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Soft Modes of Governance in the Global South?

- A study on how Soft Modes of Governance can be

used in countries in the global south

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Summary

This study is executed as a master thesis at The School of Public Administration in Gothenburg and aim to explain how Soft Modes of Governance can be used in countries in the global south and why (or why not) it functions within this context.

Soft Modes of Governance has not previously been widely applied within countries in the global south and it is perceived as a field which needs more research.¹ The study has its base in a number of different theories regarding Soft Modes of Governance and tools similar to Soft Modes of Governance which has been successfully applied within countries in the global south. From these past theories ten conditions which are necessary for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively have been developed. These ten conditions have then been tested during interviews with relevant stakeholders from village level, local/provincial government level and national level of government/NGOs in order to ensure they are relevant also in the global south. Two countries, Thailand and Viet Nam has been chosen as cases for this study and 45 semi-structured interviews has been conducted.

In order to understand how Soft Modes of Governance can be used in countries in the global south and why (or why not) it function within this context it has been explored if the different stakeholder fulfill the conditions and which differences that can be distinguished between different countries. Soft of Modes of Governance as a mean to achieve regionality is also explained.

The empirical material has been analyzed with the ten conditions as a base. The result indicates that there is a clear difference between how stakeholders from different countries fulfill the conditions for Soft Modes of Governance. The result implicates the ten conditions necessary for Soft Modes of Governance should, when applied in countries in the global south, should expand to also include a eleventh condition; "ownership."

Key words: Soft Modes of Governance, Global South, Interview studies, Thailand and Viet Nam

¹ Brannstrom et al (2012) p.357-365, Nightingale (2013)

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1.0 Introduction and Background

Approximately 40 percent of the world's population is living below the poverty line.² Almost all of these people live in countries located in the global south.³ Countries in the global south are not only struggling with poverty but also faces problems such as environmental degradation and issues concerning human rights and democracy. Efforts⁴ are being made in order to address these issues and help the countries to develop.⁵

Governing in countries in the global south, especially within the environmental field, involves a substantial numbers of actors such as international and regional organizations, public and private actors at the national/federal level and public and private actors at the provincial/local level.⁶ Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) like Wild World Found, partner-based organizations like Mangrove for Future (MFF) and Multilateral Organizations like the United Nations (UN) play an important role when it comes to addressing environmental concerns, improving people's lives and strengthen civil society^{7,8} When different organization, partnerships, agencies and public and private actors cooperate and/or operates in different areas/subjects cross-scale networks can be created. These networks offer efficient ways of addressing the complex environmental- and development issues.⁹

Above mentioned organizations and other donors contributes with development assistance in the forms of i.e. financial resources and knowledge with the aiming at addressing poverty, environmental degradation and other issues which are of concern for the countries in the global south.¹⁰ A well-functioning public sector and participation from local communities are considered as necessities when addressing these issues.¹¹ However, building a well-functioned public sector and gaining participation from civil society is often difficult. One tool, which might enable more participation and an improved public sector, is Soft Modes of Governance.

² Less than 2,00 US dollar per day (data from year 2005)

³ Global Issues (2013) and The World bank (2013)

⁴ These efforts are being made i.e. by international organizations, individual countries and different actors within the developing countries.

⁵ Sida(2012) p.2-6,12 and Janvry and Dethier (2012) p.3-7

⁶ Capano et a(1 2012) p.57-68 and Voss and Kemp (2006) through Capono et all (2012) p.57

⁷ Sorummet (2013), WWF (2013), United Nations (2013), Mangroves For the Future (2013) a. Ahmed and Sánches-Triana (2008) p.98, Wilson et al (2006) and Tokrisna, Boonchuwong and Janekarnkij (1999) and Thompson and Sultana (1999) through Wilson et al(2006) p. 526

⁸ These examples were chosen since they are well-known and important areas within their fields.

⁹ Wilson et al (2006) 526-527

¹⁰ United Nations(2008) p.3-4

¹¹ Shah(2006) p.4 and Waheduzzaman (2010) p. 1

Soft Modes of Governance is a theory based on "non-hierarchical structures providing unofficial guidelines on how to improve the quality of local practices and providing inputs on policy formulation".¹² This mode of governance puts a strong emphasis on local practices and engagement and needs to be well established at a local level in order to be successful.¹³ It is also important that the benefits of Soft Modes of Governance is understood and recognized by local, provincial and national governments¹⁴ in order to work efficiently and effectively.¹⁵

Soft Modes of Governance is considered to be a new tool, especially within countries in the global south since it previously have been used mainly within the European Union (EU).¹⁶ It is therefore unclear whether this model will function in the global south countries. The aim of this thesis is to address this issue and explain how Soft Modes of Governance can be applied to countries in the global south and why (or why not) Soft Modes of Governance will function in this part of the world. I intend to do this by examining if and to what extent concerned stakeholders fulfill the conditions which are necessities in order for Soft Modes of Governance 3.

South East Asia is one of the poorest and most vulnerable areas on this planet when it comes to climate change and environmental degradation. The region therefore receives a lot of development assistance.¹⁷ The rapid economic development in the region has led to considerable strain on natural resources and ecosystems, which is why the development of a sound environmental management is important.¹⁸ This is why the Focus of this thesis is South East Asia and in particular two countries have been chosen as case-studies; Thailand and Viet Nam The thesis is a semi-based interview study and interviews have been conducted with concerned stakeholders from national, provincial, local and village level in Thailand and Viet Nam.

As mentioned above, environmental problems are difficult to govern. They are complex, uncertain and have heterogeneous interactions that are not properly addressed with traditional

¹² Raakjear et all (2012) p. 2

¹³ Sindico (2006) p.832

¹⁴ In thesis when mentioning institutions/offices/department and agencies is perceived as being included in the concept government,

¹⁵ Tsakatika (2007) p.557

¹⁶ Kröger (2009) p .200, Heupel (2008), p.18, P23, Zetilin et all (2005) through Tsakatika (2007) p. 550 and Tsakatika (2007) p. 549-550

¹⁷ World bank (2012), United Nations (2009) p.6

¹⁸Government Offices of Sweden (2011) p.2

forms of governing.¹⁹ Therefore, governance of natural resources and of the environment needs to be improvement.²⁰ The exploitation of natural resources and climate change often creates social tension at the local level which can create conflict between communities, the private sector and the state.²¹ Soft Modes of Governance might be the tool needed to address these issues. Improved management of natural resources is particularly important for the poor, whose lives can be transformed by development and who are more vulnerable to environmental degradation, climate change and loss of natural resources.²²

A good management of the environment and natural resources reduces i.e. the vulnerability to natural disasters, improves livelihoods and sustainable growth.²³ Economic instability and short-term benefits have often opposed longer-term advantages of protecting and managing ecosystems and according to previous research, policymakers often lack knowledge and awareness regarding what local communities need and what role they play in protection the environment.²⁴ One organization who is working to achieve better environmental and natural resource management is Mangroves For the Future (MFF). MFF is working "towards achieving the vision of a healthier, more prosperous and secure future for all coastal communities."25 This thesis has been carried out in cooperation with MFF, who has contributed with financial resources and interpreters. Having back-up from an organization that is active in the area has been considered as necessary in order to get permission to visit and conduct interviews in villages and with stakeholders. MFF is working together with, amongst others, national governments, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and International Union Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and started their work in December 2006. The Partnership's initial focus was the countries hit hardest by the tsunami²⁶ but have today expanded their work to include other countries.²⁷ These countries all face the same problems and have similar challenges to overcome. MFF provides a platform, which brings the efforts of different countries, sectors

¹⁹ Capano et al(2012) p. 57 and Voss and Kemp (2006) through Capano et all (2012) p.57

²⁰ Ahmed and Sanches-Triana (2008) p.62-63.95

²¹ Ahmed and Sánches-Triana (2008) p.95

²² Ahmed and Sánches-Triana (2008) p. 1, King and Adeel (2002) p.140, IFAD (2009) p.3, Creel(2003) p.1-2 and IFAD (2009) p.2

²³ Ahmed and Sánches-Triana (2008) p. 1

²⁴ King and Adeel (2002) p.140 and Polnac et all (2001) and Morena-Casasola (2000) through King and Adeel (2002) p.140

²⁵ Mangroves for the future (2011) a p.1-2, Mangroves for the future (2013) a and Mangroves for the future (2013) b

²⁶ Thailand, Sri Lanka, Seychelles, Maldives, Indonesia and India

²⁷ Bangladesh, Viet Nam, Pakistan, Tanzania, Malaysia, Kenya, Cambodia, Timor-Este and Myanmar

and agencies together under a common goal.²⁸ MFF has two levels of project implementation, the regional- and the national level. At the national level, the National Coordination Body (NCB) is responsible for the implementation. In the NCB there are representatives from both national government and different NGOs and aid organizations, some NCBs also have representatives from the private sector.²⁹ This set-up is a rare opportunity for representatives from different parts of the society to meet and discuss issues and exchange experiences and knowledge.³⁰

By explaining how countries in the global south can work with Soft Modes of Governance it will be easier for different donors to know how to manage and focus their development assistance in order to achieve best possible result. The result from this thesis is also believed to be useful for the public administration for the countries in the global south. The need to include the concerned countries in the development aid scheme has been highlighted during the last decade.³¹ During the thesis it will be explained how local community empowerment is an essential condition for enabling Soft Modes of Governance and how Soft Modes of Governance can be used in order achieve regional outcomes. The aim of this thesis it to give a deeper knowledge on the concept Soft Modes of Governance and its use in countries in South East Asia and in the global south in general.

1.1 Deposition

In chapter two of this thesis the Aim & Research questions will be presented. In Chapter 3 the theoretical framework regarding Soft Modes of Governance will be described and highlighted with practical examples from around the globe. Chapter 4 will describe the method and approach of this study and this will be followed by a presentation of Thailand and Viet Nam (chapter 5). After the case-studies the result will be presented in chapter 6. The following chapter, (chapter 7), contains the analysis. At the end before the Bibliography (chapter 9) the conclusion (chapter 8) is presented.

2.0 Aim & Research questions

In order to answer the first question, How can Soft Modes of Governance be used within countries in the global south an analytical framework has been developed. This analytical

 $^{^{28}}$ Mangroves for the future (2011) b p.1-5 $\,$ and Mangroves for the future (2013) a

²⁹ Mangroves for the Future (2011) d p.1-15

³⁰ Nightingale 2013, Soonthornnawaphat (2013)

³¹ Mosse (2004) p.640-641

framework consists of 10 conditions which has to be fulfilled in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively. The analytical framework has been developed using theories regarding Soft Modes of Governance, lessons-learned from countries and organizations who previously have been working with Soft Modes of Governance and theories derived from models that are similar to Soft Modes of Governance and that have already been applied in countries in the global south.

These ten conditions has been the focus of the second research question and in order to answer to question number 2 - Why (or why not) function Soft Modes of Governance as a tool to use within countries in the global south three sub questions has been created:

- To what extent do different types of countries in the global south fulfill the conditions for Soft Modes of Governance?
- To what extent do stakeholders from different level of society in countries in the global south fulfill the conditions?
- Can Soft Modes of Governance be used as a tool to empower local communities and achieve regional outcomes in the global south countries?

In order to answer these question interviews with relevant stakeholders in Thailand and Viet Nam has been conducted. The interviews are based on the 10 condition and aims to capture different participants position/view regarding Soft Modes of Governance. As mentioned above, Soft Modes of Governance need to be well established within the civil society and within the local, provincial and national levels of government. Interviews have been carried out with representatives from these different government levels.

Next section will further describe Soft Modes of Governance and the theoretical framework which has been used in this thesis.

3.0 Governance and Soft Modes of Governance

In the following sections the theoretical framework of this thesis is presented. First a short introduction to governance is given and the rest of sections in this chapter are describing, problematizing and highlighting the features of Soft Modes of Governance and tools similar to Soft Modes of Governance which have already been used in the South East Asian region.

Presenting these tools is considered necessary in order to understand how Soft Modes Governance can be applied within countries in the global south.

After the introduction to governance general information regarding Soft Modes of Governance is presented. The chapter regarding Soft of governance consists of 10 sections. The first section concerns unofficial and non-hierarchical guidelines and is followed by positive and negative effect with Soft Modes of Governance, Soft Modes of Governance and Legitimacy, Soft Modes of Governance versus Hierarchical Governance and practical examples of Soft Modes of Governance from the European Union, France and Brazil. After this previously used tools within South East Asia is explained which followed by illustrative examples on South Modes of Governance and how it can be used to achieve regionality is described. The section will end with an conclusion regarding the theory of Soft Modes of Governance and a presentation of the 10 conditions that are necessary for Soft Modes to work efficiently and effectively.

Please note that only literature relevant for this thesis is presented in the following sections.³²

3.1 Governance

Definition of governance: "Governance refers to plural and non-hierarchical modes of governing, concerns both state and non-state actors and is organized through network and negotiations."³³

Theories regarding Governance refers to "interaction between actors in complex networks of policy bargaining, policy making and policy implementation"³⁴ and is applicable in multilevel decision-making processes. In these processes there is structural conflicts between centralization and decentralization and a multitude of different stakeholders with significant powers and different interests.³⁵ In countries in the global south, there amongst Thailand and Viet Nam, different decentralization processes has been implemented during the last centuries. They therefore struggle with the issues mentioned above. Examining the conditions for Soft Modes of Governance is therefore highly relevant in this setting and can help the countries to move to a more efficient and effective governance structure.

³² For more information regarding Soft Modes of Governance please see i.e. Ahonen (2011), Brandsen and van Hout (2006) and Moos (2009)

 ³³ Ansell (2008) p.460
 ³⁴ Ahonen (2000) p.5

³⁵ Capano et all (2012) p.57

There is a distinction between good and poor governance. Good governance refers to processes that entail accountability, decentralization and participation, transparency and predictability. Poor governance "constrains, retards and distorts the process of development."³⁶ It is also important to distinguish between governance as an end it itself and governance as a means to achieve other outcomes, objectives and tradeoffs.³⁷ In this thesis, Soft Modes of Governance are referred to as a type of good governance which can achieve other outcomes, objectives and tradeoffs.

Sustainable environmental management is one sector where traditional governance has not succeeded in battling the problems and where new forms of governance are needed.³⁸ One new form of governance which is believed to be able to address this issue, is as previously mentioned Soft Modes of Governance which the next sections of this chapter will further describe.

3.2 Soft Modes of Governance

Definition of Soft Modes of Governance: "... possess organizational capacity for developing and mobilizing the more flexible, adaptable and softer forms of power and control required in the more fluid, dynamic and uncertain environments characteristic of informational capitalism in the 21st century."³⁹

Soft Modes of Governance is a theory based on voluntary, non-hierarchical and nonsanctioning structures. These structures provide unofficial guidelines on how to improve the input and policy formulation and the quality and the quantity of local practices. These unofficial guidelines have no binding character and can be used to steer the implementation of national policy and is especially useful in complex issues and/or issues who calls for expertise.⁴⁰ Soft Modes of Governance is sometimes called 'multi-partner governance since it improves the cooperation between the state, market and society. Soft Modes of Governance aims to overcome the inability of a single actor in complex issues, i.e. degradation and climate change.⁴¹ This type of governance can be divided in three different spheres. A) Regulative

³⁶ Elliot (2013) p.62-63

³⁷ Arndt (2008) p.283 ³⁸ Capano et al (2012) p. 57 and Voss and Kemp (2006) through Capono et al (2012) p.57 ⁽²⁰⁰⁴⁾ and Castelle (2000) through Ezzamel and Reed (2008) p ³⁹ Clegg et al (2006), Nye (2004) and Castells (2000) through Ezzamel and Reed (2008) p.611-12

⁴⁰ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.546, Ahonen (2011) p. 1

⁴¹ Lemos and Agrawal p.69 through Brannstrom et all (2011) p.357

Soft Modes of Governance refers to information and declarations of normative agreements reached between given actors. B) *Redistributive Soft Modes of Governance* refers to the distribution of information, the information users apply and how cohesive this group of users are C) *Allocative Soft Modes of Governance* refers to the increase in quality or in quantity of information available to users.⁴²

Soft Modes of Governance focus on the premises and the follow-up of decision-making, influence and power. By focusing on these aspects long-lasting impacts and results can be achieved. Long-lasting impacts and results can also be achieved since Soft Modes of Governance promotes implementation, facilitates rules/guidelines and help different stakeholders to become engaged and motivated.⁴³ Routines and daily working process and methods are tools Soft Modes of Governance use to influence people's thoughts and behavior. These tools, considered as 'the natural way of working', might change over time, and are considered to be powerful and have long lasting impacts.⁴⁴ The use of information, rather than hierarchy, is emphasized in Soft Modes of Governance and allows a combination of formal accountability and professional autonomy, a combination which improves the quality of public services in both the short and the long term.⁴⁵

As mentioned above, unofficial and non-hierarchical guidelines are important features of Soft Modes of Governance and the next section will describe this further.

3.2.1 Unofficial and non-hierarchal guidelines

Instead of local agencies and different stakeholders regulating what should be done, Soft Modes of Governance imposes what should be done "by putting unofficial guidelines on how to improve the quality of local practice"⁴⁶ The unofficial/non-hierarchical guidelines provides greater flexibility for the involved stakeholders/agencies and creates different forms of public action and networks where state and non-state actors can interact and cooperate.⁴⁷ These complex and extensive networks implement Soft Modes of Governance and "… entails a political process of choice, selections and inter-relation of specific norms and values".⁴⁸

⁴² Ahonen (2000) s.5

⁴³ Heupel (2008), p.9, 12-13, Moos (200)9 p.397

⁴⁴ Moos (2009) p.402

⁴⁵ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p. 546

⁴⁶ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.546

⁴⁷ Raakjear et all (2012) p. 2 and Borrás and Conzelann, (2007) p.531

⁴⁸ Easton (1965) through Borrás and Conzelann, (2007), p.532 and Borrás and Conzelann, (2007), p.532

Unofficial guidelines can help to improve quality of policies in two different ways; a) by teaching local authorities and local agencies to change established practices by using creative thinking and other experiences or b) by centrally imposing methods and standards by implementing them in laws and rules which will be spread to the local population.⁴⁹These two processes might occur simultaneously, alternately or not at all. From this four processes can be distinguished a) *Inertia* occurs when no quality improvement take place and stakeholder at local level do not have any desire or capacity to improve themselves and the central government cannot force them to do so b) *Bureaucratism*, refers to when the government impose rules and regulations and local stakeholders follow them but do not take any own initiatives which leads to that local innovations and practices are undermined c)*Enclavism*, refers to when local stakeholders develop new methods and new insights but there is no "…central imposition of standards". *Synergy*, refers to when quality standards are set centrally, but local authorities are free to change them so that they fit in the local conditions. Synergy is the ideal process within Soft Modes of Governance and can only be realized when local stakeholders believe they can deviate from unofficial guidelines without being sanctioned.⁵⁰

If local stakeholders believe any deviation from the unofficial guidelines is a risk it might cause problems, especially in high political sensitivity area and in multilevel governance. To overcome this issue *Brandsen et all* offers three solutions: a) There should either be a clear commitment to quality standards from the concerned stakeholder or b) the unofficial guidelines should be sent from Non-environmental organizations instead of central authorities. One downside with guidelines being issued from Non-governmental organizations is they are more likely to be ignored and/or c) should a system of self-regulation be developed where the responsible local stakeholder periodically decides which methods and standards they wish to later be accountable for. This gives the local stakeholders a choice of either following the guidelines issued by the central government or propose own alternatives.⁵¹

Unofficial Guidelines can also cause problems if they, despite that they do not have any official legal status, take on the character of formal regulation. If this happens, local organiza-

⁴⁹ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.547

⁵⁰ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.547, Marc (1999) and Merstonn (1964) through Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.547 and Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.547

⁵¹ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.551-552

tions, institutions and administration feel that they do not have any real alternatives on how to act which encourages conformist behavior and diminish innovation.⁵²

Soft Modes of Governance have both positive and negative dimension and next section will highlight and describe these issues further.

3.2.2 Positive and Negative dimensions of Soft Modes of Governance

Soft Modes of Governance entail both positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects are i.e. the opportunity for the civil society to execute voluntary actions, create norms, produce local and socially robust knowledge and to discuss the content of different policies and standards. These procedures can influence the political process and secure that "deliberation is not confined to the executive level and self interested private-actors".⁵³ By integrating the civil society in the political procedures concerning i.e. natural resources management a much-needed expertise is brought to the political process. This of course require a civil society with knowledge and understanding of the specific issue.⁵⁴

The lack of parliamentary control is a criticized dimension of Soft Modes of Governance. There are different opinions regarding whether this can be compensated by increased participation of the civil society and other stakeholders. Adherents to this opinion argues how parliaments "authoritative democratic check on rule-making" and "role as a forum where questions of values and principles involved in policy choices can be debated cannot be adequately substituted by civil society participation and stakeholder dialogues.⁵⁵

Other limits with Soft Modes of Governance are its high costs, its limited impact and its noncompliance. In order to achieve compliance, the voluntary actions which are an important feature within Soft Modes of Governance need to be monitored and it is essential to clarify who should responsible for the monitoring.⁵⁶

An advantage with Soft Modes of Governance is its flexibility; since decisions and other policies do not have to go through lengthy formal procedures Soft Modes of Governance is very

⁵² Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.546

⁵³ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007). p.543

⁵⁴ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007) p 532-535

⁵⁵ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007) p.544-545

⁵⁶ Sindico (2006) p.839

adaptable and can easily adjust to different circumstances and environments.⁵⁷ Another advantage is its use of persuasion to combine voluntary actions with legally mandated requirements which ensure effective compliance.⁵⁸ Some argues that Soft Modes of Governance only is a short-term solution which will have negative effects on the states capacity and lead to long-term ineffectiveness.⁵⁹

When used right, Soft Modes of Governance can be influential due to its role as a substitute to public regulation, its role as a predecessor of binding regulation and its potential to guide and focus the domestic debate. ⁶⁰ Soft Modes of Governance can improve the quality of implementation in the long run and is useful for reconciling the demands of public accountability and professional autonomy.⁶¹

Concerns regarding that the channels for influence within Soft Modes of Governance often are hidden and concealed have been raised and it is believed that this will lead to that the ones already enjoying privileged access and expertise are the ones who will have possibility to participate in different activities and actions related to Soft Modes of Governance.⁶²

Through the use of Soft Modes of Governance parliamentarians and decision-makers can easily obtain important information on local issues which they otherwise might overlook. Soft Modes of Governance can also be used to help highlight and promote different conceptions in the domestic debate which can lead to better policies and improved democracy and collaboration between different stakeholders.⁶³ Soft Modes of Governance can effectively and efficiently raise quality standards, and by dispersing guidelines it can raise the performance and expertise level without changing the regulatory framework.⁶⁴

As mentioned above, Soft Modes of Governance can help private actors to become an integrated part of the decision-making process and contribute with expertise and implementation capacity which enhance the political process.⁶⁵ One of the biggest advantages with Soft

⁵⁷ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.549

⁵⁸ Simpson (2011) p.10

⁵⁹ Lemos and Agrawal p 83 and Bridge & Perrault´s (2009) p.42 through Branstrom et l (2011) p.357

⁶⁰ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007) p.535-537

⁶¹ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.552

⁶² Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p.546, Moos (2009) p.400

⁶³ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007) p.540-541

⁶⁴ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.546

⁶⁵ Borrás and Conzelmann, (2007), p.531-533

Modes of Governance is that it allows stakeholders to make choices which better fit the local conditions and makes it easier to improve standard practices and develop new innovative procedures. This new practices might later be implemented into local/provincial law, and in the long run, national law. ⁶⁶

As stated above, Soft Modes of Governance can be seen as a realization of public interest. In order to mediate between conflicting public interest and in order to achieve parliamentarian and public legitimacy it needs, however, to be complemented by an institutional protection and be perceived as legitimate by different stakeholders.⁶⁷ As mentioned in the beginning of this section one of the biggest problems with Soft Modes of Governance is it can be argued being illegitimate. Next section will further highlight and describe the issues and concerns regarding Soft Modes of Governance and legitimacy.

3.2.3 Soft Modes of Governance and Legitimacy

There are different opinions regarding how legitimate Soft Modes of Governance is. Given their non-binding and voluntary character Heupel (2008) argue how Soft Modes of Governance do not need to be legitimate. Soft Modes of Governance can also be argued to be highly legitimate already since it involves a great deal of participation from local stakeholders in decision-making processes.⁶⁸

The decision making process of Soft Modes of Governance can be perceived as democratic, since all concerned citizens has equal access and possibility to participate in the process. Soft Modes of Governance brings together views of civil citizens, civic and social organizations representing them and other stakeholders without any pre-selections of actors. It is also responsive to social demands and can work as a base for public debate for active citizens and civic organizations. Important to note, is the importance of mass media and free press in order to create an active and nuanced debate.⁶⁹

Since Soft Modes of Governance involves a political process of choice, selection and understanding of specific norms and values it can be argued that there is a need for it to be assessed

⁶⁶ Brandsen and van Hout (2006) p.546, Heupel (2008), p.9, 12-13

⁶⁷ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007) p. 537-538

⁶⁸ Borrás and Conzelmann, (2007), p.532, 546, Heupel (2008), p.18

⁶⁹ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007) p.546

"against standards of democracy and input legitimacy."⁷⁰ Soft Modes of Governance can be argued to be illegitimate since it has weak link to regular democratic procedures and since it has a marginal role towards elected parliamentarians which make it fall outside the constitutional and representative democracy.⁷¹ It can be argued that the importance of democratic control grows with the influence private actors has in these policies.⁷² The legitimacy can also be questioned since it is unclear from which network and from whose expertise the policys is drawn from.⁷³ Monitoring and internal audit are necessary in order to achieve legitimacy and the transparency of Soft Modes of Governance depends on the publicity of the decisionmaking process and how the results is reported.⁷⁴

As mentioned in the introduction, the success of Soft Modes of Governance depends on participation and acknowledgement from all levels of government. Besides that, parliamentary involvement in Soft Modes of Governance contributes to and creates political debates about the distribution of values and norms, and about the political priorities associated with them. Parliamentary involvement also gives legitimacy and control over the result of the activities related to Soft Modes of Governance.⁷⁵

To conclude, legitimacy, accountability, transparency and equal distribution are important areas to consider when applying Soft Modes of Governance. One approach to address these issues is to make stakeholders and the civil societies involved in the deliberation and experimentation at a local level and have the result from this feed into the decision-making process.⁷⁶

Before moving on to examples of Soft Modes of Governance in practice a comparison between Soft Modes of Governance and Hierarchical Governance will be presented. This comparison will hopefully lead to a deeper and better understanding of the concept and its main features.

 ⁷⁰ Easton (1965) through Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p.534-535
 ⁷¹ Borrás and Conzelmann (2007) p.545, Ansell(2008) p.469

 ⁷² Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p.539
 ⁷³ Sorensen and Torfing (2006) through Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p.536

⁷⁴ Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p.547, Ezzamel and Reed (2008) p.603

⁷⁵ Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p. 545

⁷⁶ Tsakatika (2007) p.557

3.2.4 Soft Modes of Governance versus Hierarchical Governance

The opposite of Soft Modes of Governance is Hard Governance, more often called Hierarchical Governance. The two systems differ as Soft Modes of Governance focus on cooperation and Hierarchical governance is based on command and punishment.⁷⁷ Different forms of Soft Modes of Governance have different influences over public policy and different relations to hierarchical governance.⁷⁸

The two modes of governance vary in a number of different ways, for example, in terms of how binding the established rules are. Soft Modes of Governance refers to the use of soft law, i.e. "governance through non-binding instruments such as declarations guidelines and recommendations"⁷⁹, these guidelines and recommendations are flexible rules which allow the stakeholders to incorporate the rules in their own way.⁸⁰ Hierarchical governance promotes and uses legally binding obligations, precise rules and exact details about its implementation process.⁸¹

In hierarchical forms of governance, affected stakeholders has none or little influence over the rule-making, the rules are decided by overarching decision-making bodies. The opposite applies in Soft Modes of Governance where the affected stakeholders are involved in the rule-making through for example bargain processes, vetoing decisions or involvement in the exchange of arguments.⁸² Public participation is necessary in order to achieve Soft Modes of Governance and sustainable development⁸³ and it is therefore important to ensure that citizens contribute in natural resources management, its policymaking and implementation.⁸⁴ When citizens participate in policymaking the policies become more relevant and responsive to their needs at the same time as the citizens feel less vulnerable, insecure and powerless. ⁸⁵ The accountability of different institutions are strengthened by public participation since the citizens become more aware about government commitments and accountability. Citizens' participation in policy formulation also improves the citizen's possibility to create networks and partnerships with like-minded stakeholders and prevent the policy process to become elitist. By

⁷⁷ Heupel (2008), p.8

⁷⁸ Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p.437-438

⁷⁹ Abbot and Sniddal (20009 through Heupel p.10-11

⁸⁰ Treib et al (2005), Mosher and Trubak (200)3 thriugh Heupel (2008) p.10-11

⁸¹ Heupel.(2008), p.10-11

⁸² Heupel.(2008), p.10-11

⁸³ Elliot (2013) p.197

⁸⁴ Kende-Robb and Van Wicklin III through Ahmed and Sánches-Triana (2008) p. 95

⁸⁵ Ahmed and Sánches-Triana (2008) p.98

actively involving civil society in decision-making processes information about local conditions, weaknesses and strengths can be shared. Local stakeholders often have unique information and knowledge about their surrounding eco-systems and communities may be willing and interested to share this information, participate in problem identification, assist in implementing plans, and be involved in monitoring natural resources.⁸⁶

Hard governance refers to regulations which influence people's behavior and Soft Modes of Governance influence "the way people perceive and think about themselves and their relationship with the outside world".⁸⁷ It can be argued that Soft Modes of Governance has a deeper influence on its actors and its effects are harder and more profound than hierarchical governance.⁸⁸

Hierarchical and Soft Modes of Governance also differs in terms of which instruments they apply for rule enforcement. Soft Modes of Governance use "naming and shaming" methods, i.e. targeting actors "reputation as weaker means to deter and/or punish deliberately non-compliant behavior."⁸⁹ Hierarchical governance use threats or sanctions if rules are violated.⁹⁰

Soft Modes of Governance works with capacity building, transparent working methods and also "involves socializing states into new norms and rules and raising their awareness of their validity through convincing arguments, non-manipulative deliberation and learning processes".⁹¹ Hierarchical governance "includes monitoring, implementation and precondition for reassuring states about other states actions."⁹² Hierarchical governance is characterized by precision, obligation and delegation. Soft Modes of Governance main features are its consensus-based mechanism and voluntary participation.⁹³ Voluntary standards, for example codes of conduct, guidelines, labeling programs and certification schemes are "the principle and norms that depend on constant, consensus and resources other than governmental authority for their work".⁹⁴ Enforcement in Soft Modes of Governance methods are carried out by a non-

⁸⁶ Naschon and Charles (2009) p. 164

⁸⁷ Moos(2009) p. 399, Ahmed and Sánches-Triana (2008) p.98

⁸⁸ Moos (2009) p.399

⁸⁹ Héritier (2002) through Heupel p.12

⁹⁰ Downs et al (1996) through Heupel p.12

⁹¹ Neyer (2003), Risse (2004) through Heupel (2008) p.14 and Toung (1992), Chayes and Chayes (1995) thorugh Heupel (2008) p.12

⁹² Heupel (2008) p.12

⁹³ Abbot and Snidal p. 8, 22-23, 93 2000 through Sindico (2006) p.831

⁹⁴ Abbot and Snidal p10 (2000) through Sindico (2006) p.831

intrusive system which is based on cooperation and benefit multi-stakeholder and nonconfrontational legal regimes.⁹⁵ States do not usually participate in the enforcement or in the establishment of these programs since this is usually undertaken by Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) or by multinational cooperation (MNCs).⁹⁶

In the following two sections practical examples from working with Soft Modes of Governance will be presented. It is currently being debated under which conditions Soft Modes of Governance can function and achieve effective solutions.⁹⁷ In next section a few examples on how and when Soft Modes of Governance has been used will be highlighted. The most important lessons from these case studies will also be described. The first example comes from the European Union and, this will be followed by two short examples from France and Brazil.

3.2.5 Practical examples 1 - The European Union

Soft Modes of Governance is a general trend within globalization and super-national and transnational agencies such as the European Union has used and implemented its tools to different extents within different policy areas.98

EU has worked with Soft Modes of Governance since the Lisbon EU Commission meeting in year 2000, where the member states decided to "develop a flexible method based on reflexivity and indicators"⁹⁹ which mean that "the member states and institutions should inspire each other through "peer reviews and policy learning, such as best practices."¹⁰⁰

Soft Modes of Governance is transferred through networks in Europe and has become an important part in the European integration and it has been implemented in order to achieve better efficiency and better effectiveness.¹⁰¹ These networks fills an important purpose since "If reasoned argumentation is taken place in these networks, mutual understanding by the actors increases, common value may arise and decision-making may proceed beyond self-interested intergovernmental bargaining...."102

⁹⁵ Abbot and Snidal p. 8, 22-23, 93 (2000) through Sindico (2006) p.831

⁹⁶ Sindico (2006) p.831

⁹⁷ Bárras and Cozelmann (2007) p.432

⁹⁸ Moos (2009) p.397, Ahonen (2011) p. 2.

⁹⁹ Moos (2009) p.398

¹⁰⁰ Moos (2009) p.398, European Union (2013)

¹⁰¹ Borrás and Conzelann, (2007), p.531, Bárras and Conzelmann (2007) p.432, Peterson and Blomberg (1999) p.264, Zürn (2000) p.192-193 through Ahonen (2000) p. 5 ¹⁰² Peterson and Blomberg (1999) p.264, Zürn (2000) p.192-3 through Ahonen (2000) p. 5

In order for Soft Modes of Governance to work within the European context the national governments have to be willing to comply and adjust their behavior.¹⁰³ The member states are encouraged to apply the EU guidelines voluntary and to make suitable alteration so that they are adjusted to local conditions and local situations.¹⁰⁴ The non-binding character of Soft Modes of Governance leads to an implementation process which may take quite different forms in each respective local setting.¹⁰⁵ Soft Modes of Governance also open up for quantified comparisons regarding achievement and naming and shaming methods where some countries end up in the top and others in the bottom.¹⁰⁶

Soft Modes of Governance is expected to contribute to effectiveness trough learning. This learning should be monitored and evaluated and be used as a tool to reach common goals in a decentralized way which is necessary in order to create trust and internalization. Monitoring is necessary in order to detect weaknesses and in order to evaluate if previous goals have been reached. The stakeholders need to accept the monitoring and be willing to adjust their behavior accordingly.¹⁰⁷

Different conferences and meetings have showed the importance of knowledgeable and inspiring leaders in order to ensure implementation and effective learning at lower levels. The meetings have also shown the importance of time and financial resources.¹⁰⁸

Soft Modes of Governance is a fairy new method in the European Union which means it is hard to evaluate its effects and influence.¹⁰⁹ The success or failure with Soft Modes of Governance, within the EU, depends on how accepted it is by relevant stakeholders and the stakeholders' willingness and capacity to transform this into a policy-making instrument.¹¹⁰

¹⁰³ Radaelli (2003) thorugh Kröger (2009) p.198

¹⁰⁴ Tsakatika (2007) p.550-551

¹⁰⁵ Kröger (2009) p.199

¹⁰⁶ Tsakatika (2007) p.550-551

¹⁰⁷ Kröger(2009) p. 202-3, Sabel (1994), Lodge (2007) through Kröger (2009) p. 203

¹⁰⁸ Kröger (2009) p.207, Kröger (2009) p.203-204

¹⁰⁹ Kröger (2009) p 200, Heupel (2008), p.18, P23, Zetilin et al (2005) through Tsakatika (2007) p. 550 and Tsakatika (2007) p. 549-550

¹¹⁰ Kröger (2009) p. 203

3.2.7 Practical examples 2 – France

In a study carried out regarding Soft Modes of Governance in the coastal areas in south of France it was shown "participation by local managers led to identification of realistic soft institutional changes that might mitigate conflicts and improve the governance system".¹¹¹ The study showed that Soft Modes of Governance based on improved and more frequent participation by the civil society may be more enforceable than radical institutional change based on restrictive rules. "…farmers may prefer self-limitations whose efficiency relies on mutual control rather than compliance with rules imposed by an external authority".¹¹² During the same study it also became clear how Soft Modes of Governance "within one user community can help mitigate broader user conflict in the coastal zone".¹¹³

3.2.7 Practical examples 3 – Brazil

Brazil wish to be a pioneer country and a good example for others on how to implement Soft Modes of Governance. They have previously used Soft Modes of Governance in the agriculture sector a study carried out within this sector showed the importance of total participation in the villages in order achieves successful projects.¹¹⁴ The study also showed that the villages who achieved good results using Soft Modes of Governance had narrow and well-suited policy goals.¹¹⁵

In the study it became evident how "non-state actors, representing farmers and environmental groups have been crucial for to setting the means for which farmers may comply with existing environmental laws."¹¹⁶The study also showed the importance of "deepening the farmers commitment to environmental practices"¹¹⁷and how globalization processes were not an immediate factor of influence in the villages. The villages more often moved forward and with new projects because of positive attention or feedback from politicians in municipal and state territories.¹¹⁸ In municipalities' farmers/stakeholders has the possibility of direct engagement with policy arrangements which may lead to a deeper landowner commitment regarding environmental concerns and initiatives on a lower level of government can encourage farmers to

¹¹¹ Mongruel et all(2011) p.1

¹¹² Mongruel et all (2011) p.10

¹¹³ Mongruel et all (2011) p. 3-4, 8-11

¹¹⁴ Branstrom et all (2011), p.360, Martininelli (2010) p.437 through Branstrom et al(2011) p. 358

¹¹⁵ Branstrom et al(2011) p.363

¹¹⁶ Branstrom et al(201)1 p.363

¹¹⁷ Branstrom et all (2011) p.363

¹¹⁸ Branstrom et al (2011) p.364

"participate in municipal compliance policies that are less costly to farmers but less ambitious in goals."¹¹⁹

Next section will further highlight the use of Soft Modes of Governance in countries in the global south by describing similar tools to which are highly recognized within this field. Since this study focus mainly on South East Asia practical examples are gathered from the South East Asian Region.

3.3 Previously used tools in South East Asia

The term Soft Modes of Governance has previously been only sparingly or not at all applied in South East Asia. In this section previously used tools which are similar to Soft Modes of Governance and which have been used in order to empower local communities and achieve sustainable development in South East Asia, will be described.

3.3.1 Experience Based Management

Experience based management (EBK) has been used within i.e. coastal management in South East Asia. The core in this system is previous experience and knowledge which can be very valuable in sustainable development.¹²⁰ The EBK is more closely linked to allocation and distribution than management which is perceived as problematic and critiques against the tool often point at the difficulties local communities are having articulating their knowledge in an understandable and pedagogic way. The communication issues affect both mutual understanding amongst stakeholders and institutional needs which undercut transparency and communication. For EBK to function effectively local stakeholders need to agree on a common set of actions and measurements, a process which often encounter problems.¹²¹

3.3.2 Coastal Resource Management

Coastal resource management (CRM) has the aim to develop an ecosystem-based approach to natural resource management at the same time as its maintaining ecosystems functionality. CRM also includes functions to reduce poverty and to improve livelihood and coastal communities.¹²² Sustainable development has been a prominent factor within CRM during the last decades and the most common used tool within CRM has been Marine Protected Areas (MPA). MPA has showed to be effective in both empowering local communities and to reha-

¹¹⁹ Branstrom et all (2011) p.363, Martinelli et al (2010) through Branstrom et all (2011) p.363-365

¹²⁰ Wilson (2006) p.530

¹²¹ Wilson et al (2006) p.530

¹²² Nguyen Chu Hoi (2009 b) through Mangroves for the future (2012) p.8

bilitate degraded fisheries.¹²³ Empower local communities is, as previously mentioned, an important factor in Soft Modes of Governance and a necessity for it to work well. Central for empowerment is to build political will and capacity of the government to decentralize and adopt new roles.¹²⁴

The Philippines have been one of the countries in the world who have most successful experience working with CRM.¹²⁵A study about the Cogtong Bay Mangrove Rehabilitation Project showed that tenurial rights and support from local government is an important incentive for Mangrove co-management. Support from local government has shown to be critical for success in other parts of the Philippines.¹²⁶ Support from local government is especially important when the communities need help to keep outsiders away from resources they believe are theirs.¹²⁷ A community's need for the state "increases when issues of simple resource depletion and/or conflict over resource access are being played out over greater than local levels of geographical scale."¹²⁸ The study from the Philippines showed the importance of legitimate property rights which "were necessary to optimize resource use and conservation and hence increase the chance that the management intervention would be sustained."¹²⁹ During the study it also became evident that cross-scale institutional linkages between different political areas and different municipalities are highly important if a project is going to be successful.¹³⁰ Important to note is that coastal resource management now often is used under the term coastal eco system management and/or Integrated Costal Management.¹³¹

3.3.3 Co-management

Co-Management has been widely used within countries in the global south and South East Asia. Co-management can be defined as "an arrangement where responsibility for resource management is shared between the government and user groups."¹³² When using co-management the government often makes the decisions and delegates the responsibility and

¹²³ Russ & Alcala (1996), Maliao and others (2004) Russ and others (2004) Abesamis and others (2006), White and others (2002) Webb and others (2004) through Maliao and Polohan (2007) p.414

¹²⁴ Naschon and Charles (2009) p. 165

¹²⁵ Christie and others (2002) through Maliao and Polohan (2007) p.415

¹²⁶ Maliao and Polohan (2007) p.420-423

¹²⁷ Wilson et al (2006) p.524

¹²⁸ Maliao and Polohan (2007) p.420

¹²⁹ Maliao and Polohan (2007) p.420

¹³⁰ Maliao and Polohan (2007) p.422

¹³¹ Nightingale (2013)

¹³² Raakjær Nielsen through Wilson et all (2006) p.525

authority to user groups to keep them updated about the progress.¹³³ As stated above, when using Soft modes of governance, the responsibility should be shared between government and user groups for best possible effects.

Local communities, the state and local governments benefit from co-management. Since many state agencies are responsible for conservation and participatory approaches, development and natural resources management and conflicts often means that the government have limited resources. Co-management can offer solution and possibilities to reduce the transaction costs and can provide state agencies with the necessary knowledge and experience they lack and which is necessary for an adaptive management. Besides local ecological knowledge it is important to understand kinship, linguistic, religious, economic, social, political and cultural factors that affect natural resource management. In order to understand all of these factors it is often best to carry out face-to-face conversations with local communities and stakeholders. By giving local villagers more power to influence policy-making and local government they will feel more included in the process and will have more incentive to work in a sustainable way.¹³⁴ A project's success depend on financial resources, if religious practices and community traditions are emphasized, taking into account and incorporated in management systems and if the community members have supportive family members which provides them the capability to engage in different community activities.¹³⁵

When working with co-management it is important to mainstream its effect to ensure its goals and effect reaches a wider socio-economic scale. The spill-over effect will otherwise be minimal and there is a risk that the marginalized groups will not be reached.¹³⁶ It is also important that efforts are made in order to ensure legitimacy since Co-Management often struggles with this.¹³⁷ Previous research has showed that community organization is a weak feature in co-management in South East Asia and it is uncommon for local villages to take own initiatives.¹³⁸ As mentioned in the introduction section, NGOs, Partnerships and other aid agencies plays an important role in these countries since they try to empower local communities and link communities and governments closer together.

¹³³ Wilson et al (2006) p.524

¹³⁴ Harkes (1999), Baird (1996), Murshed E-Jahan, Kuperan and Mustapha Abduallah (1999), Wilson (2003) through Wilson et al (2006) p.525

¹³⁵ Naschon and Charles (2009) p. 164

¹³⁶ Wilson et al (2006) p. 529

¹³⁷ Wilson (2003) trough Wilson et al (2006) p.527

¹³⁸ Pomeroy (2003) and Phounsavath, Hartmann, Thuk, Degan and Logarta (1999) through Wilson et al 2006 p. 528

Co-management is believed to be more effective if the community is homogenous and has a strong will to exclude outsiders.¹³⁹ As with Soft Modes of Governance, Co-Management will not be efficient without active participation from the local community. Without active participation, information cannot be gathered and decisions cannot be made and implemented in a suitable way.¹⁴⁰

As mentioned above, Soft Modes of Governance is perceived as being an appropriate tool in order to capture and communicate different practices/initiatives/approaches horizontally to local areas and vertically through higher levels of government. In the next section it is described that achieving regionality¹⁴¹ is difficult and how a successful project can be implemented from a top-down or a bottom-up process.

3.4 Soft Modes of Governance and regionality

Regionalism has been a more and more common aspect in donor circles since many developing countries are facing the same problem in form of i.e. pollution, environmental degradation and diseases which often have regional impacts and are spread throughout many sovereign states.¹⁴² Addressing these issues at a regional level is believed to reach more sustainable and long-lasting results and Soft Modes of Governance is perceived to be an appropriate tool in order to achieve this.¹⁴³

Achieving regional result has been difficult in the South East Asian region, this is due to i.e. the wide variation of political regimes in the region and many countries in the region prefer informal negotiated approaches to policy and emphasis on consensus building.^{144,145} The difficulties with achieving regional results also depend on the historical weak regional cooperation and integration in South East Asia. However, a trend towards greater integration has been evident during recent years, especially through the work of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).¹⁴⁶ ASEAN lack significant legislation power and is characterized by political conflict, economic diversification and lack of institutional agreements and infrastructure.

¹³⁹ Ostrom (1990), Khan (1999) and Thompson and Sultana (1999) through Wilson et al (2006) p. 524-29

¹⁴⁰ Wilson et al (2006) p.529

¹⁴¹ Especially within South East Asia

¹⁴² Engel (2010)p. 55

¹⁴³ Raakjear et all (2012) p.1-5

¹⁴⁴ Opposite to formal and legalistic approaches

¹⁴⁵ Mansfield and Milner (1999) p.617, Mansfield and Milner (1999) P.607-608, Government Offices of Sweden (2011) p.1 Mansfield and Milner (1999)p.618

¹⁴⁶ Government Offices of Sweden (2011) p.1

Important to note is that regional cooperation is still looked upon by many decision-makers with suspicion and especially value and relevance with improved collaboration with other countries has been hard for to understand.¹⁴⁷

Figure 1.0 on the following page aim to explain how Soft Modes of Governance can be spread and implemented throughout different levels of society. By doing this, Soft Modes of Governance reaches its full potential and regional outcomes can be achieved. Before figure 1.0 a short description on how Soft Modes of Governance can be spread from a Regional/National level to a local/village level will be described. Please note that the example on the next page will describe the opposite, how village/local level can raise their voice and be heard at a national/regional level.

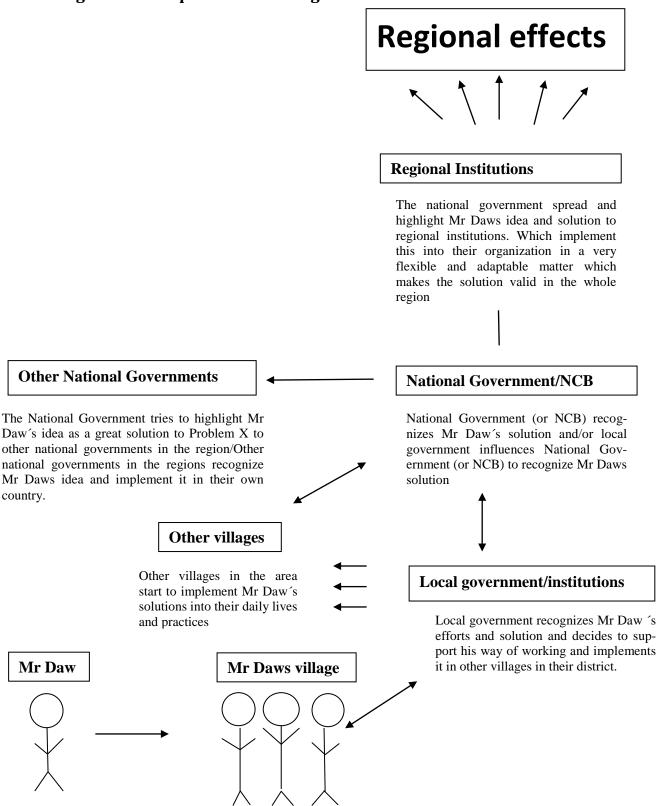
3.4.1 Example 1: Regional to local-level

Soft Modes of Governance can be implemented from a regional to a local level by having clear and well-functioning communication channels. Imagine how for example it has come to the attention of the MFF regional office in Bangkok that in order to solve problem X, goal Y need to be fulfilled. Goal Y can be achieved by different activities and MFF therefore issue to their national offices that: Goal Y needs to be fulfilled in order to encounter problem X and the most efficient and effective way is to let the local communities/government decide how this goal will be achieved since different geographical/cultural/socioeconomic areas have different potential and different requirements they need to take into account. The national offices then spread this within their projects and networks until it reaches the local level where different stakeholders have different approaches to reach goal Y. And even though approach A and approach B are very different they still manage to achieve goal Y in a effective and efficient way. Achieving this requires, as mentioned in the beginning of this section, well-functioning communication channels and the other conditions which are outlined in the next section, section 3.5. These conditions are necessary in order for Soft Modes of Governance to function efficiently and effectively. Achieving Soft Modes of Governance is therefore believed to be a good tool to use in order to achieve regional outcomes and impacts.

The communication channels can also work the other way around and be spread from local level to national. Figure 1.0 will further describe this.

¹⁴⁷ Yu (2003) through Karki et all (2005) p.502 and Karki et all (2005) 508

3.4.2 Figure 1: Example 2-Local to Regional level



Mr Daw has found a very effective and sustainable solution to problem X which is very common in the South East Asian region and start to use this idea in his daily life.

Mr Daw explain the problem and the solution to the village who gets inspired and start implementing Mr Daw's idea in their daily lives

3.5 Conclusion Soft Modes of Governance

This section acts as conclusion for Soft Modes of Governance. In this presentation it is clarified which ten conditions that are necessary in order to implement Soft Modes of Governance efficiently and effectively. These ten conditions will be used as an analytical framework in the result and have been developed from previous theories regarding Soft Modes of Governance and tools similar to Soft Modes of Governance which has been used within countries in the global south. Soft Modes of Governance is a quite new field, especially within countries in the global south since it previously have been used mostly within the European Union.

As stated above Soft Modes of Governance is a theory based on **voluntary actions** and **nonhierarchical and unofficial guidelines**. These actions and guidelines are flexible and can easily be **adapted** to local conditions such as laws, religion, different geographical areas and different culture.

In order for different levels of stakeholders to execute the voluntary actions they need to have deep **knowledge and understanding** of the specific subject, have the **ability and be willing to invest in the project with time, resources and knowledge**. The stakeholders also need to be used to working in **groups**, accept to be **monitored** and have access to **inspiring leaders**, **collaborations and cooperation partners** and venues or channels were they can **exchange experiences and knowledge** with other stakeholders from the same and different levels of society.

Applied the right way, Soft Modes of Governance can achieve regional outcomes and be used as a tool to empower local communities. When working with Soft Modes of Governance it is important that the different stakeholders perceive the tool as **legitimate** which is not an certainty since it can be argued that is lacks parliamentarian control, however the increased influence from the civil society can imply the opposite.

3.5.1 Conditions for Soft Modes of Governance

The following conditions need to be fulfilled by the village level in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively;

- Knowledge and understanding of the issues
- Capability and possibility to do voluntary actions and take initiatives without being sanctioned

- Capability and willingness to invest in projects with time, knowledge and resources.
- Well-functioning and inspiring leadership
- Group cohesion¹⁴⁸ and group participation
- Acceptance of Soft Modes of Governance and its legitimacy
- Willingness to adjust behavior and to be monitored
- Willingness to and capability to cooperate with other stakeholders¹⁴⁹
- Willingness and capability to exchange information
- Willingness and capability to use and adapt non-hierarchical and unofficial guidelines

4.0 Method

In the following section the method and the approach of this study will be explained. The research procedure has followed the usual order described by Bryman (2013).¹⁵⁰

This study is based on document studies regarding Soft Modes of Governance and qualitative semi-structured interviews since this has been considered the most appropriate method.¹⁵¹

The study has been carried out as a master thesis for Gothenburg University, Sweden and under the supervision of the partner-based organization Mangroves For the Future, MFF. MFF has operated in the region since 2006 and have assisted with i.e. drawing up the necessary official documents and contacting the participants. The interviews and most contacts have been conducted in Thai or Vietnamese and interpreters provided by MFF have been used during the study.

As mentioned above, two cases; Thailand and Viet Nam have been chosen for this study. These countries have different political, cultural, historical and economic conditions and can therefore be used to represent different countries within the region and in the extension the global south.¹⁵² In each country, one region, or project site has been chosen. In these project sites, semi-structured interviews have been held with the subject concerned stakeholders

¹⁴⁸ Cohesion within a community

¹⁴⁹ Local/Provincial/National Government Institutions/offices, NGOs and other villages

¹⁵⁰ Bryman (2013) p..345-347, 150 - 151

¹⁵¹ Bryman (2013) p.414-416, DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) through Whiting LS(2008) p.36, Ryen (2004) p.46-47, Yin (2011) p. 112, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), p.115-116, Vaughan (1992) through Ridder et all (2012) p.3

¹⁵² This thesis focus on the political conditions of in the two countries. For further information regarding cultural, geographical, political economic and historical conditions, please see, amongst others: Hoskin (2011), Durrenberger (1996), Hoare (2004) Kingsley Malarney (1997), Van Arkadie (2004), Woods (2004), Duiker (1995) and Tran and Reid (2006)

which means representatives from national, provincial, local and village level. Since Soft Modes of Governance is emphasizing the role of the civil society (village), the focus for this study has been the village level (civil-society level). The project sites have been decided in consultation with MFF Thailand and MFF Viet Nam. Please note only short descriptions regarding the cases and the projects sites will be given (see chapter 5). Since it is not considered to be relevant where in Thailand and Viet Nam the interviews for this study have been done the exact location of the project sites will not be presented. This will not affect the result since it will lead to develop theories regarding Soft Modes of Governance in countries in the global south and not other populations.¹⁵³ By doing this, anonymity for the participant can also be assured.

As in other case studies, flexibility and intuition has influenced the process of this thesis and, as is noted below, different methods and data sources have been used.¹⁵⁴

4.2 Document studies

Before the interviews, document studies regarding Soft modes of Governance and the political context of Thailand and Viet Nam was conducted. By this a deep understanding of the concept Soft Modes of Governance and the political context in the cases were formed.¹⁵⁵ Literature regarding how to conduct interview studies was also read and analyzed.¹⁵⁶ The document studies have functioned as a base in order to design an interview guide.

The document studies can be described as being mostly of a narrative character.¹⁵⁷ As a starting point all found literature regarding Soft Modes of Governance was read and analyzed, only the material relevant for this thesis has been used and are presented in chapter 3. When reading and analyzing the existing literature regarding Soft Modes of Governance it became obvious that research about this steering tool within countries in the global south were almost entirely lacking. Because of this, a complementary literature review regarding tools similar to Soft Modes of Governance that have been used within countries in the global south have been conducted.

¹⁵³ Bryman (2013) p.368-369

¹⁵⁴ Noren(1990) p.4 Allison(1971), Eishenhardt8 1989) through Noren(1990) p.4

¹⁵⁵ Yin (2009) through Ridder et all (2012) p.12

¹⁵⁶ Amongst others Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), Bryman (2013), Noren (1990)

¹⁵⁷ Bryman (2013) p.112-113

These two literature reviews has worked as base of creating conditions which are necessary in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively. These conditions have then been tested during the interviews in order to understand how Soft Modes of Governance can be used in countries in South East Asia and in the extension the global south and why (or why not) it will function within this context.

Most of the used material have been collected from different data bases as for example International Political Science Abstracts and PAR Public Administration Review. Key words that have been used to search for information have amongst others been: Soft modes of Governance, Political structures in Thailand and Soft Modes of Governance in countries in the global south. Up-to-date information regarding the political context in Thailand and Viet Nam was hard to find and other sources of materials have therefore been used, this includes interviews/discussions with experts within the area and information collected from, for example, the UN:s and MFF:s web pages. The information regarding Thailand and Viet Nam should be seen as background information and has been used in order to improve the understanding of the information received during the interviews. All documents used are considered to fulfill the criteria for appropriate data mention by Brinkman (2013)¹⁵⁸

4.3 Interviews

Representatives from village level and representatives from local, provincial and national government¹⁵⁹ have been interviewed for this study. The selected participants¹⁶⁰ were contacted by the interpreters by either telephone or e-mail. In the e-mails/phone calls, information regarding the study and the interviews were given. Since many of the participants did not understand the concept of Soft Modes of Governance, tools similar to this concept¹⁶¹ were used to explain the meaning of the study.

In the project site, representatives from the civil society, local/provincial NGOs¹⁶² and local/provincial government were interviewed. Within each project site representatives from around six villages have been interviewed. During the field visits, small design alterations were done. These actions are not perceived to have affected the result.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Noren(1990) p.5

¹⁵⁹ Please note government in this thesis refers government/institutions/offices/departments

¹⁶⁰ For more information regarding the parcipants in this study please see Appendix 1-4

¹⁶¹ Like co-management, empowerment and community based government

¹⁶² Only in Thailand

¹⁶³ Noren (1990) s.10

A total number of 45 interviews have been carried out. The participants were chosen due to their role, by random choice or by the snowball effect. 21 of the interviews were done in Viet Nam and 24 in Thailand. The interviews were carried out from April 2013 until June 2013¹⁶⁴ and lasted between 30-180 minutes. Generally they were conducted in Vietnamese or Thai and simultaneously translated into English. The interpreters were familiar with the cultural setting in each project site.¹⁶⁵ The process and the result have been discussed with the translators and other experts within the field of the research during the whole working process.¹⁶⁶

4.3.1Village level

In the local communities (village level) both the head of the villages and local people were interviewed. The villagers were chosen randomly. A total number of 26 interviews were carried out on this level. Important to note, most of the interviews at a village level in Thailand and one in Viet Nam were carried out as group interviews. During these interviews each participant answered each question separately. During the field visit in Thailand it was understood that group interviews were the cultural norm. In general, it is perceived that the participants were not affected and biased by the other people in the group. During these interviews it was noted down who said what. This matter was also discussed with the interpreters after the interviews.¹⁶⁷ In one village in Viet Nam the head of the village was present during the interviews and this might have affected what the interviewed villagers said.

4.3.2Local /provincial level

As mentioned above, local/provincial governments have been interviewed. A total number of 10 interviews were carried out in this group. The representatives in this group were chosen since they play an important role¹⁶⁸ and have a vast influence over the natural resource management in Thailand or Viet Nam. A representative from a local/provincial NGO was interviewed in Thailand.

¹⁶⁴ The interviews in Vietnam was done in April and in Thailand in May and June

¹⁶⁵ For more information regarding working with interpreters see section 4.4

¹⁶⁶ Bryman(2013) p.353-355, Noren (1990) p.33

¹⁶⁷ Maliao and Polohan(2007) p.423 and Yin (2011) p. 165-166 Bryman (2013)p. 449

¹⁶⁸ Please note that these governments differed between the two countries since different governments fills important roles in different countries.

4.3.3 National level

At the national level, representatives from national NGOs, Multilateral Organizations or government were interviewed.¹⁶⁹ These representatives were also chosen due to the important role they play in the natural resources management in each respective country. A total number of 9 interviews were carried out in this group. Most of these interviews were conducted in English and held in Bangkok or Hanoi. Important to note is that all except one of the interviewed at the national level, are members of MFF National Coordination Body, MFF NCB, within Thailand or Viet Nam.

One of the national representatives in Thailand answered the question by e-mail since he/she lived far away from Bangkok. Follow up questions were sent in order to ensure complete and comprehensive answers however although several reminders, the e-mail was never replied to.

4.4 Cultural Norms and Working with Interpreters

I was familiar and had deep knowledge about the cultural norms in Thailand and Viet Nam since I had been living in the region for about seven months before the first interview was conducted. The interpreters, who were Thai and Vietnamese, could explain the differences and cultural norms that I was not aware of.¹⁷⁰ The interpreters were around 20-30 years old. In Thailand the interpreter was a woman and in Viet Nam it was one woman and one man.¹⁷¹ The interpreters translated the actual meaning of what the different participants said and not only word by word.¹⁷² The questions were discussed with the interpreters before the interview to ensure they understood the aim of the question.

One interpreter first tried to provide the participants with what he/she thought was the right answer but after a deeper discussion about this matter and explanation of what I expected from the interpreters he/she stopped doing this.

¹⁶⁹ Please note that no further information regarding which NGO/government were interviewed at a national level will be presented. This has been done in order to ensure anonymity. However, as mentioned above, all are members of MFF NBC. For a complete review of the members of MFF NCB Thailand and MFF NCB Viet Nam see Appendix 2 and 4.

¹⁷⁰ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p144-145, Beck and Froman (2003) through Kirckpatrick and Teijlingen (2009) p. 26, Larkin et al (2007) through Kirckpatrick and Teijlingen (2009) p. 26

¹⁷¹ The man was a local facilitator and not present during the interviews in Hanoi

¹⁷² Beck and Froman(2003) through Kirckpatrick and Teijlingen (2009) p. 26 and Squires (2008) through Kirckpatrick and Teijlingen(2009) p. 26, Kirckpatrick and Teijlingen(2009) p. 26, Squires(2008) p.278

4.5 Interview guide

The interviews were based on a semi-structured interview guide.¹⁷³ As in many others semistructured interviews the questions changed sequence and forms during different interviews. Different follow-up question and interpreting questions were also asked in order to completely understand the interviewers answer.¹⁷⁴ The interview guide consists of different thematic areas and has been designed after the conditions for Soft modes of governance. The questions in the interview guide has been designed with the aim of not to being to specific, academic or conductive.¹⁷⁵

As mentioned above, the interview guide was discussed with the interpreters before the interviews to ensure they understood what information that was supposed to be gained from each question. During these conversations the importance of keeping the language on a everyday level was highlighted. During the interviews the questions were asked in clear and gentle way and sensitiveness permeated the interviews. This often led to interviewers speaking in free spirit. It was important that the interviewers never felt interrupted during the interviews and they got to finish their sentences.¹⁷⁶

4.6 Interview procedure, recordings and transcriptions

The interviews started off with a short presentation of the research subject and myself. At the end of the interview the participant got an opportunity to add information and issues that had not been raised during the interview and to ask questions.¹⁷⁷ It was seen as important to finish the interview in positive way¹⁷⁸ so the interviewer always received a big thank you and small gifts in form of pens, bag packs, t-shirts and hats. Providing gifts is a cultural norm and is not believed to have affected the result.¹⁷⁹

The interviews were held in many different venues. Some interviews were conducted in the person's home or office, other were conducted in a local café/restaurant or MFF:s office in Hanoi/Bangkok. The different venues are not considered to have affected the result but in-

¹⁷³ See Appendix 5

¹⁷⁴ The interview guide were inspired by examples like: Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p123-138. Bryman (2013) p.206, Bryman(2013) p.419-421, Kvale (1996) through Bryman (2013) p.422-424, Ryen(2004) p.55-56 ¹⁷⁵ Bryman (2013) p.419-421

¹⁷⁶ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p.130-138, Bryman (2013) 353-354

¹⁷⁷ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), p128-130, 166-167 and Bryman year (2013) p.212

¹⁷⁸ Ryen (2004) p.55-56

¹⁷⁹ Ryen(2004) p. 186-188, Andersons (1991) through Whitening (2008) p.38

stead helped to keep an informal touch to the interviews helped the interviewers to speak more freely.¹⁸⁰

Most of the interviews have been recorded either with a voice recorder or a video recorder.¹⁸¹ Three of the contestants did not want to be recorded and during these interviews extensive notes were taken. Due to technical issues another interview did not get fully recorded but since extensive notes were taken during all interviews as a backup system this did not affect the result. Notes were also taken by the interpreters and in cases the something was unclear, after the interviews these notes were compared and discussed.¹⁸²

Most of the recordings have been of good quality except a few that were held in noisy cafés and restaurants.¹⁸³ The note did not interrupt the flow of the interviews but rather gave the interviewer time to reflect and say everything that was on their mind. In order to enhance the validity of the study, the initial result after the interviews was discussed with the interpreters.¹⁸⁴ After each interview, notes regarding where the interview took place, if it was noisy environment, how the interviewer behaved and other initial results were written down.¹⁸⁵ Important to note is that some facts and meaning came up after the recording device was shut off. These materials were written down as soon as possible and have been used in the analysis and the result.

All interviews have been transcribed. All transcriptions have been made by me. It would have been beneficial if another person would have listen and read the transcriptions to make sure they are correct. Due to time limitations this has not been possible. Knowing this, the transcriptions have been done very carefully and the recordings have been listened to several times. Please note that only the English part of the interviews have been transcribed.¹⁸⁶

4.7. Ethics and role of researcher

This study is not perceived to contain serious ethical problems since ethical rules on how to conduct an interview study have been followed. Given the fact that the project sites are not

¹⁸⁰ Ryen p.97

¹⁸¹ Only 4 interviews were filmed

¹⁸² Kvale and Brinkmann (eng) year x, p178-180, Whitning (2008) p.36, Ryen (2004) p.56

¹⁸³ Bryman (2013) p.419-421

¹⁸⁴ Yin (2011) p. 155-165

¹⁸⁵ Bryman (2013) p.422, Chesney (2000) through Whitning (2008) p.37, Ryen (2004) p.69

¹⁸⁶ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p180-187

public the anonymity of the interviewers have been secured which was a demand from some of the participants.

Before the interviews all contestant gave their approval to participate in the study and they were also informed about the main purpose with it. All participants also received the contact details to interpreters and to myself in case they had questions or issues after the interview they wanted to discuss or withdraw.¹⁸⁷

It would have been beneficial if the participants in this study could have approved their quotations before this thesis was finished. Since most of the interviewers do not speak English and do not have access to e-mail this has not been possible and this might be considered an ethical issue. In order to approach this problem the recorded interviews has been repeatedly and carefully listened to. Statements which have not been fully clear have not been used in the result – and analyze process.¹⁸⁸

During most interviews and during the field visits it has been perceived as positive to be a young, European woman. As mentioned above, the cultural context has been considered during the interviews and manners and clothing has been adjusted according to this. ¹⁸⁹ Word as thank you, hello and good bye was learned in the local languages, this was perceived as highly appreciated.

4.8Presenting empirical material and Analytical procedure

As a first step in the analytical procedure 10 conditions which needs to be fulfilled in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work effectively and efficiently were created. As mentioned in chapter 2 these 10 conditions were developed from theories regarding Soft Modes of Governance, lessons-learned from countries/organizations who previously have been working with Soft Modes of Governance and theories regarding tools which are similar to Soft Modes of Governance that have been applied in countries in the global south.

The 10 conditions are a recurring tool since it has been used as both the base for the interviews and when presenting and analyzing the empirical material. The result from this thesis is

¹⁸⁷ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p.61-64, 68-76, Rose 1994 through Whitning (2008) p.37

¹⁸⁸ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), p.61-64, 68-76, Bryman (2013) p.352-355

¹⁸⁹ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p68-76, Ryen (2004) p.100-101

presented in chapter 6 and the transcribed interviews have been read with theoretical lenses in order to see new and not before recognized aspect of Soft Modes of Governance.¹⁹⁰

The result is presented with both descriptive text and citations. This presentation will follow Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) "*Guidelines for reporting interview quotes*".¹⁹¹ The quotes are related to the general text and the aim has been to keep a fair balance between these two. Only the most descriptive quotes have been used. Contrasting answers as well as other tendencies such as how common a certain answer was is also presented.¹⁹² The ten conditions, outlined in section 3.5 function as a base and the result is presented with these in mind; each condition is presented separately and within each condition quotes and descriptive text from the different levels of participants Thailand and Viet Nam is presented. The presented citations have been modified to a more suitable written style. Efforts have been made in order to ensure that the meaning of the specific answer has not been lost.¹⁹³ In unclear situations, thoughts about the coding/themes/patterns have been written down so that similar future statements have been coded in the same way.¹⁹⁴ It is perceived that three of the conditions (Legitimacy, Adjustment and behavior and Non-hierarchical and unofficial guidelines) were not perceived to have been captured to the wished extent which will reflect how these conditions are being presented.

In the analytical section of this thesis the empirical result is combined with theoretical framework. This is done in a table where it clearly is presented which stakeholders fulfill the different conditions. By doing this new patterns and new themes in Soft Modes of Governance can be detected which will further develop this mode of governance. By comparing the empirical with the analytical framework and the research questions can be answered a deeper understanding on how Soft Modes of Governance used in countries in the global south and why (or why not) it function as a tool to work within these context.

4.9 Generalization, relevance and random & Systematical faults

This thesis has developed and refined theories regarding Soft Modes of Governance. This has been done by explaining how Soft Modes of Governance can be used in countries in the global south and why (or why not) it functions in these parts of the world. The generalizations

¹⁹⁰ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p237-239

¹⁹¹ Box 16.4 p.279-281

¹⁹² Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), p.211-213, 279-281, 233-235, Ryen (2004) p.116-119, 148-150, Alvesson and Kärreman p.42-43

¹⁹³ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p 280 and p202-208

¹⁹⁴ Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) p.202-205

have been based on the participant's opinions and meanings which means a meaningful generalization can be done.¹⁹⁵

It is believed the result from this study can give a better understanding of how to steer in the global south and the within the environmental field.¹⁹⁶ The result from this thesis will improve the process of development interventions and public administration in South East Asia and in other non-developed regions.

The absences of random and systematic faults are considered to be high since all steps within this process have been done with accuracy. As noted above it is peoples perceived reality, and not necessarily the object reality, which has been studied and it is therefore hard to estimate if the participants answers would be exactly the same if the study was executed again. If their answers were to differ greatly from their original answer it would be important to find out why.

4.10 Conclusion of method and approach

In this chapter the aim has been to explain the approach and method of this thesis. Trustworthiness and authenticity has permeated the whole progress of this thesis and it has seen as important to describe different decisions and sequences in the working process. It has been considered as essential to inform about important circumstances around the cases and in the progress as a whole. The aim has also been to describe how I have worked and related to the material, the participants and the theoretical framework.¹⁹⁷.¹⁹⁸, ¹⁹⁹ The role of the interpreters and when they have been used has also been addressed as have the ethical problems around this thesis.²⁰⁰ By describing this, a certain amount of generalization can be made and the progress as whole can be judged.²⁰¹

Before presenting the result the two cases in this thesis, Thailand and Viet Nam and their political system will be further described.

¹⁹⁵ Noren (1990) p.13-16, Ridder et all (2012) p.9-12

¹⁹⁶ Bryman (2013) p. 358-359

¹⁹⁷ Noren (1990) p.25, 12-13

¹⁹⁸ Noren (1990) p.26

¹⁹⁹ Noren (1990) 26-27, Lindegren (1982) through Noren (1990) p.5

²⁰⁰ Squires (2009) p..285

²⁰¹ Noren (1990) p.11-12

5.0 Case Setting

In the following chapter the political context of the two cases, Thailand and Viet Nam will be described. As in many countries within the global south Thailand and Viet Nam has undergone a decentralization process during the last two centuries.²⁰² The theme for decentralization has often been to increase participation and empower local communities and ease the burden on national government by handing some responsibility to lower levels of government.²⁰³ Please note local citizenries and communities in South East Asian have only partly been empowered by decentralization.²⁰⁴ In some countries, there amongst Viet Nam the local communities have been empowered only in theory but not in practice.²⁰⁵

5.1 Thailand

Thailand is a constitutional monarchy and below the national government, Thailand is divided into 76 provinces. These provinces are lead by an appointed governor and his/her deputies. The provinces are divided into district (Amphurs) which are headed by district officers and falls under the responsibility of the provincial governor. Each district is divided into sub-districts (Tambons) which consists of several villages (Moo Bans). Each village is lead by a head of the village (Kamnan).²⁰⁶

The local governments, which to some extent overlap with the provincial government, are divided into urban and rural areas^{207,208} In rural areas the local government includes The Provincial Administrative Organization (PAO), government at the provincial level and the Tambon Administrative Organization (TAO), government at a sub-district level.²⁰⁹

There are around 2 700 Tambons in Thailand, these Tambons are a part of the provincial administration and under the supervision of a district office and the provincial governor. Each Tambon have a Tambon council and a chief executive that is partly elected by voters and partly appointed by the provincial governor. The Tambons is funded by local taxes and provincial

²⁰² Hadiz (2007) p.876 and Bardhan (2002) and Worldbank through Hadiz (2007) p.876

²⁰³ Henderson (1989) p.801, Robinson and Stiedl (2001) p.53-54

²⁰⁴ Hadiz (2007) p.879

²⁰⁵ Rondinelli (1983) p.181-185

²⁰⁶ Soonthornnawaphat (2013), UNESCAP (2013)

²⁰⁷ UNESCAP (2013), Soonthornnawaphat (2013)

²⁰⁸ since this thesis focus on rural areas further information about the local government in urban areas has been excluded

²⁰⁹ UNESCAP (2013)

government agencies and are meant to be flexible and responsive to people's needs.²¹⁰ The Tambons are responsible for implementing policies and directives from all ministries and state agencies in the local communities.²¹¹

The PAOs execute laws/guidelines given to them by higher levels. In each committee there is a secretary which is a non-elected permanent position and elected by the Ministry of Interior. In practice the secretary has more power than in theory, since they are the ones who run the TAO office on a day-to-day basis and often are the experts in procedures, law and regulations. Besides implementing plans and project from higher authorities and government levels the TAO are responsible of; i.e protection and preservation of the environment, promoting education, religion and culture.²¹²

The decentralization processes in Thailand has led to the empowerment of provincial businessmen whose "monetary resources and social networks facilitate the successful mobilization of voters".²¹³ These so called "Chao Pho" (Godfathers) mediates much of the market and democracy process in contemporary Thailand.²¹⁴

5.1.2. Project site in Thailand

The project site in Thailand is one of the provinces in the country which suffer from severe environmental problems i.e. coastal erosion and logging.²¹⁵ Another big environmental problem within the area is people who still lives of - and continue to use the mangroves for their daily lives.²¹⁶

The area suffered from a severe natural disaster a few years back and has since then received a lot of different development interventions. The main livelihood in the area is agriculture and aquaculture and fishing, the average income is a bit higher than in other provinces in Thailand and differs from many other coastal areas within Thailand since it is not a popular tourist destination. Most people are Muslims or Buddhist.²¹⁷

²¹⁰ Royal Government of Thailand (1999) through Naschon and Charles (2009) p. 166

²¹¹ Rajchagool (unknown year) p.35, UNESCAP (2013), Soonthornnawaphat (2013)

²¹² Rajchagool (unknown year) 36-38, Soonthornnawaphat (2013)

²¹³ Argihiros (2001) 573

²¹⁴ Hadiz (2007) p.879

²¹⁵ Mangroves for the Future (2011)d p.17-18, 29

²¹⁶ Mangroves for the Future (2011) d p.30

²¹⁷ Interviews Thailand

5.2 Viet Nam

The social republic of Vietnam is a one-party state governed by the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV).²¹⁸ There are three levels of the local administrative system in Viet Nam: Provinces (around 60 units), districts (around 600 units) and communes (around 10,400 units). All levels consist of a representative body called The people's council and the executive body, called the Peoples committee.²¹⁹ The Peoples Committee are "charged with maintaining law, order and security within their jurisdictions; forwarding budget requests to higher levels; reviewing and approving plans for socioeconomic development within their delegated authority; executing the budget; and undertaking duties as assigned by higher levels of administrations".²²⁰ Policies, laws and regulations are inconsistent, incomplete and incoherent and lower levels of government often receive opposing directives.²²¹

The candidates who runs in the elections in Viet Nam are nominated by Viet Nam's Fatherland Front, an umbrella organization which can be described as "the political base for peoples power". The Viet Nam Fatherland Front has an important role in the society since they are trying to promote national solidarity and unity, work as a network to pick up and spread ideas/models through the society and mobilize the people to look after their interests.²²² The lower levels of government have reporting responsibility to the National Assembly, the central line ministries and the Local peoples committee. How big responsibility the province has depends on the importance of the province. Large urban centers often enjoy a greater degree of autonomy than small provinces and rural areas.²²³

The government has issued different directives and decrees which encourage social institutions and citizens participation²²⁴ for example has different governmental and international supportive programs been implemented with the goal of having nationwide adaptation of Comanagement at the provincial level by 2013. However, this has not been accessible to practioners and sub-national decision-makers.²²⁵ Previous research has found that that the

²¹⁸ United Nations (2004) p.2, 5-8

²¹⁹ United Nations (2004)p.5-8

²²⁰ United Nations (2004 p.8

²²¹ Swan (2009) through Mangroves for the future(2012) p.8, Naschon and Charles (2009) p.166

²²² Interrviews Viet Nam,, Mattran (2013)

²²³ United Nations (2004)p.5-8

²²⁴ United Nations (2004) p.10

²²⁵ Eucker (2006), Pomeroy et al (2009), Nguyen Chu Hoi (2009 a), VDR (2010) through Mangroves for the future (2012) p.8 and Mangroves for the future (2012) p.8

civil society "is still significantly constrained"²²⁶ and the Vietnamese state" is characterized by a repressed civil society".²²⁷ Decentralization processes can therefore be said to be theoretical and not in practice, particularly in remote areas far from Hanoi.²²⁸

5.2.1Project site Viet Nam

The project-site in Viet Nam is one of the poorest regions within the country. ²²⁹ The area has great potential for tourism and oyster lime production and is rich in natural resources.²³⁰ The area suffers from logging, over-exploiting of resources and natural disasters in form of flooding and storms.²³¹ The communities at the project site are very poor and most people's livelihoods are dependent on natural and aquatic resources. Although tourism is an important source of income, it can only be used approximately six months a year due to extreme weather conditions.²³² The province has not received as much development intervention as the project site in Thailand and the main religion in the area is Buddhism.²³³

In the next section, the result from this thesis will be described.

6.0 Result

In this section the result from this thesis will be described, as mentioned above both descriptive text and citations will be used. The ten conditions, outlined in section 3.5.2 function as a base and the result is presented with these in mind; each condition is presented separately and within each condition quotes and descriptive text from the different levels of participants in Thailand and Viet Nam are presented.²³⁴ The village level and local/provincial/national government level²³⁵ are presented separately within each condition. Uneven numbers, like for example Representative 3: Village 2, Viet Nam indicates the participant is a man and even numbers, as for example National Level: Representative 2, Thailand indicates that the participant is a women.

²²⁶ Benedict through Bui (2013) p.81

²²⁷ Algappa (2004) through Bui (2013) p.81

²²⁸ Wells-Dang (2010) p.103-107 and Hoang (2007) through Wells-Dang (2010)p. 107, Bui (2013) p.84, Wells-Dang (2010)p.97-101

²²⁹ Irvin (1997)p. 790

²³⁰ Mangroves for the Future(2011) p.4

²³¹ Mangroves for the future (2011) e p.2-4

²³² Mangroves for the future (2011) e p.2-4

 $^{^{233}}$ Information collected from interviews with the parcipants in Viet Nam and Mangroves for the Future (2013) d p.1

²³⁴ For further information regarding each participant, please see Appendix 1.-4

²³⁵ Please note governments here refer to all types of government/institution/offices and NGO.

The conditions are presented in the following order; Knowledge, Voluntary actions, Capability and Willingness, Leadership, Group participation, Legitimacy, Adjustment and Monitoring, Cooperation and Unofficial, Exchange of information and non-hierarchical guidelines. Please note, although the conditions are presented separately they are connected and interweaves with each other, some are more connected than others which is clarified by distinctive references.

6.1. Condition 1 – Knowledge

Condition one – Knowledge and Understanding of the issues will be presented in the following section, In order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively it is as, mentioned in section i.e. 3.2.4 important that concerned stakeholders have deep knowledge and understanding of the issues they are working with. Without knowledge and understanding it is hard for stakeholders to improve their practices, take own initiatives and communicate their actions to other.

6.1.2 Village level

The local communities in Thailand were perceived as high and the majority of the villagers either mentioned how their village had different environmental problems to overcome or mentioned different actions had been taking in order to overcome this. Examples on what the local communities did in order to protect the environment was to plant trees,²³⁶ not throw waste and garbage in the sea or the canals since it might lead to pollution²³⁷ and be restrictive with the use of water.²³⁸ When discussing environmental problems the villagers were often concerned this would lead to degradation in their livelihood and income. Women did more often than men show concerns regarding the health of the people in area.

- "The only challenge this community is facing is unpredictable climate since this will affect the quality of the rubber from the rubber plantations" (Village 1: Representative 1, Thailand)

Knowledge regarding the environment did not seem to differ between men and women in Thailand. During some interviews the participants raised concerns regarding marginalized groups and how they destroyed the environment and did not have any knowledge about this issue.

²³⁶ Village 2: Representative 4, Thailand, Village 5: Representative 1, Thailand

²³⁷ Village 2: Representative 2, Thailand

²³⁸ Village 7: Representative 1, Thailand

- Marginalized groups, like the Burmese do not really know the importance with the forest and they waste resources without paying attention to it or care how it can be done in a sustainable way" (Village 2: Representative 3, Thailand)

In Thailand a discrepancy between the knowledge of the local villagers and the local/provincial government could be distinguished. It is perceived that the local villagers had greater understanding of different environmental concerns than the local/provincial government. The local villagers found this frustrating since many of the instituted measurements from local/provincial governments had had negative impact on the environment and their livelihood.

- "They²³⁹ want to prevent flooding but they do not understand the canals in this province are different from the ones in Bangkok, draining for prevention is not necessary here and will only lead to water shortage instead" (Village 1: Representative 3, Thailand)

The local communities' knowledge in Viet Nam was in general substantially lower than in Thailand. There was a clear discrepancy between men and women and between head of villages and other people in the villages. ²⁴⁰ Despite the fact that the area is struggling with different environmental concerns some of the participants did not reflect over these issues and meant that taking care of the environment was the same thing as cleaning the house or the roads in the villages.²⁴¹

When the connections between a healthy environment and human well-being was discussed several villagers raise concerns regarding the sewage system which had broke and polluted the water in the area. This and other issues which had had negative impacts on local peoples income and livelihood were often raised.²⁴² Others could not see any connections at all between the environment and human well-being.²⁴³

²³⁹ Local Government / Institutions

²⁴⁰ Please note information that before visiting the field site information regarding how involved and engaged women were in this province was received.

²⁴¹ Village 2: Representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 3: Representative 3 Viet Nam, Village 4: Representative 1, Viet Nam

²⁴² Village 1: representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 2: Representative 3, Viet Nam, Village 3: Representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 5: Representative 1 Viet Nam, Village 3: Representative 2, Viet Nam

²⁴³ Village 2: Representative 2 Viet Nam, Village 3: Representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 3, representative 2, Viet Nam

 "There are no relationship between the environment and human, but sometimes if I see someone throw trash on the street I get upset and complain to them, but that is all" (Village 3: Representative 2, Viet Nam)

When discussing knowledge of environmental issues a few of the participants²⁴⁴ argued that the knowledge in the area regarding environmental issues were very low and therefore the environment was not taken care of. They also argued that the awareness and knowledge in general had improved in the area but that:

- "Everyone understand the importance about a healthy environment, however in some case they have no choice but to pollute it." (Village 1: Representative 1, Viet Nam)

Only one of the interviewed had a great understanding of the environmental problems and issues in Viet Nam. This person had on his own initiative planted 2000 mangrove trees since he had noticed a decrease in resources as much of the mangrove forest within this region had disappeared. He hoped, by planting new trees, the aquatic resources would come back.

- "The aquatic recourses have been reduced dramatically within this area and this will have large effects for the people living here. Not only the livelihood will be affected but the natural disasters will also become more frequent" (Village 1: Representative 3, Viet Nam)

6.1.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

Regarding knowledge and understanding of the environment at the local/provincial level a range of different answers were collected in Thailand; two made parallels between improved livelihood and sustainable development²⁴⁵ whilst others raised concerns over existing data bases at the office,²⁴⁶ declining tourism²⁴⁷ and that the younger generation has no interest of taking care of the environment.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴Village 4: Representative 1, Viet Nam and Village 3: Representative 5, Viet Nam

²⁴⁵ Local/ Provincial Level: Representative 3, Thailand, Local/ Provincial Level: Representative 1, Thailand, Local/Provincial Level: Representative 7, Thailand

²⁴⁶ Local Provincial Level: / Representative 5, Thailand:

²⁴⁷ Local/ Provincial Level: Representative 4, Thailand:

²⁴⁸ Local/ Provincial Level: Representative 4, Thailand:

When asking the representatives from local/provincial government regarding the knowledge of the local communities most of them²⁴⁹ perceived that the villagers had some kind of knowledge. How much knowledge differed between the participants.

- "The awareness of local villagers can be divided into three spheres; the Burmese group, the Muslim group and the Buddhist group". The Buddhists group is often highly aware, and the Muslim groups have their own way of thinking and if they do not care for the environment they are not aware either. The Burmese are not aware and do not care" (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 3, Thailand)

- "Yes, yes, the local communities are aware about environmental problems and concerns, however, they do need more knowledge so they can attack the problems better" (Local/provincial Level: Representative 1, Thailand.)

The representatives at the National level in Thailand seemed highly aware about the linkages between healthy environment and human-well being. Most of the representatives did not have any information regarding how much knowledge the local people had at the exact project-sites but meant that the awareness differentiates between different villages and areas in Thailand. One of the representatives²⁵⁰ did however argue that local communities, especially in province X, lacked knowledge and understanding about environmental management, another representative²⁵¹ argued the opposite and meant:

- "Local communities are often aware and much more engaged than in the past, however, they still have some law regulation problem which sometimes prevent them to certain things. The local communities in province X, I would say, have more knowledge than in average" (National Level: Representative 1, Thailand:)

The local/provincial governments in Viet Nam were all aware of the environmental issues and how these affect the daily life of the people living in the area. The participants raised concerns regarding the lack of awareness and knowledge of the local community and how difficult it was for the local community to change their way of living since there are no alternative livelihoods in the area.

 $^{^{249}}$ All except Local/ Provincial Level: Representative 5 , Thailand, who meant the local villagers lack knowledge

²⁵⁰ National level: representative number 6, Representative Thailand

²⁵¹ National Level: Representative 1 Thailand

All except one²⁵² representative at the National level in Viet Nam perceived the local villagers to have a deep knowledge about the environment. When asking the national level regarding linkages between healthy environment and human-well being no comprehensive answers were received.

6.2 Condition 2 – Voluntary actions

In the following section, Condition two - Capability and ability to do voluntary actions and take initiatives without being sanctioned is presented. This condition is an important feature in Soft Modes of Governance since the tool to great extent relies on different stakeholders' ability and capability to perform voluntary actions and take own initiatives.

This condition and Condition three (Capability and willingness to invest in projects with time, knowledge and resources) intertwine with each other and although they are presented separately a combined reading of the two is recommended in order to fully understand the issues.

6.2.1 Village level

At village level in Thailand the civil society had carried out a number of different voluntary actions despite the fear of being sanctioned. These voluntary actions consisted of i.e. planting mangrove trees²⁵³, creating no-fishing zones²⁵⁴ and build dams to improve the water supplies²⁵⁵. Many²⁵⁶ felt opposed by the government and felt that their efforts were not being recognized.

"(...) since it is impossible to extend the land or receive any legal papers from the government it is hard to continue to work with conservation and spread it to other areas.
 The government makes it to hard" (Village 4: Representative 1, Thailand)

The local communities' ambition to act on their own initiative became evident during many interviews as did opinions regarding how they would rather initiate their own projects without

²⁵² National Level: Representative 5, Viet Nam

²⁵³ Village 2, Thailand

²⁵⁴ Village 1 (a neighboring village to Village but which the representatives from village 1 knew of), Thailand ²⁵⁵ Village 1, Thailand

²⁵⁶ Village 2: Representative 1 Thailand, Village 2: Representative 2 Thailand, Village 2: Representative 3 Thailand, Village 2: Representative 4 Thailand, Village 4: Representative 1, Thailand, Village 1: Representative 5, Thailand and Village 1: Representative 1, Thailand

being paid than being told what to do and receive money for it. A fear of doing something wrong and being sanctioned was evident.

- "As soon as we do one mistake in we are being sanctioned and are forced to pay or redo what we have done. The government however seems to be able to do how many mistake they want without being sanctioned or forced to correct their mistake which often lead to negative effects for us who live in the area" (Village 2: Representative 2, Thailand)

In both Thailand and Viet Nam the participants at the local level argued that they would do more voluntary actions and protect the environment more if the land were their own and they could be sure that the local/provincial and national government would not come and claim it after a few years.

- "I know people who had invested a great lot in their land developed a long-term investment plan for it, but then the government took it away because they realized the land was valuable and be used to other things." (Village 1; Representative 3, Viet Nam)

Voluntary actions in the local communities in Viet Nam were not a common feature and most villagers spoke about the importance of receiving money for different actions they had executed. Only a few²⁵⁷ villagers seemed to be aware of other communities/persons who engage in natural resource management.²⁵⁸

- "No, my village are not doing anything special for the environment, we join the forest protection in case there is a fire, but otherwise no. (...) My village is not different than other villages, they also only join in case there is a fire" (Village 2: Representative 3 Viet Nam)
- "No, I do not know anyone who are doing things for the environment and it is hard for me to know, like last time there was a fire I saw people go into the forest but I did not see the fire so I did not go" (Village 3: Representative 2, Vietnam)

²⁵⁷ Village 1: Representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 2: Representative 1, Viet Nam, both referred to Village 1: Representative 3 (Please see Condition 1, for more information)

²⁵⁸ Which is the opposite to Thailand were almost all villagers were aware about other communities who were engaged in natural recourses management

During the interviews it became evident that the villagers²⁵⁹ wished for a model which had already proved to be successful and argued that this would lead to more voluntary actions.

6.2.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

The Local/Provincial NGOs which have been very active in the area in Thailand during a long period of time have seen a lot of voluntary actions from the civil society. His concern was that the communities did not get enough support from the local government:

- "The local communities in X has been really concerned regarding the destruction they some investors in the area has done, but when they try to raise this issue, people has been killed so now they are scared and need more support before they do anything by their own again" (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 7, Thailand)

The representatives from the local/provincial government in Thailand did say that there were examples on villages that had done different voluntary actions with different success. How much voluntary action the villages did do, depended on how much land the villages owned and how much resources they had. During these discussions the importance of getting the local communities to take their own initiatives and "to think outside the box" was raised by one of the representatives.²⁶⁰

At national level one of the participant mentioned that the amount of voluntary actions depend on how much financial resources the civil society in a certain province have.

- "I would say the civil society in province X are quite rich and therefore can do different voluntary activities. But engagement by the civil society is important, it really is." (National Level: Representative 1, Thailand)

The other participants at national level in Thailand answered in more general terms and meant that they did not know how much voluntary actions local communities did or that it differed from community to community.

The governments at local/provincial level in Viet Nam all agreed that communities at a village level did not do anything on their own initiative or voluntarily.²⁶¹

 ²⁵⁹ i.e Village 1: Representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 1: Representative 3 Viet Nam, Village 5: Representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 3: Representative 1, Viet Nam

²⁶⁰ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 1, Thailand

²⁶¹ Please note similar statements was done by the local communities.

- "It is not common people are engaged and participate in meetings and in different processes if they do not have to, but if we announce they HAVE to come, they come" (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam)

Two representatives²⁶² from this level perceived that the local communities were engaged and did voluntary actions in processes which had short-term benefits. Land planning and managing the environment often requires long-term investment which the local communities are not willing to do according to the representatives.

At the national level in Viet Nam a clear discrepancy between the representatives who thought the local communities performed voluntary actions²⁶³ and the representatives who did not think that the local communities performed voluntary actions²⁶⁴ could be identified. The representatives who meant no voluntary action was taken by the local communities argued this was due to the local communities waiting for legislation or advice from the government before doing anything or them only caring about food and other resources they need in order to survive.

6.3 Condition 3 - Capability and willingness

In the following section, Condition three - Capability and willingness to invest in projects with time, knowledge and resources - will be presented. This is an important feature of Soft Modes of Governance since it determines if and what they stakeholders are willing to sacrifice by working with this tool. It also describes if the stakeholders have the ability to do so. As mentioned above, this condition and Condition two (Capability and possibility to do voluntary actions and take initiatives without being sanctioned is presented) are closely inter-

linked and in order to fully understand these issues the two conditions should be read combined.

6.3.1 Village level

The knowledge and the access to resources were, as mentioned above, in general higher in Thailand than in Viet Nam and many of the villagers in Thailand had hired people to work on their farm which implies they had time to invest in different projects. Their willingness to

 ²⁶² Local/Provincial Level: Representative 3, Viet Nam and Local/Provincial Level: Representative 5, Viet Nam
 ²⁶³ National Level: Representative ,1 Viet Nam, National Level: Representative 4, Viet Nam, National Level

el::Representative 3, Viet Nam

²⁶⁴ National Level: Representative 2, Viet Nam and National Level: Representative 5, Viet Nam

engage in different projects were also evident, and as noted above, the local communities would rather engage in own initiated project without being paid than participating in project led by someone else and receive money for it. The local communities were also negative against government founded project since the government often did not ask the villagers if they wanted to participate in a certain project but just delegated certain duties, duties which often opposed activities initiated by the communities. The fact that the government never tried to engage villages which had not previously been active in natural resource management was also raised. The respondents meant this was due to governments fearing failure and argued that more time and resources should go to these villages "instead of destroying already existing project".²⁶⁵

During the interviews with the local communities in Viet Nam it was evident the villagers lacked the capability to invest in projects with time, knowledge and resources. As stated in condition one – Knowledge and Understanding of the issues - the local communities often lack knowledge and understanding about natural resources and environmental management. The local communities were often quite poor and therefore spent most of their day taking care of the farm, their business or fishing. Finding time and resources to invest in different project was perceived as problematic.

"No, other people in the village do not have time to engage in these questions, they need to collect wood in the forest and take care of their animals and their farm. Since I am the head of the village I have more time so sometimes I join different meetings" (Village 2: Representative 1 Viet Nam)

It also became clear it was difficult for the local communities to be engaged in local natural resource management since they were not allowed nor invited to participate in different meetings concerning these issues if they were not the Head of Village.

- "I have no opportunity to engage in local meeting about planning and natural resources,, maybe I have the right but only the Head of the village has the opportunity and besides, it is only him who receives information about the meetings." (Village 1: Representative 3, Viet Nam)

²⁶⁵ Village 2: Representative 4, Thailand

During the interviews it seemed almost all respondents wished they had more opportunity to join and receive more information regarding issues which were of their concern. One participant²⁶⁶ however argued he did not want to be more engaged nor did he think it was his responsibility, to take care of the environment "(it) was, and should be the local authorities responsibility".

6.3.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

The representatives from local/provincial government in Thailand did not seemed concerned regarding the villagers lack of financial resources or time to invest in different projects. Their main concerns was how aware and how much knowledge the participants had, especially if they were not members of a conservation group. Concerns regarding the local communities lack of land were also raised.

"The local communities are aware and they also have the ability. However, in order to do conservation they need more land". (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 5, Thailand)

One of the respondents²⁶⁷ mentioned that the only way of getting the participant active in different natural resource management activities are "if they get paid or receive any other compensation."

The national representatives in Thailand perceived it too difficult to express any opinions regarding these matter or meant local communities had both willingness and capability to engage in environmental concerns and matters. One respondent²⁶⁸ meant local communities are lacking capabilities to engage in environmental management since they lack formal recognition and significant support from the government.

The representatives from the local/provincial government in Viet Nam responses to whether the local communities have the ability and willingness to engage in different project were often evasive. When asked about the opportunities for the local communities to join different natural resource management and planning activities the following answer was provided

 ²⁶⁶ Village 3: Representative 3
 ²⁶⁷ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 2, Thailand

²⁶⁸ National level: Representative 6, Thailand

"Yes, yes, they have the ability to join in natural resources management, like a couple of years ago there was a fire in the area and then the Head of that village just ringed on a bell and other villages in the area came and helped them stop the fire" (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 7, Viet Nam)

One of the representative²⁶⁹ from this level meant most of the local communities lack the knowledge and the time to engage in these type of questions.

- "Most people who are engaged in these matters are retired person or people with high intelligence, like teachers. After that comes the farmers and then, in the end, the fishermen. The fishermen are often illiterate and therefore they are hardly ever engaged or participate in different meetings and activities."

As mentioned in Condition 1 – Knowledge and Understanding of the issue, most of the participant at the national level in Viet Nam perceived that the local communities understood environmental problems and concerns. They did raise concerns regarding time and resources with the local communities. At the national level the participants all perceived that the local communities had the willingness to engage, they just needed the right conditions in form of financial resources and support, more knowledge and an alternative livelihood.

- "Yes, yes, they realize they should take care about the environment, not just for their own sake but for future generations as well the problem is their ability to do so is very low" (National Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam:)

6.4 Conditions 4 – Leadership

In the following section, Condition four - Well-functioning and inspiring leadership is presented. As mentioned above, well-functioning and inspiring leadership is important if Soft Modes of Governance is going to be understood and implemented throughout the different levels in the society.

6.4.1 Village level

At the village level in Thailand it was perceived to be many different leaders and all of the participants could mentioned at least one person who was an inspiring leader. These leaders were not just appointed leaders but persons who took numerous initiatives and inspired others.

²⁶⁹ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam

"These people²⁷⁰ lead because their consciousness it telling them to do so. They grew up here in this area so they want to preserve and protect the environment and inspire other to do the same" (Village 1: Representative 3, Thailand)

The head of the villages in Thailand did have power and influence over the local communities but seemed aware of the importance of other people taking initiatives and the lead in areas which were not of their expertise.

In Viet Nam the lack of engaged and inspiring leaders became evident during the interviews. There is a clear set of rules which determines which organizations each village in Viet Nam should have and the respondents could not recognize or mention any other leaders than the ones who were appointed. The leaders had often been elected/appointed to become leaders due to their age or past experience.

6.4.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

At the local/provincial government level in Thailand there was no recognition of leaders from the local communities and it was perceived to be difficult to mentioned and give examples on different leaders from the area who had not been appointed leaders.²⁷¹ Some of the respondents²⁷² did mention during the interviews how much harder it was to raise issues regarding the environment since one man, who had been very active in these field and had had a important position in the local government, had moved to another area.

The representatives at the national level in Thailand perceived it as hard to describe any specific issues, like leadership, from the local communities. During these conversations some of the respondents²⁷³ did, however, mention how meetings and settings like the ones MFF arrange function as good platform to share stories and experiences from successful villages and successful leadership. One participant²⁷⁴ also mentioned how important it is to influence and "spot" local leaders.

²⁷⁰ People from other villages in the area

²⁷¹ As for example Head of Villages

 ²⁷² Local/Provincial Level: 1, Thailand, Local/Provincial Level: Representative 2, Thailand, Local/Provincial Level: Representative 4, Thailand

²⁷³ National Level: Representative 1, Thailand and National Level: Representative 4, Thailand

²⁷⁴ National Level: Representative 6 ,Thailand

The representatives from the local/ provincial government in Viet Nam, shared the perception of the local communities and did not mention any other leaders in the local communities than the ones who had been elected/appointed.

"It is really the same in all the villages; they have a Head of Village and leaders of the different organizations within the villages." (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 3, Viet Nam:)

The representatives from National level in Viet Nam also found it difficult to describe any specific issues, like leadership, from the local communities.

6.5 Condition 5: Group participation

In the following section, Condition five - Group cohesion and group participation is presented. This is an important factor for Soft Modes of Governance and is reflecting how well the local communities can cooperate and what experiences they have in terms of working together with others.

6.5.1 Village level

At the village level in Thailand different groups could be distinguished; the groups differed between different local communities even though farmer groups and conservation groups were common in all villages. The groups had often been started on the villagers own initiative and had often been inspired by other communities. Some discrepancies between different groups could be distinguished as some groups were not perceived to work with adequate goods and services.²⁷⁵

As mentioned in condition 4 – Well-functioning and inspiring leadership, Viet Nam has clear rules on which organization and groups each village should have. Each village has groups as i.e.: Women's Association, Elderly Association, Youth Association, The Communist Party Group and Farmer Association. How engaged and active the different groups were differed between villages. In year 2010 a Fishery Association which was directed to all local communities in the area had been established.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ This was above all mentioned by Village 7: Representative 1, Thailand, Village 4: Representative 1, Thailand, Village 5: Representative 1, Thailand, Village 6: Representative 1, Thailand and Village 6: Representative 3.

^{3. &}lt;sup>276</sup> This Association had been established with support from amongst others MFF.

- "I am a member of the Womens Association in village X (...) We do not do any activities but sometimes we have parties, but there have not been any parties or activities in years." (Village 2: Representative 2, Viet Nam)
- "Yes, I am a member and vice-chair of the FA (...). I have attended meetings and participated in different trainings but, I do not know about these trainings, why should we plant trees when we are fishermen, how will that help us? Besides, the forest is too far away from my house in order for me to monitor it and plant new trees regularly" (Village 5: Representative 3, Viet Nam)²⁷⁷

There was a clear hierarchy between the different organizations in each village and groups i.e. the communist party and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front²⁷⁸ had big influence. The Head of the Village attended and participated in all meeting in his village and it was not uncommon that he was the leader of several²⁷⁹ organization in the village.

6.5.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

At the local/provincial government level in Thailand most representatives²⁸⁰ did not mention the groups in the local communities. The other representatives mentioned different conservation groups and which important roles they performed in the area when it comes to environmental protection and natural resource management.

- "Many of the groups in this area here are outstanding, and are doing a lot of conservation. (...) The problem is however to recruit new members to the groups so they often dissolve by time." (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 1, Thailand)

As in condition four – Well-functioning and inspiring leadership, the representatives from the national level in Thailand found it hard to discuss specific issues as group participation in the local communities. They mentioned and gave examples of different areas where there are many active and engaged groups but could not provide any more information.

²⁷⁷ Please note similar opinions were found in all interviewed members from the FA.

²⁷⁸ See section 5.2

²⁷⁹ Sometimes all

²⁸⁰ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 2, Thailand, Local/Provincial Level: Representative 3, Thailand and Local/Provincial Level: Representative 5, Thailand

The representatives from the local/provincial and national level government in Viet Nam gave information about the organizational structure in each village and argued "there is an organization for everyone, everyone is a member of at least one group in their local community."²⁸¹

6.6 Conditions 6: Legitimacy

In the following section, Condition six - Acceptance of Soft Modes of Governance and its legitimacy - is presented. As mentioned in the theoretical section 3.2.3 Soft Modes of Governance need to be perceived as legitimate by involved stakeholders in order for it to function and achieve its goals. Please note that it was perceived as problematic capturing this condition which is reflected in the following presentation. The problem with this condition is that the participants answers mainly state if it is positive or negative with increased stake-holder participation. As mentioned in section 3.2.3 legitimacy and Soft Modes of Governance also concern other area, areas which unfortunately have not been captured through these interviews.

6.6.1 Village level

At the village level in Thailand the participants perceived Soft Modes of Governance and empowered local communities as positive and an appropriate tool to achieve sustainable development. The local communities all agreed since they are affected the most and are closest to the problem they should have more influence and say over the natural resource management.

At the village level in Viet Nam there was a clear discrepancy regarding the legitimacy with Soft Modes of Governance amongst the villagers; it was either perceived as important and appropriate for the local communities to be more involved in natural resource management²⁸² or it was perceived as the government's duty to manage and protect the environment.²⁸³

- "The government should decide, people do not have capacity and cannot figure out different activities which would be good for the environment" (Village 5: Representative 1, Viet Nam)
- "It is important to include the local people in decision-making processes, they are the only one really understand what going on in the local site" (Village 5: Representative 3)

²⁸¹ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 3, Viet Nam

²⁸² Village 3: Representative 5, Viet Nam, Village 1: Representative 3, Viet Nam, Village 3: Representative 1, Viet Nam, Village 1: Representative 1, Viet Nam Village 5: Representative 3, Viet Nam

²⁸³ Village 2: Representative 2, Viet Nam, Village 4: Representative 1, Village 3: Representative 3, Viet Nam,

The importance of sanctions and rewards in form of i.e. gifts and financial resources were also raised during these interviews.²⁸⁴ One participant²⁸⁵ said he did not care who decided or if the villagers were allowed to participate in decision-making processes.

6.6.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

At the local/provincial government level in Thailand all except one of the participants²⁸⁶ raised the importance of including the local communities in decision-making more since they are the ones most affected and might have a deeper understanding for local conditions and potential. Instead this participant argued:

- "There are two sides to this; if the local communities are aware and knowledgeable they should be more be involved but sometime they just do not have the knowledge and then this can be a tool for someone who do not have good purposes."

The participant continued to explain how this had been the case in of the villages in the area where a charcoal factory had been established with the permission of the local communities since they had not understood which effects the factory would have.

The representatives from the national level in Thailand together with the representatives from local/provincial and village level acknowledged the importance of including the local communities in the different decision-making processes. The participants also mentioned the importance of having strong, united communities²⁸⁷, networks between different villages²⁸⁸ and inspiring examples from case studies²⁸⁹ in order for Soft Modes of Governance to be perceived as legitimate by different actors within the society.

The representatives from the local/provincial government/institutions/offices in Viet Nam all meant that in order to allow local communities to participate and play an important role in the decision-making processes their knowledge and understanding of the benefits of protecting the environment needs to be improved. One way of doing this would be establishing and clarifying rights and obligations.

²⁸⁴ Compare with condition 1 - X

²⁸⁵ Village 2: Representative 3 Viet Nam

²⁸⁶ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 2, Thailand

²⁸⁷ National Level :Representative 4, Thailand

²⁸⁸ National Level: Representative 1, Thailand

²⁸⁹ National Level: Representative 6, Thailand

At the national level in Viet Nam the stakeholders argued that the laws need to be changed before the local communities can be involved in the decision-making processes and Soft Modes of Governance can be perceived as legitimate.

 "There are three things which need to be changed: - The laws and regulation, the focus on centralization and there should be more emphasis on bottom-up processes". (National Level: Representative 2, Viet Nam)

The importance of clarifying and establishing rights and obligations was also raised at this level.

6.7 Condition 7 Adjustment and monitoring

In the following section, Condition seven - Willingness to adjust behavior and to be monitored is presented. This is important in Soft Modes of Governance since it determines how willing the stakeholders are to change their behavior if better practices are established. As mentioned in chapter 3, monitoring is necessary in order to establish a different behavior and implement new practices.

As with as condition six - Acceptance of Soft Modes of Governance and its legitimacy, this condition has been hard to capture during the interviews and the result in this section will therefore not be as comprehensive as in other sections.

6.7.1 Village level

In the local communities in Viet Nam the villagers seemed to some extent be willing to adjust their behavior and to be monitored. This was shown by i.e. the local communities wish for a model which had be proven successful in their area and since the participants were open regarding their way of working.

In Thailand the local communities were perceived to be negative against being monitored since there was a clear lack of confidence between the local communities and local government. Local communities adjusted their behavior and tried to improve their way of working constantly. As an example, the communities often started community organizations after they had been inspired by other villages.

In the local communities in Viet Nam the villagers seemed to be willing to adjust their behavior and to be monitored to some extent. This was shown i.e. by the local communities wishing for a model which had be proven successful in their area and participants being open regarding their way of working.

6.7.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

It was not perceived that the local/provincial governments in Thailand were positive towards adjusting their behavior which became more evident during the interviews with the local communities than the representatives from the government level and the importance of transparence was raised by one of the representative.²⁹⁰

The local/provincial NGOs in Thailand explained during the interview how his organization had evolved during the last decade and the willingness of adjusting behavior seemed high. He also argued that monitoring was necessary for a projects success.

The representatives at national level in Thailand are used to being monitored and adjust their behavior/practices if better and more efficient approach and procedures are presented. This became evident when the representatives highlighted the importance of a network and meetings where knowledge and experiences can be exchanged.

At local/provincial government level in Viet Nam information regarding the participants willingness to adjust their behavior and to be monitored are missing.

In Viet Nam, as well as in Thailand, the representatives at national level are used to being monitored and adjust their behavior/practices if better and more efficient approach and procedures are presented. The importance of networks and meetings where knowledge and experiences can be exchanged was raised during the interviews even though one representative²⁹¹ argued "Viet Nam should be allowed to determine over their own resources, in their own way without any interference from the outside world".

²⁹⁰ Local/Provincial Representative: 4, Thailand

²⁹¹ National Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam

6.8 Condition 8 Cooperation

In the following section, Condition eight - Willingness to and capability to cooperate with other stakeholders - is presented. This condition is essential in order to achieve the best plausible result with Soft Modes of Governance, and in order to establish the tool in the society.

Please note this result should be read in combination with the result from condition nine -Willingness and capability to exchange information - for the best possible understanding of these conditions.

6.8.1 Village level

Cooperation between the different stakeholders at village level in Thailand exist to some extent. Village one explained how they had been collaborating with different villages in order to improve the access to water in the area. Cooperation between villages was also mentioned by representatives from villages three, five, six and seven. One of the visited villages²⁹² did not mention any collaboration with other villages but mentioned how they "had to patrol their grounds in to ensure outsiders from intruding and stealing their resources."²⁹³ The remaining village, village number four, did not mentioned any collaboration or distrust against other villages, they did however mentioned how well different organizations and people within the village were collaborating.

The cooperation between local communities and local/provincial governments differentiate between the local communities; some villages mentioned well-functioning collaboration whilst others did not trust the local government/institutions/offices and NGOs.

- "Our community has previously received support from UNDP and even if the support has ceased we still have a very good relationship. We have also a good relationship with the Department of Marine and Coastal Resources." (Village 3: Representative 1)
- "No, we do not like to cooperate with local government or institutions, they just say they going to do stuff but they never actually do it. When it comes to implementation we never see any action from them." (Village 2: Representative 2, Thailand)

²⁹² Village 2

²⁹³ Village 2: Representative 3, Thailand

The representatives from village two also lacked confidence in working together with private actors. The lack of trust was due to a Japanese company that had destroyed a part of their land when trying to implement CSR-activities.

None of the villagers mentioned any collaboration with the national level and mentioned that all cooperation with higher levels of government had to go through the local government/institutions/offices.

Collaboration amongst the villages in Viet Nam was low and the only cooperation which seemed to exist between the different villages was the fire-protection groups which were mentioned under condition 2. During the interviews it became evident some villages had been involved in conflicts regarding the ownership over a piece of land. The importance of cooperation was recognized by some of the participants²⁹⁴ and they meant that the lack of collaboration was due to the communities not understanding the benefits of collaborating with other villages and authorities.

"Cooperation between local people and the authority needs to be improves as do the collaboration between different religious groups and different villages." (Village 3; Representative 3, Viet Nam)

The collaboration between the village level and the local/provincial/national government level was based on financial support and the villagers wanted to be financially rewarded for implementing new activities. Other forms of cooperation between the village level and the higher levels over government did not seem to exist.

Local communities in Viet Nam also raised concerns regarding deeper collaboration with local/provincial/national government since this often lead to more rules and regulations to follow.

6.8.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

The roles and capacities of different stakeholders at the local/provincial level in Thailand were not always completely understood by stakeholders at this level which affected how well the different stakeholders could cooperate.

²⁹⁴ Village 3; Representative 3, Viet Nam, Village 5; Representative 1, Viet Nam

 "They²⁹⁵ often come to us and ask us for advice in different areas which concerns the environment but this is not our field of expertise and we cannot give advice in these areas. We only do facilitation and management" (Local Provincial Level: Representative 5, Thailand

The importance of improving the collaboration between the stakeholders at local-provincial and local/provincial- village level was raised by one of participants.²⁹⁶ Another participant²⁹⁷ argued his government had a well-functioned cooperation with the local communities and collaboration problems were more problematic at national –provincial/local level than it was at the local/provincial – village level. Another representative²⁹⁸ from the local government mentioned how hard it is to actually engage the local communities and establish well-functioning collaboration.

The local/provincial NGOs said that the collaboration with local/provincial government functioned well. The NGO collaborated well when working with the villages one-by-one but it was problematic when trying to make them cooperate.

- "The biggest challenge is to get people from different villages to cooperate. The villagers do not show up to a meeting or to a activity if they know people from other villages are coming, everybody wants to be the most important ones."²⁹⁹ Representative local/provincial Level 7 Thailand

According to the local local/provincial level of government the collaboration with national level depended on how good indicators the national government had introduced in different areas and how budget they had allocated. It was also mentioned that the influence of the governors can be an issue since he/she often supports only actions and areas that are in his/her interest. One representative from the national level³⁰⁰ argued the collaboration between the different levels of government would improve if lower levels of government received more influence over the budget. According to the national level, the quality of the cooperation between local/provincial national level in Thailand depended on:

²⁹⁵ Other governments from local/provincial level

²⁹⁶ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 4, Thailand

²⁹⁷ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 3, Thailand

²⁹⁸ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 1, Thailand

²⁹⁹ Please note the villagers mentioned they cooperated with other villages.

³⁰⁰ National Level: Representation 6, Thailand

- *"How well national and local/provincial level are cooperating the province governor and government officer"* (National Level: Representative 4, Thailand)
- "The problems is the plan from the national departments and the plan from the local level are not in compliance, and that makes it hard to collaborate" (Representative National Level 1 Thailand)

The local local/provincial level of government/institutions/offices also mentioned that the interests of the government officers could be a problem when collaborating with local communities since:

- "It is hard for the communities to collaborate with local government since the local authorities builds everything around interest and if you do not have the resources to affect these interests it very hard to collaborate with them" (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 2, Thailand)

Cooperate Social Responsibility (CSR) was mentioned by one of the representatives³⁰¹ from this level as an appropriate tool to use in order to achieve more cooperation at the lo-cal/provincial-village level. The same person also mentioned the importance of improving the networks and collaboration at this level and that another way of achieving this was to find and influence local leaders.

Cooperation amongst different stakeholders at the national level in Thailand seemed to function well and MFFs NCB was raised as "a good mechanism and venue for people from different areas and background find new suitable way of collaborating."³⁰²

Collaboration between different governments at the local level in Viet Nam was low and the participants from the different offices did not mention any activities where they collaborated with other governments in the area. Collaboration between different stakeholders at this level was hampered since the area was attractive and rich in natural resources which often lead to conflict regarding how it should be used.

³⁰¹ National Level: Representative number 1Thailand

³⁰² National Level : Representative 6, Thailand

- "Here in this area there is a conflict over the land use, some people want to use it for activities related to tourism and others want to use it for agriculture or aquaculture" (Local/provincial Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam)

The collaboration between local/provincial and national levels of government was characterized by a top-down approach were the lower levels of government implemented the rules and legislation coming from the higher levels. The local level of government and the provincial level of government had experienced some collaboration issues since the local level of government did not implement what they had promised. Local level of government perceived it as difficult to cooperate with higher levels since the national and provincial level often introduced contradicting rules and legislation.

In Viet Nam, as in Thailand, the collaboration between stakeholders at the national level was perceived to be high and the stakeholders had many opportunities to create networks and exchange knowledge and experience. The national level representatives found it difficult to find venues where to cooperate with the local communities and argued:

- "Many decisions taken at the national level often get stuck at the provincial level and collaborating with the local levels of government and the local communities is therefore challenging" (National Level: Representative Number 4, Viet Nam)

One participant³⁰³ argued that the national level had many channels to support local communities.

6.9 Condition 9 Exchange of information

In the following section, Condition nine - Willingness and capability to exchange information - is presented. This condition is essential in Soft Modes of Governance for its ability to be spread and implemented throughout the society.

Please note that this condition and condition eight - Willingness to and capability to cooperate with other stakeholders - should be read together in order ensure best possible understanding of this issue.

³⁰³ National Level: Representative number 1

6.9.1 Village level

The participants³⁰⁴ at the village level in Thailand described how each year the local government visited some villages in the area in order to find out what the local communities wanted and needed. The local government then sent the requests to the provincial level so they could allocate funds for the activities in their budgets. According to the local communities these activities were never realized since the local and provincial government never implemented this. The participants also argued that "*is easier to raise issues/concerns with the local government if you know someone with this position, but in the end however it all comes back to whether the officer is interested in the subject you are trying to raise*"³⁰⁵.

Two representatives³⁰⁶ at this level mentioned that the Tambons had well-functioning systems for different local communities to exchange information and to communicate with the local government. A few villagers³⁰⁷ mentioned that they went to the Head of the Village if they had any concerns/issues and then the Head of the village raised the issues/concerns with the local government.

One village³⁰⁸ also mentioned how they had been in a conflict with the local government since trying to raise an issue which the local government did not agree on. Another village³⁰⁹ argued it was hard to communicate with local government since they were not always honest and sometimes lied in order to get what they wanted.

The communication channels the local communities had access to in Viet Nam depended on gender and position in the village. The Head of Village could raise issues/concerns directly with the local government.³¹⁰ Other men in the villages had go through the Head of Village if he wanted to raise an issue with the local government. The Head of Village could then decide if he wanted to take the issue further.³¹¹ Women raised issues first to their husbands who then

³⁰⁴ All partcipants except Village 4: Representative 1, Thailand mentioned this

³⁰⁵ Quote from Village 2; Representative 1, Thailand

³⁰⁶ Village 4; Representative 1, Thailand and Village 3; Representative 1, Thailand, Village 3: Representative 3, Thailand

³⁰⁷ Village 7; Representative 1, Thailand, Village 6; Representative 3 Thailand, Village 5; Representative 1, Thailand, Village 6; Representative 1, Thailand

³⁰⁸ Village 2 ³⁰⁹ Village 3

³¹⁰ Please note the local government here only refers to the Towns People Committee since this is were local communities have the right to raise isues/concerns

³¹¹ Please note that people who knew someone in the local government could raise issues with them directly without going through the head of the village

went to the Head of Village. None of the women asked could give an example on when they had raised an issue or concern to the Head of Village. Some men could recollect issues they had raised with the Head of Villages who then raised the issues with the local government.

- "Sometimes I am allowed to participate in planning meeting in the village but not always, but my husband participates almost every time. (...) I do wish I could participate in more meetings because then I would know more about what is going on in the communities" (Village 3: Representative 2, Viet Nam)
- "Yes, I am the head of village X so I have plenty of opportunities to raise and discuss issues with Towns people committee." (Village 1: Representative 3, Viet Nam)
- "If I want to propose something I first go to the Head of the village who then discuss the matter with the Communist party group in the village and if the perceive it to be good they go to the Towns People Committee" (Village 2: Representative 3:Viet Nam)

When proposing ideas to the local or higher levels of government the Head of Village's³¹² suggestions had to be approved by a council before it could be discussed at a local government level. How many issues that were raised with the Head of Villages differed between the villages. No information regarding how the local government proceeded with the issues/concerns raised by the Head of the villages was collected during the interviews.

In some meetings³¹³ held by the local governments everyone was allowed to join. However these meetings did not have high attendance since many of the local villagers did not have time to join them. Some people also got invited to attend other meetings due to their previous roles as Head of Village or because they possessed a deep knowledge about a certain subject.

Two of the participants³¹⁴ raised study-tours as a good opportunity for local communities to exchange knowledge and experiences. They said that study-tours could benefit from visiting communities with different backgrounds than theirs.

³¹² Or suggestions coming from others

³¹³ For example meetings regarding natural disasters

³¹⁴ Village 1: Representative 3, Viet Nam and Village 5: Representative 1, Viet Nam

6.9.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

The local/provincial and national levels in Thailand had difficulties in exchanging information and experiences since the system is still top-down governed and the national level lack knowledge and understanding of the problems the local/provincial/village level are struggling with.

The local government also raised concerns regarding the difficulties they faced communicating with provincial level of government:

"Thev³¹⁵ are supposed to have meetings were we can go and issue and concerns once a month but I have never heard of this meeting or received an intervention so I never know when they are." (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 4, Thailand)

In order to communicate with the local communities, one representative from local/provincial government³¹⁶ described how her office visited different villages annually in order to find out what the villagers wanted and needed. The villagers could also call or visit the government/office/institution if they wanted to raise an issue or concern. The local/provincial NGOs argued that it was difficult for the local communities to communicate with local/provincial government since they were more interested in improving the infrastructure and the tourism in the area than actually improving the local peoples life.

When trying to communicate with the local communities the local/provincial NGO also highlighted the importance of using the right tools;

"Just giving money is not sustainable, the best way I think, is to conduct a local research together with the local communities because then the local communities really understand what the project is about and the benefits with it." Local/Provincial Level: Representative 7, Thailand)

The importance of using media to communicate with the local communities was raised by one of the participants³¹⁷. This participant also brought up the importance of the local communities to start using social media by themselves since this could help them to get recognition and make their voices heard.

³¹⁵ The provincial Level ³¹⁶ Number 2

³¹⁷ Local/Provincial Level: Representative 2 Thailand

Collaboration between different stakeholders at local/provincial level was weak and the venues for information- and experience exchange with actors outside one's own sector were low. All participant could give examples from different successful project however, most of these were from projects they had not been involved in.

At national level in Thailand it was recognized that the local communities had problems making their voices heard since it was difficult for them to visit the government/institutions/offices within their opening hours. How well the local communities managed to make their voices heard depended on how strong the community was and which network channels they had.

As mentioned above the participants at the national level in Thailand all perceived it to be easy to meet and exchange information and experiences amongst each other. All of the participants at national level could easily mention success stories which they had not themselves been involved in.

The exchange of information between local, provincial and national level in Viet Nam was problematic. As mentioned above the processes are very top-down managed and it is difficult for lower levels of government to make their voice heard. The participants at the local level meant that the provincial level did not implement what they promised and that the directives were hard to understand. The local government had managed to get formal recognition as a town³¹⁸ by first proposing this to the district, the province and then to the national level of government.

The difficulties reaching and communicating with the local communities was raised during one interview and the importance of media in order to spread information was highlighted:

 "Using local radio and different TV-channels are good since this information can reach most people in our area, even the ones who cannot read." (Local/Provincial Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam)

³¹⁸ Before they were only conceived to be a village

At the national level the opinion that it had become much easier for stakeholders from different levels of society to communicate with each other was raised by one of the participants.³¹⁹ Others³²⁰ meant the system was still very centrally governed and it was difficult for the national level to receive information on what happened in the lower levels of government and in the local communities.

As mentioned above the participants at the national level in Viet Nam all perceived it to be easy to meet and exchange information and experiences amongst each other. All of the participants could easily mention success stories which they had not themselves been involved in. All except one respondent at this level highlighted the importance of meetings where participants from different areas and sectors participated.³²¹

6.10 Condition 10 Non-hierarchical and unofficial guidelines

In the following section, Condition ten - Willingness and capability use and adapt nonhierarchical and unofficial guidelines is presented. This condition is essential in Soft Modes of Governance since it determines how well the local communities can establish new methods, adapt their behavior and rephrase national guidelines to better fit local conditions. Unfortunately this conditions was hard to capture during the conducted interviews which is reflected in the following presentation. Please note that this condition to some interweave with Condition 2 - Capability and possibility to do voluntary actions and take initiatives without being sanctioned.

6.10.1 Village level

The local communities in Thailand are, as mentioned above, good at establishing new ways of working. However, around half of the local communities were not sure how rules and guidelines from other areas in Thailand could be implemented in their area as the success depends on cultural and religious norms and settings. The other communities also perceived it as difficult to transform guidelines and rules to the local settings but did not mention that cultural and religious values would be a barrier.

³¹⁹ National Level: Representative 2, Viet Nam

³²⁰ National Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam, National Level: Representative 4, Viet Nam and National Level: Representative 3, Viet Nam

³²¹ National Level: Representative 2

All except one³²² village in Thailand agreed that they wanted more influence over the legislation and said they preferred bottom-up processes and open law instead of strict, top-down legislation. One representative³²³ argued that the government should set-up targets and then leave the local communities to decide on how to achieve these targets.

To establish new practices was perceived as difficult in the local communities in Viet Nam and as mentioned above there was a clear division between the participants who wanted more influence over rules and guidelines and those who preferred being told exactly what to do. The advocates for more influence at the village level brought up the danger of letting national levels of government decide what to do since this might not be transferable to the local context.

 "The central level do not know the details with the project site so it is better they just set the target and then let the local communities decide how they should achieve it" (Village 1; Representative 3, Viet Nam)

The local communities perceived it as difficult to transfer successful projects from other areas into their local context. One of participants said he had tried to create different projects/guidelines but had then been discouraged from different levels of government who preferred foreign investments rather than guidelines/practices issued from the local communities.

6.10.2 Governments and NGOs at local/provincial/national level

The government at local/provincial level in Thailand whished for more influence over the policies at the local/provincial level. The representatives from this level could easily mention different guidelines and practices which they perceived to be working in different areas in the country.

- "Yes, there are practices which can be replicated in other areas. The key factor is the government, and that the government officers are responsible for the facilitation and that the local communities trust them and easily can exchange information" (National Level: Representative 1, Thailand)

³²² Village 3

³²³ Village 2; Representative 1, Thailand

Two of the national level representatives in Thailand³²⁴ emphasized the importance of decentralization whilst the other two representatives³²⁵ at this level did not mention it. The national representatives perceived there to be different practices and guidelines which could be transformed and implemented in different areas in Thailand and they were not under the impression that this would be difficult for the local communities to achieve.

The government at the local/provincial level in Viet Nam mentioned different guidelines and practices which they perceived to be working in different areas. Information regarding their ability and willingness to change national guidelines/practices to fit the local context is missing but as mentioned above, Viet Nam is very top-down governed and the local governments are not used to taking their own initiatives.

At national level around half of the participants³²⁶ claimed there were guideline/practices that could be implemented in many different areas in Viet Nam whilst the others³²⁷ argued this was not the case since the culture, geographical area and socioeconomic stages differ to the extent that it is not possible to transfer the experiences/know-hows from one area to the other.

7. Analysis

In the following section the result from this study will be analyzed. The section starts with a table summarizing the findings in section 6. The table shows which stakeholders fulfill the conditions, this fulfillment is based on the quotes, statements and result in section 6.

A + indicate the stakeholders at this level did fulfill the condition and an – indicates the stakeholders did not fulfill the condition. A X indicates that no information regarding this condition (at this level) was collected during the interviews and the empirical material has been perceived as to low for a conclusion to be made, the result from these conditions will however be discussed in general terms bellow the summarizing table. Please note, although presented differently in chapter 6, Cooperation (condition 8) in this section refers to how well the stakeholders within one level cooperates with other stakeholders on the same level/with stakeholders on a different level. This should not to be confused with condition 5 which refers

³²⁴ National Level: Representative 6, Thailand and National Level: Representative 1, Thailand

³²⁵ National Level: Representative 2, Thailand and National Level: Representative 4, Thailand

³²⁶ National Level: Representative 2, Viet Nam, National Level: Representative 1, Viet Nam and National Level: Representative 3, Viet Nam

³²⁷ National Level; Representative 4, Viet Nam and National Level: Representative 5, Viet Nam

to the cooperation within one village, one government or one NGO. Exchange of information (condition 9) refers to cooperation/ exchange of information between different levels of stakeholders.

				,	,					
Conditions	Conditon 1 Knowledge	Condition 2 Voluntary actions	Condtion 3 Capability/ Willingness	Condition 4 Leadership	Condition 5 Group participatio nnnnnn	Condition 6 Legitimacy	Condition 7 Adjust- ment/monit oring	Condition 8 Cooperation	Condition 9 Exchange of infor mation	Condition 10 Non hierarchical Unoffical guidelines
Stakeholder Group/level										
Thailand										
Village Level	+	+	+	+	+	X	X	-	-	Х
Local/ Provincial Level	+	X	Х	X	X	X	X	-	-	X
National Level	+	X	X	X	+	X	X	+	-	X
Viet Nam										
Village Level	-	-	-	+	+	X	X	-	-	Х
Local/ Provincial Level	+	X	X	X	Х	X	X	-	-	X
National Level	+	X	X	X	+	Х	X	+	-	X

Table 1.0 Stakeholders fulfillment of conditions

(+= the stakeholders fulfill the condition - =the stakeholders do not fulfill the condition X = information is missing)

In the table above, it becomes evident that there is a difference between Thailand and Viet Nam, especially at the village level. The local communities in Thailand are knowledgeable/well-informed, engaged and active in environmental management and have the resources needed whilst the local communities in Viet Nam often lack resources, knowledge and willingness to engage. This is probably due to the different political- and economic conditions in the countries; Viet Nam is poorer and are more used to being governed in a top-down approach. As mentioned in section 5, the project-site in Thailand has received more development intervention under a longer period of time than the project-site in Viet Nam has, whether this can be an explanation as to why the local communities in Thailand and the local communities in Viet Nam differ in terms of engagement and knowledge will have to be explained and explored in future studies.

The biggest difficulty for Soft Modes of Governance in Thailand is the lack of communication, trust and cooperation between the different levels of stakeholders. As long as the local communities do not trust higher levels government and find ways to cooperate and exchange knowledge, Soft Modes of Governance will have difficulties being spread within and between different levels of society. There are examples when both the government and the civil society has implemented different actions and achieved well-functioning result but as long as these results will not be "picked up" and implemented by different levels of society Soft Modes of Governance will be hard to achieve. Cooperation between different villagers in Thailand was perceived as problematic, this is believed to be due partly to cultural contexts and that villagers prefer to cooperate amongst themselves rather than asking others/outsiders for help.

In Viet Nam the biggest obstacle for Soft Modes of Governance is the lack of voluntary actions and knowledge within the local communities. Since Soft Modes of Governance relies on stakeholders taking initiative and being knowledgably it will be difficult to implement this tool before the local communities are more aware and can see the benefits of protecting the environment without being directly financially rewarded for it. It is important to note that as opposed to Thailand the local communities in Viet Nam do not have hired-labor and they spend their days working on their farm/fishing/taking care of business. Finding time to engage in different projects is therefore difficult.

Although there is a very structured system of groups and leaders within each village in Viet Nam, the real impact of these groups and leaders can be discussed. Many of the groups have no regular activities and seems to exist just because rules/laws stated it. The same can be said about the leaders in the local communities in Viet Nam, and even though there is an abundance of leaders, truly engaged and inspiring leaders seems to be missing. The opposite can be said about Thailand were many pro-active leaders could be found. Leaders at the local/provincial and national level of government is marked with an X in the table. During the interviews it became obvious that inspiring leaders are important in all levels of societies in

Thailand and Viet Nam. In both countries the interest (or the interest by who can provide financial recourses of the officers in local/provincial government determines which subject/area which will be highlighted. An example from Thailand showed how the local environmental department's operations had decreased and deteriorated after an inspired and interested officer had moved away. The importance of recognizing and emphasizing these leaders, especially within local/provincial government is considered to be high in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively. It is surprising that the local/provincial and national³²⁸ level of government did not have more understanding and knowledge about environmental concerns and management. This was especially noticeable in Thailand and within the governments directly responsible for the environmental management. In the example from Brazil (Section 3.7.2) the importance of a supportive local government is emphasized, the local communities are more influenced by the local government than a global process so ensuring knowledgeable and inspiring local levels of government is very important. This is not fulfilled in neither Thailand nor Viet Nam but this is believed to be addressed by spotting leaders ("Leader spotting"). "Leader Spotting" has been emphasized in this study and it is my belief that when implementing Soft Modes of Governance, efforts should be made to spot these leaders since this would facilitate the working process, enhance cooperation and achieve better result.

The communication channels were perceived to be good only between different stakeholders at national level in Thailand and Viet Nam. At national level there are more venues and opportunities for different actors to meet at a regularly basis. Local communities and lower levels of government lack opportunity to make their voices heard which became evident in both Thailand and Viet Nam. In cases where local communities/lower levels of government did manage to make their voices heard, promises were usually made but in reality nothing really happened. In order for Soft Modes of governance to function these problems needs to be addressed. Study-tours was one solution suggested during the interviews in order to enhance the collaboration and improve the communication channels, if a study-tour is arranged it is important that the "spotted leaders" and other inspiring (and not just appointed) leaders participate. Emphasizing other persons than the appointed leaders might be problematic in Viet Nam where the Head of Villages and other appointed leaders are used to being acknowl-

³²⁸ National level only Viet Nam

edged/recognized. It is however perceived to lead to a better result and more long-lasting impacts if truly engaged people are recognized and awarded for their efforts.

Using media as a commendation method was also lifted during the interviews and its perceived this would be highly beneficial for all different levels of stakeholder- not the least the village level who could have a lot to gain by making their voice heard through the media (including social media). However, it is important to note that, especially in Viet Nam, there are people who cannot read and people who lack access to television and radio. The government therefore needs to figure how to reach these people as well. Please note that local villagers might perceive it as difficult to raise their voice and spread their knowledge in a educated and understandable way.

In table 1 and in chapter 6 it was stated how three conditions (Legitimacy, Unofficial and nonhierarchical guidelines and Adaptation and Monitoring) were not appropriately captured in this study. Although not stating it directly it is believed the stakeholders from the different levels of society in general considered Soft Modes of Governance to be an legitimate tool. As for unofficial and non-hierarchical guidelines a clear division between the two could be detected; stakeholders in Thailand were in general positive against unofficial guidelines whilst the stakeholders in Viet Nam was either positive or negative against this method. The stakeholders who were against unofficial and non-hierarchical guidelines argued they preferred the opposite, strict laws. Please note, stakeholders raised concerns regarding how to transform national guidelines to local conditions. The condition - Adaptation and Monitoring - is perceived as the condition least "captured". It is especially information regarding the willingness of different stakeholders to be monitored that is missing. Given the political systems in the countries, it can be argued that the local/provincial and national governments are used to being monitored. However, it is perceived as difficult to monitor all voluntary activities in the global south countries and it is believed to be necessary to develop some kind of auditing system in order to achieve the monitoring of all activities. Monitoring is today perceived to undermine some of the benefits of Soft Modes of Governance.

During the interviews it became obvious that land-ownership determined how engaged and active the local communities were. Therefore it is perceived that this condition should be added as another condition which needs to be fulfilled in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively. This condition, which I refer to as "ownership" includes

formal recognition from different levels of government and user rights. From the local/provincial and national levels of government it is important that they show recognition of these rights by not trying to intrude on land which are not theirs.

In table 1 there are Xs for the local/provincial and national government in condition 2, 3 and 4. This indicates that in these conditions the emphasis has been on the local communities and information regarding <u>how</u> the local/provincial/national levels of government perceived these conditions within their group is missing.

Although not the actual subject for this thesis, gender inequality is an important issue to address. At local/provincial and village level in Viet Nam it became obvious that women lack the means to be engaged and active in the management of natural resource. The women also had substantially lesser knowledge regarding these question and did not have any important positions in the society (as for example as Head of Village or in local/provincial government). The opposite was found in Thailand where women held important positions in the local/provincial government, although no women had been elected Head of Village . The women were as active and engaged as the men in the local communities and also shared the same knowledge and understanding. It is also perceived as important that Soft Modes of Governance reaches out to all levels of society including different marginalized groups who, above all in Thailand, were perceived from the rest the society as the ones destroying the environment

8. Conclusion

In the followings section the conclusion of this thesis will be presented. As mentioned above the aim with this thesis is to explain and understand how Soft Modes of Governance can be used and transferred to countries in the global south.

In order to explain why (or why not) Soft Modes of Governance functions within the countries in the global south two research questions were established:

- How can Soft Modes of Governance be used within countries in the global south and;
- Why or (why not) does Soft Modes of Governance function to use within countries in the global south.

In order to answer the first question, an analytical framework was developed. This analytical framework consists of 10 conditions that have to be fulfilled in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively. After conduction interviews with concerned stakeholders in Thailand and Viet Nam it became obvious that the ten conditions needed to be expanded and revised. First of all, an eleventh condition should be added to the list.. This condition is "Ownership" and aims to capture whether the villages own their own land and are (formally) recognized and tenurial rights. This will work as an incentive for the local communities to be more engaged and active in the management of natural resources. From the local/provincial and national levels of government it is important that they recognize these right by not trying to intrude on land which are not theirs.

It is also important to emphasis "leader spotting", especially within local/provincial/national levels of government. Leadership has been an important focus in Soft Modes of Governance and it is believed to be even more important in countries in the global south where government officers often govern after their own interest or by influencing the stakeholders who can provide them with the most financial resources.

Less emphasis on monitoring is believed to be appropriate when applying Soft Modes of Governance in countries in the global south since by putting too much emphasis on monitoring you risk to undermine some of the benefits of Soft Modes of Governance. However a system of random auditing of voluntary actions is believed to be appropriate.

By adding the previous conditions with the new approaches the following conclusion can be made:

- → Soft Modes of Governance can be used in countries by living up to following conditions:
- Knowledge
- Voluntary actions
- Capability and Willingness
- Leader spotting and leadership
- Group Participation
- Legitimacy
- Adjustment and monitoring (without demand on monitoring all activities)
- Cooperation

- Unofficial and non-hierarchical guidelines
- Ownership

In order to answer question number 2: Why (or why not) function Soft Modes of Governance as a tool to use within countries in the global south - three sub questions were created, these will be answered one by one.

- To what extent do different types of countries in the global south fulfill the conditions for Soft Modes of Governance?

During the study it has become evident that different countries fulfill the conditions with Soft Modes of Governance in different ways. Thailand and Viet Nam which were used as cases in this study showed great differences especially at the village level. In Thailand the villages were engaged and active in environmental management planning and in Viet Nam there was a clear lack of engagement and activities. The differences might depend on different economic, political, cultural and historical backgrounds. The fact that the province in Thailand has received a lot development intervention during the last century which the province in Viet Nam has not, might also be a factor. The local/provincial government and national government showed a similar pattern in regards to how well they fulfilled the conditions for Soft Modes of Governance. All levels within the countries have difficulties in communicating with each other.

- To what extent do stakeholders from different level of society in countries in the global south fulfill the conditions?

Different levels of society differ to some extent regarding how well they fulfill the conditions for Soft Modes of Governance. Local and provincial level government have had greater issues to overcome than national level of government and the biggest concern for these levels were insufficient communication channels and lack of knowledge. As mentioned in chapter 7, some of the conditions have not been adequately captured during the interviews and cannot be evaluated. However, as mentioned in the introduction this thesis has above all focused on the village level since this level is highly important when it comes to implementing Soft Modes of Governance. The national level of government did differ from the other levels in the

society since they had well-functioning networks and venues where they could exchange experiences and knowledge amongst themselves.

- Can Soft Modes of Governance be used as a tool within countries in the global south in order to empower local communities and achieve regional outcomes

If used the right way and by addressing the above mentioned communication and cooperation problems between the different levels of society it is believed that Soft Modes of Governance can be used as a tool to empower local communities and achieve regional outcomes. When working with Soft Modes of Governance the use of information is emphasized and combined with formal accountability, professional autonomy and capacitybuilding activities for the local communities, it is believed that a sustainable and wellfunctioning result will be accomplished.

By adding the above information the following conclusion can be made: Why (or why not) can Soft Modes of Governance function as a tool within countries in the global south

Soft modes of governance can be used as a tool in the countries in global south since it helps them address many of the issues they are struggling with today. Local communities can be empowered and different networks were stakeholders can meet and exchange experiences and knowledge can be established. In these networks deliberated debates and discussion should take place, by hearing reasoned arguments it is believed the stakeholders will have a deeper understanding for the subject in the same time as the result will be more long-lasting.

When citizens participate in policy-making the policies become more relevant and responsive to their needs in the same time as the citizens feel less vulnerable, insecure and powerless.

It can be argued that Soft Modes of Governance will not be able to function since the concerned stakeholders do not fulfill the conditions for Soft Modes of Governance. This is especially true in Viet Nam where the local communities lack resources, will, knowledge and capability to perform voluntary actions and be engaged in the management of natural resources. This is believed to best be addressed with different actions which enhances i.e. the knowledge and activities that ensures the local communities' right to land. When applying Soft Modes of Governance the first step is to find out if the specific country in the global south has a population that is similar to the population in Thailand (regarding voluntary actions, ability and capability to engage and knowledge) or if the population is similar to the one in Viet Nam (regarding voluntary actions, ability and capability to engage and knowledge). Countries with a population similar to the one in Thailand are believed to be able to work with Soft Modes of Governance whilst countries similar to Viet Nam are recommended to wait and first focus on enhancing the civil societies' knowledge and understanding of certain issues like management of natural resources.

The result from this thesis has further developed theories regarding Soft Modes of Governance by applying it to countries in the global south. An analytical framework consisting of eleven conditions that needs to be fulfilled in order for Soft Modes of Governance to work efficiently and effectively have been developed. This will help future research and studies within this subject by providing clear guidelines over which conditions that needs to be fulfilled. The result will help donors and aid agencies to direct their contributions. The result is believed to help individuals and organizations/governments within countries in the global south since they can more easily understand how they can use Soft modes of Governance as a tool for them to achieve regional outcomes, empowered society, sustainable development, help stakeholders to make choices which better fit the local conditions and come up with new innovative ideas.

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9.2 Discussions/interviews

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Appendix 1 - Participants Thailand

In this appendix the participant in Thailand is further introduced. In the result the stakeholders are coded and might for be called: Local/Provincial level; Representative 3, Thailand. This appendix will give more information regarding the participants but will not however presented exactly which for example government said.

At the village level gender, main livelihood and age is described and it is also noted whether the participant is head over his/her village.

At the local/provincial level it is indicated whether the participants represented a NGO or local/provincial government. Age and gender is of the representative is also presented. At the end of this appendix the represented governments at local/provincial level will be presented. They are presented in random order and cannot directly connected to one of the coded representative.³²⁹

At the national level it is indicated whether the participants represented a NGO or local/provincial government. Age and gender is of the representative is also presented. Since all participants at the national level are members of MFF NCB the specific represented organizations/NGO will not be mentioned here. For a complete review over all the members of MFF NCB in Thailand see Appendix 2. In order to ensure anonymity multilateral organization and NGO have been clustered into one group in the coding process.

Village level

 Village 1: Representative 1: Man, Head of village, agriculture, 40-45 years old Representative 3: Man, agriculture, 35-40 years old
 Representative 5: Man, agriculture, 35-40 years old

Village 2: Representative 1: Man, Head of village, agriculture and aquaculture, 40-45 years old
Representative 2: Woman, housewife, 40-45 years old,
Representative 3: Man, merchandise, 40-45 years old,

Representative 4: Woman, housewife, 50-55 years old

- Village 3: Representative 1: man, agriculture, 50-55 years old Representative 3: man, fishery and business owner, 60-65 years old,
- Village 4: Representative 1: Man, head of village, 55-60 years old, agriculture and fisheries

³²⁹ Please note since only NGO participate in this level it will become clear which organization he represent.

Village 5: Representative 1: Man, retired policeman, 60-65 years old

Village 6: Representative 1: Man, agriculture, 50-55 years old Representative 3: Man, agriculture, 50-55 years old

Village 7: Representative 1: Man, agriculture, 55-60 years old

Local/Provincial Government*

Local/Provincial level: Representative 1, Thailand: Government, man, 40-45 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 2, Thailand: Government, woman, 35-40 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 3, Thailand: Government, man, 35-40 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 4, Thailand: Government, woman, 40-45 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 5, Thailand: Government, man, 55-60 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 7, Thailand: MGO, man, 45-50 years old

National governments/institutions/offices and NGOs/Multilateral organization

National level: Representative 1: Government, man, 55-60 years old National level: Representative 2: NGO/ Multilateral organization, woman, 60-65 years old National level: Representative 4: Government, woman, 50-55 years old Representative National level 6: NGO/ Multilateral organization, woman, 45-50 years old

*The following local/provincial governments/NGOs has participated in this study;

- Office of Natural Resources
- Chamber of Commerce
- District office: Marine Police,
- Thailand Environmental Institute
- Office of Permanent Secretary of Tambon Administrative office
- Department of Marine and Coastal Resources

Appendix 2- National Coordinating Body of Thailand 2012

Ministries, Government Departments and Government Agencies

- 1. Department of Marine and Coastal Resources
- 2. Department of Marine and Coastal Resources
- Coastal Resource and Mangrove Management Expert, department of Marine and Coastal Resources.
- 4. Marine Resources Management Expert. Department of Marine and Coastal Resources
- Mangrove extension and development division. Departement of Marine and Coastal Resources
- 6. Department of pollution Control
- 7. Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning (ONEP)
- 8. National Park, Wildlife and Plant Conservation Department
- Department of Fisheries Ministry of Interior
- Director of Disaster and Urban Development Strategy Division, Bureau of Policy and Planning.

Ministry of Tourism ang Sports

- 11. Department of Tourism
- 12. Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board

Non-Government Organizations; Civil Society

- 13. Thailand Environment Institute (TE)
- 14. Sustainable Development Foundation (SDF)
- 15. World Wide Fund för Nature (WWF)
- 16. Raksthal Foundation
- 17. Regional Community Forestry Training Center for Asia and the Pacific(RECOFTC)

Academia

- 18. Burapa University
- 19. Kasetsart University
- 20. Prince of Song Kla University
- 21. Southeast Asia START Regional Center (SEA START RC)

International Organisations; UN Agencies

- 22. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- 23. United Nation Environmental Programme (UNEP)
- 24. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
- 25. International Union for Conservation of Nature (UCN)

Private Sector

26. CSR-Asia

Independent Experts

1. 4 experts

Appendix 3.0 Participants Viet Nam

In this appendix the participant in Viet Nam is further introduced. In the result the stakeholders are coded and might for be called: Local/Provincial level; Representative 3, Viet Nam. This appendix will give more information regarding the participants but will not however present exactly which for example government said.

At the village level gender, main livelihood and age is described and it is also noted whether the participant is head over his/her village.

At the local/provincial level it is indicated whether the participants represented a NGO or local/provincial government.³³⁰ Age and gender is of the representative is also presented. At the end of this appendix the represented governments at local/provincial level will be presented. They are presented in random order and cannot directly connected to one of the coded representative.³³¹

At the national level it is indicated whether the participants represented a NGO or local/provincial government. Age and gender is of the representative is also presented. Since all participants at the national level are members of MFF NCB the specific represented organizations/NGO will not be mentioned here. For a complete review over all the members of MFF NCB in Viet Nam see Appendix 4. In order to ensure anonymity multilateral organization and NGO have been clustered into one group in the coding process.

Village level:

Village 1:	Representative 1: Man, Head of Village, business owner, 55-60 years							
	old							
	Representative 3: Man, business owner and aquaculture, 45-50 years old							
Village 2:	Representative 1: Man, Head of Village, Agriculture 60-65 years old							
	Representative 2: Woman, agriculture, 55-60 year old							
	Representative 3: Man, agriculture, 70-75 years old							
Village 3:	Representative 1: Man, agriculture, 55-60 years old							
	Representative 2: Woman, agriculture, 50-55 years old							
	Representative 3: Man, agriculture, 65-70 years old							
	Representative 5: Man, head of village, aquaculture and agriculture, 50-55 years							
	old							

³³⁰ Not applicable in Viet Nam where no local/provincial NGOs were interviewed

³³¹ Please note since only NGO participate in this level it will become clear which organization he represent.

- Village 4: Representative 1: Man, aquaculture and business- owner, 55-60 years old
- Village 5: Representative : Man, aquaculture, 70-75 years old Representative 3: Man, aquaculture, 50-55 years old

Local/Provincial Government*

Local/Provincial level: Representative 1, Viet Nam: Government, man, 45-50 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 3, Viet Nam: Government, man, 35-40 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 5, Viet Nam: Government, man, 30-35 years old Local/Provincial level: Representative 7, Viet Nam: Government, man, 40-45 years old

National governments and NGOs/multilateral organizations

National level representative 1 Viet Nam: Government, man, 60-65 years old

National level representative 2 Viet Nam: NGO/Multilateral organization, woman, 40-45 years old

National level representative 3 Viet Nam: Government, man, 40-45 years old

National level representative 4 Viet Nam: NGO/Multilateral organization, woman, 35-40 years old

National level representative 5 Viet Nam: Government, man, 65-70 years old

*Representatives from the following governments has been interviewed at local/provincial level:

- The Agriculture and Rural Development Department

- The District Forest Department
- The Town People Committee
- The Town People Council

Appendix 4 – National Coordinating Body of Viet Nam 2010

Ministries, Government Departments and Government Agencies

- Viet Nam Forestry Administration, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD)
- 2. Fisheries Administration, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD)
- 3. Viet Nam Administration of Seas and Islands, Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MONRE)
- 4. Department of Meteology, Hydrography and Climate Change (DMHCC), Secretary of Standing Office of the NTP RCC/MONRE
- 5. Forest Inventory and Planning Sub-Institute, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD)

Non-Government Organisations; Civil Society

- 1. Hanoi University of Science (HUS) Vietnam National University
- 2. Hanoi University of Pedagogic (HUO) Mangroves Ecosystem Research Center (MERC)
- 3. Centre for Natural Resources and Environment Study (CRES)
- 4. UNDP
- 5. WWF Greater Mekong
- 6. CARE International in Vietnam
- 7. FAO Representation in Hanoi

8. Center för Environmental Research & Education (CERE) Man and Biosphere Reserve (MAB, Hanoi University of Pedagogics

Independent Experts

1. One

Appendix 5 - Interview guide

5.1 Question to National Government and Non-Governmental Organizations

N1: What is your main tasks/role in the NCB? (not only the title)

N2: How long have you had this position?

N3: Can you describe the communities in Ranong and the main livelihoods?

N4: What is the biggest challenges they/or coastal villages in Thailand are facing as a community?

N5: Can you describe the planning process from national to local level?

N6: How can lower levels of government raise their voice?

N7: How can local people raise their voice?

N8: What are the linkages between healthy environment and human-well being?

N9: Are there any environmental education in the schools? How does it work?

N10: How can national level support the local sustainable development in coastal villages in Thailand?

N11: How can local government support the local sustainable development in coastal villages in Thailand?

N12: Do you think it is a good idea for local communities to be involved in coastal resource management? Why? Why not?

N13: In general in Thailand, would you local communities are engaged and active in sustainable development?

N14: In your opinion do local communities have the awareness? Interest? and ability? to be active in local resource management. What is missing?

N15: Do local communities have the right to manage their own resources?

N16: In your opinion, what would allow for communities to be more engaged?

N17: Can you discuss a few examples in Thailand on good management of the natural environment? Why was it successful? How did it come to your attention?

N18: Are there any examples on best practices that are so flexible they can be implemented in many different areas/settings in Thailand? Why do you think these would work in many different settings?

5.2Questions to Local government/institutions

L1: What is your main tasks/role in the local government/institution? (not only the title)

L2: How long have you had this position?

L3: Can you describe the communities Ranong and their main livelihoods?

L4: What is the biggest challenges they (or other coastal villages) are facing as a community?

L5: Can you describe the planning process from national to local level?

L6: How can lower levels of government raise their voice?

L7: How can local people raise their voice?

L8: What are the linkages between healthy environment and human-well being?

L9: Are there any environmental education in the schools? How does this work?

L10: How can National level of government support sustainable development in Ranong (and/or other coastal villages?)

L11: How can local level government support sustainable development in Ranong? (and/or other coastal villages?)

L12: Do you think it is a good idea for local communities to be involved in coastal resource management? Why? Why not?

L13: In general in Thailand (or around this area) are local communities engaged and active in sustainable development? In which way?

L14: In your opinion do local communities have the awareness?, interest? and ability? to be active in local resource management?

L15: Do local communities have the right to manage their own resources?

L16: In your opinion, what would allow for communities to be more engaged?

L17: Can you discuss a few examples in Thailand on good management of the natural environment? Why was it successful? How did it come to your attention?

L18: Are there any examples on best practices that are so flexible they can be implemented in many different areas/settings in Thailand? Why do you think these would work in many different settings?

5.3 Question to local villagers / head of villages

V1: Name, age, main sources of livelihood (house hold-level), family, how many hours per day do men and women spend doing livelihood (mending nets, preparing equipment etc) and household activities (cooking, cleaning, taking care of children etc) Supported or not supported by MFF/other projects

V2: Can you describe the communities Ranong and the main livelihoods?

V3: What is the biggest challenges you are facing as a community?

V4: Can you describe the planning process from national to local level?

V5: How can local people raise their voice? If you had a concern or an idea regarding environmental protection, how would you spread this idea further?

V6: What are the linkages between healthy environment and human-well being?

V7: How can national level support the local sustainable development in Ranong?

V8: How can local government support the local sustainable development in Ranong?

V9: What kind of support would you like to have from local government? From national government?

V10: Are there any environmental education in the schools? If yes, how does it work?

V11: Are there any organizations in your community? If yes, how does they work? What type of organization? Are you a member? Why/Why not? Do you want to be a member?

V12: Are your community engaged in natural resource management protection and managing natural resources?

V13: Are other communities in the area engaged in natural resource management protection and managing natural resources?

V14: Do you think it is a good idea for local communities to be involved in coastal resource management? If yes, is there any guidelines from the government which encourage you to make decisions?

V15: Do local communities have the right and opportunity to engage in local village planning and natural resource management?

V16: In your opinion, what would allow for villages to be more involved in these questions? V17. Have you/your village received support from MFF or any other organization? How would you describe this support?

V18: Are there any leaders in your village (Are there any other leaders in the community)?

V19: Are there any leaders around the area here that you know about? Anyone who is particularly engaged in environmental protection?

V20: What do you do in order to preserve and conserve the environment?

V21. Do you own your own land? Other people in the village?

V22: When working with environmental management, would you prefer strict laws from the government who tells you exactly how to tackle a issue or would you prefer laws where you have a bigger influence and can decieded more yourself how you want to achieve a certain goal?