Political Foresight for Sustainable Democracy in Thailand[23]

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Abstract

How political steering for sustainability work within Thailand contemporary politics, where roles are increasingly ambiguous and power dispersed? This paper explores this question empirically by studying the country's democratic governance based on institutional arrangements and practices. The foresight method is applied to carefully look at the past and future of Thai politics. The parliament, the political parties, and the citizen politics are studied. What all these accounts under is the political context of reflexive processes, and the politics that they generate. This paper offers scenarios of Thai politics and an alternative conceptualization of democratic governance that can be an aspiration for achieving governance arrangements as well as avoiding future unpreferable risks.

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1. **Introduction**

Since the beginning of the last century, global politics appear to be clearly challenge the future of democracy. Even though many countries accept democratic governance, with either full or partial democracy, democratic processes are still important in this new era where the so-called "new normal" is changing. We find that many countries around the world have continued to progress in democracy but are also experiencing periodic challenges. The past decade appears to have seen a marked decline in democracy, with political changes in many countries around the world. A Freedom House study found that civil liberties declined in many countries (Csaky, 2021) and experienced human rights abuses and acts of violence (Schenkkan & Linzer, 2021). Civil society, opposition political parties, and independent organizations have the potential to monitor state power. As the administration increases in power, democratic recessions are often felt in countries where people experience high poverty and economic inequality. However, if the government is weak, even with democratic processes, it is often unable to exercise the power to solve problems (Diamond, 2020). In addition, there are emergence of a welfare states, a more populist policy (Glassman, 2019) with the need for popular votes and a strong and inflexible bureaucracies. Even when a new democratic government emerges, it must continue to uphold established populist policy, with the middle class not always upholding democratic ideals, causing the democratic process to be challenged on an economic basis (Fukuyama, 2012). For Thailand, political cleavages were also found between those living in urban and rural areas, as well as those living in different regions (Albritton & Bureekul, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b and Sakworawich, A. et al. 2021). and division within the middle class as well, resulting in a weakening of the democratic process. The reform trend, which was once supported by the middle class and the general public, is deteriorating (Boonmee, 2021). Besides, the conflict between age groups combined with technological developments has resulted in access to a wide range of alternative information.

The situation is changing and there are various factors affecting it, such as the driving force of the global environment and the movement of the population. The advancement of technology has enabled modern communication tools and advanced communication to reach different groups of people more easily. The resulting rapid distribution of information affects people's the satisfaction with the government and the

democratic process (Ballard, 2014). In addition, the form of governance of civil affairs has changed. There are assertions that sustainability of democracy requires quality democracy and the application of good governance at all levels of administration. In addition, Western liberal democracy appears to be increasingly challenged by other forms of government. More options have emerged in various regions of the world over the past ten years, making the environment difficult for democratic countries, increasing the importance of non-state powers, and enabling easy connection beyond the control of the state. The rise of digital technology has become a tool for driving and influencing political ideas and values, creating new forms of communication that are easily accessible, enabling exchange of information until it has a social impact and leads to political differences and advancement in the political work of the people's sector to think more for themselves and to create changing values (Weizel, 2021).

In many countries we see deep-rooted political failures leading to political conflicts that jeopardize democracy. So what is "democracy"? Democracy is about more than elections. Elections are an important manifestation of democracy, yet having ballot boxes and ballot papers, and having the people exercise their rights, is not enough to sustain democracy. Therefore, democracy is in a state of reconsideration and reconciliation based on mutual recognition. Although it is a slow process of decision making compared to dictatorship, this is because democracy is a system where people must consult each other. Political rights must be exercised to provide information to make decisions and to bring about consensus. In this way, authoritarianism appears to be more effective than democracy because it is easy to make decisions and leads to quick responses to demands, but it also facilitates transitions to crises. The growth of autocratic regimes in many countries has created a rapidly growing and noticeable economy, which seems to be said to be an interesting one, there was also talk of the necessity of democracy, a two-civil path to choose between a lack of individual liberties, a reduction in the rights of liberties, especially human rights for a certain benefit and a lack of freedom. Economic progress can be achieved through the leadership of non-democratic leaders. Which way should we go?

At the heart of true democracy is freedom under the law. A democratic government will be freely, honestly, and justly elected by elections for a fixed tenure. In addition, there must be checks and balances. The rule of law must be applied and the judicial

system must be independent. There must be an independent academic side, the work of the r opposition can be carried out in order to oversight the exercise of the state power. . All of this is possible when there is freedom of expression and action is taken to protect that freedom.

However, democracy means more than simply meeting the needs of the majority or honoring the promises made by political parties. A democratic government must rule for the future as well as for the present. A political party that governs the country must govern to take care of all the country's people, including those who did not vote for the party in power and those who offer political dissent, in order to lead the administration of the country into the future. What will be passed on to the people of the future is a country for that embraces minorities and the wider international community. Governments will have their own responsibility to do this. Today we find that people are increasingly trying to run their own politics because democracy is facing the growth of nationalism in many countries. This is true and dangerous to democracy. In addition, populist policies arise from proposals by political parties in many countries in order to attract the attention of the people and get members elected to parliament. *Thus, a democratic political system is a relationship between people, political parties, and parliaments that can balance politics for the well-being of the people.*

An important political institution will be a complementary component to the growth of democracy, which regards the people as citizens working in civic politics. A political party is a gathering of people with a common ideology in order to drive politics according to their own ideology, especially by participating in a parliamentary system according to their ideology, allowing them to formulate policies, enact laws, and control implementation of policy to ensure effectiveness.

Since the change of government to a constitutional monarchy with the King as Head of State in 1932, Thailand has experienced many back and forth democratic transitions. The movement of Thai society that is considered to be the people's learning has developed relevant institutions and is driven by both internal and external forces, causing a shift in the political climate and political institutions that are all trying to adapt to survive in a changing environment. Whether Thai democracy will go forward or backward or remain stable depends

on many factors: the expectations of the people, the will of everyone in the nation, will to sacrifice, and determination to advance democracy and uphold democratic values, will be all determine whether Thailand is able to maintain a democratic regime.

Therefore, a systematic and comprehensive study of the past, present, and future of Thai politics is necessary to prepare for the risks that will arise, affecting people's livelihoods and well-being The survival of democracy is supported by important political institutions including parliament and political parties, and the civic sector. This study of the future of Thai politics was conducted in three contexts: the Thai parliament, the Thai political parties, and Thai citizen politics. This study takes into account the past, present, and future, both short-term and long-term, as well as factors shaping the scene of Thai politics to project a probable future. This is because change in the political environment has a rapid effect on the political ecosystem and seems to move forward to affect various sectors. The study will help provide proposals for defense preparations, policy designs, and strategies for future national political development that will lead politics in a more desirable direction.

This study uses a blended study method, drawing on the study of literature, especially from during the 1932 regime change to the present, and on data collected through group meetings and in-depth interviews with experts. Various relevant statistical tools are used to study phenomena and the data is processed, analyzed, and synthesized using content analysis. Triangulation was used to confirm the accuracy of the data. There was also a seminar to listen to opinions on the results of the study and correctness was verified by qualified persons from the political sector in the parliamentary system, political parties, civil society, and academic departments.

Foresight is a multidisciplinary study of future changes and applications, which is an in-depth synthesis of information from a wide range of fields including economics, engineering, political sociology, systems theory, creative thinking, community building, technology, and evolution. Students of the future explore the future as the science of the past. While history deals with the roots of our present , future studies look at the goals, objectives, and direction we are going, our intended destination, and how to get there.

Futurists provide a broader perspective and possibilities. The goal is not only to know what will happen but to be ready no matter what by preparing for future changes, or to design for a desirable future (Lu Conway, MK. 2001; Conway, MK & Voros, J 2002; Voros, J, 2003; and Thatchalerm Suthipongpracha and Thanyaporn Soonthorntham, 2018). Forecasts and visualizations of potential futures in the medium and long term at global, regional, national, level and Key Agendas are used as inputs for the design of policies and strategies intended to develop the country to systematically support the changes that may occur in the future in various forms, especially disruptive changes. Foresight is not limited to analyzing and forecasting the future, but also designing the future (Office of the Council on Higher Education, Science, Research and Innovation, National Health Security Office and the Royal Thai Embassy, Washington)

2. The results of the study

2.1 Political situation

The outcome is determined from the fact that confidence in political institutions is sensitive to the political situation. This increases with the transition to democracy, such as with elections and when politicians are in power for a period of time, their confidence decreases because of the governance problems. A King Prajadhipok's Institute (2021) public opinion survey on satisfaction with public services and work of various agencies, based on data collected from a probabilistic sample of more than 30,000 voters (aged 18 years and over), (Figure 1) showed that confidence in parliament, members of the House of Representatives, senators, local governments, political parties, prime ministers, and the government is constantly changing. There has been a trend of declining confidence from the coups that have forced Thailand to fall back to rule by 13 non-elected governments, the most recent being the coup of May 22, 2014, after which the junta government was in power until an election of members of the House of Representatives was held on March 24, 2019. People's confidence in the military establishment seems to have declined.
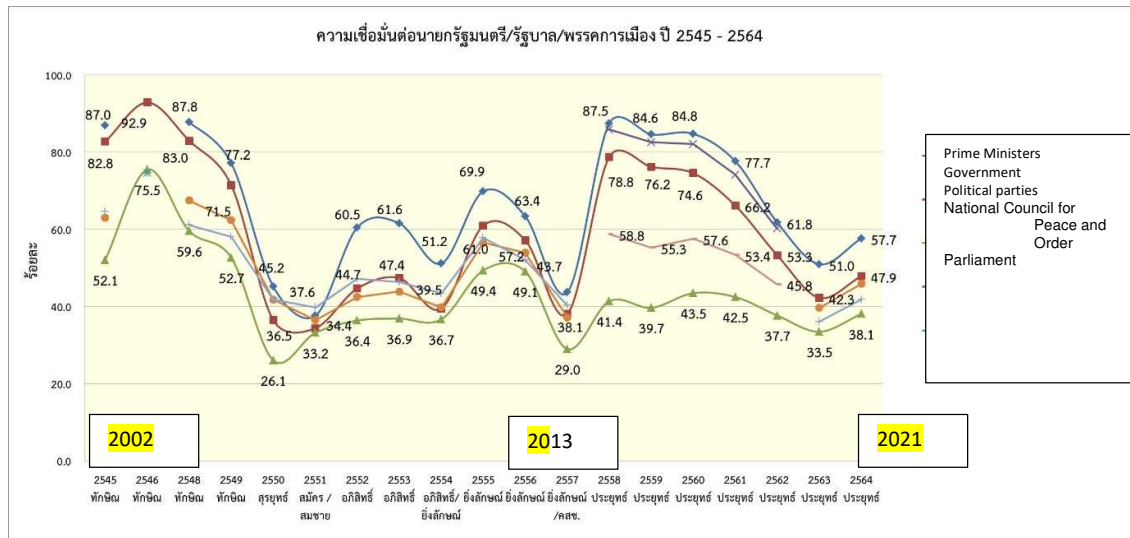
Figure 1 Confidence in Parliament, Prime Ministers, Government, and Political Parties

Source: King Prajadhipok's Institute (2021)

Trust in Local Government

Figure 2 Confidence in Local Government Organizations

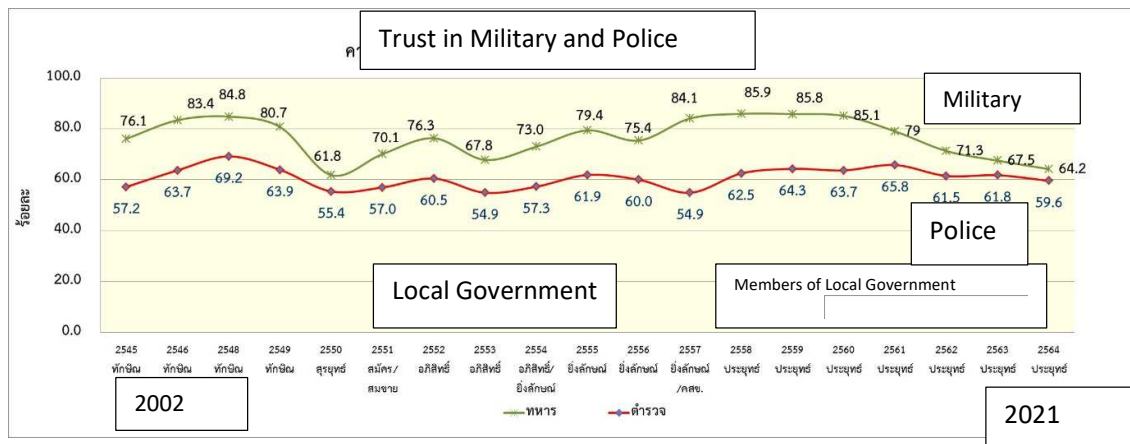Source: King Prajadhipok's Institute (2021)

Figure 3 Confidence in the Military and Police

Source: King Prajadhipok's Institute (2021)

Coupled with the presence of independent organizations that can allow organizations to join in investigations, it is easier to dissolve political parties through consideration of the performance of politicians and several cabinet reshuffles, as well as

attempts to constitutional amendments, the demands of groups for political participation, both formal and informal, will increase, due to the fact that people are aware of information in a variety of ways, through multiple channels, and have more knowledge, both people use their own communication channels in a variety of ways.
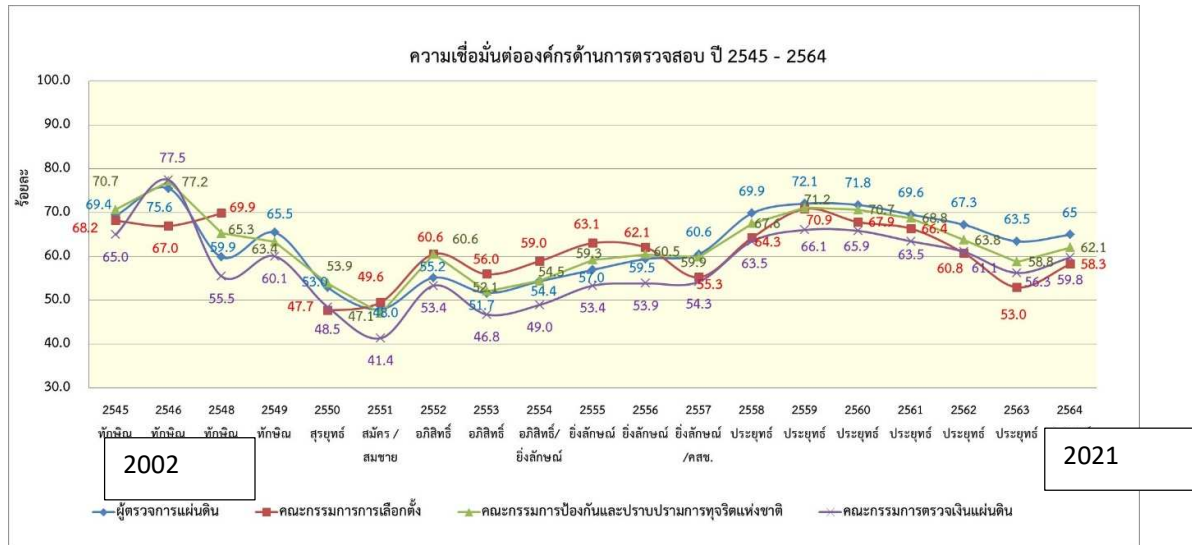

Figure 4 Confidence in independent organizations performing important functions especially monitoring in various fields

Source: King Prajadhipok's Institute (2021)

Besides, another King Prajadhipok Institute study, conducted in 2018 as part of the Asian Barometer Study of Democracy in Asia, surveyed people aged 18 years and over regarding satisfaction with aspects of democracy, finding that 74.2 precent were satisfied, though results varied by region, with people living in the northeastern region being most satisfied with the way of democracy and the government.

Figure 5 Satisfaction with the existing democratic way of life

Source: King Prajadhipok's Institute (2018)

Additionally, studies by Albritton, Bureekul, Guo, Gang (2003) and Bureekul, and Sangmahamad (2019) found urban and rural Thais held different views on the meaning of democracy. The role of traditional attitudes still exists in Thai society, while adherence to the concept of democracy, especially in the values of liberal democracy, is considered an essential element of a democratic society,   What is considered a breakthrough in Thailand's democracy is its people's participation in many elections, where voters turn out rate have been found to increase especially from the general elections of members of the Thai House of Representatives. March 24, 2019, was the 28th general election of members of the House of Representatives of Thailand, and the first election under the election system introduced in the 2017 constitution. According to the Office of the Election Commission, there were 51,198,784 voters nationwide and 38,451,943 voters, representing 75.10 percent. As a percentage, the percentage of people who voted against all voters was 53.22% female, 46.78% male, which is a high number, while compared to men and women who came to vote exercise permission and it found that women's political arousal has increased, especially women who exercised 76.95% of all electoral women, while men used 73.11% of all electoral men.

Table 1 Number of Voters who Voted on March 24, 2019

Number of voters	Quantity	Percentage
Male	24,605,257	48.06
Female	26,593,527	51.94
Total	51,198,784	

	Number of people who exercised their right to vote	% of the gender group that the right to vote	Overall % among total voters
Male	17,987,923	73.11	46.78
Female	20,464,020	76.95	53.22
Total	38,451,943	75.10	

Over 80 years of transition to democracy, we have found that the road to Thailand's democracy is neither short nor smooth. Past assessments reflect how the public believes and how satisfied they are with democracy, but cannot guarantee that democracy will be maintained. But it will, however, contribute to the fight for the development of democracy for various groups. Therefore, the sustainable development of democracy must take into account building the quality of democracy, especially the fight against corruption, the ability of laws to be followed and enforced in society, as well as the protection of citizens from corruption. The threat of their own liberties, as well as open spaces for civic participation, go hand in hand in Thailand's political system (Albritton and Bureekul, 2004).

Therefore, this study focuses on past and future political changes in Thai politics by studying the context of political institutions and factors affecting political changes.

2.2 Results of a study on Thai political conditions in the context of political institutions

2.2.1 Parliament

The function of the parliament in accordance with the role of the International Parliamentary Union (IPU) (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2020) is to be representatives of the people, oversight the exercise of state power and act in the legislative process is to make laws, scrutinize laws. This must be based on good governance, which includes transparency in work, involvement of various sectors, a sense of responsibility, morality, and ethics to create value in work. This must be in accordance with the rule of law, as well as participation in foreign policy.

Studies of the Thai parliament by Meechai and Tangthaworn (2021) and the King Prajadhipok Institute (2020) found that, in the past, representatives worked by proposing important policies, working through the general committee, a discussion thread was filed, as well as acting as representatives of the areas in which they have been elected as part of the examination of the exercise of state power. As for legislative duties, most bills that get passed by the House of Representatives are those proposed by the executive branch, with the Office of the Council of State being the executive branch's main body for drafting laws. Laws proposed by members of the House of Representatives and the people have very little chance of passing in the House of Representatives.

In addition, the focus of parliament has always been the only passage of the executive's laws. As for the application of good governance in work, it was found that the dissemination of information through various channels such as documents, web sites, and other social media, and by Parliament Radio and Parliamentary Television. Public participation is only allowed at hearings, usually through an extraordinary commission that considers the bill or invites various sectors that are often government agencies to provide information at the sub-committee and committee levels.

When it comes to accountability, the functioning of the members of parliament with an emphasis on meetings for discussions on socially useful issues is often cited. Members

attend meetings from time to time, and often the House of Representative cannot proceed with meetings because there are not enough members present to constitute quorum.

As for the future of parliament, it is found that in the short term, representation is characterized by the members of the House of Representatives acting as party representatives, and policy proposals are for the benefit of the people as a whole, for the benefit of the people in their respective areas, and in the interests of specific groups of people, and actions are taken to implement the policies of the party. As for the short-term monitoring of the use of state power to examine the executive branch, it is still not very possible. Acting as a legislator in legislative action will focus on working to consider the legislation proposed by the executive branch. Laws proposed by members of the House of Representatives are often not passed, and laws proposed by the people are very difficult to pass. There will be more public hearings in the law-making process, but they are still ceremonial. The application of good governance as progress in people's access to information should be a force for greater transparency, but access to parliament remains difficult for people to achieve. As for the ethics of parliamentarians and other politicians, it is not clear even though there are regulations.

In the long run, the matter of representation will tend to be better in terms of communication with the people because there will be more channels of access information and access people through social media. People can easily access parliament through various media. When media channels are open, policies proposed by members are more beneficial to people because people drive through members and through political parties. Acting as a representative of the people will benefit the people. However, because members of the House of Representatives are from political parties, in the future there will be a tendency to have diverse members of the House of Representatives, where political parties will be more people's parties. More diverse candidates are being considered in response to the needs of more diverse groups, and more parliamentary roles are in line with the representation of diverse groups.

The scrutiny of the exercise of state power will be greater because the people will play a greater role in participating in parliament, and the media will also be involved in the scrutiny. A new generation of members of the House of Representatives has emerged. In future elections there will be a new generation who has a different opinion from the previous

generation. This new generation will become more likely to enter politics by being selected as candidates of political parties, especially those of the new generation who want to attract the attention of the younger citizens. In the legislative branch there will be more laws initiated by members of the House of Representatives and the people being proposed to the House of Representatives. The management should have more meaningful hearings with various sectors, with a more limited range of traditional hearing functions being more open, there are more channels for listening to different opinions.

As for the adoption of good governance, it will be more transparent, as it uses digital technology to enhance the functioning of the parliament, thus creating a smart parliament with advances in both forms of Work that provides information, access to more groups of people, wide communication to the people. and more people can get involved. Members will be more self-checked and scrutinized by the public sector.

2.2.2 Thai political parties

A study by Satitorn Thananithichot, Natchapat Amornkul and Puravich Wattanasuk (2021) found that when considering the work of political parties in the past. Political parties in Thailand are not yet a collective political institution of people with common ideology, working for the goal of achieving the intent of forming a political party and the policies of the political party leading to its implementation in the parliamentary system, because of the partisanship of the group and its party system, there are party capitalists who provide various resources to political parties. Including having an ad hoc party formed at that time and eventually disappearing, so it is a party for some benefits, while the medium party will benefit, the small party will disappear because of the constitutional system that makes and easy to form a party, thus allowing party members to move to other parties regardless of political ideology, but a party was set up to be an ad hoc party and the name of the party was later changed, It is unclear who the party members are firmly against, support payments are small, even though they are compulsory under the Constitution B.E. 2560. It is difficult for the people to rely on a political party, running a political party will require large sums of money especially in the electoral campaign so that the party can come to the House of Representatives. Whereas past candidate selections will be based on consideration of each other's interests and the power of party executives or driving party supporters. Therefore,

there was a conflict when entering the coalition government to work in the administration, negotiating the position in the political party itself. If a political party joins the government, there will be groups to negotiate political positions. Relationships with the people are not many. Unless the members of the district system have oversight of the people in the district of the member officers who work for their vote base, not for the party's vote.

As for the people's relations with political parties, a study by Sangmahamad, R. Bureekul T. Sakworawich, A (2021) found that in past national elections people were interested in the status of political parties or the position of the applicant on various issues, including candidate personality, campaigning, understanding of campaign issues, all influence candidate selection. They also found that, social issues are important in elections, what political parties use in campaigns that focus on social issues, all affect the regulation of social norms, as well as thinking about the benefits, and being able to explain the economic and social differences, or between classes that are emerging. that is, people with less education would prefer Pheu Thai Party and this electoral attitude clearly differed by region, and also in line with social issues is the promotion of campaign policies that lead to decision-makingand political communication in which people who receive the most media from the party are more likely to choose that party. They also found that dissatisfaction with the government's past performance led people to vote for a party that was expected to perform better and to implement policies effectively, and that they benefited, which is a decision based on reason.

In addition, the study found that those who decided to choose did not choose, or did not decide. They are not yet politically neutral but still satisfy a particular political party based on their political values that are no different from those who can decide whom to choose.

Improving citizenship can be undertaken in various forms. A study by Thawilwadee and Thanapon (2021) found that the use of community arts was able to strengthen citizenship and empower citizens by As a tool for political education, it has led to social change, has led to a process of participation for public policy expression and collective decision-making. However, the joint action of various sectors in the community through artworks that are jointly initiated together is considered an important factor because it is a matter of opening up opportunities for having express their opinions and led to the

production of empirical works and that influence the policy decisions that influence their lives in that community. The success factor is the ability of the leader to have a clear goal. joint decision-making and joint action, as well as a joint solution dialogue process, as well as mutual trust.

A study by Sangmahamad, R. Bureekul T. Sakworawich, A. (2021), using data collected from voter lists aged 18 years and over during the March 24, 2021 election period, found that the difference in Politics in Thailand persists despite the transition to democracy over 80 years, especially between different political parties, preferences for governance, attitudes towards corruption, as well as satisfaction with democracy and the economy, satisfaction with democratic drives, expectations of confidence in institutions explain these differences. There were also differences in the polarization of belief between groups favoring the two major political parties, namely supporters of the Democrat Party and Pheu Thai Party, which was the main political party and was the main party informing the government.

Future Political Parties

In short, a political party is a party that operates for the benefit of power, especially to become an executive. Small parties are also taking political actions that lead to entry into the executive branch or waiting to join the government, regardless of the party forming the government. But there will be adjustments according to the situation, political parties are still weak and there are many parties of the Special Party Capital Group and the reserving party in case the political change persists, to be able to have more members in the expectation of getting more candidates to be elected.

In addition, although a candidate is required to be selected through a pre-election process, But the diversity in political parties is still not much, for the party to choose candidates in the roster system, some parties will have more diversity consideration. Gender, ethnic, religious, and geographic equality is taken into account more, but more often in emerging parties.

For the long term, political parties will be more diversified, with more groups coming to work in the party, driving for the benefit of more diverse groups. There will be more political parties that take into account gender, ethnic and religious equality. There will be more ideologically organized political parties and more ideologically driven, more parties of the new generation. Political parties will use technology to communicate more with members and the public through social media. There is a system of member potential development to be able to work in parliament more gracefully, with the party of the masses and the people will support the party they like, with more investment for their political party, with the people's political understanding. Political parties will have more forms of communication with people, political party strategies will be diverse ,and use political marketing systems to help, including political psychology to work to achieve more acceptance from different groups of people. Traditional political parties will be more adapted to the changing context. The ad hoc party that was formed would decline because it would not be accepted by the people if it did not show a clear political stance. Political parties will propose policies that are more for the public interest that would benefit the people if they were to become the government. Policy results will be able to be put into practice.

2.2.3 Civil Politics

As for civil politics, a study by Bureekul et al. (20021) found that in the past, governance was a bureaucratic polity, i.e. a strong leadership, political rights, and freedom of speech. Politics is still limited but will grow sporadically as the political context changes. The Politics of politicians is stronger than citizen politics, as well as political power is often in the hands of inherited powers and i the care of the military. In this study, the development of citizen politics and important events of civil politics was studied and divided the period of civil politics from 1932 to the present into 7 periods as follows:

<u>The beginning of the struggle for democracy 1932 – 1957</u>

The early era of the struggle for democracy was the era of the pursuit of democracy, where the process of demanding democracy began with a group of political bureaucrats who wanted to change the regime, so that the system of parliament and elections could be adopted. In the political and economic development of Siam Country, in this era,

the elite and the ruling class still play a political role, the people participated in politics mostly by exercising their right to vote, this era where the political problems politics and the counterbalance between the old power group and the new power group.

The blossoming democracy era, 1973

This era is the era where liberal capitalism influences internal economic development, causing changes in the political values of people in society, development conditions, political problems, the battle between the old powers and the new powers, including the dictatorship of a dictatorial government that lacks good governance Democracy and the eviction of authoritarian regimes and the factors influencing civic politics are the factors associated with the entry of capitalism leading to the problem of economic inequality, including the ideas, beliefs, and values of the people that began to more politically alert.

The recession-era of civil politics 1976 - 1986

After the rise of civil power in the era of 14 October 1973, there were many political reforms, political transition to democracy that weakened the power of the elite, the reduction of the role of the elite. The sovereignty was temporary, civic politics stagnate and deteriorated as students and peasant movements were destroyed and some had to flee into the forest, and the political environment was not conducive to a political rallies.

The formation of civil politics 1987 - 1997

Civil politics in this era began to spread more in the provinces. Economic development policies that began to be formed three decades ago after the implementation of the First Economic Development Plan, 1961, resulted in the deterioration of infrastructure development, ecosystem, and natural resource abundance. The growth of NGOs, environmental conservation trends, people's politics from villagers affected by various projects and lead to participation in the fight against state power, leading to the revival of civic politics, including the important event of May 1992 leading to calls for political reform and the drafting of a people's constitution. The influential factor in this era was the capitalist economy.

The era of the people's constitution and the revival of civic politics, 1997 - 2006

The drafting of the People's Constitution is the 1997 Constitution   to promote people's participation, including decentralization to local government organizations to promote community rights, human rights, the establishment of an independent body to check and balance the use of state power and political reforms have allowed the growth of civil politics. People have democratic values and elect representatives based on party policies rather than political leaders. Public policy advocates that improve people's lives and quality of life, but ultimately lead to the dissatisfaction of the powers. The loss of power led to political conflicts in the late 1997's until the 2006 coup and led to the drafting of a new constitution that reduced the role of civil politics to increase the role of autonomy.

Democracy recession-era 2007 – 2017

Political strife led to a coup in 2006 that led to the appropriation of political power, aimed at empowering elites and oligarchs, government officials to have more power than the civic sector. The social transition to an undemocratic era, resulting in the drafting of a constitution aimed at allocating power to the ruling class, the re-emergence of the old powers led to the recession of democracy because the delegation of powers under the 2007 Constitution aims to preserve power and protect the interests of the ruling class over the people, national political conflicts and social divisions have arisen. Between parties with different political ideologies, a coup d'état took place on 22 May 2014 and a parliament was appointed for many years until the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560 was established.

The political era of the new generation and the booming of communication technology 2017 - present

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560 has caused much criticism for the role of the Senate in electing the Prime Minister and the ineffective implementation of constitutional provisions. However, with the influence of technology, this era of civil politics is the politics that the new generation has entered into political alertness. Political struggles are used through the use of online media as a channel for Stay informed, citizen news. Advances in communication technology have made social integration easier, emphasizing demands to change the structure of state power, among the factors influencing

civic political movements of the new generation, caused by the advancement of communication technology that makes information more widespread and people have access to information more quickly, has more links between political parties and people through social media, coupled with the situation of the Coronavirus Pandemic, there has been a more developed form of civic politics in both communication and communication.

For the future of civil politics In the short term, people are more interested in politics, young people are more interested in political work, use communication technology to communicate to do politics, and are interested in political expression through more channels but there are still political conflicts, especially those of different ages with different opinions of people of different ages. Differences in people's opinions in different sectors, people's political contributions to political parties are also different, local decentralization is greater, people are closer to local politics than national, more politically driven through communities, more voluntary work, and more interest in political parties. There have been efforts of groups to get into politics, including their politics to push more policies and laws, community politics through participatory democracy, civil society from awakening. of the people in the community itself, as people become able to do their politics, they drive their own needs, formulate policies from more groups of people, and push policies through more politicians and political parties.

For the long term, due to technological advancements, the social context has changed dramatically, as the new generation stepped up into civic politics and partly into national politics. People's values will change, will become digital citizens who come to bond with the country and influence political decisions to put more pressure on politicians, trying to monitor the exercise of power. Through various channels, participation will be greater and it is a meaningful contribution to the process of change, especially participation in public policy processes from policy initiatives, Initiate legislation at both local and national levels, more scrutiny through social media channels because of greater access to information, coupled with more advanced technology, more group networks, efforts have been made to have more direct decentralization to the community, different forms of direct democracy will progress because people will do more of their politics. If the parliamentary and administrative systems do not support their work and cannot meet their demands, they will run their politics

ignoring the state and will provide lessons for both national and local politicians. through processes such as elections and impeachment, as well as the disclosure of unethical politicians, as well as criticism through various formal and informal channels, these things will put more pressure on the people's political parties in the future.

In addition, different groups of people will have their political movements and build networks with different sectors to drive civil politics and harmonize with politics at the parliamentary and local government levels.

Table 2 Characteristics of the Thai Parliament

	Past to present	Future		
		Short term	Long term	
Representation	- Through the proposal of the committee policy,the discussion thread - Local community representatives	Policy party representatives for the benefit	- People's Policy - People's representatives come from a variety of people's sectors.	Communicate with more people, more channels.
Inspection of state power	- Difficult to check - Discussion of distrust is a valid	- Can do less inspection	- More scrutiny with both internal and external mechanisms - People play a role - Have new information and knowledge	

	but ineffective tool. - It is not universal if the government is not elected. - No effect		- More inspection channels
Legislative duty	- Specific laws of the administration The council is only a passage of the executive law. - Ordinance as an indicator	- Laws to amend the management conveniently for the benefit - Law of the House of Representatives is difficult - The most difficult people's law - People cannot reach	- There is a law from the MPs. - There is a law from the people. - There is a more common law of different sectors.

Good governance	Transparent - some only via the web - Before enacting the law, only participated formal hearings. sense of responsibility - for the public just claiming	transparent, unclear, concealed	- Transparent, new era, AI Smart Future - There is more public participation. - There are more forms of communication.

Table 3 Characteristics of Thai political parties

Past to present	Short term	Long term

- Not an institution
   - Party supporters act like | Party owners have the power to set party policies
   - The system of patronage in the party (Party) was born.
   - Special Party
- Party for Benefit
- The central party benefits
- Easy to collapse, easy to rebuild
- No ideology
- Members are not clear
- Members pay less to support the party
- No diversity
- People can't be relied on
- Spend a lot of money
- Applicants selected based on the merits and powers
	- For the benefit, for the power
	   - Adjust according to the situation
	   - Weak
	   - There are many parties
	   - Party of the capital group
	   - Special Party
	   - Reserve party
	   - Members come together in groups to negotiate benefits (Mao Ma).
	   - Small and medium-sized parties are waiting to become the government
	   - No real priority vote
		- Diverse parties of different factions driven for the benefit of diverse factions.
		   - Have ideals
		   - New generation
		   - Use technology to communicate with members
		   - Mass Party

- There is a political conflict - Negotiating positions and benefits - Multiple groups - Relationships with people are low. - Role of the Election Commission in managing elections and making decisions - Use of information - People have a greater role		

Table 4 Characteristics of Thai Civic Politics

Past to present	Short term	Long term

- Bureaucratic polity or a government official
- Restrict the political sector
- Restrict the right to freedom
- Ups and downs according to the politics of military power politicians
	- More interested in politics
	  - New generation
	  - Conflict of citizens of different ages
	  - Decentralization to local
	  - More interested in political parties
		- New generation, changing values, governing the country
		- Have a digitalized citizenship
		- Have a binding citizenship and Have a sense of responsibility (engaged citizen)
		- Influencing the examination of state powers

		- Get more involved
		- Participate in the
		public policy process
		- Check state
		- Decentralization to
		the community
		- Run your own city
		- To forming a
		political party of the
		people

3. Important factors for future political changes

Democracy of the future will be challenged by many changes, including global capitalism influencing many countries, as well as its influence on people's values, norms, technological developments, Take power, communicate in new ways, and in a changing environment (Glassman, 2019). These are all important factors that drive political change (Driving Forces). It can be seen that new technological advances or technological innovations make people more access to information. As a result, education is not only in the formal, but informal and informal education will be more, people will have broad information, able to work as a comprehensive network, the need for power have more of their own, driven by external powers, as well as new world rules, the transformation of a capitalist economy was challenged by anti-globalization tide. (Deglobalization), as well as the international obligation that countries have to adapt. In addition, with the emergence of the epidemic, urban and communal working politics has changed, and the development of political work practices has also changed. All of these factors affect the political situation in the country, the risks of future consequences, in particular the failure of governance, corruption in power, political conflict, and resource management therefore occurs. Political institutions must learn and adapt to cope with risks and uncertain circumstances, resulting from various driving forces.

Table 5 Political conditions and factors driving changes in Thai politics.

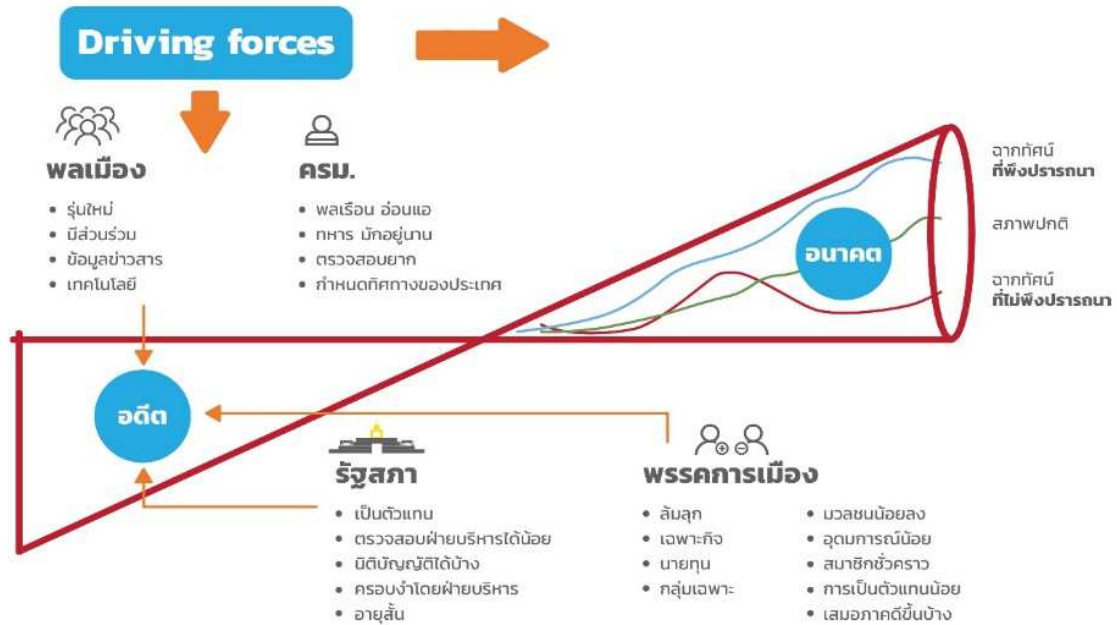| Situation		Pressure	
Internal		External	
- coup d'etat - dissolve parliament - conflict - violence - communication - media access - environment	- values change - confidence in political institutions - bias - participation - political movement	- study - epidemic - capitalism - internal politics - policy rules - uncertainty	
Internal		External	
- capitalism - political change - progressive communication - environment - terrorism		- advanced technology - epidemic - world economy	- outside politics - communication - climate change
		Unidentified impact	

Figure 6 Thai Political Conditions from past to present

4. Thai political scene

After having studied the political context through the consideration of political institutions Therefore, the future picture of Thai politics has been considered, known as a scenario, to lead to appropriate policy design and long-term planning, as well as to prevent potential risks.

Thai political scene was- prepared from the data collection of Thai political education since the transition from absolute monarchy to democracy with the King as Head of State and civic politics, as mentioned above. From this study, the future picture was assessed and analyzed by global social change, factors affecting political changes in the country, including changes in the factors mentioned above.

There are 4 types of scenarios that can be created:

1. Parliament- led Politics is characterized by acting as a true representative of the people, with checks and balances. The legislative process is strong and beneficial to the public. Political parties are strong, ethical, ideological, public party, access to power is transparent, fair, inclusive (Inclusive Parliament) Parliament has good governance and modern (Intelligent Parliament). professional, public accessibility, awareness of the work of parliament can determine the direction of the country, as well as help, solve national problems.

2. Government- led Politics is characterized by emphasizing authoritarianism and benefits. (whether in the interests of society as a whole or personally and group or party, depending on the context and circumstances) Strong leadership but weak scrutiny, low trust in institutions, populist policies, high overlap, communication was often one-way, the bureaucracy and armies were strong, there were widespread patronage, conflicts, authoritarianism, and governance problems. Public participation is superficial and legitimacy is essential.

3. Citizen- led Politics is characterized by a political focus on participatory democracy. People have democratic culture and values, decentralized, democratic foundations at the community level, high citizenship, engaged citizens, resulting in a collective and intelligent citizen, Citizens can participate in public policy, and can make their public policies, leading to the ability to implement policies through the capabilities of citizens, generates high social trust, citizens can examine politicians, communication is horizontal and highly informal.

4. Balance of Power Politics is characterized by the relationship between powers, inclusion, peace, and governance (Inclusive, peaceful with democratic governance). Checks and balances of all sectors can indeed be achieved, reinforcing the quality of democracy. As O'Donnel, G. (2004) said, the high quality of democracy depends on its adherence to the rule of law that ensures political rights, civil liberties, and mechanisms of governance. It has a responsibility to ensure the political equality of all citizens and to limit the infringement of the rights of state power based on the effectiveness of democracy.

Figure 7 Thai political scenario

5. Guidelines for the development of Thai politics to avoid unwelcome scenes as well as to prevent future risks that may arise from both controllable and uncontrollable driving forces. To be able to move forward in Thailand in the direction of the desired scenery. That is to say, the aspect of creating a balanced politics. Thailand should prepare and have both short- and long-term policies with a focus on peopleware, that is, process workers in facilities activities, materials, equipment or hardware and mental software as follows
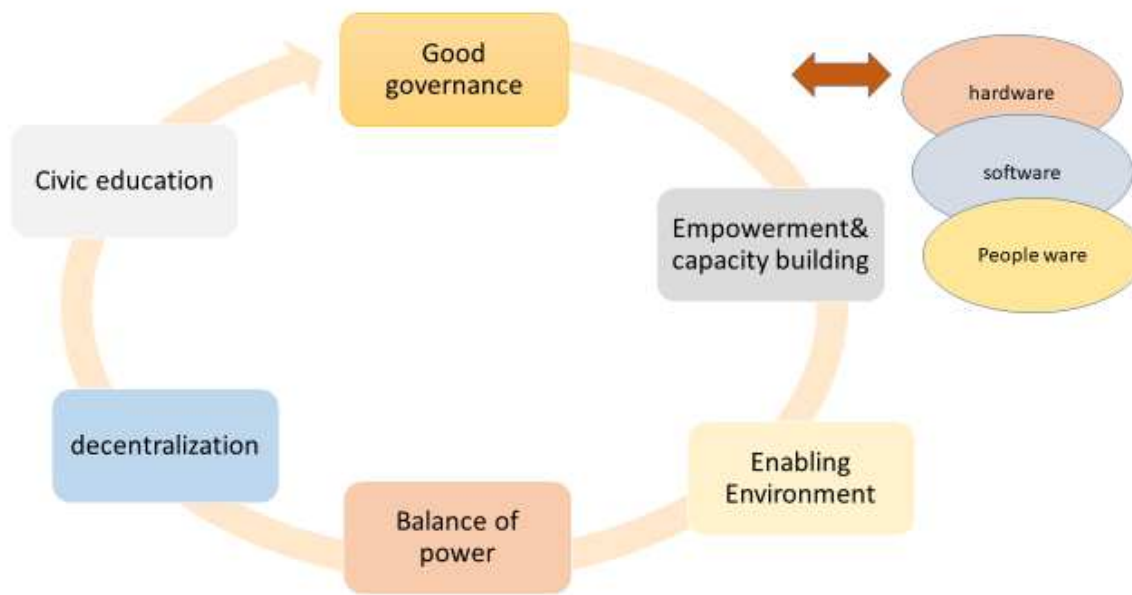
Figure 8 Guidelines for the development of Thai Politics

5.1 Balance of Power

Establishing political ecology and power relations ensures that the balance of power is real. as well as real checks and balances through the establishment of a clear power structure and the use of power in the constitution and related laws, as well as can lead to real enforcement and make those who refrain from exercising or infringing on others' powers, must be dealt with following the law and the public can examine these power users, as well as being able to use mechanisms to remove and supervise power users at all levels. Therefore, the development of the potential of power users and supervisors is necessary, as well as to adjust the proper working structure, and those in power must have rules of entry into power. Transparency and fairness, in line with international standards in a democratic way. Whereas the proper and just separation of power is considered a balance between each other, the relevant rules must therefore bring a clear definition of the duties and powers of the various political institutions and lead to It is practical and has a mechanism for checking each other easily.

5.2 Decentralization

Decentralization is the distribution of decision-making, planning power to lower-level individuals or groups or other organizations. This concept has been applied to many organizations, including the government sector. Decentralization includes both fiscal decentralization, administrative decentralization, political decentralization, and market decentralization.

Fiscal decentralization and great flexibility in managing revenues and expenditures at the state level while maintaining financial responsibility, which can take many forms, including providing Power to make decisions about spending, collecting or collecting taxes or expanding sources, local government revenues, and as well as passing money from the federal government to local governments. This is to ensure that the local government has sufficient income and power to manage the budget. The administrative distribution is aimed at diversifying responsibilities and sources of funds to achieve different levels of public service. In this case, the federal government will transfer responsibility for financial management planning. and managing public affairs to local governments

Decentralization of politics gives citizens or their representatives more opportunities to participate in public decision-making. Consequently, citizens will have a greater influence on the formulation of policies, programs, programs, and the implementation of policies, programs and projects. This is a matter of broad participation in which state decisions involve diverse public interests.

Decentralization of marketing involves the transfer of responsibility for public service functions to the private sector, civil society, NGOs. Therefore, the federal government will allow sectors to perform duties previously held by the state.

5.3 Civic Education

In enhancing citizenship through social learning processes, civic education can be achieved through public participation tools such as the use of community art as part of collaborative action, empowering citizenship, and political education leading to social change. In this regard, participation makes people feel accepted and they are allowed to work for the society to create harmony in society drive the future of the community on their own. Factors

contributing to success are leadership competence, clear goals, shared decision-making and action, shared public dialogue, networking, and Sufficient resources to operate, involvement, clear planning and mutual trust. Tools for enhancing citizenship, starting with education, technology support accessible, available, and used, as well as support from legal and political institutions to enhance civic virtue (Jefferson, W. et.al. 2016)

In addition, political parties must be a place for cultivating and learning creative politics, a gathering of like-minded people working for the public interest, both short-term and long-term, by creating good and practical public policies, party members can learn democracy through the process of working in the party and building relationships with the people. as well as there are academic institutions of the party that support information academics to enhance political learning.

5.4 Good Governance

Governance will be a factor in the sustainability of democracy through the formation of the quality of democracy, which consists in applying the principles of good governance in the real political driving force. transparent, aware, responsible, adherence to the rule of law, emphasis on meaningful participation, and consideration of value for money, commitment to reconciliation, implementation of engagement processes, building partnerships in development, respect for the principles of equality. Therefore, if the principles of good governance are applied society will be of quality People will receive justice having well-being Because the country's administrators adhere to the principles of good governance. The principles of good governance in all areas are interrelated and must be implemented in parallel, together with the principles of good governance must be applied in all sectors, especially in the main political institutions of the country to lead the country and society towards peace, quality of life, good social quality, as well as fairness which is accepted in society as being correct and righteous.

5.5 Empowerment and Capacity Building

Empowerment is a multidimensional social process and it also allows people to control themselves, take control of their lives. perform people's actions and use them for

living Community coexistence in society by taking action on issues that they perceive to be important, therefore the fundamental element of empowerment is important, as a matter of process, as a matter of A frequent interconnection based on the development of four key dimensions: equality, empowerment, participation, and trust, takes place at various levels such as the individual level, the level. group, and community level

Socialization therefore, it is necessary to make it happen, it is the basis of connection, the empowerment of the individual is the primary element of the community, social change, and empowerment are considered bridges to connect communities and bring about social change (Wilson, 1996).

Holistic empowerment refers to the process by which individuals come together, help each other, learn together, and develop skills for action together. Therefore, empowerment is the process by which individuals develop their skills and abilities to be able to rationally control their lives (UKEssay 2018).

Capacity development refers to what is planned to enhance the capacity of individuals in the community, including direct or indirect leaders, to enable them to initiate or support. Social processes to sustainable support of a learning society. Thus, becoming social learning, empowerment is a process that enhances the ability of individuals or groups to enable them to make choices and adapt that choice to a purpose and result. intended goals. However, the concept of the new era of capacity building is more important than the traditional belief that focuses on training as the main, bringing concerns in various matters as guidelines for community development to make changes and be able to solve Conflict, it manages a society amid a plural, heterogeneous society, as well as fostering participation and communication that ensures the exchange of information. Developing potential therefore requires a broad and holistic perspective, work that covers the development of both individual and community potential is essential in Thai society. Capacity development, therefore, focuses not only on economic and market mechanisms but must be integrated into all dimensions.

In addition, there is networking creating and fostering care, understanding the concerns, understanding the views, interests of others and having access to the causes of conflict. Networking will create new norms, building trust that will facilitate cooperation for

mutual benefit and treat this social capital as social capital. It is considered a framework to support the learning process under interaction. When there is a network, it is necessary to develop a path of network operation that is both horizontal and vertical. The horizontal is the connection between different sectors, while the vertical is from each department to the community to the individual.

To develop the potential of various sectors in the future, there should be *a preparation for adaptation and change for a better future and a strategy for people's empowerment* and change the way it operates from traditional work to a method to enhance social capital to be able to build relationships of people in a society that could cause meaningful change, information is used and passed on to different groups, participatory work is monitored and appropriate technology is used to strengthen social capital, strengthening social networks. People will continue to be able to manage information and learn together.

The concept of capacity building is therefore a process by which people are developed to manage their own lives. The empowerment of members is therefore a result of capacity building. Thus, capacity building is considered to be a process that describes how people are empowered that will lead to positive changes in their lives. including the growth of each person together It is carried out together in public activities as a process of transforming life and society. Therefore, in the process of capacity development, people need to develop skills and improve their quality of life, social quality, and potential development is something that can meet people's needs.

For this reason, participation is considered an important element of community development connected with empowerment. This is the importance of the people, therefore the people themselves will play an important role with a sense of belonging. Participation will lead to empowerment and empowerment will lead to achievement. The power to be able to influence decisions that affect their lives. They can obtain the state of ownership of their own life (De Beer and Swanepoel, 1998).

A key feature of participation is community empowerment, which requires a process that provides people at the center, and building confidence in oneself (community-based) can enable the poor to express themselves and be able to think critically. Community-

based change is therefore important for Thailand to accelerate and lead to democratic learning at the community level. Empowerment and capacity development will therefore occur from the foundations of society. Quality democratic politics will be sustainable.

Figure 9. Empowerment for Change

5.6 Enhancing an environment conducive to a strong democratic drive

Considering rights, liberties, equality, and human dignity is key to creating an environment conducive to a strong democratic movement. Therefore, it is necessary to have rules and policies that facilitate the political functioning of the people and the exercise of their rights and freedoms as citizens, such as opening public spaces that are easily accessible to all sectors, where they are located, and have a place in society. These can be a platform for the expression of ideas and actions that are not illegal, according to their different contexts. It is the acceptance of differences and being able to coexist in a plural society, creating acceptance, leaving no one behind. In addition, the presence of independent civil society and media will provide a wider space for expression and information exchange.

6. Inspiring participation in political development of various sectors

Putting the approach to political development into action requires participation in public policy processes, especially in the design of collective policies across sectors. This is for the effect of developing Thai politics to become a country governed by a democratic regime with the King as Head of State. _**Strategies for implementing meaningful political reforms should be based on participatory public policy design**_ with the process framework as shown in Figure 10, which brings important issues to become a policy to drive politics in the process of general public policy consisting of survey, information and planning (Explore and Plan) is a collection of basic information. Policy planning and implementation and evaluation (Implement and Evaluate), most importantly, are in the process. Such public policy must take into account the important issues of the policy and the processes involved in the policy, which include: 1. Encourage participation in policy design by various sectors, which considers laws and regulations. To facilitate participation, including incentives and information. 2. Enhancing multi-sector engagement (engage) through dialogue, integrated communication, transparent authorization and innovation processes, engagement appropriate to the local context, target audience, and changing circumstances 3. Common policy design, modelling of policy, which often presents a practical example, including consistency of policy formulation, implementation of policy, throughout until enhancing the learning of people, communities, and organisations, and making it a reality. 4. Enhancing facilities that will facilitate policy implementation, support resources, and build skills.
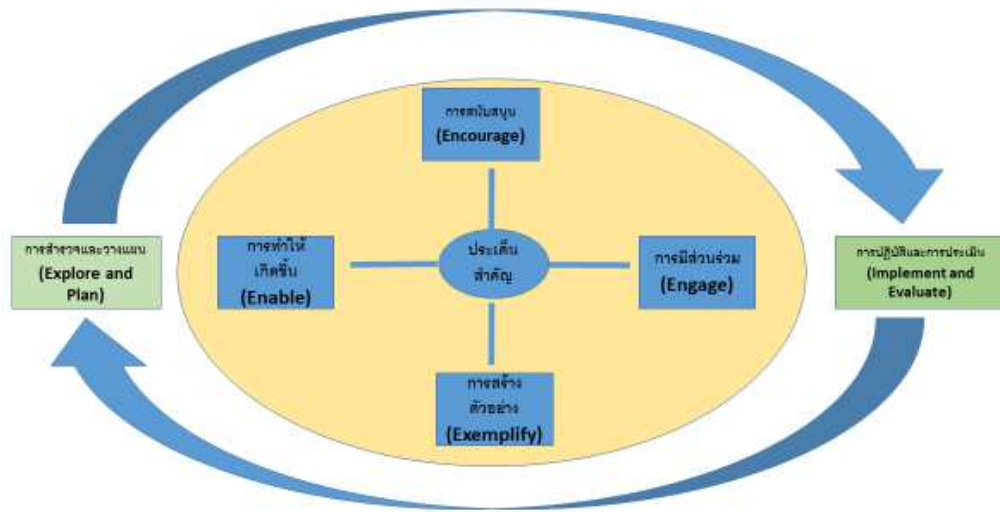
Figure 10: Common Sector Policy Design Framework

Source: UKEssays. (2018).

In order to implement a concrete strategy planning using integrated data analysis in various dimensions (Strategic intelligence), it is necessary to design and implement policies to be effective. The work to drive quality and sustainable democracy is divided into 3 levels (short-term, medium-term and long-term) as shown in Figure 11.
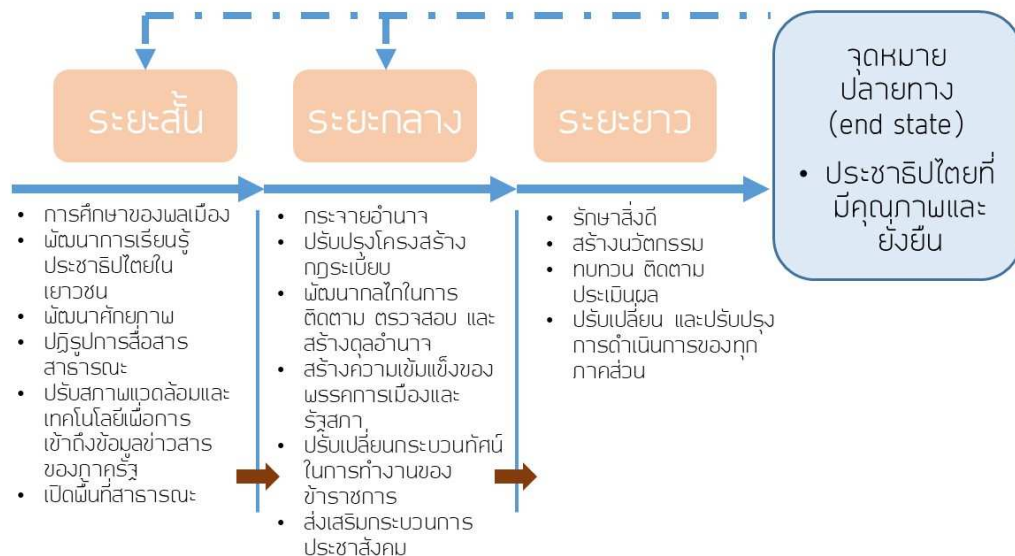

Figure 11 Approaches to the Development of Democracy

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