

**PROCESS OF DRIVING THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN
SELF-GOVERNING PROVINCE THEORY : A CASE STUDY OF
CHIANG MAI MUNICIPALITY**



WIT SATTAKORN

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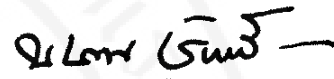
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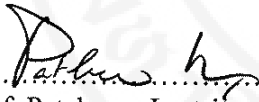
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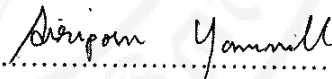
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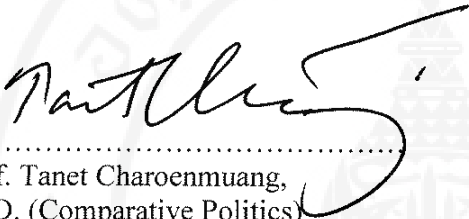


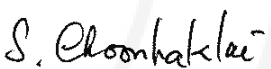





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PROCESS OF DRIVING THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SELF-GOVERNING PROVINCE THEORY: A CASE STUDY OF CHIANG MAI MUNICIPALITY

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study aimed to 1) investigate the concept towards the formation of the policy of the local government under the self-governing province concept of Thailand, 2) study and compare the formation of the policy for the local government under the self-governing province at the regional level, and 3) study the driving forms of the policy of the local government under the self-governing province of Chiang Mai province respectively. The main informants of the study were the academicians, the policy-driving leaders, and the issue-dimension network groups. The purposive sampling technique was used in recruiting the samples while the documents, the in-depth interviews, and the focus group were utilized in data collection.

It was revealed that the concept towards the formation of the policy of the local government under the self-governing province concept comprised of 3 main groups: the civil servants in the governing sector, the civil sector, and the academicians respectively. The civil servants in the governing sector and those in the civil sector had different opinions and obviously argued with each other and competed in terms of the policy with the advocated reasons as shown in the data. For this, the people in the governing sector still relied on the reasons in arguing for the corresponding issues with the driving period of the provincial governor election.

Chiang Mai is regarded as the initiating point of the aforementioned policy with the leading core, the NGO (Non-government Organizations) groups. This leads the people in the civil sector to play roles in driving the policy in several provinces such as Ubon Ratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai provinces respectively. Nonetheless, the problem on the corresponding policies arised from that and the focus is on the conflicting problem in the areas, the budget problem, and the inefficiency of the problem-solving respectively.

The driving of the policy of the local government under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province is the driving process focusing on the creation of the self-governing province concept which spreads out in wider space as well as the creation of the advocate groups in driving the policy in order to push forward in the determination of the policy. This commenced in 2008 among the political conflicts at the national level with the NGOs as the leading groups which did not relate to the provincial governor election issue group in 1991 which asked for policy driving of the decentralization in the early period. The policy-driving process was conducted through seminars, and social communications via various media with the monetary supports from several sectors. The driving of such policy occurred among the political conflicts as well as the arguments from the disagreeing groups. However, the drafting of the Chiang Mai Act for consideration could be achieved until its role was deduced due to the coup d'etat in 2014.

KEY WORDS: POLICY-DRIVING PROCESS / THE SELF-GOVERNING PROVINCE CONCEPT / CHIANG MAI MUNICIPALITY

180 pages

การขับเคลื่อนนโยบายการบริหารราชการส่วนท้องถิ่นภายใต้แนวคิดจังหวัดจัดการตนเอง
กรณีศึกษาจังหวัดเชียงใหม่

PROCESS OF DRIVING THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SELF-GOVERNING PROVINCE THEORY: A CASE
STUDY OF CHIANG MAI MUNICIPALITY

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บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษานี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาแนวคิดที่มีต่อการก่อรูปของนโยบายการบริหารราชการส่วนท้องถิ่นภายใต้แนวคิดจังหวัดจัดการตนเองของประเทศไทย ศึกษาเปรียบเทียบการก่อรูปของนโยบายการบริหารราชการส่วนท้องถิ่นภายใต้แนวคิดจังหวัดจัดการตนเองในระดับภูมิภาค และศึกษารูปแบบการขับเคลื่อนนโยบายการบริหารราชการส่วนท้องถิ่นภายใต้แนวคิดจังหวัดจัดการตนเองของจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ โดยเป็นการศึกษาวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพ กลุ่มผู้ให้ข้อมูลหลักได้แก่ นักวิชาการ แกนนำในการขับเคลื่อนนโยบาย และกลุ่มเครือข่ายเชิงประเด็น เลือกกลุ่มผู้ให้ข้อมูลโดยใช้วิธีการสุ่มตัวอย่างแบบเจาะจง (purposive sampling) ใช้เครื่องมือในการเก็บรวบรวมจากเอกสาร การสัมภาษณ์ และการประชุมกลุ่มย่อย

จากการศึกษาพบว่า แนวคิดที่มีต่อการก่อรูปของนโยบายการบริหารราชการส่วนท้องถิ่นภายใต้แนวคิดจังหวัดจัดการตนเองนั้นมีสามกลุ่มหลัก ได้แก่ ข้าราชการฝ่ายปกครอง ภาคประชาสังคม และนักวิชาการ ได้มีความคิดเห็นที่แตกต่างกัน โดยข้าราชการฝ่ายปกครอง และภาคประชาสังคม เป็นกลุ่มที่มีการตอบโต้กันที่ชัดเจน ทั้งสองกลุ่มได้แย่งชิงพื้นที่ทางนโยบาย ซึ่งมีการใช้เหตุผลในการสนับสนุนทางข้อมูลที่แตกต่างกัน ซึ่งข้าราชการฝ่ายปกครองยังคงใช้เหตุผลคัดค้านในประเด็นที่สอดคล้องกันกับช่วงขับเคลื่อนประเด็นการเลือกตั้งผู้ว่าฯ

จังหวัดเชียงใหม่เป็นจุดเริ่มต้นในการขับเคลื่อนนโยบายดังกล่าว ซึ่งมีแกนนำเป็นกลุ่ม NGOs ส่งผลให้ฐานภาคประชาสังคมมีบทบาทในการขับเคลื่อนนโยบาย นำไปสู่การขับเคลื่อนในพื้นที่อื่น ทั้งจังหวัดอุบลราชธานี จังหวัดระยอง และจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ จึงมีปัญหานโยบายที่สอดคล้องกัน โดยมุ่งเน้นปัญหาความขัดแย้งเชิงนโยบายในพื้นที่ ปัญหาทางด้านงบประมาณ การขาดประสิทธิภาพในการแก้ไขปัญหา

การขับเคลื่อนนโยบายการบริหารราชการส่วนท้องถิ่นภายใต้แนวคิดจังหวัดจัดการตนเองของจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ เป็นการขับเคลื่อนที่เน้นการสร้างกระแสแนวคิดจังหวัดจัดการตนเองกระจายในวงกว้าง และสร้างแนวร่วมในการขับเคลื่อนนโยบาย เพื่อผลักดันการกำหนดนโยบาย โดยเริ่มต้นในช่วงปี พ.ศ. 2551 เกิดขึ้นท่ามกลางความขัดแย้งทางการเมืองระดับประเทศ โดยมีแกนนำเป็นกลุ่ม NGOs ซึ่งไม่สัมพันธ์เนื่องกับกลุ่มประเด็นการเลือกตั้งผู้ว่าฯ ในช่วงปี พ.ศ. 2534 ที่เป็นกลุ่มเรียกร้องผลักดันเพื่อการกระจายอำนาจในช่วงแรกมากนัก กระบวนการขับเคลื่อนนโยบายดำเนินการผ่านเวทีเสวนา การสื่อสารสังคมด้วยสื่อต่างๆ ที่มีความหลากหลาย เกิดจากการได้รับงบประมาณสนับสนุนจากหลายภาคส่วน ทั้งนี้การขับเคลื่อนนโยบายดังกล่าวได้เกิดขึ้นภายใต้ความขัดแย้งทางการเมือง และการตอบโต้จากกลุ่มที่ไม่เห็นด้วย แต่สามารถร่างพระราชบัญญัติเชียงใหม่มหานครเพื่อยื่นรื้อพิจารณาได้สำเร็จ จนกระทั่งได้ลบทบาทลงเนื่องจากเหตุการณ์รัฐประหารในช่วงปี พ.ศ. 2557

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale and Background of the Study

The local governing is regarded as the government administration type taken place in various nations based on the decentralization principle and focuses on the people's participation. The local governing then is the governing type that can create the strong civil sector, the independence of the locals, and the effective people. The direct democracy, the strong community, the civil society, the localization, the communitization, and the local management are altogether integrated in the world's civilization. That is these help promote each person to be stronger with the quality, the imagination, and he does not rely on the frame that the other determines. This is the governing organization managing the local with the quality and is full of the potential to be the meaningful component of the state and eventually of the world.

Due to the aforementioned local governing, in case of the Thailand context, the Thai local governing started after the coup d'etat on June 24, 1932 by the group of the people led by Mr. Preedee Phanomyong. He had the idea of the decentralization of the authority to the locals in the form of the municipality and then the municipality had been established in 1933 with the enactment of the 1933 Municipality Organization Act. This could be said that the drive to have the decentralization at the first time came from the group of the people who desire to create the true and complete democracy while the decentralization in the Thai society at present either the election of the Bangkok provincial governor or the local governing in the special form of Pattaya are not the true decentralization at all. Nonetheless, some of the limitation are still controlled by the central organization and importantly, due to the fact that Thailand is not the truly democratic country and the

authorities out of the democratic system still prevail, not like the other countries such as Japan, South Korea, US, England among the others. (Tanet Charoenmuang¹, 2012)

From the aforementioned problems, the Thai local governing has faced problems in various dimensions either in the form of the people's less participation in the locals in managing their own lands as Chamnan Chanruang (2012) said about such problems that the less participation of the people in the locals is only on the voting for the election of the Local Administration Organization council and the Local Administration Organization executives. After that, they can not participate in other activities and this makes the Local Administration Organization lack of the power, the cooperation, and the interest from the people in the locals and this makes the Local Administration Organization unsuccessful as expected. Hence, they cannot overcome the problems occurred and they still walk around the same frame including the economic problem of the locals as Charas Suwanmala (2012) said about such problem that the centralized-state system fails to solve the problems on the difference or the economic and the social gaps between the provinces vertically and horizontally. The national politics or the centralized-state cannot solve the problems on the specific areas and this results in the hamilton paradox which destroys the tax base in the area and this makes the people in the locals lack of enthusiasm in gaining the incomes within the locals, in developing, and in solving the problems in the locals respectively.

The problems occurred from the Thai local governing have been consecutively presented as the time passes along with the trend of the decentralization to the locals in Thailand. This issue is in the interest of the academicians and the groups who demand for the decentralization to the locals and this leads to the movement to fight for the change for the decentralization form. In the early period, the academicians and the politicians had launched to help drive the election of the provincial governor during 1992 which is the one form of the local governing. That is the form that the executive comes from the election of the people. Therefore, the related discourse to the decentralization to the locals in the first period raised the provincial governor issue as the main issue.

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¹ Tanet Charoenmuang (2012) From the Editorial of the book entitled "Decentralization to the Locals and the Correction of the Constitution 2012" by Jetsada Chotikitpiwat and Witthayakorn Boonruang.

The direct election of the provincial governor in Thailand is the new and essential topic which yields the much impact on Thailand' state management. This issue occurred from the people during 1992-1994 when the people saw that the direct election of the provincial governor should be established since they saw that this was one part of the drive for the devolution. Importantly, the regional state management at the provincial level under the provincial governor could not solve the people's problems. (College of the Local Governing Development, Phra Pok Klao, 2009) The issue on the election of the provincial governor is in the interest of the society in the early period and it is less interested in due to the political systems that do not continually support or promote as Tanet Charoenmuang (2007) said about this issue that when the election of the provincial governor was truly popular during 1992-1993, the most important factor that boosted such interest was that the political party especially the Pha Lang Tham Party led by Gen. Jamlong Srimuang who played the important roles in the Black May 1992. The people throughout the country praised him. Besides the Pha Lang Tham Party, the Democrat Party, the New Hope Party, the Unity Party also proposed the policy on the election of the provincial governor and this led more people and more media interested in the politics. Then, in the late 1992 and in the early 1993, when the it was exactly that the mixed-government led by Mr. Chuan Leekpai and Gen. Chaowalit Yongchaiyut as the Minister of Interior Ministry were not interested in driving the policy on the election of the provincial governor and this issue then was less interested in.

From the starting point of the fight to decentralize to the locals as well as the election of the provincial governor, this becomes the social issue showing the problems of the state governing and this leads to the people's needs to change for the decentralized-local governing. However, because of the political change which is the essential factor leading to the determination of such policy and resulting in the less interest in the provincial governor.

During 2008, the fight issue to decentralize to the locals was again the social issue. It was the decentralized discourse entitled "Self-Governing Province Concept" with the starting point at Chiang Mai province. The group asking for the decentralization was the group coming from the civil sector and they united to drive the policy with the desire to make the "Self-Governing Province Concept" to be the

decentralized discourse that the society acknowledged in order to create the groups to advocate such discourse. The “Self-Governing Province Concept” is the discourse created from the group of the leaders driving such concept of Chiang Mai province under the decentralization concept with the facts that the locals have more authority to manage their own areas. The main contents are the election of the provincial governor, the cancellation of the regional state administration, and the increasing ratio of the budgets of the local offices. The “Self-Governing Province Concept” is then the issue which the society is more interested in and the consequence is that it was raised and proposed again in 2011 by the Reformation Committee to the Reformation Office as the country reformative approach by the orange color page book entitled “The Self-Governing Province Concept.” The “Self-Governing Province Concept” was then included as the one part of the orange color page book as the issue “Local Self-Governing Empowerment” on the topic “Decentralization from the Center to the Locals.”

From the aforementioned issue on the “Self-Governing Province Concept” is then driven from the policy from the leaders of Chiang Mai province including being the role model in driving the policy in the other provinces and this makes the “Self-Governing Province Concept” spread out to the other provinces such as Ubonratchathani, Rayong, Umnartjaroen, Phuket among the others. Chiang Mai province then is the successfully legal model driving the “Self-Governing Province Concept” policy under the 2007 Constitution of the Thai Kingdom of Section 281 stating that the state must provide the Local Administration Organization independence based on the self-governing principle as desired by the local people and the Local Administration Organization must be promoted to be the main office in preparing the public services as well as in participating in the decision-making for the solving of the problems in the areas. Chiang Mai province then proposed 12,000 names of those who have the right to vote to the Chairman of the Parliament in order that the parliament considered the draft of the Act as mentioned in the Constitution law, Section 163 of this constitution. They also proposed the draft of the Chiang Mai Metropolis Governing Regulation for the consideration of such Act on 20 October, 2013. However, when the political change was taken place, the consideration of such draft then must be delayed.

From the information on “The Self-Governing Province Concept”, it is found that the decentralization discourse is then the discourse occurred as the social issue in the wide scope and it is driven at the policy level. The researcher is then interested in the decentralization discourse under the name “The Self-Governing Province Concept.” whether how it yields the effects to the society, and how the society provides the opinions towards such issue. The study also includes the study on the formation of such policy at the regional level comprising Ubonratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai provinces in order to compare the problem issues taken place in the different contexts which will reflect the concrete problems on the local state administration which are the cause for the drive of the local state administration under “The Self-Governing Province Concept.”

Besides, the study is also carried out on the local state administration policy driving process under “The Self-Governing Province Concept” : A Case Study of Chiang Mai province since it is the province that started the policy-driving in the early period of the policy-driving in 2008 and this is seen as the success in driving such policy at one level. This study has the time scope at the early period of the policy-driving in 2008 until the time of the coup d’etat on May 22, 2014 in order to derive the learning for the further drives of the policies of the other areas.

1.2 Research Objectives

- 1) To study the concept towards the formation of the policy on the local state administration under the Self-Governing Province concept of Thailand.
- 2) To compare the formation of the policy on the local state administration under the Self-Governing Province concept at regional level.
- 3) To study the policy-driving form of the local state administration under the Self-Governing Province concept of Chiang Mai province.

1.3 Expected Benefits

1) The local state administration under the Self-Governing Province concept including the difference of the related factors to the drive the policies will be informed.

2) The formation process of the policies of the local state administration under the Self-Governing Province concept of Chiang Mai province will be informed as the approach used to study the other provinces in order to drive such policy to be the public issue.

3) The policy-driving form of Chiang Mai province used in managing the local under the Self-Governing Province concept will be derived and can be applied to be used in the other provinces.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND RELATED RESEARCHES

The study entitled “The Driving of the Policy on the Local Governing under the Self-Governing Province Concept: A Case Study of Chiang Mai province” is carried out through the systematic study of the documents concerning with the concepts, the theories, and the related researches as the approaches in the study.

The researcher then reviewed the related concepts, the theories, and the related researches as follow:

- 2.1 The concepts and the theories on the policy formation
- 2.2 The concepts and the theories on the social movement
- 2.3 The local governing under the self-governing province
- 2.4 The related researches
- 2.5 The Research Conceptual Framework

From the aforementioned study approach, the review of the related concepts and the theories can be presented as follow:

2.1 The concepts and the theories on the policy formation

The policy formation is regarded as one part of the policy process and is the step of the policy which is related to this study. The researcher studied the policy cycle with the concentration on the policy formation in order to understand the processes and steps of the policy starting from the creation of the public issue or the public problem and the policy formation as well. According to the rationale and the background of the study, it is found that the new policy of the local governing under the self-governing province concept: A case study of Chiang Mai province is still just the draft of the Chiang Mai Metropolis Governing Act which is during the waiting time for the approval from the parliament. It is then during the time of the policy formation. The study is also on the related concepts, theories, and researches

concerning with the policy formation such as the concepts and the theories about which the academicians mention on the steps at the early time of the policy process in order to drive the clearer and more covering study approach.

For the policy formation, it is regarded as the important issue of this study due to the fact that it is the content corresponding to the study objectives. The researcher used such theory in the study analysis on the policy formation of the policy on the local governing under the self-governing province concept which it can be arranged as follow:

The policy formation is one step in the policy cycle and the study of the policy formation is then so essential for the country administration as the country administration is the management based on the determined policies. Therefore, the policy formation process is then the back stage of such policy expression and it will inform the reasons or the rationale of such policy performance. Besides, the policy formation will inform about the rationale of the policy as well as its causes of the problems.

The policy formation, in terms of the concept or the theory, is not clearly mentioned due to the steps or the policy process have the different views on that depending on the views of the academicians on the public policy. However, it is related to the policy process, that is, it is at several steps of the policy. The policy formation will be by the steps in the policy process so the policy steps must be thoroughly studied in order to provide the clear understanding of various steps of the policy as well as the policy formation period of the public policy.

According to the policy process theory, the policy process is not clearly separated from each other but the policy process is just the model easy to understand the behavior of the actor and for each policy, it will be much different in terms of the complication of the problem and the ability of the driver. Lasswell² is the early academician who divided the policy process into 7 steps and who continually integrated and developed the model. The academicians on the public policy still have

² Lasswell cited in Bill Jenkins, 'Policy Analysis: Model and approaches', p.30 – 38 in Michael Hill, ed. *The Policy Process: A Reader*, Prentice Hall: Great Britain, 1997.

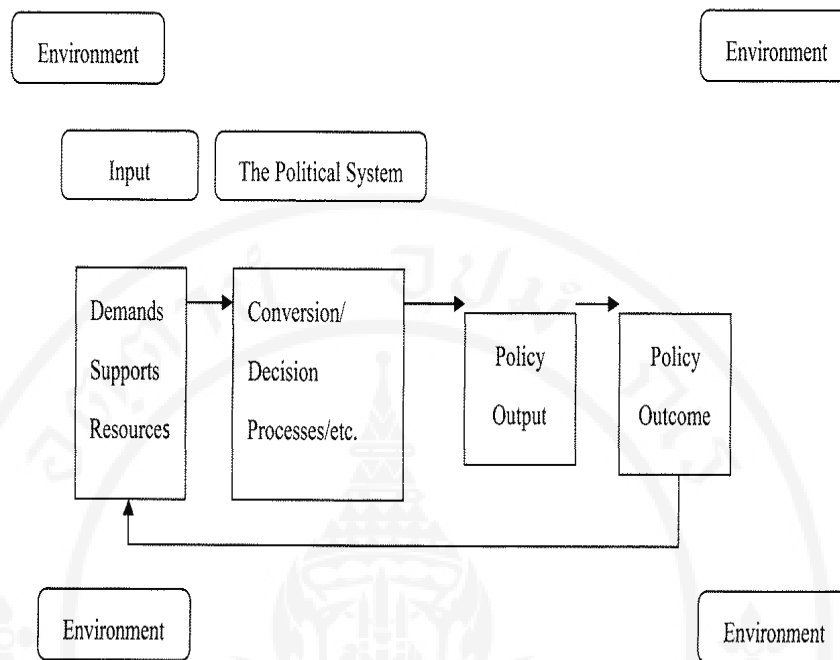
the different separation of the steps depending on their views towards the policy process. The different separation of the policy process can be presented as follow:

Generally, the policy process is divided into 3 main steps: the policy formulation, the policy implementation, and the policy evaluation respectively. Yehezkel Dror³ divided the policy cycle into 3 main steps: the policy formulation, the policy implementation, and the policy evaluation respectively. This corresponds with Martin Minogue⁴ who also divided the policy cycle into 3 main steps: the stage of formulation concerning with the clear objective determination, the stage of implementation concerning with the implementation of the objectives, and the stage of evaluation which is the evaluation stage of the implementation as well as the feedbacks derived in order to create the new cycle. Nonetheless, such step dividing led to no understanding of the detailed processes of the clear policy such as the lack of the detail at the step of the policy formation which is the step prior to the policy determination. Moreover, the policy is the complicated issue and causes the different policies. Also, the academicians on the policy developed the model for the understanding of the detailed policy process as Bill Jenkins⁵ recorded in order to view the holistic view of the policy process as shown in the Model 2.1 below.

³ Yehezkel Dror cited in Werner Jann and Kai Wegrich, 'Theories of the Policy Cycle', p.43 – 62 in Frank Fischer, ed. Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Politics, and Methods. CRC Press: USA, 2007.

⁴ Martin Minogue cited in Theory and practice in public policy and administration, p.10 – 29 in Michael Hill, ed. The Policy Process: A Reader, Prentice Hall: Great Britain, 1997.

⁵ Bill Jenkins cited in Policy Analysis: Model and approaches, p.33 in Michael Hill, ed. The Policy Process: A Reader, Prentice Hall: Great Britain, 1997.



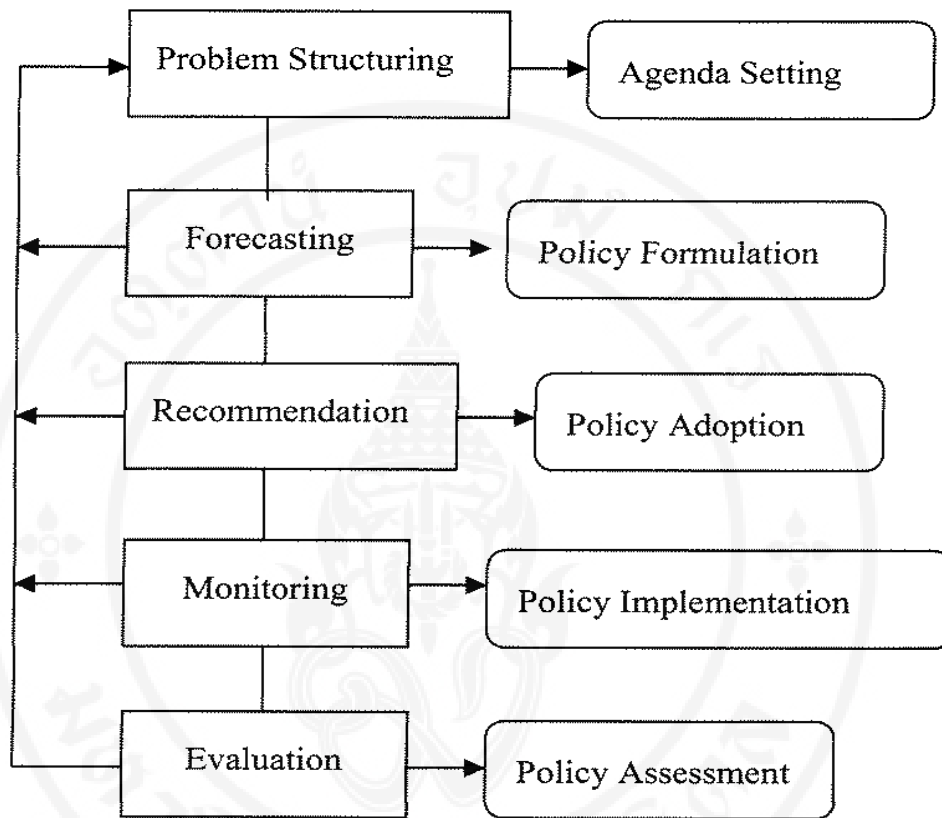
Model 2.1 Shows the systems model of the policy process

From the above Model: the systems model of the policy process, the 4 important components can be classified as follow:

- 1) The policy demands which means the demands needing the implementations.
- 2) The policy decision which means the decision to choose to implement of the authorized person.
- 3) The policy output which means the result of the implementation in the form of the outcomes.
- 4) The policy outcomes or impacts which means the outcomes taken place either with the intention or the non-intention to do or not to do of the political systems.

From the Model 2.1, the clearer policy process can be more understood and that such policy formation is in the input factor and that the policy demands are regarded as the issue leading to the policy determination. Hence, the formation process is then the public issue or the public problem that leads to the decision-making of the authorized person. For this issue, the academicians on the public policy divided the

steps of the formation of the policy as Dunn N. William⁶ who proposed the steps by showing the policy formation process as shown in Model 2.2 below:



Model 2.2 shows the Model of the Policy Process of Dunn N. William

Source : Dunn N. William, Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction

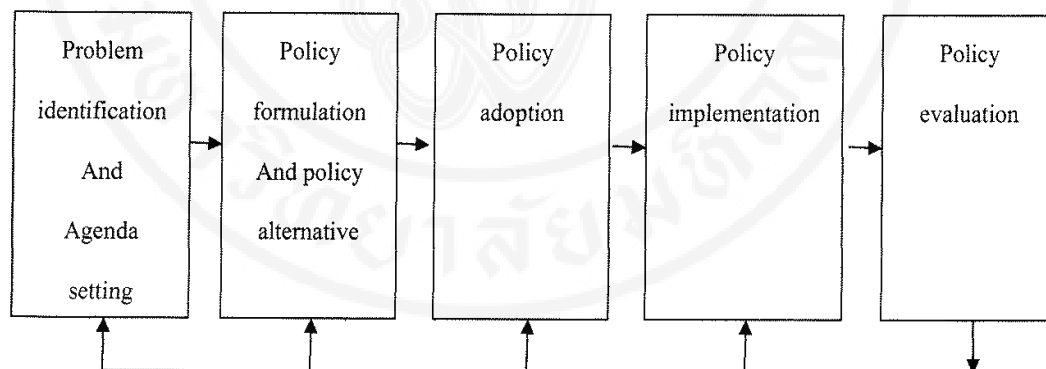
(New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994), p. 17.

From the policy process model of Dunn N. William, the details of the policy process at the stage of the policy formation can be said that such model's stages are divided prior to the policy determination. The first frame of the model, the problem-structuring means prior to the happening of the policy, there must be the public problems that the people see that they should be solved and this leads to the agenda setting prior to the policy forms which will further lead to the implementation. Therefore, if mentioning about the process model of Dunn N. William, the mentioning

⁶ Dunn N. William cited in Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994), p. 17.

of the policy formation must be made at the first stage which Dunn provided the meaning of the structuring problem that it is the important part of the analysis of the policy formation and it is the essential starting point in finding out the causes which relate to the agenda setting and the result of this stage is the one caused by such problems that is in the interest and changed from the problem to the demand from the society.

The presentation of the process model of Dunn N. William can help explain the steps of the clear policy formation that can be used as the concept or the theory in this study. That is the policy formation step comprises 2 important parts: the problem structuring and the agenda setting. Besides, Charles L. Cochran and Eloise F. Malone⁷ explained the steps of the policy process which comprises the content on the corresponding policy process steps with that proposed by Dunn N. William and the details of the policy process at the stage of the policy formation can be shown as the Model 2.4 below:



Model 2.3 shows the Policy Process

According to above Model, it can be seen that the first stage of the policy formation is the problem identification and agenda setting. The identification of the problem is the starting point of the policy formation since the policy is the approach for the problem-solving. As several problems take place in the society, the problem identification then shows that what problem is in the interest of the society or who has

⁷ Charles L. Cochran and Eloise F. Malone. (1995). Public policy : Perspectives and choices, p. 39-57

the authority to solve such problem. Mostly, the problem that is identified for the policy determination is the one which is in the society's interest or is the public problem. For the agenda setting, it means the public problem process which is raised as the important social problem and becomes the agenda for the consideration as well as the further policy formulation.

From the aforementioned contents, it is found that the explanation of the policy process from the policy process model of Dunn N. William and the policy process of Charles L. Cochran and Eloise F. Malone is that the policy formation comprises the problem structuring, the problem identification, and the agenda setting which is usually combined with the policy formulation stage.

Policy Formation : Policy Problem and Agenda

According to the aforementioned explanation on the policy formation, it can be concluded that the policy formation comprises 2 main important parts: the policy problem and the determination of the agenda. The policy problem means the problem leading to the determination of the policy while the determination of the agenda means that such problem is interested and becomes the important agenda for further policy determination. However, the policy formation might not lead to the determination of the policy or it might not be raised up or developed to be the policy implementation approach. For this, the researcher had explained about the detail of the policy formation in 2 main parts: the policy problem which is the important part of the policy formation in order for the clear understanding of the policy problem dimension as the basic analysis unit and this will lead to the further policy processes in the next step. The details of the whole policy process can be presented as follow:

Policy Problem

In the first part, the policy problem with the clear study approach by the consideration of the characteristics and the significance of the policy problem will be presented.

Anderson (1994 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 317) said that the policy formation is the first stage of the public policy process with the starting point from the consideration of the characteristics of the public problem and

generally, starting from the individual problem such as the lack of the land of the farmers which is the specific problem of each farmer and when many farmers face the same problem, the problem on the lack of the land which is formerly the individual problem will become the problem of most farmers that is called the public problem and this problem affects the country's development. From this reason, the study on the policy formation is then necessary to be clearly started with the analysis of the characteristics and the public problems in order to be confident that these problems are whose problems, if they are not solved, what happen, and if the government solves them, who will gain the benefits and who will lose the benefits, whether the effects from the solution will be as expected, and who should take charge in implementing the policy, and finally, such action will make use of what capital or the resource respectively.

Jones and Matthes (1983 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 320) said about the significance of the policy problem that most things that the government does show the effort to manage the definition of the problem and the seek for the solutions for the social problems which show the contrast in themselves. However, the following issues are all the basic conditions in the consideration of the policy problem: what such issues are, how about their scopes, who will benefit more or who will lose more, most people will benefit what from these solutions.

To study the details of the policy problems, most people will focus on the nature of the problem and the public problem identification. If the study does not focus on the characteristics and the problem dimensions which are the boosting factors of the actions taken by the government, less success will be derived. Hence, it is essential to know that why some problems are accepted while some are ignored. Anderson (1994 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 320)

The academicians on the public policy emphasize on the policy formation through the concentration on the policy problem. Sombat Thamrongthanyawong⁸ said that there are 2 levels of the policy problem: the individual level and the institution level. That is the consideration of the characteristics and the significance of the policy problem might be considered from the relationship of the 2 levels: the individual level

⁸ Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, *Public Policy : Concepts, Analysis, and Process* (2007) ,p. 318

and the institution level. The individual level might be the elites or the important members of various organizations who play the vital roles in determining the policy problems of the society. For the consideration of the policy problem, it is necessary to study the related factors especially those related to the policy determiners as Mucciaroni (1960 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 328) said about the government's value in considering the problem that, generally, the policy analysts must always aware that the policy determiners have their own value and if the policy analysts propose the problems or the problem solutions that do not correspond with the value of the policy determiners, it is likely that those proposals will be rejected. In contrast, if the policy analysts propose the problems or the problem solutions that do correspond with the value of the policy determiners, it is likely that those proposals will be agreed or accepted. That is, in the case that the policy determiners have the conservative value who need the continual change and if the policy analysts propose the problems or the problem solutions in the conservative way, it is likely that those proposals will be agreed or accepted but if the policy analysts propose the problems or the problem solutions in the laissez-faire way with the rapid change, it is likely that those proposals will be rejected. Therefore, it can be said that the value of the policy determiners highly and significantly affects the consideration of the problem and the problem solution for the public problems of all societies.

The Agenda Setting

The process of the agenda setting for the policy problem will concern with the arguments in prioritizing the problems as every society has many public problems and these problems occurred among the variety of the problem issues as well as the beneficiaries. Hence, the agenda setting process is related to the politics which is about the benefits and the competition in order to that their problem issues will be implemented as the legal policies.

For the meaning of the agenda setting process, the academicians had explained the steps and the relationship as Ruangvit Getsuwan (2007 page 145) said that the policy determination is divided into 2 steps: the agenda building or agenda setting and the policy formulation. The policy agenda is important for the policy determination and if there is no agenda, the policy will not then raised for

consideration while the policy determination is the preparation to solve the problems as set in the agenda. These two steps relate to each other due to the fact that prior to the determination of the agenda, the solutions must be previously sought.

From the aforementioned meaning, the definition is then provided based on the relationship. That is the policy formation focuses on the understanding the concepts and the problems taken place including the consideration of the policy approaches to effectively solve the public problems. (May, 1991 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 336) The study of the policy formation is divided into 2 dimensions as follow:

The first dimension is the agenda setting for the consideration of the policy problems. For this dimension, the policy analyst must study what the problem is or what the problem is not prior to the policy agenda.

The second dimension is the policy design. For this, the policy analyst must study the structure model of the policy's logics, the model of the decision makers, and the model of the policy environment. (Schneider and Ingram, 1990 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 336)

Nonetheless, Lowi (1992 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 328) said that the study on the policy-making is the universal study or the innatural universe study which relies on the judgment and the evaluation in order to derive the most appropriate policy. Hence, to set the policy agenda, these concepts must be also considered.

1) The political benefits The political leaders play the important roles in setting the agenda and they have the benefits directly related to the prioritization of the public problem agenda. Usually, the political leaders or the politicians will attempt to gain the influences towards this process both in terms of the concept for the consideration of the problems and the interest of the public towards the problems. The effects occurred with the involved people including the attempt to publicize that he has the intention and the approach to solve the problems.

However, all groups related to the policy problem will try to demand for the rapid consideration of their policy problems and if the people in charge ignore,

they will move and attack those people in charge and this is the simple phenomenon. (Lipsky, 1968 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 338)

To conclude, the consideration of the policy agenda in terms of the politics, the policy analyst must be interested in the policy setting in all dimensions both the study of the society's needs towards the policy problems, the study on the politicians' needs, the study about the sub-system of the politics such as the bureaucratic system, the enactive system of the law, the roles of the influential groups and the benefits, the researchers, the news reporters on the policy. (Sabatier, 1991 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 339)

2) The value of the offices in charge or the offices taking charge in considering the policy problem agenda have the essential roles in prioritizing the policy problems for the consideration in the meetings as they have the direct responsibility.

However, the roles of the offices in charge still depend on the other factors and influences such as the politician who has the authority to command, the effected groups from the problems, the interest of the public, the groups of the benefit, and the drive from the related offices among the others.

Hence, the offices in charge must have the skills in appropriately coordinating the benefits of the influential groups especially the compromise to make the related groups satisfied.

2) The needs of the people In the democratic society which the people have high roles in participating in the politics, (Milbrath, 1969 cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2007 page 340) the people will have the important roles in expressing out their own problems or needs especially in the democratic society in the form of the pluralist society in which there are lots of benefits. They have the important roles in moving to demand the government to take their problems into their consideration in the meetings in order to develop them to be the policy.

3) The public problem issue that is in the high interest of the people and they highly demand will affect the decision-making of the leaders in order to urgently take that problem into the consideration agenda. In contrast, is any problem is not in the interest of man people and the groups related to the problem have no influences, the chance for the consideration of that problem is so low. This is due to the fact that

the politician and the people in charge only think about the political benefits and their own values.

From the study on the policy formation, it can be concluded that the policy problem and the agenda setting are the steps that relate to each other as Ruangvit Getsuwan (2007 page 147) said that the public problem is the trouble occurred among many people and if it is in the interest of the people and they demand for the rapid action by moving, it will be rapidly taken into the consideration of the meeting by the government until it will become the policy eventually.

The Policy Formation by the People

The policy formation by the people is also the important issue for the policy formation. It is the fighting movement for the policy formation and from the review of the concepts and the theories on the policy, they can be presented as follow:

As Kingdon⁹ mentioned about the ambiguity in the policy window theory that it is the characteristic that the state with the alternative of the ideas tries to test why) some issues are significant while the others are not or ignored. The multiple streams theory then was proposed in that there are 3 streams of the problem: the first stream which is the problem stream saying that the problem has the meaningful components that related to the perception of the individual and not all conditions will lead to the problem but some problems are determined by the beliefs or the values, the second stream which is the stream of the policy concept which come from the experts and it is integrated from various ideas, and the third stream which is the political stream. The problem issues will take place as these three streams are integrated or joined together as Kingdon proposed the policy window meaning the welcome of the drives for the problem-solving. From the policy window theory, Kingdon placed the significance on the problem stream which was regarded as the step of the policy formation and this helped the problem become the policy.

However, the view of Kingdon is still general while Sabatier proposed the emphasis on the significance of the sub-systems of the relationship system of the group of the people related to the policy and this group theory is regarded as the model

⁹ Kingdom cited in Sabatier Pual A..Theories of the policy process,Colorado. 1999 : Westview Press, p. 74-76

explaining the driving process of the policy from the groups of the benefits who need the policy based on their own needs. Besides, it is also explained via the approach which corresponds with such issue. The advocacy coalition framework of policy change means that the change of the policy comes from the drive of the group in the policy system starting from the agent in the form that the group leaders collect the sub-groups to support by the resources and the new beliefs while the other groups do the same. Then, they compete in proposing the strategies as the practice approaches for the people who have the authority to make the decision. At last, the decision-makers then make the decisions until the resources of the offices change. (Ruangvit Getsuwan, 2008)

Sabatier (cited in Ruangvit Getsuwan, 2008) saw that the main cause of the changed idea came from the policy learning process about the change of the external factors or having more knowledge on the policy problems. Such leaning process is the tool that change the group's idea because this makes the group more understand various things and might lead to the setting of the new objectives as the group sees that the basic belief on the policy is wrong or it cannot be achieved or they might use the previous policy for the analysis in order to support the belief of their own group or attack the opposite party. With this, when there is the argument on the system of the core belief, various groups will unite as the alliance or the adversary. So, it can be concluded that Sabatier placed the significance on the policy belief system as it is the important cause making the policy change due to the fact that the people in the same group see the sub-issues differently but if they agree on the main principles, they will support the policy but if many people propose that the main principle should be changed, they will propose the new strategies to drive the policy for change.

Sabatier (cited in Ruangvit Getsuwan, 2008) said that the important cause why they place the significance on the belief system is that there are various institutions such as the institutions on the environment but the group of the belief might be grouped as few groups. The belief is the concept system that can change and can be analyzed to find out the change clearer than the view from the institution, the benefits, and the resources. The model of Sabatier then is flexible and complicated since Sabatier analyzed the policy via the group theory but he emphasized on the belief system or group idea which he saw that it is the important sub-system of the

policy and he also placed the significance on the resource and the benefit which are the main analysis issues of the original group theory but just seen that it is less important since he himself did not see clearly as the belief system such as the pollution problem if seen in terms of the belief system, it will be seen that it is dangerous to the health that must be strictly solved by one group while another group sees that the producers must join via the market system and the inspired measurements to make them solve the problem by themselves. The changed belief directly affects the change of the policy and leading to the consecutive changes especially the long-termed policy.

From the study on the advocacy coalition framework of policy change of Sabatier, it can be used to explain various benefit groups in the society in creating the networks leading to the socially powerful fights and to the creation of the new strategies for the setting of the policy that all groups in the network need. The movement to set the policy on the local governing under the self-governing province concept then is the policy that takes place in the bottom-up form and it is the drive of the people who need to adjust or change the form of the bureaucratic governing. The drive of such policy both relates to social movement and to policy network which concerns with the movement of the people uniting to drive the policy needed to be implemented as Ruangvit Getsuwan (2008, page 125) said about the policy network that the concept of the policy network originated from the corporatist theory because this theory points out that the benefit group who has the authority outside the government must be interested in. The new public policy does not come from the civil society and because of the significant characteristics of various groups in the civil sector are independent and they unite as the networks which correspond with the concept on the civil society of Seksan Prasertkul. (2005) He defined the civil society as “the movement with the political consciousness of the group of the people to reduce the authority to govern and to transfer some authority to the people to directly take care of themselves” and it is the reaction to the exercise of the authority by the state in order to check and balance the authority of the free marketing system in the civil sector and it is the process of the direct use of the authority by the people more than the election in order to access the policy process at all steps with the essential objective to reduce the governing status by the state, to limit the governing scope by

the state, to let the society take care of themselves, and to check and balance the state's authority by the civil sector not based on the state's authority.

Likewise, Silke Adam and Hanspeter Kriesi¹⁰ said that the uniting as the networks for the political functions to demand for the governing change by the state which corresponds with this study. That is the functions of the policy network to design the new governing structure different from the former one in the form of the vertical governing form of the bureaucratic system or even in the form of the horizontal governing of the business system. The emphasized characteristic is that this structure is carried out through the cooperation in managing the organization and the state and the business sectors join in discussing and solving the problems. Due to this, the government will not only confront with the marketing and the bureaucratic systems but also with the networks. Hence, the essential characteristics of the network are the self-governing and against the government's control.

From the aforementioned content, it can be seen that the policy network is not the new issue in terms of the policy but it has been said about by the academicians on the public policy all the time with the similar emphasis in placing the significance on the local policy and the participation of the people in setting the problems for the further policy setting.

From the study on the concepts and the related theories on the policy formation which is the step of the policy process, the researcher presents such concepts and the related theories in various dimensions as in the analysis of the policy, in reality, there is no fixed form and the occurrence of the policy relates to factors with the variety and can be changed all the time.

2.2 The concepts and the theories on the social movement

One of this study's objectives aims to study the model of the movement for the policy-driving on the local governing under the self-governing province

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¹⁰ Silke Adam and Hanspeter Kriesi, "The network approach" in Pual A. Sabatier. (2007). Theories of the policy process. (Colorado : Westview Press), p. 130-131.

concept : A case study of Chiang Mai province and then it is necessary to study the related concepts and theories which can be presented as follow:

The Social Movement

The social movement is the grouping of the people who have the same ideal and value to carry out the activities based on their needs and the theory on the social movement is then the social science theory which can be used in the analysis of the situation movement or the existing changes in the society.

In this part, the researcher collected the definitions of the social movement term and the meanings relate to the policy drive which is the essential objective of this study.

Lyman (1955, cited in Wichian Buranrak, 2005) said that the social movement means the process causing the change of the way of living and the social norm in order to achieve not only the socio-politico-economic reformation but also to achieve the environment and the individual right but it I cannot be at this time under the governing context based on the attitude and the traditional norm.

For the clear definition of the density of the social movement, Pasuk Phongpaichit (2000) said that the social process or the social movement is the issue of the grouping in order to do as the group. Nonetheless, the definitions of the density of the group doing called the social process are different. The academicians see that it is the topic of the grouping for the group doing intentionally only to change the main authority state of the society. In contrast, some academicians see that even though the group doing is for the change of the policy or the policy setting process of the state and if it sustainably expands, it might lead to the social change at the wide scope.

Significant Characteristics of the Social Movement

Suwida Thammanee Wong¹¹ said that the social movement is the demanding process of the group of the people needing to change the society in the direction they need. The number of these people might be a thousand or a hundred thousand assembling to demand with the loose social organization and each group

¹¹ Suwida Thammanee Wong Article on the Social Movement published in the Arts Journal, Silpakorn University 2 (December 2543-May 2544),p. 32-54

might have the different participation level. The common characteristic of the social movement is that the people who join the movement are goal-oriented and have the intentional change with the common ideal that the movement will lead to the change in the direction they need such as the movement demanding the government to adjust the buying price of the rubber among the others.

The social movement has the process occurred at each step until it reaches the movement demanding. That is the social situations at that time make the demanders feel stressed since they are treated unfairly from the double standard actions and when they feel like this, it will lead to the common belief that it is the problem and should be solved and if it is expanded to the wide scope and the number of the demanding people is increased, it will lead to the mobilization by the people, money, and the others including the people who make the public relations until it makes the demanders imagine that the existing problems are worse and they need the change. At this step, there will be the organization with the participation by various organizations with the specific goals but with the same ideal to achieve the goal in having the change. When the actions are taken, the group of the benefits will try to destroy the movement with various reactions in order to disable the movement.

Since this study is on the social movement with the aim to change the governing of the state, the related concepts and the theories were them reviewed as follow:

Pasuk Phongpaichit (1999) said that the resource mobilization theory aims to understand the approach and the strategy of the movement process and it wants to explain why some processes are successful while some are not. The success can be seen from the change of the policy of the state or the enactment of the new laws by the state to support the goals of the demanders. This theory ignores why the process takes place but that is just the simple thing to happen. The name of theory comes from the fact that the theory needs to show that the success of the demanding process depends on the money and various resources used and these resources might come from the inspiration to gain the demanders and they help support the expenses. The individual joins the movement because he sees that he will gain the benefit from that and that benefit inspires him to invest. Besides, the success still depends on the fact that how such movement can create the relationship network with the other networks.

Hence, the resource mobilization theory has its emphasis on “The movement’s strategy” for the success in the form of the change of the policy of the state or the enactment of the new laws or the adjustment of the old laws by the state. Therefore, the analysts see this theory that it focuses on the political action rather than on the change or the creation of the civil society.

The resource mobilization theory has its branch called the political process approach. This approach sees that the social movement is one form of the “mass politics.” That is it focuses on the analysis of the relationship between the social process with the state. This theory has its hypothesis that the chance that the social movement will achieve is determined by “the political chance” which will help support or, conversely, the politics does not help support and tries to suppress or control various social movements and the chance for the success is low. If the government is weak, the “the political chance” will take place and the movement will succeed. The academicians of this approach ignore the resource mobilization and focus on the reaction between the social movement process and the state and various political ways will affect the success or the failure of the “process.” Prapas Pintoptang (2009) said that the resource mobilization theory focuses on the problems to collect the people, the choice to use the effective strategies for the movement and the factors related to the success or the failure of the social process as follow:

While the grouping theory has the frame to explain the origin and the grouping of the individual based on the same concept, the shared grievances of the people which is the basic important concept and the necessary condition causing the co-doing or the social process but the resource mobilization theory notices that the problem and the dissatisfaction are general in the society but why the social movement does not take place in all problems. According to the resource mobilization theory, the organizations of the process have essential roles and functions in allocating the resources and the people for the movement to compete in gaining the resources especially the role in adjusting the goal and the strategy for the situations in order to achieve the goals and the maintenance of the social movement. Byrne (1996 cited in Prapas Pintoptang, 2552 page 78) However, although the resource mobilization theory sees that the social process is similar to the group of the benefits or the driving group due to the important function that is the collection of the benefits of the group

with the important difference. That is the resource mobilization theory sees that the social movement has the space at the rim or outside the normal politics while the group of the benefits performs within the normal political structure.

The resource mobilization theory compares the social process and the working process of the components of the social process with the economics concept and this is the seeing that the social process is like the production sector. That is the social movement is like the company or the firm and the similar movements will be combined as the Industry of the social process and when various social movements unite together as the networks, it will lead to the Social Movement Sector-SMS. The heart of the determination of the components of this theory is to the working process of the social movement is like the business production with the effort to unite as various networks relying on the movement to create the power and reduce the cost for the movement organizations.

For the resources collection, the social movement organization must have the supporting resources in order to able to carry out the activities as planned and the owners of the resources are the individual as well as various organizations in the society which can be divided into various dimensions as follow:

- The adherent who is the individual and the group of the organizations having the common belief of the social process.

- The constituent who is the individual that supports the resources for the social movement organizations.

- The bystander public who are not the participants but perceive the goals and the actions of the social process and at same time they are not the “adversary” or the “opponents” or the counter-movement.”

- The opponent who is the person who disagrees with the law and the action leading to the achievement of the social process which might be divided into the elite opponent who is the person, the institution, the political institution among the others which can possess the large amount of the resources and the mass opponent who is the individual or the organization who possess the limited resources. Besides, in the social phenomena in which the social process is working might divide the related individual or the organization based on the benefit gain from the success as follow:

- The potential beneficiary is the individual or the group of organizations which is the part of the social process and gains the benefit from the success of the movement organization.

- The conscience adherent is the individual or the group of organizations which is the part of the social process and who feel sympathetic and want to help but he does not gain the benefit from the success of the movement organization.

However, the classification of the people possessing the resources for the social movement organization leads to the analysis of the resource mobilization of the social movement organization such as the trying to persuade the bystander public to be the member with the common goal or the expansion of the process's goal and the beneficiary's scope.

However, there are 3 arguments about the analysis of the resource mobilization of the social movement organization as follow:

The first is the supporters but gain no benefits and most are the group of the people or the organizations possessing the resources and do not join in the process only for the benefits. Hence, they are the group of the organization who provides the social movement process as well as the movement networks the resources more than one organization which will lead to the conflict on the royalty to the organization and to the sustainability of the bond to the social movement organization.

The second is the social movement organization trying to connect the supporters but gain no benefit with those gain the benefits directly into the organization and this might negatively affects the organization because of the different background from those gain the benefits and as the outsiders. Besides, this will lead to the groups of the people in the organization. However, such problem may be solved by the aforementioned connection which will avoid the conflicts within the organization as well as the problem on the fairness in functioning for the group of the people gaining the benefits or the beneficiary constituents.

Then third is the relationship between the supporters with the benefits in the social movement organization and the movement networks and this will also result in the overlapping of the fighting strategies of the social process.

From the resources mobilization and the social movement, it can be seen that the relationship of the people possessing the resources and the social movement

organization is the important key making the social process can be developed or grown or, in contrast, it will lead to the regression or the failure.

For the strategy for the fighting movement, it is found that the main way used in the movement for the achievement is the use of the collective action with the disruptive tactics such as the mass mobilization, the collective identity of the people in the process or the creation of the protest events among the others. This creation of the power through such approach takes place outside the space and the normal political channels and it is usually the movement that conflicts with the institution's structure in the society which will lead to counter-movement.

Hence, the fighting movement draws in the bonding and the unity of the people in troubles through the consciousness creation process and this can be said that the resource base for the movement is at the persuasion of the people since the social process cannot access, possess, and make use of the resources in the normal political system. Sometimes, the social process is then regarded as the obsolescence hidden in the new society as the social process does not act through the institution structure or the organization and the political process with the clear classification which is different from the original one. This is different from the group of the benefit-gaining who relies on the channel to fight and negotiate. The fight of such group is then the political fight in the form of the lobby and it is the fight to join in the decision-making on the formal structure of the organization institution while the social process focuses on the persuasion approach outside the group. That is the social process movement is the essential fighting tool of the group of the people who is excluded from the normal politics.

Apart from the resource mobilization theory which can explain the social movement focusing on the uniting and the resource support as the factors helping the social movement. This group still changes and develops the model to be clearly used in the social analysis as Chairat Charoensin-o-larn (1999) said that the new social movement is not the same movement based on just only one class as the past movement as the Marxist theory trying to explain and it is not the narrow topic about the benefit of the specific group as the benefit theory said. It is not the demand through the existing political mechanisms such as the political parties or the politicians and it is also not the one relying on the state mechanism like the past movement but it is the

movement demanding by itself because it does not believe in the political party system and in the capability and the truth of the state. The goal of the movement is not then to gain the state's authority like the movement in the past but it needs to create "the new regulations or rules in earning their living". From such approach, it is then the grouping demanding for the change or for the determination of the new policy.

2.3 Local Governing under Self-Governing Province Concept

The main issues of this study is the local governing under the self-governing province concept and in this part, the details on the meaning and the models of such concept will be presented as follow:

For the meaning of the local governing under the self-governing province concept, it can be as Daniel Wit (cited in Chaowalit Sala , 2013 page 17) said that the local governing means the governing that the central government empowers or decentralizes the authority to the local offices in order to give the people the chance in the locals to have the authority to govern themselves either for the whole or just some parts based on the principle saying that if the governing authority comes from the people in the locals, the local government is then the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Hence, the local governing has to have its own governing organization which originated from the decentralization of the central government by letting the non-central government organization has the authority in decision-making as well as in governing the locals. From this meaning, it means that the central government must decentralize the authority to the locals in order that the people have the authority to govern themselves. Moreover, it means that the people must have the duty and the right in voting for their own local executives as William V. Holloway defined that the local governing means the organization having the exact space with the determined population, the self-governing authority, and the local council elected from the people.

Haris G. Montagu defined the local governing that the governing which the local governing organization has the independent election in order to elect the one who governs the local with the independent authority and the responsibility that he can use without the control from the central or regional governing offices but it is still

under the rule on the country's supreme authority and it does not become the new autonomous state at all.

William A. Robson defined that the local governing means the governing unit that the state establishes and has the autonomous authority, the legal right, and the necessary organization to function to achieve the goals of that local governing unit. (cited in Chaowalit Sala, 2556 page 17)

From the aforementioned meanings, it can be concluded that the local governing is the decentralization from the central government to the people in the locals to manage their own spaces with their own authority and participation which corresponds with the Thai academicians saying about the local governing. Tanet Charoenmuang (2010) said about the important issues of the local governing that it actually means the self-governing of the people in each local with the following 6 important details:

The first item: the people in the locals are independent to make decision and govern their own locals.

The independence are:

1. The independence to set the policy used in developing their own locals called the autonomous policy.

2. The independence to plan in order to set the directions of the local governing called the planning autonomy.

3. The independence to enact the regulations used in the locals called the regulatory autonomy.

4. The independence to set the budget spent in the local governing for each scheme as well as the income gaining called the financial autonomy.

5. The independence to administer all jobs in all sides called the administrative autonomy to achieve various policies, schemes, regulations.

6. The independence to command called the personnel autonomy.

Item 2 The people must participate in various processes in order to provide the people the independence.

Item 3 The member of the local council and the executive must come from the election by the people which can be either the direct or the indirect election.

Item 4 The local governing must have the legal status in order to take charge in governing themselves. That is it is the legalized body who can perform any jobs as determined by the law and who has to accept the consequence of his performance at the same time.

Item 5 The relationship between the central government and the local governing body is that the central government takes care of not controls and it is in the form of following not controlling.

Item 6 The independence of each local does not mean that the local is independent only in administering the local but it has the authority in establishing its own state not depending on the others.

From the aforementioned important contents on the local governing, it is found that the gists of such contents are that the people can participate in their own governing, they can set their own policy, and their own development directions, they are independent for their own governing in all dimensions including the enactment of the laws, the setting of the policy, and the financial management and these components will lead to the effective local governing.

Nevertheless, the local governing is argued due to the different thinking schools and those views on the issue were reviewed from various sources which can be presented as follow:

When speaking about the local governing, the main thought was argued by the 2 schools, the first

is the centralism and the second is the decentralism. Each school has its own view and to understand the main thought of various schools, the reviews on such topic was conducted and their results are as follow:

Tanet Charoenmuang (2007) said about the local governing theory which concerns with the main thought of each school that

The heart of the local governing is actually the question that how the local governing relates to the democratic system, how the allocation of the authority between the local organizations and the central government should be, and how the local governing is truly democratic respectively.

For the western world's history, there are 3 different concepts on this issue which is different from the Thai society where there is only one concept. That is all

parties like to say that the local governing is the base of the democratic governing and is the essential governing. However, in practice, it is not that.

The first school is the concept of the against party of the local governing and they see that the local governing is the principle obstructing the democratic governing with the election while the second school sees that the democratic principle such as the majority rule and the equality does not respond to the demands of the local governing as the local governing is narrow focusing only on the their own locals called the parochial or the diverse and it tends to become the potentially oligarchic with the corruptions. The third school sees that the democratic system and the local governing closely relate to each other. The people must have freedom. The people paying the tax must have the right to administer the country or the nation. They must know what the executives will do and the executives should consult with the people for various public activities and whether the people are in the city or the village, they all have the freedom in administering the locals for the locals' benefits

When the first school sees that the local governing and the democratic system absolutely conflict to each other and the local governing is not allowed to take place; consequently, the country administration based on such concept is then the centralization system with no local governing.

When the second school sees that the local governing is allowed but it must be strictly controlled by the central government because the heart of the country administration is at the center and the voice of the majority of the people must be listened to. Then, the local governing at all levels have the same status and administration structure. This attitude is of some French thinkers such as George Longo who said that the democratic political system needs no local governing as the local governing is just the administration mechanism in terms of the technique and it is not necessary that the local governing will accept the democratic value since such organizations might be devisive, inegalitarian, and contrary to the public will. Besides, some locals may think of the separation of the land to be the autonomous state. Such attitude affects the services and the local governing of France prior to the big local governing reformation in 1982.

The Belgian thinker like Leo Moulin also saw like this by saying that the participation in the local governing of the people, in practice, have many limitations.

the local governing is just the training place to protect one's own benefits and those of the locals which are narrow and ignore the benefits at the higher level than the country while the administration at the national level is so large and different from that of the locals that the experience and the knowledge used in managing the locals cannot be used in managing at the national level. Besides, the benefits at the local level and the possibility to gain the benefits for one's own is also not suitable for the new democratic governing system and such thinking also influences the local governing in Belgium.

For the third school, the local governing is necessary for the democratic system as it helps the local people propose the problems and the solutions. John Stuart Mill saw that the local governing is the political study and is the source to create the unity in the locals. The local governing is then primary factor of the democratic system. In the view of Panter Brick, the local governing is the necessary condition of the national democracy since it creates a democratic climate of opinion.

From the study of W. Hardy Wickwar, it is found that, in one dimension, the local governing takes place prior to the state because 'the local governing is the sibling of the ancient community and it reflects the humans' natural cultures rather than those of the new civilizations' Hence, the local governing is not the space that the state divides into the small parts just only for the convenience in administering or in the educational management but it is the part of the government that the local does not want to give to the state but the community who originates the local governing keeps it all the time

The local governing also creates 2 essential democratic values: the fairness of the reasons of each individual and the necessity to select the most appropriate reason. These opinions are the important base of the local governing in England which causes the firm local governing democratic traditions in such country.

From the aforementioned, it can be seen that there are the important differences in Europe about the status and the role of the local governing and the relationship with the central government. The difference on thinking also makes the local governing of each country different.

The different attitudes not only appeared in Europe in the early decade of the establishment of the United States of America but they also became the essential

issue in the new land. One group of Americans not only fought for the independence from England but they also launched for their own right at the local level after they already accepted the political system at the national level.

The thought was divided into 2 parties: the Federalists or the Centralists and the Decentralists. In reality, when America was established, the Federal system had its intention that there were the central government, the state government, and the local government. That is they basically accepted the decentralized governing. The problem is that how to allocate the authorities between the central and the local governments and with this reason, during the decade of the country establishment, it was full of the exploration and the conflict to allocate such authority.

For the origin of the leader of the local governing with the different opinions, it reflects the different attitude and the different period of the society. That is the first party demands for the local governing by keeping the components of the leading people based on the tradition, the blood line. It was the governing system that the city leader and his siblings would be the leaders of the locals without the elections or the appointment from the central city. The second party is the system that the central government allowed the local governing but the governor must be appointed from the central government to control the local governing from obstructing the benefits from the country administration. The third party saw that when the local governing was democratic which was the same as that of the country, the origin of the leaders should be the same. That is they should come from the election by the people.

The concepts and the theories on the local governing show the main different ideal thinking and the related contexts must be considered for the providing of the reasons on the local governing as it is different in each area on the resource, economy, society, and politics. These factors must not be overlooked by the governors since they are necessary for the analysis of the appropriateness of the local governing model.

As mentioned above, the local governing administration under the self-governing province concept is the one model helping in making the policy happen in the form of the local governing decentralizing to the locals and focusing on the participation of the people in their own governing.

“The self-governing province concept” has been in the interest of the political science and public administration science academicians for a long time and the its definition was made clear during 2008 but the issue concerning with the policy-driving for the change of the governing and for the decentralized governing has been driven by the academicians and the group of the people for a long time such as the demand for the election of the provincial governor by the people in their own province among the others. Hence, when speaking about the self-governing province concept, it can be defined that it is the concept needing the change in administering concentrating on the participation of the local people, the decentralization, and the allocation of the resources and each province can manage by his own which corresponds with the characteristic of the local governing. That is the local governing is relationship in terms of the authority in allocating the resources for the local which generally, is the characteristic of the making of the public services in the local under the transfer of the authority from the central government to the decision-making of the people with the true goal to promote the people to be able to govern themselves. (Thaithat Mala, 2010) who held that “the self-governing province concept” is the concept of the need to let the locals participate in managing their own spaces.

The “self-governing province” concept started in 2008 based on the “self-reliance” concept for the agricultural community such as the community forest and the alternative agriculture which is the concept taken place a long time ago and spreaded throughout the country together with the bringing of the lessons from the political crisis during 2005-2006 to be the topic in the discussion of various sectors moving for the social development such as the cooperative committee for the private organization development in the North, the institution for the social management, and the freelance academicians who exchanged the ideas on the self-reliance and the solving of the political problems. (Laddawan Tantiwittayaphithak and Netilak Neeraphol, 2012, page 37) and this led to the seeking of the approach to change the local governing and the social movement in order to further drive the policy.

Therefore, the definitions of the “self-governing province” concept have been provided as follow:

The meaning of the “self-governing province” concept is provided with the difference from the original concept. That is it is not the self-reliance principle without

the administration by the state but it is the change of the local administration structure and it is the change of the model providing the authority to the locals as Swing Tan-
uot¹² said that

“does not mean the same self-reliance but is the changes of the state and the local’s structures, the change in the tax collection with the money at the locals, the people can check, there are the supporting tools for the participation in the big issues that the Thai society must change.”

Such change then leads to the creation of the new local administration model through “the self-governing province” concept as the administration approach and there is the administration approach setting and this is driven under the 2007 Constitution Law of the Thai Kingdom¹³ based on the Article 281 saying that the state must provide the local governing organizations the independence based on the self-reliance principle and the intention of the people in the locals and promote the local governing organizations to be the main office in conducting the public services and in participating in the problem-solving in the areas.

For the meaning of the “self-governing province” concept, the definitions are varied and they are just the general principle with the concentration on the participation of the people in the areas to manage their own areas covering all dimensions for the development and the problem-solving of the contexts.

“The self-governing province”¹⁴ means the people in the provincial area join in making the decision for the setting of the resource development, the management of their own province in all dimensions either in politics, economy, society and culture, natural resources, environment, physical and mind health, and wisdom corresponding with the problems and the needs of the people as a whole and

¹²Swing Tan-out cited from The self-governing people : 5 A case study of the field work The summary from the 1st Thailand Alliance Development Discussion on October 25, 2013,p.21

¹³ The 2007 Constitution Law of The Thai Kingdom is the law that was effective during the driving of the local governing under the self-governing province concept and during this study.”

¹⁴ The self-governing province from Self-governing Province : The self-governing province Concept Decentralization and Law,p. 6

when there is a problem affecting the life and the society, they can solve them by themselves.”

2.4 The Related Researches

This study reviewed the related researches on the local governing under the self-governing province concept during the 2008 which was the starting point of the driving of such concept until the time of the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014. Those related researches can be presented as follow:

Nattthawan Arumphiro (2014) studied the approach in decentralizing the authority based on the self-governing province : A case study of “The Umnartjaroen people’s constitution of 2012” with the aims to 1) study the thinking on the decentralization and the people’s participation, 2) study and compare the local governing and the participation of the people in Thailand and abroad, 3) study the cause of the making of the people constitution in Umnartjaroen as well as analyze the legal status of such law, 3) study the cause of the making of the Umnartjaroen people’s constitution, 4) study the adjustment of the governing structure and the law at the Act level on the local governing under the self-governing province concept based on the Constitution law respectively. It is found that the province has the basic problems on the socio-economic development from the past up to the establishment of the province for more than 21 years and they are not solved yet. The problems are still on the poverty, the low income, and the low return of the benefit in the area. Moreover, as the government promoted the new farming for the commerce, the farmers then had to invest more in the farming but the price of the products is still fluctuated and the entrepreneurs take advantage from them. The farmers then are poor and are debt-bonded and they are not confident in possessing the lands. Moreover, the educational system is determined by the center and this children lack of knowledge and they cannot transfer the local wisdom to those children. Umnartjaroen then had the idea to reform the consciousness of the people in order that the people understand the root of the true problems and seek the solutions for those problems in order to rely on themselves. The people constitution then was established to be the frame and the direction of the development reflecting the needs of the people and help drive the

province to be the agricultural province. This self-governing province concept then was established with the guarantee by the Constitution Law of the Thai Kingdom Section 5. According to the basic policy of the state, Article 78 (3) “The state must decentralize to the local governing organizations to rely on themselves and make their own decision for their activities including the development of the province to be the large local governing organization with the consideration of the people in the province.” and for the Article 14 saying that “the local can govern itself and it should have the right to be established as the local governing organization based on the law.” However, Thailand still has no law at the Act level which can be enforced for the establishment of the self-governing or the local governing organization based on the true decentralization principle as the Constitution law determines.

From such study, it shows the related problems to the local governing of Umnartjaroen province and it is also found that the province has the problem on the policy leading to the demand for the policy on the local governing under the self-governing province concept on the socio-economic development problem which does not respond to the people’s needs.

For the second part, the related research to the policy-driving on the local governing province under the self-governing province concept was reviewed and can be presented as follow:

Pheera Chatdarbetch (2014) studied the decentralization process to the community: A case study of the strategy used to drive the policy on the self-governing province with the aims to 1) study the movement on the decentralization to the locals by the self-governing group, and 2) study the starting point, the strategy, and the effect from the movement respectively. It is found that the launching strategy of the concept for the alliances is the basic strategy of the movement to present the issue to the public and regarded as the basic approach with the high cost because the self-governing province group is not the group or the movement like the protest but the group fighting to present the concept via the data, facts, and persuasive speech or explanation of the concept. Hence, the interest at the first time was lower than that of the protest group. The self-governing province group then must collect many more resources to support the movement such as the group relying on the representatives from the outside organizations and the private sector working in the locals and are well-known for the

consultations and the supports. When the self-governing province group moves to the areas to present the concept, this makes the group stronger and is more ready from the reliance on the movement organizations as the networks.

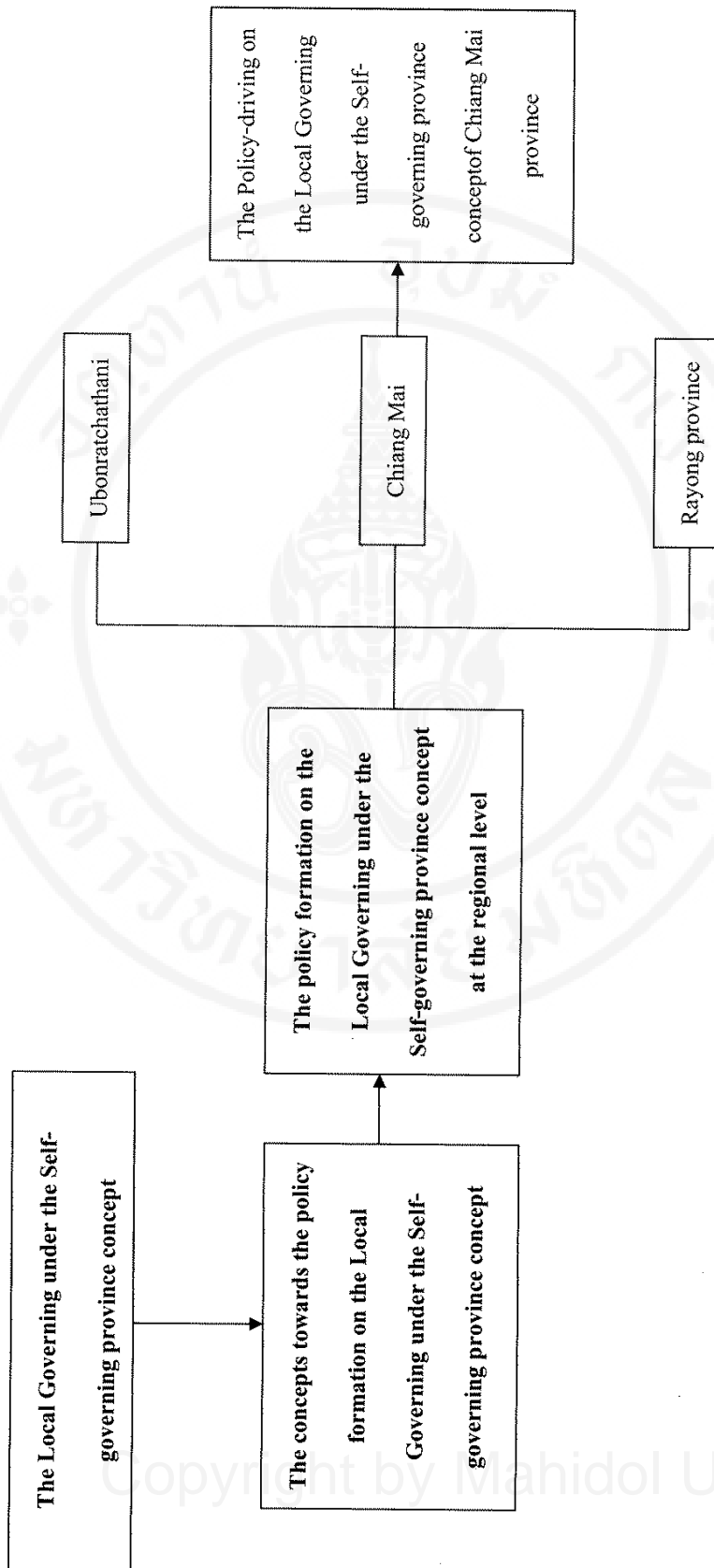
Besides, the related research on the movement to drive the policy by the people was also reviewed as follow:

Sungama Sarawat (2014) studied the democratic operation and the new social movement process: A case study of the HIV infected patients. This is the study in terms of the policy or the policy process concerning with the group collection to drive the policy. It is found that the movement of the HIV infected patient networks is so dynamic and this makes each period developed through the grouping of the networks in the wider space. The social communication by the establishment of the stage for the experience and the idea exchanges, the creation of the alliances with the other offices such as the NGO, the pharmacists, the academicians, and the lawyers are really needed. It is not in the form of the force for the government to temporarily solve the problems including the moving network group in the late period. The issue becomes more public and more international through the main movements via the drive of the policy and the law not limited only for HIV.

From the aforementioned, it shows the social movement model from the group of the people needing to set the policy based on their own needs with the driving process, the change of the thinking way, and the movement affecting each period to have the movement and the development for more social power.

From the studies above, they are the issue concerning with the social movement of the self-governing province policy showing the movement approach and such data corresponds with this study which is on the policy-driving model of the self-governing province concept which will lead to the further discussion

2.5 Conceptual framework



Model 2.4 Conceptual Framework

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the study entitled “Process of Driving the Local Government under the Self-Governing Province Theory: A Case Study of Chiang Mai Municipality”, the researcher has the interest in studying the discourse on the decentralization based on the “self-governing province” concept in order to describe various situations related to such issue. The researcher then relies on the qualitative research approach via the documents, the in-depth interview, and the focus group as the main data collection tools.

The research findings are presented based on the following objectives.

Chapter 4 The development of the fighting process for the decentralization.

Chapter 5 The concept towards the formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Thailand.

Chapter 6 compare the formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-governing province concept at the regional level.

Chapter 7 the policy-driving form of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province.

Chapter 8 conclusion, discussion, and recommendation

In this study, the researcher conducted the study with the following steps:

Step 1 study the concept towards the formation of the policy of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Thailand.

Step 2 compare the formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-governing province concept at the regional level.

Step 3 the policy-driving form of the local administration under the self-governing province concept with the following details:

Step 1 study the concept towards the formation of the policy of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Thailand through the documents related to the expressions of the opinions on “the self-governing province” concept such as the research reports, the academic articles, and the interviews respectively. The data collected from these sources were analyzed and described.

1.1) The tool used in data collection

The study on the concept towards the formation of the policy of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Thailand was carried out through the documents related to the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Thailand such as the related government documents, the research reports, the academic articles, the interviews from various media among the others.

1.2) Data Analysis

The data analysis was conducted based on the data characteristic used in the study and the data was analyzed based on the inductive approach. The data analyzed were the concrete data that were categorized, compared, and integrated in order to be concluded as the abstract form. (Pichai Rattanadilok Na Phuket, 2009)

Step 2 study and compare the formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Ubonratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai provinces through the documents related to the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Thailand such as the related government documents, the research reports, the academic articles, the interviews from various media among the others with the following steps:

2.1) Main informants

The population of this study were those people involving in the policy-driving in the aforementioned provinces and these people were divided into 2 groups as follow:

2.1.1) The group of the academicians who involve with the policy of the local administration under the self-governing province concept and these people were derived through the purposive sampling techniques with the

careful consideration of the researcher based on the research objectives or the research questions. (Joomphol Nimphanich, 2007) The informants in this study are 5 university lecturers and the researchers and these people involve in the policy formation of the local administration under the self-governing province concept.

2.1.2) The group of 12 leaders involving in the policy-driving derived through the purposive sampling technique and these people involve in the policy formation of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Ubonratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai provinces.

2.2) The tools used in the Data Collection

2.2.1) The data on the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Ubonratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai provinces was collected from the related government documents, the research reports, the academic articles, the legal documents in order to explain the origin of the formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Ubonratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai provinces.

2.2.2) The semi-structured interview with the open-ended questions was utilized in order to derive the complete data from the experiences of the main informants based on the study objectives. The informants are the academicians and the group of the leaders of the policy-driving.

2.3) Data Analysis

The data analysis was conducted based on the data characteristic of the study and the tools used were as follow:

The data derived from the documents related to the formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-governing province concept was analyzed together with the data derived from the interviews with the main informants. The constant comparison analysis was also used. This could be made by the researcher's observation or the data collection. This data was categorized and compared via the Table of Relationship and then concluded in the more concrete form which can be used as the reference of the appropriate events. (Uamporn Linjaroen,

2012)¹⁵ in order to show the comparison of the formation of the policies on the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Ubonratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai provinces. From this, the researcher used the analysis process of Patton (1990) with the meaningful quote that was the origin of the interpretation. For some dimensions of the interpretation, they were explained as the in-depth beliefs of the informants focusing on the data derived directly from the informants.

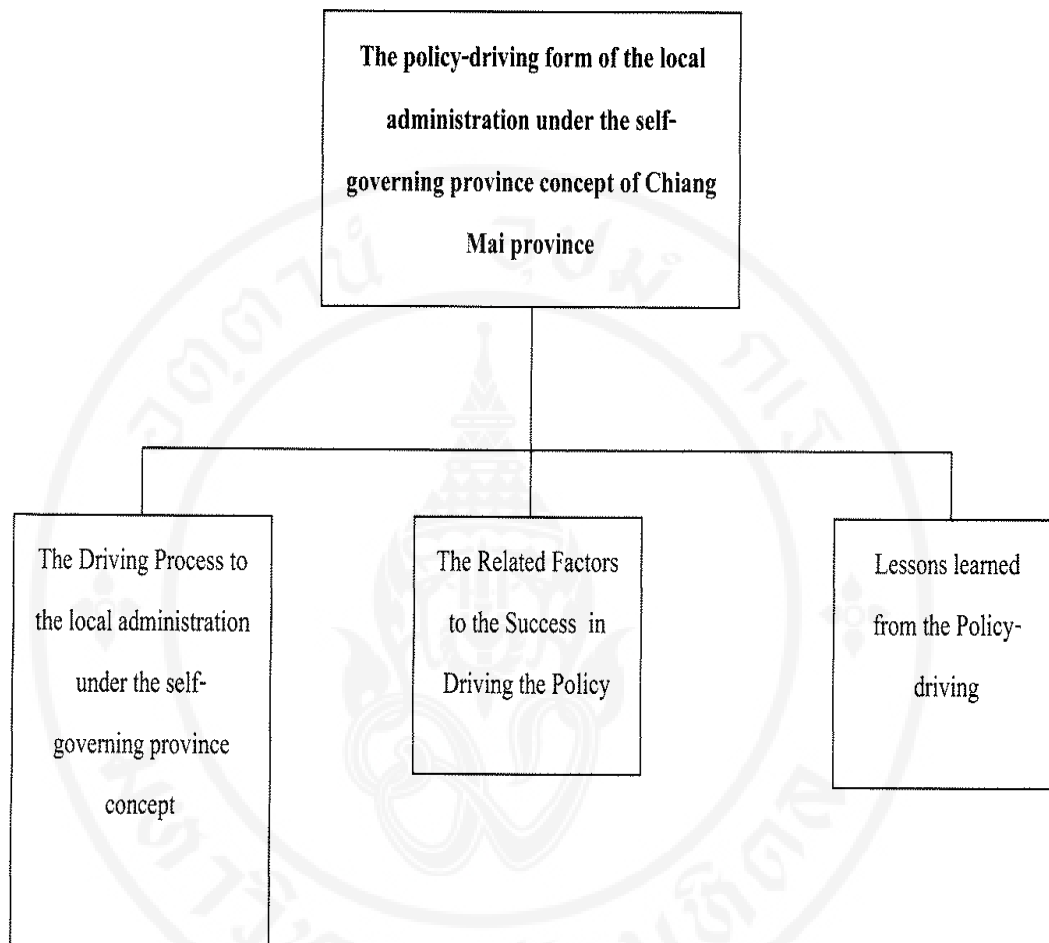
Step 3 study the policy-driving form of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province. The study focused on finding out the form of the policy-driving of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province as the data base used in the other provinces. The focus group discussion and the in-depth interview were carried out in this step. The study in this step was on the early period of the policy-driving in 2008 until the coup d'état on May 22, 2014 due to the fact that that time was the starting point of the policy-driving until the time of the delay of the policy because of the political change. The study was conducted through the following approaches:

3.1) Study the policy-driving form of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province

This step is regarded as the essential step of this study since it is the step to respond to the study objective in deriving the policy-driving form of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province. The researcher used the participatory action research (PAR) as the framework in the study of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province with the participation of those related groups of the people and this can be shown in the form of the diagram as follow:

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¹⁵ Uamporn Linjaroen cited from the academic article, the Educational Assessment Journal, Year 17, Volume 1, July, 2012, Mahasarakham University.p. 21



Model 3.1 shows the policy-driving form of the local administration under the self governing province concept of Chiang Mai province

3.2) Main Informants

For this study, the population was those people involving with the policy-driving of the local administration under the self governing province concept of Chiang Mai province. They are the group of the leaders from the civil sector comprising the academicians, the group of the issue networks who play the important roles in the policy-driving. The study process can be shown as follow:

3.2.1) The group of 12 leaders involving in the policy-driving of the local administration under the self governing province concept of

Chiang Mai province were the main informants. The focus group discussion and the in-depth interview were utilized in the data collection of this study.

3.2.2) The group of 5 people from the issue networks were the main informants. The in-depth interview was utilized in the data collection of this study in order to derive the more obvious

3.3) The tools used in the data collection

The qualitative approach was conducted in this step of the study through the following tools used in the data collection:

3.3.1) The data was collected from the related documents to the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province as well as from the related theories and concepts both from the related documents of the government, the academic articles and the research reports in order to explain the policy-driving process of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province.

3.3.2)The focus group discussion was used in this step of the study and it was divided into 2 sections as follow:

-The stage for the deriving of the lessons learned on the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province held on March 4, 2015 at Chiang Mai Orchid hotel. The participants were 18 people from the group of the leaders involving in the policy-driving of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province.

-The focus group discussion was carried out with the leaders involving in the policy-driving of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province.

-The in-depth interview was carried out with the leaders involving in the policy-driving of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province. The interviews were conducted through the natural conversation (Manop Khanatoh, 2007) from the involved people in the local administration under the self-governing province concept in order to confirm and test the data derived.

3.4) Data Analysis

The data analysis was conducted based on the data characteristic of the study and the tools used were as follow:

3.4.1) The data derive from the policy-driving process of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province and the data derived from the focus group discussion were analyzed through the typological analysis in order to categorize the data based on the components of the policy-driving forms of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province.

3.4.2) The data derived was further analyzed through the data analysis process of Patton (1990) with the reference of the meaning quotes which are the origin of the interpretation and for some dimensions of the interpretation, it was the explanation of the in-depth beliefs of the informants focusing on the data derived directly from the informants. The concept mapping by Trochim (Cited in Wandee Suthinarakorn, 2013) was used saying that this is the collection of the concepts and the result of the study is shown in the form of the relationship map showing the relationships between the major topics and the minor ones. This analysis was developed for the clear analysis of various issues.

3.5) The Reliability Test of the Data

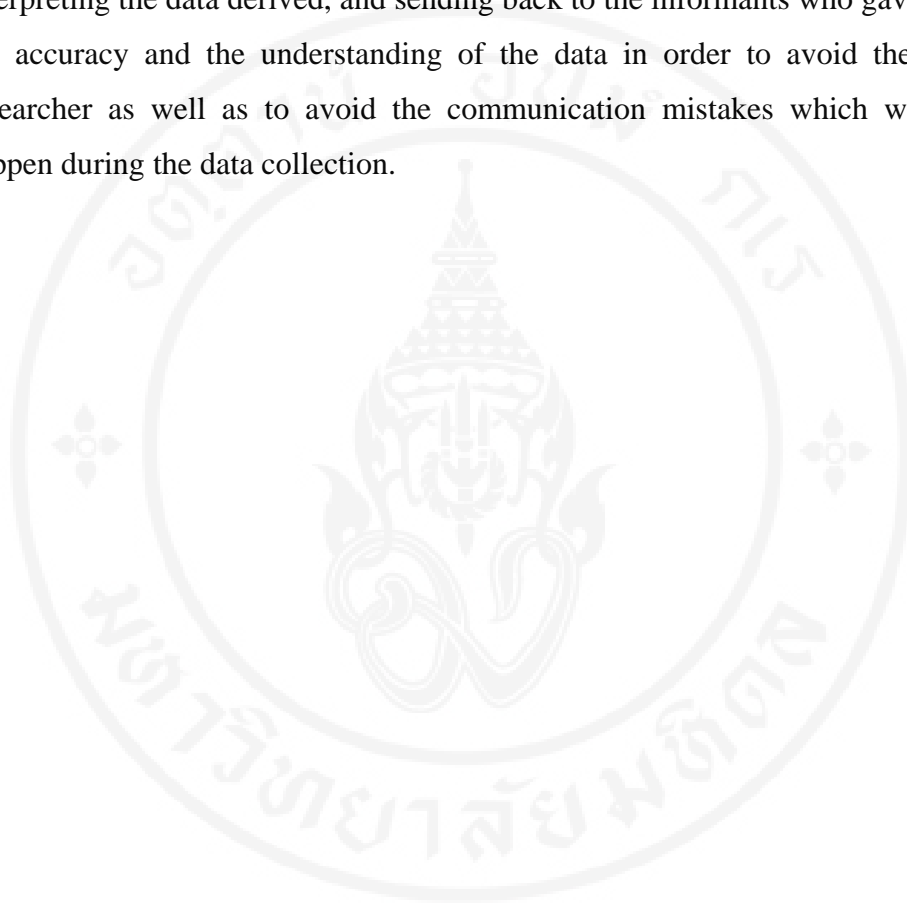
As this study is the qualitative study, the test of the reliability of the data is then regarded as the essential thing to be carried out in order to derive the accurate and clear data. The researcher used the analysis process with the reference of the meaningful quotes and still used the concept-mapping technique in order to avoid the distortion of the data. Besides, the reliability of the data was also tested (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) in the following sections of the study:

3.5.1) The multiple methods technique was utilized to confirm the data derived from the people from the interviews and from the stage for the expression of the opinions. The analysis was based on the data derived from the main informants and the data from the documents was utilized as the supporting data.

3.5.2) The auditing was used in the study in order to categorize the data storing both in the data collection and the data analysis. The

researcher recorded the auditing in order to test the accuracy of the data and to find out the origin of the accurate and clear data.

3.5.3) The member check technique was also used in the study in order to recheck the data by collecting the data derived from the people, interpreting the data derived, and sending back to the informants who gave the data for the accuracy and the understanding of the data in order to avoid the bias of the researcher as well as to avoid the communication mistakes which were likely to happen during the data collection.



CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CALLS FOR DECENTRALIZATION

The study of the development of the decentralization process helped analyze the situations occurring in each period. To create the understanding of the decentralization discourse on the issue of self-governing province, the researcher explained the decentralization discourse on the issue of the calls for the election of provincial governors and the issue of decentralization under the self-governing province concept.

4.1 The issue of the election of provincial governors

The calls for decentralization in Thailand occurred in several periods. Social responses, creation of political issues in each period, the calls for decentralization, and ideology were different. As for the beginning of the calls for decentralization in the first period, the researcher would like to mention the issue of the election of provincial governors which occurred in 1991 due to the following reasons:

“The calls for the elected provincial governors aimed to develop human quality, create democratic concept, create the feudal concept in the local level. It aimed to bring about democracy with people’s participation in social creation and solution to the national problems. Apart from asking for the assistance from the government, people had to solve the national problems and should not insult knowledge and capability of other people. People only thought that what the government would do for people, who a new provincial governor would be, what a

new provincial governor would do for people. People had never asked themselves that what they would do for their country”.

*Tanet Charoenmuang*¹⁶

Scholars and politicians gathering as “Wiang Phing Council” initially promoted the issue of the election of provincial governors in 1992 because they wanted decentralization. They organized the forums and made leaflets. Movement and the campaign for the election of provincial governors in Chiang Mai Province interested local mass media so they reported the issue of the election of provincial governors. However, this issue did not initially interest people in the society.

During the mentioned movement, the general election was also organized on 13th September 1992. People were very interested in the policy of each political party. During that period, Democrat Party which was interested in the issue of decentralization had supported the policy on the election of Chiang Mai Provincial Governor while it was canvassing in Chiang Mai Province.

“The mentioned political issue became the important policy of Democrat Party with expertise in political games. On 22nd March 1992, Democrat Party used the policy on the election of Chiang Mai Provincial Governor as the first policy during the canvass in Chiang Mai Province”.

*Tanet Charoenmuang*¹⁷

Occurrence of the issue of the election of provincial governors which was the concrete calls for the mentioned issue led to discussion or views that whether the policy on the election of provincial governors should be implemented. The scholars presented the articles which analyzed the mentioned issue such as the reasons of the

¹⁶Tanet Charoenmuang (1994) Documents for the Study and Solution to the Local Problems, the Third Sequence, Opening the Issue of the Election of Provincial Governors, the Research Project on Local Administration, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University, p. 13

¹⁷ Tanet Charoenmuang (1993), Editorial of A Book “The Election of Provincial Governors”, The Research Project on Local Administration, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University.

election of provincial governors related to redundancy of the leaders' roles. The documents of King Prajadhipok's Institute¹⁸ showed the information as follows:

“As for the province, there were redundancies between the provincial administration and the local administration. As for the leadership roles of the highest level administrators in the province, the provincial administration was under the responsibility of the provincial governor while the local administration was under the responsibility of Chief Executive of Provincial Administrative Organization”.

Moreover, the issue of the election of provincial governors consisted of the proposals for decentralization. For example, as the Local Administrative Organizations faced the financial problems, they did not have enough revenues to provide public services.

The issue of the election of provincial governors also included empowering the provincial governors to increasingly manage their own areas or decentralize management and finance so that they were able to efficiently solve the local problems and promote the election of the provincial governors in the cities with readiness and enough budget to manage themselves. In 1992, the scholars proposed the guidelines of the mentioned issues and gave the interesting reasons in several issues such as the issue of support of the election of provincial governors in the provinces with readiness and enough budget to govern themselves.

“As for The Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan attaching the importance to development of the main cities in Chiang Mai, Khon Kaen, Nakhon Ratchasima, Songkhla, and Hat Yai to The Seventh National Economic and Social Development Plan, I doubted whether it was time to organize the election of the provincial governors in those main cities by first selecting the main cities with readiness. The results of development of the main cities from The Fourth National Economic and Social Development Plan to the current National Economic and Social

¹⁸ King Prajadhipok's Institute (2009), A Book “The Election of Provincial Governors: Successful Driving Guidelines,p. 8.

Development Plan have made the municipalities unable to efficiently respond to people's basic needs".

*Jumphon Nimphanich*¹⁹

Apart from the calls for the elected provincial governors, movement of the mentioned issue led to consideration of the change in national administration models. The researcher mentioned the calls for financial decentralization to enable local agencies to have enough incomes to efficiently provide the public services. Moreover, the researcher mentioned other issues which should be considered such as the merger of local agencies.

The issue of the election of provincial governors was to open the issue of decentralization which wanted to change the national administration models in 1991. The important contents could be concluded as follows:

1. The issue of the election of provincial governors aimed to create democracy for people's political participation, suitably bring about local development according to social and cultural characteristics in each area, and enable people to be increasingly aware of politics.

2. The issue of the election of provincial governors led to the change in the national administration in other issues. The research results found that driving the issue of the election of provincial governors mentioned the change in the national administration models. For example, local finance was decentralized to enable the local agencies to have more incomes to provide public services for people. There was the change in public administration structure such as abolition of Provincial Administrative Organizations. The words "the issue of the election of provincial governors" aimed to bring about the imagination which did not affect general people's feeling and reduced resistance of people disagreeing with the mentioned guidelines.

3. The issue of the election of provincial governors aimed to drive policy implementation in the main provinces of the country by first making the

¹⁹ Jumphon Nimphanich, The Article on "A New Government and the Policy on the Election of Provincial Governors in the Main Cities" initially published in the Matchon Daily Newspaper dated 23rd September 1992 cited in Tanet Charoenmuang (1993), The Election of Provincial Governors, p. 24.

provinces with readiness organize the election of provincial governors and increasingly using the mentioned guidelines in other areas.

As for the issue of the election of provincial governors, the discourse on decentralization was the important beginning of the calls for the change in national public administration. The scholars and politicians gathered together to call for the policy by organizing the forums to exchange the opinions. In 1991, people calling for the issue of the election of provincial governors were Tanet Charoenmuang, Kraisorntantiphong who was a member of the House of Representatives, and several scholars living in the local areas and well understanding the problems of national public administration. The social communication during that period emphasized organizing the forums in various public areas. The documentary medium for disseminating the issue of the election of provincial governors was the leaflets used for social communication in the issue of attaching the importance to decentralization under the concept of the election of provincial governors. The issue of the election of provincial governors was initiated and requested by the scholars and politicians interested in the mentioned issue.

As for receipt of the support, people calling for the issue of the election of provincial governors received the budgetary support from various agencies. Tanet Charoenmuang²⁰ said the followings:

“Before the campaign for the canvass for the general election on 13th September 1992, although some politicians and scholars used to mention the issue of the election of provincial governors, few people knew this issue. From September to December 1991, a group of scholars and politicians in Chiang Mai Province, especially the leaders of Provincial Council Members organized the meeting and seminar for several times both in the educational institutes and Local Administrative Organizations. In the meeting, the participants discussed the guidelines on improvement of local administration in Chiang Mai Province. As for the proposal, people should be entitled to elect the provincial governors. A lot of members of

²⁰ Tanet Charoenmuang (1993), Editorial of a Book “The Election of Provincial Governors”, The Research Project on Local Administration, Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University

Provincial Council agreed with this issue and had the resolution to give the budget to support the campaign for this issue”.

As the issue of the election of provincial governors became the social trend, there was expression of different opinions. Some people disagreeing with the election of provincial governors were politicians and the high-level officials of Ministry of Interior. According to the information, Tanet Charoenmuang (1993, already cited) said the followings:

“According to the articles, interviews, and reports compiled in this book, most of the interviewees agreed with the election of provincial governors. The articles of the scholars and politicians expressed various views about benefits of the election of provincial governors while the national leaders consisting of Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai, Minister of Interior General Chaowalit Yongchaiyut, and the high-level officials of Ministry of Interior” disagreed with the election of provincial governors”.

Some people disagreed with the issue of the election of provincial governors by giving the following reasons: The problems of political benefits would occur if the provincial governors came from election. The government officials did not trust the political officials coming from the election. According to the information, Tanet Charoenmuang²¹ mentioned the report on the research results of the suitability and readiness to elect the provincial governors as follows:

“Recently, The Administrative Committee of The Senate have made the report on the research results of the suitability and readiness to elect the provincial governors by stipulating that Thailand was not ready to organize the election of provincial governors because five following problems would occur:

1. The problems of command and control. The elected governors disobeyed the central government and came into conflicts with the officials of various

²¹ Tanet Charoenmuang, The Article on the Election of Provincial Governors and City Development, initially printed in the Northern Manager Daily Newspaper dated 26th July, 2nd August, 9th August, and 16th August, 1993 cited in Tanet Charoenmuang (1993), The Election of Provincial Governors.

agencies who were the representatives of the central government in the provincial level.

2. If the elected provincial governors caused damage to the public, no people would be responsible for this issue because the elected governors were not appointed.

3. The elected provincial governors coming from different political parties would think of benefits of their parties, interfere in the low-level officials, and extend their political party bases.

4. The government officials would react to the elected provincial governor system because there had been the provincial administration in the province for a long time. The mentioned system would cause considerable changes.

5. The elected provincial governor system would make ministers, permanent secretaries or director-generals not to empower the elected provincial governors because they did not trust the elected provincial governors. Delay on working of the officials caused troubles for people contacting state agencies”.

Moreover, there were other issues opposing the election of provincial governors such as the issue of the problem of separation of the country into independent states and violence. The mentioned information expressed the opinions of a group of senators. Some of these senators who were the high-level officials of Ministry of Interior opposed the election of provincial governors and said that the election of provincial governors was the political characteristic involving the benefits and leading to the problems of benefits, causing the interference in the government officials and conflicts between the government officials and political officials.

There were calls for the issue of the election of provincial governors in 1991 while there was general election in Thailand. Various political parties had proposed the policies to make people make decision. The issue of the election of provincial governors was a policy used by several political parties for canvassing. This was beneficial to the calls for the mentioned policy. When the government was established, it did not do what it canvassed. Although the issue of the election of provincial governors attracted people's interest, it was not determined as the policy after the government establishment. As the government used various excuses, the

election of provincial governors could not be implemented. The government adhered to the existing law and did not want to change the law so the election of provincial governors could not be implemented. According to the information, Tanet Charoenmuang (2007) said the followings:

“When the political parties canvassed, they mentioned the policy on the election of provincial governors. When the political parties became the government, they rejected the mentioned policy but the election of local administrators at all levels. Democrat Party and coalition government parties accepted the existing law. The mentioned law stipulated that provincial management was the provincial public administration not local management and administration. Proposal for the mentioned policy caused the decrease in the trend of the issue of the election of provincial governors”.

Although the issue of the election of provincial governors was not determined as the policy, it brought about the beginning of decentralization, affected Thai local administration with decentralization, and enabled people to increasingly participate in local politics amid centralization.

As for the issue of the election of provincial governors, there were researches increasingly supporting decentralization. The forums were continuously organized to exchange the opinions about the mentioned issue to create people's awareness and support and continuously brought about the social trend. In 2008, amid the political problems in the country, there was the discourse on decentralization called “self-governing province concept” with the contents consistent with those of the issue of the election of provincial governors.

4.2 Local administration under the self-governing province concept

In 2008, a model of decentralization called “self-governing province concept” first occurred in Chiang Mai Province. The issues of the “self-reliance concept” in the subject of community agriculture such as community forests and alternative agriculture and the lessons of political crisis during 2004 – 2006 were

discussed in the forums of various sectors which wanted to develop the society such as NGO Coordinating Committee on Development - North, Social Management Institute, and various independent scholars who exchanged the opinions about self-reliance and solution to the political problems (Laddawan Tantiwitthayaphithak and Netilak Niraphon, 2012).

The self-governing province concept which was used as the policy to create a new model of local administration consisted of important contents as follows: The self-governing province governor was directly elected by people. The provincial administration was abolished while the central and local administration still remained. As for adjustment of tax structure, all kinds of taxes collected in the areas were returned to the central government by 30% and kept in the province by 70%. There was creation of participation in decision making and examination of working by people sector through Civic Council. Although the contents of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of people calling for the mentioned issue were consistent with the issue of the election of provincial governors, people calling for the policy on local administration under the self-governing province concept did not mention the consistence but they said that the self-governing province concept came from the self-reliance concept.

As for the objectives causing the local administration policy driving under the self-governing province concept, the issue of the political conflicts was severer in the provincial level. Chiang Mai Province was affected by the mentioned conflicts. The mentioned event caused the fighting of various political groups, deaths, and injuries. People driving the policy thought that the national politics influenced and impacted on the local level and caused the conflicts. This led to the local administration policy driving under the self-governing province concept to enable each local agency to have power to manage their areas and reduce the political severity which caused the national conflicts.

The main leaders driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept in Chiang Mai Province in 2008 were groups of the civil society consisting of NGOs, issue network groups, and scholars who initially exchanged the opinions, bringing about various network groups. The forums were organized to discuss the mentioned issues in various areas in Chiang Mai Province and

aim to make people support the mentioned policy and create the trend of the self-management concept in the society. According to the results of driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept, the self-governing province concept quickly became the social trend so the local administration policy driving under the self-governing province concept received various support such as the support from Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organization and receipt of the research scholarship from various agencies.

The receipt of budget affected the social communication process of the policy driving. There were several media for social communication such as books and pamphlets. Moreover, the leaders of the policy driving group were involved with the mass media so they were able to produce television media for the general society. This made the trend of the self-governing province concept become the social trend until there was the driving trend in other provinces such as Rayong Province, Ubon Ratchathani Province, Phuket Province, and Amnat Charoen Province.

Although driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept was the social trend and received support from several sectors. The mentioned issue was opposed by the high-level administrative officials who thought that the local administration under the self-governing province concept caused negative impacts. For examples, the issue of lack of national unity might lead to conflict. The issue of benefits of politicians might lead to corruption. However, the mentioned issue could be driven until there was consideration of Chiang Mai Metropolis Administration Regulation Bill. During the coup on 22nd May 2014, driving the mentioned issue was suppressed.

Development of the calls for decentralization both in the issues of the election of provincial governors and the self-governing province concept could be concluded as follows:

1. The scholars being interested and driving the issue of decentralization led people calling for the policy on the election of provincial governors. NGOs group mainly drove the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept. This showed that people calling for the issues of the election of provincial governors and the self-governing province concept came from different groups although the contents of the issues of decentralization were consistent

because ideological difference caused movement of the issue of decentralization in different places and different time.

2. Defining the name of decentralization discourse. Decentralization was differently called but its contents were consistent. During the first period of movement, it was called “the issue of the election of provincial governors”. Afterwards it was called “the self-governing province concept”. The contents of the issue of decentralization were consistent. As for the decentralization discourse in the first period, it was called “the election of provincial governors”. Although the contents of the mentioned discourse also included the change in the local administration models like the self-governing province concept, language use of people calling for the mentioned policy did not cause severe feeling of people. On the contrary, driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept emphasized the name such as the words “self-governing province” which more considerably showed severity of the meaning. The mentioned policy had been driven since 2008 until Chiang Mai Province was able to file Chiang Mai Metropolis Regulation Bill in 2013. This showed that there was the resistance to driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept according to the interviews and documents expressing the opinions. However, the mentioned policy could be driven until it became the social trend.

As for the period of the beginning of the stimulation of the decentralization discourse of both issues, the researcher made two remarks as follows: People called for the issue of the election of provincial governors in 1991 when there was general election which showed democratic system in the country. The occurrence of the trend of the issue of the election of provincial governors caused competition of political parties for political areas and creation of democracy which was a good mechanism for the policy formulation according to people’s need. On the contrary, driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept first occurred in 2008. At that time, there were political conflicts of political groups (Yellow Shirt Group – Red Shirt Group). There were severe protests to overthrow the government at that time. Despite the political problems in the country which had to be solved according to democratic system, a group of people calling for the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept chose to promote the

self-governing province to manage their own areas instead of focusing on solution to the national political problems in the first priority.

The mentioned issue was noticed by the scholars driving the issue of decentralization. The Decentralization and Self-Governance Learning Bureau (cited in Tanet Charoenmuang, 2012) mentioned the remarks on the periods of driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept as follows:

“As for the period of the calls for the issue of self-governing province, after the event of killing democratic people on 19th May 2010, I doubted that this group had never attached the importance to the issue of decentralization but they raised and proposed this issue in the period when democratic masses were severely fighting with feudal dictatorship power despite the fact that decentralization problems were proposed after Black May 1992”.

The mentioned remarks stemmed from analysis during the period of driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept and groups of people involving the calls.

3. Receipt of the support for the calls. Driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept was supported by several sectors so it could be widely communicated to the society through gathering as a group, organizing the forums, various media. However, the calls for the issue of the election of provincial governors little received support. The public areas were mainly used for the driving process.

The research results of the development of the calls for decentralization showed the important calls for decentralization. As for the issue of the election of provincial governors which was the beginning of the calls for decentralization and the issue of driving the local administration policy under the self-governing province concept, the researcher found identical and different models in several issues. The mentioned research results would lead to connection and analysis of the research results in other chapters to create the research results with historical dimensions and increasingly create the research results derived from analysis of every issue.

CHAPTER V

THE FORMATION OF THE POLICY ON LOCAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE SELF-MANAGEMENT PROVINCE CONCEPT OF THAILAND

The results of the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of Thailand, and the opinions of the people involved in local administration under this policy.

5.1 The formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-management province concept of Thailand.

The issue of local administrations employing a self-management province concept in Thailand started in 2008. It was discussion of decentralization that put forth the beginnings of a concrete policy. This study looks at the ideas of the people towards the formation of the policy of local administration under a self-management province concept of Thailand.

The “self-management province concept” was considered and gained attention within society, ultimately resulting in two main forms.

The first form: The Law Reform Commission of Thailand drafted the Self-Management Province Act.

The second form: The drafting of a special law specific to the self-management province law. For example, Chiang Mai drafted the Draft Chiang Mai Metropolitan Administration Act.

The policy of local administration under the self-management province concept was initiated under the 2007 Constitution. The first form, endorsed by the Law Reform Commission, placed local administration under the self-management province concept, which was the central law of the “Self-Management Province Act.”

The essence of the initial draft of the Self-Management Province Act, proposed by the Law Reform Commission, was to eliminate existing administration in the province and establish a self-management province, with two levels of local administration: the upper level local government organization, which was the self-government province, and the lower level local government organizations, including the municipality and the Tambon Administrative Organization. The self-government province also had the power to collect taxes, with 70 percent of the total revenue from the taxes being kept for use as revenue within the province, and the remaining 30 percent of the revenue being transferred to the public revenue.

Chiang Mai province submitted a Draft Chiang Mai Metropolitan Administration Act on 20 October 2013. This draft laid out the following principles:

- 1) Canceling the provincial administration, leaving only the central government and the local government.
- 2) Encouraging residents to directly affect development through civil juries.
- 3) Restructuring taxes collected such that 70 percent would remain in Chiang Mai province, while 30 percent would be submitted to the central government.

5.1.2 The formation of policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of Thailand.

- 1) The formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of administrative officials.
- 2) The formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of the civil society.
- 3) The formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of academics.
- 4) The summary of the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept.

The results of the study were as follows:

1) Information towards the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of administrative officials.

The information presented is the opinions or the reactions to such policies gathered from high-level administrative officials who have an important role in decision-making, or who have influence on the establishment of local administration. The following issues explain the study's results.

1.1) The local administration under the self-management province concept may cause a lack of solidarity within Thailand.

The following information comes from an interview of M.L. Panadda Diskul in the Jullanati Journal, Volume 10, No. 3: May - June 2013:

“I am not afraid to lose power as the local is trying to propose the idea to reform the local administration in form of self-management province concept. But, what I give priority is the solidarity of Thailand and how to maintain the form of the state as a single state forever.”

The administrative official quoted above felt that too much authority would be given to local administration under the self-management province concept, which in turn could affect national security. In addition, Thailand's current social situation is at risk of conflict, which would also affect the stability of the country. This can be summarized as follows:

The first issue: The problems in Thailand that risk dividing the country. That is, the transformation of society, the economy, and culture has affected the country and has caused many problems, such as internal conflicts that are occurring in the three southern border provinces. This situation puts national security at risk. Therefore, the problem must be resolved by the central government.

The second issue: According to this administrative officials' opinion, the problem under the self-management province concept may result in of a lack of solidarity within the country. Moreover, the nation state of Thailand may not accept the integration of the various provinces under a self-management province

concept. Local administration under a self-management province concept may cause isolation when the circumstances permit. Thus, the current form of national administration (as of the year 2015) was tasked with tackling separation in areas of the cities as a way to make promote national unity.

1.2) The need to retain the provincial administration.

When the local administration, under the self-management province concept, mentioned the cancellation of provincial administration, there were comments from the administrative officials, who disagreed with certain issues, as follows:

The first issue: Administrative officials claimed that provincial administration prevented corruption of local administration, which was provided with too high a percentage of the budget (the information from the Draft Chiang Mai Metropolitan Administration Act²², which defined the authority of the local administration to collect tax revenue and return 30 percent to the Ministry of Finance, while 70 percent was allocated as the local budget) and could therefore lead to corruption. This information was obtained from the interview of M.L. Panadda Diskul in the Jullaniti Journal, Volume 10, No. 3: May - June 2013, in which he states:

“The major obstacle in the development of Thailand today is “the problem of corruption,” not the problem of decentralization to the local government organizations. As long as we cannot fix this problem, the concept of decentralization in the form of self-management province may create new problems for Thai society rather than solving problems.”

The second issue: Administrative officials expressed ideas related to the local administration that the local administration was unable to implement all their own policies. Provincial administration was still needed to execute

²² The Draft Chiang Mai Metropolitan Administration Act, Section 9: budget, fiscal and property of Chiang Mai Metropolis, Article 119, the revenues from VAT, personal income tax, corporate tax, inheritance tax and fees in the area of Chiang Mai Metropolis, Chiang Mai Metropolis has the power to collect the taxes and submits 30 percent of them to the Ministry of Finance.

those policies. If the provincial administration was dissolved, it may cause problems of administration in those areas.

According to local administration under the self-management province concept, the governor of the self-management province was elected by the people, although administrative officials did not agree on this issue. The Governing Officer Association of Thailand commented on the local administration under the self-management province concept in the Blue Book as follows.

“There will be interest groups in the province which are divided by political powers. There will be battles to win political conflicts leading to economic benefits (because the power makes wealth). The author does not use imagination but analyzes from the political environment. To illustrate, MPs and senators do not have the authority to allocate budgets, but the governor of the self-management province will deal with tens of millions baht. There will be a harsh battle for the election of the governor of the self-management province.

The focus was on morality, asserting that the election of the governor would lead to policies that were not suitable for those holding the position of administering to the province.

The third issue: The cancellation of provincial administration led to confusion in public administration, as mentioned by Chatchapong Amasuwan²³:

“Another important thing is that cancellation of the provincial administration does not only mean the cancellation of provinces and districts, but it is also the cancellation of provincial officials and district officials, which are the officials in the region. The following questions need to be considered: (1) if these government officials should be changed from the provincial administration to be the central government, but there is still a department of the provincial administration in

²³ Chatchapong Amasuwan, from a document submitted to the seminar of the Draft Self-Management Province Act

the province, (2) if these government officials should be the local government under the self-management province, or (3) if there are any other proposals or alternatives.”

According to the results of the study, administrative officials focused on the importance of provincial administration, which was responsible for overall administration, pointing out that local administration under the self-management province concept would be involved with local interests. This would lead to corruption, thus underscoring the importance of and need for provincial administration. Moreover, administrative officials also expressed rejection of the idea of local administration under the self-management province concept. The information comes from a summary of the meeting of the Department of Provincial Administration (3/2014) on Thursday, 27 March 2014, at the Office of the Registrar, 10th floor (Klong 9) Lam Luk Ka, Pathum Thani, in which it was mentioned that the “Draft Self-Management Province Act” would affect provincial administration and all provincial officials. Therefore, information exchange, discussion, and public relations among those affected by this issue should be carried out and allies should be created. This was a reflection of the fact that administrative officials did not want to lose their administrative power.

1.3) Local administration under the self-management province concept may cause financial distress.

Administrative officials expressed their disapproval for this proposal (70 - 30 against). They believed it would cause problems for the nation as a whole. This can be explained by the following issues.

The first issue: Differences in each province would lead to differences in local revenues. That is, the provinces in Thailand are different in terms of resources, population growth, and prosperity, resulting in an unequal collection of revenue from each local area. Information from the Governing Officer Association of Thailand commented on this issue, as follows:

“Thailand is a single state according to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand. Therefore, 70 million Thai people jointly own every square of the area in the country as well as the natural resources under the earth, in the water, and in the air. These resources are owned by Thai people equally. It is just that those who live closely to the sea will have a better chance of using ocean resources while those living in the forests will have a chance to use forest products, and the people living in the provinces having minerals will have a chance to use the minerals.

This information comes from the interview of M.L. Panadda Diskul in the Jullaniti Journal, Volume 10, No. 3: May - June 2013. The interviewee also stated the following.

“In my opinion, the local administration in the form of “self-management province” should be ready in terms of the economy. That is, having revenue from the collection of taxes and fees with the amount that can be used to run the administration on their own.

From the aforementioned information, administrative officials provided opinions on local administration under the self-management province concept, stating that it was suitable only for those provinces that were ready. However, it would not be a suitable principle overall because there were many areas in several provinces that still collected less revenue. The right principle would be to help each other in terms of budgets in order to develop and grow together.

The second issue: The revenue of the central government would be lower if tax collection were administered by local administration. However, the mission of budget allocation was greater, because some local areas would not have sufficient budgets to manage their own areas. Additionally, there was the management

of important issues, as commented on by the military of the Governing Officer Association of Thailand in the Blue Book²⁴:

“So, if the Self-Management Province Act is used, the management for the maintenance of the people in the area, rather than in other provinces, was against the concept of the single state, especially the revenue from the tax collection, that 70 percent is kept by the province and 30 percent is submitted to the government. For these reasons, the government does not have the budget to help poor provinces. The people in the poor provinces are also Thai people, but they just live in the areas that lack natural resources. It is also wondering that what budget that the government can use to administer the military and defense of the country, as well as buying weapons, and where the money that the government can use for investment is.”

According to the study on the concepts towards the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of administrative officials, the results can be presented on the three main issues, as shown in the table below.

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²⁴ Blue Book: The Heart of the solidarity of the Kingdom of Thailand, prepared by the Governing Officer Association of Thailand, p. 37.

Table 5.1: Summary of the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of administrative officials.

Issues	Summary
<p>1. Local administration under the self-management province concept may cause a lack of solidarity in Thailand.</p>	<p>Administrative officials did not agree with local administration under the self-management province concept. They focused on the risky situation of the separation of the country, namely the internal conflicts occurring in the three southern border provinces and other problems, including drugs and illegal immigration. The historical perspective was also considered, as Thailand took a long time to gather the provinces together to build the nation of Thailand. The self-management province concept may lead to problems, based on historical precedent.</p>
<p>2. The need to retain provincial administration</p>	<p>Administrative officials did not agree with local administration under the self-management province concept. They mentioned that provincial administration was acting to protect corruption. Provincial administration also had the authority to administer a balance on administrative power. The cancellation of provincial administration may lead to confusion in national administration, as there were problems with the original structure of the organizational establishment that was still in operation.</p>
<p>3. Local administration under the self-management province concept may cause the financial distress.</p>	<p>Administrative officials did not agree with local administration under the self-management province concept. They mentioned that differences in each area led to differences in local revenue, and that local administration under the self-management province concept would lead to fiscal problems within the country, as funding was needed to for various projects.</p>

2) Formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of civil society.

In this section, the results of the study on the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of civil society were presented. The civil society referred to groups of people, including networks, groups, clubs, organizations, foundations, institutions, or communities that used social movements to solve societal problems. Civil society involved in policy of local administration under the self-management province concept consisted of network groups and network organization groups. The results were as follows:

2.1) Centralization led to usurpation of interests and conflicts.

Civil society discussed centralization leading to usurpation of interests and conflicts. That is, it was the demand of having administration based on the self-management province in order to allow the local population to have more authority to administer the area and to reduce the centralization that brought an enormous amount of interests and led to the usurping of those interests and the conflicts that caused.

The first issue: Centralization created an increase in interests to national politics, which was then responsible for issuing policies and administration that required a large budget. Swing Tan-ud made the following comments regarding the administrative structure of Thailand:

“The administrative structure of our country is an upside-down pagoda. The top should be narrow, but it turns out to be wide and filled with power and money at around 75 percent. The management is from top to bottom through the ministries, departments, and politicians, while the base of the pagoda, which should be broad, turns out to be narrow and sharp instead, because there is only 25 percent of power and money in administration. So, the pagoda structure is upside down. If the wind blows, it will fall down because of its instability. It is like the centralized solution which makes the decentralization not real. So, how can the local be developed? It will never be prosperous, even in the next hundred years.”

This statement represents the problem of centralization that resulted in opportunities to gain access to interests. Politicians were trying to find ways to have positions in the central government because there were a lot of interests. They would also neglect their duties and management in local areas.

The second issue: Centralization led to conflicts within the country. That is to say, centralization led to the integration of interests so that there was the usurping of a large power structure, causing conflicts in the country. This is mentioned by Swing Tan-ud in the document titled “Concepts, Practices, and Reclaiming of Areas, Self-Management Province,” conducted by the Institute of Social Management.

“The political phenomenon that there was the separation of the political power by colors like yellow, red, and blue was the result of the factors accumulated from the past. It can be seen that it was the fighting between the political power structure and the political structure. It was called a collision between the great structure with the great structure. This fighting would be a shock to the nation, certainly. It was fighting to struggle to hold the center of political power.”

The conflicts occurring in the country were not only political conflicts that resulted in the assembly of ideology groups with different opinions, but centralization also created conflicts between the government and the people due to the conflict of policy. The Local Development Foundation (LDI) and the National Health Commission Office²⁵ discussed this issue, as follows.

“There were conflicts between the central government and the local communities, or between the government and the people, through the policy of development because the development projects did not meet the needs of the local communities since the locals did not take part in determining their own fate. Therefore, self-management of a local community is an important direction for the

²⁵ The Local Development Foundation (LDI) and the National Health Commission Office from the documents from the five cases of self-management public: case studies from the field: the conclusion of the stage of Thailand Development Forum, 25 October 2013, p. 23.

country reform at present, with the participation of local organizations and communities across the country. The targets are to foster a strong community, to have processes and mechanisms in order to allow the people in the community to directly use the power for determining the direction of the community development, and to be able to monitor the administration and the operation of the executives and the operators, which will be the foundation for the development of sustainable Thai society.”

The aforementioned information demonstrated that centralization not only led to conflicts in the country among different ideology groups, it also affected the relationships between the government and the people, because the centralization process led to the policy process that did not meet the needs of the local people.

2.2) Local administration under the self-management province was a form of effective national administration.

The first issue: Local administration under the self-management province reduced the repetition of government administration, as Charas Suwanmala²⁶ stated.

“In the self-management province system, there are no provinces and districts which are provincial authorities, so the authorities of the provinces and districts, including personnel, budget, and property of the provincial authorities, will be transferred to the province or the provincial administration, which is the new local administration. Therefore, it is expected that this new province administration will have up to ten times the administrative ability of the previous administration. Provinces, municipalities, and Local Administrative Organizations in provinces will help to organize the system, divide powers, and allocate budgets in order to be suitable for the environment of each province. The allocation of duties and resource management of the local administrative organizations within the provinces may vary.”

²⁶ Charas Suwanmala, interviewed in Jullaniti Journal Volume 10, No. 3 May-June 2013, p. 21-22.

From this information, it was demonstrated that the cancellation of provincial administration reduced the repetition of work. In fact, the provincial administration used the principles of decentralization, but only extended it to provincial administration. For local administration, there were organizations managing public services to residents. The cancellation of provincial administration was to extend the authority of local administration in the province, which would contribute to effective budget management in each level of the local administration and the authority to solve problems in the areas efficiently.

The second issue: Local administration, under the self-management province, led policy-making that met the needs of the people. That is, according to the current national administration (2015), the central government had the authority to plan and issue policies affecting the whole country. However, the central government did not understand the different contexts of the local areas. Therefore, the concept of local administration under the self-management province made policy-making better meet the needs of the people, as Swing Tan-ud stated in the documents of the five cases of self-management: case studies from the field: the conclusion of the stage of Thailand Development Forum, 25 October 2013.

“The government absorbed the benefits and the resources from the local people. For example, the taxation in the year 2010, Chiang Mai paid tax to the government about 100,000 million baht and tax was returned to Chiang Mai for administration about 40,000 million baht. The locals used this money to manage resources, such as water and other resources itself, but later the government used the power of laws and money to reallocate the resources. For example, the Royal Forest Department was established to manage the forests instead of the locals and the forests were rarely left. For tourism management, Chiang Mai is a historic civilization and there are cultures that are worth a visit and that can be a learning center for tourists, but the central government sent pandas and built the Chiang Mai Night Safari instead.”

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The local administration under the self-management province concept led to the policy that met the needs of the people. It was a reflection of the

lack of authority in local administration affecting the problem solving in the local area. The local administration understands the context of their own area rather than the central government. However, the authority of management came from the central government. Therefore, problem solving could not meet the needs of the people.

In this situation, there was information from the academic article about the problems of centralization being able to meet the needs of the people. Charas Suwanmala (2012) spoke about this issue in the book titled *Challenges, Decentralization, and Thai Local Administration*:

“The results of the analysis of the essence of the policies of the main political parties going into the next election were presented to see what problems each party focused on or what they were going to develop and if they had clear guidelines, or if that issue was consistent with the urgent problems in the province. The analysis clearly pointed out that no policies of any political parties were clear and consistent with the problems and the needs in the areas.”

This information demonstrated the opinions of civil society supporting local administration under the self-management province in order to reduce the problems associated with centralization. Therefore, local administration can continue to provide public services to meet the needs of the people by using concrete academic information to describe the issues in order to have clearer and more reliable information.

2.3) The self-management province aimed to bring development potential to local administration.

Local administration under the self-management province distributed development to the local population. That is to say, the authority of management was given to local administration, resulting in more public participation in the management of their own areas, with information provided by the Local Development Foundation (LDI) and the National Health Commission Office, as presented in the documents from the five cases of self-management public: case

studies from the field: the conclusion of the stage of Thailand Development Forum, 25 October 2013.

“A power structure that takes the government as the leader and the society as the follower is a major obstacle to the development of democracy, because it is difficult for civil society to control government growth since many citizens are accustomed to the tardiness of the public. They are cultivated with the idea of dependence on others, and they are not brave enough to show their own power. On the other hand, the center for authority to control the country is in the capital; local government is weak and the people are also so weak that, in many cases, they cannot even take care of themselves. The governing structure that dictates from the higher authority has destroyed the identities of many local areas. Local people have lost the power to manage their own lives. They also have lost their prestige and pride in their culture.”

However, when the authority of management was distributed to the local administration, it provided good impact on the participation of citizens in the development of the local area. The local administration, under the self-management province concept, thus destroyed the barriers to innovation ideas and led to participation among local people and their independence in contributing to the proper development of the local area.

Civil society moving towards the formation of local administration policy under the self-management province ideal can be summarized as follows:

Table 5.2: Summary of civil society towards the formation of local administration policy under the self-management province concept.

Issues	Summary
<p>1. Centralization led to conflict and the usurpation of benefits.</p>	<p>Centralization was the center of interests, which were preferred by politicians in the country, which led to the usurping of those interests. As a result, politicians overlooked local development and neglected operations in local areas, attempting instead to benefit from budgets provided by the central government. Centralization led to conflicts in the country fueled by differing political ideologies, which in turn lead to the spread of public violence. Problems caused by centralization extended to a broader area.</p>
<p>2. Local administration under the self-management province was a form of effective national administration.</p>	<p>Local administration under the self-management province reduced repetition of administrative affairs. The cancellation of provincial administration put authority in the hands of local administration at the provincial level and contributed to effective budget management of local administration. Local administration also had the authority to solve the problems in local areas. This led to policies that met the needs of local residents, because management authority was administered at the local level. Management was suitable for the contexts of the different local areas and responded to the needs of the people effectively.</p>
<p>3. The self-management province developed the potential of local administration.</p>	<p>Local administration under the self-management province concept focused on empowering local authorities. This contributed ideas to the development of local administration. As a result, there was greater public participation in management.</p>

3) Formation of policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of academics.

Academics provided reasoned and knowledgeable information based on theories and research studies. This group included independent academics, whose opinions regarding local administration under the self-management province concept stemmed from their own experiences. The results presented are as follows.

3.1) Local administration under the self-management province concept helped promote innovation.

Local administration under the self-management province concept created new management styles and innovations for the local population. Charas Suwanmala²⁷ discussed the topic of how the self-management province is better than the way in which “province” is defined at present.

“If the government decentralizes provinces as self-management provinces, they will be able to serve socio-economic development in their areas with full capacity, without having to rely on the policy of the central government based in Bangkok. The economic base and the tax base in provinces will be larger and more varied. The overall economic system will be more effective. It can also reduce transportation costs across the regions and reduce resource consumption better than that of the centralized economy system.”

3.2) Local administration should be adjusted based on appropriateness.

The results mentioned above revealed that civil society agreed with local administration under the self-management province. However, such comments were not unanimously supported. Academics both agreed and had differing opinions on some issues, as pointed out below by Somkid Lertpaitoon²⁸:

²⁷Charas Suwanmala (2011) from the book titled Challenges, Decentralization and Thai Local Administration, published by the Center for Local Innovations and Governance and the Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, p. 44.

²⁸ Somkid Lertpaitoon, interviewed in Jullaniti Journal Volume 10, No. 3 May-June 2013, p. 15.

“The concept of canceling provincial administration of Thailand was not caused by the principles, but by practices. Many people thought governors did not administer provinces based on authority, that they had too much control. Therefore, cancellation of provincial administration was proposed. But in fact, provincial administration was very useful. Therefore, I agree with having provincial administration, since local administration must be controlled and monitored. The best way to monitor Thailand is that the government agencies monitor each other.”

Provincial administration was important since it was responsible for monitoring and controlling local administration. Therefore, for changes in national administration, provincial administration should not be cancelled. However, duties and authority should be adjusted based on the appropriateness and the effectiveness of the administration, as Somkid Lertpaitoon stated.

“So, if people in Thailand are not strong enough to fight the power of local government, what we should do today is to reduce the roles in public services of the governor and the sheriff. Such authority should be transferred to local administration and the governor and the sheriff should be responsible for controlling, monitoring, and setting guidelines and standards only for the important issues.”

The comments above presented solutions for government administration by considering the issues that may be caused by structural changes, including the cancellation of provincial administration. Also proposed were approaches to change the form of government administration by focusing on the transition of authority and the transfer of missions.

3.3) Local administration under the self-management province concept was the discourse of decentralization for deviating.

The policy driven by local administration under the self-management province concept occurred in the year 2008, at which time there were political conflicts in the country. This led to the abolition of the government. Some

academics noted that the discourse of the self-management province, which was a local movement, occurred when there were political problems in the country. Therefore, there was the presumption from academics that the self-management province concept was a deviation in politics, one that was not supported by the data from the Learning Center for Decentralization and Governance. Tanet Charoenmuang (2012) addressed the issue of the self-management province concept.

“This group had never focused on decentralization before, so why did they bring this issue up and proposed it when the democratic group was struggling against absolute authority? They may have ulterior motives to diminish the struggle of the democratic group and to deviate from important political issues.”

Academics’ thinking regarding the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of Thailand can be summarized as follows.

Table 5.3: Summary academic beliefs towards the formation of local administration policy under the self-management province concept.

Issues	Summary
Local administration under the self-management province concept helped promote innovation.	Local administration under the self-management province concept contributed to the thinking process on development and innovation. It also contributed to varied management of local administration appropriate to the local context in each area.
Local administration should be adjusted based on appropriateness.	The changes should focus on the allocation of duties and authority as appropriate to develop local areas. In practice, structural changes may affect national administration.
Local administration under the self-management province concept was the discourse of decentralization for deviating.	Some scholars remarked on the period of time driving the self-management province concept coinciding with political conflicts in the country, and the different political ideologies among the leaders in driving the policy. This led to the assumption that the policy was put forth and administered to deviate from important political issues at that time.”

3) Conclusions on the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept.

In this study, a summary of the key issues and an analysis of the data presented in relevant documents was proposed. The results are as follows.

The first issue: Administrative officials expressed a clear attitude indicating they did not want to lose political power, objecting to the proposal that local administration under the self-management province concept restructured national administration by eliminating provincial administration. This would have had direct impact on the administrative officials at various levels. In addition to the disagreement on local administration under the self-management province concept, administrative officials also formed a group to oppose the concept of government administration.

Administrative officials also clearly gave comments related to the maintaining of provincial administration. They emphasized that provincial administration contributed significantly to national administration and was responsible for controlling local administration, though this was seen as political interests leading to corruption and non-transparent management.

Considered in terms of the election of the governor, the origins of the opposition to decentralization revealed disagreement on the election of the governor. The main opposition groups included high-level administrative officials. As time has passed, the opposition groups have remained unchanged.

The second issue: The uses of data to support the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of administrative officials and civil society were different. That is, both groups utilized the data to explain and support their own ideals. How that was attempted can be seen below.

Administrative officials did not agree with local administration under the self-management province concept. The officials provided opposing reasons to real situations. For example, they did not agree with local administration under the self-management province concept because, they claimed, it could lead to a lack of solidarity in Thailand. They believed that it could promote separation within the country. In truth, local administration under the self-management province concept

was originally developed under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, in 2550 B.E. Local administration under the self-management province concept was not meant to separate the country in any way.

Additionally, administrative officials used historical data to support their disagreement with local administration under the self-management province concept, which overlooked social dynamics that can be adapted to various situations. Therefore, the claims of administrative officials were unwarranted predictions of what might happen using historical lessons as factual explanations.

Additionally, administrative officials concluded that local administration would not be able to resolve problems for which it did not have the authority to administer, as these could not be decentralized to the local level, according to the self-management province concept. Another important assertion was that local administration was tied to political interest groups, which would lead to corruption.

For civil society, theories supported by academic studies were used. These included the realization of problems and concrete ways of solving them, based on the real situations, using analysis and problem solving by people with knowledge of those problems. This was also in line with academic studies' results, which provided reliable information used to support the concepts. The researcher presented the reasons for supporting and opposing the concepts of local administration under the self-management province as the following issues.

Administrative officials stated that local administration under the self-management province concept would need to be aware of differences in local areas leading to variations in the incomes of those areas. Each area of the country was different in terms of resources and population growth, which resulted in disparities in revenue from each local area. Some areas were prosperous industrial zones or tourist attractions. Therefore, the revenues in those locations would be better than those without the resources. The data from the report of the average income per capita in the provinces in the year 2007 revealed that the average income per capita in each of the 76 provinces as of the year 2007 was radically different. It was noted that the average income per capita in the provinces (GPP per capita) across the country in the year 2007 was 115,488 baht per person per year. However, only 17 provinces had above average income per capita, while 59 provinces were below the average income per

capita of the country. The standard deviation of the average income per capita of the provinces was 150,155 baht. The difference of the average income per capita between the richest province (Rayong) and the poorest province (Sisaket) was 35.5 times. This information made it clear that the financial differences between the provinces were vast and it was suggested that centralization of the government failed to act on income distribution or to reduce the economic gap among the areas. The above information demonstrated controversial issues of the economy, as administrative officials made the case that local administration under the self-management province concept can lead to problems of inequality. This argument was based on academic analysis, which pointed out that centralization was not able to solve the problems of inequality of income.

On the other hand, the formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of civil society revealed the issues discussed with the support of the empirical data, as follows.

The formation of the policy on local administration under the self-management province concept of civil society stated that the policies met the needs of the people. This issue related to problems of centralization leading to policies that were not consistent with the context of the provinces. The academic article titled “Step over the traps of decentralization”²⁹ stated that centralization can deal with differences or horizontal gaps among provinces, since each province had different problems and needs. Not only was each provinces average income per capita very different, but the structures of the socio-economic problems were also different. These included health, education, poverty, social problems, careers, social problems, and the collapse of family, community, culture, social welfare, and security of the people. Each province had different problems in each aspect. Some were struggling with all aspects, while others were more positive on certain aspects, as the examples from selected provinces presented below demonstrate.

Surin had the most serious problems, compared to other provinces. There, the worst problems involved social welfare, education, health, the economy, and society in general.

²⁹ The academic article titled “Step over the traps of decentralization” of Charas Suwanmala from the book titled challenges, decentralization and Thai local administration (2011).

The problems in Chiang Rai were plentiful in all aspects, though they were not the most severe overall. According to data from the study, the central government was not able to solve the different problems in each province.

In addition, the academic article also discussed political and national government issues regarding inaccessibility to the areas. That is to say, local politics and the national political parties did not recognize and focus on the specific problems in the areas of the provinces. Therefore, the government proposed the same set of policies to the public in order to convince people to vote for the parties and the Members of Parliament as if all provinces had the same problems and required the same policies. In other words, national political parties believed that the same policies of the political parties could solve the problems of the people in all areas in every province across the country.

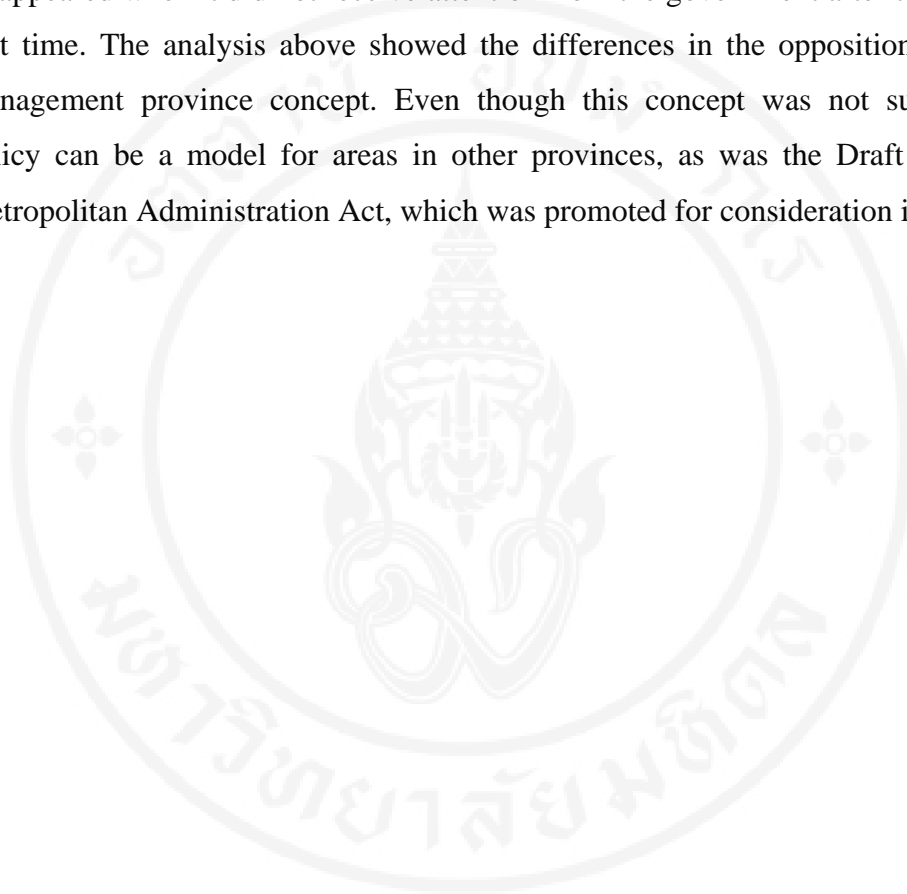
The aforementioned data demonstrated that local administration under the self-management province concept led to policies that met the needs of the people.

The third issue: Administrative officials and civil society battled for the areas of interests. To illustrate, administrative officials were the representatives of the concept of centralization, while the public was the representative of the concept of decentralization, which tried to find information and concepts to support their opinions in order to compete for administrative areas according to their own interests.

Administrative officials tried to reduce the number of local administrators under the self-management province concept, claiming they opposed government administration. Important social forces included administrative officials at all levels. For civil society, it tried to create conditions to support and raise the issues that affected the broader area, not just specific groups in order to gain recognition like the traditional government administration system.

The fourth issue: The timing may not have been right for decentralization. When the results of the election of the governor were analyzed (which was a main topic of decentralization in the early days), it was noted that although the self-management province concept was in favor of decentralization in separating local administration from the central government, the opposition did not

have a significant affect on the outcome. The self-management province concept was a bigger issue in the wider society in general, and it gained support in many sectors that were not linked to the election of the governor. The self-management province did not use a language of violence in its push for decentralization. However, this issue disappeared when it did not receive attention from the government after the election at that time. The analysis above showed the differences in the opposition of the self-management province concept. Even though this concept was not supported, the policy can be a model for areas in other provinces, as was the Draft Chiang Mai Metropolitan Administration Act, which was promoted for consideration in the Senate.



CHAPTER VI

THE COMPARISON OF THE FORMATION OF THE POLICY OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE SELF-MANAGEMENT PROVINCE CONCEPT IN THE REGIONAL LEVEL

The results of the study on the comparison of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province in the regional level in three provinces, including Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong focused on the public problems. The results can be explained by the following topics.

6.1 The formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Ubon Ratchathani

6.2 The formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Rayong

6.3 The formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai

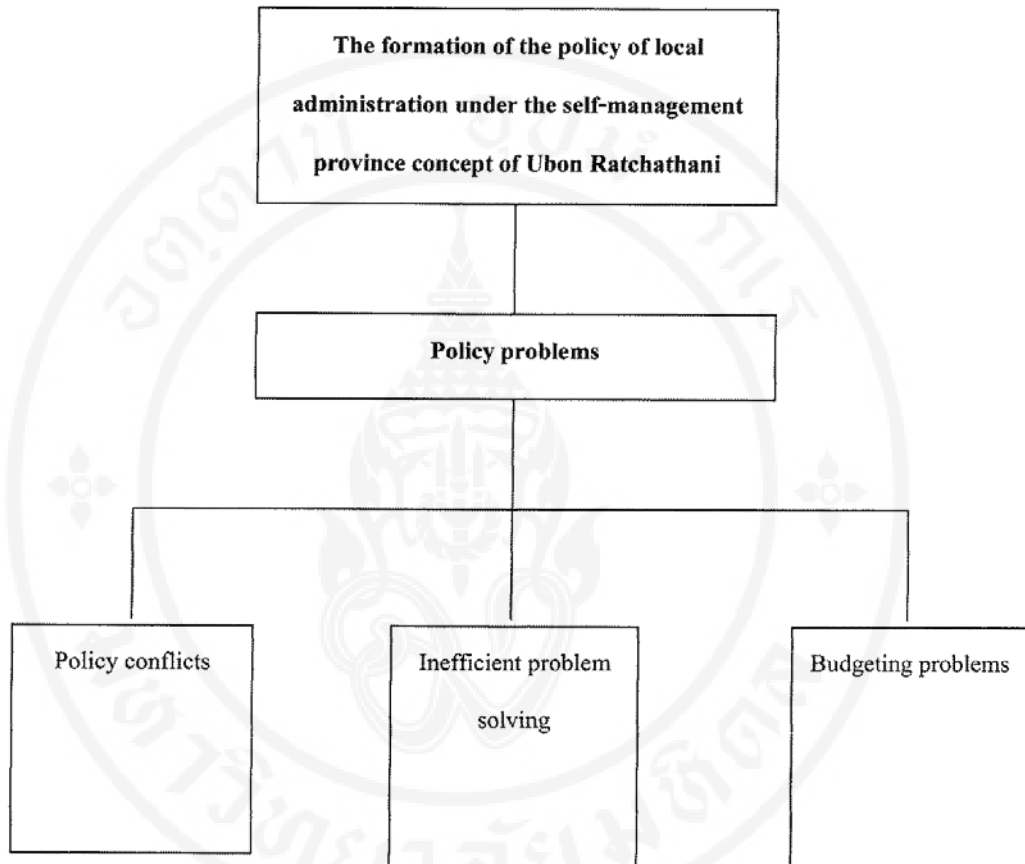
6.4 The comparison of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept in the regional level

6.1 The formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Ubon Ratchathani

Ubon Ratchathani was awake for “the self-management province concept”. The policy had been driven like in Chiang Mai. The results of the policy formation of the local government under the self-management province concept of Ubon Ratchathani can be presented as follows.

Policy problems

The policy problems of Ubon Ratchathani can be presented as shown in Model 6.1.



Model 6.1: Policy problems of Ubon Ratchathani

1) Policy conflicts

The policy conflicts were caused by the policies of the central government through various projects. Ubon Ratchathani had been affected by the projects of government for a long time. The projects had had impacts on the lives of the people in the province.

The policy conflicts caused by the policies of the central government in Ubon Ratchathani had occurred for a long time. It can be evident from the information obtained from the group discussion of the academics as follows.

“Ubon Ratchathani is an area supporting public resources at all time. The major event which was the clear conflict was the issue of Pak Mun Dam. It was the prolonged conflict between the government and the local people. It affected ecology and lifestyle of the local people.”

In addition, there is another project initiated by the central government which dominated in the area of Ubon Ratchathani and usurped local resources in the area such as nuclear power plant project constructed at Sirindhorn Dam, Ban Hua Sapan, Khuean Kaeo Sub-district, Sirindhorn District, Ubon Ratchathani. It was one of the projects relevant to the overlapped interests of several groups.

This issue illustrated the policy problems of Ubon Ratchathani. The policy of the implementation of the central government’s projects affected lifestyle of people.

2) Inefficient problem solving

The management of Ubon Ratchathani caused a gap resulting in the resource contention and the incorrect use of benefits. The problem was caused by the wrong and inconsistent problem solving process of the administration. The information gained from the interviews with the academic about the implementation of city plan was presented below.

“The city plan problem is the issue of those who take advantages from the legal gap which is not applicable to the situations and does not correspond to the reality of the area. This issue affects a lot in the area because we primarily focus on legal regulations. But some of them require a lot of steps in proceeding. Some laws are inapplicable with the situations leading to more legal gaps.”

In addition, this issue was needed to be resolved and it was the problem related to the local administration under the self-management province concept. The information from the document summary of the discussion on the topic: “self-management of Ubon Ratchathani people in the case of the environment of the province” in Warinchamrab district which discussed about the problems of Ubon Ratchathani related to city plan was as follows.

“The learning of the past city plan 20 years ago and the future city plan revealed that the problems are caused by urban development based on the city plan. Actually, the urban development should be developed by the local so that it becomes the city plan which is alive and people will recognize its importance or necessity.”

The case studies of the policy problems that contributed to the policy advocacy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Ubon Ratchathani on inefficient problem solving reflected in the inefficiency of the national administration.

Budgeting problems

Ubon Ratchathani experienced the problem of insufficient budget allocation for local development. The information of this issue obtained from the interviews from the seminar on topic “The future of Thai local” on March 18, 2014 stated as follows.

“The local was not allocated with the full budget according to the law (Constitution, B.E. 2550). Actually, we should get 35 percent of the budget returned by the government. If the local got more budgets, it can be used for better development.”

The results of the study presented the problems of the policy of the insufficient budget allocation to Local Administrative Organization that cannot be used to develop the local areas effectively.

Integration of policy advocacy groups

Ubon Ratchathani started to push the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept in the year 2012. It was influenced by the local administration under the self-management province concept of Amnat Charoen.

The person who contributed significantly to this problem was the Chief Executive of Ubon Ratchathani Provincial Administration Organization, Mr. Pornchai Kowsurat. The interview panel of “The future of Thai local” on March 18, 2014 addressed the problem of Ubon Ratchathani by focusing on the inadequate finance for the development of the local area.

The integration of policy advocacy groups of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Ubon Ratchathani was the cooperation of many sectors such as King Prajadhipok's Institute. They participated in pushing the policy and issue network groups. The data from interviews with the academics were presented as follows.

“The study began by organizing seminars twice. The public sector, the lecturers of King Prajadhipok's Institute and the representatives from Amnat Charoen managing the self-management province were invited to join the seminars. Then, the committee of self-management province was appointed in order to find out the appropriate model for the province and the strategies in driving the policy. Ubon Ratchathani Provincial Administration Organization was the main area of movement.”

“Ubon Ratchathani Citizen Network was the integration of around 30 networks of the former government officials, lawyers, the public sector, academics, organic agriculture representatives, Political Development Council and media.”

The key characteristic of Ubon Ratchathan in the integration of the group for pushing the policy was that it was the group of middle class consisting of former government officials who were engaged in important work. They debated for the conclusion of the form of the local administration and also expressed opinions through the seminars. The seminars were sponsored by the Provincial Administration Organization and other organizations such as the Political Development Council. The information gained from the interview with the academic was presented below.

“It must be accepted that they are from the middle class, not business groups. They are former government officials. Ubon Ratchathani Citizen Network, King Prajadhipok's Institute and the Political Development Council are in the same network. That is to say, the public sector, including the former government officials, is gathered as a citizen network.”

Ubon Ratchathani was influenced by the self-management province concept from Amnat Charoen. The seminar was organized for brainstorming to determine the appropriate model for the context of Ubon Ratchathani. The information gained from interviews with the leader driving the policy was as follows.

“We also mentioned about and were interested in Chiang Mai. But, what we focused at the outset was the study of Amnat Charoen. However, it was different from the self-management province of Amnat Charoen because it used the word “Self-Management Province Act”. We thought that this word was too strong and we were afraid that it would cause difficulty when using it. The Ministry of the Interior would not accept and allow us to use it. So, it was changed to self-management province.

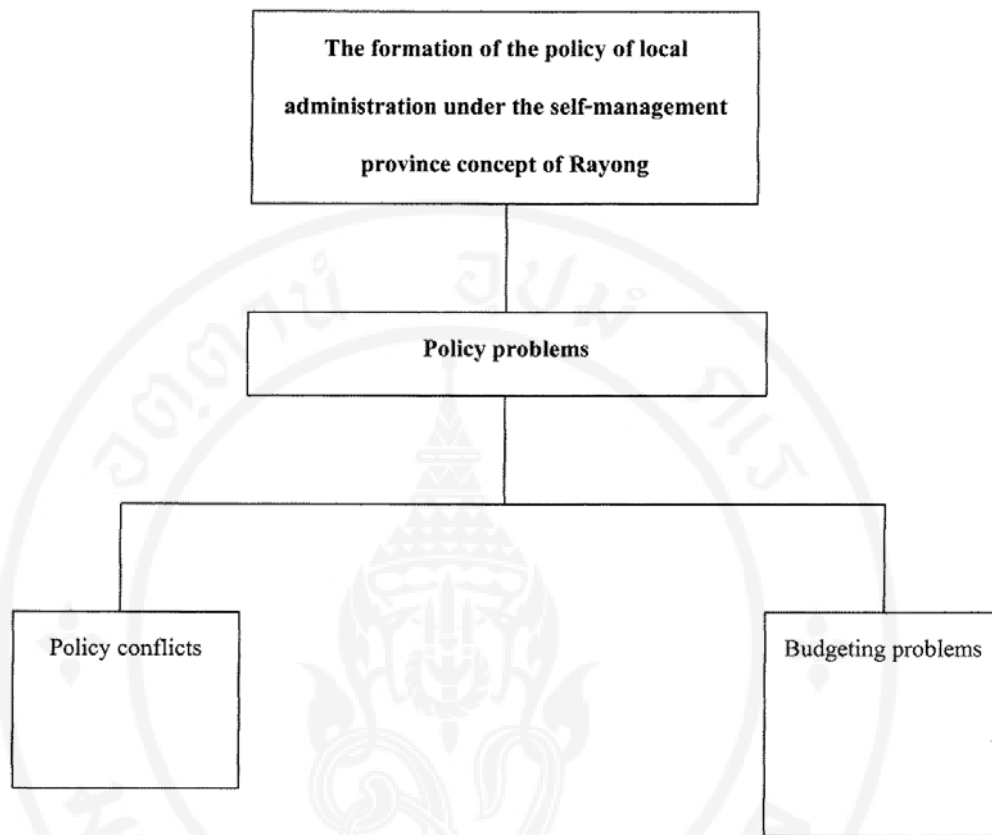
Knowledge exchange had been done several times for the determination of the local administration form under the self-management province concept of Ubon Ratchathani since the year 2012. However, it stopped when there was the coup on May 22, 2014.

6.2 The formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Rayong

Rayong was the province driving for solving the problems of the local administration. It was also the province driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept. The results can be explained as follows.

Policy problems

The problems that led to the policy-driven of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Rayong can be presented by the model as follow.



Model 6.2: Policy problems of Rayong

1) Policy conflicts

Rayong was promoted with tourism and industry which contributed to social and environmental problems. When the city was developed, there were both physical and social changes making Rayong experience impacts from the development of the central government. For example, there was the expansion of the industry which caused the loss of the areas for agricultural production. The information gained from the interview with the leader driving the policy reflecting the impacts of the policies of the central government were presented below.

“The problem of industry is about its expansion. There are eight districts in Rayong now, and the industry has accessed to five of them already. We want to stop it because we want to remain other three districts as the areas for food production for

Rayong people. Nowadays, sellers have to get vegetables from Talaad Thai and Si Mum Mueang Market to sell for Rayong people.”

The problems from the studies mentioned above were caused by the development of Rayong Development Plan of the central government which did not concern about the impacts that might occur. It affected both physical and social changes. Several sectors recognizing the problems tried to solve the problems. However, there were a lot of problems such as the conflict with the development plan of the central government and the problems from the development in the past which affect severely at the present and are difficult to solve. The academic was interviewed and the opinions were given as follows.

“The centralization does not allow us to solve the problems. Rayong has experienced the environmental and social problems for a long time from the development of the government without any solutions to solve the problems. The development plan from the central government focuses on the benefits of income and economy as a whole. There is no development plan from the local area.”

According to the study of the problems affected by the development of the central government, it reflected, particularly, the problems of expanding the industrial sector. This problem affected on people in Rayong. There were also the problem of lack of agricultural areas, the degradation of resources and social problem. It can be seen that these problems affected Rayong in broad and various ways. They were the results of the implementation of policies that did not come from the involvement of the people in Rayong.

2) Budgeting problems

Rayong province generated a lot of revenues for the central government from the tourism and the industry sectors. However, the budget allocated to Rayong was not consistent with the interests that the central government gained. The data from the Office of Commercial Affairs Rayong presented the statistics on this issue as follows.

“In October 2012, Rayong had to remit the amount of 3,096.76 million baht to the Finance Division. It was the revenue from the tax as of 2,764.12 million baht (89.26 percent) and other revenues which were accounted of 0.04 million baht and non-budget revenue as of 332.06 million baht (10.04 percent).”

There were the empirical data showing that there was imbalance in the budget allocation received from the central government compared to the revenue of Rayong. According to the document of “Self-Management Rayong Province, The Brave Step of Rayong People”, it stated as the following.

“The revenues that the central government collect from Rayong in the form of taxes, fees and others are around 120,000 million baht / year (not including the taxes from large companies that pay taxes in Bangkok), but the government allocates only 25,000-30,000 million baht / year to Rayong through all officials. Therefore, the net income that the government collects around 80,000-90,000 million baht / year from Rayong is an enormous amount of money. Rayong makes a living for paying tribute to the government around 80,000-90,000 million baht each year. This is unfair to Rayong because Rayong also has its own problems needed to be solved. In order to make it fair for Rayong, the revenue must be used to solve the problems and develop the province itself.”

The results from the interview with the leader driving the policy showed that Rayong had budgeting problems, so the province cannot be developed and the problems were not resolved effectively. The leader driving the policy mentioned about this issue as follows.

“There are a lot of industries in Rayong now. It is part of the systematic destruction of natural resources, but the taxes collected are not for Rayong. They are submitted to the center. From the research, in the year 2012, Rayong can collect taxes of around 130,000 million baht. But, it was allocated to Rayong as the budget for development and the salary of the government officials only 23,000 million baht. Our resources were damaged and we wanted to restore them. We needed to submit the

request to the center that would make a decision to allow or not allow us to do so. Sometimes, it delayed and the problems were not resolved.”

Integration of policy advocacy groups

Rayong started to push the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept at the end of the year 2011. The information gained from the interview with the leader in driving the policy about this issue was presented below.

“Rayong started to push the policy around the end of the year 2011 and the beginning of the year 2012.”

“At that time, we thought that why Chiang Mai started to deal with this issue and why they had to do it. Amnat Charoen also did it. It was just a small province and the revenue from taxes was not even enough for self-supporting. Then we thought why Rayong, the third highest tax revenue of the country after Bangkok and Samut Prakan, did not try to do it.”

There were civil society groups in Rayong which were Community Organization Councils. They brought together of groups of people in Rayong. They were issue network groups, in particular, the resource network group. The province was in the midst of the industrial development according to the policy of the government. This development caused pollution problems and resource degradation. Therefore, the resource network group played a key role in this matter. The information gained from the interview with the leader in driving the policy about this matter was presented as follows.

“Community organization or known as Rayong Community Organization Council is a major part in driving the self-management province of Rayong. The villagers had gathered and the groups were approved by the Act. The main groups are natural resource and environment groups. The civil society group is also working on this issue. The career group was working on agriculture which is the main issue. It is agreed that farmland for producing food for Rayong people is decreasing every day.”

The Chief Executive of Rayong Provincial Administration Organization played an important role in pushing the policy for obtaining the budget for doing research related to self-management province of Rayong. The leader in driving the policy commented on this issue as follows.

“So, we thought that as we, the public sector of the province, had already discussed about this issue, we decided to talk to Chief Executive of Rayong Provincial Administration Organization. So, he told us that we had to work on academic and he approved 4,500,000 million baht for doing research. Then we discussed with NIDA for doing research on this issue.”

Rayong had set the guidelines for pushing the policy by drafting the draft Act based on the local administration under the self-management province concept of Rayong. It was specific legislation. Rayong province started to draft the Act in the year 2013 in collaboration with NIDA. The stage for sharing and getting opinions from people in Rayong was also organized in order to determine whether it matched the needs of the people or not. Then it was modified for the appropriate form. The information gained from the interview with the academic was as the following.

“Rayong tries to create an academic information in order to academically explain what we have done and why we have to do it. We create a model based on the self-management province concept with the participation of people that they can share ideas and work together.”

The leader driving the policy also explained about the procedure of pushing the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Rayong as follows.

“We drafted the Act in the year 2013 with the cooperation of the research team from NIDA. This Act was called Self-Management Rayong Province Act. We also went to the areas to see if it matched the needs of the people and the local or not.”

Rayong was one of the provinces influenced by the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept. Rayong was interested in pushing the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept because of Amnart Charoen. Amnart Charoen is a small province and generates less revenue for the country than Rayong. But, it can form a policy advocacy group which has been well known in other regions. The draft of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Rayong was adapted from that of Chiang Mai. The documents associated with the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai province were studied. This was confirmed by the information gained from the interview with the academic as follows.

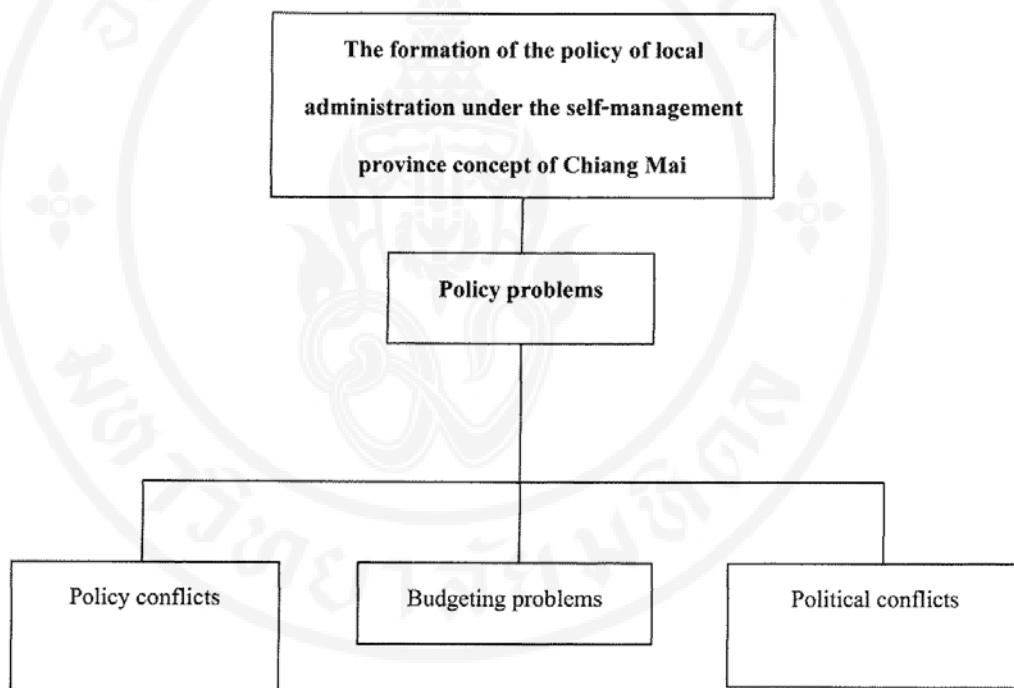
“Rayong requested the documents from Chiang Mai for using as the guidelines and they were adapted to the context of Rayong.”

The influence of other provinces pushing the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept had an effect on Rayong in terms of being the model for the self-management province. The study found that the relationship of Rayong and other provinces on pushing the policy was in the form of being a model rather than creating a network. That is, the operations of other provinces on pushing the policy played a key role in creating the trend of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept. This aimed to allow other provinces having trouble on this matter to have the guidelines in pushing the policy together as well as to share information on the implementation of driving the policy. Chiang Mai was, especially, an important model in drafting the policy of Rayong. However, the plan to push the policy of Rayong has been restrained since the coup on May 22, 2014.

6.3 The formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai

Policy problems

Chiang Mai province had been driving to change the local administration for relatively long. The problems that led to the policy-driven of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai province can be presented in Model 6.3: Policy problems of Chiang Mai.



Model 6.3: Policy problems of Chiang Mai

1) Policy conflicts

Chiang Mai is a province with cultural diversity. Lifestyle of people is tied to the conservative traditions and the province has its own unique identity which can be evidenced from buildings and lifestyle of people in Chiang Mai. The information mentioned about this point in the documents from the five cases of self-management public: case studies from the field: the conclusion of the stage of Thailand

Development Forum on 25 October 2013 by Swing Tan-ud was presented as the following.

“Chiang Mai has a history of over 700 years, with more than 30 ethnic groups, so it has cultural diversity. There are valuable historical sites which are the center of Lanna civilization with an abundance of natural resources. It is the city of headwaters with plenty of water running off to feed people from the north to the central region. It is a tourist destination with eco-tourism and the center of education. There are Chiang Mai University, Maejo University, Payap University and other universities. It is also an economic center. Nowadays, Chiang Mai pays taxes of not less than 100,000 million baht and it is submitted to the central government.”

The policy of the government at that time was affected by the policy conflicts occurring since 1987 such as the construction of the sky cabin to Doi Suthep. This project had been carried out continuously and was opposed by various groups, organizations and networks in Chiang Mai. The leader driving the policy mentioned about this issue in the interview as follows.

“The project of constructing of the sky cabin to Doi Suthep has been the issue since 1987. Until now; the project is still raised and operated. It is in the process of survey of opinions and a lot of groups have opposed this project.”

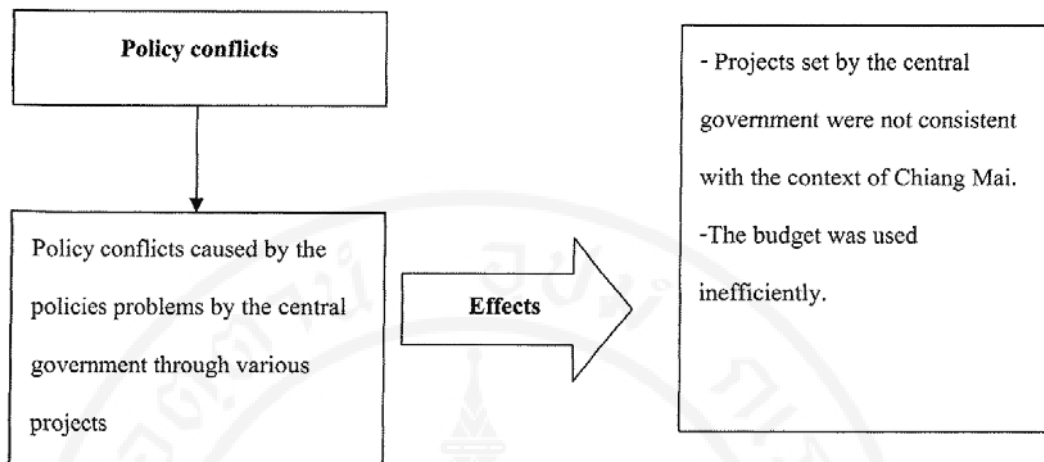
According to the results of the study, it can be described that policy conflicts were the problems caused by the policy for regional development issued by the central government. It was not consistent with the context in the region or against the local lifestyle and conservative traditions. The leader driving the policy mentioned about this issue in the interview as follows.

“The policies conducted by the central government always cause conflicts to the local communities. The organizational groups and the networks have expressed opposing comments on the actions of the government. The most important point is that the projects destroy natural resources and affect the lives of local people.”

Such policy conflicts showed that the rules issued by the central government did not meet the context of the local area. The ideas of solving problems were not practical and cannot solve the problems entirely. It also reflected that the policy of the central government caused conflicts and had impacts on the budgets as some were lost and wasted. It was the policy conflicts related to the management of the budget. This issue was mentioned in the documents from the five cases of self-management public: case studies from the field: the conclusion of the stage of Thailand Development Forum on 25 October 2013 by Swing Tan-ud as the following.

“The government got the benefits and the resources from the local area. For example, for the taxation in the year 2010, Chiang Mai paid the tax to the government about 100,000 million baht and the tax was returned to Chiang Mai for administration about 40,000 million baht. The local used it to manage the resources like water and other resources itself. But, later the government used the power of laws and money to reallocate the resources. For example, the Royal Forest Department was established to manage the forests instead of the local government organizations and the forests were rarely left. For the tourism management, Chiang Mai is a historic civilization and there are cultures that are worth a visit and can be a learning center for tourists, but the central government adopted pandas and built Chiang Mai Night Safari instead.”

According to the aforementioned data, it showed that the policies through various projects of the central government had impacts on the local area and affected on the use of the budget for the local development as well. It can be summarized as presented in the following model.



Model 6.4: Policy conflicts

Policy conflicts caused by the policies of the central government through various projects

The legislation providing authority to the central government had impacts on many issue network groups in Chiang Mai. For example, education issue network group had been affected by the educational management which was based on an overview of the country from the central government. The educational problem of Chiang Mai was different from other areas, but it lacked power in the management of their own province, so it resulted in inefficient management and the problem cannot be fixed. The problems associated with the education of the province included the problem of good quality of education which was concentrated only in central urban areas, resulting in differences in accessing to good education, the problem of producing manpower that did not meet the needs of the labor market and inequality in education, particularly in the remote areas and ethnic groups. The leader driving the policy commented on this issue in the interview as follows.

“Chiang Mai is a region with diverse ethnics, cultures and economic systems. These things require the education administration based on our own

principles. The management from the central administration is not practical with us. Now, we are unable to design our own educational administration as it should.”

Chiang Mai was one of the provinces that wanted to design their own educational administration in the form of area– based education management that can effectively improve the education of the province. This can be done if they have authority in the management of its own.

According to the issues of policy conflicts, it can be concluded that such problems were mainly due to the excessive centralization. The authority provided to the central government affected the thinking process and the management of the local population which cannot be implemented since the laws and regulations were not contributing to the local development process. It, finally, caused delayed and inefficient problem solving.

2. Budgeting problems

The policy advocacy groups needed to be allocated with more budgets for managing the local area. It also reflected the problems of centralization which led to gathering the total resources at the central government. This issued was commented in the press release of the Chiang Mai self-management as presented below.

“Under the centralization by the central government, it creates a burden on people at the low level. The government gets the benefits and sucks the resources from the local area. For example, in the year 2010, Chiang Mai was imposed about 100,000 million baht, but only 40,000 million baht was allocated to Chiang Mai for management. For the resource management, the locality used to manage the resources like water and forests itself. But, the government used the legal process and the power of money to redistribute these resources.”

The leader driving the policy on the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai commented on the issue of the proportion of the budget that should be allocated for the local authorities as follows.

“We always have this problem. The problem is that we earn income, but it is not used for our development. The decentralization must include the fiscal decentralization in order to make the management more efficient. The budget should be allocated for the local government organizations. The participation of the local government organizations in organizing projects and development is also needed.”

The budgeting problems led to the driving of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai as it required more budgets for the local administration in order to develop and solve problems based on the appropriate context of the area.

3. Political conflicts

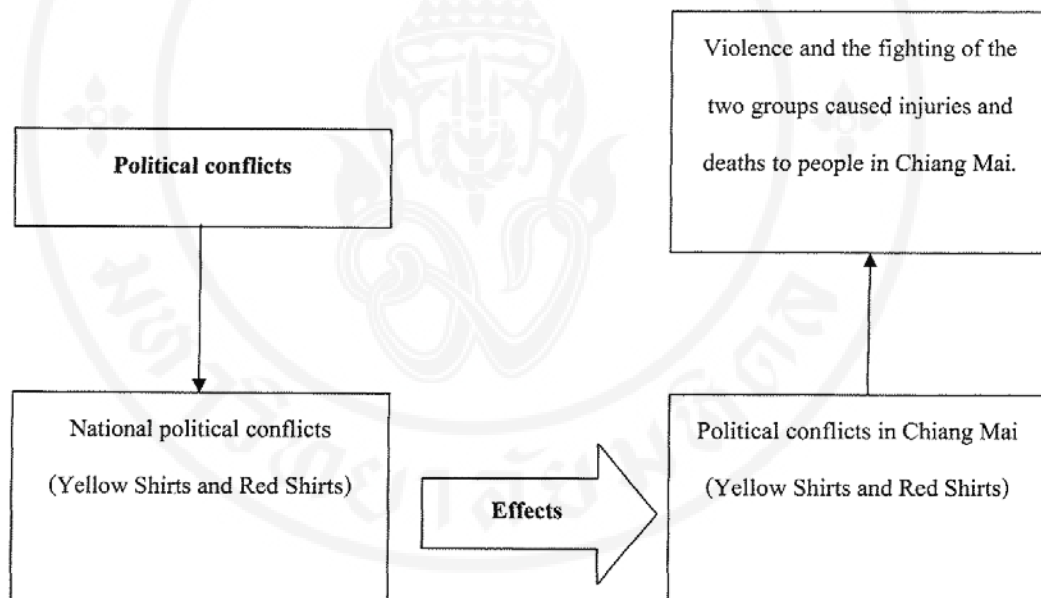
Political conflicts were the key issues resulting in the driving of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai. The data analysis showed that the political conflicts evoked the decentralization again. This was the starting point of the group named “Ban Chum Muang Yen (literally “Peaceful Homeland Network”)” in the 2009. This group organized the stage for people to discuss and share ideas for finding solutions of the problem. Later, the group was linked to the civil society in Chiang Mai. Then they analyzed the problems and proposed the proposals. Finally, all sectors agreed that self-management province was the way to solve the problems. Mr. Chamnan Janreung was the president of Ban Chum Muang Yen Network. He pushed the concepts to individuals, groups and networks such as National Democratic Institute which was the integration of academics, organizations and issue networks cooperating in finding ways to solve the problems. The main issue of Ban Chum Muang Yen Network was the driving of the policy of “self-management province”. The leaders thought that this was the holistic approach that can be used to solve the problems and reduce political conflicts.

The major cause leading the leaders to drive the policy of “self-management province” was the political conflict between the two ideological groups: Yellow Shirts and Red Shirts. It was not the only conflict that affected at the national level, but also other regions. Chiang Mai was the battle area of these two groups. When they organized the stage or forum for showing their political opinions, another

group always created violence in the area, causing a lot of casualties. These events led to the discussion for finding ways to solve the problem. The academic commented on this issue as follows.

“The problem is the battle between Yellow Shirts and Red Shirts. The problem is at the central sector, but Chiang Mai people kill each other. If the decentralization is administered, it will be easier to solve this problem.”

From the analysis of the political conflicts, the results can be presented in the following model.



Model 6.5: Political conflicts

Integration of policy advocacy groups

Chiang Mai was regarded as a province that was critical to the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept since it began the creation of the self-management province and the integration of the advocacy policy group that succeeded in drafting the Chiang Mai Metropolis Act. The beginning of Chiang Mai was “Ban Chum Muang Yen Network”. The network took place amid the

political conflicts. It was a network setting up to find ways to solve the problem of conflicts by letting the groups with political conflicts discuss for problem solving and creating the space for negotiation. These led to the ideological approach from the civil society groups and the approach was developed to the self-management province concept.

Ban Chum Muang Yen Network was the integration of academics, issue network groups, local politicians and private organizations that shared comments to find out the approaches for problem solving. This led to the discourse called “the self-management province concept”, which was originally from the driving of various policies and the movements based on different issues such as forest issue, environmental issue and educational issue. However, the self-management province concept was the approach to solve the problem together and to generate more social power. The leader driving the policy discussed about this topic as follows.

“The starting point of this issue was the fights between Yellow Shirts and Red Shirts. So, we thought that why we had to fight with each other. We, thus, formed Ban Chum Muang Yen Network for finding a solution.”

“In the past, we worked separately. The concept was evolved and it became the self-management province concept.”

The integration of policy advocacy groups had been a lot influenced by the leaders driving the policy: the civil society. This was because the leaders who were mostly NGOs had a relationship with the civil society and issue network groups. The policy advocacy groups of Chiang Mai had spread to public and private organizations, independent organizations and local government organization. So, they were supported with the budgets in different ways as it was confirmed by the information gained from the interview with the leader driving the policy as follows.

“Provincial Administrative Organization always supported us such as on organizing forums. This was because it recognized the problems directly. However, it cannot obviously move because it was afraid of hidden agenda. It was also difficult for them to work. For example, buying only a computer or a car, the approval from the

governor was needed. Or, for building a bridge, the approvals from 7 departments were required. These made it difficult to work and the working process was delayed. So, this group supported the implementation of the budget.”

Chiang Mai, thus, expanded the base of supporting groups of the self-management province concept wider and all sectors came together to push the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept. Chiang Mai was considered a model of building the self-management province. The leader driving the policy was Mr. Chamnan Janreuang. He was the most important person in the creation of a local administration under the self-management province. The form of local administration was influenced by that of Japan and the Citizens Council which was the form of New England town meeting. The leader driving the policy commented on this issue as follows.

“The model which was the form of two levels was from Japan. The Citizens Council was influenced by New England of the United States. The word “Citizens Council” was created by us.”

The integration of policy advocacy groups of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai set the stages for sharing comments in various districts. The main objectives were to create an understanding of the self-management province concept, to create coalition in support of the policy and to get feedback on the issue which contributed to the creation of an appropriate local administration under the self-management province concept. In terms of the leaders driving policy, there were legal academics conducting the driving of the policy and drafted Chiang Mai Metropolis Act and submitted the draft Chiang Mai Metropolis Act to the council on October 20, 2013.

6.4 The comparison of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept in the regional level

According to the study of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of three provinces, including Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong, the results of the comparative study of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept can be discussed based on the issues as follows.

The first issue: The policy problems: The study of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of three provinces, including Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong found that all three provinces had a coherent policy on the policy conflicts between the central government and the local which the effects caused by the implementation of the policy of the central government. Each province had the policy problems and they were the public problems.

From the policy problems of the three provinces, including Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong, there were the policy conflicts on the actions of the central government and the budget for a long period of time. The three provinces perceived that the development was not consistent with the context of the local areas and it led to the problems, namely the loss of resources, environmental issues, social issues and the impacts on people's lives. The perception of the problems had arisen from the existing problems and the fighting was in the form of issue network groups. The study of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of three provinces revealed that these issues were raised as issues in driving the policy. The problems, such as the problems of the sky cabin to Doi Suthep in Chiang Mai, Pak Moon Dam in Ubon Ratchathani and the development of the industrial areas of Rayong, had occurred for a long period. The people who had been affected by such issues in the three provinces perceived the problems and had the demand in pushing the issues. According to the definition of the problems, the problems can be solved by implementing the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept.

The results from the study demonstrated the policy problems occurring in the three provinces: Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong. The common problem was the implementation of the policy of the central government. This was the main policy problem and covered many problems. Finally, they became the public problems.

The policy problems occurring in the three provinces: Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong reflected the results and the objectives of the policy on the formation of local administration under the self-management province concept. The policy problems, the policy conflicts and the political conflicts presented the concrete problems that occurred in the province. It reflected the problems of centralization which led to usurpation of interests and conflicts as well as the lack of effective solutions. These problems were prominently in Ubon Ratchathani. It reflected the changing of the local administration under the self-management province concept in order to effectively develop the national administration. Also, the financial problems reflected the demand to decentralize to local authorities in order to improve the management. In addition, the budgeting problem was one of the policy problems that the three provinces gave attention to and it was described as the concrete problem. For example, Rayong raised the problems from the development in the industrial areas leading to social, cultural and resources problems, but the budget allocated was not enough for solving the aforementioned problems. Ubon Ratchathani focused on explaining the problems of unfair budget allocation which did not meet the percentage set out in the local administration. The policy problems in the three provinces were consistent with the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept that the authority to manage their own budget, policy and management was required.

The second issue: From the study of the integration of policy advocacy groups of the three provinces, it was found that the civil society was a key supporter and pushed the policy. The support was also from the issue network groups in the local area joining in pushing the policy. The leader driving the policy of Chiang Mai provided the information about the policy advocacy groups as follows.

“The overview of the country was the civil society and followed by the academics who were interested in the decentralization and the third group was the group of independent organizations, including Community Organizations Development Institute, Royal Golden Jubilee PhD. and Political Development Council (the major budget was not fully supported, but it was allocated in the form of funds for doing the related projects and there was no direct project such as livable Chiang Mai project.)”

Therefore, the civil society was the networks having relationships linked together which covered all of the issues. So, the civil society had an important role in driving the policy since the policy problems affected other problems. The study of the policy problems of Ubon Ratchathani, Rayong and Chiang Mai found that the policy problems were the problems related to resources, environment, culture and way of living which were linked to the national administration that was not consistent with the context of the local area. Therefore, the driving of the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept had the relations with the civil society and issue network groups. The information obtained from the interview with the leader driving the policy of Chiang Mai explaining the important roles of the civil society was as follows.

“The civil society and the Community Council had networks in the province. We call it the civil society in each province. Actually, there were the networks in the provincial level in 45 provinces. The civil society was the main leader and was supported by other organizations like the private groups, the local groups and the academic group.”

The above information represented the key issues. That is, the civil society caused the integration of the networks and led to the policy driving with the support of the civil society that was the issue network groups. This was because the issue network groups learned the policy and led to the change of the policy. That is to say, the issue network groups consisted of different issues in the society such as resources, ethnic groups and environment. The issue network groups were experiencing these

issues themselves and pushed the needs of the groups in their issues. But, the self-management province concept was the way to create social power which can lead to the cooperation of the problem solving and create a set of core knowledge in driving the policy, learning process and the belief of the policy. These resulted in a change from the needs to solve the problems and to change it to the ways of problem solving which can be used to solve the problems in all issue network groups.

For the integration of the policy advocacy policy groups, apart from the driving of the policy by the civil society, there was the role of having relations with the advocacy policy groups and the important sectors in supporting the policy driving such as Local Administrative Organization. In the case of these three provinces, it was found that the Provincial Administrative Organization had an important role in supporting the policy driving in various ways. The support was not the direct driving from the Local Administrative Organization since the image of Local Administrative Organization which was related to the interests from the policy may lead to interest issues of the local politics. Also, the reduction of the pressure on political conflicts from the political groups in the local area may be against the policy.

However, the policy advocacy groups on the local administration under the self-management province concept noted the following interesting issues. The study found that the advocacy policy groups originated from the civil society of Chiang Mai, which was the leader. When considering the study's results on the development of the effort for decentralization, the differences from the election problems of the government in the early day were found. The policy advocacy groups were the groups of scholars and politicians whose intentions were clear on the issue of decentralization. They fought for the policy driving as well as created the networks for decentralization through various articles and published papers. On the other hand, the leader group pushing the policy of the self-management province concept was the civil society having the different political ideology. The Office of Learning of Decentralization and Governance (cited in Thanet Charoenmuang, 2012) discusses about the leader driving the self-management province concept as follows.

“When considering the history of the movements and the political roles of the leaders of the self-management province, many of them used to have the roles in opposing the election of the governor. After Black May, 1992, many people used to refuse and insult the decentralization concept.”

Based on such data, it was noted how the leaders driving the policy of the self-management province concept changed their ideology. According to the study on the development of the effort for decentralization, the study's results supported such issues. That is, the ongoing relationship between the discourse of decentralization from the governor's election issues and the self-management province concept was not clearly linked and the policy advocacy groups were also different.

The third issue: For the establishment of the agenda and the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept based on the aforementioned self-management province concept, the set of knowledge was put into practice under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2550. This indicated that the issue of decentralization got the attention from the policy makers and led to legislation. However, the changing was slow, so the local administration under the self-management province concept was the model of the local administration caused by the needs of people who suffered from the problems associated with the national administration. Chiang Mai started pushing the policy in the year 2008 while that of Rayong Province was in the late 2011 and Ubon Ratchathani was in the year 2012, respectively. It was generated from the civil society networks that were the main leaders in driving the self-management province concept. There was only Chiang Mai that submitted the draft Chiang Mai Metropolis Act to the Council for consideration. For Ubon Ratchathani and Rayong, during the operation, they faced the political situation of the country, so the process was slow down.

The comparative study of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept in the region level can be shown in the table below.

Table 6.1: The comparison of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept

Provinces	Policy problems	Advocacy policy groups
<p>Ubon Ratchathani</p>	<p>- Policy problems: It had been affected by the projects of the government for a long time such as the projects affecting environment, resources and local residents' lives.</p> <p>- Inefficient problem solving: It was caused by the regulations which were not consistent with the local context resulting in the law's gap and the delay in practice such as the city plan law.</p> <p>-Budgeting problems: The local administration was inappropriately allocated with the budget which was not enough for the effective management.</p>	<p>The role of the Provincial Administrative Organization was prominent; especially the role of Chief Executive of Provincial Administrative Organization in cooperation with the civil society in the province together with other sectors such as educational institutes and academics. The civil society played an important role in driving the policy under the support of various groups.</p>

Table 6.1: The comparison of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept (cont.)

Provinces	Policy problems	Advocacy policy groups
Rayong	<p>- Policy problems: It was the development of the industry in many areas of Rayong that affected the agricultural sector and social and cultural problems.</p> <p>- Budgeting problems: The local administration was inappropriately allocated with the budget and it cannot be used to effectively develop the industrial sector and tourism.</p>	<p>The civil society, in particular, the resource group with the financial support from the Provincial Administrative Organization together with academics studied the self-management province concept of Rayong.</p>

Table 6.1: The comparison of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept (cont.)

Provinces	Policy problems	Advocacy policy groups
Chiang Mai	<p>- Policy problems: It had been affected by the projects of the government, which were not consistent with the social and cultural contexts and environment as well as the problems of resource management for a long time.</p> <p>- Budgeting problems: The local administration was inappropriately allocated with the budget and it cannot be used to effectively develop the local and the centralized budget led to the conflicts.</p> <p>-Political problems: The conflicts of political ideology groups at the national level affected the regional level and the violence was expanded resulting in injuries and death of the local people.</p>	<p>The civil society groups played a critical role in pushing the policy, including the formation of a policy of local administration under the provincial self-management with the support of the Provincial Administrative Organization and other sectors.</p>

The beginning of the formation of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai led to the trend of creating the self-management province concept which was recognized and gained attention from the society. Ubon Ratchathani and Rayong were the areas influenced by the trend of the policy. The study found that Rayong was interested in the policy and started to study and push the policy in the late 2011 while Ubon Ratchathani started in early 2012. Both provinces had been influenced by the trend, so they studied the self-management province concept from other areas that had been implemented with this concept. Chiang Mai province was one of the models. The policy problems of Ubon Ratchathani and Rayong were consistent. That is, it was the explanation of the problem focusing on the shortcomings of centralization, including policy problems and the inadequate budget that reflected ineffective management in order to lead to the change based on the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept. Therefore, Ubon Ratchathani and Rayong had the policy problems that were consistent with that of Chiang Mai which was the explanation of the existing policy problems in the area from the problem-oriented issues.

The policy problems and the trend of the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept led to the integration of the policy advocacy groups. In the cases of Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong, the study indicated that the policy advocacy groups included the civil society which played a role of the leader in driving the policy. The civil society found to have relationship in each area in working in the field of local development. As a result, there was the relationship in finding supports and creating policy belief and having self-management province learning process and supports. Originally, the policy problems had been resolved based on the issues. Then, it was the integration of the policy advocacy groups based on the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept.

The aforementioned conclusion demonstrated the importance and the roles of the civil society influencing the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept. The support had arisen from the integration of the groups in pushing the policy. The study showed that Ubon Ratchathani, Chiang Mai and Rayong were supported by Local Administrative Organization, especially

Provincial Administrative Organization which played a critical role in supporting the concept of the policy, budget and resources in driving the policy. Not only had the Local Administrative Organization, other sectors such as educational institutions also played a role in pushing the policy.



CHAPTER VII

DRIVING POLICY MODEL OF THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE SELF-MANAGEMENT PROVINCE CONCEPT OF CHIANG MAI

The study of driving policy model of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai aimed to study driving policy model of Chiang Mai in the local administration under the self-management province concept. The results from the study can be presented as follows.

Driving policy model of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai

The period of the study of driving policy model of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai was in 2008, which was the beginning of the concept, until the national governmental coup d'état on May 22, 2014. The results of the study can be separated into four parts, as follows.

7.1 The process of driving policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept

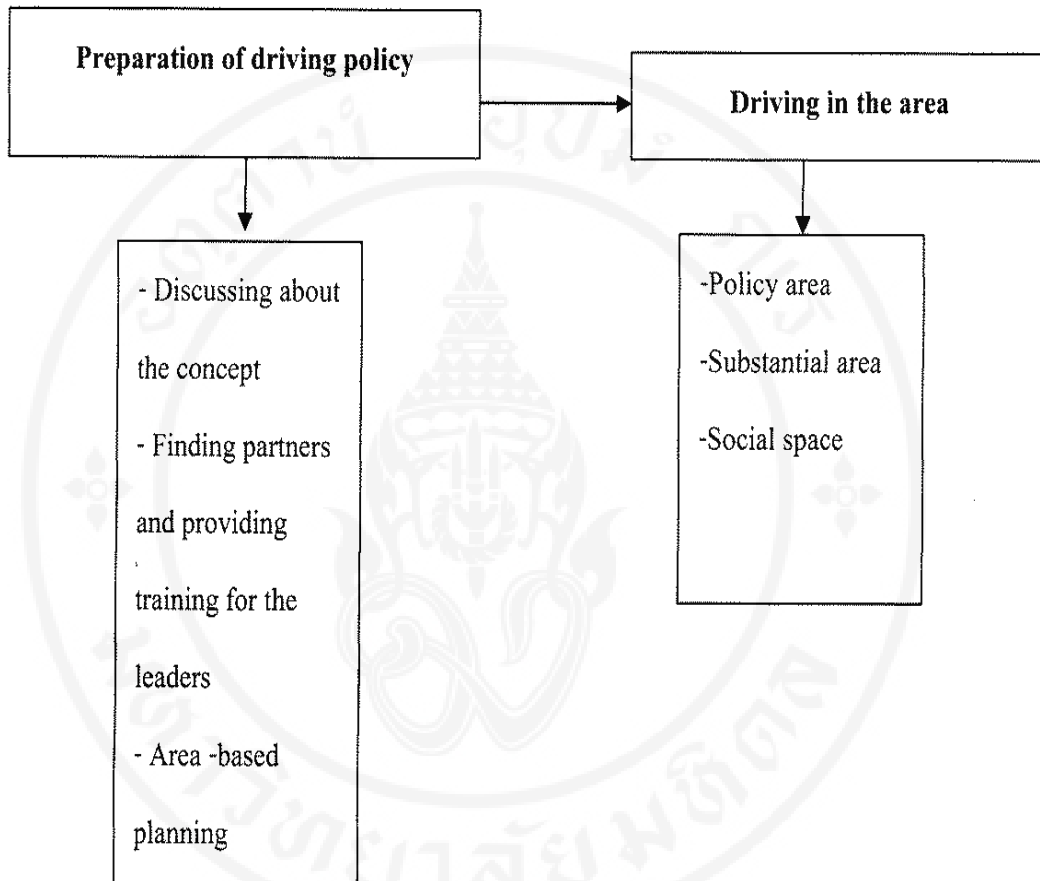
7.2 The factors related to the success of driving policy

7.3 The lessons learned from driving policy

7.1 The process of driving policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept

The process of driving policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept: the case study of Chiang Mai was the driving of many groups of people. The process can be divided into two main steps, including

preparation of driving policy and driving in the area. It can be described by the following model.



Model 7.1: The process of driving policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept: the case study of Chiang Mai

1) Preparation of driving policy

The process of preparation of driving policy was the beginning of driving policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai.

1.1) Discussing the concept

Discussion of driving policy of local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai province was undertaken to solve

problems in the year 2008 that had come about due to the political instability of the country. Discussions intensified based on the information obtained from the group.

“The important starting point, which was a turning point in driving policy, was an issue of political violence between Yellow Shirts and Red Shirts. We thought that Chiang Mai people are siblings living in the same house, so they should not fight and die like this. We had to find a solution.”

This problem resulted in the integration of “the group of leaders in driving policy” which included NGOs and civil society. These groups came together to discuss the problems and find solutions. The information gained from the in-depth interviews discussing this issue was as follows.

“We talked to the groups who had worked together on various issues. At the beginning, we talked with few people. Then it was spread out and we gained more opinions. We informally discussed at various places like coffee shops, churches, mosques, and offices of various departments based on our convenience.”

From the discussions, the ideological thinking was expanded and there was the establishment of an ideological group known as Ban Chum Muang Yen (Peaceful Homeland Network). This group consisted of academics and leaders of various organizations. Most of them were important people in driving the issues of Chiang Mai.

According to the discussion, the leaders who participated in the creation of the concept agreed that in solving each point of the problem, the changes of structure and management were required in order to allow the local administration to have power to decide on policy and resolve problems quickly and effectively. The information from the lessons learned on the self-management of Chiang Mai regarding this issue is presented below.

“Everyone (issue networks) understood their problems. They have been fighting with the central government for a long time. We have experienced problem solving. We knew that the best solution was self-management.”

After the consultation for creating the concept, the solutions to the problems were concluded. The group leaders driving policy created or defined the meaning of the word “self-management province,” which was given to the local administration whose intention was to push the policy. The definition of “self-management province” was a concept that could be communicated to allow other people to understand the concept of the policy. Social communication was part of the success of driving this policy. Data obtained from the stage of self-management lessons learned from Chiang Mai are stated as follows.

“Giving a definition of self-management province is regarded as an important symbol that allows other people to recognize it. A clear and meaningful definition can communicate to the outside world to know what we have done.”

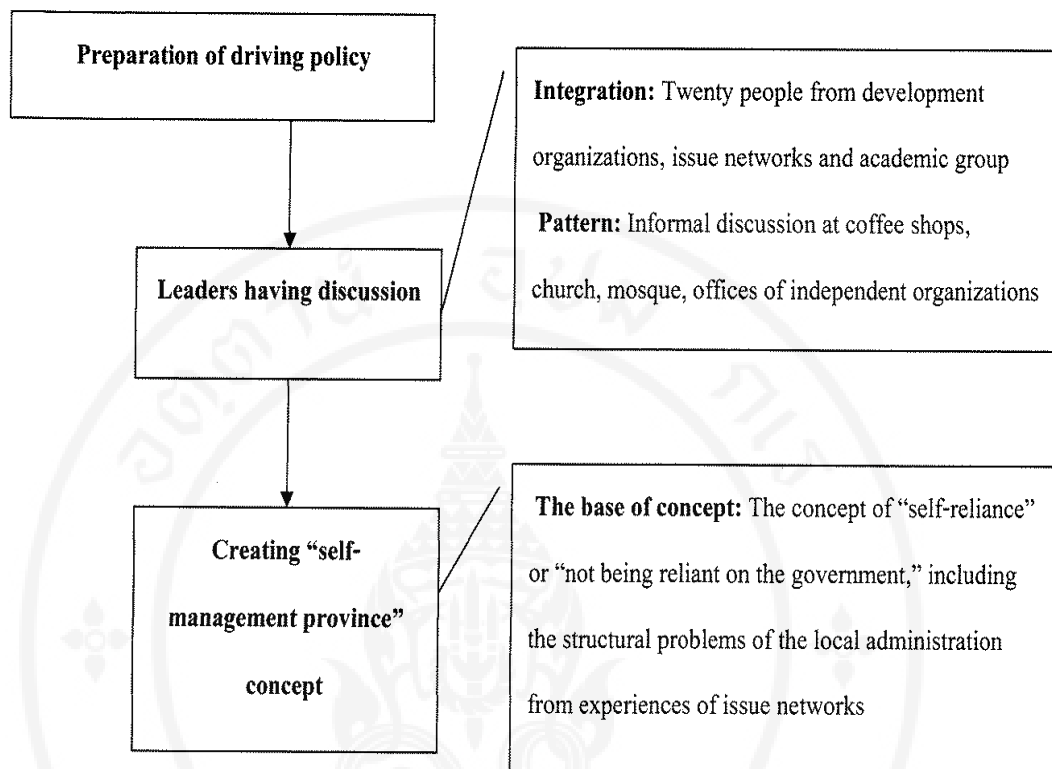
After the leaders of the group jointly discussed and concluded the solutions to the problems leading to policy formulation, the concept of a “self-management province” was created. The origin of such thinking arose from the experiences of the leaders and the existing concept of “self-reliance.” The data obtained from the group discussions about this issue was presented as follows.

“For the concept of a self-management province, when we were discussing, we were working on the local community. This concept was based on the concept of self-reliance, or at that time it was called not being reliant on the government, which meant not depending on the government administration and the economic development that did not comply with the local or the government actions or policies. We believed that we could do something by ourselves, as we had done at Mae Tha district for about twenty years.”

From the foundation of the concept, the content had been modified to be able to substantially resolve the problems of the local administration. The further modification included that, in addition to self-reliance, the structure of the local administration had to be changed, as the information obtained from the lessons learned on self-management of Chiang Mai are presented below.

“Recently, we have learned that self-reliance alone cannot fix the problem. The government must empower the local administration. The fight with the conflicts of the government policy caused huge obstacles and it was a structural problem. We must solve the problem at the root.”

The information mentioned above was the starting point of the concept of the self-management province, which was the main approach to drive the policy. The results of the discussions are presented in Model 5.2.



Model 7.2: Preparation of driving policy on the discussion for creating the concept

In terms of creating a form of local administration under the self-management province concept, it was a more detailed explanation of the concept of a self-management province. In this section, legal academic Mr. Chamnan Janriang looked at the possibility of pushing the policy through legislation to achieve a more concrete policy, as the information obtained from the lesson learned on self-management of Chiang Mai is mentioned about this issue below.

“The important thing was that we had to do what we think. That was the concrete self-management province concept of both in the form of local administration and the pushing for having the Chiang Mai Metropolis Act.”

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For the preparation of driving policy by having discussions about the concept, it can be concluded that the leaders driving the policy during the

first step consisted of groups of academics, independent organizations, and issue networks. The leaders worked together on social issues occurring in Chiang Mai in order to find key principles of operation.

1.2) Finding partners and training leaders

Finding partners was the social power in pushing for the policy to be made aware of by the general public. Finding partners started from the issue networks, because these networks were familiar with each other and had worked together previously to drive policies in Chiang Mai, such as Health Assembly in Chiang Mai, Parties of the self-management province of Chiang Mai, alternative agriculture networks and organic farming networks, which were their issue networks. These groups have always had a role in driving policy issues on their own as the data from the group discussion stated about this issue below demonstrates.

“Finding partners for driving self-management province concept was very important. We wanted to communicate to society so that people understood and were interested in what we were doing. We had cooperation from many issue networks that used to work together. They were from groups of leaders in driving in the organization networks, independent organizations. So, it was easy to talk and discuss on initial principles.”

In addition to the issue networks, the leaders also tried to find other partners to driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai by attempting to engage all sectors in order to communicate to society and push it to be an important agenda issue that should be considered. In finding partners, the leaders talked to groups and organizations, such as educational organizations, as the data obtained from the group discussions mentioned below.

“We had to find partners in driving the policy from other sectors in order to have more power to drive policy. The organizations that we believed could create social power were educational organizations, so we talked to

professors from Chiang Mai University and Maejo University. The professors from Maejo University agreed with us on this issue, but those from Chiang Mai University seemed not to agree and did not cooperate in driving the policy as much as they should. However, it was accepted and agreed upon once the concept became a social trend.”

In finding partners to drive the process, the leaders in driving the policy wanted the leaders from each sector to create understanding on the concept of the local administration under the self-management province concept and transfer this knowledge to their organizations to expand the base of support to many sectors. After gaining representatives from many sectors, the next process was to train the leaders in order to use them to drive the process.

Training leaders to drive policy was one of the important processes, because it was the process of creating understanding in the concept of the “self-management province.” Training the leaders in driving the policy was a cognitive process leading to the transfer of knowledge to the organizations and the outsiders to be aware and agree to support the concept, which would lead to the creation of partners to drive the policy at the public level. In terms of the content related to the training of the leaders, it involved various issues, so the training of leaders in driving policy was the way to expand the social space for “the self-management province concept” to be recognized widely in society.

1.3) Area-based planning

Area-based planning was initiated to carry out driving policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept. It was the process used to drive the policy. The leaders in driving the policy divided the driving process into three parts.

Part 1: This included preparation of the area and creating understanding about the “self-management province” of Chiang Mai to all issue networks, social networks, government organizations, local governments, and people in the area. Hence, the term “the preparation of the area” was the preparation of Chiang Mai to be the area supporting the concept of the “self-management province,”

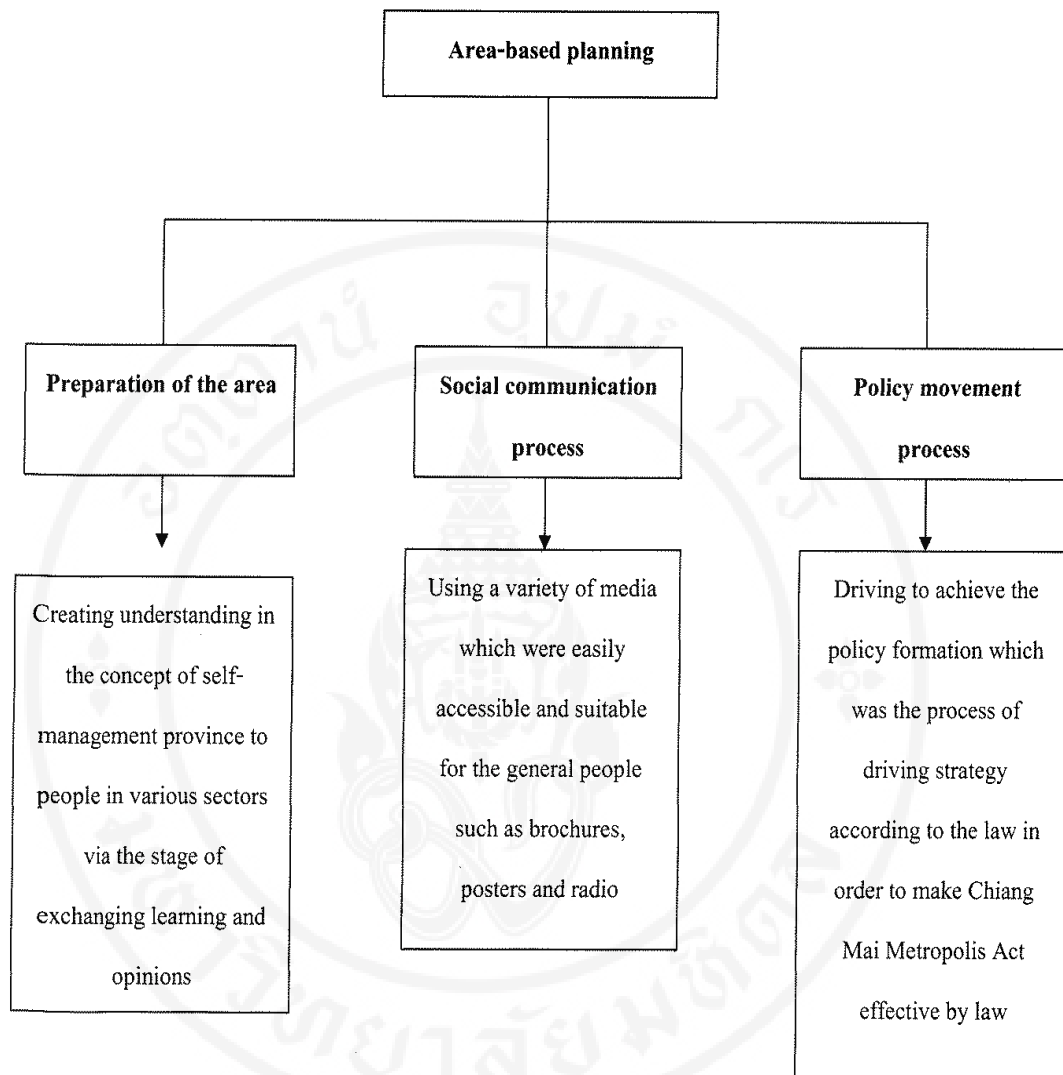
and the cooperation in pushing such a policy to succeed. Learning about the concept and exchanging opinions through the forums on both the concept and the guidelines for the creation of the local administration under the self-management province concept was administered in order to obtain the opinions from many sectors for driving the policy and setting the guidelines to create a model for the local administration. Also, it was the way to push for the Chiang Mai Metropolis Act.

Part 2: The social communication process entailed public communication at all levels. Tools to create social communication were used to easily and quickly provide access to the public so that they could learn about the concept of the “self-management province,” the approaches to drive the policy, and the content of pushing for the Chiang Mai Metropolis Act. This was done through all of the tools that could be easily accessed by the public. Communication was comprehensive and easy to understand, including brochures, books, radio announcements, posters, shirts, and campaign pins. Information from the forum mentioned about this issue is as follows.

“The media used for social communication was an important and essential process in creating understanding and expanding the support of the general public. We used the media in all forms so that everyone could easily access and recognize of what we were doing.”

Part 3: This step included the policy movement process. It was the procedure that directly affected the success, since it was the driving process in order to achieve policy formulation. It was also the process of driving strategy, which consisted of the process of drafting the Chiang Mai Metropolis Act. Getting feedback from people in Chiang Mai was done through the process of exchanging opinions in many sectors and many areas. The data were then analyzed for the appropriate approaches to draft the Act.

The results from the study of area-based planning are presented in the model below.

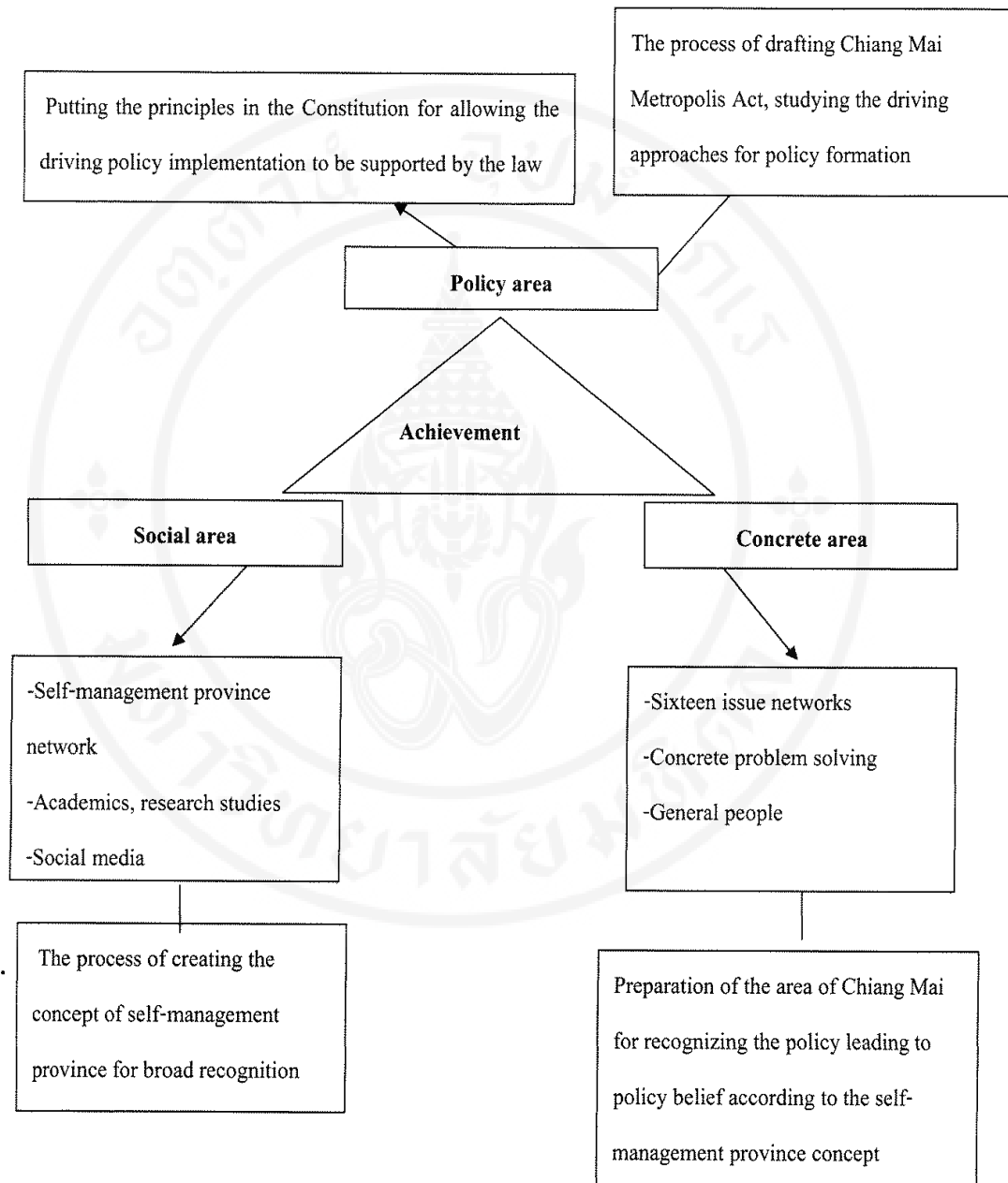


Model 7.3: Area-based planning

2) Driving in the area

After the preparation of driving the policy had been administered, the next step was to promote it in the area. The word “area” was not an exact location that could pinpoint the extent, but the word “area” in driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept was the social space associated with the trend of the self-management province. The area could be separated into three parts, including a physical location, a social section, and a policy concept. These three areas would be brought together to achieve the policy of the

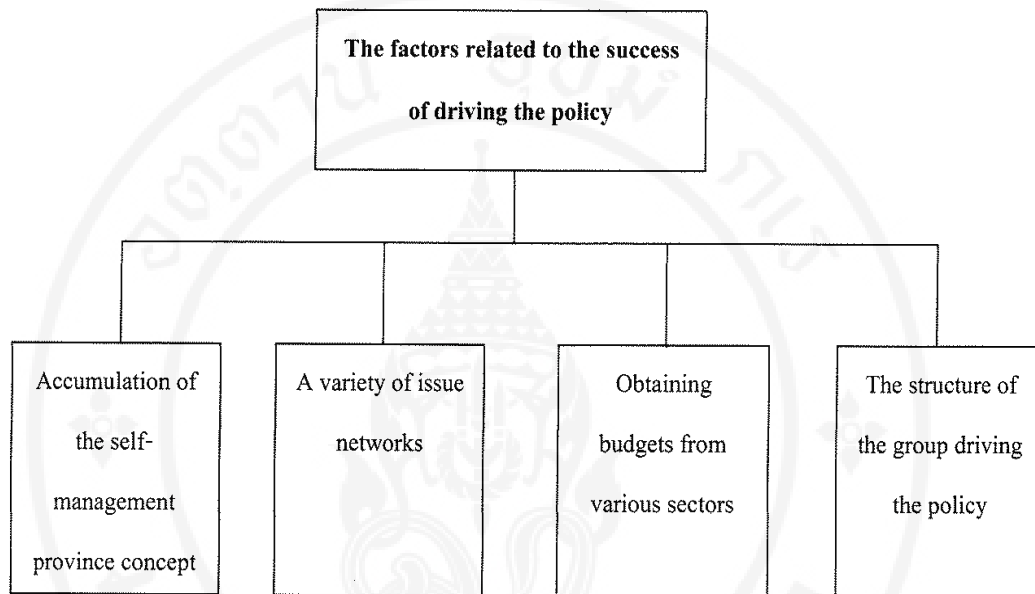
administration under the self-management province concept. The results of the study are presented in Model 7.4.



Model 7.4: The process of driving the policy in the area of the local administration under the self-management province concept: Chiang Mai

7.2 The factors related to the success of driving policy

The factors related to the success of driving the policy of local administration under the self-management province concept: Chiang Mai, can be presented in the following model.



Model 7.5: The factors related to the success of driving the policy

1) Accumulation of the self-management province concept

Chiang Mai is a province that has driven the policy from the problems arising from the administration of the central government for a long period of time. In response to this issue, it was found that Chiang Mai began the integration of groups in solving the problems in 1983. The “For Chiang Mai Club” was established for the purpose of screening the project plans from the central government and proposing appropriate development consistent with the context of Chiang Mai. The integration of this group was the beginning of a social movement to resolve the policy conflicts between the central government and the local area. The club initiated understanding and guidelines on best practices for the administration of Chiang Mai. It gained a lot of attention from people in the province in various sectors, namely academics, social activists, and organization networks.

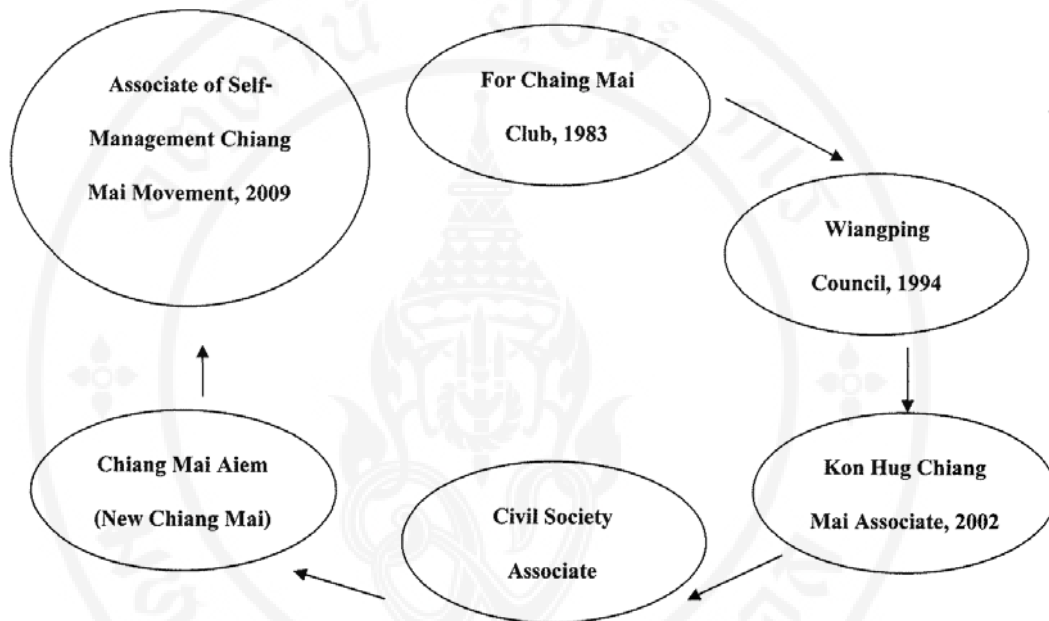
Chiang Mai started a movement on the issue of decentralization in 1991. Later, there was the integration of groups named “Wiangping Council,” and then “Kon Hug Chiang Mai Partner Group,” which were regarded as the foundation of “the concept of the self-management province.” That is, the Kon Hug Chiang Mai Partner Group carried on the ideology of the Wiangping Council. The main objective was to maintain Chiang Mai’s character in an appropriate context with the right direction of development, as put forth in the data obtained from the group.

“Chiang Mai is the province that has driven the issues involved in the self-management province for a long time. People in different areas have learned and understood that the problems have been caused by the administration that does not correspond to the province, resulting in various problems. Therefore, self-management is fostered by the people to make the local administration better.”

According to the understanding of people in Chiang Mai of the problems of the structural administration of a central government that could not respond and solve the problems in the area, the accumulation of information on various points expanded to people in many sectors of the province. The cooperation in maintaining Chiang Mai led to claims and proposed solutions for strategic problem solving, resulting in a movement for concrete solutions. This also led to the establishment of the “Civil Society Partner Group” of Chiang Mai. The information obtained from the in-depth interviews of the issue network on this issue is the following.

“The Civil Society Partner Group of Chiang Mai was the group dramatically affecting the awareness of people in Chiang Mai. It was a period of important transition for the management of Chiang Mai. It expanded knowledge based on various matters with the cultural context of Chiang Mai as the basis. Educated, interesting, accessible, and understandable campaigns were organized. With the work of the partner groups, it reflected the difficulties of managing the local area and the clear reasons for operating self-management.”

From the accumulation of the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai, learning and practicality were done through various experiences. The model of the integration of groups related to the driving policy on the local administration under the concept of self-management province in Chiang Mai can be presented as follows:



Model 7.6: Accumulation of the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai

The model showed the accumulation issues consistent with the self-management province concept. It took a long time for mobilization, as the data obtained from the lessons learned of self-management of Chiang Mai presented below demonstrate.

“Starting from below, it was the Chiang Mai Club. I had been involved in the movement of the Doi Suthep Cable Car in the years 1983-1985. The protest of Chiang Mai on the policies of the central government had been continuing. This was considered very important, since it had a long historical basis. It was the basis of lifestyle, culture, language, and cultural differences, so the ideas or approaches from Bangkok would cause problems in Chiang Mai. As a result, there were groups of people always opposing it. It was often said that they would always oppose it. During

the period of Professor Sitichai, he tried to come up with a sustainable development plan for Chiang Mai, but it was just a document. When Governor Pairat passed away in a plane crash, it stopped. This included the proposal of the gubernatorial election during the period of Governor Kraisor, which was almost thirty years.”

Later, I saw my seniors, Doctor Uthaiwan, Professor Tanasuan, Professor Sarawut, and Professor Wasan, also joined the movement on behalf of Wiangping Council. We went for a walk around the Moat of Chiangmai and made campaigning signs on the 700-year anniversary of Chiang Mai, in 1996. Finally, what I can remember was that the northern citizens held the stage a few times and almost ended up with a draft act. There was a draft act of the gubernatorial election, but at that time, it was just the election, not deep down like we did. Another thing was that the networks for development and the network of the villagers had moved more than 30 years earlier. For example, when I saw the community movement, it reminded me of the network of integrated farming that began in the year 1985. It criticized CP and Contact Farming and then it built up the network of integrated farming based of self-sufficient agriculture. In 1985, there was the Sustainable Agriculture Network. It meant that we did not follow the policy. We had to pull up local wisdom. And there were local scholars in the year 1985. Previously, there were no local scholars in the nationwide system. There were not local scholars in Chiang Mai as well. After the year 1985, we stated to discuss how to recover local wisdom and local scholars.”

“But, in 1987- 1988, there was a fight for the community forest. I brought Chao Khun Pho, the deputy primate of Chiang Mai, to plant trees at Huay Kaew, which was the first community forest. The Chiang Mai Club also joined this event. So, it was the phenomenon of a community forest. Previously, there was no community forest in the system, but the word “community forest” was used for the first time in 1987.”

“In the year 1992, it was the fight against AIDS. The fight led to the Community Health Network in 1992. In 1997, we moved on to the Green Flag Constitution with the push of civil politics into the Constitution. After that, we noticed that there were a lot of networks, such as the Northern Farmers Network, the Tribal Assembly, the Community Forest Network, the Resource Network, and the Community Land Title. Later, there was the Community Organizations Development Institute, the

Community Organization Council, and the Community Organizations Assembly. But, it was the fact that the conflicts had occurred earlier. It was the conflict of Yellow Shirts and Red Shirts. Then there were discussions and Ban Chum Muang Yen (the Peaceful Homeland Network) was established. As there were many networks, it can be concluded that we had to do something for our local residents. We had to do something for our children and grandchildren, so it gradually grew. I thought that it was a perfect movement of the concept from many sectors, including the locals, the community, the people in the city, and the local administrative organization. In the past, the networks and the local administrative organization were quite apart, but later they were linked because we all demanded decentralization.”

This information showed the integration of the issue networks, which resulted in the Chiang Mai Civil Society Partner Group. The integration of these groups resulted in more social power. Every issue network had the same aim.

The factors associated with the success in driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept in the accumulation of self-management province concept of Chiang Mai can be described as the following issues:

Issue 1: The accumulation of the self-management province concept was considered the creation of a broader network that covered people in many different sectors, including experiences related to the driving of policy. It has operated for a long time, so the driving policy can be quickly and effectively implemented. It was also recognized by the people of Chiang Mai.

Issue 2: The accumulation of the self-management province concept helped further ideas of “the concept of the self-management province” effectively. That is to say, having the social issue driving consistently with “the concept of the self-management province” of Chiang Mai, and the accumulation concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai, led to concrete knowledge on issues related to the policy conflicts of Chiang Mai.

2) A variety of issue networks

The integration of the public sector in Chiang Mai was developed as the Civil Society Partner Group, which was formed from the problems of groups of people in the area of Chiang Mai. The objectives were to reduce the disparity in management and to consider the policies appropriate for solving problems in Chiang Mai. The issue networks played a critical role in driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept, since they were diverse groups and covered various issues in Chiang Mai, as the information obtained from the in-depth interviews of the issue network show.

“Chiang Mai has experienced disputes with management over a long period of time. The issue networks were formed from the issues that people had been experiencing. Each group would have their own ways to resolve the problems. They knew how to take action. Originally, they resolved only the issues on their own, but after that, the self-management province was the solution to the problems that were common to all the groups. So, we had various partners from the diverse issues that shared experiences and knowledge.”

Since the issue networks were driving the process on different issues, learning and understanding through experience resulted in a link between the problem-oriented issues and “the concept of the self-management province,” which can solve all issues of all groups, as the information from the lessons learned of self-management of Chiang Mai mentioned below shows.

“Many issues and many networks started to have the same flag. Previously, each issue was operated based on its own goal, but after the area was used as the base, the study did not push only one particular subject. It was the study of self-management, such as self-management agriculture, or self-management on land, water, or health. It became the same flag that was self-management.”

The role of the issue networks towards the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province in Chiang Mai was an important factor in the success of driving the policy. It can be described by the following issues.

Issue 1: The ability of personnel: the issue networks were the groups integrated for driving the policies related to issues in society. Originally, there was the social driving of their issues. This created social power and understand for driving the policy and communicating effectively with society due to the experiences in the past, as the information gained from the interviews of the issue show.

“The issue networks were the groups integrated for solving their own problems. The approaches of the groups were consistent with the social movements. When we had a mutual concept, working together was so much easier. The understanding, knowledge, and past experiences enabled the driving policy on self-management province to perform well.”

Issue 2: The issue networks helped to communicate to the wider society. That is to say, the issue networks were the important parts making people in all parts of Chiang Mai understand and support “the concept of the self-management province,” because there were leaders in driving the policy in the issue networks. This led to the arrangement of the stage for exchanging opinions in different areas. It was an important factor in creating social power to allow “the concept of the self-management province” to be broadly recognized, and the support was expanded, as the information from the lessons learned of the self-management of Chiang Mai reveal.

“The issue networks were the groups that helped us a lot. It was another important factor. The issue networks had knowledge and experience in driving society. They also had networks with people in different areas. Thus, they could create a better understanding of the concept of the self-management province, which could be implemented more easily. The knowledge on this issue was expanded widely so that it became the social issue that was commonly perceived.”

The driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai extended its base of support for the cooperation of organizations and projects, such as the Ban Wiang Recovery project, the Nimmanhaemin Club, the Bicycle Sunday Club, and the Chiang Mai Writers Club.

3) Obtaining budgets from various sectors

For the driving of policy in Chiang Mai, the support budgets can be detailed as follows.

Issue 1: The budgets were allocated through research projects of organizations. The driving of the policy of the local administration, under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai, was supported by many organizations in the form of financial support through policy-driven research projects, as is evident below from the information obtained during group discussions on this issue.

“We received financial support from many sectors. At the beginning, the financial support from research projects was an important part in driving the policy. For example, we conducted a study on the civil council for the Thailand Research Fund. The Community Organizations Development Institute also conducted projects related to strengthening community. In particular, the Thai Health Promotion Foundation has always supported us with research funds.”

In terms of budget support from research projects, it was joint research projects, together with depictions of the content-oriented research, as can be seen from the data obtained from group discussions mentioned below.

“We got grants from various organizations. It was the funds of research projects related to the concept of the self-management province. So, we had fielded such issues in the research projects. The operations were driving the insertion of various issues in order to be linked together. For example, for the issues related to health, we used the concept of the self-management province to solve the problems.”

The results of such research projects contributed to budgetary support in making printed materials, such as brochures and books, to promote the concept of the self-management province, as well as other media for social communication. The media were essential in distributing information related to the concept of the self-management province as the data obtained from the group discussions shows.

“There were a lot of printed materials related to the self-management province of Chiang Mai. They helped people understand the concept easily. Support was obtained from various organizations, so the driving went well.”

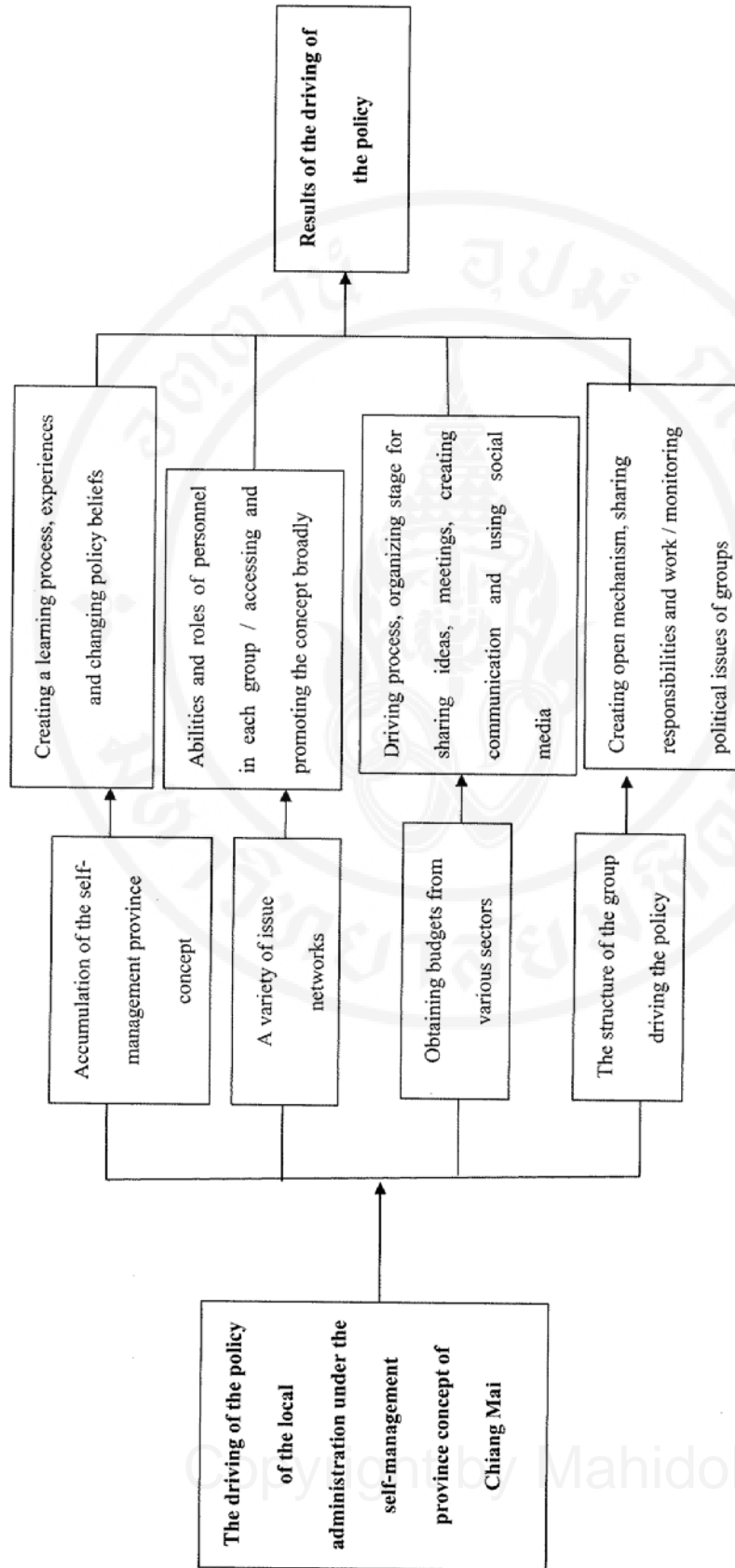
Issue 2: Budget support from the Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organization: The Chiang Mai Provincial Administrative Organization provided financial support to carry out activities such as exchanging opinion forums and meetings to make action plans to drive policy. Moreover, the policy was also financially supported by the Crown Property Bureau, as can be seen from the stage of the self-management lesson.

“There were many organizations, such as the Political Development Council, Royal Golden Jubilee PhD, the Thai Health Promotion Foundation, the Community Organizations Development Institute, and the Crown Property Bureau. They came to learn about the self-management province. Later, these organizations took the self-management province as a major issue in the organizations. For example, the Political Development Council was the major strategy. The Royal Golden Jubilee PhD also helped to draft the Self-Management Province Act. The Political Development Council got funds and used them to establish a coordination center for every province to have a self-management province. The Thai Health Promotion Foundation also gave us financial support and the Community Organizations Development Institute fully pushed this matter.”

4) The structure of the group driving the policy

The factors that affect the success of driving the policy were partly based on the design of the effective drive. These included the following key issues.

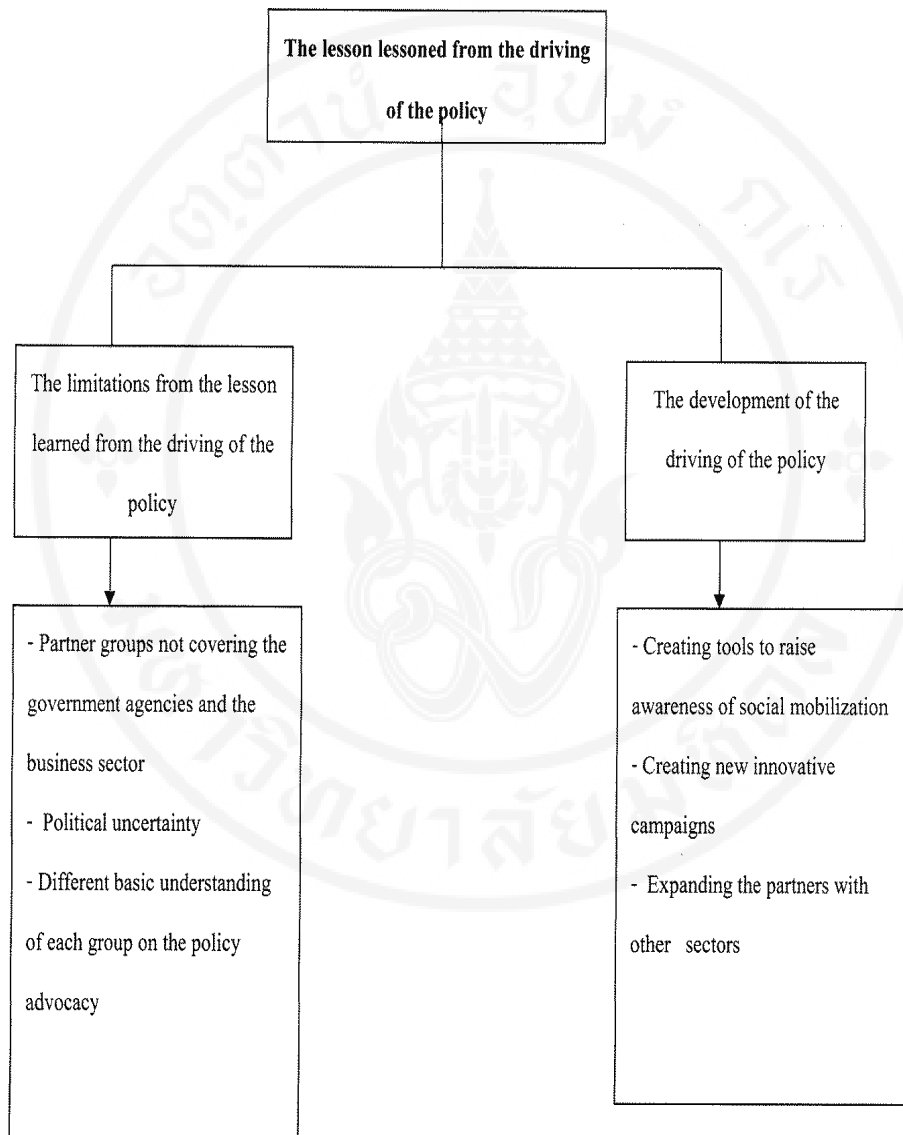
Issue 1: The design of the drive focused on the participation of all sectors: All groups involved in driving the policy were the hosts. That is, the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai was with the collaboration of several groups, sectors, issue networks, academic groups, organizations, and agencies. The main cause of such participation was from the design using an open mechanism. It was open for all parties to come together to run the operation, as shown below.



Model 7.7: The factors affecting the success of the driving of the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai.

7.3 The lesson learned from the driving of the policy

According to the lesson learned from the driving of the policy, the results can be presented in Model 7.8, as follows.



Model 7.8: The lesson learned from the driving of the policy

1) The limitations from the lesson learned from the driving of the policy

The results of this study were to convey the thinking process of those involved in driving policy on the limitations. The lesson learned from the driving of the policy of Chiang Mai was presented as the following issues.

1.1) Partner groups not covering the government agencies and the business sector

According to the driving policy of the local administration under the self-management province of Chiang Mai in the past, as mentioned above, the study found that there were no partner groups driving the policy from the government agencies and the business sector. The comments from the forum of the lessons learned of self-management of Chiang Mai were presented as follows.

“Despite working with several sectors, particularly the Provincial Administrative Organization, the community, the media, the Community Organization Council, and the social power of 18 issues with collaboration at the provincial level, and having a mutual public policy, considering a joint space and changes in the administrative structure of the country, the government agencies were neglected. We had to decide if we wanted to leave them or work with them. This also included the business sector, the private sector, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Federation of Thai Industries. There was very little connection. So, this was something we had to think about and find ways to connect to work together.”

The government agencies were the big agencies that had a direct link to the central government. Coordination for creating support was very important for the success of driving the policy. This also included the business sector, as well as the integration of agencies such as the Chamber of Commerce, which was a large networking group and had the power to drive policy. Having influence on society in the business sector can be very important to negotiation and logic. The comments on this issue from the forum of the lessons learned of the self-management of Chiang Mai were presented as follows.

“In most sectors, whether government officials or the business sector, they are considered a large social power that can help the driving to be successful. Now, the organizations engaging in the driving are only the organizations and the issue networks. We do not have government officials or economic groups, of which there are many in the province.”

The limitations of the partner groups not covering the government agencies and the business sector can be concluded as follows.

Issue 1: Understanding the details of the concept of the self-management province: There was relatively little participation of government officials, such that the points of understanding the details of the concept of the self-management province did not result in belief in the new policy.

“With access to other groups, understanding is needed. We need to understand that some government officials do not care about it because it is not related to their work. Creating communication must come with both knowledge and new ideas.”

Issue 2: The limitations of the partner groups not covering the government agencies and the business sector were caused by the beginning of driving the policy of the local government under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai that was started by the civil society and the integration of issue networks, which had previously been a practical way in the social movement. At this point, there was a lack of participation from other sectors, as noted below.

“The groups dealing with the movement of the self-management province were familiar with each other already, since they had worked together on other issues. This may also affect participation, because the form and the familiarity made other people feel that it was hard to gain access.”

In addition, the perception and the understanding of people in each sector were different, thus making it difficult to create trust and interest in others. The causes can be explained by the information from the in-depth interviews, s shown below.

“The concept of the self-management province was considered an approach to solve the problems of the local administration. The problems can be solved in many ways. Our movement also had problems. In the past, professors from CMU (Chiang Mai University) also did not agree with us. It might be because of the concept and the approach.”

The limitations of the people driving the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai can be concluded in stating that the policy needed to create a trend by engaging policy-driven support from many sectors.

1.2) Political uncertainty

Political uncertainty clearly affected the driving of the policy. The comments on this issue were from the forum on the lessons learned of the self-management of Chiang Mai.

“We had to move by using the Constitution. If the political situation was unstable, it caused problems. So we needed to modify the plans according to the situation, especially during the draft of the new Constitution. The surveillance and prediction of the trends were required. Driving the proposals of what we wanted into the Constitution was also needed.”

The structural limitation was the main problem, and it was the factor associated with the strategic driving policy, since it was the condition characterized by legal regulations. The comments on this issue were from the forum of the lessons learned of the self-management of Chiang Mai.

“The political uncertainty that cannot be controlled made us unable to determine anything. Therefore, the next phase of movement on the Chiang Mai Metropolis must consider which is more important between constructing the new city as the model of a self-management province innovation without waiting for legislation, or changing the structure. We have to weigh between these two issues.”

Moreover, the leaders of driving the policy also reflected on the issue of political uncertainty that led adherence to ideology. That is, the driving policy was based on the Constitution, but it may not pass the mechanism of consideration, as the information gained from the in-depth interviews suggests.

“Getting the policy of the concept of the self-management province may be very difficult. Actually, how far it has gone is our success. The mechanism of the government to set this policy is needed to consider a lot. Even if we get the policy or not, we should not adhere to it. Changing according to the situation is important.”

Not adhering to the discourse of the concept of the self-management province was important in the implementation of the driving of the policy. The study of the formation of the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Ubon Ratchathani was a prominent case on the modification of the form, according to their context.

“The study of the appropriate guidance of Ubon Ratchathani was based on the studies in other areas, such as that of Mae Sot, which focused on the economy, or that of Bangkok.”

Ubon Ratchathani, therefore, is a province influenced by the concept of the self-management province, but it has learned from the forms that have been appropriately modified in order to contribute to policy formulation.

1.3) Different basic understanding of each group on the driving policy

The approaches of driving the policy of the issue networks were different based on the problems. Thus, experience, learning, and understanding on driving the policy were specific based on their own groups. Learning, adapting, and creating common understanding were needed to effectively contribute to driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai as is shown from the information gained from the in-depth interviews of the issue network.

“There are issues that need to be reviewed in the driving of the policy. It is the driving of the policy of each group. There are many groups joining together to drive the policy, and each group has its own ways. So, the view towards the concept as a whole of the issue networks cannot be explained. They only have clear understanding of their own issues. Likewise, the group leaders also do not clearly understand the sub-issues. So, the transfer of the concept requires more understanding.”

The results of the study on the limitations from the lessons learned of driving the policy can be presented in the following model.

“I think it is connected to all parties. We can connect this way because we designed it as an open mechanism. We are open for all parties. We connected with all parties at all levels and all provinces from the sub-district level, regional level, and national level. Situational analysis was also done and the pace was set from time to time. We intentionally analyzed the situations that arose at each stage before moving. It allowed us to know the situations which were possible to move.”

The above information demonstrated the cooperation in driving the policy from several sectors. They were not only grouped together in driving the policy, but each group was also a representative to answer questions and provide knowledge and understanding related to “the concept of the self-management province” because of

knowledge and experience gained from the stage of exchanging opinions. The information obtained from the stage of exchanging opinions about this issue is presented as follows.

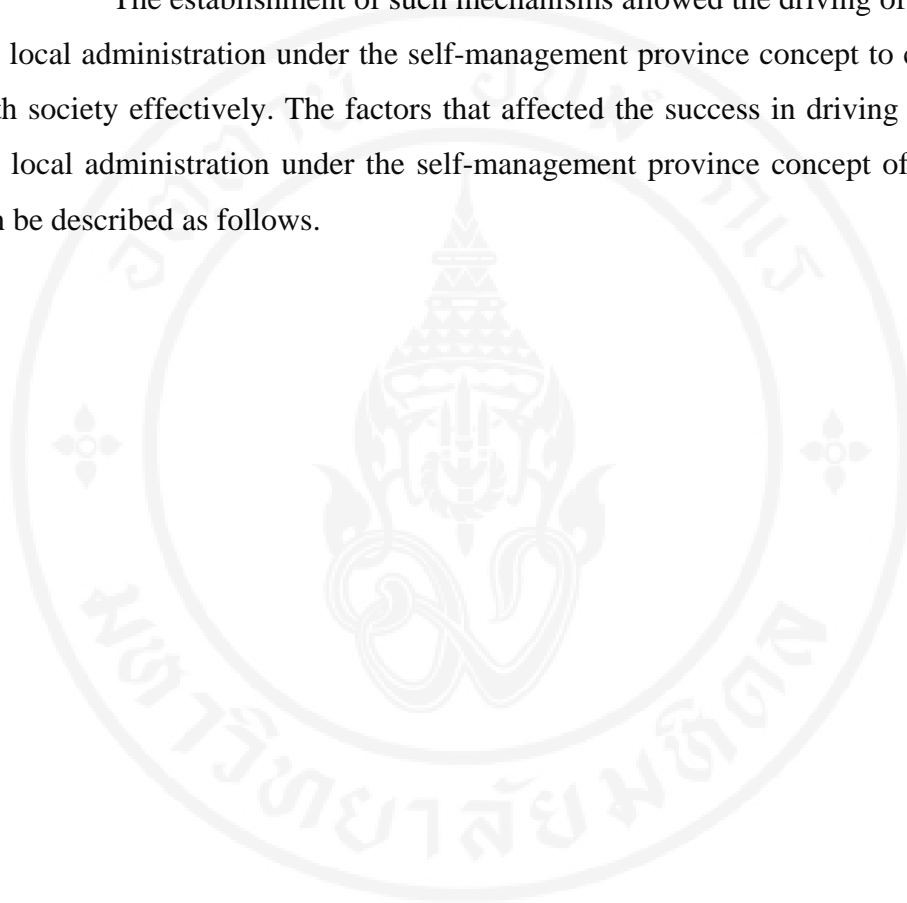
“Anyone could talk about this issue on behalf of others. Anyone could provide information because we were frequently on the stage. Anyone could talk about this issue because we hold the same issue. All were hosts together. Ownership was the thing that was more than participation. Initially, we focused only on the participation, but it went beyond participation.”

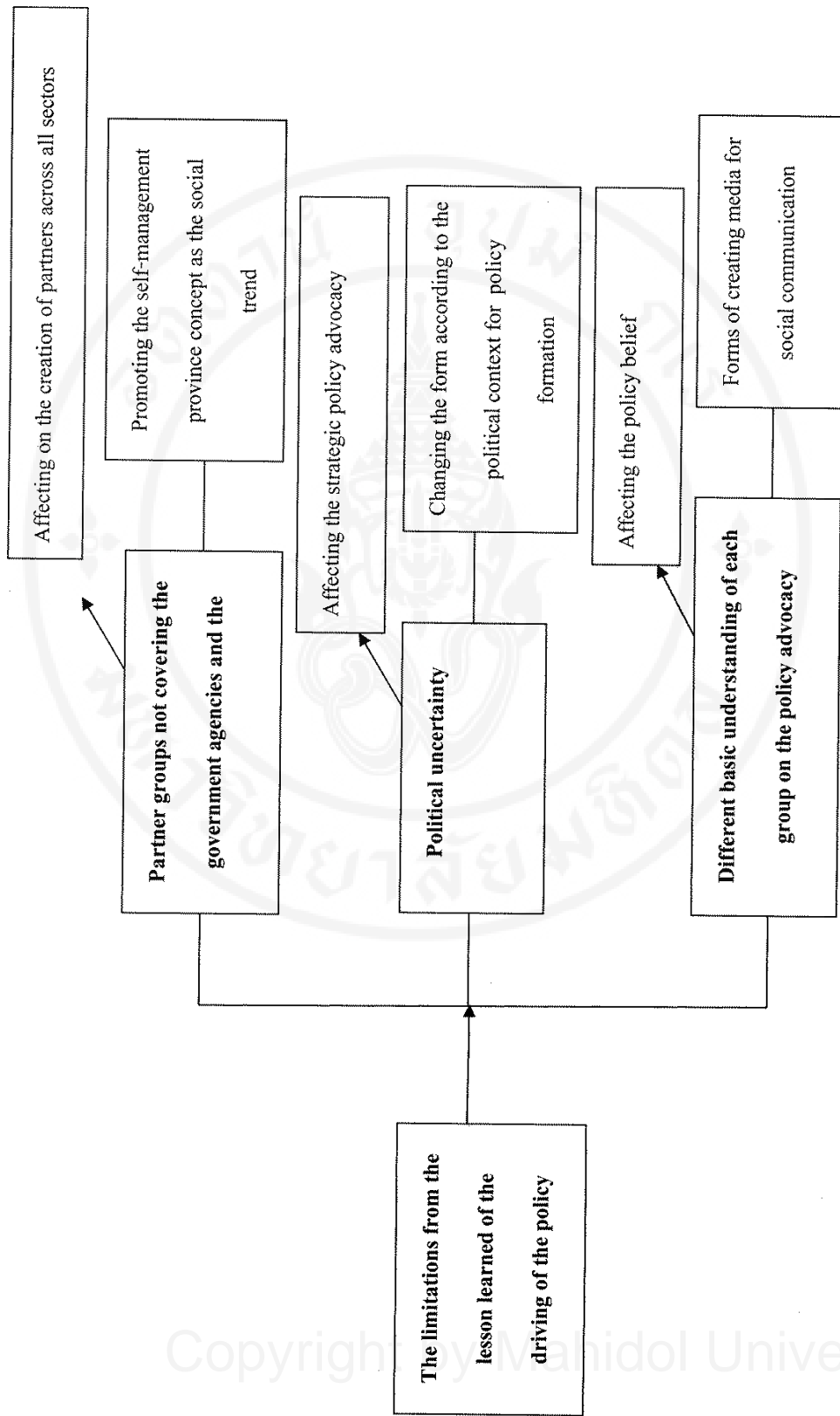
Issue 2: Driving the policy with a good working mechanism: The mechanism of driving the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai was teamwork. There were three important parts, including the strategy team, the thought leaders, and the secretary division. The strategy team was from networks, groups, and organizations in the province. The responsibilities were to observe the overview, analyze situations, set the driving strategy, and expand the understanding within their own networks. In this regard, the team was very important in expanding the concepts related to “the concept of the self-management province.” The information obtained from this stage of self-management lessons learned from Chiang Mai is stated as follows.

“There was a secretary division acting to associate and cooperate or perform certain tasks, which were the central missions. The secretary division was from civil society. This team also analyzed the situations, people, and balance. For example, when there were more Yellow Shirts, the Red Shirts were taken together to balance the situation. It was also linked with the supporting networks, such as the Thai Health Promotion Foundation, the Community Organizations Development Institute, and other organizations. It also dealt with plans and activities, communication, and media connections. The secretary division worked together.”

“Another key mechanism driving this issued was called “spearhead,” or “thought leaders.” This was an important issue because if no one was clear with the concept, it would be difficult to present the concept.”

The establishment of such mechanisms allowed the driving of the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept to communicate with society effectively. The factors that affected the success in driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept of Chiang Mai can be described as follows.





Model 7.9: The limitations from the lessons learned of the policy advocacy

The process of the Citizen Council can be carried out together with other projects to enhance learning and readiness among people to promote political consciousness. It is a program that is easily understandable, modern, and suitable for people of all ages. The comments on this issue from the forum of the lessons learned of the self-management of Chiang Mai were presented as follows.

“Creating a social trend in the local area through the words “Sparking Chiang Mai” and “Light Up CM” to “awaken people in Chiang Mai” by thinking about the issues, which were more widely associated with people, so the people stood up to question everything from the central government or any matters affecting Chiang Mai.”

Therefore, creating a tool to raise awareness of social mobilization was the way to create social support for “the concept of the self-management province,” rather than creating the preparation of people to drive the policy.

2.2) Creating new innovative campaigns

The development of driving policy on the issue of creating new and innovative campaigns was the design of more interesting social communication, which gave more access to the general public, but “the concept of the self-management province” still remained. The approaches were as follows.

Issue 1: Creating symbols to convey the meaning of “the concept of the self-management province” to achieve an understanding of the principles: The comments on this issue from the forum of the lessons learned of the self-management of Chiang Mai were presented as such.

“The campaigns or big events were still the same. Although we used symbols, it was still limited. How to make people have a sense of belonging? We wanted the symbols, brands, and communication channels that can reach a diverse group of people.”

Creating symbols is an important part in helping to achieve a culture that is part of the livelihood of the people. They will feel as though they are in the same group and have a shared sense that is easy to communicate with society.

Issue 2: Using representatives to present “the concept of the self-management province”: The driving policy on the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai needed to generate social trends, which were of interest to the wider society. Features for the public interest were important, as the comments on this issue from the forum of the lessons learned of the self-management of Chiang Mai demonstrate.

“Using the power of the public more than this by setting the strategy or adapting the pattern of the campaign of the energy model in generational social trends. Having new campaign ambassadors to make people believe and post or share the campaigns is recommended.”

Using the representatives to present “the concept of the self-management province” can be achieved by selecting representatives who are well-known and famous, so that people want to know the news from that person, such as singers, actors, actresses, or musical bands, to serve the public relations to achieve the goals of creating social trends that people recognize.

2.3) Expanding the partners with other sectors

In the past, driving the policy focused on only the issue networks. This may not be enough in creating cooperation to reduce resistance from society. The past driving policy must be driven by a collaborative group with the most comprehensive information, as related in the group discussion comments on this issue, as follows.

“For the social trend, although we received a lot of support from many sectors, there was resistance at the same time. There were objections from various

groups, and it seems to increase in the future. Therefore, we had to adjust the strategy in getting the public and focusing on finding partners and playing with feelings and understanding of various groups, rather than only creating concepts or principles of decentralization. The concept of decentralization, in terms of the rights of people, self-management, and rights protection, should be promoted to general people more.”

Expanding the partners with other sectors for driving the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai province should also be required to establish cooperation in other sectors to drive and expand the support groups. The concept of the self-management province should establish cooperation with the following sectors.

Issue 1: Creating collaboration with the business sector: The concept of the self-management province is directly related to the business sector, such as the tax collection system, creating opportunities for small and medium-sized businesses with a way to fight against the big capital, as the information obtained from the group discussion commented on this issue shows.

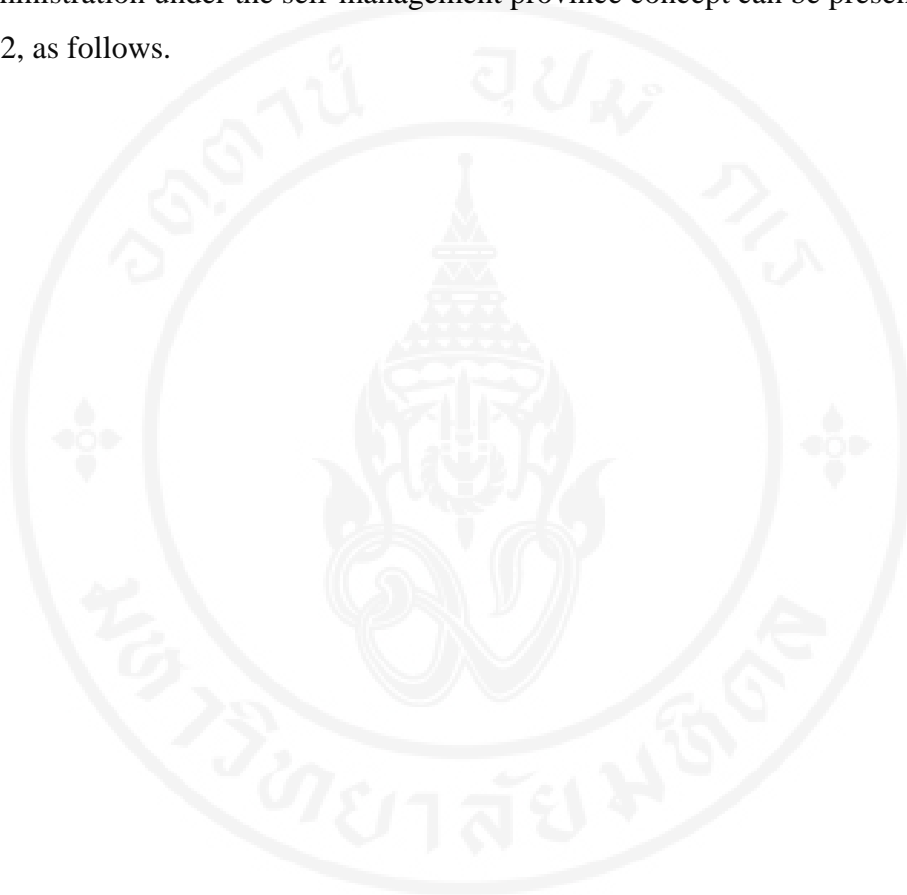
“In the business sector, such as the Federation of Thai Industries and the Provincial Chamber of Commerce, it is needed to find a point of collaboration, such as local taxation and supporting the small local investment groups to fight with the big capital.”

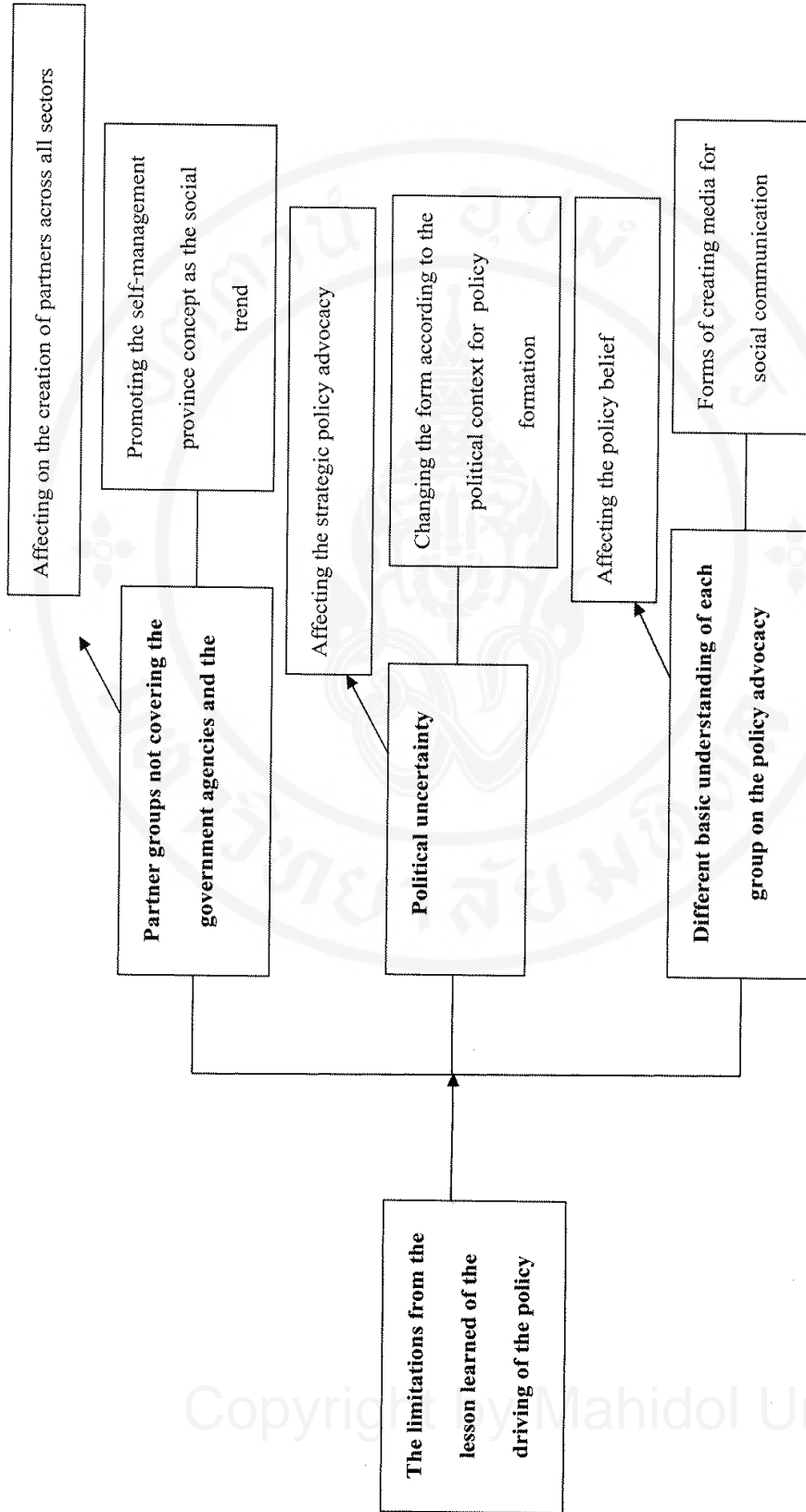
Issue 2: Creating collaboration with educational institutions: This includes schools, colleges, and universities. Students are considered a major force in driving policy to promote the concept of the self-management province widely, as the information obtained from the stage of sharing opinions stated on this issue.

“Connecting with educational institutions and universities will make educational institutions and universities understand the issue. It might start by working with related fields through the concept and participation or through taking action. The team from the self-management of Chiang Mai should work to encourage

understanding and provide knowledge to students on the issues of citizens, the Citizen Council and the self-management Chiang Mai.”

The results of the study on driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept can be presented in Model 5.22, as follows.





Model 7.10 Driving the policy of the local administration

The results of the study on driving the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai can be summarized as follows.

Issue 1: According to the development of the fight for decentralization, it was found that the discourse of decentralization had occurred since the issue of the gubernatorial election. The content of the discourse of decentralization was consistent, which aimed to change the form of the local administration. When they were considered together, a different period of time was found in national politics. That is, the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of self-management province of Chiang Mai took place amid the political conflicts in the country. This was the political uncertainty. The outcomes from driving the policy were important support in the period of movement during such political conflicts. The results of driving the policy also stated clearly that the leaders of the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai also raised the political conflicts having impact on the political violence in the region as a major issue that was the turning point leading to the mobilization of the policy. This was different from the issue of the gubernatorial election, which was the discourse of decentralization in the early days of the movement during to the general election. The mechanism to push policy through political parties interested in the issue is shown by the support of this study' s results on the development of the fight for decentralization.

Issue 2: The study of the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai also revealed that the leader of the movement was the civil society, which was a group of NGOs that was associated closely with the issue networks. The results of the study on the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province also showed that the concept of the self-management province became a social trend that led to the creation of the partnership. The results of the study also found that the preparation of driving the policy focused on the creation of the partnership in driving the policy. It was done to provide training and contribute to

the expansion of information about the concept of the self-management province as a social trend in the broader society. The leader of the movement created a large number of partnerships, especially with the civil society and diverse issue networks. This was because the leader was the group of NGOs. As a result, the civil society was in areas throughout the country and led to driving the policy in other areas. In this study, the researcher conducted a comparative study of the policy formation of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province in the regions consisting of Ubon Ratchathani, Rayong, and Chiang Mai. The study indicated that the group demanding the driving of the policy of both Ubon Ratchathani and Rayong was the civil society from the civil society networks spread across several areas of the country.

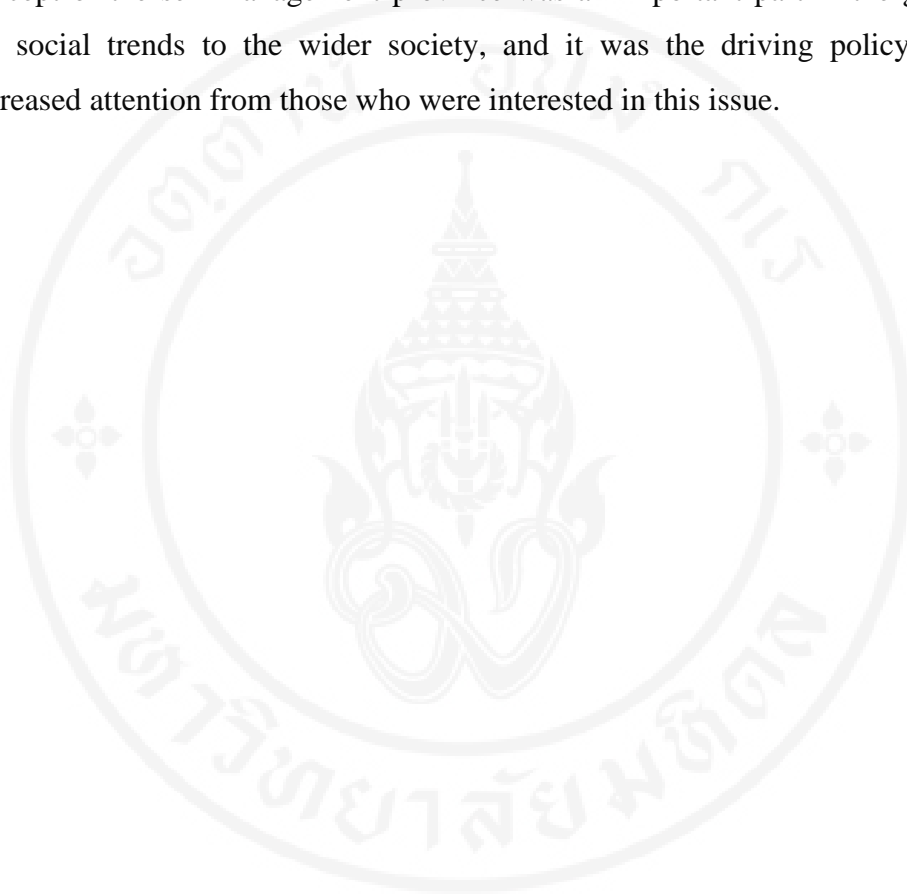
The results of the study on the development of the fight for decentralization marked the differences of the leaders driving the policy and the leaders driving the gubernatorial election. That is to say, the leaders driving the gubernatorial election consisted of academics and politicians, who have always pushed for movement on the issue of decentralization. They have had clear ideology of decentralization. However, the results of the study of the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai, which was the beginning of the movement of the policy, revealed that the leader was a group NGOs in the civil society. It was a new group and did not emerge out of the gubernatorial election. The new group was formed in 2008 during the political conflicts in the country. According to the factors that affected the success of driving the policy of the local administration under the self-management province on the issue of the accumulation of the concept of the self-management province, the movement in the early days showed that the leader of the gubernatorial election did not participate in driving the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province. Therefore, these two discourses of decentralization were absolutely not connected with each other.

Issue 3: The leaders of the driving of the policy used various forms of social media for social communication. These included a variety of print media, which were publicized extensively, as a result of support from agencies such as the Political Development Council and the Law Reform Commission of Thailand. Receiving budgetary support for driving the policy of the self-management province concept was important for creating social trends occurring in various forms, such as seminars that were expanded to other areas. The social media contributing to social communication included various publications and online media. The leaders who drove the policy also had a network of television stations, which led to the presentation of the self-management province concept in the form of television programs (ThaiPBS). This was another important method of social communication in driving the policy.

Issue 4: Resistance against driving the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai: The results of this study on the concept of the policy formation revealed that the self-management province concept was commented on and reacted to by some government officials who were opposed to such an approach. When it was analyzed together with the results of the study on development for the fight for decentralization, it was found that the opposition group was the same group of government officials who had opposed both the gubernatorial election and the self-management province concept. (see Chapter 5). According to the driving of the policy of the local administration under the self-management province concept, the study indicated that it exposed the social trend to the wider society by finding partners having the same ideology. The policy was also driven in other regions, such as Ubon Ratchathani and Rayong. The Law Reform Commission of Thailand also put forward the issue of the Draft Self-Management Province Act. It indicated that despite a strong opposition, it did not have much affect on the driving of the policy.

Issue 5: The approach of the driving of the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province of Chiang Mai focused on creating social trends and partners. The results of the study on driving the policy mentioned the efforts taken to create representatives for social communication

in ways that were more interesting, such as using famous people as the representatives to promote the campaigns, resulting in more attention from citizens, and creating partnerships with other groups to be the base of driving the policy. The study, therefore, reflected that driving the policy of the local administration under the concept of the self-management province was an important part in the generation of the social trends to the wider society, and it was the driving policy that gained increased attention from those who were interested in this issue.



CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS

8.1 Conclusions

The study of policy driving of the local administration under the concept of self-government: the case study of Chiang Mai Province aims to investigate concepts related to policy formation regarding on local administration under the roof of self-government in Thailand. By doing so, the comparative studies local administration and policy among regional level have been brought up including Ubonrajathani Province, Rayong Province and Chiang Mai Province. Furthermore, this study also investigates policy driving form of local administration under the concept of self-government on Chiang Mai Province. Due to this study has been conducted as quantitative research gathering and collecting main data from key informants and their network operating on policy driving. The methodology involved with collections of documents, interviews and focus group discussion. Conclusions divided into;

8.1.1 Local administration policy driving under the concept of Chiang Mai Self-Government

Chiang Mai province took off the concept of Self-Government policy driving during 2008 according to the path mentioned in Constitutional law 2007, mainly led by the local NGOs pillars co-worked with inside network. The policy driving process emphasis worked on organized talk and discussion to provide and educate people through multiple mediums. And they also build up civil society base in order to create essential tool for wildly diffuse the concept of self-government to reach and make an impact for drafting “Chiang Mai Metropolitan” Act and finally proposed to the parliament on 20 October 2013. Unfortunately, the policy driving force has been dismissed due to coup d’etat on May 2014.

Positive argument of the local administration policy driving under the concept of Chiang Mai Self-government has led to policy driving by these following points

Point No.1 Local administration policy driving under Chiang Mai self-Government has been designed as the form of organization specifically and systematically management through the plan. Taking a sample of policy driving preparation, it has been consisted of discussion among key persons, the formation of self-government concept, training and networking also including area planning. All these specific works also related to secretary or clerical task which assist the coordination in different part efficiency.

Point No.2 Local administration policy driving under Chiang Mai self-Government has applied an open-mechanism in order to combine and let people to participate. Therefore they have increased more supporters especially the network group working for Chiang Mai scheme. Moreover, NGOs group have provided policy driving application by insetting the concept of self-government led by key informant to make it widely known. At the meantime, Chiang Mai is considered to be familiar with the issue of decentralization. The decentralization movement has been conducted since long time before. Therefore the collections of knowledge and information regards on decentralization have been constructed and experienced for quite sometimes. An open-mechanism also helps to gather people from different ideology to create the diversity of social movement

Point No. 3 The role of key informants or leader in policy driving. It is found that key informants and leader mainly came from the background of NGOs. They have worked as a network regarding the issue for long time thus means the accessibility to other network that also work under the same issue seem to be fast and also easily link to near province network ,too.

Point No. 4 Local administration policy driving under Chiang Mai self-Government also acquired various supports in terms of financial from different sources. It persisted the policy driving and push through activities created in multiple mediums for social communications such as handbook, brochure or online document

Nevertheless Local administration policy driving under Chiang Mai self-Government was successfully passed through the drafting of Chiang Mai Metropolitan Act proposing to parliament, still several limitations remains. For instance,

No.1 The limit about associate members or alliance among network group were not covering officials or private sector. Academic part played their role rather slim. According to the study found that main supporters for policy driving closely involved and related to key informants and leader that potentially lacked of other sector of people, too. Officials and private sectors are considered as huge population that may push and support the policy.

The significant notice also has been found regarding on politician incorporate. Among several public hearing or discussion, there were always same group or network that communicate about Local administration policy driving under Chiang Mai self-Government. Therefore politician part have not involved to this issue.

No.2 The political instability was also one of the key point for create the limitation of policy driving. Due to law alteration effected to policy driving path and that policy driving also moved along with Constitutional law in 2008,Article 281. But when coup d'état occurred in 2014, it frozen policy driving process which lost track. It was also noticeable that after coup d'état 2014, Local administration policy driving under Chiang Mai self-Government has been unmoved. Even thought it could be presented or operated in others form like communicate in article form in newspaper to provoke decentralization movement.

No.3 The basic comprehension of each network group were varied based on their experiences, learning and uniqueness. Therefore it required common understanding among them to lead on the policy driving effectively.

The lesson learn from the study of Local administration policy driving under Chiang Mai self-Government found that the policy driving path which led by key informants applied the interesting way of communications and activities to increase social awareness using symbolic or celebrity to gain people attention.

No. 4 The case of self-government policy driving force. According to the study found that policy driving under Chiang Mai self has emphasized on social movement. They have gained huge support from various Medias including newspaper, Television channel; Thai PBS which was one of the main factor that make the issue of

policy driving spread out. Originally key informants and leader of network policy driving have initiated the movement then it came to media support. Taking an example of the case of public relations regarding to self-government province concept through Thai PBS channel. At the same time it raised up the attention and also key person who worked as a committee of the policy of promote democracy in Thai PBS solely produced and distribute information of this concept to people.

In summarize, the whole situation period of self-government policy driving seemed to be strong and represent the strength of leader and also increase huge number of supporters. In fact, there were still limitations of building the ally. NGOs were playing the important role by employing the network and power to endorse the social movement of self-government province concept.

8.1.2 The relationships of local administration under the concept of self-government province in Ubonrajathani, Rayong and Chiang Mai

Chiang Mai Province was the starting point to drive the policy of local administration under self-government province during 2008. It led and created effect in terms of widely perception with the association of mass communication. As a consequence, it led and push other province to consider this policy as well. In this study has already gathered and investigated policy formation in Rayong Province since 2012 and Unbonratchathani in 2013. It has been found the relationships as following

There were NGOs group leader the driving policy in all provinces mentioned above. The occurrences happened in Unbonratchathani, Rayong and Chiang Mai due to the relationship of leaders towards network group in different areas for pushing policy driving. They have built common comprehension thus made all leaders working based on the common point. The issues that all these three provinces has been raised including the problem of policy conflict, the lack of effective and efficiency on problem solving and problem on budget.

According to the previous related study about self- government province policy driving of Ammatcharoen written by Nattawan Arramvirot (2014) . She has conducted the study of the guideline of decentralization in the form of self-government; the case study of Amnatcharoen civil contract 2012. In her findings, she

mentioned about Amnatchareon socio-eco basic problems occurring since it has been form as a province last 21 years. The problem remains till now. Therefore the problems have been raised up to form the policy and later moved to the concept of self-government province policy concordantly that central policy have never been responded or solved.

According to the study, the policy issues that lead to the concept of self-government province of Chiang Mai was the conflict of national politics. By this conflict, the leader of Chiang Mai self-government policy driving has bought it up to run the campaign. From policy conflict shifted to coalition to propose the driving policy. NGOS was the first group leading then it came into civil base in entire country which considered as the essential part to continue self-government concept to others area. In this case refers to Ubonratchathani and Rayong which have been promoted and supported from Provincial Administrative office. Civil society base of these 3 provinces have been push and continually worked before. Finally it became to the stage of learning and changing mindset about local administration under the concept of self-government

The local administrative organization also played supportive role for the relationships between and policy driving leaders among 3 provinces in terms of financial support for instance. The Ubonratchathani provincial administrative office has given the budget support to study of possibility and expediency of Ubonratchathani self-government province concept. It was similar occurred in Chiang Mai province, too.

In contradiction, Chiang Mai was the first taking off the concept of self-government province but in fact Ubonratchathani and Rayong rarely applied policy driving process from Chiang Mai model. Excerpt from the study found that there were differences from Chiang Mai in terms of processes and content of self-government province concept in Ubonratchathani and Rayong. In Rayong, for instance it has been found that the cooperation among NGOs and academic sector were tighten including local administrative organization. They worked altogether to find out the suitable way of decentralization. They examined content and concept in order to make adjustment to fit in particular of their feature like transforming some areas into special economic zone. It can be claimed that the movement of self-government province concept has

been varied from the starting point which was conducted from Chiang Mai Province, content has been changed. The content at Ubonratchathani also reapplied to reach to the suitable point.

8.1.3 From Self-governor election to the concept of self-government province

The discourse of “Decentralization” has been functioned mainly in two period. First in 1992, there was a movement of self-governor election and secondary the concept –f self-government province in 2008. The content of two discourses were coherent but there were significantly differences as followed.

No. 1 Regarding on key person or leaders of policy driving. Despite of the issue of self-governor election and the concept of self-government province were coherent. But both leaders in both issue have some gap in their relationship. Due to they were originally base different group. Academic persons and politician were involved in the issue of self-governor election whereas NGOs played the main role for self-government province concept. When taking into co-analysis of self-governor election issue and self-government province, the result indicated that there was no linkage between group leader or policy drivers.

No. 2 Different discourses on decentralization but cohesive content. They named first movement as self-governor election and then the movement changed into the concept of self-government province. Overall content were still under the discourse of decentralization

No 3 The duration of self-governor election movement and the concept of self-government province have been driven in different circumstances. The political situation in 1992 was under democracy regime in accordance with the movement of self-governor election. Whereas in 2008, the situation was under the instability and unpredictable.

No. 4 The different of mode of communication between self-governor election and self-government province. While self-governor election has applied and employed the scope of academic generated from academic figures and politician who hugely support decentralization ideology. They demanded for decentralization which

gained few attention and funds. But for the concept of self-government was funded from various sources to emerge several activities and social communications.

8.2 Discussions

The discourse of decentralization in terms of self-government province concept has bought up in this study. The result discussed that local admiration under the concept of self-government province refers to the local administration that allow local population participate in the decision making process and involve in natural resources allocation in various aspects such as politics, economics, social and culture and also natural resources and environment. Current government administration never fulfil and solve civil problem based on local issues right to the point .It was believed that local government and people comprehend and solve the problem coherently that the central one.

As the reference of local government administration under the concept of self-government province, the definition from Haris G. Momtagu has been taken. He argues that local government administration refers to the unit of local government that able to freely conduct the election in order to elect their own administrator or representative without the interference or impact from central or regional government. Anyhow, the local government must be under the highest statutory of the country, not separately or solely. Uthai Hiranto (1983) defines local government as ruling's government mandate to people in particular local area to handle and rule by their own in order to heal and fulfill people's need . The local government organizes officers that elected by people working independently but still the central government need to follow accordingly. He claims that local government has been build up by central government which coherent with the meaning of local government administrative under the concept of self-government province. Due to the local government administration form still being under unitary state without their own military forces, treasure and foreign affairs that related to national security.

In spite of self-government province is considered as a form of local government administration, one part of decentralization. But there was still being a controversial that this concept was suitable and concrete or not. The declination of

self-government province concept emerged when it has been applied into Ubonratchathaini and Rayong province. Special economic zone has been built At Rayong province instead of fully apply self-government province concept like Chiang Mai. It leads to the assumption that the structure of self-government province was appearing as lose condition between each of province, not in proper condition. According to the study of Peerachat Dabpetch (2014) topic of Decentralization to community : the case study of strategy of self-government province policy driving. The objectives on this study included movement study regarding on local decentralization among self-government provinces in order to find out initiate point, strategy and feedbacks from those movement in the realm of space relationship of each group of self-government province that may not represent network movement.

As per the result towards the opinions of the concept on self-government province, some officials group have the mindset opposing local government administration. They argue that the form of local government were narrow, parochial, too diverse, and potentially oligarchic and corrupt

Some groups of officials believe that the concept of self-government province was potentially divide the country. By the way he explained that the discourse of decentralization in the name of “self-government province” might be imply to spark as big issue that required people attention. Thus the result of the study also supported that issue like the lesson learn from Chiang Mai policy driving. It was found that the movement has been emphasized social movement as usual; social celebrity for public relations and awareness instead of move forward to the possibility of policy driving in political system. He discussed about one of the hidden agenda of the self-government province concept could be seen as the applicant demanding for decentralization. It also played as social issue evade. Self-government province concept movement was concerned as issue evade during 2008 relevant to the analysis from key-persons of self-government province concept that having political ideology differ from network group that work under the scope of self-governor election. (Cited by Tanet Chareonmeung,2012)

The main objective of this study is to investigate the form of local government administration policy driving under the concept of self- government province in Chiang Mai province that cab be discussed as below

Point no.1 The formation of local government administration policy under the concept of self-government of Chiang Mai province has been raised the important point related to national conflict policy that made crucial impact to regional administration. In this point, the key person and leaders have taken this issue to be the main focus for self-government policy driving. However this issue lacked of the coherent in terms of rational in policy solving In particular circumstance, instability situation for example, it must be national problem solving first, then came to local level. Without national politics stability, it might affect to local decentralization. Therefore it should be started from individual level for awareness and understanding. Then it leads to the formation of ally or supporter. As per Anderson (1994) argues about policy formation (cited in Sombat Thamrongtanyawong,2008,page 317) which was the first process of public policy. It starts from considering the character of public problem that in general, originally started from individual problem. For example, the lack of agriculture land of farmer which considered as individual farmer. But when many farmers face the same problem in large scale, the individual problem will turn into public problem and causes to national development. The government oblige to take action and raise it as national problem and policy issue.

Consequently, raising the national politics to be the main factor for policy driving appears to be unsuitable both policy and timing point. The achievement of democratization must start from making component of people participation and strong citizen for both level, national and local.

Point no.2 key-persons and policy pressure group in Chiang Mai have applied an open-mechanical processes by allowing and welcoming every people whether they have different stand point (yellow-red shirt) to join the movement of policy driving. But the study result discovered that policy driving ally and supporters are still the well-known or familiar network group not covering all kind of interesting group. It is also lack of variety of political ideology among ally.

In fact, the pressure group or ally who work for policy driving has been categorized as one of the political group that require ally support by using network relationship of NGOs that again working closely with other interesting group in different issue in order to change mindset of issue solving into altogether solving in the concept of self-government province in accordance with advocacy coalition

framework of policy change from Sabatier. (Cited, Reungwit Katesuwan, 2008, page 112) It was mentioned that policy change always came from push forward led by group head or front who able to gather small group. They also gather resources and common belief. The reason behind the change related to policy learning processes which occurs from the change of exterior factors or increased the knowledge of policy learning processes. All those learning processes were treated as device for changing idea of the group. It made and increase understanding and might lead to new policy objective setting. The concept from Sabatier focuses on belief system of policy which considers as the most important factor for changing policy. The different opinion among same group in terms of small picture or issue doesn't matter if they agree in big picture. At the end they tend to support the policy.

As a result, "the core beliefs" has been bought up to use for gather people and supporter working for self-government province policy driving. The close relationship between key persons or leader and network group high light the change in support the concept of self-government province.

By the way, the movement of self-government province concept gained support from network group but it was isolation movement, indeed. No support from other part such as bureaucrat, government officers and private sector. Researcher explains the reason why government officer or bureaucrat paid less attention to this issue due to its interest and benefit. If this concept lead to actual operation, it will be affected the reals of power that belong to government officer, central, regional level orderly. For private sector also played important role for the movement of self-government province concept and decision making according to Silke Adam and Hanspeter Kriesi (2007). They said that the policy network function were built to designate a distinct or new governing structure differ from old one. The governing structure displays in vertical whereas private section represent in horizontal. But for new governing structure is distinct into horizontal line opening for create dialogue between both government and private. They don't need to deal with market system or bureaucratic system but they have to face network system, too. The main character of network system is self-rule and oppose to government controlling. Researcher argue that private sector and government are having good relationship so that they don't

need to get involve for the interest gaining from the change of self-government province concept. Therefore they lack of interest and cooperate to push that policy.

Point No.3 The duration of policy driving. One of the observation for self-government policy driving was lacking of policy driving suitability. It occurred during political instability period. Theoretically, political factor always affects to policy making according to Bill Jenkins (1997) claims to policy process. He has taken an account of context play the huge role for policy making including social, economic and politic. There was remarkable query what made the movement pined point this time, uncertain situation to run self-government province concept. Meanwhile the issue of self-governor election started pushing the issue decentralization in proper time during democracy and general election period.

Point no. 4 funding. From the study found that self-government province policy driving received big amount of funding from various sources. Self-government province policy driving therefore represents fundraising driving. They organized organization group for management conforming to the theory of resource mobilization as mentioned by Pasuk Pongpajit (1998) that the theory indicated the demand achievement depends on wealth or fund and also resources that organization able to acquire. The resources might be help to convince the ally or supporter and then they would pay and support the movement expense. After taking a consideration, individual person realizes the benefit from joining that movement. Moreover, the movement itself can be expand the network and relationship.

Apart from fundraising as per tactic to put self-government province concept through co-working with other network or provide funding for particular research or projects.

Point no.5 The result of self-government province concept driving has been run continuously since 2008 and suddenly stopped when coup d'état emerged on May 2014. Therefore, the drafting of Chiang Mai metropolitan Act dropped from the parliament process. Anyhow, researcher found that it might face some obstacles.

The main obstacle relates to self-government province concept driving lacking of the pressure group, in this case means the Politian who works in political system. Most of theory take serious regarding to that issue. Kingdon (1999) argues that the focus on current politics is caused as major point to create policy. He discusses

in the theory of policy window proposing 3 trends. First trend talks about problem trend that the meaning associated with the perception of the individual. Not all the conditions can lead to problems. Some problems are defined by values. Second trend is policy trend which means the idea of creating diversity of policy from the experts integrated from other ideas. Third trend is political trend. The pressure of policy making related to all 3 trends joined together. As a result of this research found that the politician didn't participate much. Chiang Mai province was one of the important base of voter for Peuthai Party which has numbers of elected representatives, especially during the government of Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra. But there was not any participation from politicians during the self-government province driving. Civil society was mainly involved. Political system has been negligent to policy making.

According to Bill Jenkins (1997) talks about policy process giving importance to policy decision which means the decision made by authorized person in political system that impact and conform to policy making. By conclusion, political leader play important role for policy decision making. Researcher argues that it was difficult to lead to the process of policy making of self-government province policy especially by taking the process of political system. Due to lack of political representative who might support the concept and push it in order to reach the achievement.

Moreover, the result indicated that the oppose from anti-group against the concept of self-government province were doing negotiation in terms of space movement. High level government officers always seem to disagree and counterattack taking part in policy making towards that concept. The diversity of opinions emerged in Thai society which reflect the limitation of understanding towards local democracy.

The lesson learned of western history have distinctive within 3 school. First school of thought presents the opposition of local government .They argue that local government is one of the obstruct election democracy regime. Second school of thought propose that the principle of democracy insists of majority rule and equality that not incapable of response local people needs. The character of local government seem to be parochial, diverse and potentially oligarchic and corrupt. The third school believe that democracy regime and local government are closely interlink. People must have freedom. People who pay tax must have rights to administration. They have to be

informed what the authorized person doing for them. Meanwhile the authorized person should consult and ask for help from people in public activities. The freedom must be available whether in town or city. After 20 years of debate, almost western countries who adopted democracy accepted the principle of local government. In France, once used to be intensive centralized state but they changed in 1980 to be decentralized (Tanet Charoenmueng,2007)

The battle of power seize to decentralization taking over the time, from the issue of self-governor election to self-government province. If we interrogate the definition of progress or obsolete on policy driving, we can answer in various way. It's undeniable that the impact of decentralization of self-governor was given the obviously concrete result. In contrast, when taking an analysis of the self-government province concept, the result remains that this concept led by political group, less diversity. Main groups was NGOs and their network. By the way the movement also created fundraising and diffuse in large area. There was a solid progress that people pay attention and awake decentralization trend from others unit. The reform committee also advocate the concept of self-government province to be used as model to reform the country. The law reform committee also paid attention and started drafting self-government province Act as per principle for any area or province that ready to adopt this concept.

However, the duration of policy driving occurred at the same time of government declined and national political was uncertain. It was claimed that the group of NGOs that run this concept were the same group that oppose electoral government thus also created the barrier for self-government province concept. There are various remarkable notices in this study that lead to conclusion that no support from others segment in self-government province policy driving of Chiang Mai concept .The main cause was political ideology among supporters considered as new group that not interrelated the issue of decentralization at the beginning. It was creating big hole of doubt if there were still others hidden agenda behind this movement or not. Key persons or leaders of this movement was only single political group working since 2008 but incapable extent cooperation to others network.

Once again, the discourse of decentralization need to be running along. The building of policy driving still need to be increased and created. The

decentralization need to be taken more serious for this particular political situation. Unfortunately after 2014, Thailand were backing off to opt the political system that block civil participation. No movement happened under this circumstance. It came to the fact that what's next?

8.3 Suggestions

From the study of local government administration under the concept of self-government policy driving ,the result can be taken for suggestion as per follow

1. It is found that there were both agree and disagree towards the concept of local government administration, self-government province. There are numerous information for debate and discussion in many points. It is required to go deep into the details for customize the form of administration in order to cover all aspect and provide suitable service for people

2. Local government administration under the concept of self-government policy driving focused on wide spread social movement creating in order to gain support and fund from different sources. But there were still limitations of uncertain political situation. Therefore in order to make it successful , the policy driving must create more space in political system for example of setting political party for negotiation policy or make it as an option for policy driving.

3. Building network altogether was one of the importation point for this movement. It also related to building allayment and sponsorship or funding. Funding support associates to social communication.

4. From the study of local government administration under the concept of self-government policy driving discovered that policy driving group need to make analysis and comparison study for actual application. It need to study more about how to adjust in accordance with government service and how it would be affect to current government system. The policy driving group only made rough explanation thus it required to conduct comparative study along with public administration.

5. For those who want to conduct the study of local government administration under the concept of self-government policy driving, Chiang Mai province. Researcher recommends to raise the issue post coup d'état (22

may 2014) by focusing on who are the key-persons and leaders picking up what issue to be driven or distribute what decentralize discourse and how it relate in different timing. Because there was no such relation in this study.



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SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORM

Semi-structured interview questions

Process of Driving the Local Government under the Self-Governing Province Theory: A Case Study of Chiang Mai Municipality

TOPIC: Compare the formation of the policy on the local administration under the self-governing province concept at the regional level.

1. Do you think which policy problem affects the driving of the policy of “the concept of self-management province”?
2. How that policy problem different from the problem of decentralization?
3. Which major factor affects movement of “the concept of self-management province” the most and is the beginning of the driving that policy?
4. Who are the leaders of the driving of the policy of “the concept of self-management province” and how do they participate in the driving of the policy?
5. Which groups pay attention to the creating of partners in the driving of the policy of “the concept of self-management province”?
6. How is the driving of the policy of “the concept of self-management province” of your province associated with other provinces?

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW FORM

In-depth interview questions

Process of Driving the Local Government under the Self-Governing Province Theory: A Case Study of Chiang Mai Municipality

TOPIC: The policy-driving form of the local administration under the self-governing province concept of Chiang Mai province.

1. How did Chiang Mai begin to drive the policy of “the concept of self-management province”?
2. How did Chiang Mai run the policy-driving process of “the concept of self-management province”?
3. What are the factors affecting the success in driving the policy of “the concept of self-management province” of Chiang Mai?
4. What were the limitations of the past policy-driving?
5. From past experiences, what are the approaches used to develop the model driving policy of “the concept of self-management province”?

BIOGRAPHY

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