Succession Of the Political Power of Local Politicians to The Level of National Politics

Nadthanon Chirakitnimit
Ph.D., Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, Thailand.
Corresponding author: E-mail: nadthanon199@gmail.com

Silawat Chaiwong
Asst.Prof. D.Pol.Sc, Mahachulalongkornrajavudyalaya University, Thailand.
E-mail: Silawatchaiwong30@gmail.com

Krot Leksomboon
Ph.D., Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, Thailand.
Corresponding author: E-mail: dr.krot.lek@gmail.com

Abstract

Local government in Thailand began with the reform of the government in the reign of King Rama V and resulted in changes that occurred in local areas through the implementation of a clear policy of decentralization of government power to local areas with the goal that effective local administrative organizations must adhere to the principle of decentralization of power to the people, which is that the people should be central to and have responsibility and independence in setting policy involving administration, personnel, finances and economics and tangible authority of their own. Following the promulgation of the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand in 1997, by focusing on allowing the state transfer of duties and allowing localities to be the providers of public services, a clear legal framework was created based on the intentions of the public. However, by considering the characteristics of the politics of local politicians, it can be seen that there are close relationships with the appearance of a patronage system, which causes the local power to remain bound to the central power, with local politicians functioning as the base of the politicians at the national level, and that the majority have a social or family backgrounds with a strong economic status that has an effect on their decision-making and influential power through these patronage relationships with the bases of support from various groups in local areas. Through the exchange of mutual benefits, the power base of politicians is thus created by using the methods based on kinship relationshps and affiliations, as well as rewards or compulsion, which result in the continuous succession of local power.

Keywords: succession of power, local politicians.

Introduction

The democratic system has been defined in many ways. However, Abraham Lincoln stated that democracy is a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Local administrative organizations therefore are considered a form of government in which the government gives power or decentralization of power is applied to the local level in order to provide opportunities for the people to truly have participation in local government and their communities. This is the foundation of government in a democratic system because local government will be an institution that teaches politics and government to the public, which allows the people to know that they are involved as stakeholders in local government administration and leads to taking responsibility and giving value to the benefits that the local people desire. This causes the local people to become familiar with self-government and learn about the rights and duties that they should receive from having representative organizations. Responsible persons being independent in the use of their discretion is considered as the igniting of the

spark that creates the trend of the awakening of local people, which provide opportunities to the local people to have participation, staff and budgets in their administration that are separate from those of the central and provincial bureaucracies. Currently, the local goverment organizations of Thailand are divided into four types: subdistrict administrative organizations, municipalities, provincial administrative organizations and special forms of local administrative organizations, which are found in the cities of Bangkok and Pattaya (Kongbenjapuch, 2018: 5).

Although the state has continuously given opportunities to the local people to have participation in the local development of their own areas for the benefits of the public through the direct selection of administrators who will be able to solve problems and respond to the needs of the local people more efficiently than orders arriving from the central authority, the roles of local administrative organizations are continously increasing. Until now, the popular trend of decentralization of the power of the state has led to the reform of the bureaucratic system. As a result, various government departments and agencies that are responsible for duties at the local level, particularly the roles of the subdistrict chief and the village headman, can be seen as redundant, especially in any area that has developed into an urban society and been elevated in terms of status, for example subdistrict administrative organizations that have been raised to the status of a subdistrict municipality or subdistrict municipalities raised to the status of municipalities, etc. This gives the appearance of local administrative organizations having increasing authority until it would seem that the roles and duties of the subdistrict chief and the village headman have been consequently reduced, but the problems in some areas are more severe than others, leading to conflict between local administrative organizations, which causes both direct and indirect impacts on the development of the area (Senganeti, 2019: 23-25). Nevertheless, they can be considered to be the basic agencies in local areas that are the closest to the people that have the duty of providing the essential public services that are in line with the needs of the people. Thus, this is one part of the state having the status of a juristic person with duties according to the constitution that shall have the general authority regarding the maintenance and provision of public services for the benefit of the local people, which is the basis that is greatly important to the development of the political system of governance in a democracy. By adhering to the principle of decentralization of power, the result is that community development is based on self-reliance for political, economic and social sustainability.

The process of decentralization of power to localities

Following the events of Black May during the period of the reform of government (1992-1996), it is believed that there was a major trend of awakening toward political reform and decentralization of power to local areas. Therefore, it can be said that this was the starting point of the process of calling for decentralization of power to local administrative organizations in Thailand. There was the enactment of the Subdistrict Council and Subdistrict Administrative Organization Act of 1994 and the enactment of the Provincial Administrative Organization Act of 1997 (Mala, 2012: 32). In addition, the demands for political reform showed tangible results through the promulgation of the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand in 1997, which became known as "the People's Constitution", based on Article 78, which states that "the state must decentralize power to provide local areas with self-reliance and allow for decisions in local affairs to be made themselves to develop the local economy and system of public utilities and public assistance with the local information infrastructure being universal and equal throughout the country as well as to develop provinces so that they are prepared to become large local administrative organizations by taking into account the intentions of the people in that province". Furthermore, changes at that time resulted in major changes to local administrative organizations of every type in order to obtain the results based on the intentions of the people, which are the important results that caused politics and government outside the center of Thailand to be changed to other forms of government. This is considered the "Transitional Period" in the system of local government of Thailand because, from the provisions of the constitution and other laws

that were enforced subsequently, the intention was aimed at the decentralization of the administrative power of the government that has been centralized for a long period of time to the local administrative organizations of Thailand, in both their previous forms and in the other newly establised forms. In addition, there was also a focus on organizing a system of local government based on the principle of local self-government (Mektrairat, 2011: 192).

From the process of the decentralization of power and local administration occurring since 1997 until the present, there has been an adjustment of the balance of power between the state, the localities and the people that is important as it has an impact on the balance of power, such as the political awakening of the people regarding freedom and political openness and the creation of the process of having participation in government administration at every level. However, the decentralization of power and local administration is the main factor that causes the balance of power of the state to move increasingly toward local hands and the public due to the enthusiasm of the people and the excitement related with diversity that occur in local administration and the aim to create "**diversity**" rather than create "**conformity**", which was the situation of decentralization of power in the past. The decentralization of power has four dimensions (Parson, 1997), which are:

1) Localization, which is increasingly aimed at transferring services from the central administration to communities or other various points.

2) Flexibility, which is aimed at creating a form of flexible management and allows organizations to work through multi-disciplinary teamwork.

3) Management development, which is the decentralization of decision-making power to the managers or officials that provide services directly.

4) Organizational culture and change, which is the adjustment of management and personnel for the enhancement of the quality of services and empowerment of localities.

With the trend of decentralization of power to local areas and support for local self-management due to the establishment of democracy that occurred at the grassroots level, as a result, in every area there are local administrative organizations that perform duties in the development of decentralization of power to localities in order to give the people in subdistricts and villages the ability to have participation in the government. Although decentralization of power to local areas based on the constitution has been occurring since 1997, local administrative organizations have entered into a role that overlaps with the role of acting as a community leader of the village headman because, despite having local administrative organizations, in local areas there may still be established groups of leaders or the village headmen who have been considered as the community leaders for a long time, both legally and in actual practice despite having the decentralization of power to local areas and changes to the laws related to subdistrict administrative organizations, which in the year 1994 caused those who work in government administration, including the chief district officer and the assistant district officer as well as the subdistrict chief and the village headman, to currently be totally separate from local government. Decentralization of power to localities resulted in having administrators that are elected by the people, which include the chief executives of the subdistrict administrative organizations and others. These administrators that are representatives from various villages as members of the subdistrict administrative organizations are groups of various new leaders that have had a major role in local development. However, this did not cause the village headmen to completely lose their role due to the position of the village headman not yet being dissolved, which reflects the firm closeness that the position of village headman has for the local people.

In the role of the subdistrict chief and the village headman, they still perform the duties as the ears and eyes for the regional government at the provincial and district levels at all times. As for taking care of the benefits for the villagers, the subdistrict chief and the village headmen have a conceptual framework specific to the area of responsibility in village area as the principle of continuously maintaining a well-ordered peaceful functioning of the communities for cooperation with local administrative organizations, for example assistance in planning local development, help in receiving the complaints and grievances of the villagers, and providing help to local administrative

organizations in order to deal with and solve problems. As for the roles and duties in various development projects, there are very few because the subdistrict chief and the village headman do not have a budget and the provincial government can only perform the duty of supervising the local administrative organizations. Later, in the era of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), the government reduced the role of local administrative organizations and increasingly strengthened the role of provincial government officials both in terms of the budget and various powers and duties. In addition, the subdistrict chief and the village headman have authority related to development, with the provincial bureaucracy performing the duties of commanding the local administrative organizations to give assistance, as well as the political process for politicians to enter into the political system primarily aimed at the hope of gaining personal and political benefits.

As Serirangsan (2012) observed, "politician" comes from the word "politics", which was derived from the Greek language word "polis" that translates as "nation" or "city", as historically in the government of Greece in ancient times, a nation or city had the status of a state or was referred to as a city-state, such as the city-state of Athens and the city-state of Sparta. Nations or cities in ancient times therefore became "the state". Based on the meaning in the present regarding the city-state of Athens, it is believed that society includes politics, in which all the people have the status of participation in the affairs of the state while the politicians and personnel that have duties and responsibilities in the government administration of the state or nation are the people related to politics more than other types of people. For the meaning of local politicians, when considering the dimensions of local politics, it can be found that there are two dimensions, similar to politics at the national level (Serirangsan, 2012), which are as follows:

1) The dimension of representative politics is defined as politics in which the people choose local politicians to perform duties on their behalf in local administrative organizations, which includes local adminstrators and local council members.

2) The dimension of the civic sector is the politics that occur from the people or communities having participation in accordance with established laws, such as exercising the right to vote, signing for local ordinances, and removing political office holders.

Local politics is therefore a matter of seeking power and using the power of the public or groups of people for the benefits of the public or specific groups or individuals in local areas under the context of having participation from various sectors related to power and benefits in local areas. Thus, local politicians are the people that offer to enter into the local political system under the electoral system at the local level, which is an important mechanism that allows local politicians to have legitimacy in being representatives to perform the duties of representing the local people in both local administration (the executive branch) and oversight (the legislative branch) (Suwanmongkol, 2011: 23). Their aim is to create a role in the development of the area and the management of the organizations that have power in the administration of agencies, people and finances, which results in the channels for seeking further benefits for themselves, especially through the process of elections. It can be seen that the majority of local politicians that are elected come from powerful families and the elite in these local areas, who are able to develop the potential for power for themselves from the use of financial resources to support political campaigns, which allows people that have financial influence in local areas to attempt to dominate and create political power through various policies (Srisantisuk et al., 2015: 56).
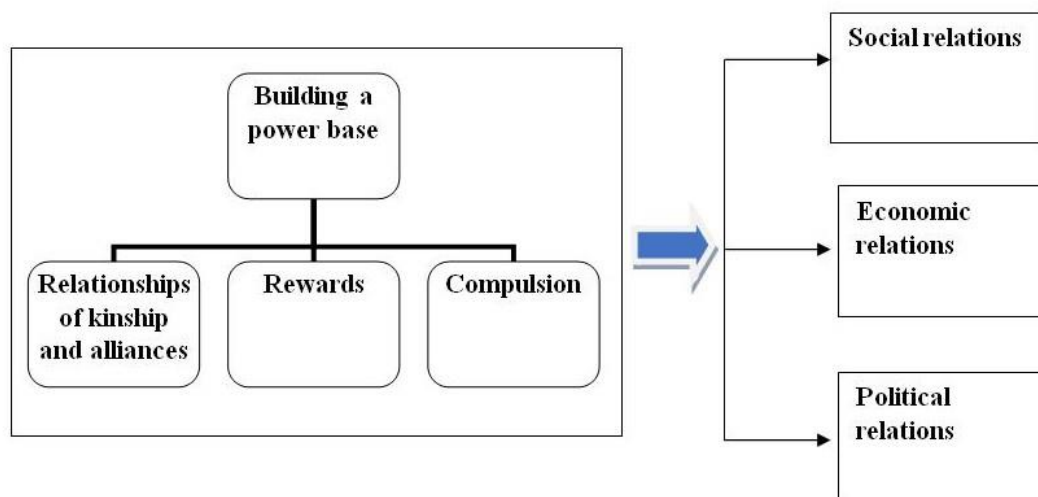
As a result, local politicians therefore have become the people that have an important role in local politics. The majority are usually part of the same groups as the political elite in those local areas that have close relationships with various agencies of the province, the economic elite with the status of being wealthy people of localities who have accumulated capital over a long period of time, and the social elite that have numerous individuals under their patronage.

Creation of the power base of politicians

In the history of Thai politics and government, Thailand underwent revolutionary changes to the government from an absolute monarchy to a government in the democratic system on 24 June 1932 when the ruling power that was previously held by the monarch was transferred to the group seeking administrative change by allowing Phraya Manopakorn Nititada to become the first prime minister in order to reduce the conflict between the group seeking administrative change and the institution of the monarchy. This was a major change that caused political power to fall into hands of the nobility and the government bureaucrats, through which these groups gained power in the administration of governance and the monopolizing of power completely. Therefore, this led to a period of political power struggles that has continued until the present. The constitution became the important rule in establishing the form of the succession of political power; however, these constitutions were established by people that had power or had gained power, which has caused continual political conflicts, including politics at the local level. Political leaders therefore have a major role regarding the conducting of local duties, both the development of local politics and the development of the administrative system. Thus, political leaders must adjust their work behavior to be in line with the situation of opening more areas to the public under a framework of preserving and having respect for the rights and freedom of others, which is considered as an important principle that will help to reduce the factors that cause democratic decline and to provide further advances toward development.

The creation of the base of power thus occurs using the methods of motivation for benefits, the use of force, and the creation and the guarding of political power by politicians. It is necessary to create the power base with the public as the important sector by using various beneficial methods that result in various groups of people accepting certain politicians through an important form of relationship in local society, which is the relationship between patrons and those persons under their patronage. This is a mechanism that is able to help build the power base for politicians that they will use to create and expand their own power base (Hankiatwong et al., 2020: 68).

Figure 1: Creation of the power base

It can be seen that the process of creating power includes many forms, for example kinship relationships and political campaigns that rely on kinship to discuss, explain and connect with related groups in communities. The technique that kinship uses to make connections is the presentation of the past to the public so that it is recognized during the campaigns. As a result, kinship groups have great importance in the creation of the base of political power by using relationships. Thus, this results in the political position in which the peole that have political power will be consequently dependent on

kinship, which is a form of patronage that is based on a relationship system. This is in accordance with Churchill and Hatten (2017), who conducted a study on the form and the process of inheritance of the legacy through the roles and duties by having the planning of the form as determined by the owner of the legacy. Since the previous period in which the heirs entered into the procedure by meeting people and learning a body of knowledge and the transfer of power until they gained expertise and inherited power from the legacy was a matter of course, these personal relationships with trust and intimate closeness gradually resulted in the patronage relationships over time with reciprocal benefits for each other, such as as having the same mutual benefits, giving rewards, and providing a budget. The support of the power base that is involved in assistance to local politicians, both in terms of finances and manpower by using network relationships with voters in the power center found in the area to give assistancce and compulsion through older groups of people that have power or influential groups, is thus considered the goal that politicians attempt to achieve because most influential groups have prestige and influence in the area and are able to create the support base for the candidates, using intimidation or the use of debt obligations as tools and the use of power or prestige to cause the public to develop respect and give support to politicians who offer to provide benefits. Every society has a structure that defines relationships in various segments of society, whether it is a relationship that is social, economic or political, and usually there are personal relationships that become relevant, as the primary characteristics of the relationship include reliance on each other as well as competition for access to the resources that are required. Therefore, this creates various motivational social activities with this logic leading to the view that the political actors of Thailand, whether at the national or local level, who experience success in preserving their power base will likely always have allies or a party of supporters that are the groups that have fame, power, prestige, acceptance, and honor. Politics and sectarianism are therefore absolutely insepearable.

Thus, the base of political power is the element that indicates an ability for abstraction as the process of compiling the factors that are

involved both in and outside organizations that create the bond of the relationship with various organizations in both the public and private sectors, in order to build acceptance from the people to strengthen their power base and to maintain their stability for as long as possible. This has caused the political system of Thailand to be impacted by the use of the political power of politicians who aim to gain the results of entering the path of politics in the future selection of local leaders. Moreover, the majority will show that the selection of politicians with kinship affiliations causes a strengthening of their power base and provides increased strength for the maintenance of their power to provide long-term stability. The creation of the base of local political power therefore is part of the structure of a network system that has been firmly woven together for a long period of time from the local politics to the provincial level politics and national level politics. The local level politics therefore form the basis of the system to efficiently control voting for politicians at every level, for example connections with political networks, groups, organizations, political parties, etc. These are the gatherings of groups of people for activities or seeking mutual political benefits by having the goal to obtain a role in politics, both in terms of the control of setting policies and compulsion using policies in the creation of the base of local political power that is aimed to build their own potential or connection with various organizations in both the public and the private sectors to generate acceptance from the people and strengthen their base of political power and be able to maintain their political power for long-term stability.

Relationships of the succession of political power at the national and local levels
Although the system of having a constitution and elections shows that Thailand is democratic, nevertheless on many occasions it has been seen that the management of political institutions is a form of democracy that does not follow the ways of democracy, for example not allowing freedom in the establishment of political parties and having an unelected legislative branch or a head of the executive branch that does not come from the election, etc. (Cheibub, 200:102). The "succession of power" is one discourse that was created by the building the strength of

politcians' power bases. There are many scholars who have provided a wise range of definitions, such as Mills, (1953: 22-23), who held the view that political power is power that must make decisions and provide enforcement based on that decision-making with a role that is important in society or in which the people who hold political power are able to allocate legitimacy or rights in the performance of duties in accordance with the laws of those that have political authority, for example members of the National Assembly, the Cabinet and other people that have been assigned tasks by these people.

When asking the public about the succssion of power, it was found that the majority of people or 90.0 percent do not want to allow succession of power from dishonest people to be given to families, kinship networks and affiliations, followed by 87.4 percent who do not want the succession of power to dominate society or allow foreigners to make Thai people in the nation divided, 86.5 percent who do not want the succession of power to dominate politics and the bureaucracy, or the appointments to transfer the control of benefits to kinship groups, 86.4 percent who do not want the succession of power to dominate the economy or the business monopolies that provide benefits to capitalists, and 86.4 percent who also do not want the succession of power to lead to a parliamentary dictatorship (Kannika, 2021: online).

It can be seen that the public view the succession of power in many different perspectives with various dimensions, including the succession of power, in terms of politics, economics and society, especially in terms of politics in which many see a monopoly on the succession of power between groups of political families and kinship that attempt to draw power and benefits for families and affiliations with interference with government officials or even the judicial process. Most importantly, there is the attempt to prevent the formation of new political groups, not allowing the voices of the opposition to be heard, and giving weight to the succession of power of the major capitalist groups that have a monopoly on close relationships with every type of political group, which has an effect on the direction of policy of every government that provide benefits to major capitalist groups until it is

similar to the situation of "big fish eats little fish". In addition to this, it can be clearly seen that the attempts at succession of social power of special interest groups that have intellectual influence and the influence to guide society using various sets of knowledge in educational institutes, articles through the media, inciting movements, and rallies with various mobs as well as leading social movements through online social media that create the domination of ideas to arise in society. The succession of power therefore is greatly dangerous to the social system as it brings about the problems of conflict and the social inequality of the people in the nation, especially the problems of corruption and deception that have always been minimized and covered up.

As the relationship between politics and local development is therefore a mutual relationship in which the local people select various representatives, there must be requirements regarding the benefits that they receive, which are considered the exchange of tangible benefits or those that are able to be proven until being accepted. For the results of the work of the House of Representatives or politicians that the people have elected to enter the House of Representatives, acceptance of the results and sincerity in local development, which are the areas of electoral campaigns under the culture of patronage, is the structural relationship of Thai society that creates and helps to form the important foundation for political decision-making through the elections, especially the fundamentals and confidence of representatives who are therefore bound and connected with the families of politicians. The creation and preserving of the support base is the important factor for the elections and creates confidence for the local people regarding the implementation through policy and the focus on local development. In terms of various provinces, this view is clearly seen in the province of Suphanburi with the local development in the area of the Chart Thai party (Thai Nation Party), causing politicians under the Chart Thai Party to develop ideas and attitudes that create acceptance among most of the people through campaigns and various national media by having Mr. Banharn Silpa-archa as the model for the creation of an image and view of the development in Suphanburi province (Thiamthanom, 2014: 42).

It can be seen that local politics continuously have a relationship with politics at the national level and that the political system of Thailand is characterized by the creation of networks with relationships that are both open and non-transparent and the struggle for power in each region, with large families as the power of the political center who may run or not run in the election in this networking system, which results in their connections. Before there is democracy, the people in the area must first become familiar with the democratic system. However, the phenomenon that national level politics often gives importance to is local politics. If someone can take over an area, they will be able to to control the large support base of many people, which was the model in the year 2002 for the major and serious changes to the laws regarding the direct elections of local adminstrators and the increase in the proportion of the budget, which caused politicians at the national level to expect local politics to be based on the local organizations with a budget and access to the people through the availability of benefits. It is believed that Thai people do not want the country to turn back the clock to be similar to 10 years ago in the year 2014, which was full of chaos, conflict, political violence, and massive corruption. The most important step is to choose "a leader" who will administer the country during the subsequent period, which is "the transistional period of change". It is important that this leader is effective or at least be "a good person, a smart person, and an honest person", which are the fundamentals that provide the ability to solve problems and to respond to the affairs of the nation within one level. However, while the structure of the public administration of Thailand may still have the appearance of being centralized, it may be noticeable that the relationships between politicians at the national and local levels may have the characteristics of a patronage relationship in which politicians at the national level will be leaders providing a budget as well as various development projects that come from the central government to the local level, while politicians in local areas will have the situation of being the receivers of the budget and those development projects, because if local politicians were to solely rely on their own local budget, they would not be able to accomplish very much because the local administrative organizations may still have limited authority and resources.

Nevertheless, in exchange for the way that the politicians at the national level provide prosperity to their localities, local politicians may need to return the favor to those national level politicians by acting as a supporter who maintains the voter base for the politicians at the national level based on the fact that local politicians are usually people who are actually from the local area and have opportunities to be closer with the people in the local area than the national level politicians. Adopting the principle of "**the old patronage system**" for use as the main guideline in the establishment of political parties with the use of currency and giving promises of positions in the cabinet and other political positions is used as the principal method in the succession of power.

It can be seen that the continuation of the authoritarian tradition proceeds intensely with an increase in power for the bureaucratic system in the regulation of administration at the local level while reducing the decentralization of power and the political participation of the people by the indefinite postponement of local elections. If any political party that has an ideology opposed to that of the authoritarian elite groups appears in the field of politics and is likely to receive popularity from the public, actions to eliminate and curtail the influence of that political party occur as a process under the network of the elite authoritarians, which includes the masses, celebrities, students, and politicians in association with the mass media, the elite, the police and independent organizations based on the constitution. Through the use of power and the patronage system, such as needing connections for attaining many positions rather than considering based on knowledge snd ability, it can be seen that the politicians who are in power will have a hgh level of influence and use their power in transferring government officials unfairly. The culture of consumerism also arose, in which business owners aim to gain profits recklessly, and the majority of politicians similarly use their political power to seek benefits for creating their influence in the party and fully rely on the party and the process of elections along with giving bribes their legitimacy under the widespread patronage system. Thus, it can be clearly seen that the political system has created a "network system", in which the patrons (with

money) who give to the members of various groups are the people that have the influence and truly hold power within the party. In addition, the allocation of the positions are arranged according to the groups of leaders of the patronage system on the basis of money or economic benefits. Therefore, the accumulation of capital through competition has become an important feature of Thai politics, which is similar to the process that occurs continuously at the global level (Harvey, 2007: 63-87) and provides opportunities for new mechanisms for the state and capitalists to employ when seeking to exploit the local people, leading to class inequality within communities and localities and resulting in politics becoming a matter of business, with politics as the channel to gain additional benefits. This causes conflicts of interest and there are more and easier forms of corruption that result in a monopoly on the use of power, which does not encourage civil society to enter into participation in politics, thereby creating a negative effect on society. Overall, it is a disbelief in the dignity of being human and the reasoning of humans that pressures the people to stay in the bonds of ancient ideas in which the little people are not able to express their opinions within a dictatorship of ideas and actions that is unaware of the importance and necessity of having the participation of the public in the creation of society and the building of the nation. This causes the people to be weak and powerless and thus, they must accept the negative consequences that result from the use of the power of the state itself.

Conclusion

Thai society under the process of politics in the form of holding elections is therefore one of the channels that allows the business elite to be able to develop the highest potential power for themselves due to the elections that occur emphasizing the importance of financial resources in political campaigns, which allows people that have financial influence to attempt to use the factors that provide economic advantages to create their base of political power and attempt to expand this base of political power as widely as possible. This results in an attachment to the position by moving through the relationship system at the local level to the relationships at the national level. If considering the changes to Thailand's

bureaucratic system as previously mentioned, it may be seen that since the year 1997, the process of decentralization of power in Thailand was initiated and is ongoing. Such a phenomenon thus should inevitably cause the local administrative organizations of Thailand to have prosperous advancement and become the important cornerstone of government in the democratic system at the national level. However, it must also be accepted that the decentralization of power to local administrative organizations must inevitably be involved with political issues resulting from the transfer of authority and the increase in the budgets to local administrative organizations. It is well known that the majority of income of local administrative organizations usually comes from taxes that the government allocates to local goverments or the state subsidies given to local administrative organizations as appropriate for local politicians who are considered people that have a direct stake in the process of decentralization of power, which is to say that, if the process of decentralization of power is more advanced by having the increasing transfer of authority and resources to local administrative organizations, it will only cause the local politicians to receive increasingly more benefits. Therefore, this results in the creation of the power bases that lead to a monopoly on political power, and new politicians will not have the opportunities to enter the political arena to perform the duties of representation, which allows for the continual succession of those already having power as a matter of course.

References

Cheibub, J. A. (2007). **Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and Democracy**. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Churchill, N.C. and Hatten, K.J. (1987). **Non-market-based transfers of wealth and power: A research framework for family business**. American Journal of Small Business.11(3).

Gerth, H and Mills., C.W. (1953). **Character and Social Structure**. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

Hankiatwong, T. et al. (2020). **The patronage system and problem of poverty in Thailand**. Journal of Social Sciences,

Prachacheun Research Network, Volume 2 Issue 3, Sept. - Dec. 2020, p. 68.

Harvey, D. (2007). **The new imperialism: accumulation by dispossession.** In Socialist Register.

Kannika, N. **The citizens inherit power to support their families**. online. retrieved on 25 August 2021. source: https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/9 9233

Kongbenjapuch, K. (2018). **The wrongful succession of political power.** Journal of Law and Local Society, Faculty of Law, Surat Thani Rajabhat University. Volume 2, Issue 2 July – Dec. 2018, p. 5.

Mala, T. (2012). L**ocal government in Thailand during the Transistion Period.** Valaya Alongkorn Review, Volume 1, Issue 2 July - Dec. 2012, p. 32

Mektrairat, N. (2011). **Research report on the status and direction of provincial administration in the future**. Bangkok: Thammasat University Institute of Research and Consultancy.

Parson, W. (1997). **Public policy: an introduction to the theory and practice of policy analysis.** .

Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Senganeti, B. (2019). "Roles and Duties of Local Administrative Organizations in the next decade with social change Economy and politics". Research report, Office of the Science Promotion Board Research and Innovation (OSMEP).

Serirangsan, T. (2012). **Current Political Problems in Thailand**. 3rd printing, Bangkok. Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University Press.

Srisantisuk, S. et al. (2015). **Model of public sector participation in monitoring Implementation of Local Administrative Organizations in Infrastructure: A Case Study of Sub-District Municipality Huai Pho, Muang District, Kalasin Province.** Journal of the Ministry of Foriegn Affairs. Volume 13, Issue 1 Jan. - Apr. 2015, p. 56.

Suwanmongkol, P. (2011). **Local politics: Politics of whom, by whom, for whom.** Bangkok: Jatuporn Design.

Thiamthanom, S. (2014). **Banhar Art Archa: Life and Development of the Homeland.** 2nd printing, Bangkok: June Publishing Company Limited