

People's Politics: The Way for Thai politics

Jumpol Nimpanich
Somboon Suksamran
Unkharintn Unkulwongwattana
Surawong Wannapak
Nanthaporn Pong-isawaranan

Abstract---The objectives of this research were (1) to study the development of the civil politics from the Black May 1992 until the end of the Constitution in 1997 and 2007. (2) to study the civil politics in terms of the way for Thai politics and (3) to study the problems and obstacles of the civil politics as an alternative or the way for Thai politics. The research design used mixed methods both qualitative research and quantitative research. The sample size was 400 selected by random sampling from the population in Nonthaburi, Nakhon Pathom, Pathumthani, Samutprakarn, and SamutSakhon provinces. Data were analyzed by frequency, percentage, mean, standard deviation, standard regression coefficient (β) Multiple correlation coefficient (R). There had a relationship between variables by multiple regression analysis, Cronbach's Coefficient of alpha and descriptive analysis.]The results showed that:First The results of data analysis from the first objective: civil politics since the aftermath of May in 1992, until the end of the Constitution in 1997 and 2007, the results found that the development of civil politics has been the progressive direction.Second, the characteristics of the civil politics from 7 case studies, found that the nature of civil politics both rural and urban movements were systematic direction whether considering as structural, process and behavioral to change or to create a new set of rules for their goals and Third, the problems and obstacles of the rural and urban movement were: the political and public sector ignored to comply with the Constitution in 1997 and 2007 according to the researchers' perspectives the conflict had been occupied. It was creative and destructive as dynamics, therefore, to reduce or to eliminate political conflict by using the dialogue to find a way to resolve the conflict by peaceful means without political violence. Therefore, the use of peaceful means, between both sides by having increased their knowledge, understanding, and willingness to accept would be an alternative way out of Thai politics.

Keywords--- Civil politics, Solution to Thai Politics.

I. INTRODUCTION

Background and importance of the problem

Thai politics before the constitution 1997 and the 2007, money has played an important role in politics whether in the form of a factor in defeating the opponent in the election or an important factor in defeating the disapproval or supporting in the House of Representatives. In other words, it can be said that everything in the Thai political system at that time, all of which use money to play a role in every step of the political process. Resulting in politics "The Plutocratic Polity" of Thailand has a big problem that led to the decline of faith and the problems of the legitimacy of the Thai political system as follows:

*Jumpol Nimpanich, Associate Professor of Political Science, Faculty of public Administration, Rangsit University, Thailand.
Somboon Suksamran, Professor of Political Science, Faculty of public Administration, Rangsit University, Thailand.
Unkharintn Unkulwongwattana, Lecturer, Faculty of public Administration, Rangsit University, Thailand.
Surawong Wannapak, Lecturer, Faculty of public Administration, Dhurakij Pundit University, Thailand
Nanthaporn Pong-isawaranan, Plan and Policy Analyst, Office of the Narcotics Control Board, Thailand*

- (1) The problem of using money to buy the vote of politicians to enter political power positions.
- (2) The problem of the power struggle.
- (3) The exploitation of senior positions in management.
- (4) Displaying the power of politicians by gaining power using positions and authority to mock the law challenge legitimacy. Creating an uncomfortable relationship with regular government officials who follow strictly rules and policies.

The problems of "plutocratic polity" from the above mentioned becoming a source of ideas in "Thai political reform" of a group of scholars led by Dr. Prawet Wasi, who was appointed to the "Democratic Development Committee" from the president of the House of Representatives "Mr. Marut Bunnag" in May 2537. Dr. Prawet Wasi believed that to be a democracy for the benefit of the public, the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1997 aimed to reform the Thai-politics to be a "New politics" not the "old politics" [1].

This is because this constitution has promoted the rights and freedoms, political participation as well as community rights to protect the environment and natural resources. As well as allowing people to participate directly in politics by providing citizens propose a draft of law, or remove politicians misbehave. As well as people have an opportunity to propose the constitutional amendment directly. The implications of the 'new politics' above, implies that the importance of civil politics, this is because after the announcement of this constitution was expressed or reflected "New politics" in terms of the "public sector" or "citizen sector" get into "actors" or "players", not just "watchers". The person who proposed the concept of "New Politics" including Anthony Giddens [2] that sometimes have been called 'New politics' which is the 'third-choice'. This choice is the result of global change factors, creeping into individualism that impact to ecology.

In this sense, it can be seen that "New politics" is a politics that allows people to play a role in political decisions instead of being born in parliament. Such as "old politics" for the reason that "Original politics" or "representative democratic political system" or "representative form" is causing a crisis, that resulting in interest in "New politics" that allows people to participate in politics as a "player" or "main character" which the nature of "New politics" is such an alternative democracy. Such as participatory democracy "Deliberative Democracy" or "Radical Democracy" [3]. These political systems will focus on the political participation of the people as "The main actors" that are clear that have never been seen before in the entire Thai constitution as mentioned above.

From the above results, the research team is interested in studying "The development of civil politics: the solution to Thai politics". With the beginning of such politics, especially during the aftermath of the May 1992 event where citizens began to have the opportunity to participate in politics as the main actors "according to the nature of new politics" or "according to the concept of alternative democracy" The issues that the research team is interested in studying are as follows: The first issue is to study "the development of people politics / civil politics" Second issue "civil politics" is an alternative/outlet of Thai politics? Third and fourth issues what are the problems, obstacles and solutions or proposals?

Research objectives

The research " Civil Politics: The Solution to Thai Politics" has the following objectives.

- (1) to study the development of civil politics since the aftermath of May in 1992 until the end of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 2007 was abolished as the solution to Thai politics.
- (2) To study the characteristics of civil politics as the solution to Thai politics
- (3) To study problems and obstacles in civil politics as the solution to Thai politics
- (4) To study the ways of solving political problems in the public / civil society sector as an outlet for Thai politics

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Concepts, theories, and related research

Research on " People's Politics: The Way for Thai politics ", the research team reviewed the concepts, theories, and related literature as follows:

- (1) Political crisis in a representative democracy
- (2) Theories of alternative democracy
- (3) Concepts about "New politics"
- (4) Concepts about " Civil Politics"
- (5) theory about the new social movements.
- (6) Related research

The conceptual framework for research theory

As the research team reviewed the concepts, theories, and literature related to the subject " People's Politics: The Way for Thai politics ". The research team created the concept and theoretical framework for research as follows:

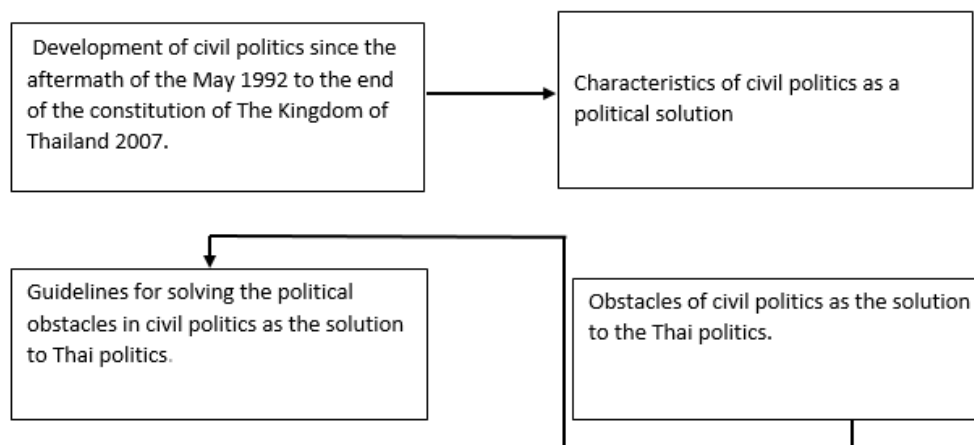


Figure 1: The Theoretical Framework of the research

III. DATA COLLECTION

This research used mixed methods both quantitative and qualitative research, for the quantitative research, the sample size was 400 selected by random sampling from the population in Nonthaburi, Nakhon Pathom, Pathumthani, Samutprakarn, and SamutSakhon provinces. And for the qualitative research, the research team present under the context of the 1997 and 2007 Constitutions and the tools used in this research are related documents, in-depth interview, group discussions. The use of these 3 tools is based on the method triangulation [4]. The use of these three tools will bring accuracy (Validity). For the selection of unit analysis was the population. Population is therefore directly related to civil politics from all regions in provinces and metropolitan including Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, Nakhon Pathom, SamutPrakan and SamutSakhon, including scholars, qualified persons with good knowledge and understanding of such issues by studying people from both the public, private and civil society sectors to be able to study in-depth and narrow information which lead to the conclusion from the research and use sampling group, by not using probability theory (non-probability selection sampling) but using the purposive selection method, there are a total of 20 main informants, which can be divided into main informants including

- Group 1 Civil politics, such as united front democracy against dictatorship leaders (UDD), alliance networks and all the people democratic reform committee leaders (PDRC).
- Group 2 includes political science scholars who are interested in and have research and academic work on civil politics.
- Group 3 includes the leaders of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, Thai Bankers Association
- Group 4 is civil society, including NGOs Non-profit organizations, etc.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis in this research, the research team divided the analysis into 2 parts: quantitative data analysis and qualitative data analysis. The research team analyzed the quantitative data, beginning with the creation of a manual to code with the data collected. Check the code and analyze data processing concepts, opinions or variables to study the quantitative data by using statistical processing program as a tool for analyzing data and analyzed in 2 parts, namely descriptive statistics analysis and inferential statistics analysis. For qualitative data analysis, the research team analyzed data from relevant documents and from in-depth interviews and suggestions from group discussion using content analysis.

V. STUDY RESULTS

Based on the data analysis, the research team summarizes the research results as follows:

First data analysis results from the first objective, political development of the civil politics from the Black May 1992 until the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1997 and 2007 were abrogated. The research team found that the development of civil politics has a positive development rather than negative, or progressing in a progressive direction, whether in academic development or in practice, whether the movement of rural villagers in all 3 cases studies and the movement of new social movements in 4 cities, case studies such as mobile mob cases, People's Alliance for Democracy groups (PAD), United Front of Democracy Against Dictatorship groups (UDD), and the People Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) groups and allies. The case studies are dynamic that the movements can be seen during the period in the political, economic, social and cultural context. The movement in both rural and urban areas moves under the rules of both constitutions according to the rights and freedoms,

according to human rights principles, community rights that have been laid out. When questioned about their knowledge and understanding of civil politics especially about the rights of the community of the two constitutions show that overall is a high-level show that the development of civil politics as the solution to Thai politics.

Second, the analysis results from the second objective characteristics of civil politics in term of the way for Thai politics, from the case studies: both the rural villagers' movement and the new social movement in the city. And results from quantitative data analysis focus on the essence of the concept of the theory that the new social movement is the concept of resource mobilization.

Concepts, theories, political processes and theories of creating the discourse of cultural discourse, found that the characteristics of civil politics, both from quantitative and qualitative data analysis, are in the direction with the system in terms of both movements rural and urban having structural features, process, behavior that is structured means that both processes have the goal of changing or creating new rules. For example, the case of the villagers' movement is aimed at the political sector, government, including the private sector to create rules. The new rules are the protection of rights and freedom from the violation, invasion or destruction of ecosystems. Regardless of the environment or resources they use in their lives as for the social movement in the city, such as the case of the Black May event in 1992 requires the continuation of democratic politics. In the case of the UDD group wants to change the regime into a republican regime. In the case of a group of people allies for Democracy wanting a new political reform (or new politics) in the case of the PDRC and the coalition wants to reform Thailand in many ways.

Third, the data analysis results from the third objective problems and obstacle and the fourth guidelines or suggestions for solving such obstacles, if considering from the results of qualitative data analysis from 7 case studies, problems and obstacles from the movement in both rural and urban areas are the government sector neglecting ignoring the compliance of both 1997 and 2007 constitutions. Such as the political participation in the civil rights movement and freedom movement whether in the form of submitting proposals for protest in rallies or negotiations reconciliation including the case of a consultation meeting or dialogue for solutions.

The case of the private sector on the movement of the public network in the eastern region neglected to follow the working group subcommittee, the Board of Directors or even the Cabinet that serves during the network mobility. Most importantly, do not comply with the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 2007 which provides for the right to freedom of political participation, including human rights certification, including community rights / local communities under Section 66, Section 67

VI. SUMMARY AND CONTRIBUTION

For corrections or suggestions for solving such problems and obstacles, the research team has presented in the policy recommendations.

Discussion of research results

(1) Firstly, from the conclusion of the research "First objective" and "second objective", the results of qualitative data analysis found that the development and characteristics of civil politics in the period from the aftermath of May 1992 until the end of 1997 and 2007 Constitutions. Civil politics develops in a positive direction, and in the direction of progress than ever before as the solution to Thai politics. This is because the result of both the movement of rural villagers and the new social movement in the city has the development and characteristics of civil politics that have improved and the characteristics of civil politics that have developed and characteristics that are

positive or desirable, only in the movement of claims resource mobilization strategy. Using political opportunity assessing the expectations of the co-movement and creating a framework of cultural discourse.

The creation of the motivation of the leaders of the villagers' movements is different in detail. But the essence of the movement in both rural and urban areas can be explained by using the new social movement theory included the resource mobilization theory, political process theory, and cultural framing theory [5]. and including the alternative democracy, whether in the form of participatory democracy can be explained as follows.

(1.1) Villagers movement by exercising their rights, freedom and community rights according to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1997 and 2007 editions, only the political sectors/ government / government mechanism, including the private sector, often ignored, refused to comply with their demands of the protesters. They came out to demand what they want and to protest, etc., including the failure to compliance with community rights of both constitutions. The villagers' movement in all 3 case studies used deliberative democracy as well as the participants using dialogue methods to find a solution or a discussion meeting within the leaders, including within the villagers' movement, and still use dialogue to find a solution for a discussion meeting with the political sector/government/ state mechanisms / academic sector and other related sectors etc.

(1.2) The new social movements whether in the city or countryside are not different to maintain public interest by using alternative democratic methods in accordance with the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1997 and especially in 2007 that promotes the right to freedom and the right to political participation of civil politics extensively. This is because the constitutional drafters intended to promote civil politics [6] especially according to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand in the 2007 of the referendum, the approval of this constitution states that people are not the "viewers" but "players" as the main actors according to the guidelines of "New Politics" not "Old Politics" that requires politicians, political parties are "players" as "main actors", while citizens are just the "viewers" or "watchers" [7]. The group, whether it is the PAD and UDD groups and allies, including the PDRC and anti-movement groups of the PDRC, and therefore all use their rights and freedom. And the right to participate in politics that the two constitutions have fully guaranteed especially the movement presented in the "third case study" and the "fourth case study" in which the movement of both groups is support groups and anti-groups of the political phenomena that were presented on the results of data analysis.

Besides, the rights of freedom, the rights to participate in politics in the form of "Participatory democracy" and "Deliberative Democracy" in various forms such as demonstrations, protest, negotiation, reconciliation, discussion for solutions in the form of consultations, etc. Importantly, the use of alternative democracy in the form of "Radical democracy" or "intensive democracy" which is not a "strong democracy", which is characterized by intense democratic or democratic nature. The movement time is usually done through cooperation in the form of networking to expand the area included "Social Area", "Political Area" and "Public Sphere" [1] to be fully extended, as shown in the case of movement of the PAD groups, UDD groups, and especially the PDRC, and the coalition or even the movement of the villagers' movement in the case of "Mob Pak Mun" have already used public space in their area, also using space beside the Government House, etc., which coordinated both participants in various movements with a variety of groups cultural diversity is not a matter of lifestyle, gender, language, race, ethnicity,

religion, etc. [8]. Sometimes social movements regardless of the PAD, the UDD, the PDRC, and allies have exercised freedom in the form of democracy, intense or intensive with deliberative democracy. Including participatory democracy parallel in order to achieve the goals of the movement of their group especially the goal that leads to better changes, for example, the case of the PAD

wants to "reform" to "new politics" or the case of the PDRC and the coalition with the goal of "reforming Thailand" as in the case of the UDD group, and a coalition that wants to change the form of politics and government as a republic, solving social justice problems that lead to dissatisfaction and resentment or the movement of the villagers movement that aims to protect, conserve, restore natural resources and the environment including their ecosystems, but the public sector, the private sector, neglected to ignore their community rights, etc.

In the sense that above, the goal of movements such as between the Alliance and the UDD groups where both groups have different goals as a result, causing conflicts and relationships (friendly) is a constant enemy between the two groups, causing a fight between each other.

From the above-mentioned issues especially the issues relating to the attitude of looking at conflicts between the PAD and the UDD groups. The research team wants to present that the introduction of representative liberal democracy to explain the phenomenon, there are limitations, while violent or intense democracy makes the explanation of the phenomenon occurring leads to better understanding of the conflict phenomenon between the two groups

(2) Secondly, from the research summary "Third objective" problems, obstacles and objective suggestions. The case of the obstacles presented in the third result summary due to representative politics or representative democracy itself has problems and obstacles both in the case of Thai politics and international politics at the international level where decay has deteriorated especially about "representation" that results from the study, the research team found that "representation" is in a crisis in political legitimacy because it is not really representative of the people/citizens. If it is a "representative" of the capital group and the group of politicians of each set that comes to administer the country. During the year 1988 onwards especially the government during the period 2001 - 2006 and the government during the years 2013 - 2014, which makes it the source of the movement of both movements in both rural and urban areas with suggestions for solutions to problems and obstacles, the research team presented in the suggestions.

The way to solve problems related to civil politics as the solution to Thai politics or suggestions for solving problems and obstacles.

Recommendations on policy for solutions to problems and obstacles.

The following policy recommendations are recommendations for solving problems and obstacles that lead to the development and characteristics of civil politics as a solution to Thai politics.

(1) from the problems presented such as the government during the years 1992-1997 with the movement of environmental villagers since the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1997 and the government during the years 2001 - 2006, despite the use of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1997 but the government at that time was trying to block political movements in public areas and tried to ignore the constitution before 1997 and after 1997 which had neglected community rights, etc.

The research team would like to propose policy recommendations on the issue. The above obstacles must be to try to create "areas" in both "social areas", "political areas", "public sphere" more in order to provide opportunities for social movements in the form civil politics to develop more positively especially having the opportunity to participate in creating rules or new rules, such as "Public Policy", especially if the policy on public affairs that has an impact on theecology, environment, etc., which is "public interest"including the protection of rights and freedom of expression, expressions of social movements of villagers and new social movements such as the case of poor people, disadvantaged people, people who have been exploited by marginalized people or cases of groups such as PAD groups, UDD groups, PDRC groups, etc. that have caused this process.

(2) For the next obstacle, the problem is political conflict arising from the mechanism of the state, the private sector is that the government took over the country during the dictatorship, authoritarianism. Such as dictatorship by the military corps, for example, in the event of the black May incident in 1992 or the case of policy corruption, conflicts of personal interest and public interest or "Conflict of Interest" of the government during the period 2001-2006 or the government during 2013 - 2014, etc. until the middle class in the city, UDD groups, PAD groups, PDRC groups and the alliance came out for their movement.

The research team would like to suggest that the policy is a matter of political conflict between various political groups that, according to the view of democratic or radical democracy, such conflicts emphasize what must exist if the civil politics "transcend" this point, it has to be implemented by elevating the political movement of the folk movement and new social movements by using the democratic alternative in the form of deliberative democracy by discussing and finding solutions for free and equality together.

Each party with political conflicts between each other has respect for opinions, ideas, beliefs, each other that can lead to a level of political conflict as appeared in the case of MrAbhisit Vejjajiva and the leaders of the UDD discussions to find solutions to the political conflicts that occurred during the 2008-2010 with broadcasts on radio, television for people, citizens of all countries to see the atmosphere of consultation or a dialogue to find a solution to the political conflict that occurred during this time. According to the viewpoint of the group, the researchers agreed that in the case of dialogue, finding such a solution helps reduce the level of political conflicts that can occur.

But must understand together that in the view of Johan Galtung, conflict is both creative and destructive which is dynamic therefore, in addition to reducing or eliminating political conflicts, in addition to using dialogue, finding a solution still need to use peaceful means by abandoning or not choosing to use violence or political violence when confronted with each other. As shown in the case of the PAD and UDD groups or the public sector, the private sector, and the villagers' movement and so on.

(3) The political movement of the new social movement in most cities, sometimes or many times due to the conflict (economic, social, cultural), especially in politics caused by ideological, ideas, political beliefs, and attitudes causing both positive and negative effects, including political alertness, with interest in political participation, the development of civil politics, etc. In a negative way, causing to damage of property and life of the participants, the economic impact in terms of investment and economic disruptions, etc. The political struggle caused by such political conflicts occurred before the May event in 1992 until the movement of the PPSC and the coalition was started from the event of 14 October 1973 until the event of May 1992, such political conflict according to a study in this research, since the event of May 1992 between the middle class and military dictatorship, the case of the September 14 incident between the Thaksin Shinawatra government, the UDD group and the government of

MrAbhisit Vejjajiva between the PAD and the UDD and the 2013-2014 event between the Yingluck Shinawatra government and the PDRC between UDD groups and the PDRC group and yet none of that guarantee. The movement of rural villagers and the new social movement caused by political conflicts will not occur again.

Therefore, the research team would like to suggest the policy that people who abandon or do not choose to use violence especially for the harm to life and the cause of destruction of property, etc. by using a "democratic form of consultation" (Deliberative democracy). Such a dialogue to find a solution by peaceful means, whether peaceful or violent means as strategic or as peaceful as a practice which is widely accepted that peaceful methods as the latter are more effective than other methods.

In dealing with conflict by the parties mentioned above must wish to accept together that will lead to success or achieving goals that both parties agree together. Despite the limitations of using such methods because it is accepted that such methods are not guaranteed to be successful every time because it depends on the parties that they have knowledge and understanding of the concept of such methods (peaceful means). Therefore, the use of peaceful means, if the parties do not have knowledge, understanding and are not ready to accept, this method may also be accepted. But in the opinion of the researchers, suggesting this policy. It should be an alternative solution for Thai politics.

(4) For the movement of villagers as the civil politics in rural areas presented in the first part, 3 case studies that move on environmental issues natural resources of the villagers, regardless of the case of "Pak Mun" in the case of the Eastern people's network which is the result of a new liberal / liberal economic context representative political context / democracy.

The choice that the demands of the villagers are often ignored. Ignoring the discrimination of the political, government, state, and private sectors involved, not complying with laws such as not protecting rights/community rights under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 1997 and 2007 edition, including human rights compliance.

In the terms mentioned above, the research team, therefore, would like to suggest policy in this matter. If the development of civil society, civil politics is the solution to Thai politics. The political sector, government sector, state mechanism, private sector including academic sector, media sector, civil society must come together to discuss and debate to eliminate the law enforcement equally, non-discrimination, regardless of the matter of protection of rights, community rights, human rights principles, etc. Including having to promote encourage the development of political, civil politics by raising the level of development to progress further. The research team recommends that all sectors, whether political, government, private sector, academia, civil society, the media sector, etc. must cooperate in helping people/citizens to be "Civic Citizens". At the same time, there must cooperate to help in creating the "new rules or rules for living", such as the constitution which must be a constitution with the characteristic of the constitution 2007 edition and should have a new resource allocation policy to reduce social and economic disparity, must cooperate together to help in pushing "New Politics" that opens political space for citizens with the right to freedom of movement in the form of participation in policy decisions in large projects to participate in conservation, rehabilitation, care, maintenance of the environment and natural resources not to deteriorate not to be compromised by using democratic alternatives, whether "Participatory Democracy" "Deliberative Democracy" or "Direct Democracy". Meanwhile, new rules and regulations mentioned above have no discrimination. concerning "Social Equity" without regard to identity in terms of gender, race, religion, etc. Throughout, including the new rules, rules and regulations must be decentralized to have good governance in the country by reducing the role of

reducing the size of the government to the community. The local community is more self-governing in the form of the government sector having to use the concept of "Participatory Governance" or "Participatory Government Administration" [9] which representative democracy has the problem of "weathering" that the concept of representation has eroded.

(5) Problems in the crisis of "Representation" in representative democracy which scholars in both domestic and international political science are considered such a political regime is an elite democracy or democracy that emphasizes on elites in the past. It was recognized as the standard of democratic politics in the period before the 1960s.

Later, it was considered that there was a defect or limitation in the participation of the public sector / civil sector, and from what has been presented in the issues of politics, liberal democracy or representative problems or crises of "Representation" until the source of alternative democracy

In this issue, the research team recommends that to solve such problems should promote, support, or continue the civil politics in terms of allowing citizens to participate in politics in the form of participation in all political process, regardless of national level, community-level / local community in determining the policy of decisions related to their political life as a stakeholder who are affected by the determination of the policy in that decision.

Suggestions for further research

(1) In the next research, if there will be a study of politics, the public / civil politics should be in the case of the south.

(2) Research design in the study of subject matter, one should have considered the design of qualitative research, type of guidelines "Participatory Active Research" or design "Postmodern Research".

(3) Paradigms should be used for critical theory because it focuses on structured synthesis and analysis that a person or actor as a "doer" and including "the victim".

(4) There should be a study of the political development of the people in the context of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) government and the political situation of the people since helping after the coup in 2014 until the present to illustrate the political developments, changes, and adaptations, as well as the phenomena.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The research results on "Civil Politics: The Solution to Thai Politics" shows the development of Thai Politics. In terms of changing Thai politics from the old politics that people are "just watchers" in which politicians are "players" changed into "New Politics" that people are "The main actors". This development or change occurred the aftermath of May 1992.

The result of this research has been achieved with great success. The research team would like to thank the Research and Development Institute under the King Prajadhipok's Institute, which has given financial support, as well as providing publications for people interested in civil politics. In addition, the research team would like to thank the expert committee for scrutiny this research, including the key-in formants who cooperate in in-depth interviews to increase the value of this research.

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