society organization in the municipality of Thailand. This section shall also suggest ways in analyzing how the prevailing state's mechanisms and strategies in connection with civil society, through patron-client ties and state corporatism, may have an impact on political partisan in Thai's political context.

The stipulation of 1997 constitution has brought significant changes to modern Thai politics to a more liberal democracy, leading to people's participation and state's decentralization, which impacted Thai political structure and its administration system. Moreover, the provision of 1997 constitution states that when the state's power decreases, the public sector's power increases. In line with that, people could have rights and liberty to unite and form an association, a private organization and other groups to protect the public interest, maintain public order and strengthen families and communities. The state has also opened more opportunities for people to participate in politics and extensive decentralization to localities for the purpose of independence and self-determination in local affairs.

As mentioned above, not only NGOs, NPOs, and other self-organizations have started to grow and expand, there is also another form of a voluntary group which the state has structured and promoted based on the state's policies. Through legal, regulatory and financial means, the state inevitably and powerfully shaped the organization of civil society. Until now, the state acts to promote the establishment of social voluntary organizations at the grassroots level as mechanisms to support local government. With regard to the state's policy, the Ministry of Interior delegated the municipalities to encourage and support the gathering of local groups of residents to form their neighborhood community (self-reliance community) under the government's guideline structures and incentives, and exercise their involvement towards local affairs in reciprocal aids and self-reliance in urban areas. Those groups could refuse the domineering role of the state. In order to achieve grassroots social and economic development, cooperation with the state is stressed rather than conflicts. It is precise to say that the state is structuring and promoting the civil society through the empowerment and strengthening of many voluntary organizations under the type that the state desires.

This research thinks first about the groups that are formed outside the state, the market, and the family but work in cooperation with local governments in the provision and implementation of policies to achieve social works and public goods, as well as to fulfill its self-interests in the local community. The case study in the form of neighborhood community called "Chum Chon Yoi Nai Khet Thesaban"<sup>10</sup>, which are promoted and founded by the local government gives an in-depth insight

---

<sup>10</sup> It means the neighborhood community that is set up in the Municipality throughout the country. The present research has collected data within 4 provinces (as described in Chapter 4).



to empirically analyze basic units of civil society organization in the urban area. Furthermore, it reveals its features, types of the functions and nature of activities and tries to investigate the state and civil society relations based on the state molding civil society organizations in the municipality of Thailand.

Looking at the big picture of the Thai political system, clientelism and the use of patron-clients ties flourished as a key strategy to maintain smooth relations between political patron and the others. This relationship would deeply be embedded based on kinship structures and feelings of a debt of gratitude, including clientelistic network which is not only due to the supply side of political patron offering help, security, and prosperity for the clients in exchange for vote and long-term loyalty, but also to the clients' demand for such support. The present research studies the relation of the state and civil society under the circumstance that the state acts as a patron that molds the neighborhood community as a civil society organization through inequality, uneven power and status, and reciprocity. These groups' formation has to conform to the state designated regulations leading all of them to be in the same structures and patterns of management. The state has also strengthened and empowered them through the state's policies and political instruments. Initially, the state has regulated basic activities related to primary health care and professional and money saving to strengthen the grassroots civil society. Additionally, both central and local government have also supported them with several forms of grants and budgeting. Neighborhood communities mostly involve their communicating demands to bureaucrats who work in the local government and to local government assembly members. By creating new policies and campaigns in accordance with the neighborhood community's demands, politicians could earn the loyalty of voters,

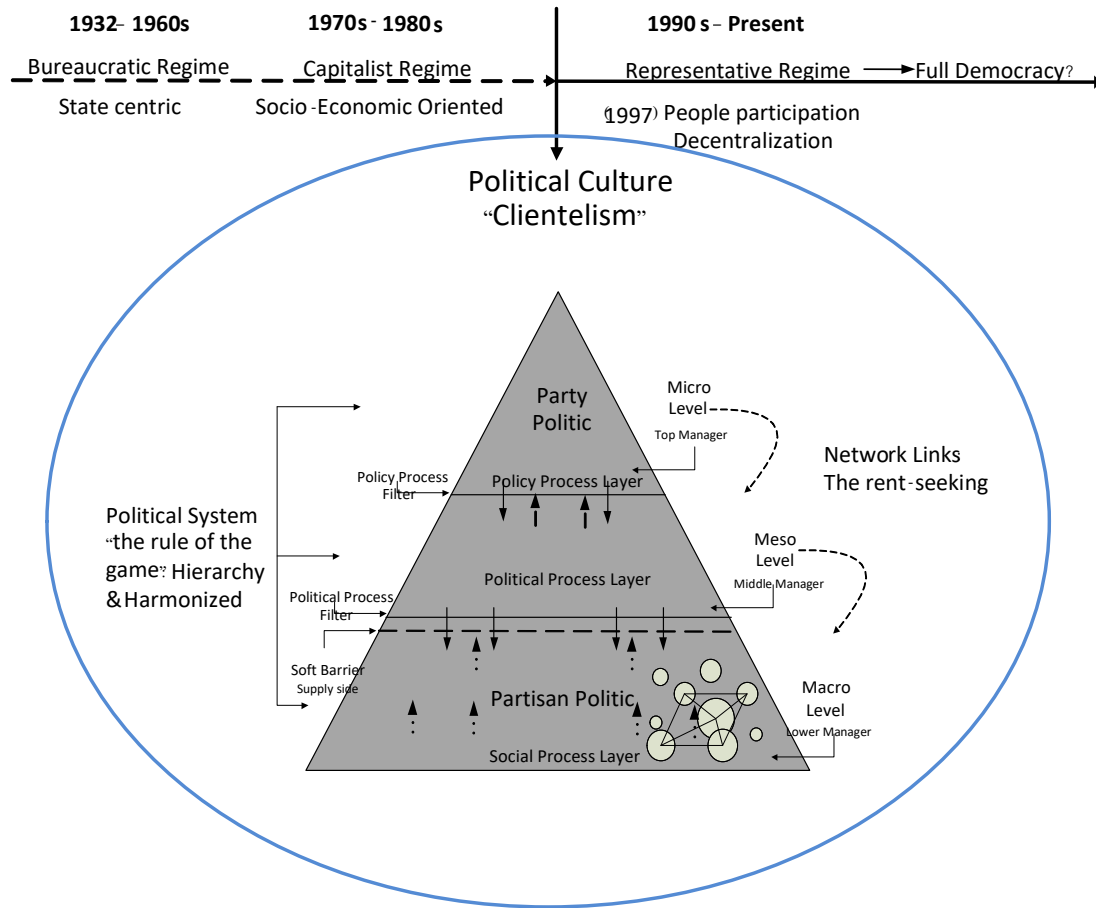
show their commitment and build a long run relationship between them by means of distributing benefits and privileges. It becomes the basic pattern of relationships between the state or political institutions and the local residents through deeply embedded fictive kinship structures and feelings of a debt of gratitude.

Accordingly, the economic growth of Thailand since 1988 (economic boom), as an impact of democratic capitalism, increased the number of local and regional businessmen in politics, enhanced the attractiveness of public office, and raised the stakes for party politicians. The relationship between business and politics became important in which not only that clientelism pervades through the political economy system, but also the state becomes an arena in which the process of corporatist politics takes place. Due to the rapid development, the role of the state tends to the concept of corporatism, which has been used to describe the political arrangement under governments or the peak organization where business-politicians are strong in securing national interest. The government has made particular the development strategy in adopting state-corporatist solutions through state-inspired modernization. The shift in power has occurred mainly within political parties and the government causing the decision-making extracted through hierarchal top-down control enforcing political stability. Therefore, though the state constructed the civil societies, the state prefers to provide incentives and privileges to gain political support through the exchange of commitment and long-term loyalty. The policies and political instrument become means for the party in the government to gain partisanship to win elections from the public, which is seen as the consequence of cultural practice between the patron and clients ties. It is then easy for organized groups of civil society to become a political-partisan having a strong relationship.

## **2.6 Analytical model**

This study uses the multidisciplinary research design to analyze how civil society works in Thailand through the state-shaped structure and culture of civil society organizations. The model shown on the next page is the reconstructed version of Tsujinaka's (2002, 2008), which illustrates the relationship among actors in the political system. Figure 2.1 shows the long-term political culture as elite clientelism. From 1932 to 1960s, the bureaucrats had high authority and clientelism was derived from a feudal system of absolute monarchy period. However, from the 1970s to 1980s, the new bargaining power of businessmen, effected by capitalism, became more important. Businessmen changed their role from budgeting sponsors to significant members of the political party in terms of capitalism with extreme political power. At present, party structural system is stronger through the representative regime where the merging and acquisition of capitalists, political parties, politicians, military, civil servants and others have achieved a bigger and stronger party. It appears that their relationships are based on benefits and integrated without political ideology. It implies that authoritarianism remains hegemonic and has adapted its pattern to patron-client relationships while the autocrats were elites who have changed from nobility to military and civilian bureaucrats, and businessmen, respectively.

**Figure 2.1: Analytical model in studying civil society**



Source: This analytical model modified the idea of Yutaka Tsujinaka (2002, 2008).

Based on the rule of the game, the modified figure has shown that the political system's elite patrons (political parties) determined and played their hierarchy and harmonized through the distribution of privileges and incentives towards three layers that are referred to as 1) the micro level as policy process layer, 2) the meso level as political process layer and 3) the macro level as social process layer. All three levels have been covered and nurtured by a political culture of a patron-client relationship. Basically, the democratic policy formation is derived from

the social issue at the social process. In the social process layer, the circles represent the civil society organization as neighborhood communities whereas the upward arrows represent their needs or social issues in the social process layer. In addition, most of the needs and social issues would be absorbed and refined through the soft filter of political ideology and clientelist system of political parties (through the rents) before being elevated to meso level as a political process layer and before some issues might be dropped out. After passing into the meso level, the issues were found as the policies and campaigns of political parties, which were elevated to policy process layer through the political process filter as a bargaining of power based on party politics. The majority party has legitimated to success the policy decision-making and automated that its political campaign will become the state's policies extracted through hierarchy top-down return to social process coming up with the distribution of privileges and incentives which could satisfy the local demands. Through the hierarchy and harmonization, I have found the rent-seeking that support political parties as top, middle, and lower managers in each level who are willing to harmonize power and needs of the players of the political power. On the other hand, the penetration of partisan politics has been reflected through the strong relationship based on patron-client ties between the local officials and local politicians and neighborhood communities.

## **2.7 Methodology**

The present research on civil society in Thailand uses combined qualitative and quantitative methods for analysis. The qualitative method is based on the literatures, researches, reports, reviews, personal observations, and interviews. The

quantitative method had been done with the gathering of primary data through the surveying at the field. Moreover, comparative discussion on other civil societies had been added to support the explanation and arguments about the basic characteristics, functions, political involvement of civil society organizations in terms of its similarities and differences, and to explicitly show the distinctive characteristic and their nature of relation with the government.

### **2.7.1 The use of survey method**

The survey conducted for the present research focuses on two samples that represent civil society organizations. The first follows the cross-national survey on civil organizations (known as JIGS Project<sup>11</sup>), founded by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, which conducted similar types of surveys in other 14 countries<sup>12</sup>. The other survey is derived from the national survey of neighborhood associations of Japan, which was carried out in 2007.

---

<sup>11</sup> For details about the project visit the project website <http://cajs.tsukuba.ac.jp/en/result/index.php>.

Some more detailed information about the JIGs project has been described in chapter 4

<sup>12</sup> 14 countries include Japan, Korea, USA, Germany, China, Turkey, Russia, the Philippines, Brazil, Bangladesh, Poland, Estonia, Uzbekistan and India (1997-2014).

Table 2.1: Survey conducted in Thailand

| Survey conducted | City         | Year      | Data source and Survey method   | Sample Distribution | Valid Return Sample | Return Rate(%) |
|------------------|--------------|-----------|---|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| NHA survey       | Chiang Mai   | 2011-2012 | the name lists of the Municipality Office/<br>Interview                               | 90                  | 76                  | 84.4           |
|                  | Lamphun      |           |   | 17                  | 17                  | 100.0          |
|                  | Lampang      |           |   | 43                  | 43                  | 100.0          |
|                  | Mae Hong Son |           |   | 6                   | 6                   | 100.0          |
|                  | Total        |           |   | 156                 | 142                 | 91.0           |
| CSOs survey      | Chiang Mai   | 2012-2013 | Organization Directory/<br>Mail and reconfirmed with some Orgs. by<br>phone interview | 1976                | 237                 | 12.0           |
|                  | Lamphun      |           |   | 363                 | 75                  | 20.7           |
|                  | Lampang      |           |   | 540                 | 29                  | 5.4            |
|                  | Mae Hong Son |           |   | 117                 | 35                  | 29.9           |
|                  | Total        |           |   | 2996                | 376                 | 12.6           |

Table 2.1 shows the survey conducted in Thailand NHA survey (2011-2012). The population size and sample distribution were 156 neighborhood communities (NCs) and the valid response was 142 NCs (91%). All data sources were obtained from the name list of the Municipality Office. The survey method had been done by both mail and direct interview with the president. The valid responses that were derived are as follows, Chiang Mai (84.44%), Mae Hong Son (100%), Lampang (100%) and Lamphun (100%).

In the CSO survey (2012-2013), the population size and sample distribution were 2,996. The total valid response was 376 (12.6%). All data sources were obtained from the name list of Organization of the Department of Provincial and of the Municipality offices and I had also searched the website of Ministry of Social Development and Human Security and other Organization Directory. The survey method had been done mainly by mail and reconfirmed with some organizations by

phone. The valid response breakdown in each area was Chiang Mai (12%), Mae Hong Son (29.91%), Lampang (5.4%), Lamphun (20.7%), respectively. However, in comparative perspective with Kyoto, Rajshahi and Cebu, the selected data was only from Chiang Mai.

The collected data had been processed using descriptive statistics which provides a wide range of statistic information on civil society organization related to their nature of characteristics and relation with the government. Moreover, the participatory observation and informal interviews were conducted with resource persons like civil society leaders and government administrators concerning civil society in Thailand.

### **2.7.2 Application of data**

The data gathered from the survey had been numerically analyzed to identify the basic characteristics, functions, and political relations. The basic characteristics are concerned with the classification, policy interest, objective, resources, including members, employee, and budget. The present research is also to investigate and explicate the nature of civil society organizations related to participatory action in politics which include relation with the government influencing government decision and policy and lobbying the government. Most of the data gathered and used in Chapter 4 contain the explanation about the nature and trends of neighborhood community, focusing on its features and functions, nature of activities and relation between the neighborhood community and the government (both national and local government) in the Thailand context. To understand the nature of civil society organizations and pattern of civil society towards political relation,



Chapter 5 provides numerically analyzed data gathered from the CSOs in Thailand to provide a comparative study of civil society with other countries in Asia within JIGs project like Japan, the Philippines, and Bangladesh.

The content analysis was done with different data gathered from literatures, researches, reviews and interviews regarding their perceptions on the political structure of Thailand, including the discussion on the nature of those civil society organizations, function, and their relation to politics. A detailed description of using this method has been discussed broadly throughout the research.

### **2.7.3 Justification for selecting the study area**

Chiang Mai province is a central city located in the Northern part of Thailand and is an ancient cultural capital of the northern region of Thailand. It has a long-term progression of historical characteristics, culture, and economy. The population of the province is 1,678,284 living in 7,763 square kilometers, which are subdivided into 25 districts (*amphoe*). The districts are further subdivided into 204 subdistricts (*tambon*) and 1,915 villages (*muban*).

Chiang Mai is a blend of rural and urban characteristics. Its locals have lived in the formation of traditional communities where they have had a high native identity and have strong social relations. They have retained the traditional culture, religious and social practices that characterized Lanna lifestyle. On the other side, following the National Economic and Social Development Plan, the Town and Country Planning Department of the Ministry of Interior has selected Chiang Mai. It is to be given top priority in its development as a primary city in the northern

regional center<sup>13</sup> to develop and provide decentralization of industrial growth and economic and commercial activities from Bangkok Metropolitan to urban center in other regions. Consequently, in the city of Chiang Mai, there is the growth of urban areas and high productivity level with the concomitant migration of rural people.

Being the center of the north, not only in the central administrative branch, division headquarters of the government departments and ministries are found in Chiang Mai like the Bank of Thailand, National Village and Urban Funds office, etc. There are many projects in this province and central government budgets have been allotted for its local investment and development. Furthermore, Chiang Mai has positioned itself to become a Creative City and is considering applying for Creative City status with UNESCO and become the hub for information technology and electronics of the northern part of Thailand. Also, it is the center for education mainly providing higher education for the people of the northern region. Therefore, from these points of view of demographic and social composition, industrial and investment, education, urbanization and important administrative agencies, Chiang Mai province has been selected as the main study area for conducting the present survey towards civil society organization from a local perspective.

As mentioned, Thailand political reform since the late 1990s effected the political changes with a diversity of state and non-state groups' occurrence, including civil society organization. In the municipalities, the Ministry of Interior (MOI) mandated the municipalities to encourage and support local residents to form neighborhood associations (self-reliance community) under the government's

---

<sup>13</sup> The urban and metropolitan development strategies of the Fourth National Economic and Social Development plan (1997 - 1981) mentioned that the urban growth center of the upper northern region is Chiang Mai.

guideline structures and incentives. The main study focuses on the government-designated terms related to the development of civil society organizations in the municipality. Those organized groups, based on the concept of neighborhood associations, which were perceived as the early forms of such associations, were also commonly seen in the countryside villages. The study area included other surrounding provinces with upper northern region 1 which are Lamphun, Lampang and Mae Hong Son, scoping in the municipality and the survey sample is as indicated in Table 2.1.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Emergence of Civil Society through Political Structure**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The previous literature in Chapter 2 showed that the strength of the state could dictate the strength of a civil society. The political structure, which may be the political actors of the state and political institutions as well as political policies and strategies, usually affects political outcomes through its strategic position. It may be observed that the emerging trend of civil society is mostly based upon the influence of the state and political institutional actions. The state and political institutional actions may pervasively influence directly and indirectly the development of civil society organizations. Conforming to this belief, Tsujinaka (2014) asserts that the state always tries to mold and influence civil society organizations, while Schwartz & Pharr (2003) claims that the state could promote several patterns of civil society organizations based on rules and regulations of political systems and state sovereignty. Therefore, I perceive that most civil societies are organized autonomously beyond the control of the state and are sometimes adopted as a mechanism in response to the state policies by influencing political opportunity structures.

As stated by Tsujinaka, there are two forms of contrasting perspectives of civil society in Japan. First, the institutional-statist perspective that emphasizes on the relatively strict regulatory environment by a strong interventionist state control or by a socially penetrative public administration to compensate for its weak jurisdictional power. The other perspective is the social-pluralist that focuses on the

emerging citizen activities and movements through spontaneous social drives, especially in social modernization that has been booms and waves of vitalization among civil society organizations (Schwartz & Pharr, 2003).

According to Pekkanen, the state actions have promoted one type of local group as neighborhood associations in Japan. He asserted that the state has structured incentives to promote this pattern of development that nurture social capital-type civil society groups based on the state's rules and regulations. Consequently, these small local groups can contribute to building up stocks of social capital and perhaps improve the performance of local governments (Pekkanen, 2006, pp. 3-5). The exchange of advancement of interests indicates a strong cooperation between the state and civil society in response to state policy through political opportunity structures.

This study is concerned with the political structure affecting particular patterns of civil society organizations, especially through the rule of law and political strategy in Thailand. Furthermore, this chapter analyzes several patterns of civil society organizations based on the previous literature by first discussing the political structure of Thailand through the image of elitist democracy, then explicitly capturing the basic nature and roles of civil society in Thai political structures.

### **3.2 Political structure as elite democracy in Thailand**

Political structure mostly consists of the powerful elites who ultimately exert the highest influence in determining the nature of political structures. Thailand political elites may include the military, bureaucrats, politicians, and capitalists. These influential groups usually affect political outcomes by the virtue of strategic

positions in powerful organizations and movements. They acquire and exercise their power and ability to bargain with one another, as well as generate political pressure for reform such as bringing down dictatorial regimes that eventually leads to the liberalizing of political systems (Bunbongkarn, 2004, p. 138).

Since the state is the main institution and has the legitimacy of the rule of law in politics, it therefore has the powerful sovereignty in relation to other internal actors or institutions within the political, economic, and social systems. For that reason, there is a competition for gaining political power among the military, bureaucrats, politicians, and capitalists. Whoever wins the election becomes occasionally significant. All functions go along with the influence and nature of the political culture as a patron-client relationship. Politics has become the arena of fighting factions to which elite groups dominate and thus reflecting a high degree of political instability and unstable democracy.

There are two periods considered in this section, the past political structure and the present political reform in 1997. Most Thai scholars perceived these reforms as the periods of change to confer a full democracy in Thailand through people's participation and the decentralization stipulated in the 1997 Constitution. Moreover, these periods of change led to the political restructure and revision of plural political and social actors.

### **3.2.1 Political structure from 1932 to 1997**

#### **Military-bureaucratic regime**

From 1932 to 1979, there had been approximately sixteen military coups and about nine of which were successful. In regards to the political structure, since 1932

and to the present day, the military has played a significant role by seizing the power from the parliament and political parties. From 1932 to the early 1990s, the coup groups were elevated and changed only the government in power while elections were held and political parties were allowed to function. However, the appointed members limited the parliament because it was deemed that the bureaucrats who were represented by the military and civil servant elites manipulated the political force in Thailand. In this sense, Thai politics was called the “bureaucratic polity” or “military-bureaucratic regimes”.

Despite of the 1932 democratic revolution in Thailand from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy led by People’s Party<sup>14</sup>, it is difficult to ensure whether Thai polity conferred to full democracy. Anek Laothamatas accounted that the country was under the rule of either military or elected governments that relied heavily on the support of the armed forces (Laothamatas, 1988, p. 451). At least four decades<sup>15</sup> after the revolution, the military elites were the main power of the state. They had frequently staged the coups and undertook the centralized political power and administrative reformation. In addition, it was assumed that authoritarianism flourished in which Suchit Bunbongkarn further argued that Thai people preferred a stronger and decisive political leadership that the army could provide. For this reason, it was easy for the military leaders to seize the power without mass resistance (Bunbongkarn, 2013, p. 165). During this period, the coup led by military

---

<sup>14</sup> A small group of military and civil servants who had studied abroad, called “Khana Ratsadon”, demanded King Prajadhipok become a constitutional monarch and grant the Thai people a constitution.

<sup>15</sup> From 1932 to 1960s.

leaders Colonel Phraya Phahon Phonphayuhasena (1933) and Lieutenant General Phin Choonhawan (1947) gave way to the army and its leaders to dominate the legislature and the cabinet. Moreover, nationalism was used to strengthen the military regime, especially during the period of Field Marshal Phibunsongkram (1950) with the aim of establishing autocratic rule in accordance with modernization.

Absolute military rule was enforced from 1957 to 1963. Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat and his successors, Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn and Field Marshal Prapas Charusathien, launched coups against democracy. Bunbongkran crafted that the military leaders during these periods were anti-democratic and that they needed political stability, strong leadership, and rapid economic development rather than democratization. In accordance to this claim, the culture of the armed forces emphasized on strong leadership, discipline, order, and hierarchical structure, which led the military to respect the military doctrine and organizational culture and ignore democracy (Bunbongkarn 2013, p. 172). Not only did the military hold their power in the politically but also socio-economically, through the state legitimate intervention. Hence, Thai democracy being manipulated by the military elites had essentially started with authoritarianism.

However, Thai scholars claimed that the student demonstrations in 1973 and 1976 were the transition periods to democracy in Thailand. In 1973, students and pluralists succeeded in fighting for democracy wherein they called for a new constitution, political reform, and elected parliament from the tiny dictatorships<sup>16</sup>. It

---

<sup>16</sup> Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachon, Colonel Narong Kittikachon and General Prapas Charusathien were regarded as a military group who seized power from the government from 1963 to 1973, until public protests forced them to step down and they became known as the “Three Tyrants”.



could have been the end of a four-decade of absolute military rule and it could have paved the way for full-fledged democracy, unfortunately, the role of student groups had ended in October 1976 with the return of dictatorship. The coup resulted in a familiar autocratic political pattern with even more extremist overtones (Samudavanija, 2002, p. 98). With the crackdown of violence caused by dictatorships, Thanom attempted to return to the country through his partisan group in the government. Thai scholars (Chai-Anan and Likhit) described the events in October 1973 and 1976 as results of political instability and turmoil. The insurgency of the students originated from the confusion and unmet aspirations with the gap of social change led to a political conflict. Pressure group politics, polarization, and confrontation politics were achieved through bargaining among established patron-client factions (Samudavanija, 2002; Dhiravegin, 2011). Fragmentation and polarization, including instability of parliament system, led Thailand to the resumption of the military dictatorship having high political stability.

Clearly, the bureaucratic polity could completely demonstrate military elite power in which the military could control the political institutions and might struggle for power among different factions. It ruled several times mainly by coup, declaring martial law, designing the military government and promulgating the new constitution. The trend in Thai politics is that the military is one of the major political actors who design Thai political structure as a traditional powerful bureaucratic polity.

### **Semi-democratic regimes and political-economic alliances**

The economic opportunities, which were made available after the decline of the military rule in the 1980s, led businessmen represented by capitalists and commercial classes<sup>17</sup> to take more active roles in party politics. Not only the military-bureaucrats but also businessmen began playing a major role in the socio-economic system and political decision-making through the cabinets and contributions of financial support, which effectively changed the relationship between bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic groups in politics. In that event, the political arena shifted from the bureaucratic polity to representative democracy.

Before 1973, when the military set up their own political parties, the military cliques appointed the cabinet and the members of the parliament. However, after 1973, the subsequent political violence and government instability caused the military to lead democratic governance and enter to semi-democratic regimes. From the 1980s to early 1990s, socio-economic changes caused the growth of business forces. Thai society became pluralistic for it was constituted of the middle class and businessmen and where several of them turned into an association of political parties and politicians. Significantly, the economic opportunities led the political parties to establish links with businessmen and military bureaucrats. Bunbongkarn claimed that the bureaucrats accepted the politicians as new patrons who could support and protect their advancement and privileges (Bunbongkarn, 2013, p. 38). From that time on, Thai politics had evolved into a period of parliament politics through the representative democracy and by the political intervention of the military bureaucrats. Nonetheless, there was a struggle for political power among the

---

<sup>17</sup> Chinese merchants who were Chinese immigrants, some were local-born Chinese.

political parties for parliament seats and cabinet posts. Due to the fact that a powerful political party was necessary in order to win the election and receive strong financial support, the politically influential bureaucrats had to cooperate with businessmen to strengthen their economic power in the elections.

From the 1980s, Thai democracy had brought forth unstable coalition government and political networks. The bargaining power of a candidate became the rule of the game to win a seat in the government. Political networks had played a significant role in electing politicians and government officials. Therefore, favoritism and vote buying had characterized the elections. As mentioned earlier, the military bureaucrats represented their political power through cooperating with capitalists who were budgeting-sponsors of their political party. As a result, the capitalists changed their role as significant members of the political party in terms of capitalism with extreme political power. In addition, the political networks also expanded to rural areas due to the centralized state power's inability to provide basic services to the rural people. This expansion had paved the way to new political opportunities that supported the growth of rural capitalists and network politicians who rose to power through their ability to structure the vote. Local politicians provided benefits for their constituencies in exchange for their votes. Through this common practice of patronage, their constituencies had become reliable political machines. Candidates were also assigned to various provincial networks in order to win the election.

Notably, the semi-democracy under General Prem's leadership provided an opportunity for political parties to establish links between business and social groups leading the military to receive monetary return. Gradually since the 1980s, under

General Prem's<sup>18</sup> government about 40% of businessmen had become politicians and later in 1983 the number of businessmen had increased to 49.7%. (Phongpaichit & Piriyarangsan, 1992, pp. 70-71). Businessmen began playing a major role in the economic and political decision-making through the cabinets and financial supports but instead of being members of a political party, some of them founded their own political parties. Then from 1988 to 1991, the aim of General Chatichai in turning Indochina from a battlefield into a marketplace resulted to free trade and investment. At that time, the government initiated many infrastructure projects<sup>19</sup> including the transformation of some of the state enterprises to private businesses which expanded the private sectors rapidly. The business elite groups supported most of the political parties during this period. Later however, a problem with corruption arose in General Chatichai's government that caused General Suchinda Kraprayoon to start a coup in 1991. However, the uprising in May 1992 against General Suchinda reflected the changes in political roles and attitude of the armed forces not to intervene in politics while increasing the political awareness of the public. Consequently, middle class, scholars, and business leaders began working more with political parties to protect and foster their interests through the democratic process (Bunbongkarn, 2013).

---

<sup>18</sup> General Prem Tinsulanonda is a retired Thai military officer who served as the Prime Minister of Thailand from 1980 to 1988. He initiated to use amnesty to negotiate with the members of the Communist Party of Thailand. Consequently, many communist members, including former student protestors returned home. He now serves as the Head of the Privy Council of the King of Thailand, Bhumibol Adulyadej.

<sup>19</sup> An expansion of the telecommunications network in partnership with the state-owned Telephone Organization of Thailand (TOT), development of the Eastern Seaboard of Thailand and road and rail networks in partnership with the Mass Rapid Transit Authority (MRTA) in the Greater Bangkok Area.

### **3.2.2 Political structure after 1997**

#### **Electorate democracy and business conglomeration**

Since the 1980s, the political parties during the era of political networking had become more popular through the trend of family politics. Like other Asian countries such as Japan, the Philippines, and Indonesia, Thai politics is still dominated by elite family ties. In the survey conducted by the King Prajadhipok's Institute (2013), Stithorn Thananithichot shows that the percentage of the members of the House of Representatives who have been elected from the same family had continually increased from 3.1 percent to 14.2 percent from 1979 to 1997. In the 2011 election, the percentage increased to 18 percent<sup>20</sup>. Moreover, in comparison with other countries, Thailand became the world's top country with the highest percentage of family politics (42%), besting the Philippines (37%) and Japan (33%) by 5 and 9 percent, respectively (Thananithichot, 2013, p 350). According to the rule of the game, the direct role of businessmen has been increasing in Thai politics. The family politics has become an effective political mechanism of networks and privileges. Consequently, the shift to representative democracy is a relative political direction to the newly established business conglomerate party.

After the political insurgency in 1992, the economic crisis in 1997 and the new constitution provided incremental opportunities for the capitalists to be involved in the political system. Even though the economic crisis revealed that the bureaucrats and network politicians were incapable of solving national problems, the 1997 constitution promulgated the new electoral system that supported big and

---

<sup>20</sup> There were 210 members of the House of Representatives elected who came from the ruling Pheu Thai party 19 families, the Democrat Party 17 families, Bhumjaithai 4 families, Chart Thaipattana 3 families and Phalang Pracha Chon and Rak Thailand one family each.

wealthy parties. In the proportional representation system<sup>21</sup>, a party leader gains more control over the party's candidates. The first party list member becomes the Prime Minister while the other candidates who are positioned at the beginning of the party list will have a high potential to be cabinet members.

This system provides a trend for political parties to restructure and form their own parties by recruiting wealthy and influential political players for gathering campaign funds and maintaining their popular votes. Thai Rak Thai party under the leadership of Thaksin Shinawatra which attracted many business conglomerates, political parties, and important bureaucrats to join the party. The business conglomerates were composed of telecommunication and satellite groups and agro-industry and food groups. The following families owned the telecommunications groups the Shin Corporation, by the Shinawatra family; the BEC world and television Channel 3, by the Maleenont family; and the Jasmine International Company, by the Bodharamik family. The agro-industry and food groups were Chaoreon Pokkapan or CP Company that was owned by the Chearavanont family and the Nestle Thai Public Company by the Mahakijisiri family (Pathmanand, 1998, pp. 69-71).

In the 2001 election, the Thai Rak Thai party got the highest number of seats (by constituencies and proportionalities). The first Thaksin government consisted of 12 business conglomerates, 9 former bureaucrats, and 8 politicians, meanwhile, the number of business conglomerates increased to 15 seats (Bowornwathana, 2011, p. 41). Under the business conglomerate government, Thaksin ran the public administration by a monopolization trend, using the CEO form of management and

---

<sup>21</sup> Any party receiving less than 5% of the total votes would not have its candidates elected.

employing by contract in the government while the voters were considered customers. Bowornwathana assumed that the Administrative Reform was implemented to consolidate power from other ministers and high bureaucrats into the hands of the Super CEO Thaksin (Bowornwathana, 2011, p. 41).

The successive influence of business conglomerate on executive administration and public policies is apparent. The business conglomerate would receive quota seats in various positions of government, especially the ministership as a direct benefit. Moreover, the business conglomerate would receive indirect benefits from policy decision-making process through government projects, including budgeting, auction, concession, and contracts. Thai politics has returned to money politics with the new political leader on account of huge sums of money to fund election campaigns became a key factor in winning the elections.

### **“Thaksinomics” and populist democracy**

Thai administration changed when Thaksin Shinawatra became the Prime Minister in 2001. The economic crisis in November 1997 led to the downfall of the government of Chavalit Yongchaiyuth that not only resulted in the IMF’s agreement in Chuan Leekpai administration but also formed a conducive environment for Thaksin and his Thai Rak Thai party to campaign on an economic nationalist platform (Pongsudhirak, 2013, p. 5). The Thaksin government had made significant changes in policy paradigms with the centralized style of CEO management and government. The Prime Minister CEO recentralized his power to the Governor CEO and Diplomat CEO (Phongpaichit, 2014, p. 388). A performance-based management (PMB) system that clearly delineates contractual relationship and delegation of

authority in the bureaucratic lines of governance was reformed (Intarakumnerd, 2011, p. 46). Kasian Tejapira argued that it combined aggressive neo-liberalism with capitalist cronyism, and absolutist counter-reform politics with a populist social policy to transform radically the existing patterns of power relationships and elite resource allocation (Tejapira, 2006, p. 10). There are two key concepts underlying his success in catching the attention of the public: a) state-led economy and b) welfare policy.

The state-led economy policy under Thaksin government could be addressed as dual-track policy and cluster-oriented. The main thrust of Thaksinomics is the Dual-track development model, which aims to enhance international competitiveness by strengthening the external side of the nation's economy. Exports, foreign direct investments, and tourism attempted to increase the capabilities of domestic and grassroots economies by implementing projects such as the Village and Urban Community Fund<sup>22</sup>, One-Tambon-One-Product project (OTOP)<sup>23</sup> and Small, Medium and Large Project<sup>24</sup> (Intarakumnerd, 2011).

On the other hand, the cluster-oriented economy, which aims to develop geographical proximity, was used as the main industrial policy to promote interactive and collective learning and generate positive externalities for participating actors at national, regional, and local levels. The national level was used to create coherent and innovative advanced industrial cluster in both services

---

<sup>22</sup> Small scale micro-credit to provide revolving fund for individuals and households called "one million baht" to increase local capabilities of fund management and stimulate grassroots economy.

<sup>23</sup> State sponsorship of provincial business schemes for entrepreneurship that support each Tambon's champion product.

<sup>24</sup> Direct injections of cash into village development funds called "the SML schemes" to enhance community work.



and manufacturing sectors such as automotive, textile and garment, software and tourism. At the regional level, 19 geographical areas had to plan and implement their own cluster strategy focusing on a few strategic products and services under the monitoring of CEO Governors who were appointed by the central government. At the local level, it was applied to increase the capacity of the grassroots economy (Intarakumnerd, 2011).

The welfare policy was a key to the social contract between Thaksin and his voters. The social contract ensured that his party would get legitimacy to run the country while people would benefit directly via the policy (i.e., the three-year Debt Suspension for Farmer Program<sup>25</sup>). The most popular welfare policy is the Universal Healthcare Coverage: “30 Baht for any diseases”<sup>26</sup>. The policy made a huge reform in Thai healthcare system that guaranteed all Thai people a quality and equal accessibility to health care services for 30 Baht, approximately 1 US dollar. However, those workers who were in the formal sector covered by the Health Welfare for State Employee Scheme or Social Insurance Scheme were not eligible.

During the rule of Thaksin government, the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) were subsequently responsible for the overall cluster policy of the country. The Board of Investment (BOI) substantially paid more attention to issues underlying long-term competitiveness of investments (Intarakumnerd, 2011). The Industrial Finance Corporation of Thailand (IFCT), SME Bank, Small Industry Credit Guarantee Corporation (SICGC) and Innovation

---

<sup>25</sup> State policy sponsorship for the farmers to stop repaying and slowly reducing their debts to the bank for three-year.

<sup>26</sup> The scheme on health service with flat user fee of 30 Baht for poorest citizens, include children under 12 years of age, senior citizens aged 60 years and over to ensure equitable health care.

Development Fund (IDF) had supported the provided funds. The Federation of Thai Industry (FTI) and Thai Chamber of Commerce (TCC) had been the most powerful private-sector organizations that exerted a strong influence on the government's economic policies.

### **3.3 The influence of political structure on the civil society**

As far as political decisions and strategies are concerned, Thai political structures from macro down to the micro level are comprised of the state (government), military bureaucrats, and business politicians. Moreover, the political culture that is based on patron-clients relationship and political elite style supports those political actors who play a crucial role in the political structure which ultimately affect the civil society organization.

The civil society formation influenced by the Thai political structure has three phases. The first phase was after the transition to democracy in 1932. Thailand was mostly under the military dictatorship, which represented the most dynamic forces and powerful political mechanism known as the autocratic regime. Thai scholars perceived that the military rule in Thai politics declined after the uprising in 1973 to 1976 (Laothamatas, 1988; Samudavanija, 2002; Bunbongkarn, 2004; Sawasdee, 2006; Dhiravegin, 2011). Many coups had been launched to demonstrate the intention of the military leaders to gain control over the government and legislation such as when the junta abrogated the old constitution and promulgated a new one and when the military and bureaucrats controlled political parties. Thus, a government would be set up through appointment by the junta or its own favorite parliamentary party. During this period, the autocrats who were the military

represented the most significant role in the allocation and distribution of power, which resulted to Thai politics long-term bureaucratic polity.

As a result, during the domination of the bureaucrat-military force, civil society organizations were not the main providers of politics in Thai society. The military and bureaucratic forces considered civil societies as philanthropic organizations formed as voluntary groups in relation to religious organizations and civic groups. The religious organizations were the traditional Buddhist temples and Christian missionaries that performed philanthropic functions by providing community development and serving as schools that offer education and/or hospitals to the public. There were other organizations in the form of ethnic groups too. The overseas Chinese formed an association of Chinese immigrants that provided assistance and protection to serve the needs of occupational groups, new immigrants, and poor Chinese. This later became a Chinese commercial association, especially, during the period of Field Marshal Sarit government to co-opt with his political strategy about economic development. However, with the threat of communism from China, the National Cultural Act of 1942 by the National Cultural Commission of the Ministry of Education was enacted to regulate all the organizations. In subsequent years, several additional Acts were passed to control Chinese clans, business associations, and labor organizations (Pongsapich, 1999, pp. 325-326).

The civic associations were initiated as Liberal feminism. The Women City Club (Samakhom Satri Thai Haeng Sayam) was formally established in 1932 to promote gender equality whereas the Women's Culture Club was formed in 1943 in order to promote social activities and culture and provide welfare for those who are

in need. The Thai Red Cross was formed in 1890 to care for wounded soldiers and provide general medical services and supplies. However, most of the associations provided services as a donation for social development.

It was widely accepted that under the strict control of the state, most civil society organizations were weak and small because their activities supported the government relating to charity, educational supports, and donations. Concerning civic associations that supported group members with relevance to race, religion or language, the basic role and responsibility of civil society organizations focused mainly on social services that restricted its political role.

The second phase was presented by the increasing popular demand for democratization and socio-economic participation. From 1973 to 1976, civic movements emerged to protest against the authoritarian government and discredit the dictatorial rule. The major group was a student organization called the “National Students Center of Thailand” that led a mass uprising against the military rulers who demanded politics to be more liberal and to confer to full democracy. Despite this, civil societies continued to grow during the three years of democratic rule and various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as labor unions, farmer groups, and assembly of the poor spring up. Although their activities produced conflict with the government officials, the military rule returned in 1976. However, instead of working against the military rulers, civil society organizations worked with civilians, political parties, and especially with business groups due to the economic change that led to more political-economic alliances and pluralistic societies.

Civil society organizations flourished during the 1980s. Many organizations worked at the grassroots level focusing on cooperation with state institutions in solving social and economic problems mainly on rural development. Through this attempt, civil society movements became stronger. The Student Federation of Thailand, the Confederation for Democracy, the Farmers Federation of Thailand, labor unions, assembly of the poor, and other middle-class groups led the uprising in May 1992 against the authoritarian government, led by the National Peace-Keeping Council and Parliament-nominated General Suchinda. The uprising prompted political reform in terms of decentralization and public participation.

Civil societies also held protests against economic policies which in fact contributed to the finance and economic downfall, particularly in the rural areas. Statistics showed that in 1998, some 170 demonstrations and rallies were held, and immensely increased in 1993 to 1994 to more than 750 protests, mainly from small farmers in the Northeast (Pongsapich, 1999, p. 327). These patterns developed as Thai political structure opportunities for grassroots demanding for social issues, including financial and economic crisis, environment campaigns, and public governance. During this transition to full democracy, civil society pushed for success in democratizing the political system and public participation concerning social issues. It became the source of social movements which stimulated the public participation through its networking and initiated the civic consciousness of the state, private, and social sectors. Strong and reliable civil society can represent the interests of the public and check on the state power manipulation (Bunbongkarn, 2004, p. 143). Civil society cannot be understood in isolation but it is a network of various groups or organizations, which link the state with the individuals.

Continuously, Thai civil society influenced the political reform including the enactment of the 1997 constitution. Even with the struggles of some groups continued against the state power to achieve social justice, the state had become stronger again when Thaksin government came to power in January 2001. He stated that “Company is a country and country is a company” which is the same management concept. His government had launched populist policies to appeal to the rural majority, which should in principle strengthen civil society. Nevertheless, there seemed to be problems to be overcome since those policies related to the corporatist model co-opt civil society and restrict its autonomy. As a result of civil society coming under increasing government restriction and control, it has become a part of the state and easily manipulated and dominated by state agencies. Therefore, political structure leads the third phase of Thai civil society to be straddled in the boundary between civil and political society.

### **3.4 Redefinition and reshaping of civil society**

The idea of a strong government had been raised substantially into the 1997 constitution, which directly and indirectly influenced the third phase of Thai civil society. The state has the authority to redefine the ideology and reshape civil society. Politically, the process of social movement stimulates the public's participation through its networking and initiates civic consciousness. The social movement had involved opposing elites and the authorities to achieve the collective goals. Since 2005, many NGOs and social movements sought to destroy elected governments while supporting a military coup in 2006 (Kitirindlarp & Hewison, 2009) including the latest coup in 2014. It seemed that the civil society's role has

changed. However, the emergence of social movement has been associated with the process of democratization. The other point of view by mid-1980 was that Thai civil society flourished beyond the control of the state. Many NGOs were established and focused on cooperating with state institutions in solving social and economic problems. To summarize, there are two perceptions of the role of civil society. First, it is interesting that the civil society movement has been divided into two groups: the pro-government and the anti-government groups in modern Thai politics. Second, the civil society is increasing as a mechanism of state-society for solving economic and social problems.

#### **3.4.1 Redefinition of the ideology through political groups**

The People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) or the Yellow Shirts was originally the anti-Thaksin coalition and the conservative force associated with the royalists and the military (Kitirianglarp and Hewison, 2009: 454). The PAD played a crucial role of civic movement in the Thailand political crisis of 2005 to 2006 and 2008. The PAD was formed to lead demonstrations against the Thaksin government in which the leaders include Sondhi Limthongkul and Major General Chamlong Srimuang. The PAD membership not only consisted mainly of a group of ultra-royalists led by Sondhi but it had also expanded to include conservative Buddhist groups, working-class Bangkok residents and anti-Thaksin Southerners who were supported by some factions of the Thai Army, some leaders of the Democrat Party, and the members of the state-enterprise and labor unions. Some mentioned that PAD had mainly urban support in contrast to Thaksin whose base had been essentially rural.

The PAD was formed to lead demonstrations throughout 2005 and 2006 against the Thaksinomic system pushing the Thaksin government to resign due to a variety of factors such as unsatisfied populist economic policies and recentralized government, intervention on the press and rushed privatizing process of state enterprises. In addition, the PAD accused the Thaksin government of selling Shin Corporation to Temasek Holdings in January of 2006 and planning to overthrow the monarchy and establish a republic with a single party. These accusations aggravated their conflict of interest and corruption. The PAD voluntarily dissolved after its goals had been accomplished but in May of 2008 the PAD re-established and began their street protests by seizing the Government House to pressure Samak Sundaravej's People's Power Party<sup>27</sup> and coalition government to resign. The biggest street protest of PAD was the blockade of Parliament prior to a crucial legislative session. They hijacked public buses to take control of the government's provisional offices at Don Muang Airport and seized control of Suvarnabhumi International Airport against Thaksin's brother-in-law Somchai Wongsawat in November of 2008. The PAD's sieges and protests ended after the Constitutional Court dissolved the three parties including People's Power Party and banned its leaders for five years from politics. The army promoted the new coalition government, Abhisit Vejjajiva from Democratic Party was elected as Premier in 2009.

On the other hand, the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD), commonly called Red Shirts, is a political pressure group opposed to the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD). The UDD leaders were Jatuporn Prompan,

---

<sup>27</sup> Thaksin-affiliated party won a plurality in 2007 general election.



Nattawut Saikua, Veera Musikapong from Pheu Thai Party, together with Charan Ditthapichai and Weng Tojirakarn. The UDD is composed of mostly rural masses from the Northeast (Isan) and North Thailand, urban lower classes from Bangkok and some intellectuals. The movement seems to have received support from the former Prime Minister in exile, Thaksin Shinawatra.

The UDD was first formed to oppose the military government, which overthrew the former Prime Minister in exile Thaksin Shinawatra in 2006 - 2007 and opposed the military's 2007 constitution. The UDD led major anti-government rallies in April 2009 and in March to May 2010 for the Thai Parliament to be dissolved. The UDD claimed that Abhisit's government illegitimately took power and asserted that the Thai Army and the judiciary supported it so that a general reelection could be held. The UDD also demanded the replacement of the Aristocratic polity, which allows the military and the bureaucrats to effectively interfere in politics. The group's main target was the immediate resignation of General Prem from the President of Privy Council. Many scholars perceived that the UDD always led violent clashes with military forces and the PAD group. There were many times that the leaders and supporters have been jailed and the government had to declare a state of emergency. The degrees of protest by the Abhisit government got higher in April 2009 during the ASEAN summit at Pattaya. In 2010, the UDD moved to Rajaprasong area and protested for more than 8 weeks. After their burning of the buildings around Rajaprasong area and City Halls in some provinces, the protest ended with the army in control.

After the 2011 national election, Phua Thai Party won the election and Yingluck Shinawatra<sup>28</sup> became the prime minister with her coalition government. The PAD tried to do a campaign to cancel the election but received no support. Yinglak proposed the amnesty law in October 2013 causing the anti-government protests called The People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) to occur. The group leader was MP Suthep Thaugsuban, who was a former Democrat Party and who appointed himself as secretary-general, was supported by various organizations including the Democrat Party, the People's Alliance for Democracy, student activist groups, and pro-military groups.

Anti-government protests continued with demonstrators occupying government offices, blocking major road intersections and holding mass rallies in Bangkok to call for the resignation of Yingluck Shinawatra. The political crisis has raised fears of a violent response from supporters of Thaksin. The military by General Prayut Chan-ocha then seized power in a coup d'état on 22 May 2014.

In summary, these political events are an underlying perspective that considers the political alliances of social movements that develop new forms of political agency embedded in notions of identity and interests. Some groups are as a conservative force while the others are as a supportive force of progressive or radical change. It is evident that the civil society organization led its social movements to anti-elected governments to operate defensively and protect specific identities and interests. Those groups believed that the elected government had failed to protect their interests; an outcome which means that direct democracy took over representative politics in modern Thai society. In terms of discursive practice,

---

<sup>28</sup> Sister of Thaksin Shinawatra.

the Thai civil society movements have been classified as a pro-government group and anti-government group through their forms of network alliances. Accurately, these oppositions involve the distinctive ideology of nationalism versus neo-liberalism, communitarianism versus populism and clean politics versus big money politics (Kitirianglarp & Hewison, 2009, pp. 460-464).

The PAD and PDRC movements based on opposition adopted nationalism alliance with royalists and the other conservatives were in contrast with neo-liberal, underlying the Thaksinomics and pro-rich cronyism. Opponents targeted Thaksin's regime by setting the privatization policies as a rush agenda of the privatizing process of state enterprises. The suspicions were corruption and conflict of interest in his network of cabinet, business partners, and family. Obviously, the policies aim to establish social safety nets and promote grassroots economy such as universal health care, debt suspension, village and urban community investment funds, the promotion of entrepreneurial initiatives and people's bank to support the recovery of business and individual capitalist. Those policies were argued to be throwing money into communities without resolving poverty while making villagers shrink to consumer capitalism. The populist policies were destroying the communitarian ideas that aimed to strengthen rural communities through local development strategies while rejecting the market, consumerism, and materialism. Remarkably, the money politics discourse under the Thaksin government was highlighted through the images of corruption, cronyism, and collusion. The sale of Shin Corporation to Temasek Holdings caused a great controversy in Thailand and created a conflict of interest for Thaksin Shinawatra and his family, as well as the tax exemption, the timing of stock sale two days after the adoption of the Telecommunications Act and the

impact of the media on National Security Policy. The PAD saw the transactions as a proof of a conflict of interest (Kitirianglarp & Hewison, 2009).

### **3.4.2 Revitalization of urban civil society “Neighborhood Community”**

The civil society is not as a counterweight to the government, but it is increasingly becoming a mechanism of state-society for solving economic and social problems. Conforming to the new 1997 constitution that aims to promote popular participation and encourages a strong civil society and democratic decentralization<sup>29</sup>, the Ministry of Interior (MOI) has launched a policy for the municipality to promote and support the establishment of neighborhood community, called “Chumchon Yoi Naikhet Tessaban”.

Neighborhood community has been established to conform to the government’s policy. Neighborhood community can support the municipalities as the lowest level of administration to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness in providing public goods and services and encourage the participation of local residents in municipal affairs. Since 1987, the MOI has mandated the municipality to promote and support the establishment of a local group of residents in the municipality (Ministry of Interior Order no.0413/V1553). This policy had been adopted to solve the slum or crowding problems that mostly affected Bangkok, however, it later became unpopular. At that time, it seemed that neighborhood community was one consequence of urbanization in Thailand, which was accompanied by the effort of Thailand government to advance a country that

---

<sup>29</sup> The public participation and decentralization have been mentioned in Sections 45-46, Sections 76-79 of Thailand 1997 Constitution.

promotes industrialization and business. The concerns of urbanization were announced in the Fifth and Sixth National Economic and Social Development Plan 1982 - 1986 and 1987 - 1991, continually. One of the visible phenomena is the growth of urban areas with the concomitant migration of rural people to such localities. The rapid increase of city population brought about local problems such as housing shortages, the rising of urban slums, crimes, health care problems and so on. There were nearly 2,000 communities in the city areas, which held their statuses as slums in 1992 and then in 2001, the numbers of slum communities increased to more than 5,000 communities. In Bangkok only, Metropolitan has nearly 1,300 slum communities which increased from 843 communities in 1992 and four-fifths of slum communities existed in the regional areas<sup>30</sup>. Later, according to the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001) with the promotion of the participation of people and self-reliance and mutual assistance policy, neighborhood community revitalized and became the collaborative mechanism between the state and local residents.

According to the national plans, Thaksin's government had launched populist policies as a major mechanism to strengthen the neighborhood community in which the populist policy under Thaksin government, in principle, should be able to strengthen civil society. However, some argued that his populist policy became a key of the social contract between Thaksin and his voters. The social contract was thought to ensure that his party and political networks would get legitimacy to run the country while the people will get benefit directly via the policy. Actually, all governments after 1997 have implemented an incremental populist policy that

---

<sup>30</sup> Retrieved from National Housing Authority of Thailand, <http://www.nhanet.or.th/chs/slum.html>

resulted in civil society becoming a part of the state and being easily manipulated and dominated by state agencies.

At present, it is remarkable that the establishment of neighborhood community responds to the flourishing of civil society in Thailand, and that the promotion of neighborhood community's establishment can facilitate the participation of local residents in municipal affairs. The encouragement on the roles of local residents in managing and maintaining their own resources and the environment as well as the mutual aids through community development illustrates the strengthening of social capital and civil society at the grassroots level. On the other hand, the penetration of partisan politics is reflected through the relationship among the local officials, politicians and neighborhood communities that would be a political strategy for creating sustainable loyalty support as partisan. Furthermore, due to the promotion of local government and the interest of local residents, the number of neighborhood communities is growing and many local residents are involved in their neighborhood communities.

### **3.5 Summary**

In this chapter, the relationship between civil society organizations and the state has been discussed through the several factors in Thai politics. Thai political structure is underscored by the political elites who are usually able to affect political outcomes through their strategic position. The strong influence of political structure from political elites as military leaders, business politicians, and business conglomerates have emerged and penetrated the powerful political institution. In addition, with regard to the political culture as a patron-client relationship, the

political structure can directly and indirectly influence the structure, ideology, and activities of civil society organizations in Thailand.

The characteristics of the political structures and civil society in Thailand are indicated in Table 3.1. At least four decades after the 1932 revolution, such a political level down from micro to macro level had been the traditions of democratic authoritarianism and centralization that was manipulated by the military elite rule. Civil society is a realm of charity that is composed of religion and a civic association that performed philanthropic functions by providing social service and community development with a restricted political role. Nonetheless, after the decline of military rule, politicians took a key role instead. Thai polity has come up with an unstable coalition government through semi-democracy. From 1973 to 1992, civil society continued to grow with the stimulation of public participation and political network that was first aimed to counteract the military state and later aimed at social issues. From 1997 to present, the business conglomerate has been in power as the new political boss. It is precise to mention that the political structure has become a one-party dominance underlying electorate democracy and corporatism. Thus, civil society has become a mechanism for monitoring political activities as well as a provider for the electoral campaign.

Table 3.1: Characteristics of the political structures and civil society in Thailand

| Political structure   | Political culture & ideology  | Political boss (political actors)  | Civil society role   |
|---|---|--|--|
| Democratic authoritarianism manipulated by the military elites. | Patron-client relationship and centralization (State-centric)       | Military factions  | Realm of charity composed of religion, civic association that performs philanthropic functions by providing social service and community development while restricts the political role. |
| Semi-democracy  | Patron-client relationship and family politics                      | Politician and its political network: bureaucrat-military, businessmen and local politicians | Social movement with advocacy for group's interests and social issues  |
| Electorate democracy  | Patron-client relationship and corporatism through state-led policy | Politician as business conglomerate  | Pro- and anti-state through a network alliance that serves for political and social reform.  |

It is assumed that the political structures and political culture support the role of political actor affecting the civil society organization. Through its authority, the state could influence several patterns of civil society organizations based on rules of



the game in political systems. In addition, civil society is organized autonomously beyond political opportunity structures. However, instead of having an oppositional relationship with the state, the state and political institutions have developed civil society organizations. The direct injections of populist policies encourage and support local residents to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness in providing social services and participation. On the other hand, the creation and giving of incentives to neighborhood communities of the state can show its virtue. However, the state, being a political patron, may need the support from civil society organizations to realize a political goal and vice versa. Therefore, civil society has become a part of the state and easily manipulated and dominated by state agencies. In the next two chapters, this study will empirically focus on the nature and functions of civil society at the grassroots level, including the relationship between civil society and politics that can explain the development of civil society and the state-civil society relations in Thailand.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Civil Society and Neighborhood Community in Thailand**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter denoted that the state has influenced several patterns of civil society organizations through state authority and political structures. Furthermore, the powerful elites who are military-bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen have played the highest role in Thai's political structures. They have always exerted their power-intervening pattern and development of civil society. Generally, civil society is a voluntary group that is a non-state and non-market sector that works autonomously in contributing the vast sphere to sustain the associational life and public goods without gaining the power with the state and holding their own private interests (Tsujinaka, 2008). However, it has an ambiguous status which indicates that civil society is possibly organized and/or shaped by the state and presents its roles as the necessary effective function of the state in serving public needs. In this sense, Tsujinaka considered neighborhood associations in a straddles boundary of state and society (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014). Moreover, as the state and its institutions become more legitimate, it is noticeable that the modern state favor to adopt the direct instrumental based on the rule, regulation and financial support and indirect method of favoritism, cronyism, and pressure. Consequently, civil society could be endangered by the administrative and economic mechanisms of the modern state through the reciprocity and inequality of uneven power and status. This would be the political strategies for creating sustainable loyalty support as partisan through government sponsorship of

organization and resource endowments. It is possible that civil society has become a part of the state and easily manipulated, dominated and polarized by state agencies.

The first purpose of this chapter is to present explicitly the basic characteristics, nature of activities as well as political relations of civil society organizations in Thailand. The empirical survey data were directly gathered in 2013 from the civil society organizations in northern Thailand. It is to be mentioned that this survey followed the cross-national survey on civil society organizations (known as JIGS Project) which conducted a similar type of surveys in other 14 countries<sup>31</sup> funded by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. Therefore, identifying the basic characteristics, nature of activities as well as political relations through the comparative perspective approach is essential to grasping the nature of civil society.

The cross-national nature of the JIGS surveys provides rich comparative data concerning civil society activities in various countries. In this section, data from specific JIGS national surveys (mainly Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Japan) is used to demonstrate key similarities and difference in overall civil society structures. The selected countries are other developing democratic countries in Asia that have relatively common factors of long-term control under elite democracy, composing of the Philippines and Bangladesh. In the Philippines, the elites who dominate in

---

<sup>31</sup> The Japan Interest Group Study (JIGS) project is a multinational comparative study of interest groups and civil society that collects survey data. Although, its initial point of reference is Japan, it has been conducted in 14 countries (known as International Comparative Studies on Interest Groups and Civil Society) which include Japan, Korea USA, Germany, China, Turkey, Russia, the Philippines, Brazil, Bangladesh, Poland, Estonia, Uzbekistan, and India (1997-2014).

politics are capitalists as a dynasty, financial interests, and other political rent-seekers. They have influenced the local and national government policies that contributed to the low level of effective political participation (Tasnim, 2007, pp. 88-91). In the case of Bangladesh, since its independence in 1971 with confrontational democracy, elite democracy has shown the strong influences of army interventions when military leaders ruled the country. These interventions had also been the strong influences of two political parties' monopolistic structure where the citizens and civil society groups have become co-opted and divided and acting for the political end of these parties (Tasnim, 2007, p. 96). It is noteworthy that the parties' decision-making, policy formation, including leadership selection become as family affairs that illustrated the political system of Bangladesh becoming a dynastic democracy (Amundsen, 2013).

From the discussion above, it may be observed that in all developing countries' cases, civil society would have been rather politicized and co-opted by the political structures as an elite democracy. The present study concentrates more on GDP and Freedom House that become severe and distinct in the consideration of all selected cases. The GDP Growth in Figure 4.1 shows that the developing countries based on JIGs project are at almost the same level under 1 trillion USD. Turkey is quite high while Uzbekistan is very low. However, the economic situation of Thailand, the Philippines, and Bangladesh are moderate.

Figure 4.1: Gross domestic product<sup>32</sup> (GDP) in the year 2013 classified by country

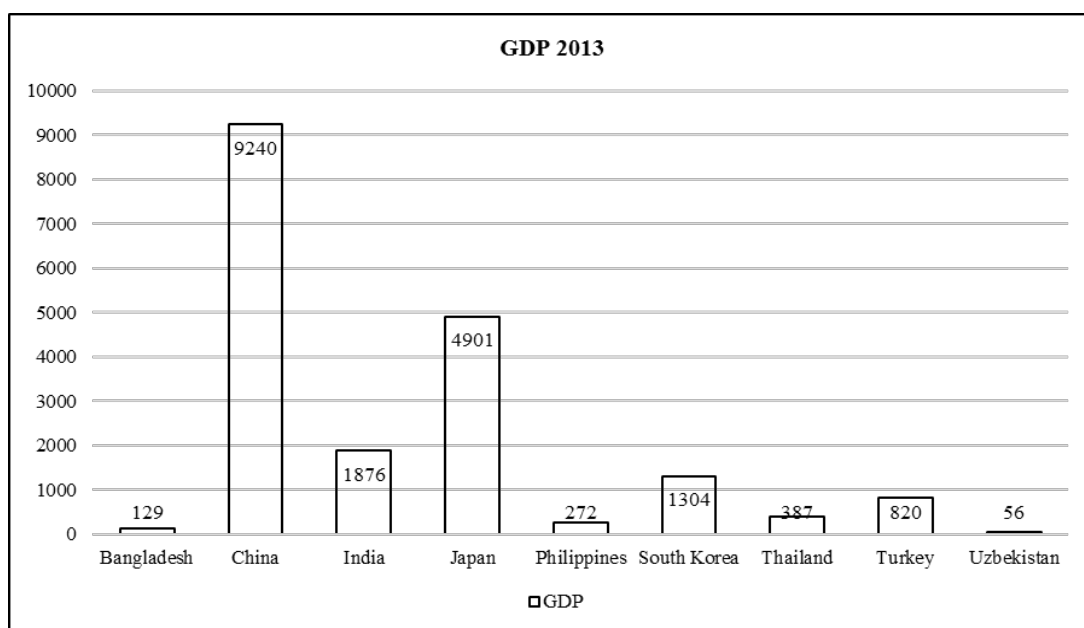
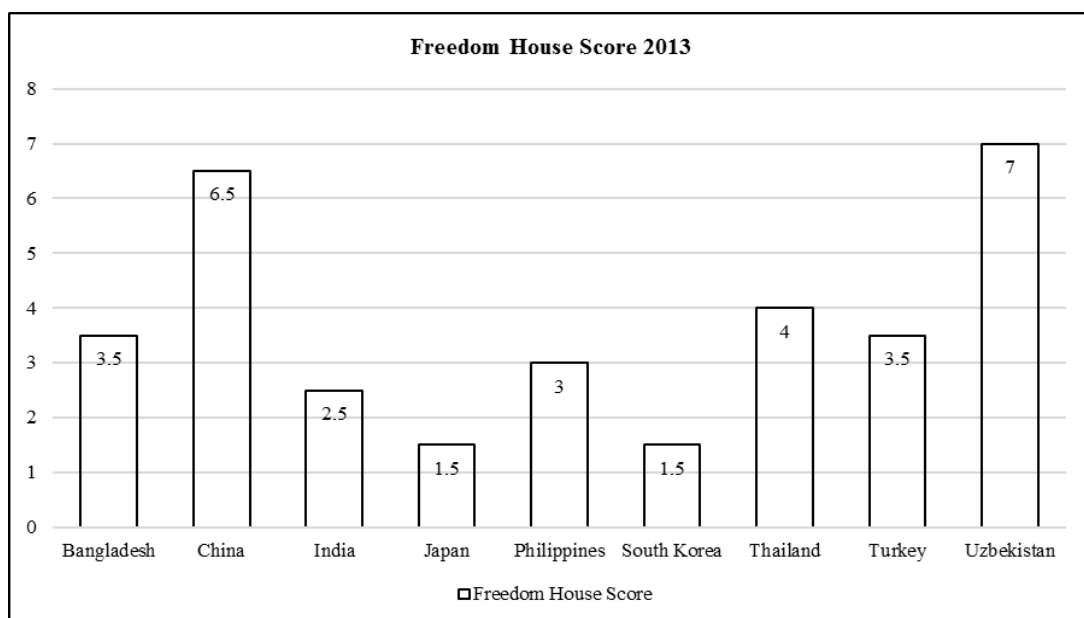


Figure 4.2: Freedom house score<sup>33</sup> in the year 2013 classified by country



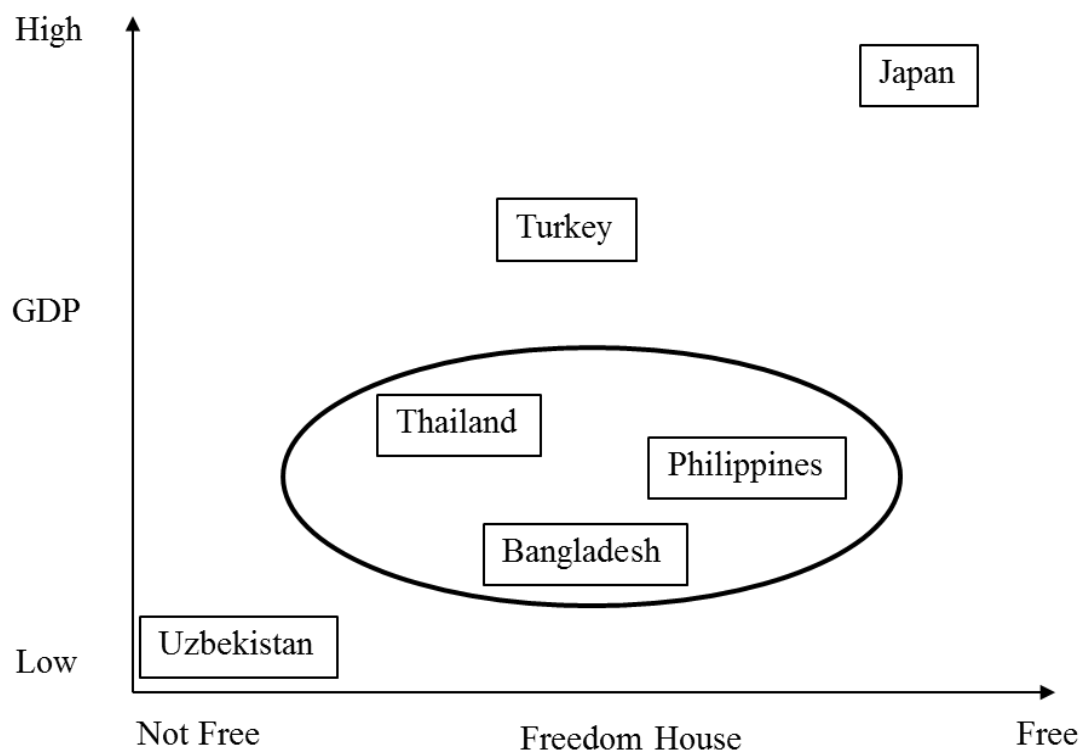
Remark: 1 = highest level of freedom / 7 = lowest level of freedom

<sup>32</sup> GDP website <http://www.data.worldbank.org/indicator/ny/gdp/mktp.cd>

<sup>33</sup> Freedom house website <http://www.freedomhouse.org>

Figure 4.2 shows the freedom status of JIGs project in some Asian countries, in which Japan, South Korea, and India are Free, the Philippines, Thailand, Bangladesh, and Turkey are Partly Free while China and Uzbekistan are Not Free. However, the rating is based upon the political rights and civil liberties of the citizens of each country.

Figure 4.3: Model for comparison



The freedom house score reflected that most developing countries in Figure 4.3 are partly free, except Uzbekistan which is not a free country. The GDP shows that all developing countries are at the same level under 1 trillion USDs. Turkey is a partly free country with quite a high GDP about 820 Billion USD. Thailand, Bangladesh, and the Philippines are also partly free countries where their GDP are

less than 400 Billion USD, that are 387 Billion USD, 272 Billion USD and 129 Billion USD, respectively. Uzbekistan is not a free country and is very low of GDP growth with 52 Billion U.S. dollars. As a result, Figure 4.3 shows the model of the position of Thailand in comparison to Bangladesh and the Philippines. However, this research uses only Rajshahi district to represent Bangladesh, Cebu to represent the Philippines and Chiang Mai to represent Thailand.

This chapter proceeds by giving more consideration to the civil society in Japan that has influences on its vibrant nature. Figure 4.3 shows good reference point of Japan with highest freedom status and GDP among JIGS countries. However, this study uses only Kyoto to represent Japan. It is perceived that Kyoto<sup>34</sup> and Chiang Mai are similar in long-term progression and the historical characteristic, culture, and economy. Both cities were the original capital of Japan and of the northern region of Thailand (Lanna Kingdom<sup>35</sup>). There are some citizens who still associate in groups and live in the formation of traditional communities. They have retained the traditional culture, religious and social practices that characterized life and the members still have a high native identity and have strong social relations (Sattayanurak, 1998). These will serve the cities in their tourism and traditional crafts. However, the modern trend of both cities has been perceived as the information technology and electronics cities. Kyoto has become the home of the headquarters of famous technology and electronics corporation with populations about 1.4 million people. On the contrary, Chiang Mai is also one of the cities

---

<sup>34</sup> This information is Retrieved September 6, 2016, from Grolier Online <http://ea.grolier.com/article?id=0235870-00>

<sup>35</sup> Por-Khun Mengrai made Chiang Mai the capital city of Lanna Thai (the north) in about 1300 A.D. (Noranitpadungkarn, 1973: 6)

selected by the Town and Country Planning Department of the Ministry of Interior to be given top priority in development as a regional center and become the hub for information technology and electronics of the northern part of Thailand nowadays. Consequently, there is the growth of urban areas and high productivity level with the concomitant migration of rural people with the population size of about 1.5 million, the same as Kyoto.

All selected four cases are the civil society at the urban and local level. The sample distribution and return sample are presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: JIGS sample distribution and return

| Country  | City          | Year          | Data Source/<br>Survey Method  | Sample<br>Distribution | Valid<br>Return<br>Sample | Return<br>Rate (%) |
|--|---------------|---------------|--|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Philippines*<br>(Ma. Rosario<br>Piquero-<br>Ballescas) | Cebu          | 2004-<br>2005 | Organization<br>Directory/<br>Interview  | 375                    | 159                       | 42.4               |
| Japan (2 <sup>nd</sup> )*                              | Kyoto         | 2006-<br>2007 | Telephone<br>Directory/<br>Mail  | 1923                   | 286                       | 14.9               |
| Bangladesh*<br>(Farhat Tasnim)                         | Rajshahi      | 2006-<br>2007 | Organization<br>Directory/<br>Mail and<br>Interview  | 1227                   | 504                       | 41.1               |
| Thailand   | Chiang<br>Mai | 2012-<br>2013 | Organization<br>Directory/<br>Mail and<br>reconfirmed<br>with some<br>Organization by<br>phone interview | 1976                   | 237                       | 12                 |
|  |               |               | Total  | 5501                   | 1187                      | Average<br>21.5%   |

\*Sources: Cross-national survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups Code Book



The second major goal of this chapter relates to a more distinctive pattern of neighborhood communities as civil society organizations in Thai's political context. The empirical survey data have been adopted to investigate the basic characteristics of neighborhood communities which reflect on civil society theory. The data collection, based on the questionnaire of Japan's NHAs survey, had been done during 3 months in 2012 with the presidents of neighborhood community in the Upper Northern Region 1 which composes of 4 provinces namely Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang and Mae Hong Son. The total group's number was 156 and the respondents were 142 communities<sup>36</sup>. In connection with the concept that state has shaped civil society, this study is to delve more deeply into the basic characteristics of neighborhood community, focusing on its features and functions, nature of activities and trends of the relation between the neighborhood community and the government. This study concentrates on the government-designated terms and resources, including the membership and number of participating households, management styles, and financial supports. The present study has also tried to explicit the nature of activities which involves the participatory role of self-reliance and mutual assistance towards their communities' development and social services. This could significantly illustrate the strengthening of social capital and civil society at the grassroots level. Moreover, to examine the relationship among associations in the social and political process, the interacting with other social, political and economic actors have been inquired. With the promotion of participatory role, the collaborative mechanisms between state and local resident groups encourage

---

<sup>36</sup> The sampling was 142, including 76 NCs of Chiang Mai, 43 NCs of Lampang, 17 NCs of Lamphun and 6 NCs of Mae Hong Son.

contributing social services. This study survey also reveals the high involvement of neighborhood community activities which mainly involves the field of grassroots economic empowerment, women empowerment, social awareness and networking building, etc., but relatively low in the functions that relate to advocacy. It is evident that neighborhood community participation is high in community development and social service providing functions caused by the government guidance and grant supports. Additionally, the data also point out to clientelism trend and state-corporatism through policy implementation that pushes a partisan to occur in neighborhood community interaction with the political actors.

## **4.2 Nature of civil society organization surveyed in Thailand**

Civil society organizations could be found in many countries with the differentiation of features, nature of activities and relationship with the state. This section provides cross-national perspective information from the survey in Thailand and other JIGS countries that reveals the features and tendencies of activities, including its nature of interaction with the state of civil society organizations in Thailand. The following are the results of the survey that provide the illustration of basic characteristics related to self-categorization, objectives, membership and resources.

### **4.2.1 Self-categorization by the civil society organizations**

Table 4.2 shows the nature of self-classification by the civil society organizations of Thailand, the Philippines, Bangladesh, and Japan. The 237 responding civil society organizations in Thailand were asked to categorize

themselves in terms of subcategories that illustrate the nature of their organizations (Question 1). The result shows that 24.89% of respondents had identified themselves as social welfare organizations. Citizen organizations are 17.72% and agriculture and farmer related organizations are 17.30% while the others under 6% are economic related organizations, NGOs, government-related organization, culture and religious organization etc. It is possible that most of the civil society organizations have played an important role in providing social services and agricultural activities due to the fact that majority of Thailand is agricultural. Almost 40% of the population have maintained a traditional agriculture and more than 60% live in the formation of traditional communities<sup>37</sup> where the local government could not provide them local services delivery. Another noticing feature is that there is no self-identify as a labor union and federation in Thailand although Chiang Mai city is the main city and plays an important role in being a hub for information technology in northern Thailand. It is assumed that civil society organizations in Thailand prefer to be identified as social welfare organization than their other identity.

---

<sup>37</sup> National Statistical Office of Thailand website <http://web.nso.go.th/>

Table 4.2: Nature of self-classifications by the civil society organizations

| Self-classification  | Thailand<br>% | Philippines<br>%* | Bangladesh<br>%* | Japan<br>%* |
|--|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Agriculture and farmer related organization                | 17.30         | 2.60              | 18.25            | 11.97       |
| Economic or business organization                          | 5.91          | 6.60              | 11.11            | 24.65       |
| Labor union or federation                                  | -             | 3.30              | 3.17             | 9.15        |
| Education and research related organization                | 2.11          | 10.60             | 3.37             | 4.23        |
| Culture organization                                       | 4.22          | 0.70              | 3.17             | 8.10        |
| Government or administration-related organization          | 3.38          | 1.30              | 0.20             | 6.34        |
| Social welfare organization                                | 24.89         | 8.60              | 44.25            | 8.45        |
| Professional organization (medical, local, engineers etc.) | 1.27          | 6.60              | 1.59             | 5.99        |
| Citizen organization                                       | 17.72         | 21.90             | 0.40             | 5.99        |
| NGO (including foreign or international organization)      | 5.06          | 0.70              | 6.55             | -**         |
| Religious organization                                     | 4.22          | 13.90             | 0.60             | 2.11        |
| Recreation and sports related organization                 | 2.95          | 0.70              | 6.35             | 1.06        |
| Others   | 10.97         | 22.52             | 0.99             | 11.97       |

\*Sources: Cross-national survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups Code Book

\*\*there is no self-classify question as NGO in Japan

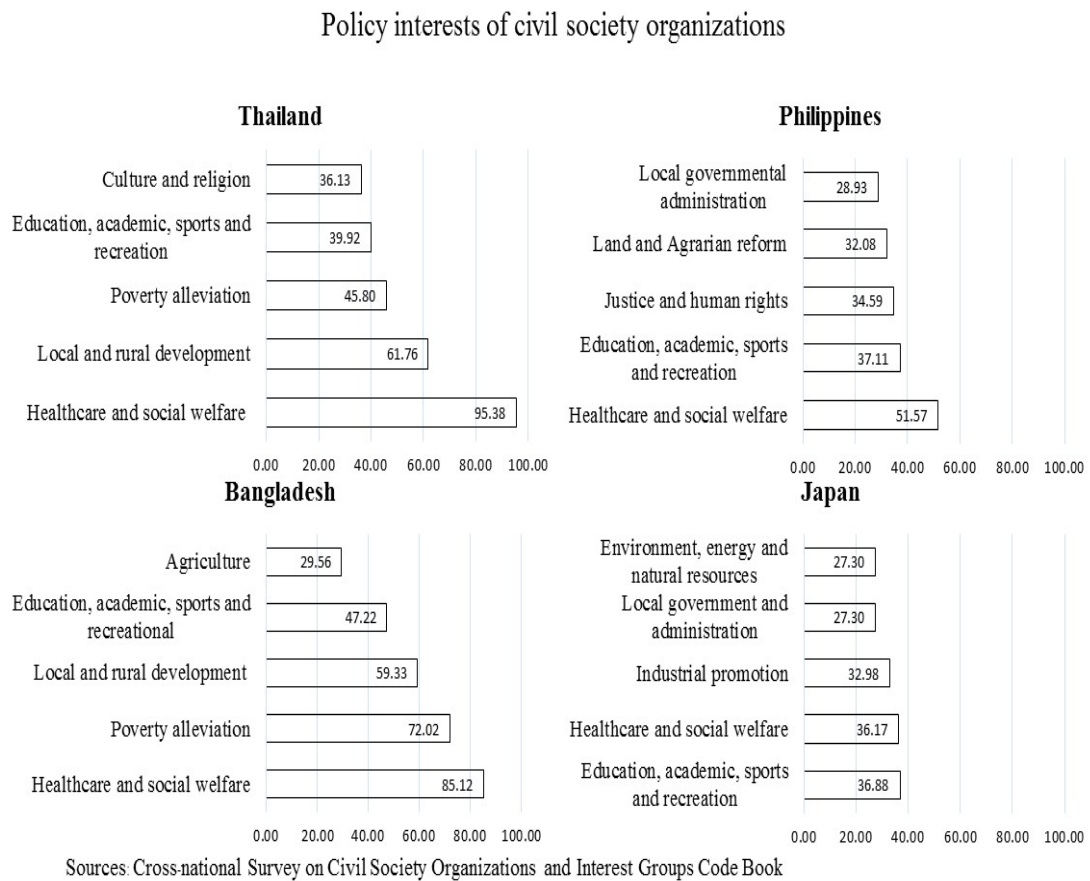
Table 4.2 also shows that in Bangladesh, the social welfare organizations are highest with 44.25% of respondents, in the Philippines, the citizen organizations are 21.9% of respondents while in Japan, economic or business organizations are 24.65%. It is noticeable that civil society organizations in developing countries are concerned with the social well-being while the developed country like Japan tended to be concerned with economic and business.

#### 4.2.2 Policy interest

The 237 responding civil society organizations were free to choose as many answers that relate to their function and activities towards the list of 25 government

policies. Figure 4.4 shows the list of top 5 policies selected by civil society organizations of Thailand, The Philippines, Bangladesh, and Japan.

Figure 4.4: Top 5 policy interest of Thailand, the Philippines, Bangladesh and Japan



It is worth mentioning that Figure 4.4 ensures that Thai's civil society organizations concentrate their policy interest (Question 2) mainly on social welfare and well-being that are mostly related to their service providing. The policy interest related to healthcare and social welfare is quite high with 95.38%. Local and rural development is 61.76% and poverty alleviation is 45.80% while 39.92% is

concerned with education, academic, sports and recreation and cultural and religion is 36.13%.

Not only in Thailand but civil society organizations in all selected countries concentrate their policy interest mainly on healthcare and social welfare policies, except the policy interest in Japan which indicated that education, academic sports, and recreational policies<sup>38</sup> are of higher interest. In Bangladesh, the policy interest related to healthcare and social welfare is quite high with 85%, in the Philippines is moderate (51.57%) while in Japan is only 36.17%.

More interesting is that the policy interest of civil society organizations in Thailand and Bangladesh are similar, like local and rural development is about 62% in Thailand and 60% in Bangladesh, poverty alleviation is about 72% in Bangladesh and 46% in Thailand and education, academic, sports and recreational policies is about 47% in Bangladesh and 40% in Thailand that are mostly related to their social well-being. In the Philippines, it seems that most of the policy interest are concerned with the social well-being of their locality. The tendency of policy interest in Japan is more widely directed to the public like 32.9% for industrial promotion and 27.3% for the environment, energy, and national resources. It is assumed that the civil society organizations in all developing countries, not only in Thailand, are concerned with social life and well-being for their local needs. Conversely, it seems that civil society organizations in Japan not only pay their attention to social well-being but also concentrate in several policies like education, industry, governance and environment.

---

<sup>38</sup> The education, academic, sports and recreation in case of Japan become highest percentage from the combination of 2 lists of policies that are education policy and educational, sports and recreation policies.

### 4.2.3 Objectives

Table 4.3 indicates the chosen answers concerning the objectives (Question 3) that comply to each organization. In Thailand, most of the civil society organizations prefer to provide information, benefits, and services to their members and also to the public in general rather than interacting with the government. The civil society organizations prefer to provide education and training opportunity (39.83%) or provide information (36.86%) while relatively in low scale to make the policy recommendation (11.02%) or to assist in licensing and registration (10.59%). However, they seem to require advocacies for subsidies from the government (31.36%) which could serve their local needs and development.

Moreover, Table 4.3 shows that the objectives of civil society organizations of the other three countries have the tendency to provide service and information to their members and to the public in general; like providing service to the general public 74.60% in Bangladesh, providing information to the members 72.08% in Japan and 56.77% in the Philippines, protecting standard of living and right and pursuing economic profit for the members 60% to 70% in Bangladesh, and providing education and training about 50% in Japan and Bangladesh. This implies that the civil societies' services are mostly for the society.

Table 4.3: Objective of the civil society organizations

| Objectives of CSOs   | Thailand<br>% | Philippines<br>%* | Bangladesh<br>%* | Japan<br>%* |
|--|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Providing information to members   | 36.86         | 56.77             | 49.80            | 72.08       |
| Pursuing economic profit for members   | 28.81         | 15.48             | 60.12            | 38.16       |
| Protecting the standard of living and rights of the members/clients            | 23.73         | 37.42             | 70.44            | 34.28       |
| Providing education and training opportunities for members/clients             | 39.83         | 31.61             | 51.39            | 52.65       |
| Advocating on behalf of the members in order to gain subsidies from government | 31.36         | 10.97             | 23.61            | 13.78       |
| Assisting members in licensing and registration procedures                     | 10.59         | 12.90             | 5.56             | 13.78       |
| Providing policy recommendations for public policy making                      | 11.02         | 8.39              | 6.55             | 41.34       |
| Providing education and information for the good of the general public         | 19.07         | 18.71             | 36.11            | 12.37       |
| Providing service to the general public  | 28.39         | 19.35             | 74.60            | 24.73       |
| Providing funds to other organizations   | 14.83         | 8.39              | 6.75             | 8.13        |

\*Sources: Cross-national survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups Code Book

Another perceptible point is that the civil society organizations in a developed country like Japan has a relatively strong interaction with the government such as under making policy recommendation it is about 41.34% while in the other developing countries it is only approximately 10%.

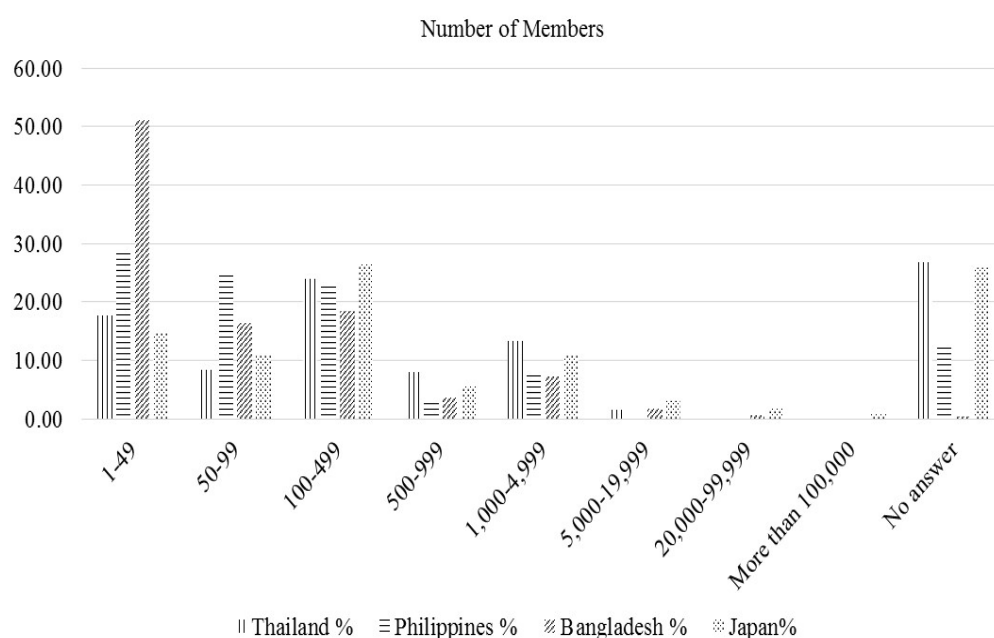
#### 4.2.4 Members

It is perceived that the most important characteristics and the strength of civil society organizations to achieve their objectives and roles can be judged by their pattern. Figure 4.5 shows that the distribution of individual members of civil society organizations (Question 6) is skewed towards the left. It may be observed that it is



common among the civil society organizations to have a low scale of members within 1 to 500 persons. Approximately 18% of civil society organizations in Thailand have members within 1 to 50 persons and relatively have a high number of members of about 24% within 100 to 500 persons. It is interesting that 51% of civil society organizations in Bangladesh and 29% in the Philippines have members within 1 to 50 persons while the civil society organizations in Japan have relatively high members of about 27% in the scale within 100 to 500 persons. This asserted that most of the civil society organizations are rather small in scale.

Figure 4.5: Pattern of individual members of civil society organizations



Sources: Cross-national Survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups Code Book

#### 4.2.5 Employee and volunteer

In fact, not only the membership alone can provide the real picture and the strength of civil society organization, but also the numbers of employee including the volunteers who can provide skill and vibrancy of civil society organization.

Among the surveyed, in the case of Thailand (Question 7) as well as other developing countries, there are relatively low scale of a full-time and part-time employee if compared with Japan that could be an impact of their low funding. Table 4.4 shows that Japan's number of employees, both full-time and part-time, is two times more than the other developing countries. On the other hand, volunteers are rather high in scale in developing countries than the civil society organization in Japan. Although the volunteers would provide the necessary human resources to serve the vibrant nature, they may lack some skills and important roles to achieve their objectives of civil society organizations.

Table 4.4: Number of employees and volunteers of civil society organizations

| Full-time Employee | Thailand % | Philippines %* | Bangladesh %* | Japan%* |
|--------------------|------------|----------------|---------------|---------|
| 0                  | 48.52      | 69.18          | 67.86         | 14.98   |
| 1-9                | 35.02      | 20.13          | 22.62         | 73.17   |
| 10-29              | 11.81      | 10.06          | 7.74          | 9.06    |
| 30--               | 4.64       | 0.63           | 1.79          | 2.79    |
| Part-time Employee | Thailand % | Philippines %  | Bangladesh %  | Japan%  |
| 0                  | 84.39      | 79.25          | 85.52         | 50.52   |
| 1-9                | 12.24      | 15.72          | 11.90         | 39.02   |
| 10-29              | 3.38       | 4.40           | 1.39          | 9.41    |
| 30--               | 0.00       | 0.63           | 1.19          | 1.05    |
| Volunteer          | Thailand % | Philippines %  | Bangladesh %  | Japan%  |
| 0                  | 54.43      | -              | 19.84         | 85.02   |
| 1-9                | 21.94      | -              | 38.69         | 7.67    |
| 10-29              | 19.83      | -              | 24.60         | 5.23    |
| 30--               | 3.80       | -              | 16.87         | 2.09    |

\*Sources: Cross-national survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups Code Book

#### 4.2.6 Resources

Resources are also the key to understanding the vibrant nature and strength of civil society organizations. It is difficult to compare with the other countries

because of the growth of economic proportion of each country. However, the civil society organizations require funding and budgets to provide social welfare and social well-being. Table 4.5 summarizes the sources (Question 8) that the civil society organizations mentioned as their resources and the percentage of their benefiting from the sources.

Table 4.5: Funds providing sources for civil society organizations

| Fund-providing sources                          | Number of receiving CSOs % |
|---|----------------------------|
| Government ministries and administrative branch | 54 (22.8%)                 |
| Local government                                | 44 (18.6%)                 |
| International agencies and NGOs                 | 12 (5.1%)                  |
| Personal benevolence                            | 5 (2.1%)                   |
| Credit union or bank                            | 8 (3.4%)                   |
| No answer                                       | 114 (48.1%)                |

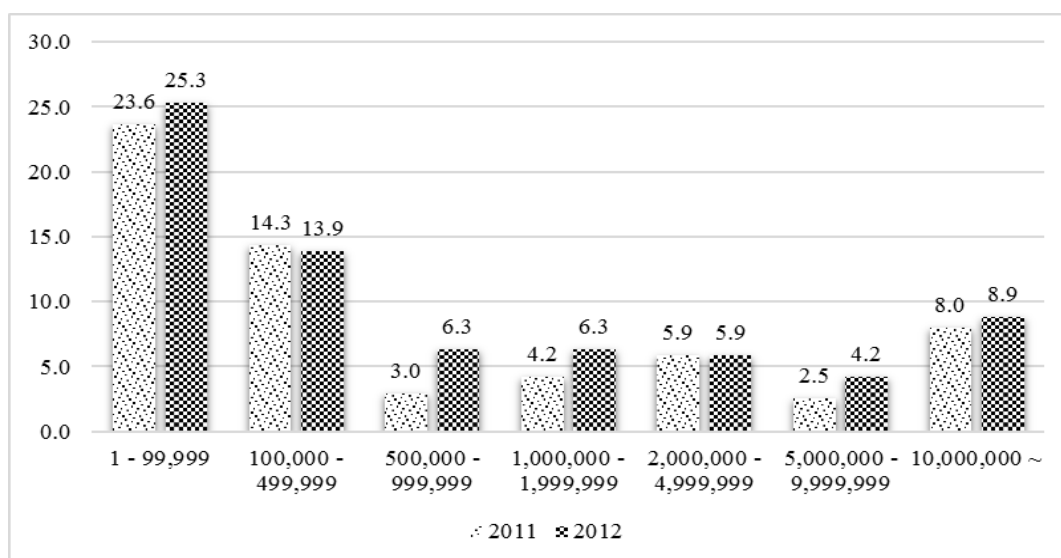
N =237, Respondent= 123 \*Some CSOs may receive funds from multiple sources.

It is interesting that in the case of Thailand along with other developing countries; more than 50% of civil society organizations do receive government funds. In Bangladesh, 51% of civil society organizations receive the funds from the central government and more than 1% receive from the local government (Tasnim, 2007, p. 145). Among the 123 respondents surveyed, 98 (80%) civil society organizations received funds from both central (44%) and local (36%) government. The table shows 22.8% of civil society organizations received funds from the government and its administrative branch and 18.6% received from the local government. It also revealed that some civil society organizations received funds from a credit union or the bank that would provide funds for their member's

investment, like cooperative groups. It is also apparent that more than 50% of financial assistance is accompanied by a condition.

Figure 4.6 comparatively shows the annual budget in 2011 and 2012 (Question 9) of Thai civil society organizations. The available data that is about 146 (60%) in 2011 and 168 (70%) in 2012 illustrate that civil society organizations have various range of budgets. As indicated in Figure 4.6, most civil society organizations in Thailand operate within a small budget. The most common, 1 of 4 of the respondents (24 - 25%), is the budget of under 100 thousand Baht. There are also 14% of civil society organizations having an annual budget within 100 - 499 thousand Baht. However, in some cases of civil society organizations like a credit union and cooperatives, the budget may even exceed 10 million Baht.

Figure 4.6: Annual budget of civil society organizations<sup>39</sup>



\* The budget is provided in Thai Baht. 1 US \$= 35.32 THB and 1 THB = 3.32 JP Yen (According to currency exchange rate of Bank of Thailand date Feb 5, 2016).

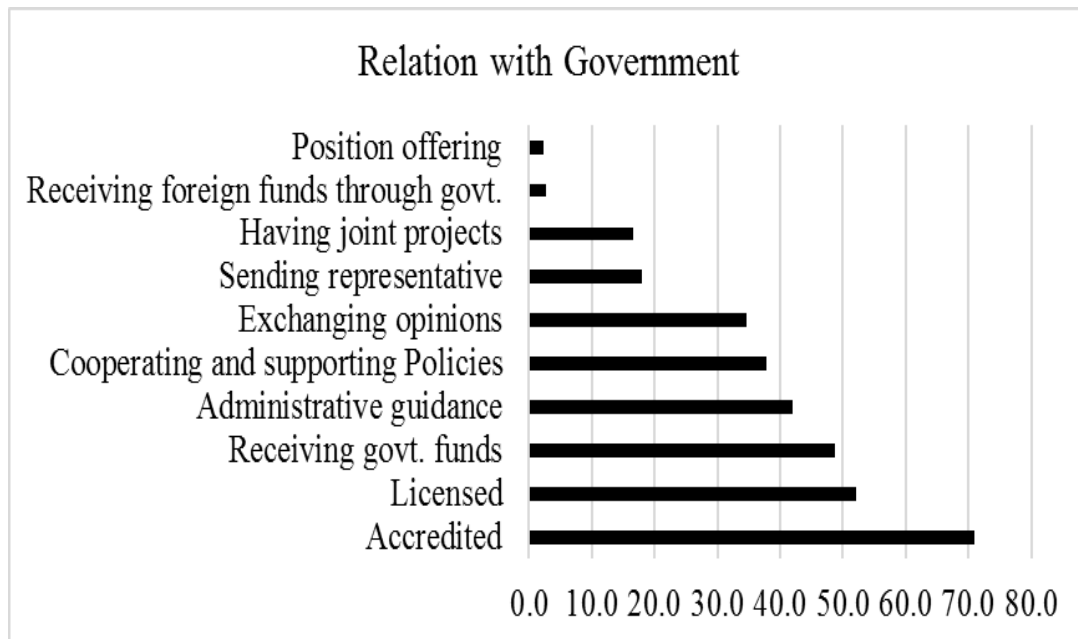
<sup>39</sup> 91 (38%) of CSOs in 2011 and 69 (29%) of CSOs in 2012 did not provide their budget statistics.

After revealing the basic characteristics of civil society organizations in Thailand through the objective and policy interests, it shows that they have a strong tendency towards social welfare and local development. The civil society organizations could imagine themselves as the associational life in serving public needs and providing public capacities to serve and support their members and the public. Those groups are small in scale with regard to members, employees, and volunteers with a relatively low budgeting that are necessary resources to support the strength of civil society organizations and its vibrant nature. According to the revealed data, most civil society organizations in Thailand naturally requested the funding support from the government, we need to understand more which type of activities these organizations are involved in and how do they relate to politics or state action.

#### **4.2.7 Cooperation with government**

Naturally, civil society organizations seem to be autonomous and can function independently from the government. However, by regulations, most civil society organizations have the formal relation with the government for registration and licensing. Figure 4.7 shows rate of government relation (Question 12) belonging to each direction of civil society organization.

Figure 4.7: Nature of formal relation with government



Civil society organizations go to the government for accreditation 71.0% and license 52.5% which would support them to receive easily the government funds 44.7% and come up with the administrative guidance provided by the government for 38.4%. Moreover, they cooperate with the government 35% and exchange opinions 31%. It is assumed that civil society organizations are considered as important stakeholders to the government. However, there are low rates of sending representative and position offering to the government, about 16.5% and 2%, respectively. As a result, it may be observed that by the nature of the relation of civil society organizations has a rather high rate of involvement with the government.

The relation of civil society and government interaction of each country has been further analyzed to understand the tendency of participation. Table 4.6 shows the relation perspectives of civil society organizations in Thailand, the Philippines, Bangladesh, and Japan. Generally, most civil society organizations in developing

countries have a relatively high rate of accreditation and license from the government which is almost 4 times of the civil society organization in Japan. In the case of Thailand, it is possible for civil society organizations to conform to the regulations to get rights and privileges. However, their relation with the government, such as the administrative guidance, the funding support, and the exchange of opinions are moderate which illustrate that they have a good partnership with the government. Another observation that has been made manifest is that 37.8% of the cooperating and supporting policies and budget activities of the government of civil society organizations in Thailand are higher than other countries that would support their activities providing and supporting local development.

Table 4.6: Relation of CSOs with government in perspective

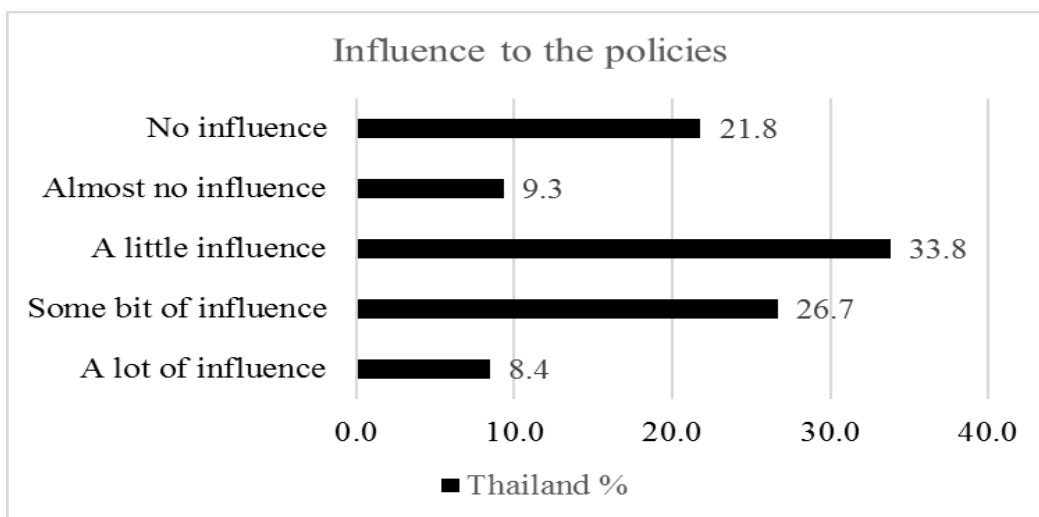
| Relation with government              | Thailand<br>% | Philippines<br>%* | Bangladesh<br>%* | Japan%<br>* |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| Accredited                            | 71.0          | 91.2              | 94.4             | 22.6        |
| Licensed                              | 52.0          | 81.8              | 84.1             | 34.1        |
| Receiving govt. funds                 | 48.8          | --                | 49.4             | --          |
| Administrative guidance               | 41.9          | 15.1              | 56.7             | 24.7        |
| Cooperating and supporting policies   | 37.8          | 12.6              | 8.3              | 6.3         |
| Exchanging opinions                   | 34.6          | 30.8              | 36.9             | 9.1         |
| Sending representative                | 18.0          | 26.4              | 19.8             | 3.5         |
| Having joint projects                 | 16.6          | 27.0              | 11.3             | --          |
| Receiving foreign funds through govt. | 2.8           | --                | 11.5             | --          |
| Position offering                     | 2.3           | 3.1               | 4.8              | 1.4         |

\*Sources: Cross-national survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups Code Book

#### 4.2.8 Influence to the policies

Figure 4.8 shows the rate of influence of the civil society organizations on the government policies (Question 11) related to the problem or issues in the geographical area which also reflects the nature of its participatory role to some extent.

Figure 4.8: Influence of civil society organization towards the government policies



As mentioned in 4.3.1, civil society organizations are moderate in exchanging opinions with the government and have a better network to deal with the administrative guidance including to cooperate and to support the government policies. However, Figure 4.8 illustrates that the civil society organizations think that about 30% have no influence, 33.8% have a little influence and 26.71% have some bit of influence while only 8.4% have high influence on the government policies. This implies that the civil society organizations of Thailand have some influence on the government policies that would support and provide for their social needs and well-being.



Table 4.7: Influence of civil society organization in perspective

| Influence of organization | Thailand % | Philippines %* | Bangladesh %* | Japan%* |
|---------------------------|------------|----------------|---------------|---------|
| A lot of influence        | 8.4        | 14.5           | 7.3           | 3.5     |
| Some bit of influence     | 26.7       | 31.4           | 56.9          | 7.3     |
| A little influence        | 33.8       | 26.4           | 21.2          | 34.8    |
| Almost no influence       | 9.3        | 15.1           | 9.1           | 41.1    |
| No influence              | 21.8       | 12.6           | 5.4           | 11.5    |

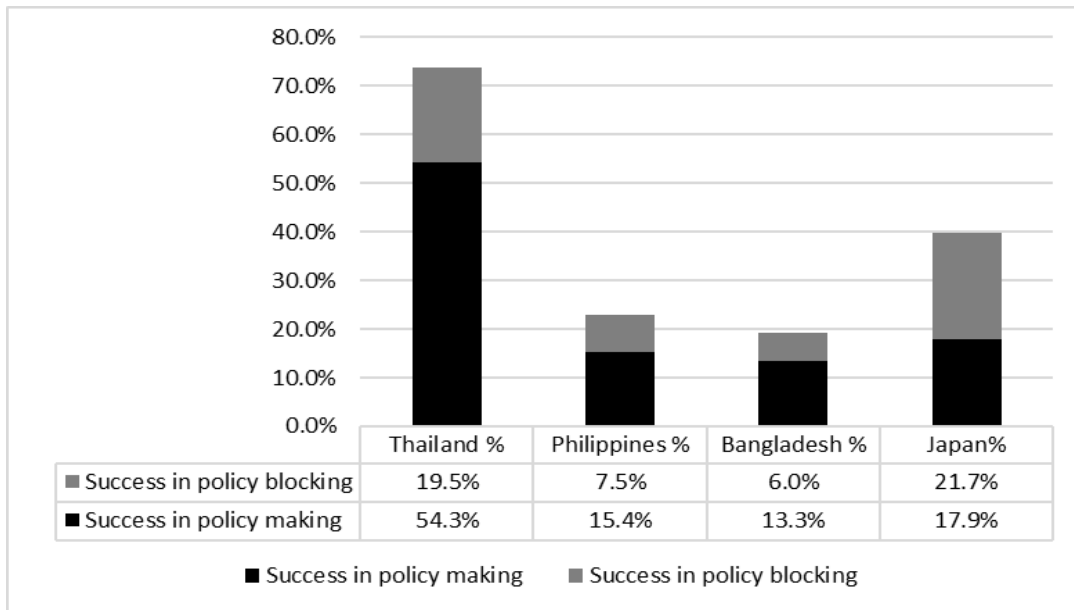
\*Sources: Cross-national survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups Code Book

It is interesting that Table 4.7 shows the influence of civil society organization in perspective which indicates that most civil society organizations in developing countries have a pretty high influence towards the government particularly on the policies related to the issues of their geographical area. It is significant that it is moderate and tends to be of low influence in Japan. It is possible that the civil society organizations in developing countries need to provide more influence for social welfare, well-being, and local development through the government policies.

#### 4.2.8 Policy making

Another direct involvement of civil society organizations in influencing the government is the interaction towards policy-making. Figure 4.9 shows the percentage of success among the civil society organizations of Thailand, the Philippines, Bangladesh and Japan in policy making and blocking. The respondents were asked whether they have even been successful in influencing the government in any decision on policy-making (Question 17) and blocking (Question 18) any decision.

Figure 4.9: Success in policy-making and policy-blocking in perspective



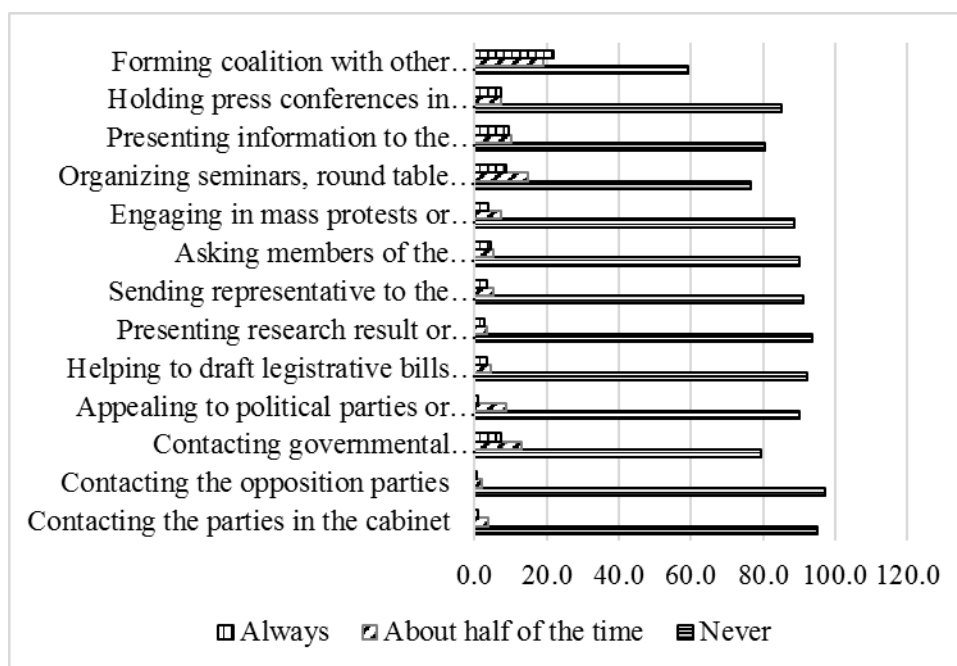
It is striking that more than 50% of civil society organizations in Thailand had admitted their success in influencing government decisions. Their success is high if compared with other developing countries including Japan. Furthermore, Thailand's involvement in policy blocking with 19.5% is a bit lower than that of Japan's civil society organizations. The result reveals that civil society organizations in Thailand have a strong influence on government decisions in making policies and could succeed in blocking such policies that went against their interests.

#### 4.2.9 Lobbying

To measure the nature of lobbying of the organization, the civil society organizations were asked to rate the frequency of different activities (Question 15) such as direct individual contacts, forming coalitions and arranging meetings or presenting information to the public. We perceived that similar as other countries,

the overall frequency of lobbying of civil society organizations in Thailand is rather low.

Figure 4.10: Lobbying activities



The most common are forming a coalition with other organizations (22.6%), presenting information to mass media (9.6%), and organizing seminars, round table meeting or rally (8.6%), rather than contacting the government departments and agencies (7.5%) directly. Only 1% is involved in contacting both parties in power (1%) and opposition (0.5%), including appealing to influential people (1%) which indicate the weakness in personal contact among civil society organizations in Thailand. This implies that the forming of coalitions and networks that link easily to the pattern of civic movement, mass protest, and demonstration may be the most vital democratic means in Thailand. On the other hand, the parties' bodies may have accused almost civil society organizations of their biased position.

#### **4.2.10 Concluding Remarks**

As mentioned, this first section has tried to understand the civil society's characteristics, functions, and issues, as well as to investigate the nature of its participatory role and its relation with the government. In this chapter, the characteristics of the civil society in Thailand has been focused on and analyzed based on the comparative discussion. The following points summarize the findings of the basic and distinctive identity of civil society organizations in Thailand.

First, through the basic attribute related to self-classification, policy interest, and objective, civil society organizations represent the most important function as an association life engaged in social development as well as in several countries which are mostly found as welfare and service oriented which provide service and information to their members, beneficiaries and also the public in general. Moreover, the civil society organizations in Thailand are mostly involved at local levels of the society which is in need of civic engagement, welfare assistance, and local development.

Second, the basic structure of civil society organization like membership, employees, volunteers, and resources could illustrate the vibrant and strength of civil society organizations. However, it is precise to say that civil society organizations in Thailand are mainly run by low scale members and employees, the same as other developing countries. On the contrary, there is a rather high scale of volunteers that they have to fulfill the number of manpower to provide local activities. Moreover, they operate within a common budget under 500 thousand Baht per year. This means that they have few skilled manpower and resources to engage in different social developments.

Third, the rate of involvement with the government is rather high through the rules and regulations, and financial instruments. By regulations, most civil society organizations have the formal relation with the government for registration and licensing which would support them to receive fund provided by the government. Through the survey, it has been exposed that the civil society organizations are considered as an important stakeholder to the government. They received the administrative guidance and work in cooperating with and supporting policies and budget activities of the government despite of their nature as an autonomous group.

Fourth, it is interesting that civil society organizations in Thailand have a rather high influence towards the government policies which impact their social needs. The most direct involvement in issues of civil society organizations and the government is determined by its capacity and success in influencing government decisions. Through the survey, more than 50% had admitted their success in influencing government decision and nearly 20% could succeed in blocking such policies that went against their interests. It reveals that these organizations are rather high in the functions that relate to advocacy. The using of forming coalitions and network, including civic movement, mass protest, and demonstration may be the most vital democratic means in Thailand.

#### **4.3 Neighborhood community as a civil society in Thailand**

Regarding the concept that the state has shaped civil society, the second section presents how the state has strengthened civil society organization in the new form of neighborhood communities in Thai's municipality that provide more social services and participation at the grassroots level. This study explains about the basic

characteristics of neighborhood community, focusing on its features and functions toward state-designated policies. The empirical survey data have been adopted to investigate the basic characteristics of neighborhood communities which reflect on civil society theory. Moreover, to examine the relationship among associations in the social and political process, social, political and economic actors have been inquired. With the promotion of participatory role, it becomes the collaborative mechanisms between state and a local group of residents for contributing the social services.

It is accurate to state that neighborhood associations are found in many countries with the differentiation of features, functions, nature of activities and relationship with the state. The neighborhood associations in the Philippines, called “the *barangay*” are as a local group of residents of more than 50 households who compose a community. However, the *barangay* serves as the smallest delineated administrative division of the government<sup>40</sup>. In Singapore, there is also “the community center”, similar to “*kominkan*” in Japan, that is a public meeting where members of a community tend to gather for local group activities and social support, including a place for the government to disseminate information and policies, as well as gather feedback from grassroots. In Indonesia, RT/RW<sup>41</sup> has an aspect of a neighborhood association which acts as a subcontracting organization of the government. It is to be positioned at the lowest unit of a development-oriented

---

<sup>40</sup> Local Government Code of the Philippines, Local Government Units, Book III, Sec 384 to Sec 386.

<sup>41</sup> Rukun Tetangga (RT) means neighborhood association which normally consists of 20 – 50 households. Rukun Warga (RW) is a community association which each consists of 10 to 15 RT. Kelurahan is the lowest level of local government that is normally composed of 10 RW (Winayanti and Lang, 2004).

government. Naoki Yoshihara and Raphaella Dewantari Dwianto asserted that RT/RW is one of the local institutions at the grassroots level which is developed by and co-opted into the government and is still an effective instrument of the state (Yoshihara & Dwianto, 2003). It shows that neighborhood association is the government policy. It takes the role at the bottom of the social scale which is to be co-opted and posted at the lowest unit of a development-oriented local government.

In a developed country like Japan, there are several types of a local group of residents which have a long history stretching back to a number of periods of spontaneous origin, composing of *goningumi*, *juuninngumi* and its development like *chonaikai*<sup>42</sup> (Yoshihara & Dwianto, 2003). Yutaka Tsujinaka mentioned that neighborhood association in Japan is nationwide by organizations and by the high rates at which citizens participate in the groups (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014). According to Pekkanen, neighborhood associations are voluntary groups of local residents based on geographically delimited and exclusive residential area. It is asserted that neighborhood associations' membership is extended to all local residents who live in a state designated area and who come up with multiple activities related to the local environment, social security and welfare, social events among the residents and the like (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014). However, one key element in their history is the centrality government policy to their spread and current prominence throughout Japan. More interesting that they are perceived as creatures of the government, simply providing low cost services as the lowest layer of local government. Their activities also include the cooperation with

---

<sup>42</sup> There are several terms of neighborhood associations in Japan based on geographically delimited, these include *ku*, *chokai*, *burakukai*, *kukai*, *shuraku*, *chiku*, *jokai*, *shinkokai* and the like (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka and Yamamoto, 2014).

local government, primarily in disseminating information from government to local residents (Pekkanen, 2006).

According to its feature and related functions and activities above, we assumed that neighborhood association referred to voluntary groups based on residential proximity whose membership is drawn from geographically delimited and exclusive residential area. Most often is set out and designated through the state policy. Their activities are multiple and are centered on local community development, also include cooperation with local government to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness in providing public good and social services (Pekkanen, 2006, Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014). In sum, by the nature of neighborhood association, that is the strength of state which influences on civil society structures. The following are the presence of neighborhood communities in Thailand.

#### **4.3.1 Term and definition of neighborhood community**

It is remarkable that Thailand's neighborhood communities perceive their own roles as local resident's organizations which are formally organized and recognized by the municipal government. It is perceived that the Ministry of Interior stipulates those regulatory frameworks to promote them as an organization. Thailand's 1997 Constitution stipulated the association of groups to promote population participation and to encourage a strong civil society and democratic decentralization. However, this constitution did not mention directly any regulation of group associations or neighborhood communities' establishment but there are some new principal clauses and sections that are even non-existent in any



constitutions which are as mechanisms for supporting the assembly of people (Section 45-46), including the promotion of popular participation (Section 76, 79) and the protection of individual rights and liberty (Section 26).

Although the legal change provides for the freedom of association and opposition there are the barriers for the formation of groups in Thailand. In practice, the neighborhood communities had no legal existence. The formation of groups is without law and usually based on the designated geographical area which stimulates a system or a mechanism reliant on bureaucratic discretion. By this way, the municipality could select which groups are allowed to organize and enroll. The literature review showed that Japan's neighborhood associations, which had no legal status before 1991 but existed only as unofficial voluntary associations, frequently worked with local governments in contractual relationships. However, Tsujinaka mentioned that an effective legal change made the change for neighborhood associations to register and gain legal status nowadays (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014).

According to the territory-based administration structure in Thailand, the local administrative system comprises of province and district<sup>43</sup> levels in which the central government dispatches its officials, provincial governors, and district officers to work as representatives of the government and coordinators of the other central ministries and departments. Nevertheless, the ministerial organizations formally stop at the district level. The subdistrict<sup>44</sup> (*tambon*) is a subdivision level after the

---

<sup>43</sup> Thailand is divided into 76 provinces with 878 districts, excluding the metropolitan area of Bangkok (Department of Provincial Administration, March 5, 2015).

<sup>44</sup> District is divided into 7,255 subdistricts and 74,965 villages (Department of Provincial Administration, March 5, 2015)

district and the village (*muban*) is the lowest subdivision of local administrative system.

It is noteworthy that each province could generally be divided into district level (cities or *amphur*) with a capital district (main city or *amphur muang*) by territory. Compared to the administration, the capital district has no subdivision level after the district in the local administrative system which is different from the other districts which have subdistricts and villages. There is instead a form of a municipality as a local government which the mayor and council are elected by the people. There are three levels of the municipality that are based on the population size and its income. Figure 4.11 shows the level of the municipality in Thailand.

Figure 4.11: Classification of Thailand's municipality

| Municipality  |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Classified into 3 level (city, town, and township or subdistrict) depending on the size of population, and extent of urban facilities. There are 2,010 items.</li> </ul> |   |
| <b>City level</b>   | <b>27 (tessaban Nakorn)</b>   |
| Qualification   | - Population at least 50,000 (up) or a provincial capital (central part of the provincial)<br>- sufficient income to carry out the task of city (in the past density of 3,000 km <sup>2</sup> ) |
| Administration  | - 1 mayor+24 councils/ deputies (may have municipal executive board for 4 + 1 mayor)  |
| <b>Town level</b>   | <b>145 (tessaban Muaeng)</b>  |
| Qualification   | - Population at least 10,000 (up) or a provincial capital (central part of the provincial)<br>- sufficient income to carry out the task of town (in the past density of 3,000 km <sup>2</sup> ) |
| Administration  | - 1 mayor+18 councils/ deputies (may have municipal executive board for 3 + 1 mayor)  |
| <b>Township/<br/>subdistrict level</b>  | <b>1,838 (tessaban Tambon)<br/>Lowest level unit (it may extend over parts more than one subdistrict (tambon))</b>  |
| qualification   | -Population at least 5,000<br>- sufficient income to carry out the task of township (in the past must have a gross income of at least 5 million baht and the density of 1,500 km <sup>2</sup> ) |
| administration  | - 1 mayor+12 councils/ deputies (may have municipal executive board for 2 + 1 mayor)  |

(The Department of Local Administration, June 2011)

The population of city level (*tessaban nakorn*) is at least 50,000 residents while the town level (*tessaban muang*) is at least 10,000 residents. Both levels are

usually located at the capital district but are different based on the geographical size of administration, the density of populations, and incomes. Throughout this study, Chiang Mai City, Lampang City, Lamphun Town Municipality and Mae Hong Son Town Municipality are considered. The township level (*tessaban tambon*), which is the lowest level unit of the municipality consisting 5,000 residents, may extend over parts of more than one subdistrict. The administration consists of a Mayor and different councils. However, the municipality has no high degree of autonomy in dealing with local affairs because most of its administrative staff are appointed centrally by a commission attached to the Ministry of Interior.

Following the promotion of popular participation and encouragement of a strong civil society and democratic decentralization by the 1997 constitution, including the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001), the establishment of neighborhood community has been reinstated and adopted in the widespread area of the municipal government. Up to the present, with the concrete promotion of people participation, self-reliance and mutual assistance, neighborhood community becomes the collaborative mechanism between the state and the local resident groups. Basically, neighborhood communities were redesigned from block or living zone of local residents. These include all single-detached dwelling, condominium, crowded community, slum area, housing estate and the like. The principles of membership are based on two aspects. First, the membership is determined by the residential proximity of local residents to a particular geographic delimited area without compulsion or member fees. Second, they are volunteers to enhance community conditions through the concept of self-reliance and mutual assistance. The administration has been operated by community

committees composing of the president, deputy, and other committee members. The other committee members are most often comprised of 9 people but no more than 15 people, depending on request or necessity in administration and are recognized by the municipality. However, they are not full-time employees instead they act as volunteers who work without any salary, called “*Chumchon Yoi Naikhet Tessaban* in Thai (CCY)”.

Some previous literature referred to neighborhood communities in different meanings based on the pattern of their relation with local government and translation of meaning. Ganhawiang translated and used “neighborhood community” in the meaning of “*chumchon-yoi*” (Ganhawiang, 1992). Mahakanjana gave the meaning and called those groups as “(Municipal’s) Cooperative Community Groups” or CCGs due to their need to cooperate with the local government and because they associate as community groups (Mahakanjana, 2004).

The last two words “*naikhet tessaban*” can be translated into English as “in the municipal area” which refers to all the local areas under the administration of the municipal government. The previous word “*chumchon-yoi*” can be separated into two words, i.e., “*chumchon*” and “*yoi*”. “*Chumchon*” means “community” which generally refers to a local group of residents who live in a specific geographical area. “*Yoi*” has no direct meaning in English but The Royal Institute Dictionary of Thailand 2001 defines this word as relative to a small unit. Therefore, “*chumchon-yoi*” could refer to a small community. However, each CCY should compose of at least 50 households on a voluntary basis, where neighbors are familiar with each other and associate in a form of community (Chiangmai Municipality Act of 2003: Community Committee Affair). It is precise to mention that the members openly

demonstrate a sense of community among them, share common goals and mutual trust, encouraging social gatherings and distributing and maintaining their own local issues.

In short, the using of the term and definition of neighborhood community in this study does not deny the characteristics of neighborhood association, which are 1) local groups of residents in such a geographical delimited area, designed by the municipality through block, zone and the alley, 2) the membership is voluntary amassed from local residents who live in the designated area with their neighbors, acquaintances and friends, 3) the administration is done in the form of community committees who serve as the representative of the residents, 4) aiming to encourage self-reliance, mutual assistance, social service for its members, reflecting the collaborative mechanisms between state and local resident groups more than being the organizations under the command line of the government. However, the strength of neighborhood community would be supported and promoted through regulatory and financial instruments of the state, both direct and indirect. Under the circumstances, neighborhood community will be used as a specific term to call those groups in this study. The data collection, based on the questionnaire of Japan's NHAs survey, had been done in 3 months with the presidents of Neighborhood Communities in the Upper Northern Region 1 with the 4 provinces namely Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang and Mae Hong Son (see Appendix 1). The total group's number was 156 and the respondents were 142 communities<sup>45</sup>.

---

<sup>45</sup> The sampling was 142, including 76 NCs of Chiang Mai, 43 NCs of Lampang, 17 NCs of Lamphun and 6 NCs of Mae Hong Son.

### 4.3.2 Establishment period of neighborhood community

According to the data acquired through the survey in 2012, Figure 4.12 shows a graph of the number of neighborhood communities that have increased approximately 100% since 1997.

Figure 4.12: Establishment period of neighborhood community

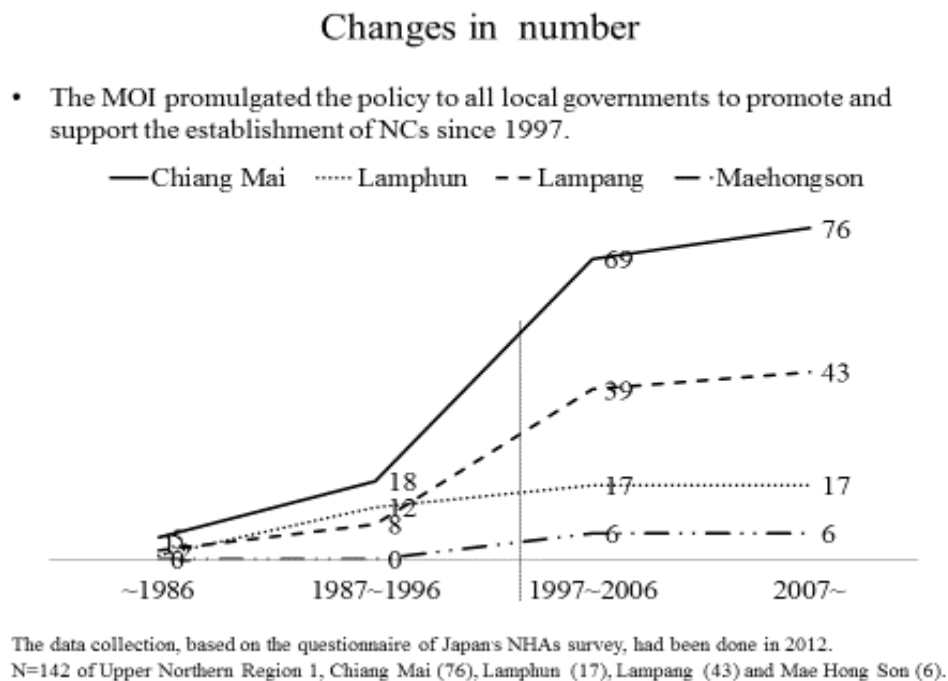


Figure 4.12 shows the immediate post periods of 1997 that saw the highest rates of establishment of neighborhood communities. Before 1997, there were totally 58 neighborhood communities but increased about three times from 1997. It is plain to see not only the remarkable increases in the number of neighborhood communities after 1987 but also the increase in 1997 which exhibits the population growth and the reconstitution by the government policy. It is quite a surprising result that many neighborhood communities were formed, especially after the period

of 1997, to conform to the government policy. It is more than double in Chiang Mai (3.6 times in 1987 and 3.8 times in 1997) while 4 and 4.8 times in Lampang, 12 and 1.4 times in Lamphun, and 6 times in Mae Hong Son in 1997. This may signify that the numbers of neighborhood communities were established and sprung up to conform to the government policy implementation since 1987 and 1997, and continued in the big cities through 2007 according to the administrative expansion. However, the number of neighborhood communities does not increase more because those organized groups have been designed with geographically delimited area in the same regional block or zone of living by the municipality.

It is remarkable that not only the administrative structure with state relation but also neighborhood communities have the influence to form their groups based on Thai villages and Buddhism culture. It is apparent that many communities form their community not only by the delimited geographical area but also by unity in mind, trust and close relationship through their kinships. The discourse of Thai villages in Community dimension is noteworthy. This refers to the idea that the local authority and resource management by Western and Thai researcher is perceived as harmonized independent units that have their own culture, focus, and emphasis on the value of stable and harmonious collaboration on the basis of kinship relations (Ganjanapan, 2001, pp. 11-60). Moreover, most of the neighborhood communities could have only one temple as the center of unity in mind. According to the report of Village and Urban Community Fund Project (2013), it showed that in 2002 the registered number of neighborhood community were at least 3,377 communities, up to date there are approximately 3,528 communities throughout the capital cities of Thailand.

### 4.3.3 Scale of neighborhood community

Generally, neighborhood communities maintain natural form of villages, using the households as the basic units of membership, which are geographically-delimited, beyond the municipality designated upon block or zone. According to the administrative function of the district levels could be divided into sub-districts and villages except in the capital district. However, for administrative functions within the capital district, neighborhood communities enjoy close relationships with the municipalities which could be perceived as the lowest level of its administrative functions. By this way, the government has regulated the framework for establishing the neighborhood communities, building community facilities and encouraging social gatherings to deal with local issues. In 1992, The Ministry of Interior designated the number of participating households of neighborhood communities that are at least 50 households. At present, there are no exact numbers of memberships to form such neighborhood communities. The government has only given the terms for neighborhood communities' structures that all registered neighborhood communities are necessary to form their community committees of 9 to 15 committee members. All designated households (in block or zone) are positioned as the representative organizations of neighborhood communities. The local residents can participate and volunteer as members of the community. Thus, neighborhood communities vary in scale. Subsequently, we focus on the scale of neighborhood communities in terms of the number of participating households. Figure 4.13 presents the results of the number of participating households (Question 3), using a scale of 50 household segments.



Figure 4.13 Scale of participating households of neighborhood communities

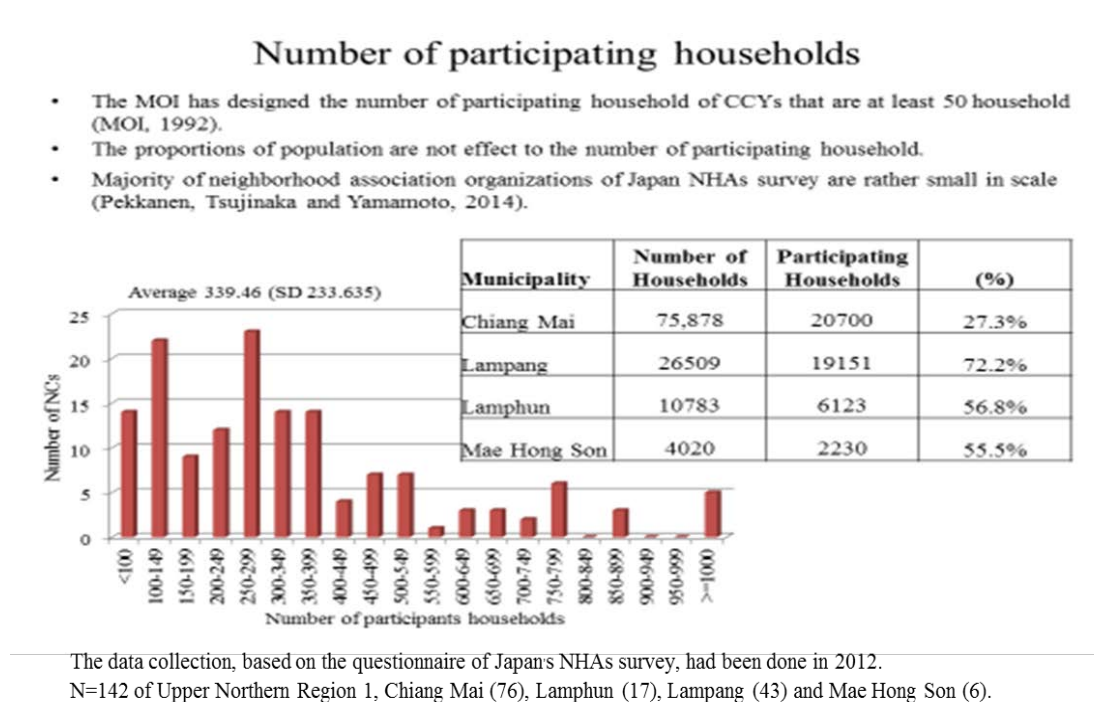


Figure 4.13 displays that the distribution of participating household is skewed towards the left. The average number of participants in neighborhood communities slightly falls under middle-scale with the average of 339.46 and the participating households, which are less than 349, are approximately 63.4% if compared with the total number of participating households.

Not just in Thailand, neighborhood associations in Japan likewise vary in scale throughout the country. It is interesting that majority of neighborhood associations in Japan are rather small in scale. Tsujinaka mentioned that the numbers of participating households less than 100 are approximately half of the total number at 47.3%, reasonably higher than 7 times if compared with Thailand. The average number of participating households is 228.1 (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014).

It is more interesting that the number of participating households in Japan shows a trend with the more populous areas. Tsujinaka asserted that the densely populated areas have larger neighborhood associations. In large urban areas with populations greater than 500,000 people, the neighborhood associations with less than 50 participating households account for no more than 6.0% and less than 100 participating households are only 10.2% while in the 200 to 499 households are 32.0% and more than 500 participating households are 31.4%. On the other hand, in the sparsely populated areas with populations less than 500,000 people, the neighborhood associations with less than 50 to 499 participating households are approximately 4.2 to 11.2% (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014).

On the contrary, Figure 4.13 also shows the number of participating households crossed with the population in the municipality of Thailand is tentatively approximately half of the total number at 56.8% in town level. There are some differences in the city level which show Lampang City bearing a high percentage of 72.2 while Chiang Mai City has a rather low rate of participating households at 27.3% . Therefore, the proportions of the population did not affect the number of participating households in Thailand. According to an in-depth interview and participatory observation<sup>46</sup>, it was found that Thai village culture with a close relationship and trust, including Buddhism culture, would have affected the group formation. The majority of neighborhood communities in Mae Hong Son, Lamphun Town Municipality and Lampang City are long-term Thai villages and Buddhism culture and involve a handful of village households while the neighborhood communities in Chiang Mai City developed in response to the industrialization and

---

<sup>46</sup> Informal interviews with some presidents of neighborhood communities in year 2012.

urbanization where there has been a decreasing trend in the numbers of participating households. Therefore, the length of residence is an important factor for membership because it opens an opportunity to build relationships with many of the people living in the area.

At present, it is perceived that the distribution of the number of neighborhood communities is based on the size of the population and the geographical area of the municipality designed by state policy in block or zone. In the City level, it appears high with 90 communities in Chiang Mai and 43 communities in Lampang while there are 17 communities in Lamphun and only 6 communities in Mae Hong Son Town level. Although the scale of households based on state designated geographical areas are not different, at approximately 600 to 800 households, the evidence shows that the number of participating households in Town level are more than 50% while in the big city like Chiang Mai are less than 25%. This reflects the low resident proportions in major urban areas and the fact that neighborhood communities' natural village and Buddhist culture are basically what accounts for the cohesion of the group.

#### **4.3.4 Internal structure of neighborhood community**

Basically, the governance structure of neighborhood community constituting the president and directors who become the committees by positions. It is most often comprised of 9 people but no more than 15 people depending on the request and the opinion of community's members or the necessity of the administration during four-year term. The president is usually from direct election while the other positions can be selected by the president and/or by direct election. In principle, the president

selects the deputy and others, including secretary, treasurer, public relations and supplies. The other committees help manage and promote local communities' capacity-building of sanitation and public health, saving and fund management, women and occupational development, social welfare, safety and security, education and cultural activities (Chiangmai Municipality Act of 2003: Community's Committee).

Table 4.8: Selection means of president, committee, and director

| <b>Selection means of neighborhood community president</b> | <b>Percentage</b> | <b>Number</b> |
|--|-------------------|---------------|
| Election by Member   | 84.5              | 120           |
| Mutual voting among committee                              | 7.8               | 11            |
| Recommendation by the committees                           | 2.1               | 3             |
| Appointed by the president                                 | 0.7               | 1             |
| Guidance by the Municipality                               | 4.9               | 7             |
| Total  | 100.0             | 142           |
| <b>Selection means of neighborhood community committee</b> | <b>Percentage</b> | <b>Number</b> |
| Election by Member   | 39.7              | 56            |
| Mutual voting among committee                              | 31.9              | 45            |
| Recommendation by the committees                           | 7.8               | 11            |
| Rotating basis   | 1.4               | 2             |
| Appointed by the president                                 | 12.8              | 18            |
| Guidance by the Municipality                               | 6.4               | 9             |
| Total  | 100.0             | 141           |
| <b>Selection means of neighborhood community director</b>  | <b>Percentage</b> | <b>Number</b> |
| Election by Member   | 30.0              | 42            |
| Mutual voting among committee                              | 23.6              | 33            |
| Recommendation by the committees                           | 37.1              | 52            |
| Rotating basis   | 0.7               | 1             |
| Appointed by the president                                 | 3.6               | 5             |
| Guidance by the Municipality                               | 5.00              | 7             |
| Total  | 100.0             | 140           |

Table 4.8 shows a pattern of the selection (Question 7) of neighborhood community president, committee and subgroup directors. The election is the most common method for choosing a president (84.5%). The selection of committee uses either of the two methods of election by members (39.7%) and mutual voting among the committees (31.9%). It is interesting that there are some neighborhood associations that use the appointment by the president as the third method (12.8%). On the other hand, the selection of subgroup director uses either of two methods of recommendation by the committees (37.1%) and election by members (30%). The third method is mutual voting among committees (23.6%).

Remarkably, the election is the best means of choosing the president which is likely to use direct democratic methods and enforce participation from the members. Whereas using mutual voting among the committees and recommendation among the committees would be perceived as a representative democratic but sometimes reflect the choice in their hands. However, there are few possibilities to use the method of guidance by the municipality. Although most neighborhood communities nurture a handful of Thai village culture with a close relationship, including patron-client system, the election perhaps could be of greater legitimacy as a fair way of choosing leaders. Consequently, it was found that in most neighborhood communities the leaders who have high respect and appreciation from members were elected and have been invited to be the president and the community committee member. According to the survey, respondents were able to indicate that the average years of service of the president is 6.15 years, which illustrated that most of the presidency are in the full length of term. Table 4.9 presents some more related profiles of the president and the core leaders (Question 6).

Table 4.9: Profiles of the president, committee members, and subgroup director.

| <b>Number and Percentage of President and directors (classified by age)</b>    |            |        |                   |        |                   |        |
|--|------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| Age  | President  |        | Committee members |        | Subgroup director |        |
|  | Percentage | Number | Percentage        | Number | Percentage        | Number |
| Less than 40 years old   | 0.7        | 1      | 8.0               | 26     | 5.1               | 13     |
| 40-50 years old  | 21.0       | 29     | 28.5              | 93     | 18.8              | 48     |
| 50-60 years old  | 37.0       | 51     | 36.8              | 120    | 39.4              | 101    |
| More than 60 years old   | 41.3       | 57     | 26.7              | 87     | 36.7              | 94     |
| Total  | 100.0      | 138    | 100.0             | 326    | 100.0             | 256    |
| <b>Number and Percentage of President and directors (classified by gender)</b> |            |        |                   |        |                   |        |
| Gender   | President  |        | Committee members |        | Subgroup director |        |
|  | Percentage | Number | Percentage        | Number | Percentage        | Number |
| Male   | 66.9       | 95     | 51.2              | 133    | 44.50             | 97     |
| Female   | 33.1       | 47     | 48.8              | 127    | 55.50             | 121    |
| Total  | 100.0      | 142    | 100.00            | 260    | 100.00            | 218.00 |

Table 4.9 shows that more community committee members are men than women. There is a gender imbalance in the presidency, with the number of men twice than that of women. Oddly, though, there are more female subgroup directors more than men are but we can see indirectly that most of the core leaders are men. The first reason is that all neighborhood communities is composed of at least 3 main subgroups wherein one of them is a woman and the occupational development group, hence, the directors are women. Moreover, the governance structure of neighborhood community has a community committee members of 9 people but no more than 15 people and the subgroup directors will become the committees by positions.

Table 4.9 also shows that the number of community committee members is mostly elderly persons; almost 70 to 80% are between 50 to 60 years old or older. It seems that the younger generation may not take as much interest in the neighborhood community the older generation does. In other words, the younger

generation is too busy with their jobs to devote the amount of time needed to work as a leader, the same as Japan NHAs (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014). In addition, the length of residence is an important factor for neighborhood community leaders because they can have the opportunity to build long-term relationships and to develop appreciation and respect from many people who live in the same area. Most of the presidents have lived in a neighborhood for a long time in an average of 43.94 years.

It is notable that the occupational backgrounds (Question 8) are relatively an important factor to the presidents, directors and community committee members. Because the governance structure of neighborhood community is voluntary, the leaders could be a group of persons who can contribute a great deal of time working for their communities in a variety of situations. Table 4.10 shows that most of the leaders are non-salaried employees, including small-sized business owners, self-employed and retirees.

Table 4.10: Occupational backgrounds of the president, committee, and director.

|                                | President | Committee member | Subgroup director |
|--------------------------------|-----------|------------------|-------------------|
| Grocery store (small retailer) | 35.29     | 40.71            | 34.29             |
| Labour (daily employed)        | 5.88      | 23.89            | 14.29             |
| Agriculture                    | 0.98      | 0.88             | 0.00              |
| Handiwork                      | 1.96      | 4.42             | 0.95              |
| Self employed                  | 22.55     | 11.5             | 21.90             |
| Full time employee             | 2.94      | 0.00             | 0.95              |
| Part time employee             | 0.00      | 0.88             | 1.90              |
| Civil servants                 | 3.92      | 2.65             | 1.90              |
| Retiree                        | 22.55     | 15.04            | 20.00             |
| Others                         | 3.92      | 0.00             | 3.81              |
| N                              | 102       | 113              | 105               |

It may be that the main occupational background for the leaders is grocery store owner (small retailer). In which case, they would have the stability in their career paths and would be able to dedicate their free time to work on the community activities. In other words, the face-to-face encounter from their business as a center for selling daily goods would promote familiarity and appreciation from the community. Therefore, the people whose employment is based on economic life are relatively more likely to be leaders in the neighborhood community (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014). Furthermore, many retirees and self-employed are ranked as second and third at approximately 20% enjoy active participation as leaders. However, salaried employees and labor worked are found small in number.

This finding is significant for the state role in fostering neighborhood community through the promotion of terms and regulations for group organization and management style. It was found that the state designated geographical area and the form of the committee perhaps portray the neighborhood communities being in the same pattern, including highlights of their relationship with the local residents. Nonetheless, they are voluntary groups of residents who have a close relationship with a norm of reciprocity and trust (Putnam, 2000), including the management style of face-to-face collaboration towards social gathering. These become the motivations for residents to continue to devote their time to the organization as well as their perceptions about what the Neighborhood Community should really be doing, especially their self-community development.



#### **4.3.5 Field of activities and finance**

It is precise to say that the government promotes a particular pattern of neighborhood community to encourage local residents to share responsibility and participate in social gathering, problem-solving and community development in both economic and social terms. Furthermore, this pattern would sometimes reduce the burdens of the municipal government in providing public goods and services and promote the cooperation between local government and its residents. The Question 10 in the survey ask the respondents inquired concerning the main purpose of group formation, about 52.8% of neighborhood communities perceive that their main purposes are to promote mutual friendship within the community, 32.4% aim to manage and develop the living environment of community and 12.7% need to independently deal with community problems while less than 2% aim to assist the municipality or to lobby the municipality. In other words, these ensure that most neighborhood communities have encouraged local residents to conform with the government policy and the provision of the 1997 Constitution towards self-reliance and mutual assistance.

Typically, neighborhood communities are voluntarily organized groups without full-time or professional staff. It was discovered that the associated committees and members participate in a variety of activities together through the concept of self-reliance and mutual assistance. Most of the activities relate to the enhancement of human and community development towards the low quality of life, inaccessibility to the welfare services and public health, living environment and sanitary problems, pollution and environment, living safety and disaster prevention, educational services and the promotion of local cultural festivals and friendship.

Nonetheless, through regulations and financial instruments, the government has a significant role to provide them the directions of activities. It was revealed that not only the central government supports the grants through short-term and long-term policies, the local authorities, especially the municipality, usually give the guidance of activities to neighborhood community by community development officer too.

Through the survey Question 23, there are the varied types of activity which depend on the community members' needs and their problems. The respondents were able to indicate up to three main types of activity. Accordingly, the first rank, about 46.5% presented the preferability of the residents to participate in the local cultural festival. The latter is related to their living environment with 28.7% of respondents. The second-rank is the assisting with public health and welfare services which is about 26.4% and the local cultural festival is about 24.8%, followed by the quality of life 21.7% of the respondents. The third-ranked is the quality of life with 22.7% and others, including community network and knowledge sharing, about 20.3% of the respondents. Evidenced by activities, it was found that the most common activities of respondents (about 120 respondents of 146 of Neighborhood Communities) are the elimination of mosquito breeding areas and elderly care which is related to the public health and welfare services, including the SML project which is related to leveraging of quality of life and community's economic development. The latter are religious ceremonies and local cultural festivals (119 and 117 of respondents, respectively) which are related to culture and friendship. What is more, the survey question 24 about the conjunction with the organization for doing any activities and the participatory observation, 71.6% of respondents indicated that

those activities are guided and supported by the municipality with the guidance of a community development officer.

According to the government policy, there are three main groups of activities which were assigned to such neighborhood community to form their subgroups in conforming with the government policy and can receive the grants support which are Primary Health Care Group, Women Group, and Savings Group. Table 4.11 shows the respondents' view (Question 28) towards the significance of local government policies affecting to the neighborhood community during 5 years, in the same structure in the form of committee.

Table 4.11: Average of the significance of local government policies

| Subgroup            | Average | Definition |
|---------------------|---------|------------|
| Saving Group        | 3.3     | Medium     |
| Public Health Group | 3.7     | High       |
| Woman Group         | 3.3     | Medium     |
| Elderly Group       | 3.6     | High       |
| Other Group         | 3.3     | Medium     |

Primary Health Care Group is drawn from local residents within designated area of a neighborhood community. The members are volunteers and take responsibility for assisting with public health and welfare services, living environment, life safety, environment and maintaining of public facilities such as cleaning, garbage disposal, fire prevention, elimination of mosquito breeding areas, disease control, recycling, and others. The members also act as sources of information for the municipal government and the police in reporting on drugs and crime. They sometimes cooperate with the Ministry of Health in organizing the

training session to improve municipal residents' basic knowledge about health and environmental and sanitary issues.

Women Group is sometimes known as the housewife club. The members are drawn from the women within the neighborhood community. The main objectives are to promote the occupational development of women and to preserve culture and friendship. Most of the activities relate to the creation of more job opportunities and self-employment for the members. This group usually cooperates with the local government to provide the basic training for the members to produce local products to increase extra income. In several neighborhood communities, the Women Group invites professionals to provide the training about regional food to the members by receiving the grants from the municipal government (Interviewed with the Leader Groups on April 2004). Moreover, they also cooperate with the local government to promote and maintain the traditional arts, local cultural festival, and religious cemetery.

Savings Group is organized to promote the money deposit among the members. This group also provides the revolving loans for small-business investments and supports the scholarship for the members' children. In some neighborhood communities, the members set up revolving funds and cooperatives. The grant support has been received from the central government (Village and Urban Community Fund - 1 Million Baht). Generally, the members have to deposit 50 Baht every month and receive the deposit interest per year. The members can apply for the revolving credit of about twenty thousand Baht after they continuously deposited money for at least 6 months. They will need to collaborate with three members to be their guarantors in order to receive a low interest (0.5% per month).

Likewise, this group would get more support from the central government to receive the grants of SML projects to promote and develop the members' quality of life, including the occupational promotion and maintenance of public facilities.

Neighborhood community sometimes forms the other group's activities. According to the government policy, that encourages the elderly care project, sports for elderly and pension to serve aging society in Thailand, the neighborhood community is led to form senior citizen's groups to take care of the elderly persons and to promote the creation of relationships among the members and with the young generation. The other groups' activities are based on the local residents' needs.

According to the above mentioned, the fundamental basis of Thailand's neighborhood community is the designated residential group which distribute the mutual collaboration and is closely related to social capital through its special and unique structure. It is perceived that the government designed the neighborhood community to have specific function through the formation of subgroups which are at least 3 main subgroups as mentioned above. In the case of Japan, the neighborhood association serves as a nucleus for subgroups (extra-local groups with project teams created to deal with pressing issues) and as the pivot to organize and coordinate with other groups' activities in the community (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014). However, those groups must deal with or distribute to the management of local community development based on mutual collaboration among individual members affiliated with the organizations. Additionally, there is solid relationships and trust among community residents which are refined through working together actively.

#### **4.3.6 Mutual collaboration and cooperation with Municipality**

The neighborhood community in Thailand has most effectively been managed through mutual collaboration among the fellow residents and the government designated structure and functions. It is interesting that the working together among community residents resulted from the community's monthly meeting through its structures and functions. The information in 4.3.1 and 4.3.4 indicate the pattern of at least 9 to 15 persons of community committee for community management and administration. Also, the leaders of subgroups committee are as the community committee by posts. It appears that a hierarchy system exposes their internal administration which integrates all structure and functions as an internal web that combines and also enhances the direct and active participation of all community residents. Generally, the majority vote is a tool for policy formation and decision-making. The community members will usually share their problems and decide about their activities. About nearly 60% of the respondents of the survey research asserted that the meeting is the most popular channel for the members to disseminate information and usually make decisions or design their activities through the meeting. This pattern has also been done with all subgroups committee and the members, especially, the Saving Group wherein all active community members will deposit their money and apply for revolving loan fund, including doing the monthly payment for their credits while the committees will use that occasion to do loan approvals (in-depth interviews and participatory observation, 2012-2013).

Furthermore, all neighborhood communities cooperate through their external networking system. It was found that community networking system is an

alternative channel that stimulates the collaboration among neighborhood communities. All communities usually join as a cluster in which the community development officer conducts the sharing of experiences and distributing or exchanging their activities on problem-solving and information to others based on their functional groups and the responsibilities such as women's auxiliaries, elderly's groups, primary healthcare and sanitary groups (in-depth interviews and participatory observation, 2012-2013). Therefore, the collaborative relationship between communities and subgroups become a powerful platform for transferring knowledge, experience and information and training through their network system (Kongjit & Tonmukayakul, 2012). It is corroborated that the local residents will increasingly share responsibility in local development and problem alleviation, based on a participation approach, self-reliance, and mutual assistance.

Aside from the mutual collaborative relationship among the local residents within their community, the neighborhood communities also work with other organizations, especially, the municipal government. According to the field research, it was perceived that municipal government shapes neighborhood communities. Due to the deficiencies in staff aimed at providing the public good and services to local residents from their over-expanding of administrative areas, one objective of the formation of neighborhood communities is to serve as the supporter of the municipal government to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness in providing public good and services. The municipal governments supposed and expected that neighborhood communities and local residents could participate in municipal affairs. Therefore, many activities have been set in cooperating and controlling through financial instruments by the municipality.

The platform to serve the relationship between municipality and Neighborhood Communities have been done actively through the monthly and yearly meeting. The municipality has adopted this platform to assist the direct communication with the presidents and core leaders who are representatives of the community and subgroups members for disseminating the information. More than 85% of respondents from the questionnaires showed that the municipality usually requests the committee to circulate the information to the members. By this way, the president and core leaders will act as the coordinator or messenger between the municipal government and local residents. On the other hand, the president and the core leaders will report community problems or needs, including assessing and relaying the success or failure of activities and problems to the municipal officers. Moreover, the municipal government supports the financial flows to neighborhood communities. According to the central policy, the municipal government has to allocate 10% of the budget of local expenditure to boost the neighborhood community's activities and community development. Therefore, the yearly meeting will enable the neighborhood communities to propose their projects or community development activities to get financial support from the municipality (in-depth interviews and participatory observation, 2012-2013).

Significantly, the financial relationship is another key found to create varying incentives for the organization of neighborhood communities. The distinctive pattern of neighborhood communities in Thailand is an organized group that has been shaped by the state based on voluntary local residents. They are not full-time employees but still, can contribute to building up social capital and to developing the capacity building of community development. However, it is



assumed that the financial instrument of the government supports most of the activities of neighborhood communities. The concrete financial supports from the central government have been launched through Thailand's grassroots policies such as Village and Urban Community Fund (Initiated Fund for 1 million Baht, 2001) that serve the Savings Group to provide a revolving loan fund for individuals' small businesses and to stimulate the grassroots economy. Moreover, the SML project stimulated the neighborhood community based on their members' size to empower and strengthen the local residents to develop and manage community business on the principle of participatory approach (from 200,000 to 300,000 Baht). The process of developing the products or services are expected to build social capital as local residents work together to improve the communities economy and quality of life. The Primary Healthcare and Sanitary Group is indirectly supported through the Universal Healthcare Coverage (30 Baht Health Scheme) to provide equal accessibility and quality healthcare services. This program has been launched to serve low-income and disadvantaged persons including low-income adults with monthly income below 2,000 Baht, elderly persons, children under 12 years of age, disabled, monks and war veterans (Chandoevwit, 2003). Another project is the 500 Baht Universal Pension Scheme that serves every elderly person (60 years of age or older) who is not in any elderly public facility or who does not currently receive income permanently. At the local level, the municipal government usually supports the neighborhood community through fiscal year plan and sometimes stimulates the local cultural festival and occupational training to women's group. However, the financial support and policies that have been provided through the municipality are disposed to become a platform for the cooperation with Municipality.

#### **4.3.7 Effectiveness with state's policies and incentives**

As indicated in the introduction, the state acts to promote the neighborhood community in the municipality to conform to the 1997 constitution in order to promote popular participation and to encourage a strong civil society and democratic decentralization. The state supports the gathering of local groups of residents to encourage self-reliance, mutual assistance and to serve as collaborative mechanisms between the state and local residents. Likewise, the state helps to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness in community development and provide more social services. It is apparent that neighborhood communities are successful at encouraging face-to-face interaction to strengthen interpersonal ties and create a collaborative relationship to facilitate various community developments and sustain social capital. Neighborhood communities use direct contact among fellow local residents to cooperate in the planning of the activities and facilitate activities such as cultural events, local festivals, assisting with public health and welfare services, and maintenance of public facilities. The success in creating social gathering and engagement among fellow local residents can indicate the effectiveness of the state policy and sustainability of social capital.

Through the rules and regulations, the Thai government has the pervasive authority to stipulate and conduct the activities of neighborhood communities. The neighborhood community is established to conform to the government's policy, leading to easy manipulation and domination by state agencies. The survey research (Question 24) indicated that the first rank of neighborhood communities (71.6% of the respondents) preferred to do the activities in conjunction with the municipality while the second rank (42.9%) has performed the activities among their

neighborhood communities network. The monthly meeting become as a significant means that support their close relationship and organize their yearly activities. Sometimes, the mayor and cabinet prefer to participate in the communities' monthly meeting and cooperate with local residents in the cultural festival. Furthermore, the community development officer who is the representative of the municipality is the key person to guide or conduct the decision-making towards the activities of the neighborhood community. The results emphasized the mutual collaborative relationship among the members and the cooperation with the municipality.

In addition, the financial supports represent the incentives to facilitate all neighborhood communities in various community developments and well-being. It is observed that neighborhood communities and subgroups are organized and supported by the municipality. They are a voluntary organized group of residents that associate without self-budgeting and full-time employment. This would be the political strategies for creating sustainable and loyal support as partisan. However, these groups have been organized based on the participatory approach and most of the local residents are involved in their neighborhood communities and have created their committee for management to receive the financial support.

The Village and Urban Community Fund Program is well known as the One-Million-Baht village fund that involves a revolving loan fund and small investment purpose for individuals. It is perceived that the government borrowed the idea from a micro-credit program of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. The government expected the Village Fund program to bring about an increase in the income and asset accumulation, create financial resources for further investment, foster community-capital management skills, sustain economic development and promote

self-reliance. The Village Fund program stimulates local communities to create projects for themselves, at the same time, allows local people to participate more in the decision-making process for projects in their communities. The committee is legitimate to manage the regulation for individual's deposit, decide on the loan recipients, the loan amount, and the interest rate charge, depending on each individual case. However, the regulations that the committee implements have to comply with the Village Fund Act, which stated that this loan is one year in length. The fund would be allocated through the Government Savings Bank (GSB) or Bank for Agricultural and Agricultural Cooperatives (BAAC). Also, the loan amount should not exceed 20,000 Baht per person, but can be extended to 50,000 Baht in special cases. As the result, this process has practically operated successfully with relatively high rate of repayment, an increase of individual's deposits and the new approval of member's share. Moreover, the eligibility for loans provides newly available investment opportunities which stimulate and strengthen the grassroots economy. It was found that the GDP is relatively high while the poverty decreases. According to another project that brings benefit to the grassroots is the SML grant fund that enhances the capacity building of community development, especially, to improve the communities' economy and quality of life. Neighborhood communities have to form the committee to receive the money support and they have to decide which project would be implemented. The participatory approach is also used to stimulate the engagement of community members to do the majority vote for decision-making and implementation of related activities. These two programs can facilitate the strengthening of the savings group for local economic development and

can sustain social capital by affiliating to the personal relationship that deepens trust and working together actively.

The Primary Healthcare Group usually gets the direct financial support from the municipality that dictates the planning of the activities through the fiscal year expenditure to facilitate the housing problems, environment, public health and welfare services. An indirect financial support is from the central government to aid group activities such as the 30 Baht Universal Healthcare to gain access to low-cost health services. This has been implemented to reduce people's medical expenses, specifically for low-income, disadvantaged and elderly persons who have the greatest burden to pay for medical services. Moreover, it is preparing to cope with the situation of aging society in Thailand, at the community level. The Senior Citizen group has been set up to improve social services for older persons, promote their participation in social activities, and compile valuable data derived from older persons' wisdom. The central government distributes 500 Baht per person for senior citizen scheme targeting to enhance public facilities for elderly persons who do not currently receive income permanently.

Neighborhood communities are organized groups that have been shaped by the state designation based on voluntary local residents. Without full-time employment, it is assumed that the financial instrument of the government supports most of the activities of neighborhood communities. The high collaborative relationship among the members and the cooperation with the municipality can contribute to build up social capital and develop the capacity building of community development. However, the concrete financial supports would be received from both the central government and local government that have been launched through

Thailand's grassroots policies. It is plain to see that the state supports the gathering of local groups of residents to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness and encourage self-reliance, mutual assistance. Moreover, it could help in administrative purposes to facilitate more efficiency and effectiveness in providing public good and services.

#### **4.4 Summary**

In this chapter, the characteristics of neighborhood community in Thailand has been focused on and analyzed. The following points summarize the findings of the distinctive identity of neighborhood community.

First, neighborhood communities represent the most important function as neighborhood associations in several countries that promote social gathering and strengthen strong community development. In Thailand, the state acts to promote neighborhood community in the municipality. We do not deny the characteristics of neighborhood associations which are local groups of residents in such a geographical delimited area where the membership is voluntary associated with their neighbors and friends. These encourage self-reliance and mutual collaboration and manage various activities in the form of community committees who are as the representatives of the residents. It was revealed that neighborhood communities have been shaped and conducted 100% by the state. It is noteworthy that the group formation has to conform with the state designated regulations and has to be recognized by the state, leading all neighborhood communities to be in the same structure and pattern of management. The financial instruments are powerfully significant for the state's role in fostering neighborhood community to accomplish

various activities through the policies and financial supports. Therefore, many activities have been set in cooperating and controlling through financial instruments by the municipality. However, neighborhood community's members are voluntary associates without salary. They are charity workers for social gathering and community development.

Second, the senior citizens or retirees who are self-employed are relatively influential to the presidents, directors and community committee members. They are a group of persons who can contribute a great deal of time working with their communities in a variety of situations while the younger generation is too busy with their jobs. The Thai village culture of close relationship and trust with Buddhism culture have contributed to them forming solid relationships and being trustworthy.

Third, neighborhood communities could highlight their relationship with the local government through the cooperative activities and financial instrument. It has been established that the community development officer acts as a coordinator who powerfully connects the local residents and the municipality to promote mutual collaboration. Additionally, the patterns of monthly and yearly meeting enhance and stimulate the cooperation between the president or core leaders with the municipality. The monthly meeting opens the way for the transmission of information from the municipality to local residents while the president and core leaders will report the result and assess the activities which have gained the financial support from the governments. These patterns reinforce neighborhood communities to work in cooperation with the municipality.

Fourth, neighborhood communities are voluntary groups of residents without full-time employment but they can strengthen community management skill and can

create high social capital. It is discovered that the participatory approach and federal system network of neighborhood communities facilitate the capacity building towards occupational development and income generation for women group activities. At the same time, the primary healthcare and sanitary group could function for welfare services with a high quality of life for their local residents, not to mention crime and drugs prevention. The financial sustainability program has successfully achieved the most effective way towards community development and well-being. Those activities are the basic functions for neighborhood communities in Thailand that stimulate and enhance self-reliance and mutual collaboration.

Fifth, these organized residents are low in the functions that relate to advocacy. On the other hand, the clientelism trend significantly pushes a partisan to occur in a neighborhood community interaction with the government. It is comfortable for the state to gain neighborhood communities as partisan groups through government sponsorship of organizations and resource endowments. Evidently, the municipality is structuring the pattern of neighborhood community and is giving them incentives; therefore, regulations and financial instruments are as mechanisms for neighborhood communities to become as a political partisan with strong relationship.

In summary, the development of civil society and the state-civil society relations in Thailand focusing on the basic characteristics and functions of civil society, including the relation between the civil society and politics could be summarized in two dimensions. Firstly, we perceived that typically, civil society organizations in Thailand represent the most important function as association life engaged in the social development, provide service and benefits to their members



and also the public in which the majority are local development and welfare-oriented. These organizations are autonomous and can be independent from the state and operate mainly with a low scale of members and employees. These have a high scale of volunteers who provide their manpower skills for local activities. Moreover, the most direct involvement in issues of civil society organization and the government is determined in its capacity and success in influencing a government decision. However, these organizations prefer to cooperate with and support the policies and budget activities of the government. Second, Neighborhood communities are organized groups that have been shaped by state designation based on voluntary local residents. The financial instrument of the government supports most activities of neighborhood communities. These could have resulted to the high cooperation with the municipality. On the other hand, it can contribute to building up social capital and develop the capacity building of community development beyond their high collaborative relationship among the members. This could significantly illustrate the vitality and strength of civil society organizations at the grassroots level.

In Thai political structure, the political elites are usually able to affect political outcomes through their strategic position, still, the creating and incentive of neighborhood communities of state can show the virtue of state. Rather than having an oppositional relationship with the state, the state and political institutions have developed civil society organizations. Furthermore, with political culture as patron-clients relationship, the political structure dominates and intervention corporatism directly and indirectly influences the structure, ideology, and activities of civil

society organization in Thailand. It is significant that civil society tend to be a part of the state and is easily manipulated and dominated by state agencies.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Neighborhood Community and Political Relation**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The previous chapters present the basic characteristics and trends of civil society in Thailand focusing on neighborhood community and on the broad understanding of other civil society organizations. The most important function of civil society is serving as an association that is engaged in social development. It has been determined that most of its provisions are welfare and service oriented which offer services and information to its members, beneficiaries and to the public in general. Essentially, civil society is involved with the government through rules and regulation, and financial instrument. By regulations, most of them have a formal relation with the government for registration and licensing and they prefer to work in cooperation and in support of policies and budget activities of the government. As for neighborhood communities, they could deepen their relationship with the local government through the 100% received fund from both central and local governments. In view of their interaction with the local government, neighborhood communities have a considerable tendency of becoming a partisan.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, civil society also interacts with the political and economic governance. The use of party (money) politics and the patron-client relation was a basic mechanism for gaining long-run loyalty and support that will lead to the partisanship of the dependent clients. Clientelism denotes the linkage between the state as a patron and civil society as clients derived from fictive kinship and friendship of society systems such as cultural practices and strategies. On the other hand, state

corporatism under elite capitalism has shown the socio-political process in which organizations representing monopolistic functional interests engage in political exchange. These concepts describe the relation of the state and civil society, under the circumstance that the state has constructed the civil society organization in the municipality of Thailand. Moreover, the numerical data analysis has also provided a clear understanding that those actions of civil society, especially neighborhood communities, are more involved in local partisan politics that impact the strength and vitality of civil society organizations.

## **5.2 Neighborhood community and its personal relation**

By nature, a neighborhood community is shaped by the state and the municipality. It is relative for the state to design and conduct its structure and pattern of activities in accordance with the provision and implementation of policies of local governments. Chapter 4 indicated that the state is legitimate by rule, regulation and financial instrument in fostering neighborhood communities to manage and carry out various activities for them through the policies and financial supports. I have assumed that neighborhood communities also contribute to governance by engaging in the political process, for instance when the neighbors articulate their demands to the local government. This section tries to investigate the neighborhood community's relation with political actors that mostly involve bureaucrats and local politicians in order to measure how much influence the neighborhood community has in local partisan politics and its effect on the strength and vitality of civil society organizations.

### 5.2.1 Personal relation with institutions

Table 5.1 reports the results of Question 51 of the neighborhood community survey. The 142 responding neighborhood communities in Northern Region 1 were asked to rate their trust on the 8 different types of institutions regarding their requests and opinions. To measure the level of trustworthiness, from a scale of 1 to 5 was used, the level 1 means not at all, 3 is the average and 5 means very trustworthy.

Table 5.1 Relationship of neighborhood communities and important institutions

| Institutions                      | Average* | S.D.  | Definition |
|-----------------------------------|----------|-------|------------|
| Local government                  | 3.70     | 0.781 | High       |
| Local politicians                 | 3.50     | 0.780 | High       |
| National government               | 3.45     | 0.785 | Average    |
| Police                            | 3.35     | 0.715 | Average    |
| Courts                            | 3.24     | 1.044 | Average    |
| Mass media                        | 3.01     | 0.866 | Average    |
| Political parties and politicians | 2.89     | 0.879 | Average    |
| Others                            | 2.83     | 1.169 | Average    |
| Civic groups (NGOs, NPOs)         | 2.51     | 1.014 | Average    |

\*N= 142, Rating scale: valid = 1 -1.49, 1.50 -2.49, 2.50 - 3.49, 3.50 -4.49 and 4.50 - 5.00

From the ranking table, the neighborhood community thinks that the local government and local politicians are significantly trustworthy institutions giving them high points while reckoning the others as moderate. As mentioned, the municipality has not only shaped and recognized neighborhood communities but has also fostered these to execute various activities through the policies and financial supports. Moreover, it is determined that the municipality has provided internal structure and administrative guidance and has set many activities to nurture cooperation and gain control through financial instruments. The municipality has adopted the platform of monthly meeting to boost their direct communication with the president and the

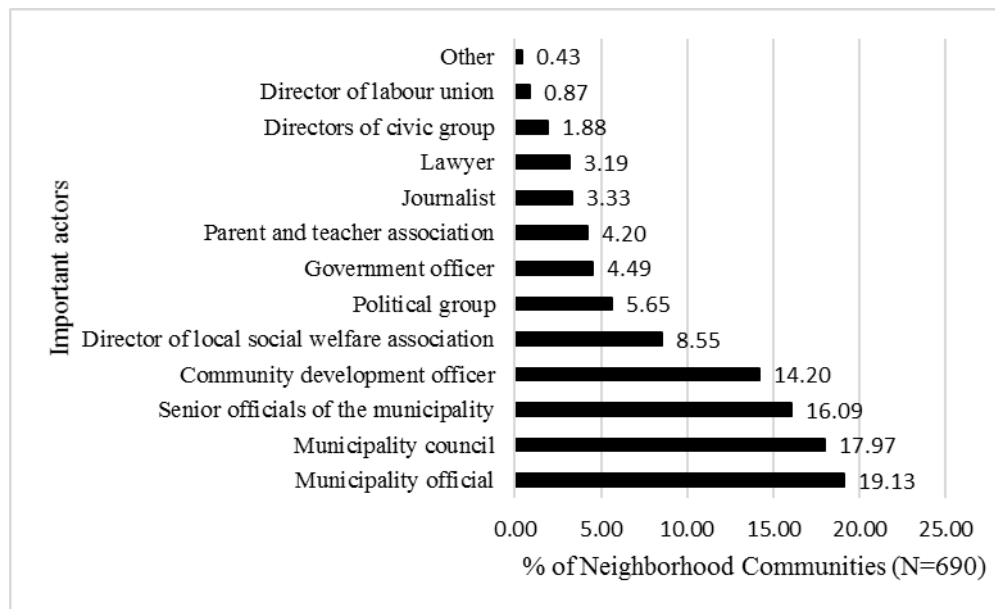
director of a subgroup. This platform enables the dissemination of information to the residents and increases the opportunity for the neighborhood community to request or present their opinions on matters such as the success or failure of activities and problems to the municipality officers (local government) and municipality council (local politicians). It is clear that neighborhood communities have a strong relationship and high trust for the local government and local politicians.

### **5.2.2 Personal relation with actors**

As indicated in 5.2.1, local government and local politicians are the most important institutions for announcing the demands and opinions of neighborhood communities. In Question 50, the 142 presidents were asked to rate their usual interaction with the actors both privately and publicly. Considering that the municipality structures the pattern and provides policies and financial support to serve various activities of neighborhood communities, it is assumed that the interactions between the president and the municipality are relatively high than the others. According to the ranking presented in Figure 5.1, about 67% of the respondents admitted that they have a personal relationship with those who work in the municipality, including the municipality official (19.13%), municipality council (17.97%), senior officials of the municipality (16.09%) and community development officers (14.20%). Basically, neighborhood communities publicly interact to cooperate and work with community development workers who always provide the administrative guidance and support in doing various activities. Also, since neighborhood communities are designated in such a geographical delimited area, I assumed that most of the presidents privately worked in a contractual relationship

with the local government and local politicians who receive the appreciation and respect of local residents resulting in a long-term relationship with their fictive kinships and neighbors.

Figure 5.1 Relationship of neighborhood communities and important actors



To win the election, parties and/or candidates will seek to penetrate and even to subordinate the core institutions of the neighborhood community. It is interesting that if the patron-client relationship becomes a common practice, it could be comfortable for the local government and local politicians to gain neighborhood communities as partisan groups through government sponsorships of organization and resource endowments. This relationship would be deeply anchored on fictive kinship structures and feelings of a debt of gratitude, including clientelistic network which is not only due to the supply side of political patron offering help, security, and prosperity for the clients in exchange for vote and long-term loyalty, but also for the clients' demand for such support.

### 5.2.3 Relation with municipality

Question 31 of the survey asked the respondents to rank up three administrative tasks that were being commissioned from the municipality in order of their importance. Table 5.2 reports the percentages of those tasks are as follows, 31.15% for circulating notices, 30.6% for distributing newsletters, 23.72% for undertaking administrative tasks, 10.66% for recommending members for committees, 1.93% for collecting contributions and 1.85% for other subcontract tasks.

Table 5.2 Subcontracted task from municipality

| Task                                    | Percentage |
|---|------------|
| Circulating notices                     | 31.15      |
| Distributing newsletters                | 30.69      |
| Undertake administrative task           | 23.72      |
| Nominating delegation committee members | 10.66      |
| Collecting contributions                | 1.93       |
| Other                                   | 1.85       |

N=142

Looking at the implementation rates for these activities, Table 5.2 reports that neighborhood communities have undertaken activities such as circulating notices and distributing newsletters which are common tasks to disseminate information from the municipality to its members. It is noteworthy that among all neighborhood communities, 23.72% were requested to undertake administrative tasks and 10.66% were subcontracted to nominate delegation. This outcome implies that the municipality was a direct subcontractor for the 34% of the activities that neighborhood communities were requested and directed to perform.

Moreover, Question 32 asked respondents about the ideal relationship between neighborhood communities and the municipality in dealing with community



problems. The 67.61% of the respondents think that neighborhood communities should function as a bridge between the municipality and the residents. On the contrary, 20.42% say that they should just undertake tasks just as directed by the municipality and 11.97% think that they should cooperate with the municipality. The respondents reckon that neighborhood communities cannot act independently or just leave everything to the municipality which confirms their need to cooperate with the municipality in dealing with community problems. Hence, it is possible to support more than half of the neighborhood communities to develop a close relationship with the municipality.

### **5.3 Political activities conducted by neighborhood community**

#### **5.3.1 Lobbying**

Although Chapter 4 indicates the most important functions of neighborhood community, there are less than 2% aiming to assist and lobby the municipality. Nevertheless, 142 responding neighborhood communities were asked to rate 8 types of lobbying behavior (Question 37) from a scale of 1 to 5 concerning their engagement in such behavior. To measure, level 1 means never, 3 sometimes and 5 means always. Table 5.3 ranks the lobbying behaviors based on the Likert scale mean and the standard deviation has been calculated to show the diversity and centrality of answers.

Table 5.3 Lobbying activities

| Lobbying activities  | Average* | S.D.  | Definitions |
|--|----------|-------|-------------|
| Consult the corresponding section in the municipality                        | 3.85     | 0.959 | Always      |
| Formal meeting with municipality   | 3.81     | 0.921 | Always      |
| Consult municipality council (local politicians)                             | 3.40     | 0.903 | Sometimes   |
| Consult senior officials in the municipality                                 | 3.37     | 0.840 | Sometimes   |
| Holding public comment sessions  | 3.34     | 0.899 | Sometimes   |
| Attend municipality round-table conferences                                  | 3.30     | 0.974 | Sometimes   |
| Petitioning of local assembly  | 2.66     | 1.245 | Sometimes   |
| Consult influential persons outside the municipality (excluding politicians) | 2.14     | 1.077 | Seldom      |

\*N=142, Rating scale: valid = 1 -1.49, 1.50 -2.49, 2.50 - 3.49, 3.50 -4.49 and 4.50 - 5.00

The result reveals that neighborhood communities always consult with the corresponding section in the municipality and participate in a formal meeting with the municipality as a common method to reflect their demands and opinions about policies. Neighborhood communities communicate their requests to the department within the municipality that is designated to work with them such as the Division of Community Development, the Division of Social Welfare and the Division of Public Health and Environmental Services. A community development officer is a key person who powerfully connects the local residents to the municipality as well as guides or conducts the decision-making as to the activities of the neighborhood community. Moreover, the platform of the monthly and yearly meeting has been done actively to cultivate the relationship between the municipality and neighborhood communities. In this platform, they sometimes consult with influential persons like local politicians (municipality council) and senior officials in the local government, hold public comment sessions and conduct informal meetings with the municipality but they hardly engage in some specific lobbying behavior with persons outside the

municipality. In addition, all neighborhood communities only provided positive responses to Question 44. Those who considered a smooth interaction with the officers has an average of 3.62 which is higher than 3.55, the average obtained under the member households' participation in activities if they have to carry out the problems.

According to the view that the state structures neighborhood communities, I perceived that the municipality is the main channel for neighborhood communities to advance their demands and that bureaucracy is the main interlocutor (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014), especially when communicating with a community development officer (see discussion in Chapter 4).

### **5.3.2 Neighborhood communities' evaluations of municipality responses**

Table 5.4 reports the level of importance and satisfaction regarding the municipality's support to neighborhood communities and its provision of valuable opportunities to communicate their positions effectively. The 142 responding neighborhood communities were asked to rate the importance and satisfaction from a scale of 1 to 5 wherein level 1 means not at all, 3 is the average and 5 means very much important and satisfied.

Table 5.4 Evaluation of the municipality's response

| <b>Municipality engagement</b>                  | <b>Important</b> |                   | <b>Satisfaction</b> |                   |
|---|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
|   | <b>Average</b>   | <b>Definition</b> | <b>Average</b>      | <b>Definition</b> |
| Providing subsidies to your NC                  | 2.69             | Average           | 3.34                | Average           |
| Providing administrative information            | 3.38             | Average           | 3.33                | Average           |
| Commissioning work                              | 3.35             | Average           | 3.35                | Average           |
| Responding to requests                          | 2.72             | Average           | 3.15                | Average           |
| Providing forum for discussion local problems   | 3.16             | Average           | 3.21                | Average           |
| Supporting NC activities                        | 3.19             | Average           | 3.24                | Average           |
| <b>Policies implementation</b>                  | <b>Important</b> |                   | <b>Satisfaction</b> |                   |
|   | <b>Average</b>   | <b>Definition</b> | <b>Average</b>      | <b>Definition</b> |
| Developing the living environment               | 3.47             | Average           | 3.57                | Satisfied         |
| Revitalizing community and cultural activities  | 3.35             | Average           | 3.27                | Average           |
| Ensuring safety                                 | 3.81             | Important         | 3.55                | Satisfied         |
| Developing public facilities                    | 3.51             | Important         | 2.57                | Average           |
| Improving health, welfare, and medical services | 2.54             | Average           | 3.35                | Average           |
| Improving school and social education           | 3.18             | Average           | 2.56                | Average           |
| Undertaking environment policies                | 3.33             | Average           | 3.25                | Average           |
| Revitalizing agriculture and forest             | 3.30             | Average           | 3.09                | Average           |
| Revitalizing business investment and industry   | 3.01             | Average           | 3.54                | Satisfied         |
| Urban development and planning                  | 3.31             | Average           | 3.21                | Average           |
| Revitalizing tourism                            | 2.50             | Average           | 2.49                | Slightly          |
| Organizing international exchange               | 3.08             | Average           | 2.95                | Average           |

\*N=142 Rating scale: valid = 1 -1.49, 1.50 -2.49, 2.50 - 3.49, 3.50 -4.49 and 4.50 - 5.00

The results revealed that neighborhood communities consider the municipality engagements as important and satisfactory. The municipality always supports their several activities although they consider that responding to their requests and providing financial support are not that important averaging at 2.72 and 2.69 respectively. Conversely, neighborhood communities consider that the policies implemented by the municipality are inclined to be relatively important, especially policies like ensuring safety and developing public facilities and living environment.

Too, their satisfaction towards policy implementation is relatively high in relation to their living environment, living safety and revitalizing business investment. However, if we report only the positive responses (i.e. “very important,” “important,” and “average”), there are almost three-quarters of all neighborhood communities who acknowledge the importance of both municipality support and policy implementation adding up to 76.42% and 74.26% while with reference to satisfaction the figures are 85.08% and 77.83%, respectively.

In Chapter 4, it has been made apparent that the municipality engagement and policies implementation could provide and support the basic requirements or the main purpose of those group formations. Also, it was found that several policies implementation and financial supports could benefit the main activities of neighborhood communities related to social well-being and community development like primary health care, promotion of occupational development, and revolving loans for small-business investment, etc.

### **5.3.3 Success and influence**

Question 35 more specifically inquired whether neighborhood communities judged that they had been successful in having their demands accepted by the municipality. Table 5.5 reports the results and it is striking that nearly 89% of the respondents consider that their requests were positively responded to by the municipality while only 11% of respondents answered as almost not successful.

Table 5.5 Success and influence on political process

| <b>Success</b> | <b>Percentage</b> | <b>Influence</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Almost none    | 0.70              | Not at all       | 6.34              |
| Very little    | 10.56             | Not very much    | 19.72             |
| Some           | 32.39             | Moderate         | 29.58             |
| Many           | 53.52             | Some influence   | 32.39             |
| Almost all     | 2.82              | Influential      | 11.97             |

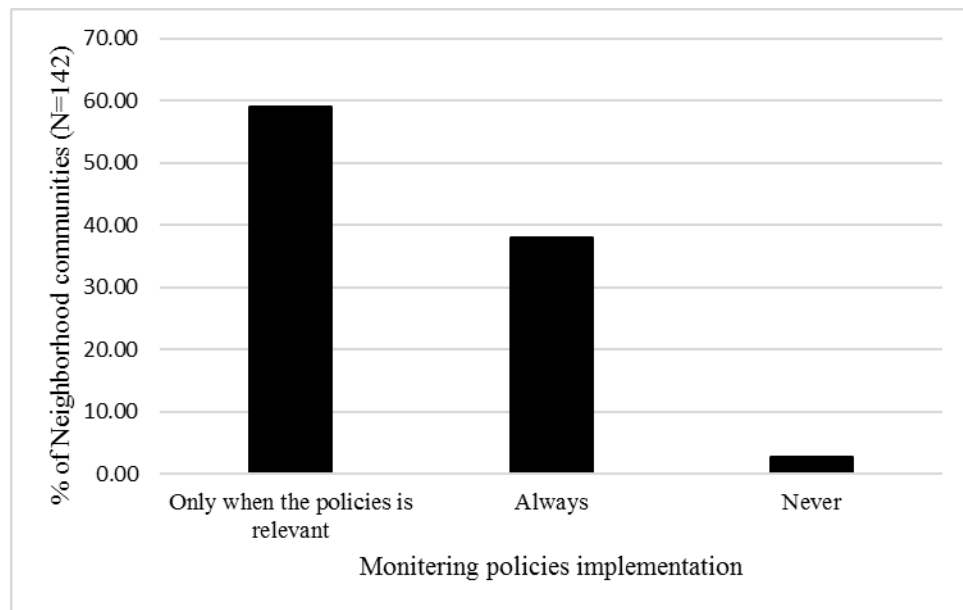
Similarly, Question 38 inquired concerning the extent of influence neighborhood communities have on municipality decision-making. The 142 respondents indicated, based on self-evaluation, that their influence on policy is nearly 74% (moderate to influential) while 26% answered that they don't influence the decision-making process that much. It can be concluded from the results that neighborhood communities have a strong influence on municipality decisions regarding policy making or decline the policy.

#### **5.3.4 Monitoring policies implementation**

Based on their strong relationship with the local government, there are many neighborhood communities that are interested in monitoring the performance of policies if the policies are relevant to them. The Question 33 in the survey asked the respondents if they only monitored the policy relevant to them, if they usually engaged in monitoring, or if they did not engage in monitoring at all.

The result reports that 38.03% of neighborhood communities regularly engage in monitoring whereas 59.15% engage in monitoring when the policy is relevant to them, and only 4% of the neighborhood communities never engage in monitoring activities.

Figure 5.2 Implementation status of monitoring

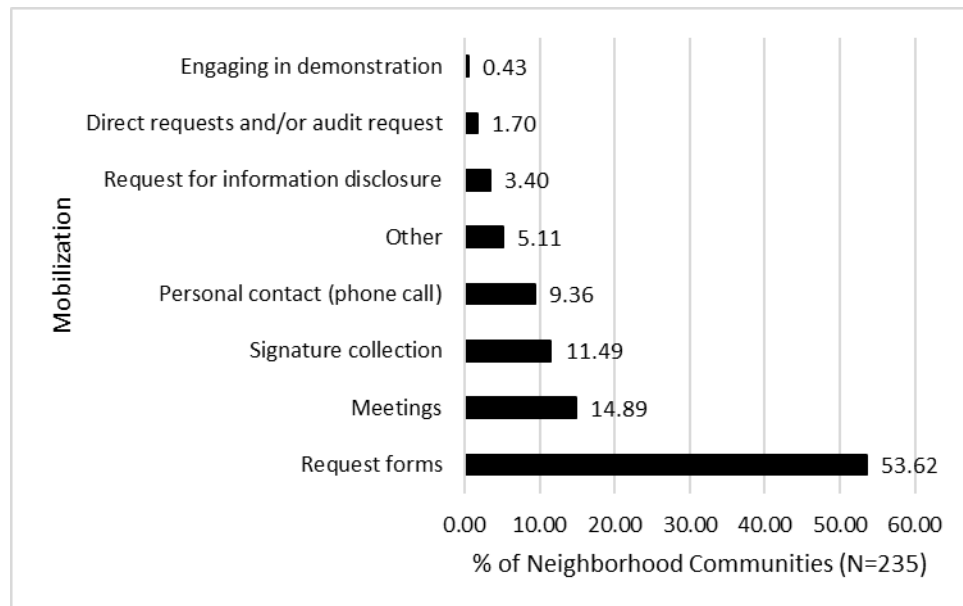


There are many neighborhood communities that are interested in the public service provided by the municipality because of its role in policy formation and implementation as well as on the provision of various social services and local development.

### 5.3.5 Mobilization

Figure 5.3 depicts how neighborhood communities are involved with the municipality when making requests or presenting their opinions. The neighborhood community was asked to indicate their use of each of the different means of mobilizing their members in Question 36 like direct individual contacts, meeting, or engaging in social mobilizations.

Figure 5.3 Actual mobilization experience



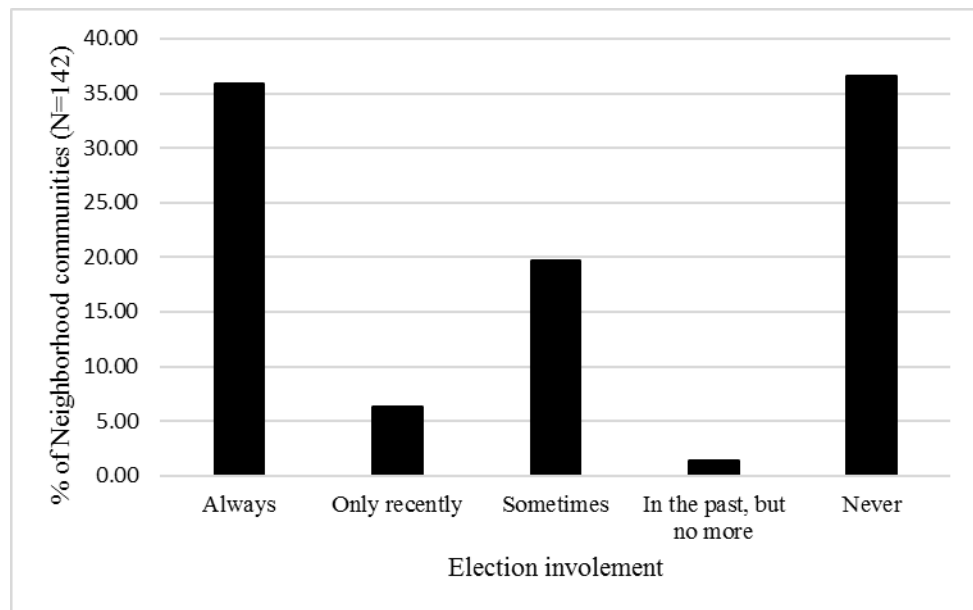
The actual mobilization experience of neighborhood communities that submits request forms is high at 53.62%. It is the usual petitions that are used for public facilities and problem issues. Meetings have been used by 14.89%, signature collection by 11.49%, and personal contact via phone call by 9.36%. Only a few at 0.43% engage in a demonstration which indicates the use of the pattern of civic movement, mass protest, and demonstration. In order to resolve the problems, neighborhood communities have engaged in monthly meetings and always use the request forms as the actual method for their petitions which are a platform structuring by the municipality. It is telling that a limited number of neighborhood communities have engaged in significant mobilization.

### 5.3.6 Election Involvement

Figure 5.4 depicts how much neighborhood communities are involved in election activities, especially in supporting any candidate in the local election.



Figure 5.4 Involvement in election



In the neighborhood community survey, Question 30 queried about the endorsements and support for the candidate during local assembly elections by asking the respondents to choose among five responses of “always,” “only recently,” “sometimes,” “in the past but not anymore,” and “never.”

It is notable that nearly 64% of the respondents had conducted election campaigning. The respondents indicated that they had undertaken activities in which about 35.9% of the respondents confessed that they had always participated in election campaigning and about 19.7% responded that they had sometimes participated in activities. It is more intriguing that 6.3% answered that they had done election campaigning recently, yet, 1.4% had done it in the past and did not want to do it anymore. In contrast, about 36.6% of respondents replied never.

Due to their long-term relationship with the local government and local politicians, it is possible for neighborhood communities to support the candidates who have a close relationship with them or who have provided local development.

Noticeably, more than half of neighborhood communities participated in election campaigning wherein their direct involvement in election campaigns seems almost customary for them (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014).

#### **5.4 Summary**

The goal of this chapter is to elucidate the roles of neighborhood communities regarding political relations which include their relationship with the institutions and the nature of their participatory roles. In this chapter, the political relation of neighborhood communities has been focused on and analyzed based on the empirical survey data and previous literature. As mentioned, Thai political structure is highlighted by the political elites who are usually able to affect political outcomes through their strategic position. In modern Thai political structure, it has become noteworthy that it is strongly influenced by political elites such as military leaders, business politicians who are able to penetrate into the powerful political institution. Moreover, with the political culture of patron-clients relationship, the political structure can influence either directly or indirectly the structure, ideology, and activities of civil society organizations in Thailand. The following points summarize the findings about the distinctive functions of neighborhood community as political partisan in Thai political context.

First, since neighborhood communities have been shaped and recognized by the municipality, it is inevitable that all neighborhood communities have established a political relationship with the municipality as the main institution. As I examined in section 5.2, it shows the relatively high result regarding the neighborhood communities' association with the municipality. It was learned that the municipality

has not only provided internal structure and administrative guidance and subsidies but also the platform structuring of the monthly meeting which deepens their relationship.

Second, the main important actors who act as interlocutor of the neighborhood communities are the municipality officials, municipality councils, senior officials and community development officers, all working for the municipality. It is assumed that the relationship between neighborhood communities and the municipality could function into two levels - as a coordinator and as a subcontractor. As pointed in Chapter 4, the main function of group formation is to provide social gathering and community development based on self-reliance. Furthermore, the results show that most of the neighborhood associations work with the municipality in dealing with community issues. Therefore, they have done coordinated tasks such as circulating notices and distributing newsletters and requesting their demands to the municipality. On the other hand, they have functioned as a subcontractor of the municipality by undertaking administrative tasks and some of them nominate delegation committee members which reflect the possibility of the political partisan.

Third, regarding the political activities of neighborhood communities in section 5.3, they stipulate their political activities by their day-to-day relationships with the municipality. Their trust and confidence in political actors may be associated with higher levels of contact and cooperation. It is regarded that the municipality is the main channel to advance the communities' demands and opinions in policies through the corresponding section and formal meeting. Moreover, it is the higher levels of cooperation with the municipality will be associated with more lobbying. A municipality engaged regularly in providing administrative information and supporting several activities for neighborhood communities receive a high rate of

satisfaction. Furthermore, several policies implementation and financial supports could support their basic requirement and accomplish their main activities that have been structured by the municipality. In addition, neighborhood communities consider that their influence on policy is relatively high. This is made apparent in their strong influence on the municipality decisions on making policies and their success in demanding policies that relate to their interests. I contest that with high lobbying and satisfaction, it would result to the returning of partisanship in political elections.

Fourth, it is precise to mention that neighborhood communities are a non-political power. Section 5.3.5 ensures that their actual mobilization experience is high at 53.62%, using the request forms for their petitions. They have also participated in meetings, using signature collection and personal phone call for contacting the corresponding section in the municipality while almost none have shared in engaging in demonstration and requesting audit and disclosure. However, these could be a platform structuring by the municipality to avoid any pressure and mobilization from neighborhood communities.

Fifth, neighborhood communities are involved in supporting any candidates in local elections. Section 5.3.6 reveals that nearly 64% of neighborhood communities had conducted election campaigning which illustrates that the direct involvement of neighborhood communities in election campaigns seems almost customary for some. They could endorse and support people from the local areas and assembly members who advocate benefits for the local community (Pekkanen, Tsujinaka & Yamamoto, 2014).

I perceived that the promotion of the establishment of neighborhood communities could facilitate local residents' participation in municipal affairs.

Additionally, the frequency of contact and cooperation through various activities can boost their close relationship. Yet, the relationship between neighborhood communities and municipality can be viewed as a reciprocal exchange. This relationship would be deeply embedded on feelings of a debt of gratitude which are not only due to the supply side of political patron offering help, security, and prosperity for the clients in exchange for votes and long-term loyalty, but also for the clients' demand for such support. Therefore, the depth of the relationship between the municipality and neighborhood communities will support the local government and local politicians to gain neighborhood communities as partisan groups.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Conclusion**

Several scholars have perceived that the political structure influences the development of civil society organizations. In consonance, this dissertation has advanced the understanding on two key points 1) the state and political institution pervasively influence directly and indirectly towards the development of civil society organizations and 2) how the state has shaped civil society organization at the grassroots level in modern Thai politics. This thesis has taken the perspective that the emerging trend of civil society is based upon the strong relationship and influence of the state which can contribute to sustaining the associational life and public interests.

The first chapter addresses the main research question concerning the promotion of a particular pattern of neighborhood community as civil society in the municipality of Thailand. The state's promotion of neighborhood communities called attention to how those groups can be structured as a civil society by the state. In addition, I have concluded that the municipality has used the political instruments as rules and regulations to structure the group formation and management style. Central and local governments providing administrative guidance and financial supports as incentives to encourage and support the establishment and activities of those groups. In reference to the Thai political structure and political culture of elite democracy and clientelism, the state is a political patron that directs the neighborhood communities as a civil society organization. The state, acting in that capacity, gives incentives and privileges to them so that they could not only provide social services but also support

political goals and become a partisan which establishes the connection between civil society and modern Thai democracy.

The second chapter provides an overview related to a theoretical framework based on state-society relations. The literature of civil society related to its nature and trends as discoursed in a variety of uses and definitions led researchers to conclude that the early perspectives viewed civil society as having played a crucial role in liberating citizens from oppressive state and gaining full economic and political freedom. Furthermore, as the state becomes more legitimate, the state can play its role in fostering the political environments that many civil society organizations can flourish. It shows that the role of civil society as a coalition has been linked to the political and economic governance and has become a mechanism in serving the public good. The concepts of clientelism and corporatism which demonstrate the relevance of civil society to modern political theory and relate to the influence of political structures on civil society in Thailand have been considered in this section. Clientelism refers to the linkage between patron and clients derived from kinship of patrimonial society system deemed as cultural practices and strategies. The literature in corporatism has shown the socio-political process in which organizations representing monopolistic functional interests engage in political exchange and intervention. These concepts serve as a fundamental explanation related to the nature and phenomenon of civil society in such environments as well as a support to elucidate the state-society relationship. This study focuses on the circumstance on which the state has shaped the civil society organization in Thailand and suggests ways to analyze how the prevailing state's mechanism, strategies and strong relationship with civil societies may have an impact on political partisan in Thai's

political context. In order to explore these factors, this chapter also presents an outline for dissertation development including the conceptual framework and the utilized methodological approach.

The third chapter discusses the development of civil society organization and its relationship with the state. The characteristics of political structures and the development of civil society history are divided into three periods. The first period is after the Thailand revolution in 1932 when Thai politics was ruled under the traditions of democratic authoritarianism and centralization manipulated by the military elite. During this period, civil society was a realm of charity composed of religion and civic associations but weakened by the strict control of the government. It has performed philanthropic functions such as providing social service and community development. After the military rule declined, Thai society became more pluralistic. The middle class, especially businessmen were the key actors who had supported the budget of political parties while the bureaucrats had tried associating with businessmen to revitalize their political power and to enlarge their economic control and gain benefits and privileges. Consequently, the political structure had come up with an unstable coalition government through semi-democracy while civil society continued to grow with the stimulation of public participation and political network. Most of the civil society organizations performed the social movement advocating for the group's interests and social issues. The third period started from 1997 with the political reform followed by the end of the economic crisis that led the political changes to representative democracy with people's participation and decentralization. The political structure has become as a one-party dominance underlying electorate democracy and state-corporatism turning into a new and powerful political boss of



business conglomerate. The political actors changed to political capitalists and their local network led to creating political machines, rent seeking and polarizing of political sides through traditional norms of clientelism and cronyism. Subsequently, civil society became a mechanism in monitoring political activities including election and government policies implementation. Nonetheless, the state and political institutions always give incentives to the civil society and could influence the development of civil society organizations. As a result, the inadequate reciprocity of the state as patron and civil society as clients, civil society has become a part of the state as a political partisan that is easily manipulated and dominated by the political network.

Chapter 4 answers the first research question and presents the concrete outcome that the state has shaped civil society organization in the new form of neighborhood community in the municipality. The first section of this chapter explained the basic characteristics, nature of activities as well as the political relationship of civil society organizations in Thailand using the broad explanation derived from the cross-national perspective information with other Asian developing countries such as Bangladesh, the Philippines and Japan of JIGS project. The civil society organizations in Thailand, like other Asian countries, show themselves as the associational life mostly to the local levels of the society that are in need of civic engagement, welfare assistance and local development to serve and support their members and the public. However, those groups are small-scale with regard to the members, employees and volunteers not to mention the relatively low budget which are all necessary resources to support the vibrant nature and the strength of civil society organizations. It is interesting that civil society organizations in Thailand have

a rather high influence towards the government policies that have an impact to their social needs. The forming coalitions and network along with civic movements, mass protests, and demonstrations may be the most vital democratic means in Thailand. The second aim of the fourth chapter is to expound more on the distinctive pattern of neighborhood communities as civil society organizations beyond state-designated policies, particularly on the basic features and functions. It is apparent that the municipality has structured the pattern of neighborhood community and has provided them financial supports. With the state's promotion, neighborhood communities can contribute to building up social capital and develop the building capacity of community development through a high collaborative relationship among the members. The results revealed the high involvement of neighborhood community activities that mainly revolves around the field of grassroots economic empowerment, women empowerment, social awareness and networking building. This could significantly illustrate the vitality and strength of civil society organization at the grassroots level.

The second research question has been discussed in Chapter 5. By nature, neighborhood community is shaped by the state. It is important for the state to design and conduct the structure of neighborhood communities and its pattern of activities in accordance with the provision and implementation policies of local governments. The results supported the inferences made in Chapter 3 that the state is powerfully shaping the organization of civil societies through legality, regulation and incentives and that the state is building relationships between them by means of distributing benefits and privileges to gain control and capture. Moreover, the findings revealed that the political actors are political elites including local government and local politicians

who have a strong relationship. They influence most neighborhood communities to be a non-political force at the same time providing support to candidates who can benefit them in return. It has been established that the municipality is structuring the pattern of interaction within neighborhood communities to become as a political partisan with a strong relationship based on fictive kinship and friendship. Therefore, the state becomes a political patron which may need the support from civil society organizations to realize a political goal.

Through the course of conducting the research and assessing the results, the implication concerning political partisan between neighborhood communities and municipality has become clear. The implication that was revealed through this research is the significant roles and phenomenon of neighborhood communities as a civil society that tend to be a political partisan of the state reflecting through multi-dimensional factors like policies, culture norms as well as political institutions.

Moreover, the neighborhood communities could be endangered by the administrative and economic mechanisms of the modern state, the reciprocity, and inequality of uneven power and status. Based on rule of law, the municipality (state) is the main institution that may adopt its interventionist policies and financial instruments to manipulate and control neighborhood communities in cooperation with the provision of the state. Neighborhood communities have to form their community committees among 9 to 15 persons and set up their own subgroup activities such as primary health group, savings group, and women group in order to be recognized by the municipality and to receive incentives and privileges.

The municipality has directed internal structure and administrative guidance. Even so, neighborhood communities have also cooperated as a subcontractor of the

municipality by undertaking administrative tasks that involve nominating delegation committee members reflecting the possibility of a channel of a political partisan.

The municipality is the main channel to advance the demands and opinions of neighborhood communities regarding policies through correspondence and formal meeting. The conducted platform of the meeting has actively boosted cooperation between municipality and neighborhood communities. The municipality has adopted this platform to encourage the direct communication with the presidents and core leaders who are representatives of the community and subgroups members. The platform structuring of the monthly meeting has provided a method for maintaining their relationship. Apart from that, the community development officer works for the municipality as a mentor of the president and committees providing them various activities. The day-to-day interactions may be associated with higher levels of contact and cooperation. It is noteworthy that the depth of the relationship between the municipality as the patron and neighborhood communities as clients will be advantageous for the local government and local politicians in order to gain neighborhood communities as partisan groups.

As discussed in Chapter 3 the political structure that is usually able to affect political outcomes and policy implementation of both central and local governments refers to the political actors of the state, political institutions, political policies, and strategies. The results affirm that neighborhood communities are a non-political force and that the government and the municipality provide 100% financial support to them, therefore, the policies and financial instruments would justify the direct intervention of the government.

Remarkably, the financial relationship is another key traced to create varying incentives for the organization of neighborhood communities. The municipal government has to allocate regularly 10% of the budget of local expenditure to boost neighborhood community's activities. In that case, the municipality may request the neighborhood communities to propose their projects or community development activities to obtain the financial supports from the municipality.

Financial supports fund several main activities. For instance, since 2001, Thai Rak Thai Party had been one of the favored capitalists and a well-funded political party. The Party had launched the attractive policies designed to appeal to the rural majority by means of business marketing, entrepreneurial patronage, and populist policy. It has initiated programs like village-managed microcredit development funds, low-interest agricultural loans, direct injections of cash into village development funds (the SML scheme) , infrastructure development, and the One Tambon One Product (OTOP) which is a rural small and medium enterprise development program. Those policies are pertinent to a corporatist model to co-opt civil society and restrict its autonomy.

Furthermore, trust or confidence in political actors may be associated with higher levels of contact. Neighborhood communities consider that the high rate of response could show their strong influence on the municipality decisions on making policies and their success in demanding such policies that benefit their interests. It is essential to ensure the trust and confidence of local residents in the local government which encourages their long-term political support. This relationship rooted on feelings of a debt of gratitude is not only due to the supply side of political patron offering help, security, and prosperity for the clients in exchange for a vote and long-

term loyalty but also to the clients' demand for such support. Hence, it is easy for civil society organizations to become a political partisan pillowed a strong relationship with the local government.

The changes towards the political system and political structure became more liberal, making impact on the relationship and roles between the state and civil society. Rather than oppositional to the state, the portrait of an understanding about civil society was therefore looked into particularly the nature of the cooperation between the state, its institutions, and civil society. By nature, the state that holds legitimate sovereignty can foster, create, sustain, regulate and readjust the civil society. This research has explored the new patterns of development of neighborhood communities based on the geographically-delimited condition that has been influenced by the state. Needless to say, this study aims to advance our knowledge to grasp the roles of neighborhood communities as a civil society organization and as political partisan groups of the state.

# Appendix 1

## Survey on Neighborhood Community in Thailand

### Northern Region 1

Name of the Organization: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Position: \_\_\_\_\_

**Notes:**

- 1) This is strictly a research survey having no relation with government, private organizations or any International door agencies.
- 2) This survey should be completed by your organization's director or whoever is responsible for the daily operations of your organization.
- 3) The answers given in this survey can be individual respondent's point of view and do not necessarily have to represent the point of view of the organization.
- 4) Some questions in this survey may not apply to your organization. Feel free to skip these questions.
- 5) The identity of respondent to this survey will be kept confidential.
- 6) Please cooperate with the survey/interviewer to complete this questionnaire

#### **(Section I) Overview of the Neighborhood Community**

1. When was your community first established?

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|

2. When was your community recognized by the local municipality?

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|

3. How many residents are living in your community?

| Type                        | Number of | Households | Residents |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
|                             |           |            |           |
| 1. Within your neighborhood |           |            |           |
| 2. Registration members     |           |            |           |

4. Are there any non-registered residents within your community? Yes\_\_ No\_\_\_\_  
If yes, how many percentage does it have If compare with your membership?

- |              |                  |
|--------------|------------------|
| 1. Under 20% | 4. 60% - 80%     |
| 2. 20% – 40% | 5. more than 80% |
| 3. 40% - 60% |                  |

5. Does your community have subgroups? (please give the number and their names)

- |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Name _____ | 4. Name _____ |
| 2. Name _____ | 5. Name _____ |
| 3. Name _____ | 6. Name _____ |

6. How many committees are there within your community? (include the president)

6.1) What are their gender? 6.2) How old are they? Please choose the most relevant answer in the table below.

| Position \ Status    | 6.1 Gender |        | 6.2 Age      |                  |              |
|----------------------|------------|--------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
|                      | male       | female | Less than 40 | Between 40 to 60 | More than 60 |
| 1. President         |            |        |              |                  |              |
| 2. Committee         |            |        |              |                  |              |
| 3. Subgroup director |            |        |              |                  |              |

7. How do you choose your committees?

- |                                  |                                   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Election by member            | 4. Members rotate in the position |
| 2. Mutual Voting among committee | 5. Appointed by the president     |
| 3. Nominated by the committee    | 6. Guidance by the municipality   |
|                                  | 7. Other ( )                      |

President ☐

Committee ☐

Director ☐

8. What are the common occupations of your committee and subgroup director?  
(Provide the two most common occupations)

- |                                   |                        |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Merchant/grocery               | 6. Full-time employee  |
| 2. Labour/freelance               | 7. Part-time employee  |
| 3. Farmer                         | 8. Government officers |
| 4. Craftsman                      | 9. Retirees            |
| 5. Business manager/self-employed | 10. Others _____       |



| Position          | No. 1 | No.2 | No.3 |
|-------------------|-------|------|------|
| President         |       |      |      |
| Committee         |       |      |      |
| Subgroup director |       |      |      |

9. How many times does your community hold the following meetings per year?

Member meeting\_\_\_\_\_time/year

Committee meeting\_\_\_\_\_ time/year

Subgroup meeting\_\_\_\_\_time/year

10. Which are the most important functions of your community? (please select 2)

| 1 <sup>st</sup> sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup> sequence |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
|                          |                          |

1. To promote mutual friendship within the community
2. To manage and develop the living environment of the community
3. To independently deal with community problems
4. To assist the municipality
5. To lobby the municipality
6. Others\_\_\_\_\_

11. How much money can your community earn per year\_\_\_\_\_?

And where is the income come from?

| Members fee | Activities | Government's budget | Municipality's budget | Fees | others |
|-------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------|--------|
|             |            |                     |                       |      |        |

12. How much did your community spend for main activities\_\_\_\_\_? (Including hire staff, and others expenses except the table below.)

| Activities            | Budget (Baht) | Activities  | Budget (Baht) |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Public Health      |               | 6. Culture  |               |
| 2. Career development |               | 7. Cleaning |               |
| 3. Criminal           |               | 8. Utility  |               |
| 4. Welfare            |               | 9. Festival |               |
| 5. Sports             |               | 10. Others: |               |

13. Does your community receive funds or some other type of financial support from external sources? If yes, in the space blow, please write the name of the community or government agencies that have provided financial support to your community.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes,

Name of community or agency \_\_\_\_\_

Purpose of using the fund \_\_\_\_\_

Name of community or agency \_\_\_\_\_

Purpose of using the fund \_\_\_\_\_

Name of community or agency \_\_\_\_\_

Purpose of using the fund \_\_\_\_\_

Name of community or agency \_\_\_\_\_

Purpose of using the fund \_\_\_\_\_

## **(Section II) Context of Neighborhood Community**

14. Please write your community's address and the name of the municipality.

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Municipality \_\_\_\_\_

15. Have the interactions among the residents in your community become more or less active compared to five years ago?

1. More active

4. Not so active

2. Slightly more active

5. Not active at all

3. No change

16. Are there any changes in population, compared to five year ago?

1. Increase

4. Slightly decrease

2. Slightly increase

5. Decrease

3. No change

17. What type of accommodations do the community members live in?

17.1 How would you describe the environment surrounding the community?

(Please select 3 main sequences)

1. Located in agriculture area

2. Industry area

3. Business office area

4. Shop/Store area

5. Multifamily housing area

6. Apartment area

7. School/or Institute area

8. Other \_\_\_\_\_

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

## 17.2 Tenure of living quarter (Please select 3 main sequences)

1. Owner
2. Hire purchase
3. Rented House
4. Rented Room
5. Land rental
6. Squatter
7. Other:

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

## 17.3 Type of living quarters (Please select 3 main sequences)

1. Detached house
2. Town house
3. Row house
4. Apartment, flat, condominium
5. Rented room
6. Others\_\_\_\_\_

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

## 18. How would you describe the composition of households in your community?

(Please select 3 main sequences)

1. Nuclear families with children
2. Couple only
3. Large multi-generational family
4. Single-person household
5. Foreigners and their families
6. Others\_\_\_\_\_

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

## 19. What is the interaction in daily life of the neighbors in your community?

- |                               |                                       |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Have no interaction at all | 3. Regularly converse with each other |
| 2. Greet each other politely  | 4. Mutual aids in many activities     |

## 20. Do you think the residents are active in the community?

- |                |                    |
|----------------|--------------------|
| 1. Very active | 4. Not very active |
| 2. Active      | 5. Not active      |
| 3. Average     |                    |

21. How would you describe the environment of your community? Rate your community on the following issues.

| Issues \ Rating   | Very poor | Poor | Average | good | Excellent |
|---|-----------|------|---------|------|-----------|
| 1. Living comfort (quietness and cleanliness)                                     | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 2. Living convenience (available of stores and services)                          | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 3. Safety (crime and drug prevention, etc.)                                       | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 4. Transportation convenience (available of public transportation, streets, etc.) | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 5. Richness of nature (natural surrounding and water)                             | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 6. Traditional culture  | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 7. Overall environment compared to five years ago                                 | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |

### (Section III) Overview of the activities in your community

22. Which activities is your community involved in? Choose the most relevant answer from the list below.

#### **Living environment**

1. Cleaning
2. Collecting garbage
3. Settling disputes

#### **Culture and friendship**

4. Festival (Dum Hua)
5. Sporting events/cultural activities
6. Preservation of traditional arts
7. Assisting at weddings and funerals

#### **Living safety**

8. Disaster prevention
9. Fire prevention
10. Crime prevention
11. Traffic safety classes

#### **Maintenance of facilities**

12. Bulletin boards
13. Meeting house and facilities
14. Streets and streetlight
15. Water supply
16. Sewage pipes
17. Road and paved road
18. Cemetery, temples and churches

#### **Health and welfare service**

19. Infant care
20. Child care
21. Gender equality

22. Elderly care

23. Disabled

24. Eliminate mosquito breeding area

25. Disease and epidemic

#### **Education support**

26. Children's education
27. Youth development
28. Assisting in school education

#### **Environment**

29. Prevent of pollutions and noise
30. Recycling and energy conservation
31. Nature conservation and environmental education

#### **Economic activities**

32. Village and urban fund
33. SML project
34. Saving
35. Vocational training

#### **Other activities**

36. Urban planning
37. International exchange
38. Assisting in election campaigns
39. Community network sharing
40. Others \_\_\_\_\_

23. With reference to “question 22” please indicates the most important activities in your community? (Please select 3 main sequences)

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

24. With reference to “question 22” Please put the number of activities in sequence according to relevance to the communities which you cooperate with.

| Ranking of activity      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Groups                   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1. Municipality          |   |   |   |   |   |
| 2. Other NHAs            |   |   |   |   |   |
| 3. Local political group |   |   |   |   |   |
| 4. Local government      |   |   |   |   |   |
| 5. National government   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 6. NGOs and NPOs         |   |   |   |   |   |
| 7. Others _____          |   |   |   |   |   |

25. How many households have directly involved in the following activities?

| Activities                               | Less than<br>20% | 20 –<br>40% | 40 –<br>60% | 60 –<br>80% | 80%<br>up |
|--|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|
| 1. General meeting                       | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 2. Environment and community development | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 3. Safety and crime prevention           | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 4. Traffic safety class                  | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 5. Maintenance of facilities             | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 6. Education and training                | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 7. Culture and festival                  | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 8. Sport and recreation                  | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 9. political activities                  | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |
| 10. Others                               | 1                | 2           | 3           | 4           | 5         |

26. By what means does your community select or decide to do the activities?  
(Please choose 3 main sequences)

1. Officer's recommendation
2. President or committee
3. Opinion of other members
4. Cooperation with others public communities
5. Following the government policy
6. Other \_\_\_\_\_

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

27. What type of people are mostly involved in community's activities? (Please choose 2 answers according to their responsibility )

- |                                   |                        |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Merchant/grocery               | 7. Part-time employee  |
| 2. Freelance                      | 8. Government officers |
| 3. Farmer                         | 9. Retirees            |
| 4. Craft man                      | 10. Homemaker          |
| 5. Business manager/self-employed | 11. Youth/students     |
| 6. Full-time employees            | 12. Others:_____       |

28. In your view, compared to 5 years ago, how consistent are your sub unit activities being implemented? (Please, choose the number that corresponds to your answer)

| Rating<br>Subgroups          | Very poor | Poor | Average | good | Excellent |
|------------------------------|-----------|------|---------|------|-----------|
| 1. Saving group              | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 2. Primary health care group | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 3. Women group               | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 4. Elderly group             | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |
| 5. Others_____               | 1         | 2    | 3       | 4    | 5         |

29. What method does your community use to communicate with the residents? (Please choose 3 main sequences)

1. Group meeting
2. Bulletin boards
3. Face to face (knock door)
4. Representative or coordinator
5. Circulation notices
6. Broadcasting
7. Telephone
8. Email
9. Newsletters
10. others\_\_\_\_\_

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

**(Section IV) Relationship between Community and Municipality**

30. Does your community support or recommend any candidate for the municipality election?

1. Always
2. Only recently
3. Sometimes
4. In the past, but not anymore
5. Never

31. What activities would the municipality request your community to do??

(Please choose 3 main answers)

1. Circulating notices
2. Distributing newsletters
3. Collecting donations
4. Nominating committee members
5. Undertake the administrative task
6. Other\_\_\_\_\_

| 1 <sup>st</sup> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                 |                 |                 |

32. What do you think is the ideal relationship between your community and the municipality in dealing with community problems?

1. Should just undertake tasks as direct by the municipality
2. Should function as a bridge between the municipality and the residents
3. Should cooperate
4. Should act independently from the municipality
5. Should leave everything to the municipality's burden

33. Does your community monitor the municipality's policy implementation?

1. Only when the policy is relevant to our community
2. Always, regardless of relevance
3. Never

34. Is the community certified or trusted by the municipality?

- |                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Not at all           | 4. Trustworthy      |
| 2. Not very trustworthy | 5. Very trustworthy |
| 3. Average              |                     |

35. How many of the requests of your community were accepted by your local government?

- |                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Almost none | 4. Many       |
| 2. Very little | 5. Almost all |
| 3. Some        |               |

36. By what means does your community request or present opinions to the municipality?

1. Collecting signature
2. Submitting request forms
3. Meeting
4. Demonstration, parades
5. Email, phone call, letters
6. Request for information disclosure
7. Requesting audits
8. Other\_\_\_\_\_

37. How often does your community use the following methods to reflect your community's interest and opinions in policies?

| Rating<br>Methods  | Never | Seldom | Sometimes | Regularly | Often |
|--|-------|--------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| 1. Consult the corresponding section in the municipality | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 2. Consult senior officials of the municipality          | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 3. Consult municipality council                          | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 4. Consult influential person outside the Municipality   | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 5. Formal meeting with the municipality                  | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 6. Attend municipality round-table conferences           | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 7. Petitioning of the local assembly                     | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 8. Holding public comment sessions                       | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |
| 9. Others_____   | 1     | 2      | 3         | 4         | 5     |

38. How would you assess your community's degree of influence and level of participation in the municipal policy decision-making process?

1. Not at all
2. Not very much
3. Moderate
4. Some influence
5. Influential



39. In your opinion, which of the following statement that best describes the relationship your community has with the municipality? (Please select 3 main sequences)

| 1 <sup>st</sup><br>sequence | 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>sequence | 3 <sup>rd</sup><br>sequence |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
|                             |                             |                             |

1. Exchange opinions with your community
2. Cooperated with and supported policies and budget activities by the municipality
3. Administrative guidance provided by the municipality
4. Accredited or approved by the municipality
5. Advisory body of the municipality

**(Section V) Relation with Other Communities**

40. Does your NC collaborate with other groups and organizations? Please fill in the name of them

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

41. With reference to “question 40”, what type of relationship does your community have with them? Please put the number in sequence.

| Relationship                              | 1 <sup>st</sup> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> | 3 <sup>rd</sup> | 4 <sup>th</sup> | 5 <sup>th</sup> |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Providing information to your NC       |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 2. NC provides information to these group |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 3. NC provides subsidies                  |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 4. Providing subsidies to your NC         |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 5. Other                                  |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |

42. What does your NC think about its relationships with NPOs or NGOs in dealing with neighborhood problems?

1. Should work cooperatively
2. Should work independently
3. whatever

43. Does your community have any problems in working with NPOs or, NGOs?

Please circle the applicable numbers.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. We do not work with them                     | 5. Differences in the way of thinking                     |
| 2. No problem in working with them              | 6. Residents' lack of understanding concerning joint work |
| 3. Problems as to who should bear the budgeting | 7. Other_____   |
| 4. Problems in dividing work                    |   |

**(Section VI) To carry the problems of NHAs**

44. In your NC, how smoothly are the following activities carried out? Please circle the applicable number for each activity.

| Activities \ Rating  | Not at all | Not very smooth | Average | Smooth | Very smooth |
|--|------------|-----------------|---------|--------|-------------|
| 1. Interaction with the officers (director positions)          | 1          | 2               | 3       | 4      | 5           |
| 2. Interaction between old resident and newly arrived resident | 1          | 2               | 3       | 4      | 5           |
| 3. Interaction between generation                              | 1          | 2               | 3       | 4      | 5           |
| 4. Member households Participation in activities               | 1          | 2               | 3       | 4      | 5           |
| 5. Financial NC activities                                     | 1          | 2               | 3       | 4      | 5           |
| 6. Providing facilities for meeting and other events           | 1          | 2               | 3       | 4      | 5           |
| 7. Carrying out work commissioned by the local government      | 1          | 2               | 3       | 4      | 5           |

45. Please rate your community's degree of importance and satisfaction regarding the municipality support to your NC. Please circle the applicable numbers in the following issues.

| Issues \ Rating                          | Importance |          |         |           |      | Satisfaction |          |         |           |      |
|--|------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|--------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|
|  | Not at all | Slightly | Average | Important | Very | Not at all   | Slightly | Average | Satisfied | Very |
| 1. Providing subsidies or grants support | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 2. Providing administrative information  | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 3. Commissioning work                    | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |

| Rating \ Issues                                  | Importance |          |         |           |      | Satisfaction |          |         |           |      |
|--|------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|--------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|
|  | Not at all | Slightly | Average | Important | Very | Not at all   | Slightly | Average | Satisfied | Very |
| 4. Responding to requests                        | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 5. Providing forum for discussing local problems | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 6. Supporting NC activities in general           | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |

### (Section VII) Policy of Municipality

46. Please rate your community's degree of importance and satisfaction towards the municipality policies. Please circle the applicable numbers in the following issues.

| Rating \ Issues                                   | Importance |          |         |           |      | Satisfaction |          |         |           |      |
|---|------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|--------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|
|   | Not at all | slightly | Average | Important | Very | Not at all   | Slightly | Average | Satisfied | Very |
| 1. Developing living environment                  | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 2. Revitalizing community and cultural activities | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 3. Ensuring safety                                | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 4. Developing public facilities                   | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 5. Improving health, welfare and medical services | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 6. Improving school and social education          | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 7. Undertaking environment policies               | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 8. Revitalizing agriculture and forest            | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 9. Revitalizing business investment and industry  | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 10. Urban development and planning                | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 11. Revitalizing tourism                          | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 12. Organizing international exchange             | 1          | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |
| 13. Overall policies                              |            |          |         |           |      | 1            | 2        | 3       | 4         | 5    |

**(Section VIII) Personality of the president**

47. How long have you lived in this community? \_\_\_\_\_ year/s

48. How long has it been since you became the president of your NC? If it is less than one year, please write "0" \_\_\_\_\_ year/s

49. Do you receive any salary from your community? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

50. With what type of individuals do you usually interact privately and publicly?

Please choose all that apply to your answer.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Community development officer                | 7. Political (campaign) groups          |
| 2. Municipality official                        | 8. Senior officials of the municipality |
| 3. Parent and teacher association               | 9. Municipality council                 |
| 4. Director of local Social welfare association | 10. Journalist                          |
| 5. Director of labour union                     | 11. Lawyer                              |
| 6. Director of civic group (NGO, NPO)           | 12. National government                 |
|   | 13. Other _____                         |

51. When announcing the NC's requests and opinions, how much can you trust the following institutions (listed below)?

| Rating<br>Institutions                     | Very low | Below average | Average | Above average | Very high |
|--|----------|---------------|---------|---------------|-----------|
| 1. Local government                        | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 2. Municipality council (local politician) | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 3. National government                     | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 4. Political party                         | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 5. Courts                                  | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 6. Police                                  | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 7. Mass media                              | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 8. NGO, NPO                                | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |
| 9. Other                                   | 1        | 2             | 3       | 4             | 5         |

Thank you very much for your cooperation

## **Appendix 2**

### **Survey on Civil Society Organization in Thailand Northern Region 1**

Name of the Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Respondent's position: \_\_\_\_\_

**Notes:**

- 1) This is strictly a research survey having no relation with government, private organizations or any International door agencies.
- 2) This survey should be completed by your organization's director or whoever is responsible for the daily operations of your organization.
- 3) The answers given in this survey can be individual respondent's point of view and do not necessarily have to represent the point of view of the organization.
- 4) Some questions in this survey may not apply to your organization. Feel free to skip these questions.
- 5) If your organization is a local chapter then please try to answer your questions from the point of view of the organization as a whole. If you are not able to do so, please answer from the point of view of your local chapter.
- 6) The identity of respondent to this survey will be kept confidential.
- 7) Please cooperate with the survey/interviewer to complete this questionnaire

#### **[Section I: Basic information about the civil society organization]**

Q01. Which one of the 13 classifications listed below best describes your organization?  
(Please choose only one)

1. Agriculture and farmer related organization
2. Economic or business organization
3. Labor union or federation
4. Education and research related organization
5. Cultural organization
6. Government or administration-related organization
7. Social Welfare organization
8. Professional organization (medical, legal, education, engineers etc.)
9. Citizen's group

10. NGO (including foreign or international organization)
11. Religious organization
12. Recreational or sports related social organization
13. Other, \_\_\_\_\_Please specify.

Q02. Indicate below which national and local governmental policies are of interest or relevant to your organization's activities? Choose all that apply.

1. Financial policies (Management of govt. money)
2. Fiscal policies (Government tax, debt...)
3. Trade and international commerce policies
4. Industrial promotional policies
5. Civic engineering, construction and public works policies
6. Transportation and traffic policies
7. Communication and information policies
8. Scientific technology and research policies
9. Local development policies/Rural Development
10. Diplomatic policies (Foreign policies)
11. International exchange, cooperation
12. Aid policies including foreign debt problem
13. National defense and security policies
14. Law and order
15. Justice and human rights
16. Local government and administrative policies
17. Labor policies
18. Social welfare
19. Agriculture
20. Consumer protection policies
21. Environment, energy and natural resources policies
22. Healthcare policies
23. Education, academic
24. Sports and recreational policies

25. Poverty Alleviation
26. Culture and religion
27. Others, \_\_\_\_\_

Q03. What are the main purpose of your organization and the primary goal of your organization's activities? Choose all that apply.

1. Providing information to members
2. Pursuing economic profit for members
3. Protecting the standard of living and rights of the members/clients
4. Providing education and training opportunities for members/clients
5. Advocating on behalf of the members in order to gain subsidies from Government.
6. Assisting members in licensing and registration procedures
7. Providing policy recommendations based on technical knowledge for public policy making
8. Providing education and information for the good of the general public
9. Providing service to the general public.
10. Providing funds to other organizations
11. Others, \_\_\_\_\_

Q04. Is your organization registered with any ministry or institution?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Q04.1 If yes, Name of the ministry or institution \_\_\_\_\_

Q05. When was your organization founded?

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|

Q06. How many members does your organization have? (Round off the exact number)

| Individual Members | Member organization (If it has*) |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
|                    |                                  |

Q07. How many employees does your organization have?

- (1) Full time employees \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Part time employees \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) Volunteers \_\_\_\_\_

Q08. Does your organization receive funds or some other type of financial assistance from outside sources besides membership fee? If yes, in the space below, please write the names of the organizations or government agencies that have provided financial assistance to your organization.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Q08.1 If yes, Name of the organization or agency \_\_\_\_\_

Q08.2 Are the financial assistances accompanied by condition?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Q09. What was your organization's budget (in Baht) in the year 2011 or 2012?  
 In 2011 \_\_\_\_\_ or In 2012 \_\_\_\_\_ (a round figure is Ok)

Q10. What geographic area does your organization mainly encompass in conducting its activities?

1. Village    2. Subdistrict/Municipality    3. District    4. Province  
 5. Regional    6. National    7. International

Q11. When a policy related problem or incident occur in the 'geographical area' indicated in Q10, how much influence does your organization have on these problems?

1. A lot of influence                      2. Some bit of influence  
 3. A little influence                      4. Almost no influence  
 5. No influence



**[Section II Nature of Interaction with the State and Political Parties]**

Q12. Circle the statements that describe the relationship your organization has with the government or local government. Choose all that apply.

1. Accredited or approved by the government
2. Licensed by the government
3. Administrative guidance provided by the government
4. Cooperating with and supporting policies and budget activities of the government
5. Exchanging opinions with the government
6. Sending representative to council and /or advisory bodies of the national government
7. Offering positions to government officials after retirement
8. Receiving government funds or grants.
9. Receiving foreign fund through the government
10. Having joint projects or program with the government.

Q13. What type of relationship and communication do you have with political parties? Choose the statement which best corresponds to your organization's action today and ten years before.

1=Never, 2=some of the time, 3=about half the time, 4=Most of the time, 5=Always

| <b>Political Parties</b>                        | <b>Now</b>     | <b>Ten years before</b> |
|---|----------------|-------------------------|
| Pheu Thai Party (Thai Rak Thai Party)           | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.          |
| Democrat Party                                  | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.          |
| Chart Thai Pattana Party (Chat Thai Party)      | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.          |
| Chart Pattana Puea Pandin Party (Chart Pattana) | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.          |
| Bhumjaithai Party                               | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.          |
| Others  | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.          |

Q14. During national elections, has your organization taken any of the following actions, and if so how frequently? Choose the statement which best corresponds to your organization's actions today and ten years ago.

1=Never, 2=some of the time, 3=about half the time, 4=Most of the time, 5=Always

|   | <b>Today</b>   | <b>Ten years ago</b> |
|---|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Played a role for nomination and election for a particular candidate                         | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.       |
| 2. Recommended a member/client of your organization as a party/election candidate.              | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.       |
| 3. Launched campaign for free and fair election   | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.       |
| 4. Participated as independent observers at different polling stations during the election day. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.       |
| 5. Other.....   | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.       |

Q15. When your organization appeals to government/ administrations/ political parties, how often do you take any of the measures listed below?

1=Never, 2=some of the time, 3=about half the time, 4=Most of the time, 5=Always

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| (1) Contacting the parties in the cabinet (by personal interviews, phone calls etc.)  | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (2) Contacting the opposition parties (by personal interviews, phone calls etc.)  | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (3) Contacting governmental department and agencies (by personal interviews, phone call etc.)                                     | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (4) Appealing to political parties or governmental administration through influential people                                      | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (5) Helping to draft legislative bills for political parties or governmental organization.  | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (6) Presenting research results or technical information to political parties and/or government ministries.                       | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (7) Sending representatives to local or national councils and /or advisory bodies to the government                               | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (8) Asking general organizational members to write letters or make phone calls to political parties or government administration  | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (9) Engaging in mass protests or demonstrations   | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (10) Organizing seminars, round table meeting, rally etc.   | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (11) Presenting information to the mass media   | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (12) Holding press conferences in order to publicize ideas and let know organizations position on different issues and incidents. | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |
| (13) Forming coalition with other organizations or NGOs   | 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. |

Q16. Does your organization or any member have personal relationship with any of the following persons? (Choose all that apply)

1. An elected parliament member,
2. A leader of the ruling party,
3. A leader of the opposition parties,
4. A governor/mayor
5. A journalist
6. A chief or a section chief from a department of a government/local administration
7. A chief or a staff of an international organization, international NGO,
8. A judge or a magistrate of the national or local court.

Q17. Has your organization ever succeeded in having a budget, policy, action or decision it favored being implemented by a national or local government?

Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

Q18. Has your organization ever succeeded altering a budget, policy, action, decision, or blocking the implementation of a policy, decision, it did not favor?

Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

Q19. Do you think that your organization is an autonomous one and can function independently from the government and political parties?

Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

Q20. Do you think that your organization is somehow involved in national or local politics? Choose the statement that best reflects your organization's overall activities.

Yes\_\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_\_

Q20A. If yes, does your organization involve in politics on its own or is your organization approached by outside sources to become involved in politics? (Choose only **one**)

1. Most of the time we are approached by outside sources.
2. There is a balance between internal and external drives
3. Most of the time, we get involved on our own.
4. For our existence there is no other way but to meddle in politics.

**[Section III Relationship among the civil society organizations]**

Q21. What source does your organization use to get information for its activities?  
Rank, in order of importance, three from the list below.

1. \_\_\_\_\_, 2. \_\_\_\_\_, 3. \_\_\_\_\_

1. Government
2. Local government
3. Political parties
4. Parliament members
5. Elected representative of the local government
6. Scholars or professionals, think tank
7. The mass media (Radio, TV, Newspaper)
8. Technical or trade papers
9. Foreign government
10. Foreign NGOs, international organizations etc.
11. Other domestic organization with similar interests
12. Members of your organization
13. Business companies
14. Others \_\_\_\_\_

Q22. How many times has mass media mentioned your organization during past 3 years? Write the approximate number of times your organization has appeared on national or private television and/or in any national or local newspaper or magazine. \_\_\_\_\_ Times

Q23. To what extent do you think the following groups influence politics in Thailand?  
Rate each of the following groups on a scale from 1 to 7 in terms of political influence. (1 stands for very little influence, 7 stands for a lot of influence, and 4 is the neutral point.)

- |  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Trade (labor) unions and federations            | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 2. Agricultural Organization                       | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 3. Economic, business, and employer's organization | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 4. Government Bureaucrats                          | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 5. Political Parties                               | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 6. The mass media                                  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 7. Large business /corporations                    | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 8. Scholars and academicians                       | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 9. Consumer Organization                           | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 10. Welfare Organizations, NGO                     | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 11. Professional Groups                            | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 12. Women movement organizations                   | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 13. Local governments                              | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 14. Foreign Gov. and International donor agencies  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 15. Religious organizations                        | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |

Q24. what type of relation and cooperation does your organization have with the following groups? Rate the following groups on a scale from 1 to 7 in terms of cooperation with your organization. (1 stands for uncooperative, 7 stand for cooperative and 4 is the neutral point.)

|  |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1. Trade (labor) unions and federations            | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 2. Agricultural Organization                       | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 3. Economic, business, and employer's organization | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 4. Government Bureaucrats                          | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 5. Political Parties                               | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 6. The mass media                                  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 7. Large business /corporations                    | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 8. Scholars and academicians                       | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 9. Consumer Organization                           | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 10. Welfare Organizations, NGO                     | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 11. Professional Groups                            | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 12. Women movement organizations                   | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 13. Local governments                              | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 14. Foreign Gov. and International donor agencies  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |
| 15. Religious organizations                        | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. | 7. |

**Thank you very much for your cooperation**

## References

- Ahmed, S. (2011). *Bangladesh's civil society: Politics without democracy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Tsukuba, Japan.
- Alagappa, M. (Ed.). (2004). *Civil society and political change in Asia: Expanding and contracting democratic space*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Albritton, R. B. & Bureekul, T. (2002). *Asian barometer: A comparative survey of democracy, governance and development*. Taipei: Asian Barometer Project Office.
- Albritton, R. B. & Bureekul, T. (2004). *Developing democracy under a new constitution in Thailand* [Working Paper]. Asian Barometer Project Office National Taiwan University and Academia Sinica. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.asianbarometer.org/publications/c80386f6d24ca5aa0f72a7099c0a0311.pdf>
- Albritton, R. B. & Bureekul, T. (2006). *Consolidating democracy in Thailand: The first four years of democracy under the constitution of 1997*. Paper present at the International Political Science Association Meeting, Fukuoka, Japan, July 12, 2006. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02185370801962382>
- Amundsen, I. (2013). *Dynasty or democracy? Party politics in Bangladesh*. CHR. Michelsen Institute (CMI) Brief, November, 12(6). Retrieved September 7, 2016, from <https://www.cmi.no/publications/4974-dynasty-or-democracy-party-politics-in-bangladesh>
- Ando, T. (2014). *Japan's new left movements: Legacies for civil society*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Archibugi, D., Koenig-Archibugi, M. & Marchetti, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Global democracy: Normative and empirical perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arghiros, D. (2001). *Democracy, development and decentralization in provincial Thailand*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Armstrong, J. D., Bello, V., Gilson, J. & Spini, D. (Eds.). (2011). *Civil society and international governance: The role of non-state actors in global and regional regulatory frameworks*. New York: Routledge.
- Asia Pacific Governance and Democracy Initiative. (2008). *Civil society engagement in Asia: Six country profiles Japan South Korea the Philippines Indonesia India Thailand*. Paper present at East-West Center, Honolulu July 14 – 16, 2008, Retrieved August 3, 2014, from [http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/resources/research/PDFs/Combined\\_country\\_reviews.pdf](http://www.eastwestcenter.org/fileadmin/resources/research/PDFs/Combined_country_reviews.pdf)
- Asian Development Bank and Thailand. (2011). *Civil society briefs Thailand* (Working Paper no. ARM113343). Bangkok: Author.

- Bafumi, J. & Shapiro, R. Y. (2009). A new partisan voter. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(1), 1–24.
- Baker, G.B. (1998). *Civil society and democratisation theory: An inter-regional comparison*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds, England. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/497/1/uk\\_bl\\_ethos\\_391245.pdf](http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/497/1/uk_bl_ethos_391245.pdf)
- Benavides, J. C. G. (2011). *The impact of elite political culture and political institutions on democratic consolidation in Latin America: A comparative study of Colombia and Venezuela*. Paper present at The 10th Annual Politicologenetmaal Conference University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [https://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/researchcentres/csd/pubs\\_csd/swp/final\\_version\\_conference\\_paper.pdf](https://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/researchcentres/csd/pubs_csd/swp/final_version_conference_paper.pdf)
- Bendix, R. & Roth, G. (1980). *Scholarship and partisanship: Essays on Max Weber*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Berger, B. (2011). *Attention deficit democracy: The paradox of civic engagement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Berman, E. M. (2011). *Public administration in Southeast Asia: Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Macao*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Bevir, M. (2010). *Democratic governance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Blair, D. C. (Ed.). (2013). *Military engagement: Influencing armed forces worldwide to support democratic transitions volume II regional and country studies*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Brooks, S., Stasiak, D. & Zyro, T. (2012). *Policy expertise in contemporary democracies*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.
- Brown, R. A. (2014). *Islam in modern Thailand: Faith, philanthropy and politics*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Bunbongkarn, S. (2013). The armed forces and democratic development in Thailand. In Blair, D. C. (Ed.), *Military engagement: Influencing armed forces worldwide to support democratic transitions volume II regional and country studies* (pp. 165–187). Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Bunbongkarn, S. (n.d.). *Chapter 10 the role of civil society in democratic consolidation in Asia*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [http://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance\\_files/Public\\_Growth%20Governance/Pub\\_GrowthGovernancech10.pdf](http://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance_files/Public_Growth%20Governance/Pub_GrowthGovernancech10.pdf)
- Bushnell, D. (1998). Review of the politics of clientelism. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 40(1), 116–117. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/166310>
- Cahoone, L. E. (2002). *Civil society: The conservative meaning of liberal politics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Carley, M., Jenkins, P. & Smith, H. (Eds.). (2001). *Urban development and civil society: The role of communities in sustainable cities*. London: Earthscan.
- Case, W. (2012). *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or less*. London: Routledge.
- Cawson, A. (1986). *Corporatism and political theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Chandoevrit, W. (2003). Thailand's grass roots policies. *TDRI Quarterly Review*, 18(2), 3-8.
- Chardchawarn S. (2010). *Local governance in Thailand: The politics of decentralization and the roles of bureaucrats, politicians, and the people*. Japan: Institute of Developing Economies Japan External Trade Organization. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Vrf/pdf/459.pdf>
- Cheema, G. S. & Popovski, V. (2010). *Engaging civil society: Emerging trends in democratic governance*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Cheema, G. S. (Ed.). (2013). *Democratic local governance: Reforms and innovations in Asia*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Cheng, P. P. (1988). Political clientelism in Japan: The case of "S". *Asian Survey*, 28(4), 471-483. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2644739>
- Clawson, R. A. & Oxley, Z. M. (2013). *Public opinion: Democratic ideals, democratic practice* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press.
- Cohen, J. L. & Arato, A. (1992). *Civil society and political theory*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Cohen, J. L. & Arato, A. (1993). Civil society and political theory. *The Journal of Politics*, 55(2), 542-544. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2132296>
- Connors, M. K. (2003). *Democracy and national identity in Thailand*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge Curzon.
- Cox, A. & O'Sullivan, N. (1988). *The corporate state: Corporatism and the state tradition in Western Europe*. England: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Daimond, L. (1997). *Civil society and the development of democracy* (Working Paper no. 1997/101). The Hoover Institution. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from [http://www.plataformademocratica.org/Publicacoes/13664\\_Cached.pdf](http://www.plataformademocratica.org/Publicacoes/13664_Cached.pdf)
- Dalton, R. J. (1996). *Citizen politics public opinion and political parties in advanced industrial democracies* (2nd ed.). Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Daniere, A. & Douglass, M. (Eds.). (2008). *The politics of civic space in Asia: Building urban communities*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Diamond, L. (2006). *Comparative democratic development* [Class handout]. Department of Political Science Stanford University, Stanford, CA. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from <https://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/PS147.htm>



- Dhirathiti, C. (2002). *Strategic civil society and democratic political change in Thailand*. Paper present at An early draft for the workshop on Civil Society and Political Change in Asia, held on 25-28 October, Phnom Penh, Cambodia.
- Dwianto, R. D. (2003). *The existing form of urban locality groups in Jakarta: Reexamining the RT/RW in the post-new order era*. Retrieved December 9, 2014, from [http://www.lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp/geo/pdf/frombelow/0308\\_frombelow\\_dwianto.pdf](http://www.lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp/geo/pdf/frombelow/0308_frombelow_dwianto.pdf)
- Economic Research and Training Center. (n.d.). *Decentralization and the budget for social services at Tambon administrative level*. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from <http://social.nesdb.go.th/social/Portals/0/Documents/>
- Eisenstadt, S. N. & Roniger, L. (1984). *Patrons, clients and friends interpersonal relations and the structure of trust in society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eisenstadt, S. S. N. & Lemarchand, R. (1981). *Political clientelism: Patronage and development*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Farrelly, N. (2013). Why democracy struggles: Thailand's elite coup culture. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 67(3), 281-296. Retrieved December 9, 2014, from <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Why-democracy-struggles-Farrelly.pdf>
- Florida, M. P. (2003). *Parties and partisanship: A forty year retrospective*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://web.stanford.edu/~mfiorina/PARTIES%20AND%20PARTISANSHIP.pdf>
- Fukuyama, F., Diamond, L. & Plattner, M. F. (2012). *Poverty, inequality, and democracy*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Galt, A. H. (1974). Rethinking patron-client relationships: The real system and the official system in Southern Italy. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 47(2), 182-202. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3316579>
- Ganhawiang, S. (1992). *The establishment of sub-communities in Chiangmai municipality*. Chiangmai: Chiangmai University.
- Ganjanapan, A. (2001). *Miti Chumchon: Withikhit Thongthin Waduai Sitti Amnat Lae Kanchatkan Sapphayakon (Cultural dimentions: Rights, power and resource management)*. Bangkok: Thailand Research Fund.
- García-Guadilla, M. P. & Pérez, C. (2002). Democracy, decentralization, and clientelism: New relationships and old practices. *Latin American Perspectives*, 29(5), 90-109. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3185177>
- Garon, S. (2003). From Meiji to Heisei: The state and civil society in Japan. In Schwartz, F. J. & Pharr, S. J. (Eds.). *The state of civil society in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garrett, G. (1998). *Partisan politics in the global economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gerxhani, K. & Schram, A. (2009). Clientelism and polarized voting: Empirical evidence. *Public Choice*, 141, 305-317. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs11127-009-9453-8>
- Gittell, R. & Vidal, A. (1998). *Community organizing: Building social capital as a development strategy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Grootaert, C. & Van, B. T. (Eds.). (2002). *The role of social capital in development: An empirical assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gruen, C. (2012). *New urban development: Looking back to see forward*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Guan, L. H. (Ed.). (2004). *Civil society in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Harrison, R. J. (1980). *Pluralism and corporatism: The political evolution of modern democracies*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Henckel, T. (2012). *Sustaining development and growth in East Asia*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Henderson, P. & Vercseg, I. (2010). *Community development and civil society: Making connections in the European context*. Bristol, United Kingdom: Policy Press.
- Hewison, K. (Ed.). (1997). *Political change in Thailand: Democracy and participation*. London: Routledge.
- Higley, J. & Burton, M. G. (n.d.). *Texas papers on Latin America* [Working Paper]. The Institute of Latin American Studies University of Texas at Austin. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/llilas/tpla/8803.pdf>
- Higley, J. & Pakulski, J. (n.d.). *Elites, Elitism and Elite theory: Unending confusion?*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper\\_11235.pdf](http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_11235.pdf)
- Hoff, K., Horowitz, S. & Milanovic, B. (2005). *Political alternation, regardless of ideology, diminishes influence buying lessons from transitions in former communist states*. Policy Outlook: Trade, Equity, and Development Project, January. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/milanovic.FINAL.pdf>
- Horn, D. M. (2013). *Democratic governance and social entrepreneurship: Civic participation and the future of democracy*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Hossain, M. A. (n.d.) *Democracy in Bangladesh: Problems & prospects*. Retrieved September 7, 2016, from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/APCITY/UNPAN020003.pdf>
- Inoguchi, T. & Blondel, J. (2012). *Political parties and democracy: Contemporary Western Europe and Asia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Inpin, W. (2011). *Decentralisation and policy implementation: Thai development plans and subdistrict administrative organisation (SAO) in Chiang Rai*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- Intarakumnerd, P. (2011). Thaksin's legacy: Thaksinomics and its impact on Thailand's national innovation system and industrial upgrading. *International Journal of Institutions and Economies*, 3(1), 31-60. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://icmsm2009.um.edu.my/filebank/articles/3058/Fulltext2.pdf>
- James, H. (2007). *Civil society, religion and global governance: Paradigms of power and persuasion*. New York: Routledge.
- JICA program on capacity building of Thai local authorities: Characteristics and lessons learned. (2007). Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [http://jica-ri.jica.go.jp/IFIC\\_and\\_JBICI-Studies/english/publications/reports/study/capacity/200807/pdf/004.pdf](http://jica-ri.jica.go.jp/IFIC_and_JBICI-Studies/english/publications/reports/study/capacity/200807/pdf/004.pdf)
- Kelly, J. T. (2012). *Framing democracy: A behavioral approach to democratic theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kijkul, G. (2013). *Political instability and Thailand's economic growth*. Unpublished bachelor's thesis, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Kitirianglarp, K. & Hewison, K. (2009). Social movements and political opposition in contemporary Thailand. *The Pacific Review*, 22(4), 451-477. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09512740903127978>
- Kitschelt, H. (2002). Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(6/7), 845-879. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/33/6-7/845.full.pdf+html>
- Koga, N. A. (2012). *Shifts in the relationship between the state and civil society in Brazil's recent democracy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Westminster, London, United Kingdom.
- Kongjit, C. & Tonmukayakul, O. (2012). *Learning strengthening system of urban community*. Paper present at Shanghai International Conference on Social Science. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://km.camt.cmu.ac.th/mskm/952702/Extra%20materials/Learning%20strengthening%20system%20contemporary%20social%20sciences%202012.PDF>
- Kriesi, H., Bochsler, D., Lavenex, S., Matthes, J., Esser, F. & Bühlmann, M. (2013). *Democracy in the age of globalization and mediatization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kurlantzick, J. (2013). *Democracy in retreat: The revolt of the middle class and the worldwide decline of representative government*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Kurokawa, K., Tembo, F. & Willem te Velde, D. (2010). *Challenges for the OVOP movement in Sub-Sahara Africa-Insights from Malawi, Japan and Thailand*. Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute.

- Lallana, E. C. (2012). *ASEAN 2.0: ICT, governance and community in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Laothamatas, A. (1988). Business and politics in Thailand: New patterns of influence. *Asian Survey*, 28(4), 451-470. Retrieved June 14, 2009, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2644738>
- Lehmbruch, G. & Schmitter, P. C. (Eds.). (1982). *Patterns of corporatist policy-making*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- LePoer, B. L. (Ed). (1987). *Thailand: A country study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress.
- LePoer, B. L. (Ed.). (1989). *Thailand: A country study* (6th ed.). Washington, D.C.: United States Government.
- Lertpaithoon, S. (1999). Civic movement: Legal and policy implication. In Archavanitkul, K. & Pounsomlee, A. (Eds). *Thai civil society: The making of Thai citizens*. Bangkok: Mahidol University.
- Levy, J. D. (1999). *Tocqueville's revenge state, society, and economy in contemporary France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lewandowski, J. D. & Streich, G. W. (Eds.). (2012). *Urban social capital: Civil society and city life*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.
- Lichbach, M. I. (2013). *Democratic theory and causal methodology in comparative politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mahakanjana, C. (2004). *Municipal government, social capital, and decentralization in Thailand*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northern Illinois University. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://202.28.199.34/multim/3132425.pdf>
- Malesky, E. & Samphantharak, K. (2011). *Understanding Thailand's wider implications for Southeast Asia ongoing political crisis: And the West*. Washington, DC: The German Marshall Fund of the United States.
- Migdal, J. S. (2001). *State in society: Studying how states and societies transform and constitute one another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, M. A. (2012). *Autonomy and armed separatism in South and Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Munsterberg, H. (2016). *Kyoto*. *Encyclopedia Americana*. Retrieved September 6, 2016, from Grolier Online <http://ea.grolier.com/article?id=0235870-00>
- Murphy, P. W. & Cunningham, J. V. (2003). *Organizing for community controlled development: Renewing civil society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Nautz, J. P., Ginsborg, P. & Nijhuis, T. (Eds.). (2013). *The golden chain: Family, civil society, and the State*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Neher, C. D. & Marlay, R. (1995). *Democracy and development in Southeast Asia: The winds of change*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Nelson, M. H. (2000). *Local government reforms in Thailand*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://kpi.ac.th/local-government-reform-in-thailand.html>

- Norris, P. (2012). *Making democratic governance work: How regimes shape prosperity, welfare, and peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2010). *Not for profit: Why democracy needs the humanities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pathmanand, U. (1998). The Thaksin Shinawatra group: A study of the relationship between money and politics in Thailand. *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, 13, 60-81. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://ej.lib.cbs.dk/index.php/cjas/article/viewFile/2165/2161>
- Pekkanen, R. J. (2002). *Japan's dual civil society: Members without advocates*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.
- Pekkanen, R. J. (2006). *Japan's dual civil society: Members without advocates*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Pekkanen, R. J., Smith, S. R. & Tsujinaka, Y. (2014). *Nonprofits and advocacy: Engaging community and government in an era of retrenchment*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Pekkanen, R. J., Tsujinaka, Y. & Yamamoto, H. (2014). *Neighborhood associations and local governance in Japan*. London: Routledge.
- Phongpaichit, P. (n.d). *Thailand under Thaksin: A regional and international perspective*. Core University Project, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://pioneer.netserv.chula.ac.th/~ppasuk/thaksinregional.pdf>
- Phongpaichit, P. (n.d.). *Civilising the State: State, civil society and politics in Thailand*. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from [http://web.iaincirebon.ac.id/ebook/moon/StateNations/WL\\_Phongpaichit.pdf](http://web.iaincirebon.ac.id/ebook/moon/StateNations/WL_Phongpaichit.pdf)
- Pickel, A. (1984). Review of trends towards corporatist intermediation. *Social Indicators Research*, 15(2), 198–202. Retrieved December 9, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27521242>
- Pongsapich, A. (1993). Defining the nonprofit sector. In Salamon, L.M. and Anhier, H.K. (Ed.) *Working Papers of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, No 11*, U.S.A.: The Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies.
- Pongsapich, A. (1995a). Nongovernmental organization in Thailand. In Yamamoto, T. (Ed.). *Emerging civil society in the Asia Pacific community*. Japan: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Pongsapich, A. (1995b). Philanthropy in Thailand. In Yamamoto, T. (Ed.). *Emerging civil society in the Asia Pacific community*. Japan: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Pongsapich, A. (1999). Politics of civil society. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 325-335. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [http://www.jstor.org/stable/27912234?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/27912234?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

- Pongsudhirak, T. (2003). Thailand: Democratic authoritarianism. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 277-290. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27913239>
- Pongsudhirak, T. (2013). *Between economic and political crises: Thailand's contested free trade agreements*. Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute.
- Preechasinlapakun, S. (2013). *Dynamics and institutionalization of coup in Thai constitution*. Japan: Institute of Developing Economies Japan External Trade Organization. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Vrf/pdf/483.pdf>
- Prokati, K. (n.d.). *Thailand: The "October Movement" and the transformation to democracy*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [http://www.ghidc.org/files/publications/bu\\_supp/supp006/bus6\\_099.pdf](http://www.ghidc.org/files/publications/bu_supp/supp006/bus6_099.pdf)
- Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R. & Nanetti, R. Y. (1993). *Making democracy work*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.
- Ricketts, A. (2012). *The activists' handbook: A step-by-step guide to participatory democracy*. New York: Zed Books.
- Robinson, J. A. & Verdier, T. (2013). The political economy of clientelism. *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 115(2), 260-291. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/sjoe.12010/epdf>
- Robinson, M. (2007). Does decentralisation improve equity and efficiency in public service delivery provision?. *IDS Bulletin*, 38(1), 7-17. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2007.tb00333.x/abstract>
- Robison, R. (2014). *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian politics*. Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Rondinelli, D. A., Nellis, J. R. & Cheema, G. S. (1983). *Decentralization in developing countries: A review of recent experience*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Samudavanija, C. (2002). *Thailand state-building, democracy and globalization*. Bangkok: The Institute of Public Policy Studies.
- SarDesai, D. R. (2013). *Southeast Asia, past and present* (7th ed.). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Sato, Y. (Ed.). (2004). *Growth & governance in Asia*. Hawaii: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.
- Sattayanurak, A. (1998). Evolution of slums and community organization in urban area: The case of Chiangmai. In Rabibhadana, A. (Ed.). *Evolution of slums and community organization in urban area*. Urban Community Research Institute.
- Satterthwaite, D. & Mitlin, D. (2004). *Empowering squatter citizen: Local government, civil society and urban poverty reduction*. London: Earthscan.

- Sawasdee, S. N. (2006). *Thai political parties in the age of reform*. Bangkok: Institute of Public Policy Studies.
- Schiavo-Campo, S. & Sundaram, P. (2000). *To serve and to preserve: Improving public administration in a competitive world*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <https://openaccess.adb.org/handle/11540/278>
- Schmitter, P. C. (1974). Still the Century of Corporatism?. *The Review of Politics*, 36(1), 85-131. Retrieved June 5, 2011, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1406080>
- Scholte, J. A. (2011). *Building global democracy?: Civil society and accountable global governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schwartz, F. J. & Pharr, S. J. (Eds.). (2003). *The state of civil society in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scott, J. C. (1972). Patron-client politics and political change in Southeast Asia. *The American Political Science Review*, 66(1), 91-113. Retrieved July 30, 2016, from <http://www.polsci.chula.ac.th/pitch/phdpolsea15/sc72.pdf>
- Shrestha, O. L. & Chongvilaivan, A. (2013). *Greater Mekong subregion: From geographical to socio-economic integration*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Silliman, G. S. & Noble, L. G. (1998). *Organizing for democracy: NGOs, civil society, and the Philippine State*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Sjamsuddin, S. & Noor, I. (2012). Decentralization: A question for developing countries. *Viešoji politika ir administravimas*, 11(1), 9-22. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from <http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/75066695/decentralization-question-developing-countries>
- Smith, G. (2009). *Democratic innovations: designing institutions for citizen participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tanchai, W., Kokpol, O., Phosuwan, P. & Atchariyapanya, P. (2007). *Local democracy in Thailand: Representation in decentralized governance*. Nonthaburi: King Prajadhipok's Institute.
- Tangpianpant, P. G. (2010). *A study of Thaksin's pro-poor populist policies in Thailand*. Unpublished bachelor's thesis, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, USA.
- Tasnim, F. (2007). *Civil society in Bangladesh: Vibrant but not vigilant*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Tsukuba, Japan.
- Thailand's constitution of 2007*. (n.d.). Retrieved August 29, 2014, from [https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Thailand\\_2007.pdf](https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Thailand_2007.pdf)
- Thananithichot, S. (2013). *Political dynasty in Thailand*. Nonthaburi: King Prajadhipok's Institute.
- The Kingdom of Thailand: Public administration country profile*. (2004). Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan023244.pdf>

- Thomas, C. S. (2014). Interest group. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.britannica.com/topic/interest-group>
- Tiebtienrat, C. (2015). Change: Civil society, street politics and democracy in contemporary Thailand. *The Rangsit Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2(2), 79-86.
- Tocquewill, A. (1873). *American institutions and their influence*. New York: A.S. Barnes & Co.
- Tomsa, D. & Ufen, A. (2013). *Party politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and electoral competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. New York: Routledge.
- Tsujinaka, Y. (2002). *Gendai nihon no shimin shakai riei dantai (Civic and interest groups in contemporary Japan)*. Japan: Bokutakusha.
- Tsujinaka, Y. (2014). *Identity, neighborhood community and civil society in Asia*. Paper presented at International Conference “Changing Humanities in a Changing World”, The 8th Humanities Research Forum in Thailand, November, 27-29, 2014, at the Imperial Mae Ping Hotel, Chiang Mai.
- Tsujinaka, Y. (n.d.). *From developmentalism to maturity: Japan's civil society organizations in comparative perspective*. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.ealai.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ja/images/Tsujinaka,%20state%20of%20civil%20society%20p83-115.pdf>
- Tsujinaka, Y., Ahmed, S. & Kobashi, Y. (2013). Constructing co-governance between government and civil society: An institutional approach to collaboration. *Public Organization Review*, 13(4), 411-426. Retrieved December 9, 2014, from <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11115-013-0260-9>
- Tsujinaka, Y., Choe, J. Y., Mori, H. & Hirai, Y. (2008). *Civil society and interest groups in contemporary Japan*. Ibaraki-ken, Japan: Inamoto Printing.
- Unger, J., & Chan, A. (1995). China, corporatism, and the East Asian model. *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, (33), 29–53. Retrieved December 9, 2014, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2950087>
- United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organization. (2000). *Community empowerment through community learning centres: Experiences from Thailand*. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from [http://unesco.org.pk/education/life/nfer\\_library/Reports/4-61.pdf](http://unesco.org.pk/education/life/nfer_library/Reports/4-61.pdf)
- Vergara, L. G. (2013). Elites, political elites and social change in modern societies. *Revista de sociologia*, 28, 31-49. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.facso.uchile.cl/publicaciones/sociologia/articulos/28/2802-Garrido.pdf>
- Wakefield, E. (2002). *Consolidating democracy: Political society and NGOs in Thailand* (Working Paper). The London School of Economics. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from <http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/pdf/WP/WP32.pdf>



- Walker, J. L. (1966). A Critique of the Elitist theory of democracy. *The American political science review*, 60(2), 285-295. Retrieved August 28, 2011, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1953356>
- Winayanti, L. & Lang, H.C. (2004). Provision of urban services in an informal settlement: A case study of Kampung Penas Tanggul, Jakarta. *Habitat International*, 28(1) 41-65. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/journal/01973975/28/1>
- Weiss, D. C. (2010). In defense of the post-partisan president: Toward the boundary between “Partisan” advantage and “Political” choice. *Brigham Young University Journal of Public Law*, 24(2), 259-312. Retrieved August 29, 2014, from <http://digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/jpl/vol24/iss2/4/>
- Westlund, H. & Kobayashi, K. (Eds.). (2013). *Social capital and rural development in the knowledge society*. Cheltenham, United Kingdom: Edward Elgar.
- Wiarda, H. J. (1997). *Corporatism and comparative politics: The other great “ism”*. New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.
- Williamson, P. J. (1989). *Corporatism in perspective*. London: Sage.
- Winkler, J. T. (1976). Corporatism. *European Journal of Sociology*, (17) 100-136. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. (2006, November). *Building civil society in post-conflict environments: From the micro to the macro. What really works in preventing and rebuilding failed States*. [Occasional paper]. Washington: Author.
- Yoshihara, N., & Dwianto, R. D. (2003). *Grass roots and the neighborhood associations: On Japan's Chonakai and Indonesia's Rt/Rw*. Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
- Yuanzhu, D., Jiang, X. & Qi, X. (2003). *The role/influence of civil society in transitional China*. Paper presented at Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium Conference on September 5 – 7, 2003. Retrieved September 3, 2004, from <http://www.asianphilanthropy.org/staging/about/CHINA1.pdf>.
- Yuliani, E. L. (n.d.). *Decentralization, deconcentration and devolution: What do they mean?*. Retrieved August 3, 2014, from [http://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf\\_files/interlaken/Compilation.pdf](http://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf_files/interlaken/Compilation.pdf)