คณะรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่
Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, Chiang Mai University

วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์

วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์
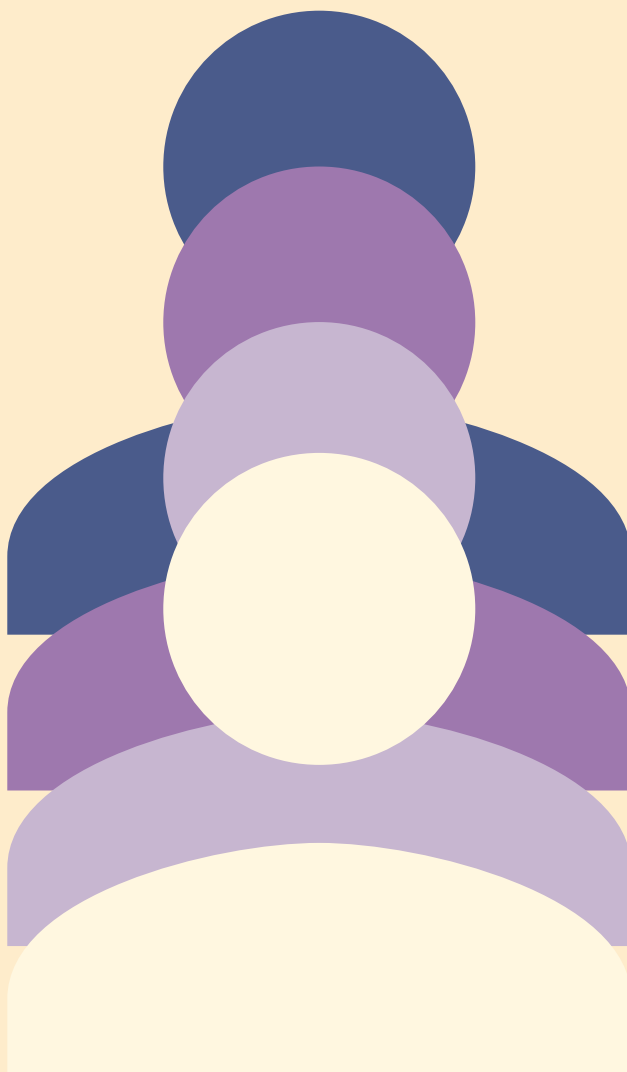## Graduate Review of Political Science and Public Administration Journal

1. วัตถุประสงค์

(1) เพื่อเป็นแหล่งเผยแพร่ผลงานทางวิชาการของนิสิตและนักศึกษาระดับปริญญาตรี ปริญญาโท และปริญญาเอก รวมถึงผู้สนใจทั่วไป

(2) เพื่อส่งเสริมและกระตุ้นให้เกิดการวิจัย พัฒนาและเผยแพร่องค์ความรู้ด้านสังคมศาสตร์ การเมืองการปกครอง การระหว่างประเทศ รัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ การพัฒนา อาณาบริเวณศึกษา และประวัติศาสตร์การเมือง

2. ขอบเขตเนื้อหา

วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ รับพิจารณาบทความวิชาการ บทความวิจัย และบทความปริทัศน์ ทั้งภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษ ซึ่งมีเนื้อหาเกี่ยวข้องกับด้านสังคมศาสตร์ การเมืองการปกครอง การระหว่างประเทศ รัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ การพัฒนา อาณาบริเวณศึกษา และประวัติศาสตร์การเมือง

3. กำหนดออกตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่

วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ เผยแพร่ในรูปแบบออนไลน์ ปีละ 2 ฉบับ ได้แก่ ฉบับที่ 1 เดือนมกราคม-มิถุนายน และฉบับที่ 2 เดือนกรกฎาคม-ธันวาคม

4. เจ้าของ

คณะรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

5. สำนักงานกองบรรณาธิการ

6. การพิจารณาบทความ

(1) กองบรรณาธิการจะพิจารณากลั่นกรองบทความในเบื้องต้น โดยพิจารณาจากความสอดคล้องของเนื้อหาของบทความกับขอบเขตเนื้อหาของวารสาร ความน่าสนใจ การนำเสนอองค์ความรู้ใหม่ และความครบถ้วนตามมาตรฐานวิชาการ และจะพิจารณาความซ้ำซ้อนของบทความโดยการนำบทความเข้าสู่กระบวนการตรวจสอบการคัดลอกผลงานการเขียนทางวิชาการผ่านโปรแกรม Turnitin

(2) บทความที่ผ่านการพิจารณากลั่นกรองจากกองบรรณาธิการเบื้องต้น จะถูกนำส่งให้ผู้ทรงคุณวุฒิในสาขาวิชาที่เกี่ยวข้อง อย่างน้อย 2 คน พิจารณา โดยใช้ระบบ Double-blind peer review (ผู้พิจารณาไม่ทราบชื่อผู้เขียน และผู้เขียนไม่ทราบชื่อผู้พิจารณา)

(3) กระบวนการพิจารณาบทความตามข้อ 1) และ 2) จะใช้เวลาไม่เกิน 3 เดือน โดยกองบรรณาธิการจะแจ้งผลการพิจารณาให้ผู้เขียนทราบ และหากกระบวนการพิจารณาล่าช้ากว่าที่กำหนด กองบรรณาธิการจะแจ้งให้ผู้เขียนทราบถึงความล่าช้าดังกล่าว

(4) ในกรณีที่จะต้องมีการแก้ไข หรือปรับปรุงบทความ ให้ผู้เขียนแก้ไขบทความ และนำส่งกองบรรณาธิการภายใน 15 วันนับตั้งแต่วันที่ได้รับผลการพิจารณา

(5) การตรวจสอบความถูกต้องทางภาษา ของบทคัดย่อภาษาอังกฤษ (Abstract) และเนื้อหาของบทความ กรณีที่เป็นบทความภาษาอังกฤษ เป็นความรับผิดชอบของผู้เขียน ที่จะต้องดำเนินการให้ถูกต้องตามหลักไวยากรณ์ และรูปแบบการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษ ตั้งแต่ก่อนนำส่งบทความเข้าสู่ระบบ และตลอดกระบวนการพิจารณาบทความ วารสารมีสิทธิ์ปฏิเสธการตีพิมพ์บทความในกรณีที่ผู้เขียนไม่ดำเนินการแก้ไขภาษาอังกฤษให้มีความถูกต้องตามข้อเสนอแนะของกองบรรณาธิการ

(6) เมื่อกองบรรณาธิการพิจารณาบทความที่ผู้เขียนปรับแก้แล้ว ว่าเห็นสมควรให้ตอบรับการตีพิมพ์ กองบรรณาธิการจะดำเนินการออกหนังสือตอบรับการตีพิมพ์และส่งไปยังผู้เขียน

(7) กองบรรณาธิการจะนำบทความที่ผ่านการพิจารณาและแก้ไขแล้ว เข้าสู่กระบวนการจัดรูปแบบ และการตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่ โดยกองบรรณาธิการจะแจ้งกำหนดการตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่เบื้องต้นให้ผู้เขียนทราบ

บทบรรณาธิการ

      ในฐานะสถาบันทางวิชาการ คณะรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ มีหน้าที่เปิดพื้นที่ให้เกิดการเผยแพร่ สนับสนุน ถกเถียง โต้แย้ง พูดคุยทางวิชาการ ด้วยเวทีวิชาการ หรือสิ่งพิมพ์ หนึ่งในขนบทางวิชาการที่มีความสำคัญก็คือการจัดทำวารสารทางวิชาการ แต่พัฒนาการของวารสารทางวิชาการในสังคมไทยนั้นก็ต้องฝ่าฟันกับปัญหาและอุปสรรค เชิงโครงสร้างจำนวนมาก แต่เพื่อที่จะยังคงไว้ซึ่งพันธกิจและเป้าหมายหลักในการเผยแพร่ องค์ความรู้ทางวิชาการสู่สาธารณะแล้วนั้น การพยายามผลักดันให้เกิดความริเริ่มโครงการ ทางวิชาการใหม่ๆ และการตีพิมพ์ก็เป็นความท้าทายที่ยังคงต้องดำเนินต่อไปอย่างหลีกเลี่ยงไม่ได้

      วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ เป็นวารสารน้องใหม่ ในแวดวงรัฐศาสตร์และสังคมศาสตร์ของสังคมไทย ดังที่เรามีเป้าหมายในการเปิดพื้นที่ในการ เผยแพร่องค์ความรู้ทางวิชาการสู่สาธารณะ วารสารใหม่นี้จึงเปิดรับบทความที่มาจากนิสิต นักศึกษาทั้งระดับปริญญาตรี โท และเอก เพราะความคิดและความรู้ทางวิชาการไม่ได้จำกัดอยู่ใน แวดวงของอาจารย์และนักวิจัยเท่านั้น แต่ความคิดและองค์ความรู้ใหม่ๆ ก็เกิดได้จากผู้คน ที่แตกต่างหลากหลาย และหลากช่วงอายุ การมีพื้นที่ใหม่ๆ ที่เปิดโอกาสให้คนจากกลุ่มใหม่ๆ มีพื้นที่ในการเผยแพร่องค์ความรู้ทางการเมืองและการปกครอง รัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ นโยบาย สาธารณะ การระหว่างประเทศ ประวัติศาสตร์การเมือง ปรัชญาการเมือง และสังคมศาสตร์ ที่เกี่ยวข้อง จะเป็นการทำให้เกิดโอกาสในการเติบโตทางวิชาการ โอกาสในชีวิตเพื่อสำเร็จ การศึกษา หรือเพื่อสนทนากับนักวิชาการท่านอื่นๆ

      หน้าที่ของวารสารทางวิชาการถูกคาดหวังโดยมหาวิทยาลัย สังคม อาจารย์ และ นักศึกษาแตกต่างกัน แต่ไม่ว่าด้วยเหตุผลกลใดก็ตามแต่ เป้าหมายหลักของวารสารก็ยังคงเป็น การสนับสนุนการเผยแพร่ความรู้สู่สาธารณะ หากผู้อ่านมีความสนใจจะใช้พื้นที่ของวารสาร บัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ในการเติบโตทางวิชาการ และเพื่อ เหตุผลใดๆ บรรณาธิการก็ขอสนับสนุนให้ลองเข้ามาพูดคุย และขอชักชวนให้ส่งบทความมา ได้เสมอ

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นรุตม์ เจริญศรี

บรรณาธิการ

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สารบัญ

Mapping Global Creative Value Chain for K-Pop Idol Industry: The Case of the BTS (2018-2020)

Adiasri Putri Purbantina[1], Ade Kusuma[2], and Resa Rasyidah[3]

Abstract

Global creative industries have significantly expanded in recent years, particularly with the global rise of the K-Pop. However, there is less work on creative industries analysis from a global value chain perspective. In 2020, Big Hit Entertainment, the management label of the Bangtan Boys (BTS), reported a half-year profit of $41.9 million as online concerts and merchandise sales more than offset event cancellations during the pandemic COVID -19. While there has been much research on the rise of the South Korean creative industry, less attention has been paid to the transnational nature of its production network. Using BTS as a single case study, this paper attempts to construct a global creative value chain (GCVC) mapping. This paper treats official content published by Big Hit Entertainment (2018-2020) as our primary data to present two essential findings. First, GCVC has a mechanism compared to a more traditional manufacturing GVC (e.g., electronics, automotive) regarding three key elements (i.e., input-output, geographic scope, and governance structure). Second, ICT advancement supports the flexibility of the global creative value chain because the global creative value chain's main product is creative content.

Keywords Creative Industry, Global Value Chain, Multinational Corporations, Pop Culture, South Korea

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1. Introduction: Creative Industry, Global Market, and Economic Growth

Global Value Chain (GVC) has been at the center of global economic discussion for the past decade. Since the mid-1990s, scholars from various disciplines have used value chain concepts to analyze global production systems (Gereffi & Korzeniewicz, 1994; Baldwin, 2013). Scholars on economic development often place MNCs as their main unit of analysis, especially with East Asian countries' export-led growth (e.g. Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, China) (The World Bank, 1993; Amsden, 1989; Lee, 2013). Their focus often lies in industrial development and technology upgrading of medium-high level manufacturing sectors (e.g., electronics, automotive) (Scott & Storper, 1992; Itoh, 1992). The global creative sector, particularly the South-on-South trade on creative goods, continues to expand (Figure 1 and 2). A report by UNCTAD (2018) states that the sector was able to generate an annual average growth rate of 7.34% during the period 2003-2015. World exports of creative goods increased from $208 billion in 2002 to $509 billion in 2015. The share of creative services in total trade in services increased from 17.3 % in 2011 to 18.9 % in 2015 despite the global slowdown in overall trade in services observed in 2014 (UNCTAD, 2018, pp. 9-10).

Figure 1: World Exports of Creative Goods (2002-2015)
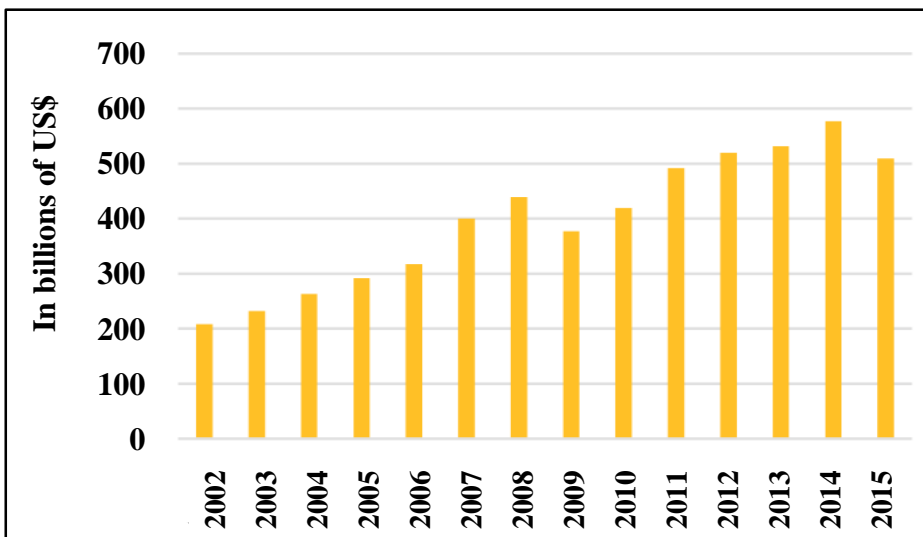
Source: UNCTAD (2018, p. 20)

Figure 2   Exports of Creative Goods by Economic Groups (2002-2015)
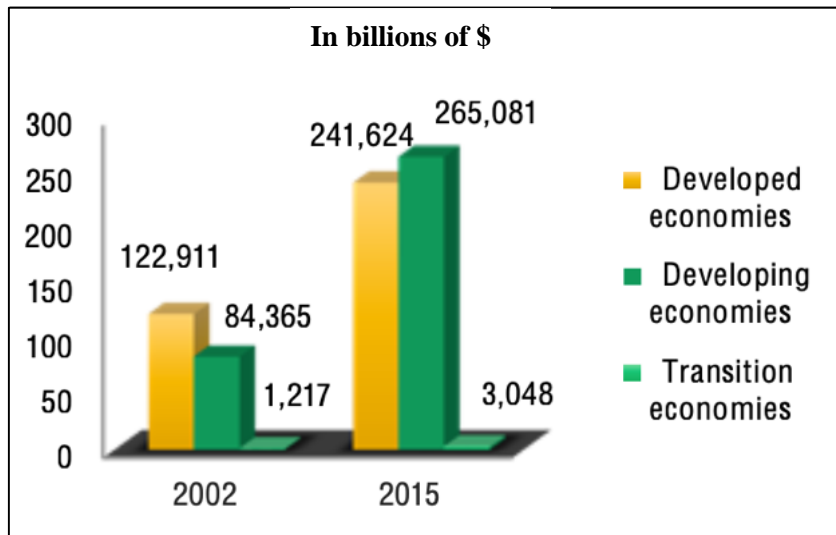
Source: UNCTAD (2018, p. 20)

For the past ten years or so, the global economy continues to face various challenges. The recent COVID-19 pandemic, followed by a series of containment measures, has put countries into the deepest recession since World War II (The World Bank, 2020). While the global pandemic hits most of the service sector hard (e.g., tourism), some creative industry can maintain their revenue, such as the K-Pop idol industry. Big Hit Entertainment, the management label of the BTS, saw 49.7 billion won ($41.9 million) in half-year profits as its online concert and merchandise sales more than offset event cancellations during the COVID-19 pandemic (Reuters, 2020).

The Korean wave has long contributed to the rapid growth of the creative sector industry in South Korea. The South Korean exports of contents industries tripled from USD 1,373 million in 2006 to USD 4,302 million in 2011. The rise of South Korean culture popularity has generated production and value-added worth USD 6.8 billion and USD 2.5 billion and 69 thousand jobs in 2011 (UNCTAD, 2017, pp. 26-27). Even prior to the global pandemic in 2017, BTS contributed to USD 4.9 billion of South Korea's GDP, which some argues that they are in a similar league as powerful MNCs such as Samsung (Forbes, 2019). Bang Shi-Hyuk, the founder of BTS group, stated that the key for idol model is fans or fandom as the primary market (i.e., loyalty-based). Initially, before 2011, BTS's concept was a hip-hop crew and not an idol group. It changed into one due to business context when there was a rapid decline in physical album sales. (TIME, 2019).

Table 1: Big Hit Entertainment: Financial Performance by Business Area (2013-2019)

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Album and music revenues	22%	46%	45%	52%	45%	45%	19%
Merchandise revenues	1%	2%	8%	7%	4%	15%	23%
Concert and fan-meeting revenues	3%	9%	23%	21%	24%	14%	33%
Media content revenues	3%	6%	0%	7%	12%	12%	13%
Advertising, broadcast & event revenues	56%	28%	13%	9%	9%	7%	3%
IP licensing and other revenues	15%	9%	5%	4%	6%	7%	9%
Total Revenues (USD)	**4M**	**5M**	**10M**	**29M**	**77M**	**179M**	**489M**

Source: Elberse and Woodham (2020, p. 19)

Besides their contribution to the South Korean economy, BTS's global popularity is essential for our case study selection. Based on a survey conducted by BTS Army Census, by 2020 BTS fans can be found in more than 100 countries. The majority of their demography being under 18 and between 18-29 years of age. Table 2 shows the top 10 countries where most BTS fans are from and their demography.

Table 2: BTS Fans Characteristics

Geographical Locations		Age Demographics	
Rank	**Countries (number of respondents)**	**Age**	**Total Percentage**
1	Indonesia (80,895 respondents)	Under 18	50,31%
2	Mexico (42,988 respondents)	18-29	42,59%
3	USA (33,891 respondents)	30-39	4,24%
4	Peru (20,988 respondents)	40-49	2,02%
5	Philippines (18,461 respondents)	50-59	0,69%
6	Russia (15,960 respondents)	Over 60	0,15%
7	India (15,440 respondents)		
8	South Korea (14,996 respondents)		
9	Brazil (8,413 respondents)		
10	Egypt (5,744 respondents)		

Notes: The data is not fully representative of the global distribution of BTS fans due to the limited reachability of the survey.
Source: BTS Army Census (2022)

While there is already abundant research on the rise of South Korean cultural industries, less attention has been given to the transnational nature of the production network behind it. Since the 1990s, the production system has been

fragmented globally, especially in the manufacturing sector. However, we have yet to see enough exploration of how creative content production is fragmented across national boundaries. Pratt (2015) argues that there are not enough works that seek to explain creative industry development from the perspective of the global value chain, especially to explain the upgrading aspect within the chain instead of merely creating the mapping.[4] One of the important works on the creative value chain, from which we develop our framework, is a report by De Voldere et al. (2017) that centers on creative industries in Europe. While the report provides a comprehensive understanding of the creative value chain, it does not emphasize the "transnational" or "global" element of the value chain (i.e., it presents that creative content production occurs within national boundaries). We attempt to tackle this issue by looking into the South Korean idol industry using the case of the BTS group.

2. Literature Review and Theory

This literature review section elaborates on several existing works of literature on the global value chain and idol industry development. While the global value chain concept has been used widely to analyze the manufacturing industry, we have yet to see many explorations of the creative industry. Through this paper, our main objective is to reconstruct the global creative value chain based on the work of De Voldere et al. (2017). This section emphasizes the importance of the GVC approach to approach the complex production chain within an idol industry.

Most studies on the K-Pop idol industry focus on explaining the industry's success instead of a thorough grasp of how networking works. While we believe these works lost a chance to comprehensively study the worldwide K-Pop idol business production network. However, these studies highlight essential components that we must address, such as ICT progress and the relevance of the global market. We seek to find a framework to explore the intricate characteristics of the K-Pop Idol Industry, which lies in how one industry encompasses several different types of creative sectors (i.e., music, performing arts, artistic craft, and multimedia).

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[4] Pratt's focus lies on the importance of building up local production capacities. While we share the same concern with Pratt, we argue that perhaps one of the reasons for this issue is that there is yet precise mapping that helps scholars understand the global creative value chain structure.

2.1 From Global Value Chain to Global Creative Value Chain

The global value chain is an integral part of the current global economic structure. It represents a network that connects firms, workers, and consumers at a global level. As a concept, scholars often use GVC framework to analyze a complex industry interaction. Under the current global economy, the GVC framework becomes a critical tool to evaluate production patterns, the geographical linkage among actors and their activity within a single industry, and the interaction between developed and developing countries within this chain. The key here is to evaluate the 'on the sequences of value added within an industry from conception to production and end use', from which we can find 'a holistic view of global industries both from the top down and the bottom up' (Gereffi & Stark, 2016, p. 6).

Figure 3: Six Dimensions of the GVC Analysis

1. Input-Output Structure of GVC	
2. Geographic Scope	**Global**
3. Governance Structure: Lead Firms & Industry Organization	
4. Upgrading	
5. Local Institutional Context	**Local**
6. Industry Stakeholders	
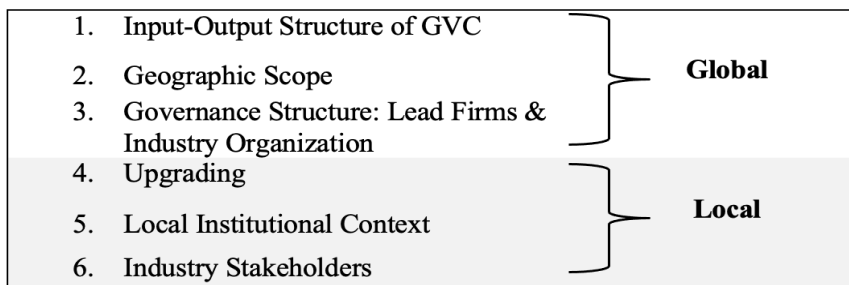
Source: Re-drawn by Authors based on Gereffi and Stark (2016, p. 7)

In general, Gereffi and Stark (2016) provide six dimensions of the GVC analysis (Figure 3). Overall, the value chain refers to 'full range of activities that firms and workers perform to bring a product from its conception to end use and beyond' (e.g., research and development, design, production, marketing, distribution, and support to the final consumer) (Gereffi & Stark, 2016, p. 7). Within the global economy, this means the activities go beyond one national border. Each segment within the chain adds value based on what they add to the product or services. Countries' participation depends on their competitive advantage. Scholars often conduct their value chain analysis based on international trade statistics databases to show where the highest value goes to or evaluate a country's upgrading from lower to the upper tier of production (Gereffi & Stark, 2016, p. 10).

However, with regards to the purpose of this paper to create a mapping of global creative value chain for idol industry, we will focus on the three dimensions of the GVC analysis, which occur at the global level: 1) input-output structure (i.e., backward and forward linkage); 2) geographic scope (i.e., the transnational interaction); and 3) governance structure. The question then, how we do the same with the global creative sector, which mostly about content creation? In this

research, our focus is on mapping the chain first because there yet to be one comprehensive framework that provides a holistic picture of a global creative sector, which emphasizes content production. This sector has been benefiting from the advancement of Information and Communications Technology (ICT). Later, the K-Pop group's case will show how a content-heavy value chain exhibits the opposite direction of the global value chain, from North-led GVC into South-led.

While there is a lack of comprehensive framework on the global creative value chain, several critical works on the creative value chain centered on the concept of culture cycle (UNESCO-UIS, 2009, 2016; De Voldere et al., 2017). UNESCO-UIS releases its report (2009) due to the rapid development of creative industries across the world, marked by increased international trade in cultural products. Based on the concept of culture cycle, the report presents five cultural industry production networks: creation, production, dissemination, exhibition or reception, and consumption or participation, which form a cycle rather than a hierarchal stage (UNESCO-UIS, 2009, p. 24). Based on UNESCO-UIS, De Voldere et al. (2017) develop a creative value chain model. The creative value chain model consists of two functions, core and support function. De Voldere et al. (2017) develop their value chain model for different sectors based on the European Union's creative sector industry development.

Figure 4: Global Creative Value Chain
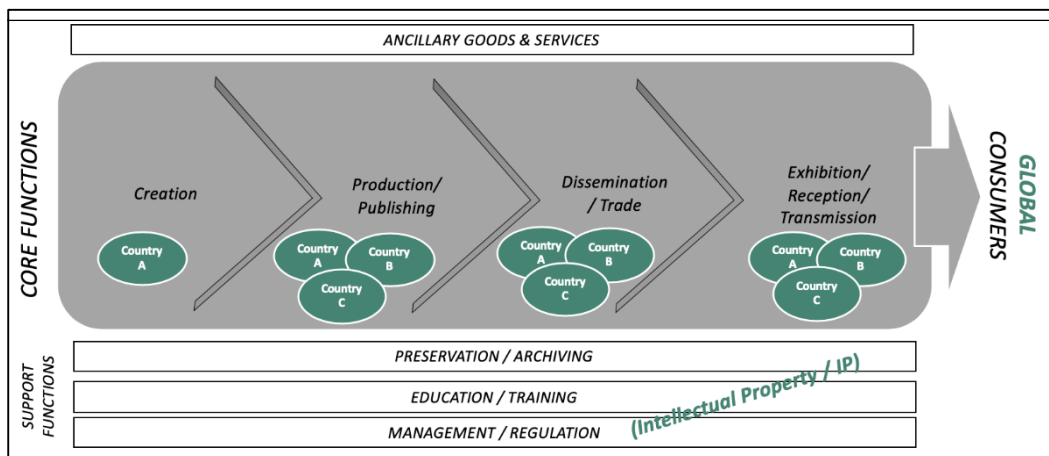
Notes: We emphasize a transnational and/or global nature within the Creative Value Chain from the original model.
Source: Authors based on De Voldere et al. (2017, p. 38)

The original work presents nine value chain models: visual arts, performing arts, cultural heritage, artistic craft, book publishing, music, film, television and radio broadcasting, and multimedia. Later, in our analytical section, we use these models as our foundation to understand the K-Pop idol industry.

As we have stated earlier, we emphasize the network's global or transnational element (Figure 4). In that regard, we argue that the global market and intellectual property rights play an essential role here (more in the next section). We first need to discuss the complexity of K-pop idol industry structure to construct a set of comprehensive indicators.

2.2 The Structure of Idol Industry in South Korea: BTS and the BTS Ecosystem

While there are abundant studies on the K-Pop idol industry, most of them focus on explaining the success of the K-Pop idol industry without providing a comprehensive understanding of how the networking works (Lie, 2012; Shin & Kim, 2013). While we argue that these works missed the opportunity to provide a complete analysis of the K-Pop idol industry global production network, these works point out critical elements that we need to consider, ICT advancement and the importance of the global market.[5] This paper seeks to provide a thorough picture of the global production network of idol as a creative product, which encompasses different creative sectors (e.g., music, performing arts, artistic craft, and multimedia). Instead of identifying a single success factor, we seek to highlight the linkage between different actors and activities that leads to idol as the final product that reaches the global market.

Regarding the K-Pop idol model, we incorporate the concept specifically in our case BTS group. The majority of scholars conduct their studies on K-Pop Idol based on specific entertainment house. It is essential to highlight that there are varieties in how an idol company operates. A study by Elberse & Woodham (2020) explores how Big Hit Entertainment uses slightly different approaches for BTS compared to the traditional K-Pop idol model. While most idol groups have less control over their activities, BTS members receive more autonomy over their activities (Elberse & Woodham, 2020, p. 10). Based on this study, this paper underlines how the idol group participates in the creative content production as the creator (see more in the data analysis section).

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[5] Kim (2019) sees that K-Pop as a culture technology, an integral part of the South Korean economic development strategy. The sector receives government strategic support through the promotion of ICT as its base. Kim argues that the K-Pop idol group often becomes a manifestation of the nexus between the state and the industry (Kim, 2019, pp. 15-16). Messerlin and Shin (2013) explore the origin of the K-Pop idol concept in the late 1990s to mid-2000s, its development, and how it becomes critical cultural exports for South Korea. According to Messerlin and Shin (2013) and Lie (2012) the current K-Pop wave is a shift from sing-intensive to dance intensive performances. It benefited from ICT advancement such as YouTube and the digitalization of music and music videos, which suppress the production cost. As they characterize the K-Pop Idol model, these works place more focus on the type of music (i.e., how the music style differs or resembles each other). Several other works point out that K-Pop Idol does more than music and performances (Oh, 2013; Kim, 2019).

In general, the idol industry encompasses various activities that, in the end, add value to the particular idol group as final products. We argue that the Idol group, by its extension, the entertainment house, receives the highest value in the global creative value chain for the idol industry. Fans' loyalty plays a crucial role in this matter. An article by Time Magazine illustrates how BTS operates using loyalty-based marketing. Fans of typical singers 'might go to a concert, buy an album or a track, or buy a t-shirt', but K-Pop idol fans 'want to feel close with their idols' (TIME, 2019). Therefore, the idol model enables diversification of the music industry beyond concerts (i.e., performing arts) and merchandising. As the final product, K-Pop idol incorporates different activities that can bring the closeness aspect to the fans. In this regard, we can see that the global fandom is the primary consumer. We need to consider how the idol industry can consist of various creative value chains.

We base our framework on three open corporate briefings by Big Hit Entertainment to provide a more comprehensive picture of the idol industry's activities (Big Hit Labels, 2019, 2020a, 2020b). These corporate briefings provide important information on four key elements of idol industry: 1) the content-heavy nature (e.g., music, concert and other form of fan meeting, other media content); 2) global market-driven (e.g., global merchandizing, advertising); 3) ICT advancement; 4) Intellectual Property (IP). These are the key elements that act as the foundation of their global creative value chain or the BTS ecosystem. Those four critical elements are reflected in the business area's share to Big Hit Entertainment Financial performances (Table 1).

3. Methodology

3.1 Constructing Global Creative Value Chain for Idol Industry

We seek to combine the base framework from De Voldere et al. (2017) to conduct a firm level analysis. First, we draw a mapping of the global creative value chain in the case of BTS based on their main activities as an idol group (Figure 5). We select using four value chain model provided by De Voldere et al. (2017) to represent four main sectors of the idol industry for the BTS case: global creative value chain: global music value chain, global performing art value chain, global artistic craft value chain, and global multimedia value chain. We decided to select these four categories upon evaluating the BTS Ecosystem, as presented on three corporate briefings by Big Hit Label (Big Hit Labels, 2019, 2020a, 2020b).

Figure 5: Mapping of Global Creative Value Chain for Idol Industry
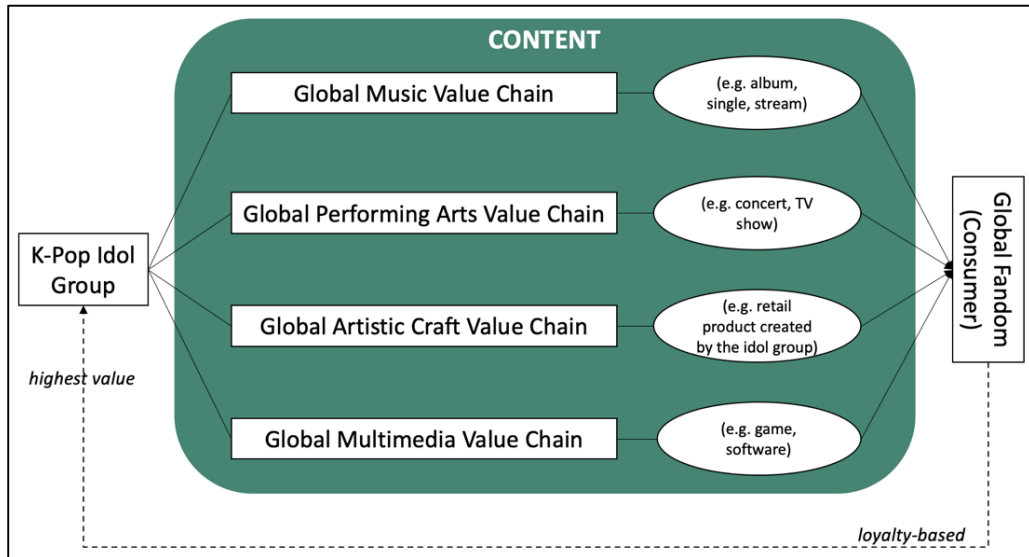
Source: Authors

3.2 Method, Data and Research Time Scope

This paper employs a qualitative descriptive case study method to explore our GCVC mapping proposal using a single case design. BTS is currently one of the most significant contributors to South Korean GDP and one of the most influential idol groups (e.g., their diplomatic mission to the U.N.). We treat BTS as a single case study for the idol industry in South Korea that represents one sector of the creative industry. We seek to apply the known global value chain conception to the creative industry to generate new interpretations of the global rise of the South Korean pop culture phenomenon. We explain BTS's global creative production structure through a single case study design through its characteristics and pattern, particularly how it involved a chain of actors within a transnational network.

We treat various contents released officially by Big Hit Entertainment as our primary data (Table 3). We select 2018-2020 as our research time scope. Elberse and Woodham (2020), the global success of BTS started to grow faster in 2018. The new contract, signed in 2018, signified the position of seven members as creators. We seek to highlight the involvement of the artists as part of the content creators. We select the content released in this time frame to draw our Global Creative Value Chain mapping based on the BTS Ecosystem. We select several creative products from the BTS under the period of 2018-2020 as our sub-cases.

Table 3:   Selected Data & Data Source

	Data	Data Source
Global Music Value Chain	Map of the Soul: Persona (mini album) (2018) Map of the Soul: 7 (album) (2019)	https://ibighit.com/bts/eng/discography/detail/map_of_the_soul-persona.php; https://www.vlive.tv/video/125174 https://ibighit.com/bts/eng/discography/detail/map_of_the_soul-7.php; https://www.vlive.tv/video/179339
Global Performing Arts Value Chain	BTS World Tour 'Love Yourself Speak Yourself' Los Angeles (2019) BTS Online Live Concert 'BANG BANG CON The Live' (2020)	https://ibighit.com/bts/eng/tour/love_yourself/ https://www.weverse.io/bts/media/2563 https://weverseshop.onelink.me/BZSY/6d0ef33b
Global Artistic Craft Value Chain	BT21: Universe 2 (characters & retail) (2019)	https://www.bt21.com; https://www.youtube.com/c/BT21_official/
Global Multimedia Value Chain	BTS World (game) (2019) In the SOOP (variety show) (2020)	https://btsw.netmarble.com/en/home https://weverse.io/bts/media/2812

Source: Authors

4.   Data Analysis: The BTS Ecosystem under Global Creative Value Chain Approach

This section evaluates four categories of the global creative value chain, which constitute four main sectors of the K-Pop idol industry. The four sectors also become the main components that hold the BTS Ecosystem (Big Hit Labels, 2019, 2020a, 2020b). The corporate briefings provide critical information on the structure of the K-Pop Idol industry, specifically for BTS under Big Hit Labels.[6] We found that Big Hit refers to their company as a 'content powerhouse' through the report. Through their idol groups, they strive to create good content. Big Hit Idol groups as Artists are involved both directly and indirectly, supported and facilitated by Intellectual Property (IP), in various content creation. They argue

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[6] Based on their official website, they listed two core business types: 1) Music Production, Publishing, New Artist Development, Artist Management, and 2) 360° Business, IP Business, Platform Business. The corporate briefing mentions that Big Hit Entertainment considers themselves a content powerhouse, hence the importance of IP for their business. However, they state that music is the core of their business (i.e., album sales, concert tour), supported by various contents and merchandising (Big Hit Entertainment, 2020).

that this is the main reason the company could double its profit from 22.3% in 2017 to 45.5% in 2019.

The BTS Ecosystem consists of various contents created by and/or centered around the BTS, which are crafted for the global fans to make them feel close with the BTS. The majority of these contents are accessible through several online platforms. Since 2019, Weverse is the 'official fan community where global fans and artists interact' developed by beNX[7] and Big Hit Entertainment (Weverse, 2020). Through this platform, BTS provides various contents, such as variety shows, documentary movies, and online concert access.

The BTS Ecosystem represents how the K-Pop industry is crafted for the global consumer. This section evaluates how the global creative value chain's four main categories become integral parts of the BTS Ecosystem. As presented in the second section, we specifically pay attention to the input-output structure, the geographic scope, and the governance structure within each global creative value chain. We are focusing on how BTS as a K-Pop Idol group is the primary input, who is also involved in the content creation, that is being developed to create a final produced for the global fans. Yet, the final product's consumption goes back to BTS, and by extension, Big Hit Entertainment, who receives the highest value.

4.1 Global Music Value Chain

Following De Voldere et al. (2017), technology development (i.e., digitalization) plays an essential part in the rise and fall of global music industries. The development of new distribution channels (e.g. iTunes, Spotify) has disrupted the industry, leading to 'the development of new business model and new consumption patterns with the instant availability of music on mobile devices' (De Voldere et al., 2017, p. 133). The BTS also benefited from this rise of music streaming, which can be observed from how songs from their last two albums ranked in digital song chart globally (Forbes, 2019, 2020a, 2020b).

If we investigate the music production, we need to evaluate many players along the value chain, such as artists, musicians, authors and composers, record companies, music publishers, broadcasters (radio, TV), digital service providers, retailers, etc. Looking into the global music value chain, we need to break down the production stages from the creation to the exhibition (i.e., the platform that presents the final product to the consumers) stage. In this section, we select two albums of the BTS to examine how to trace the global music value chain process. In the Table 3, we try to map out all actors involved in the album production for

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[7] beNX is Big Hit technology subsidiary company. Weverse can be accessed through mobile app or through their web platform. Weverse platform is also supported by the Weverse Shop as the official merchandise store for global fans (Weverse Shop, 2020).

each stage. We used the music value change framework from De Voldere et al. (2017) as our guidelines.

Table 4: Map of The Soul: Persona (2019) & Map of The Soul: 7 (2020)

Core Functions	*Creation*	**Music Composer – Composer**	**List of Composers, Authors, Arrangers listed on KOMCA:** 1.BTS members 2.Other Big Hit in-house producers (Big Hit Ent-Kor) 3.Foreign artists (non-korean) 4.Independent arrangers
		Song (lyrics) Writing – Author	
		Sound Creation (master recordings, studio recordings, non-live/taped recordings etc.) **– Arranger**	
	Production/ Publishing	**Publishing** (e.g., acquiring copyrights, promoting, authorizing)	**List of Music Publisher listed on KOMCA:** 1.For BTS Members and other Big Hit In-House Producers: Big Hit Entertainment 2.Other artists: Sony/Atv Music Publishing Korea; Universal Music Publishing; Warner Chappell Music Korea Inc.; Fujipacific Music Korea Inc.; Musikade-Kor; Lalala Studio-Kor; Culture Technology Group Asia Co.,Ltd; Emi Music Publishing Korea Ltd. **Copyright assignees listed on KOMCA:** American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP); Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI); PRS for Music Limited (PRS); Australasian Performing Right Association (APRA); Society of European Stage Authors and Composers (SESAC); STIM (Swedish collective management organization for music creators and publishers); AMRA (global digital music collection society); Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada (SOCAN)
		Production (i.e., pitching to recording artist or record labels, manufacturing, and PR/Marketing)	
		Artist & Repertoire (e.g., scouting & contracting)	

			Studios (Recording Locations) Listed on the CD Booklet: Big Hit Studio; The Village; Adorable Trap; Analog Lab; Dogg Bounce; Echo Bar Studio in N.Hollywood; Mr. Sandwich Studios; RKive Studio Bambi Gang; The One With the Big Bulb; The Rock Pit
	Dissemination/ Trade	**Linear Distribution** (i.e., TV, Radio as well as marketing and promotion) **Brick Retailers** (i.e., packaging, transport & retail management as well as marketing and promotion) **Non-Linear Distribution** (i.e., Digital service providers, online promotion and marketing)	The rights to release the albums in CD, digital download, and digital streaming are owned by Big Hit Entertainment in collaboration with other major entertainment companies: 1. Dreamus (KOR) 2. Virgin Music (JPN) 3. Columbia Records (North America & Europe 4. Sony Music Entertainment (Germany)
	Exhibition/ Reception/ Transition		Various Music Programs in Korea; TV Interviews in both Korea and abroad; Press Conference through online streaming platform (Youtube, VLive); Weverse.
Support Functions	*Preservation/Archiving Education/Training Management/Regulation*		Intellectual Property
Ancillary Goods & Services	*Supporting activities (e.g. music recording software, manufacturing musical instruments)*		Big Hit Entertainment

Notes: We made several small adjustments from the original music value chain framework by De Voldere et al. (2017, p. 136). We combine all the credits from every song and classified them based on the categorization provided by De Voldere et al. (2017, p. 136). We take out one element of from the creation stage (i.e., live performance) as it can be explored as its own value chain. We separate music composer and song (lyrics) writing due to the data that we found on the BTS. Based on the information found on the Korea Music Copyright Association (KOMCA), the copyright owners of the songs on Map of the Soul: Persona can be divided into three categories: Author (A), Composer (C), and Arranger (AR) (KOMCA, 2020). The two albums consist of several overlapping (same) songs.

Source: Authors

Based on KOMCA (Table 4), we can observe foreign artists' involvement, particularly in the creation and production stages (VLive, 2019, 2020). These foreign artists[8] who come from several different countries, are represented by global music labels (i.e., MNCs). It is important to highlight that along with foreign artists' involvement here, we can also observe several different music associations, from the countries where these artists come from (e.g., Australasian Performing Right Association, Society of Composers, Authors and Music Publishers of Canada). The music value chain's transnational nature also takes form in the involvement of studios, which are in different countries, and the exhibition/reception/transition stage. We can observe that the digitalization of music benefits from global social media platforms to reach a global audience.

With both Map of the Soul: Personal and Map of the Soul: 7 album, BTS received an acknowledgment from the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) as one of the global best-selling albums in 2019 and 2020. In 2019, IFPI only calculated the number of album downloads and the physical album. Map of the Soul: 7 was the first Global Album All Format Chart 2020 winner. The album has topped the charts in the five largest music markets (i.e., USA, Japan, UK, Germany, France). The album reached 1st in more than 90 countries on the iTunes chart (IFPI, 2021; Korea Herald, 2019). Overall, the global music value chain exhibit how a transnational input-output mechanism. A chain of non-Korean value chain actors within the value chain contributes to the final product's production that eventually reaches a global audience. Similar to the logic of the manufacturing production network, the highest value to the BTS and the Big Hit Entertainment.

4.2 Global Performing Arts Value Chain

The second value chain is the performing arts value chain, which already becomes an integral part of the music industry. Following De Voldere et al., performing arts refers to 'a presentation of live art to a live audience', which are not 'recorded or displayed on a screen' (i.e., film) (De Voldere et al., 2017, p. 60). Cultural products that fall within the performing arts category are theater and theatrical performances (e.g., musicals, opera, ballet, etc.), dance, cabaret, and live music or music festivals. There are two core functions in the performing arts value chain. The first function is the activities related to a live performing art (i.e., every element used in the live performance). Second, the activities related to the production and dissemination/exhibition activities of performing arts (i.e., supporting activities outside the live performances such as distribution and commercialization, stage production) (De Voldere et al., 2017, p. 60).

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[8] Examples of these foreign artist are American singer-songwriter such as Halsey, Melanie Joy Fontana; Canadian music producers DJ Swivel; Australian record producers Tushar Apte; and Australian-South African singer-songwriter Troye Sivan.

Table 5: **BTS World Tour 'Love Yourself Speak Yourself' Los Angeles (2019) & BTS Online Live Concert 'BANG BANG CON The Live' (2020)**

Core Functions	*Creation*	**Content Creation** (e.g., script, composition, choreography, etc.) **Private and Public Financing**	ARTIST RM SUGA JIN J-HOPE JIMIN V JUNG KOOK CHOREOGRAPHER 유광열 이훈진 윤종인 임건 북 한명현 김영현 양광범 전기종 최기훈 원종휘 박한솔 박성한 한민호 강명훈 MUSIC PRODUCTION DEPT. 양창원 정우영 PERFORMANCE DIRECTING 손성득 이병은 이두환 VISUAL CREATIVE 김가은 HAIR 김지혜 서진영 MAKE-UP 김 다름 백 현아 STYLIST 이서연 홍실 신주연 서희 지 SECURITY 이재향 김대성 한석 오 김경도 CJ ENM 이동엽 김혜선 재미 진 사무소 김지윤 김설 아 이승준 정혜리
	Production/ Publishing	**Production** (i.e., rehearsals, stage, design, make-up, lights, sounds, choreography) **Technical Support** (i.e., design, set, backstage, costumes, lights) **Private & Public Financing**	CREATIVE DIRECTOR Plan A PRODUCTION DESIGN Fragment Nine STAGE MANAGER SH Company SOUND DESIGN TRISTAR Audio CAMERA DIRECTOR D-take LIGHTING DESIGN Lite Factory VIDEO TECH Good media ILLUMINATION DESIGN Artdeco

			MEDIA SERVER TECH Live Lab TRUSS & KINESYS DESIGN Wooil STAGE DESIGN Mayvan SPECIAL EFFECT DESIGN SF CORPORATION VIDEO DESIGN ALIVE
	Dissemination/ Trade	**Promotion** (i.e., marketing and communication on media, posters, brochures, programs and touring)	
		Distribution to Stages and Venues (i.e., on-site information and communication, hosting and security)	Rose Bowl, Los Angeles (Speak Yourself Concert Venue) Kiswe Mobile Inc. (Online concert platform)
		Commercialization and Ticketing (i.e., online & targeted marketing)	Weverse Shop
	Exhibition/ Reception/ Transition	**Live Performances**	Rose Bowl, Los Angeles (Speak Yourself Concert Venue) Kiswe Mobile Inc. (Online concert platform)
		Broadcasting/ Cable/ Transmission/ Live Streaming	
Support Functions	*Preservation/Archiving Education/Training Management/Regulation*	Intellectual Property ARTIST MANAGEMENT 김세진 김수빈 안 다솔 CONCERT STRATEGY 한아람 강 예리 이소연 CONCERT BUSINESS 박꽃 하얀 이인혜 이예 정 박지은 CONTENT BUSINESS 방 우정 김수린 장정 인 김지은	

Ancillary Goods & Services	*DVD Production* *DVD Distribution* *Broadcaster*	beNX Co., Ltd PLAY COMPANY CORP. EXECUTIVE PRODUCER 조형석 BUSINESS DIVISION CHIEF DIRECTOR 임완철 DIRECTOR 송태렬 PROJECT MANAGER 박현주 ASSISTANT DIRECTOR 이재웅 한준희 엄태훈 FILM DIRECTOR 장 아름 이하은 이소진 김예원 김윤수 김서 율 DESIGN & ART WORK 황지은 최 보미 윤혜진 이은선 박솔채 신은진 PHOTOGRAPHER KMI 황혜정 이유진 DVD AUTHORING 노준호 CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER 정보 람 MANAGEMENT SUPPORT 유 창민 김준연 윤강희 PRINT ARANA WEVERSE SHOP

Notes: We made several small adjustments from the original performing arts value chain framework by De Voldere et al. (2017, p. 63)

Source: Authors

On Table 5, we evaluate two live performances of the BTS. The first one is the more traditional live concert; the 'Love Yourself Speak Yourself' concert in Los Angeles (2019). This concert is a part of the BTS World Tour: Love Yourself tour series, which included some of the world's largest performance venues, such as Wembley Stadium where they sold out the 90,000-seat stadium in 90 minutes. The gross revenue of the tour reached US$ 200 million in 2019 (Elberse & Woodham, 2020, p. 10).

The second one is the online concert 'BANG BANG CON The Live' (2020). The online live concert broke the record as it saw with 756,600 viewers from 107 regions. It was an equivalent of 15 shows at a 50,000-capacity stadium. Through this 100-minutes live concert, Big Hit Entertainment earned US$ 20 million from ticket sales (Forbes, 2020a). We decided to incorporate online live performance after evaluating the impact of the global pandemic COVID-19 on the transformation of live concerts worldwide. The global pandemic has contributed to the continuous improvement of the online concert system (i.e., the technicality of the online concert, such as website platform and fans' online live interaction). Since BANG BANG CON The Live in 2020, BTS has been performing several more online concerts, including Map of the Soul: ONE, BTS 2021 Muster

Sowoozoo, BTS Permission to Dance (in three different venues). These online concerts are available through Weverse platform (see Global Multimedia Value Chain section). As the ban on the in-person concert was lifted in 2021, BTS continues to provide livestream access to their live concert (hybrid format). Their three-day show in 2022 reached 2.46 million fans worldwide, including online fans in 191 countries. The concert grossed over USD 90 million in ticket sales (Nikkei Asia, 2022).

Both of these live concerts went through the similar creation and production stage. The main difference is the medium to reach global audiences. The first one is through a direct mechanism, where the artists and global audiences physically are in the same venue. The second one uses an indirect mechanism, where the artist and global audiences meet and connect through an online platform in real-time.

Based on the concert information from the official DVD and the VOD, we can observe the transnational input-output mechanism within the two live concerts (Table 5). While Big Hit Entertainment does the creation and production stages of the concert, the nature of world tour incorporate local staff (e.g., interpreter, on-site security, lighting, special effect) as these concerts are held in various venues across the globe such as Rose Bowl (Los Angeles, USA), Stade de France (Paris, France), Yanmar Stadium Nagai (Osaka, Japan) (BTS Memories of 2019 DVD, 2020). With regards to the online concert, the distributor of the online concert, the Kiswe Mobile Inc., is headquarter in the USA (Kiswe, 2020). Like the global music value chain, the two live concerts represent how a global performing arts value chain reaches global viewers directly and indirectly through a transnational input-output mechanism. The highest value goes back to the BTS and the Big Hit Entertainment.

4.3   Global Artistic Craft Value Chain

The next category of the global creative value chain is the artistic craft value chain. Following De Voldere et al. (2017), artistic craft or artisanal products refer to those produced, completely or partially, by artisans (i.e., direct manual contribution of the artisans as the most substantial components of the finished products). Voldere et al., differentiate between the one-off production (i.e., the artisans act as creator, producer, and distributor if the products) and the industrial craft (i.e., there is an involvement of mass production activity). In their study, Voldere et al. exclude the industrial craft (De Voldere et al., 2017, p. 104). However, due to the K-Pop industry's nature, we decided to incorporate industrial craft as we look into the BT21 as our sub-case. BT21 is a part of LINE[9] friend

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[9] Line is a freeware app by LINE Corporation, a Tokyo-based subsidiary of Naver Corporation from South Korea, for instant communications on electronic devices such as smartphones, tablet computers, and personal computers.

featured characters, which were released as under a project called Friend Creators. The BTS was the first artist involved in this project as the seven members themselves created and developed the seven characters of BT21 (BT21, 2020). Based on these seven characters, Line Friends showcases and sells BT21 products (i.e., merchandise and apparel venture) at its flagship store located in several countries across the world and online.

Table 6: BT21: Universe 2 (2019)

Core Functions	Creation	**Content Creation by Crafter/Artisan** (i.e., idea generation and the cultural context) - Developers	BTS Members & LINE FRIENDS
	Production/ Publishing	**Production** (i.e., supply of raw material, manufacture, and consolidation of the product, labelling)	LINE FRIENDS; NARA HOME DECO (Manufactured in China); QINGDAO AISH HANDICRAFT CO., LTD (Manufactured in China); WEIFANG QINGDE CRAFTS CO., LTD (Manufactured in China)
	Dissemination/Trade	**Distribution** (i.e., transport, marketing)	LINE FRIENDS STORES
		Retail	LINE FRIENDS STORES (including AMAZON OFFICIAL STORE) WEVERSE SHOP
	Exhibition/ Reception/ Transition	**Mass Market** (general public)	LINE FRIENDS STORE; Social Media Platform (Youtube, VLive, Wedibo, Twitter, Instagram, Facebook)
		Niche Market (global fandom)	WEVERSE SHOP
Support Functions	*Preservation/Archiving Education/Training Management/Regulation*		Intellectual Property
Ancillary Goods & Services	*Supporting Activities (Raw Material Suppliers)*		

Notes: We made several small adjustments from the original performing arts value chain framework by De Voldere et al. (2017, p. 107). Details on the companies involved in the chain are retrieved from the product labels. The grey highlight represents the product manufacturing stage (i.e., industrial craft).

Source: Authors

While the original concept of the artistic craft value chain excludes industrial craft, we argue that this concept can highlight BT21 more as an artistic craft product instead of another merchandise manufacturing (e.g., concert goods). The reason is that BT21 is promoted as the representation of the BTS members that they created (i.e., the creation stage). The BTS are the artisans who become the most substantial components of the finished products. BT21 shows the transnational input-output mechanism of the global artistic craft value chain, in which we can observe how the highest value goes back to BTS and the Big Hit Entertainment. In this case, the highest value comes from the sales revenue and how these characters strengthen the value of the BTS' image.

4.4   Global Multimedia Value Chain

The last category of the global creative value chain is the global multimedia value chain. As scholars already acknowledge, the rise of the K-Pop industry relies on the advancement of digital media or just digitalization in general. In this regard, the multimedia value chain is one of the most essential elements for K-Pop idol industry growth. Following De Voldere et al. (2017), multimedia refers to 'works which consist of a combination of several digital media such as text, graphic, photography, audio and video to create an entertainment', which can also enabled an element of interactivity (p. 192). Multimedia goods include software and PC games.

Table 7: BTS World (game) (2019) & In the SOOP (variety show) (2020)

Core Functions	Creation	**Software Development** (in-house or external) **and Continuous Network Management** (e.g., for online game)	Big Hit Entertainment; Netmarble Corp. & Takeone Company. Content: ▪ BTS World OST: Performed, Written, and Produced by the BTS, Big Hit Entertainment Producers, foreign artists, and foreign producers (e.g., the US, Canada, Sweden, UK).
	Production/ Publishing	**Publishing** (e.g., marketing of the product)	Big Hit; Big Hit 360
		Production (physical) (for retail i.e., console, PC, handheld)	WEVERSE; Google Play Store; The App Store (Apple)
		Production (online/mobile) (for mobile, Appstore, PC & consoles)	
	Dissemination/ Trade	**Distribution (physical)**	
		Retail Management (e.g., shelf-space)	
		Marketing (Social Media) (e.g., YouTube, Twitch)	WEVERSE & Big Hit Entertainment's social media (Youtube, Twitter, Facebook)
	Exhibition/ Reception/ Transition	**Distribution (online/ mobile)** (e.g., server space, community management, Internet Network management)	WEVERSE; JTBC
Support Functions	*Preservation/Archiving Education/Training Management/Regulation*		Intellectual Property
Ancillary Goods & Services	*Middleware Development Hardware Production (console, PC, Mobile)*		

Notes: We made several small adjustments from the original performing arts value chain framework by De Voldere et al. (2017, p. 195)

Source: Authors

In table 7, we investigate two subcases. The first subcase is a game called 'BTS World'. The second one is 'In the SOOP'. In the SOOP is a variety show produced by Big Hit Entertainment, which is conceptualized and starred by the

seven members of the BTS. The variety show is released exclusively on Weverse, the online platform for the global fans. We discussed the SOOP in the global multimedia value chain instead of the television value chain or film value chain because it does not fit the two categories. We treat In the SOOP as part of the main contents of Weverse, as the primary online platform for the BTS by Big Hit Entertainment. The transnational input-output mechanism can be found in the content creation stage and also the distribution stage. Like the BT21, the content of BTS World and In The SOOP relies heavily on the BTS character. In this regard, the highest value goes to the BTS and Big Hit Entertainment, not only for the sales revenue but also increasing the value of the BTS' image.

5. Conclusions & Implications for Future Development

Overall, we can draw two conclusion points from our mapping on the global creative value chain based on K-Pop idol industry. First, there is similar logic in the GVC mechanism between the more traditional manufacture GVC (e.g., electronics, automotive) and global creative value chain regarding the three key elements: input-output, geographic scope, and governance structure. The case of BTS shows how global player involvement in producing creative content within the global creative value chain. The BTS, as managed by the Big Hit Entertainment, receive the highest value. The highest value comes from the sales revenue and how these characters strengthen the value of the BTS' image, which becomes the key to this loyalty-based idol industry.

The second point relates to the creative content creation. We can observe how ICT advancement supports the flexibility of the global creative value chain. As opposed to the traditional manufacture GVC, the global creative value chain's main product is the creative content, which is easier to be moved across the national border. An observation over this creative content creations also highlights how the K-pop idol shows South-led global value chain. Instead of expanding Western culture into Asia, we are looking into how Western players support the production of Asia's cultural content before it finally reaches global market. However, the topic needs to be developed further in future research.

Most of the Korean Wave discussions, particularly on the rise of BTS, emphasize the uniqueness of the cultural content and the ICT advancement. This paper explores how the creation of these Korean pop culture contents is influenced by a chain of transnational actors involved in various stages from creation, production, distribution, and exhibition until it reaches the global market. The process is no different from the fragmentation of manufacturing production. Our single case study analysis on BTS needs to be followed by developing a global value chain quantitative analysis for the creative sector, particularly the idol industry. However, it would require a firm-level survey to gain value-added data

for a more thorough examination. Unlike manufacturing industries, there are limited resources for firm-level creative industry databases.

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An Overview of the Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Regarding The Adverse Effects Considered in Its Revisions

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Abstract

If the adverse impacts bought by the development projects could be reversed to "all great historic facts", the tragedy is in whose hands and the farce is in whose interests? And which "personages" can be interpreted as "tragedy" or as "farce" in the history of the development? This paper aims to look over the history of the Japanese development assistant projects by focusing on the important accidents as tragedy and the important changes as "farce". In January 2022, the implementing agency of Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) called JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) revised its Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations. The Guidelines aim to avoid or minimize the adverse environmental and social impacts caused by JICA-assisted projects in developing countries. Though JICA's Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations were highly evaluated and JICA received the Institutional Award from the International Association for Impact Assessment in 2019 (JICA, 2019a), and the positive reputation from the international academic society for its Guidelines continues, it has also faced harsh criticism for its negative consequences. This paper examines the chronological changes in the Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations of JICA from JICA's establishment to the latest reforms. The Japanese government has changed its policies on environmental and social impacts of international development projects several times, as Project Affected Peoples (PAPs) and civil society have brought attention to resultant adverse effects. This paper shows each reform's features and their outcomes.

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> *"Hegel says somewhere that all great historic facts and personages recur twice. He forgot to add: "Once as tragedy, and again as farce."*
>
> ——Karl Marx (1898)

1.   The pitfalls in Japanese national law that left PAPs behind (1990-)

In the mid-1950s, Japan established public organizations called the Japan Federation of Overseas Associations and the Japan Asian Association, which were founded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japan Emigration Promotion corporation in order to expand economic activities and immigration overseas after WWII (JICA, 2010a). In the 1960s, the Japanese government promulgated a law which permitted the creation of official loan projects for industrial development and economic activities in Southeast Asian countries and developing countries, which was called the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund Act (OECF Act). In March 1961, OECF was established under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and started their development projects overseas (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). Later, the Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (OTCA), the Overseas Agricultural Development Association (OADA), and the Japan Emigration Service (JEMIS) were established. These three organizations formed the core of today's Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). In May 1974, the Japan International Cooperation Agency Act (JICA Act) was promulgated, establishing JICA (JICA, 2019b) in August. Since basic laws to rule Japanese overseas aid had never been made, these two laws were essential to regulate Japan's international cooperation.

As the explanation above shows, Japanese overseas cooperation activities for the sake of national interest became systematically broader by not only reforming national law (see Table 1), but also by integrating several organizations including not only those under control of the government but also public cooperation organizations. As Table 1 shows, there were several changes from the OECF Act to the JICA Act, such as justifying a wider range of operation activities in accordance with additional definitions regarding development (e.g. development of society, agriculture, forestry, and the mineral industry). Following the expanded purpose of overseas cooperation activities (e.g. the implementation of technical cooperation and the promotion of overseas cooperation activities by young people), various operations as well as ODA-associated personnel increased, including core management staff and operation outsourcing staff. While the reform of the OECF Act to the JICA Act developed points regarding the variety and volume of Japanese ODA, there were some unique points which were not developed.

The main features of both laws are (a) justifying overseas activities in developing countries; (b) evaluating international cooperation for further economic, industrial and technological promotions; (c) requiring investigations before starting

projects; (d) monitoring under the responsibility of a selected leader; and (e) fines as penalties whenever the associated Japanese entity violates the Act.

Table 1: Laws ruling international development projects until 2003

	OECF Act (Law No.173, 1960)	**JICA Act (Law No.62, 1974)**
Objectives from general rules	To contribute to the development of industries in Southeast Asia and other developing regions overseas. To promote overseas economic cooperation.	To implement technical cooperation and promote overseas cooperation activities by young people in developing countries from the viewpoint of cooperating for the development of society, agriculture, forestry, and the mineral industry in developing regions. To contribute to the economic and social development of these regions and to promote international cooperation.
Officers and Staff	1 President, 2 Directors, 1 Auditor.	1 President, 2 Vice Presidents, 12 or fewer Directors, and 3 or fewer Auditors.
Management of Council	Members are fewer than 15.	Committee Members are fewer than 40 with knowledge and experience.
Operations	(i) Projects that contribute to the development of industries in Southeast Asia and other regions and are deemed urgently needed to promote economic exchange with Japan as development projects. (ii) Making capital contributions in lieu of lending funds pursuant to the provision of the preceding item, where such contributions are particularly necessary for the execution of development projects. (iii) Lending funds necessary for studies for the preparation of development projects or for the experimental implementation of development projects.	(i) The following business necessary for the implementation of technical cooperation based on a treaty or other international commitments. (a) To provide technical training (b) To dispatch personnel for technical cooperation (c) To provide equipment for technical cooperation (d) To dispatch necessary personnel, procure machinery and equipment (e) To conduct basic research on public development plans in developing regions. (ii) To promote and facilitate the activities of youths abroad for the purpose of cooperating with the

	OECF Act (Law No.173, 1960)	JICA Act (Law No.62, 1974)
	Necessary Investigations for (iii) are required.	residents of developing regions for the economic and social development of said regions (iii) To cooperate in the development of society, agriculture, forestry, and the mineral industry in developing regions, etc. (a) To lend funds necessary for the development of related facilities (b) To lend funds or guarantee debt (c) Pursuant to treaties or other international agreements, to accept entrustment agreements from governments, local governments or other public entities of developing regions to carry out projects for the development of facilities, etc. (d) To conduct surveys and provide technical guidance necessary for projects subject to loans, guarantees of debts, or capital contributions pursuant to the provisions of (a) or (b), and projects conducted by business corporations pursuant to the provisions of (c). (e) To provide guidance on research and technology necessary for projects conducted by Japanese corporations (iv) To perform the following services in order to consistently provide assistance and guidance, etc. to emigrants, both within and outside the State (a) To conduct research and disseminate knowledge on overseas migration, provide consultation, and offer mediation. (b) To provide migrants with training and courses, etc.

	OECF Act (Law No.173, 1960)	JICA Act (Law No.62, 1974)
		(v) To train and secure the personnel necessary for the performance of the duties set forth in item (i) and items (iii)(d) and (e) (vi) To perform duties incidental to the duties listed in the preceding items (vii) In addition to what is listed in each of the preceding items, to perform duties necessary to achieve the purpose of this Act.
Operation Procedures	At the time of commencement of operations, the Fund shall prepare a statement of operation procedures and obtain the approval of the Director-General of the Economic Planning Agency. The same shall apply when the Fund intends to change it. The statement of operation procedures shall describe the method of loaning funds, interest rate and due date, method of investment, method of collection of principal and interest, and procedures for entrusting affairs.	At the time of commencement of its operations, the business corporation shall prepare a statement of operation procedures and obtain the approval of the competent minister. The same shall apply when it intends to change the same. The matters to be described in the statement of operation procedures shall be prescribed by the Ordinance of the competent ministry.
Operation Outsourcing	The Fund may entrust part of its affairs to the Export-Import Bank of Japan, as specified in the Operational Procedures without competition with general financial institutions.	With regard to the businesses listed in each of the following items, the business corporation may entrust a part of said businesses to a person specified in each of said items only when it has obtained approval from the competent minister.
Monitoring	The Fund shall be supervised by the Director-General of the Economic Planning Agency and they can give orders and submit reports/inspect when it is necessary.	The Business Corporation shall be supervised by the competent minister and they can give (…).
Penal Regulations	Punished by a fine when the staff makes false reports, refuse inspection, engages in business	Punished by a fine when officers or employees of the business corporation or entrusted financial

	OECF Act (Law No.173, 1960)	JICA Act (Law No.62, 1974)
	other than that for which they are responsible, and manages surplus funds from operations.	institution make false reports (…), fail to register, violation of the provisions of this Act, violate the order of the competent minister, engage in business other than that for which they are responsible,(…).

While the Japanese government was attempting to improve its ODA policies from the late 1980s to the early 2000s, the changes in fact created a gap in accountability in which many PAPs were consequently trapped. This was highlighted in a case at the Tokyo District Court over the alleged environmental and social damages caused by the Japanese ODA project in Indonesia at the Kotapanjang Dam, against which PAPs filed a lawsuit in 2002.

Kamiyama (2018) reported that the Japanese government once refused to compensate Project Affected Families (PAFs) in the construction of the Kotapanjang Dam. They had been forced to resettle, but the Japanese government interpreted the JICA Act (See the Table 1, Operations, Operation Procedures, Operation Outsourcing, and Monitoring of the JICA Act) to mean that the Japanese government was not responsible for the resettlement of PAFs who were not Japanese. In this case, the content of the Revised Environmental Impact Assessment Report, the Environmental Management Plan and the Environmental Monitoring Plan can be summarized into the following two points:

(1) There are no serious adverse biogeophysical and environmental effects, but there are many points that require attention during the construction and operation phases;

(2) In terms of cultural aspects, i.e., livelihoods and human rights, there is a need to compensate and provide information to residents who are anxious about being forced to resettle, especially those who live in the proposed reservoir area, and to improve the environment in and around the resettlement area.

The risk of disintegration of the indigenous Minangkabau society was clearly pointed out, and JICA also reported on and implemented their Guidelines following the Recommendations from OECD, but the project was carried out and threatened the PAFs (ibid., pp. 38-42). As Kamiyama (2018) says, there were several disputed points regarding human rights, especially on how to interpret and apply various international conventions to Japanese law, which were notable and key factors in determining whether PAFs should be compensated. These conventions include the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Treaty of Indigenous People, the World Bank's associated Environmental Guidelines, the Recommendations from OECD, and the World Heritage Convention. However, the judges at the Tokyo District Court concluded

those all criteria did not provide clear evidence to justify punishing and requiring compensation from the Japanese government for the PAFs resettled by force and in fear.

This event stimulated discussion in civil society, and a movement based on "do no harm" rather than "do more good" has since monitored Japanese ODA and pursued related legal responsibilities.

2. JICA's reorganization as an incorporated administrative agency with legally binding Guidelines from the 1990s to 2010

To date, Japan's ODA can be categorized into three major schemes: yen loans, which require repayment; grant aid, which does not require repayment; and technical cooperation. Of these, yen loans were provided by the OECF until 1998 and then by the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) until 2008. Grant aid was provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and technical cooperation by JICA until 2008. In the meantime, guidelines for environmental and social considerations were formulated to take into account the impact of development cooperation on the natural environment, involuntary resettlement, respect for the human rights including indigenous peoples, and other impacts on society (JICA, 2004, p. 1). The contents and methods of these guidelines have been revised several times (See Table 2).

Table 2:   Changes in Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations in Japan's ODA

Year	Yen Loan	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation
1995	OECF Guidelines for Environmental Considerations, 2nd Edition	Overseen by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Environmental Guidelines for JICA Development Studies
2002	JBIC Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations		
2004			2004 JICA Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations
2006		Guidelines for Project Assessment for Japan's Grant Aid	
2008	[Almost all operations integrated into JICA]		
2010	2010 JICA Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations		

Note: Tamamura (2021) referring to Matsumoto (2014)

In response to the Kotapangjam Dam's trial, a major change occurred in 2002 when the JBIC Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations were formulated through a transparent process in which various stakeholders, including JBIC, government officials, NGOs, and experts, gathered to set up an

open study group and published their recommendations. JICA also revised its Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations (see Table 2) in 2004. According to Matsumoto (2014), who participated in committees to revise JBIC and JICA guidelines, said JICA reviewed its old guidelines through an open committee, and these guidelines were used as internal documents because they were not legally binding. The new JICA Guidelines established in 2004 included two systems that were not included in the 2002 JBIC guidelines. One was the Environmental and Social Considerations Review Committee, where experts independent from JICA discussed proposed projects in public at the appraisal stage. The other was an objection system to ensure compliance with the guidelines, which will be discussed later.

3. Promulgation of the JICA Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations in 2010

In 2008, JICA and the yen loan operations of JBIC were merged to form a new JICA. Many of the project-based grant aid projects that had been implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were transferred to the new JICA, and it became the agency that implements most of Japan's ODA. In 2010, JICA formulated a new set of guidelines, entitled Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations (hereinafter, 2010 JICA GL), the pillars of which are respect for fundamental human rights, stakeholder participation, transparency of information, accountability, and efficiency. Under the 2010 JICA GL, the former JICA's Environmental and Social Considerations Review Committee was continued as the Environmental and Social Considerations Advisory Committee, and the objection system to ensure compliance with the 2010 JICA GL was applied to both yen loans and grant aid.

The past decade in which the 2010 JICA GL were used could be called a golden age for JICA's guidelines. In 2019, JICA received the International Association for Impact Assessment award in recognition of its effective guideline operations, especially for the Environmental and Social Considerations Advisory Committee which "promotes neutrality, transparency, and public participation." (JICA, 2019a)

4. Key features of the 2010 JICA GL as seen in the official dismissal of two grievances

Although the 2010 JICA GL enjoyed a golden age, there were two key categories of people criticizing or advocating reform of its management and monitoring system. The first category consisted of those from academia such as researchers, JICA staff, and committee members of the 2010 JICA GL. More importantly, the second category was comprised of PAPs who filed grievances through the 2010 JICA GL objection procedures.

4.1   Insights regarding management of the 2010 JICA GL from academia

A report from JICA staff outlines key points for improving implementation of the 2010 JICA GL. Nakamura et al. (2011) concluded that a wide range of stakeholder participation, information disclosure, and comparison of alternatives are essential for appropriate environmental and social considerations. Since other previous studies have also discussed the importance of these three issues, this section will summarize the previous studies accordingly.

The first issue is stakeholder consultation. Stakeholders include local residents, local governments, and JICA officials. Even before the 2010 JICA GL were enacted, it was pointed out that stakeholder consultations were time-consuming and costly (Urago et al., 2008; Ninomiya, 2015). After the 2010 JICA GL were enacted, Nakamura et al. (2011) cited the time and effort required for stakeholder consultations as an issue. Ninomiya (2015), who served as a member of the Advisory Committee on Environmental and Social Considerations, pointed out that there were limits to the number and location of consultations, and it can be said that there is a common understanding that the time and cost required for stakeholder consultations is an issue in the operation of the GL.

The second issue is information disclosure. Ninomiya (2010) points out that a transparent process and participation mechanism will improve the accuracy of information. Nakamura et al. (2011) also states that information disclosure is essential for building relationships with stakeholders.

The third issue is the consideration of alternatives. Usui (2008), who specializes in environmental impact assessment and has worked for JICA, found issues with the former JICA Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations in regard to considering alternatives and mitigation measures. Kamijyo (2012), a researcher at JICA's Sadako Ogata Institute for Peace and Development Studies, found through quantitative research that the consideration of alternatives is in line with local conditions. Even before the current GL were revised, there had been discussions that emphasized the importance of considering alternatives.

In this way, researchers have analyzed the 2010 JICA GL's operations, and advocated for stakeholder consultation, information disclosure, and consideration of alternatives, which were the key issues of the relevant literature review with this theme. However, it is still not clear that these perspectives are fully complementing the vulnerability of the management of the 2010 JICA GL. Hence, the voice from the project affected peoples is to be handed in the next section.

4.2   The position of Project Affected Peoples as expressed through the objection procedures

Even after researchers critiqued the GL, JICA received 6 requests from PAPs via the objection procedures outlined in the 2010 JICA GL (JICA, n.d.). Two were finally officially accepted and investigated by experts independent from but

hired by JICA. These Review Officers concluded that there were no instances of non-compliance with the 2010 JICA GL.

Before looking at the two accepted objection cases, the objection procedures and its features should be explained. The unique feature of the objection procedure is that it connects the possibility of damage caused by JICA-supported development projects with the assurance of 2010 JICA GL compliance. Objection Review Officers have two roles. One is to investigate facts related to GL compliance or non-compliance and to report the results to the JICA President. The second is to promote dialogue among the parties concerned in order to quickly resolve environmental and social issues arising from non-compliance. For this reason, the Reviewers report directly to the JICA President and are independent of JICA's project departments and the Environmental and Social Considerations Review Department.

Not everyone can file a complaint. The complaint must be filed by two or more residents of the country who have suffered actual damage from the project as a result of non-compliance with the 2010 JICA GL, or who are considered to have a substantial probability of suffering damage in the future.

The objection procedure involves a number of steps and only those who are found to be qualified to object are allowed to proceed to the main investigation. Specifically, the following steps are taken in this order: submission of the complaint; receipt of the complaint and notification to the complainant, the borrower states, etc.; preliminary investigation of the complaint; decision to initiate the main investigation procedure; investigation of the facts related to 2010 JICA GL compliance; and facilitation of dialogue for dispute resolution.

As mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, only two among the six submitted objections passed the preliminary process and reached the main investigation procedure. These two cases will show the valuable lessons to consider the history of the Japanese development assistance.

Below, the author summarizes the two accepted objection cases focusing on the context of the projects, actual adverse impacts asserted by the PAPs, and how those discussions were investigated and judged via the objection procedures.

4.3   Case 1. Myanmar Thilawa SEZ Development Project

The Thilawa Special Economic Zone (hereinafter referred to as "SEZ") development project involved the construction of a 2,400-hectare SEZ in the Thilawa region, which is located about 23 km southeast of Yangon, Myanmar's largest city. Of the 2,400 hectares, 400 hectares were designated as an early development zone (hereinafter referred to as the Thilawa Phase 1 project), and ODA was provided. The project was supposed to contribute to the sustainable economic development of Myanmar through industrial development and job creation (Mekong Watch, 2017).

In the Thilawa Phase 1 project, a Japan-Myanmar joint venture development entity started construction in November 2013. The project is being implemented by

the Myanmar-Japan Thilawa Development Company (MJTD), in which nine private Myanmar companies, the Myanmar government, three private Japanese companies, and JICA invest. The Japanese government not only invested in the Thilawa Phase 1 project through JICA, but also supported various surveys and infrastructure development around the SEZ before the project was implemented.

As a result of the Thilawa Phase 1 project, 68 households were evicted and forced to live at relocation sites. They claimed that they lost their farmland, access to farmland, means of livelihood, access to sufficient water, educational opportunities, etc., and were provided with only poor housing and infrastructure. Then, in June 2014, representatives of the residents' organizations filed an objection based on JICA's GL.

The complainants claimed that their livelihoods had deteriorated as a consequence of non-compliance with nine 2010 JICA GL provisions. In response, the Review Officers, after preliminary investigation, decided to conduct the main investigation for the first time since the establishment of this system, and conducted the investigation including field visits over a period of five months. As mentioned above, the Review Officers concluded no non-compliance with the GL. They did, however, show some understanding of the complaints and mentioned some issues regarding environmental and social considerations (See Table 3, right column).

Table 3:   Discussion points over Thilawa's objections

Relevant items in the 2010 JICA GL	Claims made by PAPs (JICA, 2014a)	Compliance Judgment from Review Officers' investigation report (JICA, 2014b)
1. JICA's Responsibility to Answer Stakeholders' Questions	Several of the meetings quested in complainants' letters did not materialize.	JICA responded by phone. It could not be deemed to be non-compliance. Considering the fact that there were residents who perceived it as such, however, a more polite response in writing would have been desirable.
2. JICA's responsibility to support and verify environmental and social considerations implemented by the project proponent.	No justification for the level or form of compensation. No consideration of land-based compensation or restoration. No analysis of resources and options for post-relocation livelihood.	There was not enough time to review the relocation plan with the participation of residents, but this does not mean non-compliance.

Relevant items in the 2010 JICA GL	Claims made by PAPs (JICA, 2014a)	Compliance Judgment from Review Officers' investigation report (JICA, 2014b)
3. Status of stakeholder engagement	The relocation agreements were signed under conditions in which they did not feel free to voice their opinions.	The minutes of the consultation meeting do not confirm any coercion or intimidation by the government, and it is assumed that the meeting was conducive to the expression of opinions, but it is possible that the residents did feel intimidated.
4. JICA's obligation to ensure that PAPs receive assistance in a timely manner	Hastily developed and poor infrastructure; relocation at a time when facilities were not fully prepared; inadequate and delayed compensation.	Although there is a debate on the appropriateness of starting relocation despite the fact that the infrastructure of the relocation site was not ready, we could not confirm any fact of non-compliance with the 2010 JICA GL.
5. JICA's responsibility to facilitate the participation of affected populations in the development, implementation and monitoring of relocation action plans, and to ensure that stakeholders participating in consultations are fully informed in advance.	Most of the affected residents could not read the consent form and did not understand it well. Only a few of them received a copy of the consent form. Failure to ensure that the affected residents themselves can properly participate in the formulation, implementation, and monitoring of the relocation plan is non-compliant.	It is thought that negotiations should be conducted on the premise that the documents cannot be read. A request should have been made that a copy of the agreed document be delivered immediately after it was signed. From the minutes, it can be said that proper participation took place and that there was non-compliance. Important factors that the affected residents consider not to have been meaningfully discussed include the fact that it took only two months for the residents to participate in the study and the lack of communication.
6. JICA's responsibility to ensure that living standards, income opportunities and production levels of affected populations are improved or	The government refused to compensate for the loss of land and did not provide alternative land for agriculture, amounting to a form of aid with no choice.	The relocation plan was based on the assumption that the farmers would leave their farms, and it cannot be said that there was any non-compliance. It takes a certain amount of time for people to get used to

Relevant items in the 2010 JICA GL	Claims made by PAPs (JICA, 2014a)	Compliance Judgment from Review Officers' investigation report (JICA, 2014b)
restored, including support for sustainable alternative livelihoods.		the new employment environment, to be motivated to take up stable employment opportunities, and to restore their livelihoods. Increasing the number of successful cases that maintain a high level of work ethic will calm the concerns of the entire community.

The key elements that both the PAPs and the Review Officers agreed on in the Thilawa SEZ objection case were (1) lack of polite response with consensus from PAPs; (2) lack of consideration regarding sufficient time for preparation for resettlement; (3) disregard for the possibility that the PAPs felt fear or intimidation during stakeholder engagement; (4) low quality of the infrastructure at the resettlement site; (5) lack of meaningful discussion, including insufficient communication and time; and (6) lifestyle change requires more time than was provided. Yet keep in mind that although the Review Officers admitted some adverse impacts, JICA was not required to compensate the PAPs because the judgement was that JICA was "not non-compliant."

4.4 Case 2. Support Project for the Formulation of Master Plan for Agricultural Development in the Nacala Corridor, Mozambique

This project (hereafter referred to as PD project, using its common name) started in 2012 in the districts of Nampula, Niassa, and Zambezia provinces in Mozambique. The objective was to prepare a master plan for agricultural development that would contribute to socio-economic development to promote sustainable agricultural production systems through private investment and to achieve poverty reduction among small-scale farmers, which is classified as a technical cooperation project.

The larger framework that includes the PD project is the "ProSAVANA-JBM (Japan-Brazil-Mozambique Triangular Cooperation Program for Agricultural Development in the Tropical Savannas)." The PD project was adopted because it was in line with the Japanese government's aid policy toward Mozambique at the time (JICA, 2003).

Local protests against the project began around 2012, criticizing the lack of information disclosure. Then after obtaining internal government documents, more serious concerns emerged about forced evictions and land banking. Land banks have been criticized for making it difficult for young farmers to secure land, as they register existing farmland and accumulate surplus land for investment. In 2017,

some of the affected residents filed objections against JICA, claiming psychological damage, violation of freedom of expression and right to know, and social damage (JICA, 2017a).

The objectors pointed out non-compliance with many 2010 JICA GL provisions. Review Officers, however, judged that there was no non-compliance by JICA, though they did point out some problems (See Table 4).

The objectors' allegations highlighted non-compliance with many 2010 JICA GL items. The damage and violation of rights in (1) to (3) in the left column of Table 4 include the principles of stakeholder participation and accountability set forth in the 2010 JICA GL; the obligation to support and confirm environmental and social considerations with the partner country; the obligation to consult with local stakeholders; the obligation to consider human rights; and the obligation to refer to laws and international standards. Since the objections pointed out non-compliance with the 2010 JICA GL, the discussion points were categorized into three perspectives: physical and psychological damage, violation of freedom of expression and the right to know, and damage to society.

Table 4:   Discussion points over objections to PD projects

Damage and compliance with the 2010 JICA GL		Claims made by PAPs (JICA, 2017a)	Compliance Judgment from the Review Officers' investigation report (JICA, 2017b)
Physical and psycho-logical damage	JICA must ensure and confirm that the Mozambican government makes the appropriate considerations	Intimidation, oppression, and persecution by Mozambican government authorities against those who show dissent or dissenting opinions.	The facts claimed by the complainant could not be confirmed, except for the public hearing in the initial stage and the words and actions of the government officials. JICA was not in a position to influence the statements of the minister who was said to have made threats, so no violation was recognized. JICA made efforts to hear opinions and did not leave the problem unattended, and took adequate measures. However, before and after the public hearing, a tense situation arose between the parties concerned, and the words and actions of the government may have been perceived as being coercive in nature.

Damage and compliance with the 2010 JICA GL		Claims made by PAPs (JICA, 2017a)	Compliance Judgment from the Review Officers' investigation report (JICA, 2017b)
Violation of freedom of ex-pression and right to know	JICA must ensure and confirm that the Mozambican government makes the appropriate considerations	Concealment of information pertaining to the content of the master plan and related contractual agreements.	In the case where the location of the public hearing was far from the community, the fact that some of the participants were not notified when the location was changed was acknowledged, but it was not acknowledged that there was a clear deficiency in the procedure. Efforts to prepare for the participation of local residents, such as the preparation of materials in Portuguese, were confirmed and therefore no violation was found.
The damage to society	Considerations by JICA	Commissioning of a communication strategy document.	From the specifications of the contract, it is clear that the entire pro-Savannah project, including the project subject to the petition, is not a contract intended for social intervention and speech manipulation. Although the consultant's final report included interventionist recommendations such as suggesting the weakening of organizations opposed to the project and encouraging the establishment of cooperative networks, there is no illegality in JICA's acceptance of the report. As far as the contract for the communication strategy and the specifications are concerned, the purpose of the contract was to collaborate with the government and to disseminate information about the project through the media. It cannot be said that social intervention was intended.

Note: Tamamura (2021) referring to public JICA documents

Table 4 makes it evident that both the objectors and the Review Officers found management failures. This was in regard to 1) how JICA could both attain

the "understanding of the partner government" and satisfy "special considerations"; 2) providing information such as whether notifications of public hearing locations are included in active provision of information as defined by the GL; and 3) whether JICA should refuse to accept or request changes to commissioned reports if they contain inappropriate content in light of the 2010 JICA GL.

In conclusion, the "not non-compliance" judgements of Thilawa and PD objections have serious implications in light of the agreement between objectors and Review Officers on certain issues regarding mismanagement of the 2010 JICA GL. The following need to be examined and addressed in future revisions of ODA policy.

(A) What does it mean to respond to stakeholders' questions in a polite way?

(B) How much time do PAPs need to prepare for resettlement?

(C) How can possibility that residents feel threatened or intimidated be addressed?

(D) Is it possible to restore or improve living standards at a relocation site with undeveloped infrastructure necessary for daily life?

(E) How should the lack of time and communication during local consultations be handled?

(F) To what extent should social considerations, including psychological effects, be taken into account when people have to change their means of livelihood from agriculture to other occupations?

(G) How can both "understanding of the other country's government" and "special consideration in accordance with actual circumstances" be satisfied?

(H) Does proactive provision of information include access to the locations of public hearings and ensuring that everyone is notified?

(I) In cases in which commissioned reports contain inappropriate content in light of the GL, should JICA refuse to accept the report or request that it be changed?

5. The process and outcomes of the latest reforms to the Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations

5.1 Process of the revision of the 2010 JICA GL

The 2010 JICA GL provision 2.10.2. states that "JICA verifies the status of the implementation of the guidelines, and will re-examine its way of procedures within five years of their enforcement by hearing the opinions of concerned people. In addition, JICA will create a comprehensive review of the guidelines within ten years of their enforcement on the basis of its findings." (JICA, 2010b, p. 18)

In accordance with this, JICA conducted a review from February 2018, including the changes in the surrounding international environment, such as the operational status of the 2010 JICA GL and the international framework for climate change countermeasures. It proposed key issues for revision as a result.

Based on the results of consultations with the Advisory Committee on Environmental and Social Considerations and external stakeholders, a final report was compiled in January 2020. The review was a survey of a total of 100 out of the 1,800 projects to which the 2010 JICA GL were applied and for which agreements were concluded with counterpart governments or organizations by the end of 2016. Fifty-nine of the projects were chosen according to scheme, sector, or region. Schemes include yen loans, grant aid, and technical cooperation projects. Sectors include infrastructure, health, and education. Forty-one projects were Category A projects, expecting large adverse impacts.

JICA conducted a comprehensive review of the issues identified for discussion in this review from January 2020 while listening to the opinions of the Advisory Committee on Environmental and Social Considerations. Furthermore, JICA accepted public comments twice by opening the report of their reviews and their ideas for revision from October 2019 to November 2019 (JICA, 2020) and July 2021 to August 2021 (JICA, 2022a). After recording the discussion by the Advisory Committee and also accepting public comments, JICA published reports by responding to all questions and comments from both Committee members and the public. JICA held regular general meetings of the Advisory Committee. There, the committee chairperson shared discussions held by the Revision Committee with all members of the Advisory Committee. This chairperson is selected by the Advisory Committee members. Of course, all general meetings were recorded including the Q&A from the Committee members to JICA, and the recordings were released as reports on the website.

Finally, in January 2022, JICA promulgated the "JICA Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations" (hereinafter referred to as the 2022 JICA GL) and the "JICA Objection Procedures based on the Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations." They will be implemented on April 1, 2022 (JICA, 2022b). According to its website, JICA emphasizes specific revisions as "[t]he main changes have been made taking into account the environmental and social policies of multilateral development agencies such as the World Bank, and include: efforts to estimate and disclose the amount of total greenhouse gas emissions as a response to climate change; changes to disclosure of environmental assessment reports for the purpose of early dissemination to stakeholders and early achievement of positive development impacts; strengthening of efforts related to local stakeholder consultations." (JICA, 2022b).

Since some critiques and actual adverse impacts had been highlighted during the 2010 JICA GL's golden age, the next two sections analyze the outcome of the latest revision by checking whether JICA improved their management in meaningful and polite ways, considering the opinions expressed by PAPs and the Reviewers.

5.2 How researchers' concerns are reflected in the revision

First, the responses in the 2022 JICA GL to the research reviewed in the previous section of this paper are analyzed (See Table 5). It concluded that the focal areas for the academics and researchers are stakeholder consultations, information disclosure, and consideration of alternatives. Table 5 shows the comparison between the 2010 and 2022 GL in these three areas with the author analyze. The bold letters indicate the changes.

Table 5: **Comparison of the 2010 JICA GL and the 2022 JICA GL regarding opinions from academia during the former GL's period.**

2010 JICA GL (JICA, 2010b)	2022 JICA GL (JICA, 2022b)
(1) Stakeholder consultation	
2.4.1. In principle, project proponents etc. consult with local stakeholders through means that induce broad public participation to a reasonable extent, in order to take into consideration the environmental and social factors in a way that is most suitable to local situations, and in order to reach an appropriate consensus. JICA assists project proponents etc. by implementing cooperation projects as needed.	2.4.1. In principle, project proponents **take the initiative to** consult with local stakeholders through means that induce broad public participation to a reasonable extent, **in accordance with Appendix 5²** of the JICA Guidelines. This is for realizing the environmental and social **considerations** that are most suitable to local situations, and for reaching an appropriate consensus. JICA assists project proponents by implementing cooperation projects as needed.
2.4.2. In the early stage of cooperation projects, JICA holds discussions with project proponents etc. and the two parties reach a consensus on frameworks for consultation with local stakeholders.	2.4.2. In the early stage of cooperation projects, JICA **discusses and agrees with** project proponents on frameworks for consultations with local stakeholders.
2.4.3. In order to have meaningful meetings, JICA encourages project proponents etc. to publicize in advance that they plan to consult with local stakeholders, with particular attention to directly affected people.	2.4.3. No significant changes

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² "**Appendix 5. Consultation with Local Stakeholders**" defines its **basic principles** as follows: "The process of consultations with local stakeholders includes: (i) Identification and analysis of local stakeholders (ii) Plan for meaningful consultations with local stakeholders (iii) Information disclosure (iv) Consultations with local stakeholders and feedback, including reporting (v) Receiving and responding to concerns and grievances." **"Identification of Local Stakeholders,"** and "**Meaningful Consultation**" are also defined (JICA, 2022b, p. 42).

2010 JICA GL (JICA, 2010b)	**2022 JICA GL (JICA, 2022b)**
2.4.4. In the case of Category A projects, JICA encourages project proponents etc. to consult with local stakeholders about their understanding of development needs, the likely adverse impacts on the environment and society, and the analysis of alternatives at an early stage of the project, and assists project proponents as needed.	2.4.4. No significant changes
2.4.5. In the case of Category B projects, JICA encourages project proponents etc. to consult with local stakeholders when necessary.	2.4.5. No significant changes
2.4.6. JICA encourages project proponents etc. to prepare minutes of their meetings after such consultations occur.	2.4.6. No significant changes
(2) Information disclosure	
2.1.1 In principle, project proponents etc. disclose information about the environmental and social considerations of their projects. JICA assists project proponents etc. by implementing cooperation projects as needed.	2.1.1. No significant changes
2.1.2. JICA itself discloses important information about environmental and social considerations in the main stages of cooperation projects, in a manner in accordance with the guidelines.	2.1.2. JICA discloses important information about environmental and social considerations at the key stages of cooperation projects, in an appropriate manner in accordance with the JICA Guidelines.
2.1.3. JICA discusses frameworks with project proponents etc. in order to ensure information disclosure, and comes to an agreement in an early stage of cooperation projects.	2.1.3. JICA discusses and agrees with project proponents on the frameworks that ensure information disclosure at the early stage of cooperation projects.
2.1.4. The information to be disclosed includes that of environmental and social considerations and of the cooperation projects themselves.	2.1.4. The information to be disclosed has to include environmental and social considerations, as well as the project information.
2.1.5. Besides the information to be disclosed publicly by JICA, JICA provides information about environmental and social considerations to third parties to the extent possible in response to requests.	2.1.5. No significant changes
2.1.6. JICA encourages project proponents etc. to disclose and present information	2.1.6. JICA actively encourages project proponents to disclose and present

2010 JICA GL (JICA, 2010b)	**2022 JICA GL (JICA, 2022b)**
about environmental and social considerations to local stakeholders.	information about environmental and social considerations of their projects to local stakeholders.
2.1.7. Project proponents etc. disclose information well in advance when they have meetings with local stakeholders in cooperation with JICA. On these occasions, JICA supports project proponents etc. in the preparation of documents in an official or widely used language and in a form understood by local people.	2.1.7. (…) JICA supports project proponents in preparation of documents in an official or widely used language(s) and in a form understood by local people.
2.1.8. JICA discloses information on its website in Japanese, English, and/or local languages, and provides related reports for public reading at its library and at related overseas offices.	2.1.8. JICA discloses information on its website in Japanese, English, official language(s) and/or language(s) widely used in the host countries. It also provides relevant reports for public reading at the JICA library and at related overseas offices.
2.1.9. JICA pays due consideration to the confidentiality of commercial and other matters of Project proponents etc.., taking into account their competitive relationships, and encourages them to exclude such confidential information from any documents on environmental considerations that they submit which may later be subject to public disclosure. JICA takes into account information control in Project proponents etc.. and discloses their documents subject to their approval. Any information that is prohibited from public disclosure in the agreement between JICA and Project proponents etc.. may be disclosed only through the agreement of Project proponents etc.. or in accordance with legal requirements.	2.1.9. (…) JICA takes into account the management of information of project proponents, and discloses their documents subject to their approval (…).
2.6.5. JICA discloses information with reference to the relevant laws of project proponents etc. and of the government of Japan.	2.6.5. JICA discloses information in accordance with relevant laws of the host country government and of the government of Japan.
(3) Consideration of alternatives	
2.3.1. The impacts to be assessed with regard to environmental and social	2.3.1. The impacts to be assessed with regard to (…) climate change,

2010 JICA GL (JICA, 2010b)	**2022 JICA GL (JICA, 2022b)**
considerations include impacts on human health and safety, as well as on the natural environment that are transmitted through air, water, soil, waste, accidents, water usage, climate change, ecosystems, fauna and flora, including trans-boundary or global scale impacts. These also include social impacts, including migration of population and involuntary resettlement, local economy such as employment and livelihood, utilization of land and local resources, social institutions such as social capital and local decision-making institutions, existing social infrastructures and services, vulnerable social groups such as poor and indigenous peoples, equality of benefits and losses and equality in the development process, gender, children's rights, cultural heritage, local conflicts of interest, infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, and working conditions including occupational safety. Items to be addressed in the specific project are narrowed down to the needed ones through the scoping process.	biodiversity, and ecosystem services, including trans-boundary or global scale impacts. These also include environmental and social impacts such as: (…) and services, vulnerable social groups such as peoples in poverty and indigenous peoples (…). Items to be addressed in a specific project are narrowed down to relevant items through the scoping process.
2.3.2. In addition to the direct and immediate impacts of projects, the derivative, secondary, and cumulative impacts as well as impacts associated with indivisible projects will also be assessed with regard to environmental and social considerations, so far as it is rational. The life cycle impact of a project period is also considered.	2.3.2. In addition to the direct and immediate impacts of projects, (…) are also to be examined and assessed, so far as it is rational. The impacts through a project life cycle are also considered.
2.3.3. Various kinds of relevant information is needed in order to assess impacts on the environment and local communities. There are, however, uncertainties in predicting such impacts caused by the incomplete understanding of impact mechanisms and the limited information available. Therefore, if the scale of uncertainty is considered to be large, project proponents etc. provide	2.3.3. Various kinds of relevant information is needed in order to assess impacts on the environment and society (…).

2010 JICA GL (JICA, 2010b)	2022 JICA GL (JICA, 2022b)
environmental and social considerations that include preventive measures as much as possible.	

Regarding the three focal issues raised by researchers—stakeholder consultation, information disclosure, and consideration of alternatives—a major revision is found in the section of 2.4.1. in stakeholder consultation with the new appendix (Appendix 5). It expands the points to be considered and depicts the range of what meaningful consultation is more clearly. In comparison, Table 5 shows other relatively minor changes and clarifications.

5.3   *How the concerns raised by the Objections are reflected in the GL revision*

The second analysis is of the responses to the positions expressed by PAPs from two objection cases discussed in the conclusion of the section "Key features of the 2010 JICA GL as seen in the official dismissal of two grievances" of this paper. The author concludes from the document analysis of the two cases that there are nine points (A to I) that the objectors and Review Officers agreed were mismanagement of the 2010 JICA GL, although the Review Officers did not go so far as to say they violated the GL. The following is an analysis of the 2022 JICA GL and whether the nine points are reflected in the revision.

(A) What does it mean to respond to stakeholders' questions in a polite way?

In terms of more polite responses, as mentioned by the Reviewers of the Thilawa case, it should be noted that Appendix 1 (Environmental and Social Considerations Required for Projects) of the 2022 JCIA GL has a new "Grievance Redress Mechanism" section. It includes the following sentence: "Project proponents should make efforts to respond promptly to the grievances they receive, taking into account the concerns and needs of the project affected people and communities." (JICA, 2022b, p. 30) Although the meaning of "prompt" is not clear enough, the inclusion of the promptness can be a significant change, and may improve the degree of respect shown to PAPs.

(B) How much time do PAPs need to prepare for resettlement?

The author could not find any regulations related to this concern. The time required for consultation with PAPs and for their resettlement preparations was not reflected in the revision although it was an urgent topic in the objections.

(C) How can possibility that residents feel threatened or intimidated be addressed?

The newly added Appendix 5. Consultation with Local Stakeholders stipulates that project proponents implement measures so that vulnerable social groups can actively express their opinions and that these opinions are treated fairly. This clause can in part ensure the PAPs ability to speak out without fear. At the same time, the 2022 JICA GL adds the role of JICA in this aspect. Provision 2.5.3.

states that "JICA checks that such personnel (author's note: i.e. security guards) will not use any force to provide security except for preventive and defensive purposes." These new articles can be effective to respond to the concerns raised by objectors.

(D) Is it possible to restore or improve living standards at a relocation site with undeveloped infrastructure necessary for daily life?

There is no change between the 2010 and the 2022 GL. Restoration or improvement of living standards should be ensured (Appendix 1. 8.2.), and even the 2022 GL do not mention any obligation to develop adequate infrastructure before relocation.

(E) How should the lack of time and communication during local consultations be handled?

While this point is relevant to (B), more specific concerns over local consultations have been expressed. As explained in the section "How researchers' concerns are reflected in the revision" of this paper, many articles related to local consultations were added in the 2022 GL. They elaborate on who the local stakeholders to be consulted are and how they can access information, but they do not stipulate any concrete measures to secure enough time for consultation or to address the lack of communication. One significant change was added in the 2022 GL for indigenous people. Appendix 1. 9.2. states that "When projects may have adverse impacts on indigenous peoples, all of their rights in relation to land and resources must be respected in accordance with the spirit of the relevant international declarations and treaties, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Efforts must be made to obtain the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) of the affected indigenous peoples." This replaced the 2010 GL's statement, "the Free, Prior, and Informed Consultation" (italics for emphasis by the author).

(F) To what extent should social considerations, including psychological effects, be taken into account when people have to change their means of livelihood from agriculture to other occupations?

Both the 2010 and the 2022 GL stipulate the same measures for affected people to improve or at least restore their standard of living, income opportunities and production levels to pre-project levels. These measures include: providing land or monetary compensations for loss of land or assets; support for alternative sustainable livelihood; support for expenses necessary for relocation; and support for the re-establishment of communities at resettlement sites (Appendix 1. 8.2.). It is noted that psychological effects are not considered even in the 2022 GL and the perspective on job changes for the farmers in developing countries seems overly optimistic.

(G) How can both "understanding of the other country's government" and "special consideration in accordance with actual circumstances" be satisfied?

This concern from the objection cases relates to "Provision 2.5. Concern about Social Environment and Human Rights." It mentions that "special

consideration must be taken for cooperation projects when disclosing information and holding consultations with local stakeholders, after obtaining understanding from the host governments in countries and areas affected by conflict or where basic freedoms, including freedom of expression and the right to receive legal remedy, are restricted" (italics added by author for emphasis). This article implies that special consideration cannot be taken if the host authoritarian government does not agree with the necessity to do so. Although the 2022 JICA GL makes a slight change in the English version to, "special consideration is required for disclosing information or holding consultations with local stakeholders, with understandings of host country governments," there is no change in the original Japanese text.

(H) Does proactive provision of information include access to the locations of public hearings and ensuring that everyone is notified?

The 2022 GL does not stipulate access to information about the location of hearings as in the 2010 GL.

(I) In cases in which commissioned reports contain inappropriate content in light of the GL, should JICA refuse to accept the report or request that it be changed?

The author could not find any substantial change in this respect. Both the 2010 and the 2022 JICA GL share the same objective. Both GL outline JICA's responsibilities and procedures, along with its requirements for project proponents. It can be interpreted that the commissioned studies should be conducted and submitted in accordance with the GL, although the Review Officers of the Objection Mechanism of JICA denied non-compliance.

6. Conclusion

As highlighted in Table 5, the main change from the 2010 JICA GL to the 2022 JICA GL is the more detailed description and definition of "Meaningful Consultations" as seen below (JICA, 2022b, pp. 42-43):

(1) Project proponents carry out meaningful consultations by providing local stakeholders with opportunities to express their opinions regarding the potential impacts and mitigation measures of the projects, and allowing the Project proponents to consider and respond to such opinions, so that they can avoid potential conflicts or complaints.

(2) Meaningful consultation is a two-way process. Project proponents need to disclose information in advance with sufficient time in the official language(s) of the host country or in a widely used language in the country, using a format understandable to local residents.

(3) Consultations with local stakeholders are conducted in a culturally appropriate manner, and being free of external manipulation, interference, coercion, discrimination, and intimidation.

(4) In principle, consultations with local stakeholders are conducted in person. However, this may depend on the local situation of the host country.

The consultations are conducted in an appropriate manner that enables local stakeholders to express their opinions and enables the project proponents to consider and respond to their opinions. The technologies such as remote access and social network services may be used.

(5) When conducting consultations with local stakeholders, project proponents prepare minutes of meetings which includes the participants' attribution such as gender.

Other major changes are disclosure of environmental assessment reports such as biodiversity and ecosystem service; detailed definitions or expressions regarding the language(s) and local stakeholders (especially people in vulnerable conditions); and JICA's responsibility toward investigation, management, monitoring, and compensation.

Although we can see that additional requirements were placed on the management of stakeholder engagement in order to prevent local citizens from feeling threatened during consultations, to ensure information disclosure and FPIC of indigenous peoples, to strengthen the monitoring management, and to respect multiple ways of compensation for the sake of PAPs, there are still unclear points when it comes to issues that the Review Officers agreed were lessons to be learned from the objections elaborated upon in section "The position of Project Affected Peoples as expressed through the objection procedures" of this paper. For instance, the 2022 JICA GL does not mention nor refer to the flexibility of time management regarding stakeholder consultations, the resettlement plan, and monitoring. Moreover, the 2022 JICA GL still refrains from including the possibility of ceasing projects, as a result of investigations or resistance from project site areas. We also do not know whether JICA will refuse or request changes to commissioned reports that contain inappropriate contents in light of the GL.

In fact, the author participated in JICA's public consultation for the revision of the 2010 GL and pointed out some problems based on the past two objection cases. The final revision included considerations which seek to prevent PAPs from being threatened by associated personnel and denied fair access to information. A visit to JICA's website shows how much discussion was held by the Advisory Committee members and the public. As the analysis in "The process and outcomes of the latest reforms to the Guidelines for Environmental and Social Considerations" of this paper makes clear, however, there are provisions and articles that remain the same, in spite of the many ideas and critiques that can be seen in the documentation of the discussions on JICA's website. If the author can identify the weaknesses in the guidelines' revisions, it means that JICA made the final decisions. Or, it could be interpreted as a limitation of imagination and public consultation.

After WWII, Japan developed and revised its policies to promote economic activities overseas several times, and the possible triggers for those changes primarily came from the negative impacts caused by the pitfall of legal binding. It seemed that JICA did great work making legally binding Guidelines for

Environmental and Social Considerations from 2004. Two objections were investigated, however, and determined in both cases that JICA was not non-compliant, though the Review Officers did acknowledgement some mismanagement. In 2022, although JICA finally finished the revision and updated the content, there is still room for improvement, especially considering the amount of discussion, advocacy, and critique that JICA has received to date.

This paper explained the history of the Japanese overseas development projects after the Second World War in order to record the "great historic impacts" voiced out by the project affected peoples in the past and the "improvements" afterwards. And this is unique, and new challenge to tell the Japanese history of the official development assistance with the insights from several actors involved in the adverse impacts and the important changes of the latest revision of JICA GL in English to new readers as tips for discussion in the development studies. Regarding the previous literature related to the management of the 2010 JICA GL, the author categorized them into three key issues; information disclosure, and consideration of alternatives. The author further tried reflecting the lessons from the unforgettable adverse impacts by analyzing the changes in national law, the legally accepted requests from the project affected peoples and literature review, and by advocating to the revision process of the JICA GL.

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An Analytical Survey of Rethinking Postcolonialism in India and Thailand: Achievements and Failures in the Global South

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Abstract

This article is an analytic survey of a debate on the rethinking of postcolonialism and its critical method that has been developed by Indian and Thai scholars through academic texts. The article argues that postcolonialism has succeeded in the field of academics practically and ideally because it still stands as an alternative for understanding Indian and Thai societies and their complex phenomena culturally and historically. Some Indian and Thai scholars have played a crucial role in criticising national or ethnic culture and historical knowledge that are portrayed by the coloniser and local nationalists and elite within their own societies. However, postcolonialism has failed in India and Thailand in terms of politics, economics, and social fields because both Indian and Thai scholars lack operation of political and economic resistance, which has led them to solve the dilemma of academic literary and everyday life practice in the postcolonial phenomenon itself. To be fair, their operational sphere is based on the literary texts which present critical scholarly thought on culture and history. Hence, postcolonialism has not been completely achieved but is a liminal zone of contesting a meaning of culture and history that differs from the sense of national or ethnic culture and history composed by the group of essentialists in both the Indian and Thai contexts.

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1. Introduction

Since the colonial era, Westerner scholars have been overconfident about their race, culture, and nationalism. They represent and compose the East and the rest of the colony areas and their people as savage or primitive with a static, impure race and uncivilised culture as they were before postcolonialism era. Edward William Said (2003) calls this perspective Orientalism, which is cultural knowledge about the East geographically from the Western standpoint (Eurocentrism). Orientalism is a static viewpoint that portrays the East as inferior racially (ethnically) and culturally (nationally) to Western races, cultures, and civilisations.

Non-Western scholars who are Anglicised and educated have critiqued this kind of colonialist knowledge. They attempt to critique Western knowledge and its English literature in various genres such as academic writing, novels, and films politically, economically, historically, socially, and culturally. Academically, some of them propose that it is possible for non-Western scholars to generate non-Western theory to explain postcolonial phenomena sociologically. For example, Syed Farid Alatas and Vineeta Sinha (2017) have shown that non-Western scholars attempt to rethink and critique Eurocentrism and seek alternatives by proposing some non-Western ideas about non-Western society itself, but the non-Western scholars do not encourage "us" (non-Western) to abandon Western knowledge and theory. Hence, Eurocentrism is no longer popular among scholars from the Global South, but this does not mean that they reject European knowledge completely. Alternatively, postcolonialism shows that non-Western scholars have interacted with Western scholars in the academic field by insisting on their "location of culture" (Bhabha, 1994) through a moment of hybridising and mimicking both essential aspects of European knowledge and their own interpretation of culture and history. It is a space and time of intersubjectivity between the West and East, who have negotiated and shared their virtues academically.

Thus, this paper proposes that postcolonialism is one of the critical and analytical tools for comprehending a Global South phenomenon politically, economically, socially, and culturally. The Global South is not a new term and refers to a position of nation-states and their people in the world system or international relational contingents who have interacted with the Global North dialectically in the fields of practice and academics (Braveboy-Wagner, 2009; Connell, 2020; Doty, 1996; Thomas-Slayter, 2003). In this sense, scholars in Global South contexts such as India and Thailand have adopted postcolonialism as a theory for encounters with Eurocentrism and all essentialisms. These scholars are engaging and criticising the colonial and postcolonial predicaments. For example, these scholars have written about Indian diasporic people who migrated to live in Thai society and the rest of the British colonies since the colonialism era. The colonised and ex-colonised experiences play a crucial role in critiques of colonial legacy and knowledge rather than romanticised and exotic senses, as the Occidental, Coloniser,

and Westerner viewpoints. For postcolonialism scholars, the colonised have liberty and rights to speak for and of themselves via their culture as well as local knowledge, which is distinctive from the West.

Postcolonialism is gradually known as the theory of critical Eurocentrism since 1960, 1980, and 1990 (Go, 2013, pp. 3-31; McLeod, 2010). These periods show that postcolonialism developed from decade to decade as a critical tool for insisting on the positioning and existence of postcolonial society and its people. Additionally, the meaning of postcolonialism is not static in one dimension. As a result, postcolonialism can be deployed to understand the Global South phenomena, especially the predicament of the Indian diaspora, which reflects national and ethnic culture dialectically in Thailand and the rest of the ex-British colonies around the globe.

A discussion of postcolonialism and its criticism in the context of Dutch, Portuguese, and French colonialism is not emphasised in this paper. The paper does not jump to a potentially contentious limit. If readers wish to debate, they must find other papers and texts that focus on those issues instead.

Nonetheless, the article realises that postcolonialism has a limit for explaining the Thai context because Thailand and its scholars have claimed that Thailand is independent of colonialism and has never been directly colonised by Western powers. For example, some Thai and Western scholars have proposed that Siam (i.e., Thailand) acted as an intercolonialist that attempted to dominate northern, northeastern, and southern city-states. The alternative term is that Thailand has been a semicolonialist within the neighbouring areas culturally and historically (Brevik-Zender, 2020; Harrison & Jackson, 2009; Rajchagool, 1984; Samniang, 2021; Winichakul, 2011). However, postcolonialism has succeeded as a critical path in Thai literature. It attempts to address the meaning of Thainess culturally and historically, which is an iron cage for Thai people to understand themselves (i.e., the we-self) as fixed in culture and history nationally and ethnically. Postcolonialism has led Thai scholars to rethink their own culturalism and nationalism through literature and academic fields. These fields are the sphere of practice of Thai scholars, and it is an achievement space of postcolonial theory in Thailand, although they cannot use postcolonialism as a real operation politically and economically because there is no such postcolonial experience in Thailand.

To explain postcolonialism and its criticism in India and Thailand, the paper divides the explanation into three chapters: 'Postcolonialism: A Critique of Colonialist and Nationalist Knowledge, which explains why postcolonialism is crucial; 'Postcolonialism as an Ongoing Construction of Differences Politically, Economically, Socially, and Culturally', which explains how postcolonialism fails and succeeds; and 'Alternative or Outdated: Subaltern Studies and Postcolonialism in Thailand'.

2. Postcolonialism: A Critique of Colonialist and Nationalist Knowledge

This chapter represents the different epistemologies of social sciences and the humanities that deploy postcolonialism as their academic methodology. These disciplines have adopted postcolonialism as a theory of critique and analysis, but there are some distinctions in their perceptions of postcolonialism.

2.1 Postcolonialism and Social Sciences: The Emphasis on Postcolonial Economy

Postcolonialism is a theory that is accessible in the humanities rather than social sciences; in particular, sociology and anthropology overlooked applying postcolonialism as a theory. Nonetheless, they later shifted to applied postcolonialism as a method and theory. Historically, when social scientists narrated with the postcolonial economy and its capitalism, similarly, they adopted a classic concept—Marxism—as a theory for portraying social conflict and class struggle economically (Rice University, 2017). This means that there are encounters in various areas of the centre of Western nation-states through class struggle conception, but it had never been critiqued that a Western mode of production and its colonialism and capitalism are also problems of non-Western societies that reflect through Western colonial and capital discourses in term of government, development, and modernity politically, economically, socially, and culturally. Marxism seems like a trap that social scientists have emphasised rather than attending to postcolonialism and its encounter with the Eurocentric structure politically, economically, and culturally.

1960 through 1980 were decades of debate on rethinking Marxism by both Indian and Western scholars because there were various social and academic movements in Europe and America. For example, the presence of a "new-left" (Butler, Guillory, & Thomas, 2000; Gosse, 2005; Morley, 2019) who reconstruct a meaning of identity through a cultural field reflects that they are no longer trapped in class struggle politically, practically, and scholastically. The boundary concept and its fixed entity and identity racially and culturally constructed by the old empire (British) and new empire (American) have been challenged by non-Western social scientists and White Marxists. In other words, the concept of entity and identity via conceptions of nationality and ethnicity is limited to understandings of the transnational and cross-cultural phenomenon.

Some Indian-Pakistani sociologists attempted to dialogue with Marxism by positing that India and its mode of production could be relevant and have a conversation with Marxism in the rest of the world. For example, Hamza Alavi (1975) demonstrates that the Indian mode of production shifted from feudalism to capitalism because of the colonial system even though India achieved independence in 1947. Feudalism and capitalism are colonial aspects that influenced the Indian independence government for decades. This perspective on economics is one lens that can be explained by capitalism, which is a colonialist legacy and influenced

by the colonisers of the Indian subcontinents and the rest of the Global South. This perspective pushed India to become peripherally capitalist, which served the structural Western capitalism and imperialism. As a result, the article concedes that Marxism is a set of explanations of India's mode of production through an encounter and resistance lens economically. Nonetheless, this explanation does not directly criticise colonialism and Eurocentrism as the genesis of non-Western economic disparity. It merely explains that colonialism impacted the Indian economy and its development.

Western scholars were more attracted to world system analysis (Wallerstein, 2004), which was the influential theory of the disparity of economic power between the Global North and Global South. Its emphasis on the world system is grounded in hierarchy, which is a reality of the worldly aspect after the First and Second World Wars and the Cold War. The Western powers such as the Group of Seven (including Japan) and international organisations have the real power of capitalism and technology, which is the dominant power in the world. For Wallerstein, there are core and peripheral states in the world system. World system analysis is a process of positioning the states as producers in capitalist world relations politically and economically. Although world system analysis explains that the world is not equal critically, it does not include an emphasis on people's relations in production as subjective. Indeed, world system analysis has instead focused on states as agency through the international division of labour. Thus, the distinction between West and East is still presumably trapped in critiqued economic development rather than criticism of colonialism as the genesis of the disparity in the world system. Analysing Immanuel Wallerstein is still inadequate to understand the postcolonial phenomenon. Julian Go (2010, p. 8) posits that

> *One is that dependency/world-systems, as indeed a form of Marxist thought, focused upon economic structures while postcolonial theory has been concerned with the cultural, psychological, discursive, epistemic, representational or textual dimensions of colonialism. Another difference is that while dependency/world-systems analyses tend to reduce colonialism and racialised processes to economic class—or even conflate them—postcolonial scholarship theorises racial, ethnic, gender or cultural relations and grants them analytic if not ontological autonomy.*

The other subfields in the social sciences such as sociology and anthropology are attempting to deploy postcolonialism as an analysis of their fields as well. Sociology and anthropology are also colonialist knowledge because the sociology and anthropology disciplines existed as colonial government tools for collecting indigenous data through the census. According to Srinivas and Panini (1973), an Indian sociologist and social anthropologist, Indian sociology and anthropology are disciplines because of both British colonialism and American new

world order processes, but Srinivas did not criticise these kinds of knowledge. In contrast, he encouraged these disciplines as an Indian government tool for academic survival. Even though the government of India has never seen these subjects as contributing to Indian society, nationalists in particular have seen anthropology as a subject of difference which can be a danger to the unity of independent India. As Srinivas (1997, p. 2) explains,

> *I had vague ideas of doing graduate studies in sociology in Bombay under G. S. Ghurye, who had been highly recommended to me by M. H. Krishna, a historian and archaeologist at Mysore. Sociology, however, was neither popular nor prestigious in India until the 1950s, and anthropology was under a cloud because nationalist Indians regarded the subject as an instrument of colonial rulers who wanted to keep the tribals distinct from the mainstream population.*

Sociologists and anthropologists progressively examine to be critical of the social predicament politically, economically, socially, and culturally. However, if sociologists and anthropologist's standpoint ground on colonialism and postcolonialism critique, we can see that sociologists and anthropologists lack critical ideas about colonialism and the indigenous independence system which encounter colonial legacy. According to Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000), this type of colonial legacy is a process of provincialising Europe, which is an aspect of the colonialist system and its modern governmentality of domination and hegemony among Indian elite and middle-class ideas and practices in their everyday lives. Indeed, the Indian elite have always romanticised colonialist knowledge and inhabitant culture through their perspectives of social relations as the Western Orientalists did (Mukherjee, 1963); for example, the caste system is still effective among Indian people (Dumont, 1999).

Gyan Prakash (1990, pp. 391-394) has criticised anthropology and area studies, saying that these studies conducted in India between 1950 and 1960 by Western scholars are a reproduction of colonialism and Westerner Orientalist knowledge. The Western scholar and the rest of the sociologists, anthropologists, social scientists, or area studies specialists trap on the seeking of an essentialism of Indian society or the authenticity of Indian society and its history and culture. They have not criticised the essentials of that social system; instead, the non-Western culture is romanticised and classified as exotic and different from their culture. Anthropology and area studies arose from the dichotomy or difference between East and West, and the distinction between West and non-West has persisted through these knowledge constructions. They are close to essentialism. They still formed a concept of difference that appears to have never progressed beyond Orientalist essential differences. They simply shifted from distinct East and West concepts to tradition and modern concepts by reintroducing Europe as a centric cultural criterion.

However, Prakash has observed some shifting of colonialist division between local and global through racially dichotomous conception. As Prakash (1994, p. 394) expresses,

> *The area studies programs united these social-scientific fields with Indological pursuits in creating knowledge that was no longer bounded by the old East-West definitions. Drawing regional rather than the old Orient-Occident boundaries, these area studies provided a distinct, yet subtler understanding of cultural relativity, although they could not provide post-colonial scholarship with the means to escape nationalist and Orientalist essentialism ... These entities became represented as "traditional" belief structures, which were posed in opposition to modernisation and were useful both in formulating culturally sensitive development projects and in evolving the "appropriate" technology.*

The quotation conveys that the postcolonial world has shifted to a fragmented community, but the culture line is no longer adopted as a criterion of an inferior and superior dichotomy between the state and people domestically and internationally. For Prakash, although sociologists and anthropologists have explained that humans are different from each other culturally, their study aims to understand the differences rather than dominate them. Prakash shows that postcolonial societies are a dialectically complex phenomenon in terms of cultural relativism. Nonetheless, the Western or Eastern scholars have never moved beyond their nationalism and Oriental essentialism, which trap them in a modern mentality that dichotomises society and people via cultural lines instead of race measurement. Moreover, the quotation above led me to think about Bruno Latour's (1993) perspective that *We Have Never Been Modern* because global society is hybridising both traditional and modern styles politically, economically, socially, and culturally. In this sense, for Latour, the world is no longer separated through binary opposition—human/nonhuman as well as nature/culture and traditional/modern—politically, socially, and culturally, which is a legacy of Enlightenment and Modern ideas. It seems like we (both Westerner and non-Westerner) are living hybridisation moments ideally and practically. Thus, the dichotomising of social patterns or people's characters through a conception of traditional and modern racially and culturally must concern rethinking it. This led me to consider the limits of seeking and constructing "we." As Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1992, p. 14) note,

> *There are a number of problems with this way of conceptualizing the anthropological project. Perhaps the most obvious is the question of the identity of the "we" that keeps coming up in phrases such as "ourselves" and "our own society." Who is this "we"! If the answer is, as we fear, "the West," then we must ask precisely who is to be included and excluded from this club. Nor is the problem solved simply by*

substituting for "our own society," "the ethnographer's own society."
For ethnographers, as for other natives, the postcolonial world is an
interconnected social space; for many anthropologists—and perhaps
especially for displaced Third World scholars—the identity of "one's
own society" is an open question.

Meanwhile, in the Indian social context, sociology, and anthropology in India after independence have been dominated by the elite (who are English educated) academically. As Sujata Patel (2016) states,

Post-independence, nationhood and the project of knowledge
creation were closely related. The Indian elite governed the country, and
sociologists in India—largely upper-caste, elite males—supported the
idea of setting up higher education as a nationalist project. Upper-caste
practices became the norm for the state's rulers, and within the first few
decades after independence, the need for recognition of the marginalised
had virtually disappeared.

In contrast to the Indian nationalist or elite narrative, the writing of Akhil Gupta (1998) entitled *Postcolonial Developments: Agriculture in the Making of Modern India* is the best example in which the author deploys postcolonialism as a theory for explaining Indian development, which originated from the colonialism legacy, and local of development discourse in capitalism and neoliberalism world that affected to a rural area and its people who encounter local elite and global capitalists. As Gupta (1998, pp. 10-11) expresses,

My emphasis on the postcolonial condition is intended to draw
attention to a specific conjuncture that shaped the lives and experiences
of people in rural India. Thus, I am interested in the institutions and
discourses which position subjects and which configure their experience
in particular ways, and not just with a body of theory that may be labelled
"postcolonial." I use postcolonial theory because it enables me to
describe and analyse compellingly the condition of subaltern, rural
people in India, their agriculture and ecological practice, and their forms
of political organisation, and not just because I find it a creative and
innovative new theory (although that would have been a sufficient reason
for using it).

For Gupta, hence, postcolonialism is a theory that could be criticised because of its colonialism legacy, especially the discourse of development that India has previously derived from the Western conception of economic development. The discourse of development has led India to backwardness; that is, India has never become developed from a Western perspective because neocolonialism is always relevant to build new images of colonised or, in their words, developing and

underdeveloped nations that are different from developed countries such as the Western nations. In a sense, Gupta attempts to express that indigenous Indians have their knowledge of agriculture and the peasant has the power to engage and negotiates with the domestic power and international corporations in their areas. Postcolonialism has exhibited that there is a sophisticated world system of capitalism and resistance from below. In short, postcolonialism can illuminate the complexity of concealing economic issues behind the development discourse.

Moreover, when social scientists are concerned about development discourse (Escobar, 1995), it is an avatar of colonialism that evolved as an "empire" or neocolonialism in the postcolonial and globalisation eras. International Relations have been dominated by the Western style of international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, World Trade Organisation (WTO) and their specialists and scholars in various fields of finance, agriculture, and technobiology. These international organisations aim to civilise third world nation-states politically, economically, and culturally. This kind of new world order has been operated by international monetary and financial capital. It determines the relationship between the Global North and Global South through a conception of developed and undeveloped nation-states since 1949 (Escobar, 1995). This has led the non-Western people and non-Western scholars to resist and encounter development discourse through hybridising culture in the field of resistance politically, economically, and culturally.

Therefore, social scientists have shifted from a trap of Marxism and its class struggle as well as area studies and its entity nationally and ethnically to the complexity of postcolonialism encounters culturally and identically in terms of politics and economy instead. Postcolonialism is the analytical tool for understanding and criticising colonialist knowledge and its development discourse as well as all essentialism and nationalism culturally and historically. For example, social sciences adopted postcolonialism as a theory for explaining the economic complexity within the third world and their encounter with colonialism as well as their interaction with global capitalism. Some scholars realise that there is still a disparity in the interaction and economic cooperation between the Global North and South in contemporary era (Doty, 1996).

2.2 Postcolonialism and the Humanities: The Rise of Non-Westerners' Critical Turn

This section outlines the development of subaltern studies and their merging with postcolonialist theory as a critical tool for understanding non-Western culture and its history. The concepts of non-Western scholars such as Edward Said (Orientalism), Ranajit Guha (subaltern studies), and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (literary criticism about gender, culture, and colonial issues) convey that the dominant knowledge such as literature, history, and gender is constructed by the coloniser and local nationalists and elite who are always trapped in dichotomising

society and people through uniformity and universal concepts of nationality and ethnicity in terms of race and culture unchangeably and who treat colonised or subaltern and local people as objects of historical and cultural study. Furthermore, these three critical scholars have shown that the history and culture of the colonised or subaltern are subjective. They are not objects of study from the perspective of Western colonisers and local nationalists and elite. Additionally, history and culture change from time to time. The bottom-up encounter or subaltern voice must narrate and memorise as a subject academically, although scholars have avoided representing or speaking of or for the subaltern themselves. This kind of critique of the uniformity of national or ethnic history and culture encapsulates that colonialist and nationalist discourses—Orientalism, colonialist and nationalist history, and gender—could be problematised and challenged by critique through the literary field. Thus, this section divides the explanation into three parts.

First, Edward Said's text entitled Orientalism (2003) is the starting point of the criticism of colonialist discourse on race, knowledge of Orientalism, and the Western ideology of culture and identity. For Said (2003, p. 2), "[o]rientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident.'" In a sense, the Orient is a conception of the voiceless or silent which was the translator or interpreter of local knowledge to the Occident. The Orient is the vital actor and subject, but the West was concealing it from history and literature and formed it as inferior to their Occident races instead. Nonetheless, both Orient and Occident are human made (Said, 2003, p. 5). Orientalism is colonial knowledge that the West constructed through language and literature. As Ania Loomba (1998, p. 85) highlights, "[l]iterary studies were to play a key role in attempting to impart Western values to the natives, constructing European culture as superior and as a measure of human values, and thereby in maintaining the colonial rule." Meanwhile, Gauri Viswanathan (1998, pp. 166-169) states that the emergence of the discipline of English or British literature and its curriculum was a product of British colonialism and its Eurocentric literature and curriculum, meaning that it is a formation of the superiority of the coloniser's culture as a strategy of controlling Indian people politically, academically, ideally, and practically. Hence, the perception of the East did not emerge in the air. The West had a data collection and selection of representing the Orient through the scientific and rationalistic, especially the formation of biological and demographic texts for political, economic, social, and cultural domination purposes.

Thus, Orientalism is a discourse that it was a colonial product. This kind of knowledge was derived from the West's interpretation of the East. They have received the information through the Oriental informant and their interpreter or translator rather than interpreting the East themselves. This interpretation is a one-sided perspective from the West without the consent of the East. As a result, there is a power relation between Occident and Orient via the translation process of that

literally. In short, Said's writing demonstrates that the Orient is an agent and subject. He has attempted to abolish the criterion between "us" and "them" (i.e., dichotomy), which structurally speaking is a colonial discourse.

Furthermore, Frantz Fanon's (1986) Black Skin, White Masks and Homi K. Bhabha's (1994) The Location of Culture are academic texts that attempt to represent postcolonial people through the methodology of psychoanalysis. Both of them show that the colonised (Black or Indian) hybridised Western knowledge and characters and transformed them to represent the alternative of culture and resistance against the coloniser. For Fanon and Bhabha, there is no bounded line between colonised and coloniser because the coloniser and their colonialist knowledge always represent the difference between "them" and "us". Both Fanon's (Negritude) and Bhabha's (hybridity/mimicry) ideas show that the colonised mimicked the coloniser's taste and intellect via languages, especially French and English homogeneously. As a result, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between "them" and "us". The resistance of the colonised is an indirect path through language and literature which is a mirror of coloniser knowledge itself. There is no such essentialism or universalism in terms of identity. Both collective and individual identities are culturally hybrid. Thus, this stage of the coloniser and colonised interaction in the literature field is a practice of "relocation of culture, translations, migrations, borders" (Bertacco & Vallorani, 2021) through a moment of hybridising identities culturally.

Second, the British colonisers and their Orientalist knowledge ethnographically uniformed history, civilisation, and culture through exotism and romanticism of the Indian colonised or subaltern (Inden, 2000). At the same time, local nationalists or elite and their national ideology have standardised Indian society and people in a trap of a national entity. These colonisers and local elite were overlooked to see the subaltern group as active agents who encounter colonialism and nationalism historically and culturally.

Since 1982, the presence of Indian historians has been the forerunner of the group of non-Western scholars who attempt to rethink colonialist, Orientalist, and nationalist history and historiography in Indian society. In a sense, the subaltern studies illuminate historical criticism that critiqued colonialism, Orientalism, and nationalism historically and culturally. As Ranajit Guha (1982, pp. 1-8; 1988, pp. 37-44) states, this group aims to rewrite and rethink Indian historiography because the Indian elite and the coloniser have influenced it. Guha sees Indian historiography as a discourse. The elite Indian institution (Ministry of Education) has supported it through high school textbooks. Modern or contemporary Indian history is merely the narrative of an Indian nationalist who always claimed the contribution to India politically. As Guha (1982, p. 1; 1988, p. 37) highlights,

The historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time been dominated by elitism—colonialist elitism and bourgeois-nationalist

elitism. Both originated as the ideological product of British rule in India, but have survived the transfer of power and been assimilated to neo-colonialist and neo-nationalist forms of discourse in Britain and India respectively. Elitist historiography of the colonialist or neo-colonialist type counts British writers and institutions among its principal protagonists, but has its imitators in India and other countries too. Elitist historiography of the nationalist or neo-nationalist type is primarily an Indian practice but not without imitators in the ranks of liberal historians in Britain and elsewhere.

The quotation conveys that colonial discourse about Orientalism in India and Indian nationalism is problematised by Guha and the rest of the subaltern studies. Meanwhile, A. Rambabu (2006) indicates that after its independence era, India emerged as a nation-state. Indian elite constructed the nationalist ideology for dominating their people like the British colonisers. They would like to prepare the people for work and to obey the new kind of ideology. Indian modernisation and fundamental Indian culturalisation have formed a socialisation process through education and schooling. Rambabu notes that "[e]ducation was used as a mode of creating the sentiment of national integration and a common Identity, i.e., 'Indianness'" (Rambabu, 2006, p. 17). On the one hand, Nehruvian ideology is seemingly based on the modernisation agenda which aims to position India as an independent state that hybridises both socialism and capitalism economically. On the other hand, the fundamental Indian pseudosecularists have preserved their Hindu nationalism for political purposes. Thus, Indian elite do not differ from British colonisers because they have also conceived something to dominate their citizens.

Furthermore, Rambabu has shown that the Indian government had subsidised an educational organisation for controlling a standard of research and teaching through the National Council of Educational Research and Training for revising and rechecking the content of academic texts. This organisation's director and president has encouraged the policy as a significant Hindu organisation. As Rambabu (2006, p. 187) writes, "[D]r. J. S. Rajput, who was appointed as its director, had been openly advocating the RSS's emphasis on 'Indianisation, Spiritualisation, Nationalisation' of school syllabuses and 'Value' education." Thus, Indian Hindu nationalism overlooks social sciences and humanities knowledge by devaluing these as useless subjects.

Moreover, Guha (1983) has shown that the story of a peasant can also be discussed and studied in the academic sphere even though this kind of history was overlooked by colonialists, Western Orientalists, and Indian nationalists and elite. For Guha, the story of the subaltern cannot be found directly via colonial or national archives, but it exists in the official record, which the historian must read against the grain or reading from a distorting mirror (Suwannakij, 2015, p. 157). Guha

conveys that the people did not obey the British coloniser and Indian elite smoothly; indeed, people resist the authorities throughout their everyday life activities. In a sense, Guha has contributed to Indian history and historiography as reconstruction and rethinking of history from below, as Gyan Prakash (1992, p. 9) highlights:

> *Ranajit Guha's Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency In Colonial India (1983) is a powerful example of this scholarship which seeks to recover the peasant from elite projects and positivist historiography. In this wide-ranging study full of brilliant insights and methodological innovation, Guha provides a fascinating account of the peasant's insurgent consciousness, rumors, mythic visions, religiosity, and bonds of community. From Guha's account, the subaltern emerges with forms of sociality and political community at odds with nation and class, and they defy the models of rationality and social action that conventional historiography uses.*

As a result, the article assumed that Guha's idea on the subaltern aims to rethink Indian history and historiography. Guha wishes to narrate the overlooked story from the national history, which is always avoided by the Indian elite and the academic spheres. Thus, the starting point of subaltern studies aims to narrate an alternative story of people politically, economically, socially, and culturally as Antonio Gramsci defined (subaltern means class, caste, gender, race, language, culture, etc.). This perspective of interpretation of people's stories is different from the Cambridge School interpretation from 1970 based on elite and coloniser narratives (Prakash, 1994, pp. 1476-1477).

In short, Guha was entirely against the formal communism of India, which was constructed by the elite. This is why subaltern studies did not enter the debate as Hamza Alavi and Indian sociologists, anthropologists, and economists did before. Although the subaltern identified themselves as Marxists in terms of scholarship, they are not relevant to any communist parties in India politically. As Guha (2011, p. 289) notes,

> *Our project, Subaltern Studies, kept itself at a distance from both CPI and CPI(M). To us, both represented a left-liberal extension of the Indian power elite itself. It was not that we were non-political or anti-communist. On the contrary, we considered ourselves as Marxists in our attempt to develop a radical critique of colonialism and colonialist knowledge in the study of South Asian History and society. We, therefore, opposed both the official communist parties for their opportunistic and dogmatic use of Marxism. Our sympathies were with the militant peasant movement that drew its inspiration from the Chinese revolution and the ideas of Mao Zedong. Known as the Naxal movement (Naxalbari being*

the rural district where it had originated), it was crushed by the combined efforts of the Congress and the two communist parties in vicious counter-insurgency operations during 1968–71.

As a result, for Guha, both British colonisers and Indian elite are evils that dominated the ordinary Indian for generations. Guha (2011, p. 292) explains, "[i]n South Asian history of the colonial period, power stands for a series of inequalities not only between the British conquerors and their Indian subjects, but also between the dominant and the dominated in terms of class, caste, gender, age, and so forth in the hierarchies of the indigenous society."

Finally, the merging between subaltern studies and postcolonial theory is not apparent. No one knows when these concepts are mixed, but presumably the merging was initiated by the participation of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in the subaltern studies collection in 1985. Spivak's participate in the subaltern studies demonstrates that gender issues, especially those relating to women, had been concealed by colonialism, Western Orientalism, the national history and historiography of India, and subaltern studies. This led subaltern studies to rethink their own epistemology by including and emphasising more interest in gender studies and literary criticism within the subaltern scholar themselves.

Spivak (1985, pp. 330-363) conveys that she had realised the subaltern as a group of historians who challenged the plot of Indian history and historiography, meaning that they are resistant to the grand narrative of a mode of production dominated by both coloniser and Indian elite. They had shifted the sight Indian history and historiography from the elite to workers and so on. However, Spivak (1985, p. 356) criticises the subaltern, saying,

The group is scrupulous in its consideration towards women. They record moments when men and women are joined in struggle (1.178, EAP 130), when their condition of work or education suffer from gender or class discrimination (2.71, 2.241, 243, 257, 275). But I think they overlook how important the concept-metaphor woman is to the functioning of their discourse. This consideration will bring to an end the body of my argument.

Although the subaltern has narrated the life of the peasant and others, the peasant has been overlooked in the inequality in power relations between men and women. The narrative proposed by the subaltern is still primarily trapped in the story of the men. The resistance of the peasant and peasant council is a story of men from below rather than expanding the space for gender culturally. As a result, Spivak (2013) is leading subaltern scholars to expand their academic interest in gender studies that are less emphasised by the male historians in subaltern studies. Spivak's well-known paper "Can the Subaltern Speak?" narrates a precolonialism era in which Indian women suffered from double levels of patriarchy

(Western/Indian male domination), and there was a myth of gender discourse that was generated by the Western men to represent themselves as liberating the Indian women. According to Spivak (2013, p. 104), "[t]he subaltern cannot speak. There is no virtue in global laundry lists with 'woman' as a pious item. Representation has not withered away. The female intellectual as intellectual has a circumscribed task which she must not disown with a flourish." This means that Indian women have always been trapped by double discrimination, colonisers, Indian male and female elite, and ordinary men in their families.

Later, Spivak (1987, pp. 91-134) said that the story of women can be narrated as parallel to the peasant movement and other groups of male elite's heroes as well. Spivak translated stories composed by Bangali writers (Mahasweta Devi)—Imaginary Maps (1995)—that disclose the women's stories from Bangali to English. This translation changes the subaltern in that they must be concerned about gender, especially in Indian women's stories that are hidden from mainstream Indian literature.

Meanwhile, Ran Greenstein (1995, p. 231) states, "Gayatri Spivak has criticised the notion that subaltern voices can be heard from within Western discourse including its critical variants inspired by Marx and Foucault. To the extent that she problematises our ability to reclaim subaltern voices from their origins, her critique is pertinent." In a sense, Greenstein agrees with Spivak that subaltern voices should be spoken by the subaltern themselves. It is not a duty of scholars or elite to speak for or of them. For Greenstein (as cited in Loomba, 1998, pp. 257-258), hence, "history from below is usually 'written from above'—a reminder of the enormous distance between subalterns and intellectuals. But he also reminds us that in recent years the 'insurrection of subjugated voices in the fields of feminism, black, gay, and postcolonial studies have been led by members of marginalised groups … and creation of new scholarly fields was implicated in fierce struggles over control of academic boundaries."

Spivak should be fair to Guha and the subaltern, and she says that the subaltern was an overlooked gender issue. Indeed, Guha's (1987, pp. 135-165) essay entitled "Chandra's Death" shows that it "tried to explore general connections—of caste, patriarchy, class, colonial rule—through 'the small drama and fine details of social existence' and sought to avoid the appearance of impersonality and abstraction often conveyed by pure macro-history" (Sarkar, 2002, p. 410). Guha never forgot to include women as a subaltern and see them as historical agency or subjectivity. However, Spivak has seen that the subaltern scholar represents subordinated people; instead, the subaltern must represent themselves so that the academic world cannot speak of and for them.

Meanwhile, Vivek Chibber (2013, pp. 5-6), an Indian sociologist who teaches sociology at American universities, explains,

When the annual series was launched in 1982, it was received in the scholarly world as the local avatar of "history from below" as developed by the New Left. It was conceived by Ranajit Guha, a historian of modern India then based at the University of Sussex, together with a small group of younger scholars. At the time they began meeting, in the late 1970s, most members of this group would have regarded themselves as Marxists.

In a sense, Chibber sees subaltern studies and postcolonial studies as incarnations of New Left scholars, which the project of the subaltern is not essential enough to be explained as theory or concept in the academic world because there is much misunderstanding of capitalism among the subaltern; thus, for Chibber, subaltern studies are ideology rather than theory (Chibber, 2013, Chap. 7). Chibber (Chibber, 2013, p. 8) is seemingly not satisfied with subaltern studies and postcolonialism as a theory, but he realises that subaltern studies were succeeded before they later declined (Sarkar, 2002, pp. 400-429) because Chibber notes,

The marriage of Subaltern Studies to post-Marxian cultural theory was a dramatic success. It was from a reading of the early volumes that a leading American scholar of South Asia claimed, with no hint of irony or embarrassment, that "Indians are, for perhaps the first time since colonisation, showing sustained signs of reappropriating the capacity to represent themselves."

Nonetheless, these essays (Spivak's articles) have shown that subaltern studies had expanded to gender, literature, et cetera that expand subaltern studies to different disciplines. Subaltern studies are not merely a set of explanations of peasant politics or politics from below. They cover more than one predicament through the postcolonial moment and postcolonial theory. As Chibber (2002, p. 7) notes,

The more portentous departures came some years into the project, perhaps most famously with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's essay Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography in the fourth volume. This was the first sign that the project might be making a transition from cultural Marxism to a more decidedly poststructuralist agenda. This was, of course, a familiar turn. From the start, Subaltern Studies had been closely aligned with intellectual trends in the New Left.

Furthermore, Sing Suwannakij (2015, pp. 169-170) alludes to Gurminder K. Bhrambra, saying that the criticism of Spivak's subaltern concept has impacted other members of subaltern studies in that they have expanded and changed epistemology. Finally, subaltern studies have presumably homogenously merged with the postcolonialism concept, which we cannot differentiate these approaches.

Therefore, these non-Western critical turn ideas about colonial discourses (Orientalism, colonialist/nationalist history, and gender studies) convey that postcolonialism is a literary critical instrument for rethinking Western conceptions academically, although the non-Western epistemology and ontology still depend on the Western legacy. Nonetheless, the critique of colonial discourses has fulfilled the academic field as an alternative understanding of India and its postcolonial phenomenon historically and culturally.

2.3 Postcolonialism as Theory and Analysis of Non-Westerners for Critiques of Colonialism and Its Legacy of Modernity

Postcolonialism in the social sciences and in the humanities have different viewpoints on spaces and disciplines of the study; namely, the social sciences tend to focus on macrolevels of disparity between the north and the south, while the humanities emphasise microlevels and the encounter of the subaltern via literary field. To be fair, the social sciences have a connection point in that they want to criticise colonialism and modernity through the postcolonialism viewpoint that the rural people, urban poor, peasants, women, et cetera are the group of an oppressor who has the power of negotiation, hermeneutics, and resistance to the authorities at various levels.

Scholars of postcolonialism in the social sciences and humanities have critiqued the postcolonial moment through discourse analysis rather than criticising colonialism historically and culturally via class conception as other Marxists did. For postcolonial scholars, there are disciplines such as culture, literature, history, and development which are constructed by both the elite and state authority. As a result, postcolonialism is a critique and discourse analysis, which is a well-known scholarly method throughout the ex-colonies and the rest of the third world. As a result, the postcolonialists have found their academic sphere by deploying postcolonialism as a critical tool for agitating the authorities (Eurocentrism/Orientalism, nationalism/ethnocentrism) and an analysing tool for understanding the indigenous (i.e., subaltern agency and the rise of a redistribution space for them).

Nonetheless, because they are scholars with different experiences than the group of their informants, they must recognise that there are limits to understanding and obtaining the true voice of the subaltern. Alternatively, the scholar of postcolonialism wants to destroy the bounded entities between them and us, which is a colonialist discourse. Although postcolonialism is an important concept, it also has limits in deployment. As the Indian sociologist has satirically expressed, "Postcolonial studies have enjoyed this inflated popularity more than most others—hence the spread of terms such as 'subaltern,' 'hybridity,' 'the fragment,' and 'diaspora' across the scholarly landscape" (Chibber, 2013, pp. 3-4), that seems like strict the approach to analysis other issues.

3. Postcolonialism as an Ongoing Construction of Differences Politically, Economically, Socially, and Culturally: How It Becomes Failure and Success

This paper assumes that postcolonialism has simultaneously succeeded and failed. The paper realises that postcolonialism had been succeeding in the academic sphere for decades. However, there is some critique of postcolonialism, but postcolonialism is naturally a predicament in the scholarly world. Nonetheless, postcolonialism has to led the academic society to rethink the colonialist discourse of pure entity and identity (Bhabha, 1994) that represents people culturally through hybridising and mimicry by the third world. Non-Western scholars have deployed colonialist knowledge as their own opposed weapon to the disparity and discrimination within the world system after colonialism for generations. This weapon has succeeded academically and culturally. The contribution of postcolonialism to development studies, history, and literature demonstrates that postcolonialism has impacted debate in the academic world. As Ankie Hoogvelt (1997, p. 154) notes,

Postcolonial studies opens up three windows, or angles of vision. First, such studies dispute that one can infer "identity" by looking at material relations alone. The politics of cultural identity and recognition have become as important as the politics of redistribution; and, as Nancy Fraser argues, they can support the politics of redistribution. Second, postcolonial studies puts a referent emphasis on the cultural complexity of identity formation. Today, cross-border migrations have resulted in fragmentation and heterogenous mixes of belonging and loyalties and political allegiances in which class and nation have become "decentred" as a source of identity. Third, postcolonialism is suggestive and reflexive of a world no longer structured along binary axes, be they First World/Third World; north/south, east/West or socialist/capitalist.

Undoubtedly, postcolonialism is in a sense a scholarly success. It renews the controversial identity and culture that were once dominant and monopolised by the colonisers and indigenous elite. It has contributed to the academic world as a critical tool for opposition and abolition of colonialist knowledge and development discourse that was encouraged by the coloniser and the local elite of those societies. It is a concept of challenging the superstructure and the elite's knowledge (neocolonialism) from time to time. It required the authority to listen to their desires via academic texts. As a result, some critiques of abused postcolonialism have a political agenda. In a sense, the people who are critical of postcolonialism are not fair to postcolonialists and postcolonialism. Indeed, how can postcolonialism achieve the political and economic goals without participating in politics and economics? The everyday lives and resistance of ex-colonised or third world people

can be used as a "weapon of the weak" (Scott, 1985), but if the people are trapped in their desire without transforming it into a political movement, that desire is a merely individual issue, and it cannot succeed in reality. In short, postcolonialism is not merely ideology or theory. It is a way of liberating practice through literature filed.

Culturally, postcolonialism has raised controversy about the representation of the self within the world system and capitalist milieu (Doty, 1996). For postcolonialists, languages are essential for meaning and an iron cage of people's perspectives. As Stuart Hall (1997, p. 1) demonstrates,

> *Language is able to do this because it operates as a representational system. In language, we use signs and symbols—whether they are sounds, written words, electronically produced images, musical notes, even objects—to stand for or represent to other people our concepts, ideas and feelings. Language is one of the 'media' through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture. Representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced.*

In a sense, languages are essential for cultures and ideas. In reality, it is somewhat difficult to go beyond the language when one has to think or rethink something. The agenda of postcolonialists and third world scholars and people has succeeded. For example, Western media companies have opened and included the story of the third world in Western media, and they warmly welcome third world actors into their production of media such as TV soap operas, movies, and music videos. However, this media production is not a complete success story of postcolonialism critiqued by the West, which is always speaking for and about the representation of the third world people's inferiority (McEwan, 2019, p. 84). Nevertheless, the media (on behalf of the cultural identity) are alternative spaces where the world hears some voices and perspectives from the indigenous, local, and third world people themselves.

Slumdog Millionaire (2008) is a movie representing the everyday life of slum dwellers in the most significant slum area of Asia, namely Dharavi, Mumbai, India. This movie includes Indian actors and actresses who play the main characters of the slum inhabitants. The movie uses English as the main language to represent the characters' emotions and ideas. Based on this movie, Celador, a British entertainment entrepreneur, still dominated power who representing the story of slum dwellers in India, even language should be used English as a main language of the movie, because it can be promoted, sold, and engaged by the various target groups around the world more quickly than indigenous languages can. As a result, some Indians are offended by the film's title, which uses the suffix "dog" as a metaphor for slum dwellers. The rise of dramas existed from this sceptic: "[i]f you are wondering why 'Slumdog' and why not 'Slumboy,' there's a story behind how

Danny Boyle's Golden Globe-winning film got its unusual name". The film title caused some Indians to question the movie title for a while.

Another movie entitled The Man Who Knew Infinity (2015) narrativises the life of Indian scholars at Trinity College, Cambridge University. The plot is based on a true story of Srinivasa Ramanujan, the Tamil man who pursued his pure mathematics theory at the coloniser university. I feel that the whole movie represents the disparity between the White scholars and Indian scholars. One example is the early scene in which Ramanujan presents his theory book to G. H. Hardy and J. E. Littlewood. Hardy has expected that Ramanujan must communicate with them via English, and the entire plot has shown that Ramanujan's and White men's conceptions of theory are different. In particular, the White man (character of G. H. Hardy) required Ramanujan to join the class as another student and attempt to write his proof on his mathematic theory because Ramanujan had never passed any degree or Western style of education.

In 2018, the well-known movie entitled Fantastic Beasts: The Crimes of Grindelwald had got a drama from the South Korean actress who performs as Nagini (the snake/beast who is the good fellow of Lord Voldemort in the Harry Potter series). There was criticism of the writer, J. K. Rowling, regarding whether "it played into the representation of Asian people as 'peripheral in a white-centric world' and 'Asian women exist to mainly serve white men's interests'" (James, 2013). However, Rowling, Warner Bros. Pictures, and the producer made a defence that the Nagini is a snake in Southeast Asian legend, especially the story of the Naga in Bali, Indonesia. Nagini character does not mean that the writer and producer see Asian women as subordinates who are inferior to White men or women (BBC, 2018).

These examples from movies show how White media have realised that it is important to include third world people (e.g., Asians) in their sphere and represent them through these movie characters. Romantically, the emergence of Asian characters in Western films demonstrates that third-world people now have a stronger presence in Western media than ever before. If one conceived of these movies as a success of difference representation within the capitalist and globalised world, these movies could say that they succeeded. However, if one think that this is not enough for the third world people, then it is necessary to go beyond the plot of romanticising the third world through media.

In contrast, economically and politically, the third world (developing and underdeveloped countries/Group of Seventy-Seven/Non-Aligned Movement) attempts to promote their economic and political agendas on their own path. In reality, Third-world nation-states have deployed and engaged with globalisation and the capitalist world through international investment and companies with local elite networks, and postcolonialism has been concerned about the shifting of a postcolonial phenomenon through the neocolonialist conception economically. For example, after Indian independence in 1947, the first wave of the Indian and

Nehruvian socialist economic planning of the Indian economy occurred. Moreover, the second wave began in 1990/1991 when the privatisation of the Indian economy (License Raj) under Rajiv Gandhi's government was a turning point in the Indian economy and politics (Majumdar, 2004; McDowell, 1995; Weede, 2010). In the past two decades, Indian elite have played a crucial role in the control and management of the Indian economy. They have shown that India has engaged itself through modern industrial and capitalist economies, which they are still trapping in development discourse. Thus, economically, and politically, the third world phenomenon is not going beyond Western domination as the postcolonialists have critiqued. Postcolonialism is historically and culturally successful in scholarship, but it cannot solve the limit of going beyond the development discourse in real circumstances politically and economically.

4. Alternative or Outdated: Subaltern Studies and Postcolonialism in Thailand

Generally, in the discipline of Thai history, Thai scholars have not preferred to adopt the term "postcolonialism" as their academic epistemology because they always claim that Thai society has never been directly colonised by Westerners (Portuguese, Dutch, British, or French), and as a result, postcolonialism does not fit the Thai milieu. Some Thai and foreign scholars (who are interested in Thai studies) have created a concept of semicolonialism, cryptocolonialism, or intercolonialism (Brevik-Zender, 2020; Harrison & Jackson, 2009; Rajchagool, 1984; Samniang, 2021; Winichakul, 2011), which is a more appropriate concept for understanding the Thai context.

Semicolonialism, cryptocolonialism, and intercolonialism seem like epistemologies that shed light on Thai academics, and they attempt to link the status of exceptional of colonisation which is similar to China, Japan, and Turkey, which have never been directly colonised by Western colonisers. Furthermore, Thailand's image as a country that has not been colonised and has maintained its neutral status appears to be the main image that the outside world has of Thailand. As Rajeev S. Patke and Philip Holden (2010, pp. 11-12) highlight, "[s]tates of the mainland either suffered colonisation by European powers, or—in the case of Thailand— maintained strategic neutrality as buffer areas."

Siam's status as an independent state during colonialism appears reasonable and understandable from the perspective of Thai academia that Thailand is not directly relevant to colonialism, and thus postcolonialism cannot be academically suitable for the Thai context. This is why the discipline of history or Thai history is not interested in adopting postcolonialism and its criticism as a juxtaposition in terms of epistemology and methodology for understanding Thai history, although Siam interacted with colonialism and postcolonialism internationally. However, Thailand has no collective experience of trauma comparable to those of the rest of the ex-colonised nation-states in Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, Thailand has never

isolated itself from the colonial system economically, although Siam was never colonised by Western powers directly. As Thongchai Winichakul (2014, p. xviii) states, "I would argue that Siam went straight into postcolonial conditions without a colonial stage." As a result, when Siamese elite and Thai authorities desire to construct "Thainess" as a uniform national entity, it excludes the rest of people in Thai society as "the other-within" (Winichakul, 2000, 2017).

The conception of "Thainess" is a discourse (Winichakul, 1994) that is interpreted by Siamese elite and Thai authorities as "Orientalism discourse" (Said, 2003) within the Orient itself. This led Thai national history, literature, art, and culture to be trapped in heroism and its narrative of nationalism rather than play emphasising social history and everyday life narratives within Thai society. This phenomenon seems like a phenomenon of Indian history and historiography that traps Indianness and its virtues in colonial and nationalist stories. Thai National history and historiography are no longer popular. These traditions of national history and historiography have been challenged by the concept of the subaltern (Guha, 1982) and postcolonial theory as criticism tools and the scholarly juxtaposition of Thai history and historiography.

As a result, some groups of Thai scholars have adopted postcolonialism as their epistemology for understanding the phenomena of Thai literature and art, development studies, marginalisation (people, society, culture), and Thai history. It is too early to conclude that postcolonialism has completely failed academically in Thailand. When discussing postcolonial criticism, one Thai scholar's name may come to mind: Nopphon Prachakul (2003), who composed some academic texts on poststructuralism and postcolonialism as a mythology of literary criticism, such as A Critical Insight into French Literature. Similarly, there are some unpublished and published works on postcolonialism in Thai society. For example, Pornthada Suwatthanavanich's (2004) Postcolonial Concept and a Critique of Thai Literature. Chayawat Panyaphet's (2014) master's thesis entitled Thai Contemporary Art Under Postcolonialism in the 1990s. Preedee Hongsaton (2020) translated a well-known academic work by the forefather of subaltern studies, Ranajit Guha (1983), titled Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India. Wirachai Chunjandang's (2020) master's thesis entitled Postcolonialism in The Artworks of Maria Thereza Alves.

Both the published and unpublished academic works mentioned above demonstrate that postcolonialism and its method of criticism are vital for explaining Thai and international contexts, especially in Thai literature and Thai art that has always deployed postcolonialism and its critical method as a lens for understanding and challenging Thai virtue. It seems popular in Thailand as one alternative epistemology for critiques of Thai literature and art rather than as a mainstream lens for understanding the Thai context historically and culturally. Thus, postcolonialism and its criticism have succeeded in the Thai literary context because they critique

Eurocentrism and the local Thai elite discourse of Thainess racially and culturally (Harrison, 2014).

Nonetheless, when Thai scholar mention postcolonialism, it also overlaps with subaltern studies, social history, history from below, and mainstream criticism of Thai culture, which emphasise ethnic studies, hill-tribe studies, rural studies, development discourse studies, and grassroots uprising in Thailand. These research topics are always a mainstream academic issue among foreigners and Thai anthropologists (Ganjanapan, 1984; Haberkorn, 2011; Pitackwong, 1996; Sharp & Hanks, 1978; Tanabe, 1981; Vaddhanaphuti, 1984) who are the forerunners of Thai studies and have been under American domination since the Cold War era (Kitirianglarp, 2019). This also leads postcolonialism to overlap with the various topics and theories in the discipline of anthropology. This demonstrates that the story of people from below or social history is not new epistemology for the Thai academic world. This will be a limit of postcolonialism and its criticism when Thai scholar would like to adopt it to explain various research topics in the Thai context sociologically and anthropologically. If a young scholar wants to adopt postcolonialism to describe the Thai context, they must know about this limit before they begin to deploy it as their main lens for doing research.

This paper supports the idea of Bill Ashcroft et al. (2002, pp. 217-219) on rethinking postcolonialism (the debate of meaning of post (-) colonialism; for more, Mishra and Hodge (2013, pp. 276-290) in the 21st century, especially postcolonialism and the diaspora, to understand the phenomenon of the Thai-Indian diaspora. The concepts of postcolonialism and diaspora are not very popular in Thai studies, especially in the urban setting and among its members. The focus on a group of diasporas will make Thai studies cross-disciplinary rather than merely a fixed Thainess discourse. As Thongchai Winichakul (2014, p. xix) notes, in the contemporary milieu, it is necessary to know more about societies of Southeast Asia and the globe, and it is necessary to avoid the Thai centrism that traps Thai scholars in their own narcissistic mentality that imagines Thai society is superior to the rest of societies and people; thus, Thai scholars must be critical of their own knowledge of Thai studies or view it critically.

The Thai-Indian diaspora is a phenomenon that Thai scholars have studied academically for a decade (Ayuttacorn et al., 2020; Kamwang, 2016; Kanato, 1993; Sashe, 1991, 2003; Srichampa, 2016), but these Thai scholars are still trapped in a conception of area studies and a concept of single/double nationalism through Indianness/Thainess nationally and ethnically. Thai-Indians are a group of people who migrated to Thai society before and after colonialism. As a result, they live in a complexity of societies that shifted from the colonial to the postcolonial era. Since they settled down in Thai society, they have led Thai society to become a "superdiversity" (Vertovec, 2007) politically, economically, historically, socially, and culturally. As a result, the adoption of postcolonial theory to understand the

phenomenon of Thai-Indian diasporas is a vital lens for understanding a Thai society that is not static in Thainess from a Thai perspective only.

In a sense, postcolonial theory will fulfil the understanding of Thai history in other dimensions because "postcolonialism can be best thought of as a critique of history" (Robert Young as cited in Gandhi, 2019, p. 170). To critique Thai history or Thai studies, it is necessary to seek and show a complexity of Thai history and Thai studies that is grounded in superdiversity which merges with Indianisation or Sinicisation culturally. The diaspora is a vital group of people who are involved in the construction of Thailand (Bangkok and Chiang Mai) as a superdiverse city. As a result, the understanding of Thainess culturally and historically is dialectical rather than static in one perspective that is always imagined by the Thai people or elite lens only.

5. Conclusion

For Indian scholars and the Indian context, postcolonialism is both critical analysis and juxtaposing instruments ideally and practically in the academic field. The success of postcolonialist theory and its criticism is "recovering the subject of the subaltern (subordinate people/third world people)" (O'Hanlon, 2002, pp. 135-186) through criticism of the colonialist legacy that led the people to be trapped in dichotomies such as traditional/modern, east/west, Occidental/Oriental, colonised/coloniser, and developed/undeveloped. Postcolonialism has fulfilled humanities and social sciences through critical theory, but they cannot transform these criticisms to political and economic spheres, which are still a space of elite and capitalist domination. They enable encouraging the people and themselves to resist indirectly via everyday lived activity such as writing.

Nonetheless, postcolonialism is hybridising with subaltern studies, development studies, gender studies, and literature, creating a quandary and debate among non-Western scholars (Indian/Thai) and the rest of Western scholars in a moment of history and cultural criticism. This implies that postcolonialism is a contesting space that locates non-Western (Indian/Thai contexts) and Western scholars' relations dialectically. It challenges the concept of the imperialist or colonialist pure race as well as area studies. This urges Indian and Thai scholar to understand that postcolonialism is a critical term for a complex moment through "crossing borders" (Basu & Shahnaa, 2017; Singh & Schmidt, 2000; Spivak, 2003) scholastically. Area studies, cultural boundaries, and their entities are no longer influenced in terms of the academic field because the postcolonial world is hybridising cultures, entities, and identities in terms of academics and real life (Appadurai, 1996; Bhabha, 1994). Colonialist, Orientalist, and nationalist knowledge are also problematised in the academic field because for postcolonialism and its scholars, there is no concrete line of discipline; indeed, disciplines have been declining (Albrecht, 2020; Spivak, 2003) scholastically and geographically.

This connotes that area studies, meaning the studies of the pattern of sovereign states around the world through a specific geography, are challenging Western culture through the phenomena of "a clash of civilisations" (Huntington, 1996), "crossing borders" (Basu & Shahnaaz, 2017; Singh & Schmidt, 2000; Spivak, 2003), and "beyond a boundary" (James, 2013) culturally.

In the Thai context, postcolonialism appears to be a scholarly accomplishment. It has prompted Thai academics to address the concept of nationality and ethnicity both racially and culturally through their academic texts. Specifically, the fields of Thai, English, and French works of literature and art have become strongholds of negotiating and contesting space. Postcolonialism has been adopted as a juxtaposition and criticism of Thainess among Thai scholars. It gradually led to a rethinking of national culture, which had always focused on Thai virtue as a high culture rather than respecting and recognising the rest of the minor cultures in Thai societies such as Chinese, Laos, Indian, and Western.

Nevertheless, looking at Thai scholars, although postcolonialism seems like a critique and juxtaposition of conceptions of Thai national history, culture, and literature, it may be inadequate to critique Thainess and Thai society politically and economically (in the operational field) because the Thai context is still relevant to postcolonialism indirectly through these fields, although an external factor has been challenging and adapted by Thai elite and scholars all the time dialectically. However, there are various postcolonial phenomena, especially the diasporic Chinese, Laos, Indian, and Vietnamese people in Thai society. Thai scholar insists that Thainess is not pure and uniform through postcolonial theory. Thainess is merely discourse as juxtaposition of Western Orientalism, colonialism, and nationalism and is a dominant ideology of Thai people. It needs to be addressed and critiqued academically. Even postcolonialism maybe not be fit to make an explanation, but it cannot overlook that it is useless for understanding the Thai context.

In both the Indian and Thai contexts, postcolonialism appears to be accomplished academically, culturally, and historically. Still, there are some limitations to postcolonialism's political and economic adaptation in these contexts. A group of Thai and Indian scholars has never taken the initiative to achieve the goal in the political and economic fields. They simply critique and intend the possible way of thinking about culture as contesting and negotiating spaces of hybridising identities and cultures through postcolonial theory. To be fair, their writings are practised in the field of literature that scholars are enabled to critique Indianness/Thainess in their own everyday life.

Still, the article hopes that shifting focus from the text to the context of the Indian diaspora in Thai society will fulfil the theoretical limit of postcolonialism. Because the diaspora is a contemporary phenomenon, they are still finding and insisting on their culture and history through their moment of hybridisation which there is no root of origin. Thus, postcolonialism is an unfinished project that still

focuses on postcolonial phenomena as spaces of encountering and negotiating uniformity, nationality, ethnicity, and identity through a hybridising moment in histories and cultures.

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แนวทางการจัดทำต้นฉบับบทความ
วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์

วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มีกำหนดออกปีละ 2 ฉบับ ฉบับที่ 1 มกราคม-มิถุนายน และฉบับที่ 2 กรกฎาคม-ธันวาคม มีระบบการพิจารณา กลั่นกรองบทความตามขั้นตอนการพิจารณาคัดเลือกบทความตามที่ระบุไว้ในเอกสารนี้

1. ประเภทของบทความ และขอบเขตเนื้อหาของบทความที่รับตีพิมพ์

วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ เปิดรับบทความ ทั้งภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษ ซึ่งมีเนื้อหาเกี่ยวข้องกับด้านสังคมศาสตร์ การเมืองการปกครอง การระหว่างประเทศ รัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ การพัฒนา อาณาบริเวณศึกษา และประวัติศาสตร์ การเมือง

1) บทความวิจัย
2) บทความวิชาการ
3) บทความปริทัศน์ (Reviewed articles)
4) บทวิจารณ์หนังสือ (Book review)

2. คุณลักษณะของบทความที่รับตีพิมพ์

1) บทความที่มีความยาวประมาณ 15-20 หน้า กระดาษ A4 ไม่รวมรูปภาพและตาราง และสำหรับบทความประเภท บทความปริทรรศน์ หรือบทวิจารณ์หนังสือ ควรมี ความยาวประมาณ 5-10 หน้า กระดาษ A4 (โดยมีระยะขอบของกระดาษ (Margins) ดังนี้ ขอบบนและขอบซ้าย 1.25 นิ้ว ขอบล่างและขอบขวา 1 นิ้ว และระยะห่าง ระหว่างบรรทัดเท่ากับ 1 (single space))

2) จะต้อง<u>เป็น</u>บทความที่เขียนขึ้นมาใหม่ (Original article) ไม่เคยตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่ ที่ใดมาก่อน (Redundant publication) หากเป็นบทความที่เคยนำเสนอในที่ประชุม วิชาการ หรืองานสัมมนาวิชาการที่ใดที่หนึ่งมาก่อน หรือเป็นบทความที่เป็นส่วนหนึ่ง ของวิทยานิพนธ์ หรือการแปลงานจากภาษาอื่น จะต้องมีการอ้างอิงโดยระบุไว้ใน เชิงอรรถ และบทความนั้นจะต้องมีการปรับแก้ให้เป็นไปตามมาตรฐานทางวิชาการ

3) ผู้เขียนบทความจะต้องไม่ส่งบทความเพื่อขอรับการพิจารณาตีพิมพ์มากกว่าหนึ่ง วารสารในเวลาเดียวกัน (Simultaneous submission)

4) จะต้อง<u>ไม่เป็น</u>บทความที่ละเมิด หรือคัดลอกผลงานของผู้อื่น (Plagiarism) รวมถึงการ คัดลอกผลงานตนเองโดยมิชอบ (self-plagiarism)

5) จะต้อง<u>เป็น</u>บทความที่มีการจัดรูปแบบ และจัดเตรียมข้อมูลครบถ้วนตามรายละเอียดที่กำหนดในเอกสารฉบับนี้

3. การส่งบทความเพื่อขอรับการพิจารณาลงตีพิมพ์

ขอให้ผู้เขียนนำส่งเอกสาร / ข้อมูล ดังรายการด้านล่าง

1) แบบฟอร์มนำส่งบทความ ซึ่งผู้เขียนรับรองว่าบทความที่นำส่งมานั้นเป็นผลงานของผู้เขียนเอง ไม่เคยตีพิมพ์ที่ใดมาก่อน และไม่อยู่ระหว่างเสนอให้วารสารอื่นพิจารณา จำนวน 1 ฉบับ (ดาวน์โหลดแบบฟอร์มได้ที่ https://so07.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/GRPSPAJ)

2) ไฟล์ดิจิตอลของ

   (1) บทความต้นฉบับที่มีการจัดรูปแบบตามรายละเอียดที่วารสารกำหนด นามสกุล .pdf

   (2) บทความต้นฉบับที่มีการจัดรูปแบบตามรายละเอียดที่วารสารกำหนด นามสกุล .doc หรือ .docx และ

   (3) รูปภาพ ที่ใช้ประกอบในบทความ นามสกุล .jpg, .jpeg หรือ RAW หรือ TIFF ความละเอียด 300 Pixel / High Resolution ขนาดไฟล์ไม่ต่ำกว่า 500KB

มายังกองบรรณาธิการโดยผ่านทางระบบ TCI-ThaiJO วารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ เว็บไซต์ https://so07.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/GRPSPAJ

ติดต่อสอบถามข้อมูลเพิ่มเติมได้ที่

กองบรรณาธิการวารสารบัณฑิตพิจารณ์ด้านรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์
คณะรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่
239 ถนนห้วยแก้ว ตำบลสุเทพ อำเภอเมือง จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ 50200
โทรศัพท์:   0-5394-2995   โทรสาร: 0-5394-2988
อีเมล: gradreview.pspaj@gmail.com
เว็บไซต์:   https://so07.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/GRPSPAJ

4. การจัดเตรียมต้นฉบับบทความ

4.1 รูปแบบของตัวอักษร

ขอให้ผู้เขียนใช้ตัวอักษรที่มีขนาด ชนิด และการจัดรูปแบบ ดังนี้

รายการ	บทความภาษาไทย (TH Sarabun PSK)			บทความภาษาอังกฤษ (Times New Roman)		
	ขนาด	ชนิด	การจัดเรียง	Size	Type	Alignment
ชื่อเรื่อง / Title	20	หนา	ตรงกลาง	16	Bold	Center
ชื่อผู้เขียน / Author (s)	16	หนา	ชิดขวา	12	Bold	Right Alignment
สังกัดผู้แต่ง / Affiliation (s) (แสดงในรูปแบบ footnote)	14	ธรรมดา	ชิดซ้าย	11	Regular	Justify
หัวข้อบทคัดย่อ / Abstract Title	16	หนา	ตรงกลาง	12	Bold	Center
เนื้อหาบทคัดย่อ / Abstract	16	ธรรมดา	กระจายแบบไทย	12	Regular	Justify
คำสำคัญ / Keywords	16	หนา	ชิดซ้าย	12	Bold	Left Alignment
หัวข้อเรื่อง / Heading	16	หนา	ชิดซ้าย	12	Bold	Left Alignment
หัวข้อย่อย / Sub headings	16	หนา+เอน	ชิดซ้าย	12	Bold+Italic	Left Alignment
เนื้อหา / Content	16	ธรรมดา	กระจายแบบไทย	12	Regular	Justify
ชื่อตารางและชื่อรูปภาพ / Table or Figure title	16	หนา	ชิดซ้าย	12	Bold	Left Alignment
หัวตาราง / Heading row	14	หนา	กลาง	11	Bold	Left Alignment
ข้อความในตาราง หรือภาพ / text in the table or figure	14	ธรรมดา	ชิดซ้ายหรือขวา	11	Regular	Left or Right Alignment
เชิงอรรถ / footnote	14	ธรรมดา	กระจายแบบไทย	11	Regular	Justify
หัวข้อเอกสารอ้างอิง / References Title	16	หนา	กลาง	12	Bold	Left Alignment
เอกสารอ้างอิง / References	16	ธรรมดา	กระจายแบบไทย	12	Regular	Justify

4.2 องค์ประกอบของบทความ

รายการ	คำอธิบาย
ชื่อเรื่อง / Title	ระบุชื่อเรื่องทั้งภาษาไทย และภาษาอังกฤษ ชื่อเรื่องไม่ควรยาวเกินไป และครอบคลุมสาระของบทความ และมีความสอดคล้องกันระหว่างภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษ หมายเหตุ: หากผู้เขียนประสงค์ระบุชื่อแหล่งทุนได้ให้การสนับสนุนการทำวิจัย สามารถระบุได้โดยการเพิ่มเชิงอรรถไว้ที่ท้ายชื่อเรื่อง
ชื่อผู้เขียน / Author (s)	▪ ระบุชื่อผู้แต่งทั้งภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษ ▪ ไม่ควรระบุตำแหน่งทางวิชาการ ยศ ตำแหน่งทางทหาร คำนำหน้าชื่อ รวมทั้งสถานภาพ (เช่น นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก, อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา) ทั้งด้านหน้า และท้ายชื่อผู้แต่ง
สังกัดผู้แต่ง / Affiliation (s)	▪ ระบุข้อมูลสถานะ หรือตำแหน่งทางวิชาการ และชื่อหน่วยงานที่ผู้แต่งสังกัด <u>ในเชิงอรรถ</u> โดยเรียงจากหน่วยงานระดับต้นไปจนถึงหน่วยงานหลัก แล้วจึงระบุ จังหวัด รหัสไปรษณีย์ ประเทศ และอีเมล (ขอให้ระบุอีเมลอย่างน้อยสำหรับผู้แต่งหลัก (Corresponding author)) ▪ หากหน่วยงานที่ผู้แต่งสังกัดเป็นภาษาไทย ให้ระบุรายละเอียดหน่วยงานที่ผู้แต่งสังกัด เป็นภาษาอังกฤษ ในบรรทัดถัดจากชื่อหน่วยงานที่สังกัดภาษาไทย

บทคัดย่อ / Abstract	▪ บทคัดย่อภาษาไทย ควรมีเพียง 1 ย่อหน้า ความยาวไม่เกิน 300 คำ
	▪ บทคัดย่อภาษาอังกฤษ ควรมีเพียง 1 ย่อหน้า ความยาวไม่เกิน 300 คำ และมีเนื้อหาสอดคล้องกับบทคัดย่อภาษาไทย โดยเนื้อหาในบทคัดย่อควรประกอบไปด้วย
	  (1) ความสำคัญของการศึกษา (main argument or thesis statement)
	  (2) วัตถุประสงค์ (research purpose)
	  (3) ระเบียบวิธีวิจัย/วิธีการศึกษา (research methodology) หรือกรอบแนวคิด (conceptual framework)
	  (4) ผลการวิจัยหรือผลการศึกษา (research finding) หรือข้อค้นพบที่สำคัญ (main finding) หรือข้อเสนอแนะเชิงนโยบาย
	  (5) สรุปและประโยชน์ที่ได้จากการศึกษา (conclusion and contribution)

คำสำคัญ / Keywords	ระบุคำสำคัญจำนวนไม่เกิน 5 คำ โดยคำสำคัญแต่ละคำ ให้แสดงทั้งภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษซึ่งมีความหมายตรงกัน

เนื้อหา / Content	▪ ควรประกอบด้วยส่วนของความนำ เนื้อหา และบทสรุป
	▪ การใช้คำศัพท์เฉพาะทางวิชาการ
	  (1) กรณีคำภาษาอังกฤษที่มีการใช้ทับศัพท์ภาษาไทยอย่างแพร่หลาย ให้เขียนเป็นภาษาไทยตามที่มีการบัญญัติศัพท์ในพจนานุกรมฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน โดยไม่ต้องแสดงคำศัพท์ภาษาอังกฤษประกอบ อาทิ อินเทอร์เน็ต อิเล็กทรอนิกส์
	  (2) กรณีคำภาษาอังกฤษที่ยังไม่มีการใช้แพร่หลาย ให้เขียนคำแปลภาษาไทย หรือคำทับศัพท์ โดยแสดงคำศัพท์ภาษาอังกฤษ และอักษรย่อ (ถ้ามี) ประกอบในวงเล็บ ทั้งนี้ การเขียนคำศัพท์ภาษาอังกฤษในวงเล็บ ให้ใช้ตัวพิมพ์เล็กทั้งหมด

รายการ	คำอธิบาย
	ยกเว้นคำที่มีอักษรย่อหรือคำเฉพาะ จึงจะขึ้นต้นคำด้วยตัวพิมพ์ใหญ่ และควรเขียนคำภาษาอังกฤษกำกับครั้งแรกเพียงครั้งเดียวครั้งต่อๆ ไปไม่จำเป็นต้องเขียนภาษาอังกฤษกำกับอีก เช่น องค์การสหประชาชาติ (United Nations: UN) (3) กรณีที่คำทั้งภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษที่มีการใช้อักษรย่อ ให้ระบุคำเต็มและอักษรย่อในครั้งแรกที่มีการกล่าวถึง และครั้งต่อไปให้ใช้อักษรย่อเพียงอย่างเดียว อาทิ องค์กรปกครองส่วนท้องถิ่น (อปท.) ครั้งต่อไปใช้ อปท., องค์การสหประชาชาติ (United Nations: UN) ครั้งต่อไปใช้ UN ■ การแสดงตาราง รูปภาพ หรือแผนภาพ (1) ให้แสดงชื่อตาราง รูปภาพ หรือแผนภาพ <u>ด้านบน</u>ตาราง รูปภาพ หรือแผนภาพ และใส่หมายเลขกำกับตาราง รูปภาพ หรือแผนภาพ โดยเรียงตามลำดับการนำเสนอในเนื้อเรื่อง (2) หากเป็นตาราง รูปภาพ หรือแผนภาพที่อ้างอิงมาจากแหล่งข้อมูลอื่นให้อ้างอิงที่มาโดยแสดงที่มาไว้ใต้ตาราง รูปภาพ หรือแผนภาพ (ใช้รูปแบบการอ้างอิงแบบนามปี) และดำเนินการให้เป็นไปตามข้อกำหนดเกี่ยวกับลิขสิทธิ์ (3) หากมีหมายเหตุประกอบตาราง รูปภาพ หรือแผนภาพ ให้ใส่หมายเหตุไว้บรรทัดใต้ที่มา ■ เชิงอรรถ (footnote) ในเนื้อหา ใช้สำหรับการอธิบายขยายความจากในเนื้อหาเท่านั้น ไม่ใช้สำหรับการอ้างอิงเอกสารในเนื้อเรื่อง (การอ้างอิงเอกสารในเนื้อเรื่องใช้รูปแบบการอ้างอิงในเนื้อหา (In-text citation))
การอ้างอิงเอกสารในเนื้อหา / In-text citation	ใช้รูปแบบการอ้างถึงในเนื้อหา (In-text citation) แบบนามปี (Name-and-year system) ในระบบ American Psychological Association 7th edition (APA7) (ดูรายละเอียดในหัวข้อ การอ้างถึงในเนื้อหาและการลงรายการเอกสารอ้างอิง)
เอกสารอ้างอิง / References	■ ให้แสดงรายการเอกสารอ้างอิงตอนท้ายของบทความ โดยใช้รูปแบบเอกสารอ้างอิงในระบบ APA โดยผู้เขียนต้องตรวจสอบข้อมูลการอ้างอิงให้ครบถ้วนสมบูรณ์ รวมทั้งรายการเอกสารอ้างอิงจะต้องครอบคลุมรายการที่มีการอ้างอิงในเนื้อหา ■ ให้แสดงรายการเอกสารอ้างอิงโดยเรียงลำดับตามตัวอักษร และให้เรียงรายการเอกสารอ้างอิงที่เป็นสิ่งพิมพ์ภาษาไทยก่อน แล้วจึงตามด้วยรายการเอกสารอ้างอิงที่เป็นสิ่งพิมพ์ภาษาต่างประเทศ ■ คณะรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ ไม่รับผิดชอบต่อเนื้อหาที่นำมาจากเว็บไซต์ภายนอกที่ถูกอ้างอิงในบทความในวารสาร ความถูกต้องของ URL ที่ถูกอ้างนั้นสามารถสืบค้นได้เมื่อวันที่ผู้เขียนเขียนบทความ

4.3 การอ้างถึงในเนื้อหา และการลงรายการบรรณานุกรม

4.3.1 การอ้างถึงในเนื้อหาแบบนามปี ในระบบ APA 7th

(1) การอ้างถึงในเนื้อหาแบบนามปี ในระบบ APA สามารถทำได้ ดังนี้

- อ้างถึงโดยชื่อผู้แต่งอยู่ในเนื้อความ เช่น เก่ง เขียนดี (2559, น. 1) ได้ให้ข้อเสนอแนะเกี่ยวกับ..., Smith (2016) defines public policy as...,
- อ้างถึงโดยลงรายการชื่อผู้แต่ง, ปี, เลขหน้าในเครื่องหมายวงเล็บ เช่น (เก่ง เขียนดี, 2559, น. 1), (Smith, 2016, p. 1)

(2) กรณีผู้แต่ง 1 คน ผู้แต่งที่เป็นชาวไทยให้ใส่ทั้งชื่อ และนามสกุล หากผู้แต่งเป็นชาวต่างประเทศ ให้ใส่เฉพาะนามสกุล อาทิ (เก่ง เขียนดี, 2559, น. 1), (Smith, 2016, p. 1)

(3) กรณีผู้แต่ง 2 คน ให้ลงรายการด้วยชื่อผู้แต่งทั้งสองคนทุกครั้งที่อ้าง โดยผู้แต่งชาวไทยให้คั่นระหว่างชื่อด้วยคำว่า "และ" เช่น (เก่ง เขียนดี และขยัน อดทน, 2559) และผู้แต่งชาวต่างประเทศ ให้คั่นระหว่างชื่อด้วย "and" เช่น Smith and Adam (2016) แต่ถ้าชื่อผู้แต่งอยู่ในวงเล็บ ใส่เครื่องหมาย "&" แทนคำว่า "and" เช่น (Smith & Adam, 2016)

(4) กรณีผู้แต่ง 3 คนขึ้นไป ให้ลงเฉพาะชื่อคนแรก และตามด้วยคำว่า "และคณะ" สำหรับผู้แต่งภาษาไทย และ "et al." สำหรับผู้แต่งชาวต่างชาติ เช่น (เก่ง เขียนดี และคณะ, 2559, น. 3) หรือ (Smith et al., 2016, p. 102)

(5) สิ่งพิมพ์คนละรายการ พิมพ์คนละปี แต่มีผู้แต่งคนเดียวกัน หรือกลุ่มเดียวกัน และผู้เขียนต้องการอ้างถึงพร้อมๆ กัน ให้ลงรายการด้วยชื่อผู้แต่ง ตามด้วยปีที่พิมพ์ โดยเรียงลำดับปีที่พิมพ์จากเก่าไปใหม่ และคั่นระหว่างปีด้วยเครื่องหมาย "," เช่น (เก่ง เขียนดี, 2555, 2559), (Smith, 2014, 2016)

(6) สิ่งพิมพ์คนละรายการ พิมพ์ปีเดียวกัน แต่มีผู้แต่งคนเดียวกัน หรือกลุ่มเดียวกัน และผู้เขียนต้องการอ้างถึงพร้อมๆ กัน ให้ลงรายการด้วยชื่อผู้แต่ง ตามด้วยปีที่พิมพ์ โดยลงอักษร ก, ข, ค กำกับหลังปีที่พิมพ์สำหรับผู้แต่งคนไทย และ a, b, c สำหรับผู้แต่งชาวต่างประเทศ และคั่นระหว่างปีด้วยเครื่องหมาย "," เช่น (เก่ง เขียนดี, 2555ก, 2555ข), (Smith, 2014a, 2014b)

(7) การอ้างถึงสิ่งพิมพ์หลายรายการ ผู้แต่งต่างกัน พร้อมกัน ให้คั่นแต่ละรายการด้วยเครื่องหมาย ";" เรียงลำดับตามตัวอักษรชื่อ (หรือนามสกุล) ผู้แต่ง เช่น (เก่ง เขียนดี, 2559; มานะ พยายาม, 2558), (Adam, 2014; Smith & Potter, 2016)

(8) กรณีผู้แต่งที่เป็นหน่วยงานหรือสถาบัน ให้ลงรายการครั้งแรกด้วยชื่อเต็มของหน่วยงาน/สถาบัน และตามด้วยชื่อย่อในวงเล็บ "[...]" และการอ้างครั้งต่อไปใช้แต่ชื่อย่อ ยกเว้นการ

อ้างชื่อมหาวิทยาลัยให้ใส่ชื่อเต็มทุกครั้ง เช่น ครั้งแรก (สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการสร้าง
เสริมสุขภาพ [สสส.], 2558) ครั้งถัดไป (สสส., 2558)

(9) กรณีที่เป็นเอกสารไม่ปรากฏชื่อผู้แต่ง ให้แสดงรายการโดยระบุชื่อสิ่งพิมพ์นั้นแทนชื่อผู้แต่ง
โดย หากเป็นสิ่งพิมพ์ประเภทบทความ ให้ใส่ชื่อบทความ ในเครื่องหมายอัญประกาศ เช่น
("นโยบายสาธารณะ", 2559) หากเป็นสิ่งพิมพ์ประเภทหนังสือให้ใส่ชื่อหนังสือโดยใช้ตัวเอน
เช่น (*มาตรฐานการเผยแพร่ผลงานวิจัยและผลงานทางวิชาการ*, 2555)

(10) กรณีการอ้างถึงสิ่งพิมพ์ที่ปรากฏในเอกสารอื่น ให้ลงรายการโดยภาษาไทยใช้คำว่า "อ้างถึง
ใน" และภาษาต่างประเทศใช้ "as cited in" เช่น (เก่ง เขียนดี, 2555 อ้างถึงใน มานะ
พยายาม, 2559), (Smith, 2015 as cited in Adam, 2016) ในกรณีนี้ให้ผู้เขียนแสดง
รายการเอกสารอ้างอิงท้ายบทความเฉพาะรายการที่ตนเองอ่านมาโดยตรง เช่น จากตัวอย่าง
รายการเอกสารอ้างอิงท้ายบทความจะมีเฉพาะรายการของ "มานะ พยายาม, 2559"
เท่านั้น ไม่ต้องแสดงรายการของ "เก่ง เขียนดี, 2555"

(11) การอ้างถึงข้อมูลจากการสัมภาษณ์ การติดต่อทางโทรศัพท์ หรือทางช่องทางอิเล็กทรอนิกส์
เช่น อีเมล เว็บบอร์ด ให้ใส่ตำแหน่งงานหรือสถานะของผู้ให้ข้อมูลหรือกลุ่มผู้ให้ข้อมูล
ตามที่นำเสนอไว้ในการศึกษาวิจัย เช่น ประชาชน/ข้าราชการตามด้วยคำว่า "การสื่อสาร
ส่วนบุคคล" สำหรับชาวไทย และ "personal communication" สำหรับชาวต่างประเทศ
เช่น (ผู้บริหารคณะรัฐศาสตร์และรัฐประศาสนศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่, การสื่อสาร
ส่วนบุคคล, 20 กันยายน 2559), (1st student, personal communication, September
20, 2016) ทั้งนี้ หากผู้เขียนต้องการอ้างอิงชื่อผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ข้อมูลโดยเปิดเผยชื่อผู้ให้
สัมภาษณ์ ผู้เขียนจะต้องได้รับการอนุญาตจากผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์เป็นลายลักษณ์อักษรเท่านั้น

4.3.2 การลงรายการบรรณานุกรม ในระบบ APA 7th

- รายการเอกสารที่ปรากฏในเอกสารอ้างอิง (Reference) ท้ายบทความ จะต้องเป็นรายการ
เอกสารที่มีการอ้างถึงในเนื้อหาบทความ (In-text citation) เท่านั้น

- การลงรายการบรรณานุกรมสำหรับสิ่งพิมพ์แต่ละประเภท มีรายละเอียดดังนี้

ประเภทสิ่งพิมพ์	รูปแบบการลงรายการเอกสารอ้างอิง
หนังสือ/ตำรา (Book)	*ชื่อผู้แต่ง.*/(ปีที่พิมพ์)./*ชื่อเรื่อง.*/*ชื่อสำนักพิมพ์.*
บทความในหนังสือรวมบทความ (Chapter in book)	*ชื่อผู้แต่ง.*/(ปีที่พิมพ์)./*ชื่อบทความ.*/ใน/*ชื่อบรรณาธิการ*/(บก.),/*ชื่อหนังสือ*/(น./เลขหน้า-เลขหน้า)./*ชื่อสำนักพิมพ์.* Author(s)./(year of publication)./Article title./In/Editor/(Ed. ถ้ามีหลายคนใช้ Eds),/*Book title*/(p. ถ้ามีหลายหน้าใช้ pp./page number-page number)./Publisher.
บทความในวารสาร (Journal Article)	*ชื่อผู้แต่ง.*/(ปีที่พิมพ์)./*ชื่อบทความ.*/*ชื่อวารสาร,*/*ปีที่*/(ฉบับที่),/เลขหน้าที่ปรากฏบทความ-เลขหน้า. URL หรือ DOI Author(s)./(year of publication)./Article title./*Journal,*/*Vol*/(No),/page number-page number. URL or DOI.
รายงานการวิจัย (Research Report)	*ชื่อผู้แต่ง.*/(ปีที่พิมพ์)./*ชื่อเรื่อง*/(รายงานการวิจัย)./*ชื่อสำนักพิมพ์.* Author(s)./(year of publication)./*title*/(Research report)./Publisher.
เอกสารการประชุมทางวิชาการ (Proceedings, Symposium)	*ชื่อผู้แต่ง.*/(ปีที่พิมพ์)./*ชื่อบทความ.*/*ชื่อการประชุมหรือการสัมมนา,*/*สถานที่จัดการประชุม.* Author(s)./(year of publication)./*Article title.*/[Conference Session]./Title of Conference./ Location.
ผลงานนำเสนอในงานประชุมวิชาการ (Paper Presentation)	*ชื่อผู้แต่ง.*/(ปีที่นำเสนอ,/เดือนที่นำเสนอ/วัน)./*ชื่อผลงาน*/[เอกสารนำเสนอในที่ประชุม]./*ชื่อการประชุมหรือการสัมมนา,*/*สถานที่จัดการประชุม.* Author(s)./(year of publication,/month/day)./*title*/[Paper Presentation]./Title of Conference,/Location.
หนังสือแปล (Translated Book)	*ชื่อผู้แต่งหนังสือต้นฉบับที่แปลเป็นภาษาไทยแล้ว.*/(ปีที่พิมพ์หนังสือแปล)./*ชื่อหนังสือที่แปลแล้ว*/(ชื่อหนังสือต้นฉบับ,/ชื่อผู้แปล,/ผู้แปล)./ใน/*หนังสือแปล*/(หน้า/เลขหน้า-เลขหน้า)./*สำนักพิมพ์.*/(ต้นฉบับพิมพ์/ปี/ค.ศ. หรือ พ.ศ.ที่พิมพ์ต้นฉบับ). Author(s)./(year of publication)./Article title./(Editor,/Trans.)./In/Editor/(Ed. or Eds),/ *Book title*/(pp. / page number- page number) . / Publisher./(Original Work Publishd/Year).
วิทยานิพนธ์ และปริญญานิพนธ์ (Thesis)	*ชื่อผู้แต่ง.*/(ปีที่พิมพ์)./*ชื่อวิทยานิพนธ์หรือปริญญานิพนธ์.*/[วิทยานิพนธ์ชื่อปริญญา,/ชื่อสถาบันการศึกษา]./ชื่อฐานข้อมูล หรือ ชื่อแหล่งเก็บผลงาน. URL Author./(year of published)./*Doctoral dissertation or Master's thesis Title.*/[Doctoral dissertation or Master's thesis, Name of Institute Awarding the Degree]./Database Name or Archive Name.

ประเภทสิ่งพิมพ์	รูปแบบการลงรายการเอกสารอ้างอิง
บทความจากหนังสือพิมพ์ (Newspaper)	ชื่อผู้แต่ง./(ปีที่พิมพ์,/เดือน/วัน)./ชื่อบทความ./*ชื่อหนังสือพิมพ์*./URL Author./(year of published, / month/ day) . / Article title. / *Newspaper Title*./URL
เอกสารอิเล็กทรอนิกส์ หรือเอกสารจาก ฐานข้อมูล (Databases)	ชื่อผู้แต่ง./(ปี,/เดือน/วัน)./*ชื่อเอกสาร*./ชื่อเว็บไซต์./URL Author./(year of published,/month/ day) ./*Title*./Website Name./URL or name of database
ข้อมูล/เอกสารจาก Facebook	ชื่อผู้แต่ง./(ปี,/เดือน/วัน)./ชื่อเรื่อง/[Facebook status update]./สืบค้นเมื่อ/วันที่/เดือน/ปี,/จาก/URL Author./(year of published,/month/day)./*Title*./[Facebook status update]./Retrieved/mm/dd,/year,/from/URL
ข้อมูล/เอกสารจาก Twitter	ชื่อผู้แต่ง./(ปี,/เดือน/วัน)./ชื่อเรื่อง/[Tweet].สืบค้นเมื่อ/วัน/เดือน/ปี,/จาก/URL Author./(year of published,/month/ day) ./*Title*./[Tweet]./Retrieved/mm/dd,/year,/from/URL

- การระบุชื่อผู้แต่ง มีรายละเอียดดังนี้
  (1) ผู้แต่งชาวไทย ลงรายการด้วยชื่อ แล้วตามด้วยนามสกุล และผู้แต่งชาวต่างประเทศ ลงรายการด้วยนามสกุล ตามด้วยชื่อแรกและชื่อกลางซึ่งใช้อักษรย่อ
  (2) ผู้แต่ง 2 คน ให้ลงชื่อผู้แต่งทุกคน โดยใช้คำว่า ", และ" (สำหรับคนไทย) และ ", &" (สำหรับชาวต่างประเทศ) คั่นระหว่างชื่อ
  (3) ผู้แต่ง 3-20 คน ให้ลงชื่อผู้แต่งทุกคน คั่นระหว่างชื่อด้วยเครื่องหมาย "," และคั่นก่อนชื่อ คนสุดท้ายด้วย ", และ" ในภาษาไทย และ ", &" ในภาษาอังกฤษ
  (4) สิ่งพิมพ์ที่ไม่ปรากฏชื่อผู้แต่ง ให้ใส่ชื่อสิ่งพิมพ์ (หนังสือ หรือวารสาร) ด้วยตัวเอนแทน และ ตามด้วยปีที่พิมพ์ เช่น *ชื่อหนังสือ*./(ปีที่พิมพ์)./*สำนักพิมพ์*.

▪ คำย่อสำหรับการลงรายการเอกสารอ้างอิง

ภาษาไทย		ภาษาอังกฤษ	
อักษรย่อ	ย่อมาจาก	อักษรย่อ	ย่อมาจาก
ม.ป.ป.	ไม่ปรากฏปีที่พิมพ์	n.d.	no date
ม.ป.ท.	ไม่ปรากฏสถานที่พิมพ์	N.P.	no place
ม.ป.พ.	ไม่ปรากฏสำนักพิมพ์	n.p.	No publisher

▪ สิ่งพิมพ์ที่อยู่ระหว่างรอพิมพ์ ให้ใช้ข้อความ "(อยู่ระหว่างรอพิมพ์)" สำหรับภาษาไทย และ
"(in press)" สำหรับภาษาอังกฤษ
(1) การอ้างอิงในเนื้อหา (In-text citation)
จากการทบทวนงานวิจัย (ชื่อผู้แต่ง, อยู่ระหว่างรอพิมพ์) พบว่า.........
จากการทบทวนงานวิจัย (Author, forthcoming) พบว่า........
(2) การอ้างอิงในรายการเอกสารอ้างอิง (References)
ชื่อผู้แต่ง. (อยู่ระหว่างรอพิมพ์). ชื่อบทความ. *ชื่อวารสาร.*
Author. (forthcoming). Article title. *Journal.*

เอกสารอ้างอิง

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