

นโยบายในป้ายหาเสียงเลือกตั้ง (2566) ที่นำไปปฏิบัติได้ยาก สะท้อนปัญหา (รัฐ) ราชการไทย Policies on election campaign signs (2023) are difficult to implement reflect the problems of Thai Polity

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บทคัดย่อ

โครงการวิจัย “ARU-RREC/029/2564” นี้แสดงให้เห็นว่า การเมือง/พรรคการเมือง ไม่ใช่ผู้กำหนดนโยบายที่ดี เนื่องจากปัญหาความไม่เท่าเทียมกันในนโยบายสาธารณะที่ขาดธรรมาภิบาลซึ่งมีความสัมพันธ์กับ “ระบบอำมาตยาธิปไตยใน (รัฐ) ราชการไทย สะท้อนผ่าน ป้ายหาเสียงการเลือกตั้งที่ไม่สามารถปฏิบัติได้ (2566)”

การเลือกตั้งเป็นหนึ่งในข้ออ้างเพื่อได้งบประมาณโดยชอบธรรมและยึดทรัพยากรที่มีไม่มากนัก เฉพาะการเมืองบางกลุ่มที่ได้รับผลประโยชน์จากการเลือกตั้งเท่านั้น อ้างและสร้างความชอบธรรมในการจัดตั้งนโยบายสาธารณะ โดยเน้นแต่ผลประโยชน์ตนเองในรูป “คนาธิปไตย-ธนาธิปไตย” ไม่ใช่ (ผลประโยชน์) เสียข้างมากที่แท้จริง ซึ่งเป็นการแอบอ้างเป็น “พรรคการเมืองชนชั้นสูง” หรืออ้างในนาม “พรรคการเมืองประชาธิปไตยแต่ไร้ธรรมาภิบาล” ดังนั้น ปัญหาการเมืองไทยเกิดจาก “บริบททางการเมืองที่ไม่ซื่อตรง” เลินเล่อต่อ “กระบวนการนโยบายศาสตร์” รัฐบาลกลางกำหนดนโยบายสาธารณะในรูปแบบ “นโยบายโดยชนชั้นนำ” นอกจากนี้ยังแสดงพฤติกรรมการจัดตั้งนโยบายจากบนลงล่าง ซึ่งควรทำให้นโยบายมุ่งไปที่แนวคิด “การบริหารแบบมีประชาธิปไตยและมี ‘ธรรมาภิบาล’” มากขึ้น ช่วยลดปรากฏการณ์การเมืองที่ไม่สามารถส่งเสริมการเปลี่ยนผ่านความเป็นประชาธิปไตย เพื่อให้เกิดเสถียรภาพทางการเมือง ลดโอกาสที่จะล้มเหลวในการถ่ายทอดอุดมการณ์ผ่านสถาบันทางการเมืองภายใต้ระบบรัฐสภา รวมทั้งจัดให้มีนโยบายสาธารณะที่สอดคล้องกับการบริหารจัดการบ้านเมืองที่ดี

คำสำคัญ: ป้ายหาเสียงที่ไม่สามารถปฏิบัติได้, นโยบายที่ขาดธรรมาภิบาล, อำมาตยาธิปไตย, ราชการไทย

Abstract

This “ARU-RREC/029/2564 research” project showed that political (parties) were not the good policy makers. Because of inequality problems and good governance public policy in relationship between “the system of bureaucracy in Thai Polity and government service’ Reflected on Unpractical Election Billboards (2023)”.

Where an election was one among the claims to righteously obtain the budgets and to hold back (poor) Thai resources. Only certain political groups that obtained benefits from the election. They tended to claim and create the righteousness on public policy establishment, where the focus was only on their own benefits in form of “Oligarchy-Plutocracy”. Thai political problems stemmed from the “mismatch of political context” and negligence over the “policy-science process”. The central government established Thai public policy in form of “Elite model policy”. In addition, Top-down policy establishment behaviours had even enabled the needs to focus more on the idea of “democracy administration and ‘Good Governance’”, reducing political phenomenon that could not transform into Western democracy to obtain political stability. It failed to transfer ideology through the political institutes under parliamentary system as well as providing public policy in correspond with good administration.

Keywords: Unpractical election-campaign, Un-governance policy, Thai Polity, Thai Bureaucracy

Introduction

In practical Thai political parties create public policy without considering on the frame, quantitative method, resources sufficiency, and lack of prioritizing on budget expenditures. This means that the politicians, as the policy makers are independent from the government officials. They then establish public policy as they wish, since they are elites. The above claim corresponds with the problems of economic development and modernizing that do not help forming up stability in Thai political parties like those in the western democracy. The capitalists utilize the government and financial resources under their capitalist power to oppress people and create social gaps. Poor people cannot own the land, since they lack of righteousness in public policy,

specifically the distribution of land-owning policy. Also, there is an unfair occupying right on the land and pressures from people with economically suffering (as advertised on social media).

Because of “Lack of Good Governance and Politic” and Thai Bureaucracy Reflected on “Un-practical Election Billboards (2023)”, this research was part of ARU-RREC/029/2564 research project that aimed to comprehend the election dynamic in “inequality Thai politics”. The author considered “an un-practical election billboards” as the final fortress that concretely reflected the democracy development in which affected on inequality Thai public policy. Also, it portrayed the behaviour of Elite Model policy establishment as well as an abstractly manifested election phenomena with pressure from Top-down Model on public policy.

Objective

To solve the inequality problems in public policy process, caused by “lack of Good Governance” in Thai Polity and bureaucratic system.

Literature review

1. Dishonest governance-political context

“... Administration under charismatic authority, according to Weber, is loose and unstable. The leader’s disciples do not have regular occupations, and they reject the methodical and rational pursuit of monetary rewards as undignified. Whatever organization exists is composed of an aristocracy chosen on the basis of charismatic qualities. ... Perhaps most important, there are no defined spheres of authority or competence to protest against arbitrary exercises of power, and no system of formal rules to ensure equal treatment and due process. ... (Fry & Raadschelders, 2014, p. 34)”

Moreover, the author¹ also analyzed on politics news regarding acceptable and unacceptable state power through the election billboards produced under the populist policy by the political parties in which did not serve for the mission or budgets.

Thus, the author explained on the link to the analysis on the movements against the state and forming mobs that resulted from more inequality and dissatisfaction of people or labours during the COVID-19 pandemic both in the capital city and other main cities in different parts of Thailand. These claims created impact on an un-ethics public policy process in opposite to the people's participation policy. Existing ability of the regime: the better economic development, the more opportunities to create stability for democracy and the continuation of "economic growth or rapid growth" (Huntington, 1991, p. 72)" Regarding the wrong production of public policy process, the analysis in this research was based on the works of Lipset and Huntington in order to analyze on the distribution of modernity that seemed incapable to form up a stable democracy, where this led toward "the policy process from the Elite Model" or "Top-down policy".

2. Democratic governance and Governance in Thailand

"... Good governance has eight major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. ... (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific site in Bovaird & Loeffler, 2016, p. 211)" In Thailand, there have many forms² of (bureaucratic) corruption.

¹ Traditional Authority are very important in Thailand, "... Weber says that there are two kinds of rationality associated with the creation of legal norms: substantive and formal. An act is substantively rational if it is guided by principles such as those embodied in religious or ethical thought. An act is formally rational when it is based on general rules. ... (Fry & Raadschelders, 2014, p. 35)"

² such as "... there are many other forms of unethical behaviour which are usually not reported by the media, such as disadvantaging citizens who do not a strong voice or excluding certain user groups from access to public service. The question therefore arises as to what distinguishes corruption scandals from other forms of unethical behaviour. Defining and measuring corruption is far from straightforward. A team of Dutch scholars have used a number of techniques for gathering data to study corruption including; #self-reports of deviant behaviour; #self-reports of victimization; #corrupt

“... Although there is a general acknowledgement that public governance is different from public management, the academic literature on governance (which each years increases exponentially) offers a myriad of definitions. ... Whereas in new public management a lot of attention was paid to the measurement of results (both individual and organizational) in terms of outputs, public governance pays a lot of attention to how different organizations interest in order to achieve a higher level of desired results – the outcomes for citizens and stakeholders. Moreover, in public governance, the ways in which decisions are reached – the processes by which different stakeholders interact – are also seen to have a major importance in themselves, whatever the outputs or outcomes achieved. ... These contrasting emphases – on ends and means – make ‘good public governance’ exceptionally difficult – but may well represent non-negotiable demands by the public in modern society. ... (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2016, p. 8-11)” According to democratic governance and bureaucratic problems in the academic work of “Chaianant Samutwanich”, Thailand had some politicians and state officials who had been unable to fulfill the immediate needs of people or they were those stakeholders that people have doubts. Politicians and government officials became alliance of benefits. The above claim was due to the fact that Thailand had not yet had the “Democratic Governance (Bevir, 2010, pp. 17-18)”. The next, is the relation of Mode of Governance and stakeholder (hierarchy).

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behaviour seen by colleagues in the work environment’; #internal investigations; #criminal cases; #convictions; and #reputational research and expert estimation on the extent of corruption. ... (Davis & Piotrowski, 2016, p. 304-306)”

3. The Policy campaign that does not correspond with the crisis, “un-practical”, not for well-being.

The problem of labour in the society reflects an inequality in the economic development and modernity “... moderation was ‘the price of power,’ ... (Huntington, 1991, p. 169)”. A compromise to seek for the middle way is the price to pay in terms of power in order to reduce the violence “... low levels of violence ... (Huntington, 1991, pp. 192-207)”

That means the expansion of the protesters or mobs in 2020-2021 was caused by weaknesses of the political party. The majority of people doubted that the result of election might come from an inefficient process and the Election Commission (EC) were skeptical. In addition, the parliament and political parties were unable to work together to solve the problems or the political requests from the anti-government groups. Later, they obviously became the mobs with clear structure, funding resources, security guards, and etc.

The research was undeniable that there were many people who were not satisfied and did not obtain profits from the public policy (these mobs changed their forms depending on time to fight against the country leader, if they could not accept the power of the government). Therefore, the author emphasized on the obstruction on economic development toward modernization, where the modernity should be distributed both into the city and the marginal areas, especially the solution to “Economic Gap” by lessening the pressure within the Thai social structure. Riggs viewed that the expansion of power from the royal officials or Thai government officials were referred to as Bureaucratic Polity (Chambers & Waitookiat, 2016, p. 426). The bureaucratic system is accused of being part of the asymmetrical process in the development as well as an inability to equally distribute the economic development to every province.

Conceptual Framework

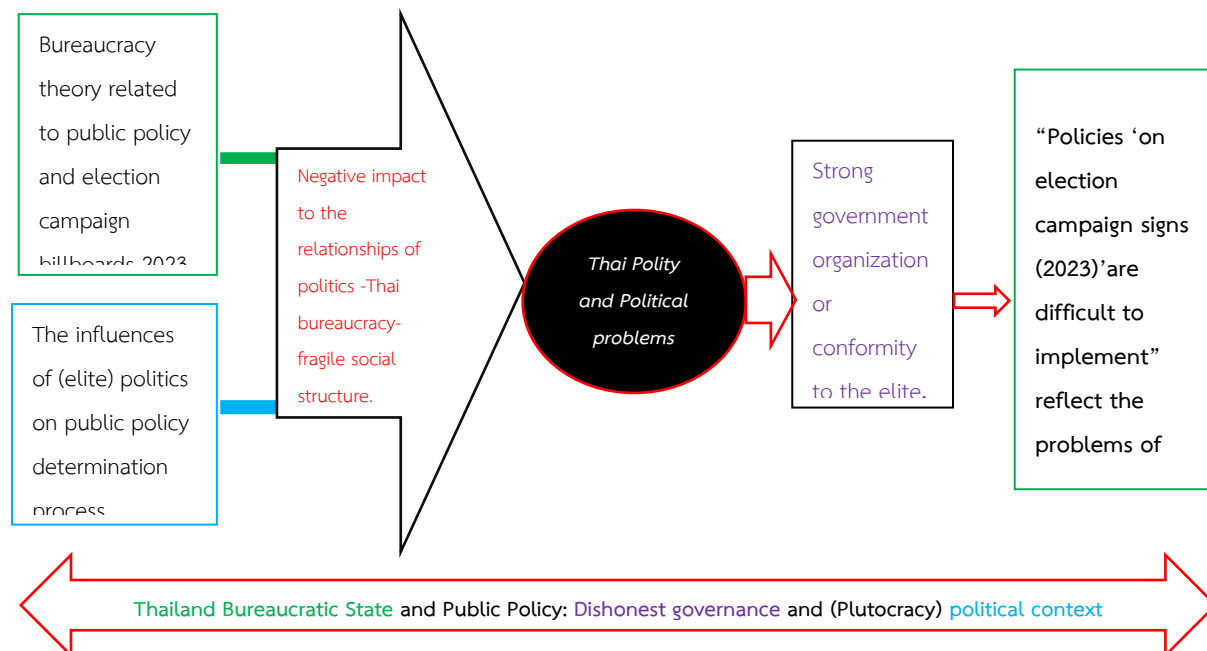


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework (Economic crisis & tragic crisis from Coronavirus 2019)

Research Method

Policy and political context 2023, the election billboard, political science and public administration provides an importance related to the public policy process in Thailand (in this research “the policies on election campaign billboards 2023”¹ are the primary sources that reflected through a sample of the politic of Thai bureaucracy.).

¹ Thailand has faced with conflicts and problems from the influences of media, and/or news media progress, inequality, bad policy management, inability on land owning (among Thai people, marginal people, or tribes.), social movements and NGOs, and the power of government official units, problems in the government official units, red-tape, problems of extra-bureaucratic and labours, and economic development based on the democracy as implied in Europe and Latin America.

1. Research Instrument

The author in this research applied qualitative method and policy science, in combination with the documents analysis. The author analyzed secondary documents related to the government resistant groups due to dissatisfaction toward the policy process that resulted on an inequality and unbalanced modernity distribution between the city and marginal areas. Moreover, the author also analyzed on politics news regarding acceptable and unacceptable state power through “the election billboards produced under the populist policy” by the political parties in which did not serve for the mission or budgets. Existing ability of the regime: the better economic development, the more opportunities to create stability for democracy and the continuation of “economic growth or rapid growth” (Huntington, 1991, p. 72)”. Regarding the wrong production of public policy process¹, the analysis in this research was based on the works of Lipset and Huntington in order to analyze on the distribution of modernity that seemed incapable to form up a stable democracy, where this led toward “the policy process from the Elite Model” or “Top-down policy”.

Next, the work of Chaianant Samutwanich (2005) mentioned about the development of bureaucratic system during the last 100 years in which the work blamed on Thai bureaucratic system that it was too huge and could not respond to people’s needs, which Riggs called it Bureaucratic Polity (Riggs, 1961, pp. 83-125). It can be concluded that Chaianant viewed “the Thai people in the past 100 years as still oppressed by the strong bureaucratic system”. People as labours have been affected by the economic plans focusing on capitalism. Thai political parties

¹ The author referred to the political party system and “the weakness of Thai political institutions”, the lack of political institution and inability to handle “inequality problems in the society” via parliamentary process. This allowed the anti-government groups to find way out of the parliament or political parties to appear as the mobs on streets. This was not the solution based on democratic parliamentary system. It can be said that the level of democratic development in Thailand is unstable.





The country has weak political system which leads to no unity and strength in public policy. It is problematic to the policy implementation and against the policy science/policy methodology. Therefore, the explanation of the Thai bureaucratic system and their problems (which remain as the huge engine) show that bureaucratic organizations have problems and not different from political officials. That means the bureaucratic organizations are involved and unable to detach from the continuation of hierarchy and the bureaucratic organizations themselves, at the end being affected from the policy implementation.

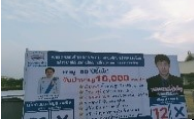






or policy-makers on the election billboards are very importance for Thai Public policy, not only in 2023 campaign, but also in the next well-being future for all Thai people.

2. Inequality & inequity: Result of election billboards (2023) and “problem of democracy in Thai politic”

In this case, the author focused on the labours in the big cities since this group of people are the real policy determiners (not the populist politicians in oligarchy policy). It can be summarized that the power of army remains the key mechanism of the machine (the bureaucracy is the body) in administration and political power “... that the real source of power controls over bureaucratic machinery, especially in the armed forces. ...” (Riggs, 1966, pp. 173). And it is certain that the government officials are the important mechanisms either to weaken or strengthen the policy science, which will lead to the convenience in policy implementation. This is comparable as the two sides of a coin.

Table 1: The tragedy of Coronavirus or economic crisis in suburban areas and the frustration toward Thai policy on the election campaign billboards (Author)

Thai politic problem	Examples of billboard from voting campaign in 2023		Why Problems of process and policy science showed by bad/un-practical policy (Not Easy to Implement)
Lack of Good Governance and leadership	“Free-education until Bachelor’s degree”		Switching executive power out of democratic way [Coup d’ etat] + [Military party] - Military battle: “... <i>The ideal type used implicitly is, of course, that of ‘military battle’...</i> (Burger, 1976, p. 139)” - Unrepresentative bureaucracy, such as, “... <i>The possibility for evil is greatly increased when officials are either fanatic adherents of a single value or, at the other extreme, moral neuters who see themselves as the agents of another’s truth. Bureaucracy is wonderfully constructed to obscure the fact that individuals are responsible for their acts; it encourages members to suspend their capacity for an independent moral judgment.</i> ... (Miewald, 1978, p. 34)” -Un-practical budget/policy
	“Free-clean-drinking water by installing water filters for all villages to save every households’ cost”		
	“Guarantee of income and payment for the difference of rice, oil, rubber, palm, and corn”		
	“Pension-lottery: changing lottery cost into saving”		
	“Studying useful subjects to apply after graduated with guarantee for job employment”		[Thai Elite] Policy establishment with hope to affect voting score base and to create political influence in “un-ethical” parliamentary system [Political party] -“... <i>The pressure of the general community, which is much more than the bureaucracy to the new patterns of action brought by mass production and the</i>

Thai politic problem	Examples of billboard from voting campaign in 2023		Why Problems of process and policy science showed by bad/un-practical policy (Not Easy to Implement)
Economic gap and social inequity in Public Policy	"People who aged above 60 years old onward to receive 10,000 baht pension"		<p>mass-consumption society, becomes the leading force, and the balance between the state and society is reversed. ..." (Crozier, 1964, p. 312)</p> <p>-Rational Capitalism "... a free labor labour market in which wage-labourers, separated from the means of production, sell their labour-power to capitalist employers ... (Turner, 1992, p. 197)"</p> <p>-"... Weber thought that parliamentary committees should play an important role in the detailed supervision of budgetary arrangement ... (Turner, 1992, p. 197)"</p>
	"Revising law for farm land without eviction and lawsuits"		
	"Pracharath mother-children providing 266,000 baht for each child care"		
Thai civil servants in form of Bureaucratic Polity VS Thai Polity	Economic recovery via cooperative way of life, free loan/interest"		<p>Proletarian political culture - narrow</p> <p>- Bureaucratic corruption (Gould, 1980: 31-122)</p> <p>- The problems of bureaucratic corruption in Thailand (Nakata, 1977, pp. 12-17)</p> <p>- "... Both politicians and bureaucrats...need political skills, but not the same political skills. They may be of the same genus ..." (Aberbach, 1981, p. 12-23)</p> <p>-Characteristics of Bureaucracy: "... With the full development of the bureaucratic type, the office hierarchy is monocratically organized. The principle of hierarchical office authority is found in all bureaucratic structures: in state and ecclesiastical structures as well as in large party organizations and private enterprises. It does not matter for the character of bureaucracy whether its authority is called 'private' or 'public.' ... (Rourke, 1978, p. 85-88)"</p>
	"Minimum wage at 600 baht/day; Bachelor's degree starts at 25,000 baht/day within 2027"		
	"Village-community bank, two million baht for each"		
	"People pension at 3,000 baht per month"		

From the right side of this figure and the election-billboards¹, the author suggested that the political institutions should reanalyze the structures and functions of political organizations and institutions. Thai people should cooperate with the political institutions to seek for mechanisms or ways to reduce inequality and inequities in every social structure in Thailand (by focusing on an inequality in the capital that is unequally accessible).

¹ They affected the policy process and the burden of budgets (no matter they came from the election or the coup). Even though the writer supports on the Thai democracy, the problems of the administration of authoritarianism (dictatorship) have affected the policy determination (as it can be seen on the election billboards in the provinces).

In this case, the author focused on people in the city who are labours. They should be the group that moves upward to the class that allows them with the opportunities to efficiently participate in politics.” The author explained on the link to the analysis on the movements against the state and forming mobs that resulted from more inequality and dissatisfaction of people or labours during the COVID-19 pandemic both in the capital city and other main cities in different parts of Thailand. These claims created impact on the public policy process in opposite to the people’s participation policy.

Result

Thai bureaucracy administration has the attempts to incorporate Max Weber’s theory; however, the outcomes and efficiency of the state officials do not respond to the bureaucratic behaviours of those in the developed countries. The bureaucratic system and the process of budgets are paralleled. The people do not trust on the state officials. Thai bureaucratic system do not provide an importance on the good governance or good administration. The next point, the author has analyzed through the statements of the king and his royal projects to “public policy to be a foundation of the country development (especially in the rural areas or the marginal areas where the communication system could not be easily accessible in the past)”. It can be seen that the royal projects became a good public policy and the development of projects under the royal patronage became the main public policy for Thailand later on. That is, in practice, state and bureaucracy could not initiate the projects easily because they may be resisted by the profited groups in the areas. The policy was under the pressure of influential groups in different areas¹. The political system is only a part of the society. There are social system and other systems. Therefore, if these demands are unable to be fulfilled by other systems, it provides

¹ (the central administrative units distribute their orders to the regional bureaucratic offices, but in the past, they normally relied on the king’s power to build up the projects or policy)

privilege to other political systems to fulfill the work on this part (because the other systems are unable to work. The development of economy remained the condition of democracy.)

From the above reasons, election billboards are “Oligarchy policy” because of “lack of Good Governance in Thai political party (plutocracy)” made it, “the public policy that lacked of balance in the development of marginal areas and those in the cities led to the inequality in economic and social structures”. That is, if the economic development has nothing to do with stability forming for democracy in Thailand, which is contradict to the claim by Seymour Martin Lipset; therefore, what are the problems of economic development of capitalism in Thailand? According to the work of Puangchon Unchanam, it was found that the capitalism in the middle-class people in the monarchy network or what Puangchon Unchanam called it “Bourgeois Monarchy (Unchanam, 2020, pp. 29-38) showed the relations or development of the Crown-Nobles-Merchants”. It means that the elites and merchants have relations with the royal office, developing their business until they become wealthy through their families which lead to an inequality and modernity, or capital save the king (Unchanam, 2020, p. 11). Because of many “un-political and ‘red tape’-‘bureaucratic’ ”, we have two main “un-practical critic of policy & Good Governance” on election campaign signs (2023).

1. Problems from an incomppliance with the policy science showed implications toward the process of people’s participation in policy determination.

The root of Thai education on public policy science and difficulties of Thai Political Science was different from Western Political Science, (Muti ‘god avatar’ VS Christianity), the bureaucratic Polity Empire and “the red-tape” of “Thai-hierarchy-bureaucracy”. The important thing was that political officials showed their behaviours on public policy process through the top-down policy. It caused the lack of participation in the origin of the problems or the policy formation. It can be seen from “the behaviours of policy determining by the Elite Model”. As a result, the labours and middle-class people felt uncomfortable toward the public policy (both before and after the COVID-19 pandemic) or it was easy for people to form the groups against the government (or

more groups of protesters or more frequent protesting against the public policy. The protesters claimed that the conflict was on the power either at present (2024) or in the future). This is an inequality in terms of structure in combining with the behaviours of (bow down to the government officials). They act like they are above the people, or so called “the Bureaucratic Syndrome – Thai Polity problems”. It enables the government officials to passively work day by day.

2. Maintenance of policy stability by emphasizing on Good Governance is significant as the solution to from trust among the mobs toward the policy determiners (as the political elites are the policy makers).

“Ethic¹ problems” and because of moral politics issues (Kusaka, 2017) and inequality public policy (“Un-practical Election Billboards”), the anti-government groups viewed that the government and (military) leaders had no governance as stated by Hooiman (2003, pp. 29, 46, 62). What is the meaning of governance? “... *Interest in self-governance as a mode of societal governance is in line with trends of withdrawing public interventions by means of deregulation or privation.* ... Hooiman (2003, p. 78)”. That means the idea of governance by the government is crucial and it is a key administration mechanism with morality. The government should be accepted by people, and the people should not come out to protest. In reality, there were the news on skeptical anti-government groups over democratic governance by the government in Thailand. There were the formations of important mobs in the main cities of Thailand for several times, for example, the turning point of events on April 10-19, 2010 or in 2020 – 2021. It indicated that the government was not accepted and did not correspond to the idea of Hooiman and

¹ “...Ethics, as the study and practice of moral beliefs, by its very nature ought to be a major consideration in any process of policy development.

Morality concerns how an individual’s behavior to others and themselves may be justified. It is impossible to process public policy that has no moral implications. ... Morality whilst subjective is, ... subject to rational thought, as the study of ethics which can, ...Ideological analysis largely describes and seeks to understand systems of social ideas ... (Chandler, 2017, p. 65)” That means these developing countries produced the populist public policy and created public policy for the benefits of their own groups (“Oligarchy policy”; “Selfish political party. It did not support the country regime and administration. It also caused wider gap in social development both in the cities and marginal areas. Therefore, the Royal Capitalism and Thai government officials must provide the importance to the ideas of “people’s participation in determining the public policy”.

Huntington. Therefore, the continuation of the impact and the outcome of wealth from the power of leader or members in the military were seen, even though, the coup had already passed. Obviously, it could be observed in the business network (related to the military that used to perform the COUPs) that shared benefits with other business networks.

Synthes by the election campaign signs (2023): point to Thailand bureaucratic public policy problems

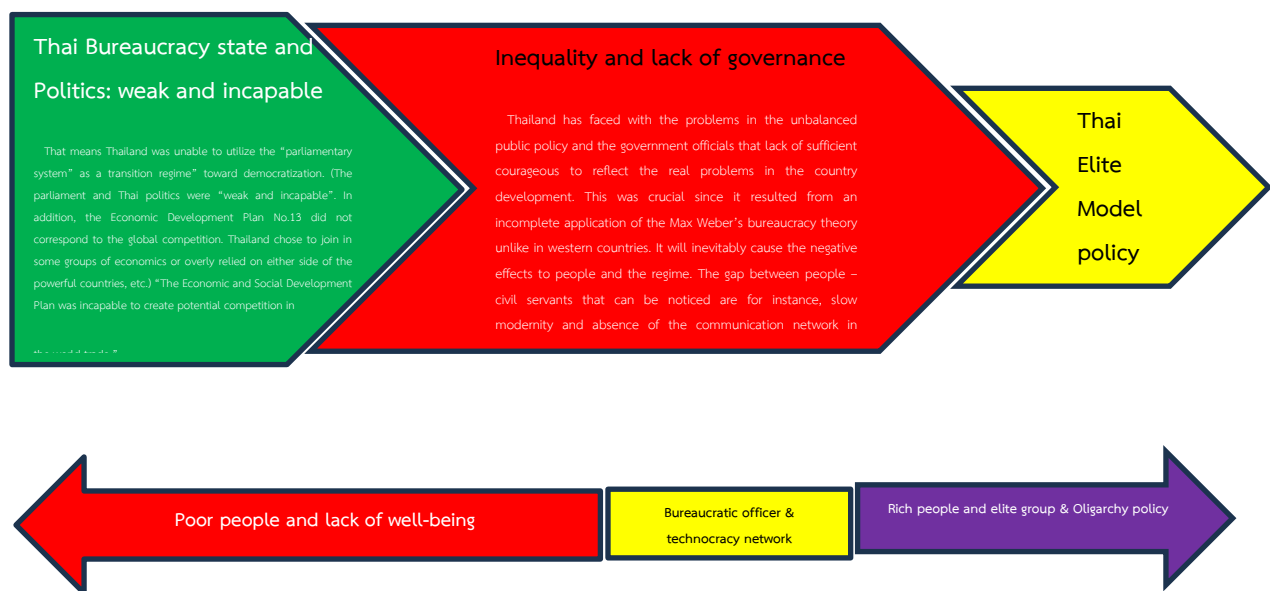


Figure 2: Synthesize the election campaign signs (2023) VS “Good or Bad” Public Policy
(The author)

From the extremely synthesize figure, Thai people are able to participate in and express their opinions on political issues or reflect the public policy in different forms. It can be seen from the “‘Good or Bad’ Public Policy”, especially the public policy which impacts on the economic structure, through different economic structures in the Thai society as well as the labour groups

movement in Thailand to protest against wage policy in which supports for foreign labours rather than the Thai labours, as stated in “Labour, Politics and the State in Industrializing Thailand:” by Andrew Brown (2004). It can be concluded that, regarding the immediate problem on the Thai public policy from an election campaign in the year 2023, if the government officials who controlled the labour policy did not perform the job well enough, the election campaign that attracted voters to believe on the exponential increment of the labour wage (without paying attention to the tripartite process) could enable the voters disappointment and increased dissatisfaction that led toward the other issues of economic inequality. We could synthesize in two enormous deep root problems of Thai public policy on the election campaign signs (2023).

1. Mob and Plutocracy Politic

Different mobs appeared with more protesters against the government, especially on economic problems in labours sector (Panha Kammakon) (Brown, 2004, p. 33)”. It was the fight between people from social classes on the capitalist battlefield. They took turns to attack between state labour’s policy, politics, and social structure (Labour organization or political institution involved in “public policy determination”, and international markets competition). This included with the economic plans, basic infrastructure construction, and growth expansion. However, it caused higher inequality in public policy structure, especially the “Technocrat government officials” (Chaianan, 2005, p. 108); as well as creating economic gap and imbalance in modernity-society.

2. Academic school of Thai Bureaucratic Polity (Classical’s King Rama 5 Bureau to Modern Bureaucratic Administration (Present Day 2024))

Thai Elite Model policy¹: “Chaianant viewed: Thai administrative-bureaucracy” and “Riggs: Bureaucratic Polity” Thai bureaucratic system was the root of Thai politics (Mob²-rule) and

¹ The civil servants looked at people as the low class in the society who accepted the Elite Model policy. Therefore, the cause and root of the problems were an imbalance in the economic development between the marginal areas and those in the main cities.

² The author analysed that the protesters or mobs should reduce the methods to fight out of the parliament and should not rely on violence toward the government in order to prevent the conflict from becoming the huge wars in different cities in Thailand. They should use political mechanisms to solve

government, while the Thai government official organizations ignored the governance and well-being policy. In addition, the market mechanism had been monopolized by groups of business network sharing benefits with elites or capitalists in multinational corporations from overseas.

Conclusion

Problem of the imbalance/un-ethnic in public policy and development from the political officials (the Elite Model determined the Top-down policy and counterbalance with the state officials in the policy implementation).

The author conclusion (Thai Polity¹ and Thai bureaucracy reflected through “the policies on election campaign billboards” as “un-practical budget & policy”) that the problems of Thai politics and the political power struggles are the problems from the completion to obtain resources for public policy determining in order to take advantage (votes) in politics. That means the problems of politics and power should be solved through the parliament mechanisms. The author has discovered that the royal initiative projects and works of the royal family have reflected the solution of inequality in the rural areas and in big cities. It is showed that there is a relationship between modernity and the level of democracy development as mentioned in the western academic work. Firstly, modernity led to democracy by Seymour Lipset (Lipset, 1959); where it started with modernization. For example, an inequality and income distribution had affected on democracy in the four following components: (a) Economic development and democracy, (b) Legitimacy and democracy, (c) System of government and democracy, and (d) Problems of

the conflicts and inequality in the society (for example, create good public policy for every one and every part of the society) to avoid the violence from the anti-government groups or “Online/Street mob politic”.

In conclusion, (a) mobs on the road should not take lead on politics, however, the parliament system is recommended for them instead of causing political chaos; (b) creating learning process and providing knowledge regarding the public policy process (when reading politics news, one should be cautious and aware of the political tricks or the election campaign focusing on populist (which contradicts to the budget burden) and raise the awareness for citizens by giving importance to public benefits more than the individual’s benefits which corresponds to democracy; (c) searching for a leader who possesses behaviours or leadership skills to lead all of parts of the Thai society and separating the leaders “in the dream” from the “leaders in the real world” as well as understanding on the relationship between the political leaders – Thai citizens.

¹ The problems of polity are related to the problems of “bureaucratic units”. This point reflects the bureaucratic management policy on the state stability. The policy-maker and policy-billboards in the election shall create balance in public policy by consulting with other ministries with justice in budgets distribution.

contemporary democracy. However, Lipset did not mention on social conditions. In order for a country to rapidly become democratic (without any force from any mechanism e.g. imperialism), the country should be ready for democracy under the suitable conditions to become democratic e.g. wealth, education, etc.

Secondly, the ideas of David Easton: Politics, economic-labour indicated that politics was an allotment of valuables in the society or authoritative allocation of value. The relationship of power and economic system referred to the link between labours and their earning e.g. “... Demands for prestige may find satisfaction through the status relations of society; claims for wealth were met in past through the economic system; aspirations for power find expression in educational, fraternal, labour, and similar private organizations. ... (Easton, 1957, p. 387)” Easton stated on four political systems. They were (a) identification (Unit of a political system – political actions): one who understood on the political system would have tried to understand the political system with political actions, (b) differentiation (each part of the system had its own duty): each line which entered into politics had a clear function (not overlapping), however, each part of the system had its own duty or differentiation, (c) Input and output (political demands and supplies): If the political system does not produce output (in any way), a political system is unable to know whether the political system will work (or functioning), and (d) Integration (each part works is synchronized with one another): each part of the system (has its own duty) and not overlapping. From the abovementioned reasons, the author has analyzed the public policy problems in the figure.

No Policy process and Policy science on “Un-practical election billboards”: In the context of election campaign in 2023, the elites and political parties caused the problems from populist policy which led to “problems of unbalanced public policy. Thai bureaucratic system failed or struggled and could not correspond to part of sustainable parliamentary democracy. It stemmed from the public policy process that “did not follow the policy science” because the policy was determined by those who owned political power. No matter what reasons that made the Thai



politics and government struggling, the problems of Thai Polity and ethics problems as well as the good governance must be taken into account. Thai politics and government require good governance (Bevir, 2010, p. 101). In addition, the development of public policy process shall respond to the needs of people with the equal distribution of public policy to people in different provinces, by not only focusing on the capital or major cities or cooperating with the political parties.

Discussion

The author analyzed that the political problems in democracy where the lack of stability impacted on weak public policy resulted from the transition from the administration by the royal office to the bureaucratic organizations as well as the modernity of the country. There are different gaps that cause uncomfortable among people and turn them out to be the violent mobs. The army was manipulated as a player in Thai politics and government as Natasha Ezrow & Erica Frantz called it the “coup trap”. That means the army was trapped in the net of coups (Ezrow & Frantz, 2011, p. 104); or possibly the army in some countries may stage the coup as a guardian (Ezrow & Frantz, 2011, pp. 99)”. However, this point may require more references from Thai academics to see how they view on it. By referring to Daniel Bray and Steven Slaughter, in order for Thailand to transform its politics and government that overly emphasized on the monarchy to have the ability to develop democracy toward “global democratic” (Bray & Slaughter, 2015), it could be definitely and graciously done through the eyes of other countries. That means “Thai people should work together with the political institutions to find out for mechanisms or methods to reduce an inequality and inequity”.

The democracy that Thai people understand differs from the one based on the western ideas. Therefore, providing knowledge on democracy in different forms including the focuses on “Thai Polity and lack of Good Governance” in Thai democracy for politicians would create strength and ability to perform duty with honor of the party. This might be able to lower the pressure of those who are against the government, when the problems are brought up to be

solved using the parliament mechanism. This indicates that the political mechanism in parliament and politicians are unable to come with methods to convince people to admit the political mechanism in the parliament since the main problem comes from “the lack of ethical and moral in Thai democracy (Bray & Slaughter, 2015, p. 9)”.

Online social media affected on the political concept like “the virtual online society”, as well as the violence against the government institution on security (both on the street and online). The author viewed the problems of state public policy from the election billboards or the determination of the populist policy by political parties as all came from the political problems and the power in the parliament. These were related to the motivation of dreams building on economy or the wealth through budgets spending for populist. Herein, the author has connected the above statements with “labour problems and compensation policy and the dissatisfaction of not being able to move upward to become the middle-class people. As can be seen through the election billboards and the election campaign B.E. 2566”, becoming the royalist network/ otherwise they may fall into the trap and become the lower labour class in the society following the grandparents and ancestors in the form of (modern) “coolie – labour (human resource) – lower class labour (capitalist era)” and only look at those high-class people on the upper level in the structure of the state. It can be concluded that the description on the state problems from the economics and labours had related to the entire bureaucratic system (or capitalists and network), especially the huge power of the bureaucracy in Thailand could lead to the behaviours of public policy determining that was against the policy science.

Suggestions

Election billboards should be banned. Un-policy science needs to anti-COUP¹ and do more job-labour policy for good welfare. The more job-labour, the less social weakness, a problem and conclusion of Thai politics in bureaucratic system and the (bureaucracy) institutions

¹ The policy process and COUPs that resulted on an inequality and unbalanced modernity distribution between the city and marginal areas.

acceptance on security. As the elites who determined the policy produced contentious public policy and inequality in the economic structure, the circle of “social & political mob” repeated again and again. The author proposed the discovery of the research through culture that reflected political behaviours that did not correspond with the democracy, and the claims on public policy process that reflected the behaviours of the oligarchy group/political party.

Suggestions for next research, Good public policy ought to share Thai-equity to all social-structure, but “less-gap”. Thailand’s political regime and “public policy” must take into account good governance and good public policy process in correspond to the policy science. “... Both classical Prussian civil servants and today’s professional experts who fulfill their functions in the bureaucracy motivated primarily by values and a high sense of ethical duty embody the bureaucratic ethos. ... Just such orientations of action to ideal interests enhance bureaucratic precision. ... (Kalberg, 1985, pp. 57-58)”

It is to enable the readers to realize that the political violence is related. It can cause direct effects on the political protestors to become street mobs using out of parliament methods with the acceleration of the online social media and virtual society which has the purposes to pinpoint the political power and political profitable groups (which extremely affects the Thai politics and administration). These claims would become “street protest circle” to put pressure on the elites to change the public policy to suit their needs” without realizing the effect on the economy in general. Let state the recommendation to the new age of administration government, to create a policy process of “‘up-wage’ labour policy”, reducing economic gap, and to emphasize on (Thai) well-being.

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