

The Rural Constitution and the Everyday Politics of Elections in Northern Thailand

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ABSTRACT *The Thai coup of 19 September 2006 derived ideological legitimacy from the view that the Thaksin government's electoral mandate was illegitimate because it had been "bought" from an unsophisticated and easily manipulated electorate. There is nothing new about this argument, nor its use in justifying military interference. Political commentators have asserted regularly that the Thai populace lacks the basic characteristics essential for a modern democratic citizenry. Accounts of the deficiencies of rural voters often focus on their parochialism, their lack of political sophistication, the vulnerability to vote buying and the influence of electoral canvassers (hua khansen). This article challenges this negative portrayal of rural electoral culture. Drawing on ethnographic field work in northern Thailand, it is argued that the everyday politics of elections is informed by a range of different electoral values that shape judgements about legitimate, and illegitimate, political power in electoral contexts. These local values can be usefully thought of as comprising a "rural constitution."*

KEY WORDS: Thailand, democracy, rural constitution, voter rationality, localism, vote-buying

I suspect many Thais still lack a proper understanding of democracy. The people have to understand their rights and their duties. Some have yet to learn about discipline. I think it is important to educate the people about true democratic rule. It is a challenge to enable all 60 million Thais to gain an in-depth understanding of democracy and all its rights, duties and rules. Democracy will thrive once the people learn its true meaning (*Coup leader, General Sonthi Boonyaratglin, cited in the *The Nation*, 26 October 2006*).

The Thai *coup* of 19 September 2006 derived ideological legitimacy from the view that the Thaksin Shinawatra government's electoral mandate was illegitimate because it had been "bought" from an unsophisticated and easily manipulated electorate. This was not the only rationale, but the denial of electoral legitimacy was fundamental in

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Political Structures And Strategies A Study Of Electoral Politics In Contemporary Rural Thailand

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