

**AN INVESTIGATION OF ELDERCARE IN THAILAND
THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS LENS**



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**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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ABSTRACT

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Author	Santhita Phayungphong
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The purpose of this research is to unfold the compelling logics that shape collective norms and behaviors, and to collect empirical evidence on how the changing context of the Thai family structure is affecting the geriatric and long-term care industry in Thailand. This study employs the constructivist grounded theory method under the theoretical view of the institutional logics perspective. A purposeful selection of participants is identified by their involvement and expertise in the area of study. Data collection from intensive interviews and non-verbal observations are retrieved and analyzed according to participants' experiences, perceptions, and perspectives. Through a comprehensive analysis, ranging from the beginning of the aging society phenomenon to the current development along with its rationale. This research revealed that, first, unlike other institutional theories, the institutional logics perspective is differentiated chiefly through the causal linkage of multiple derivations. Second, the two contrasting logics that emerged from the study were "individualism" and "communitarianism." Third, the community logic can function as the central core for Thai eldercare to facilitate informal care, social care, family care, as well as self-care. One most common practice is to rearrange living environments according to "universal design" principles in order to empower the independence of Thai elderly. Should the idea be implemented on a wider scale, such as urban and landscape designs, this aging in place approach could provide a promising alternative to reconnecting and restoring the communal relationship among urban communities.

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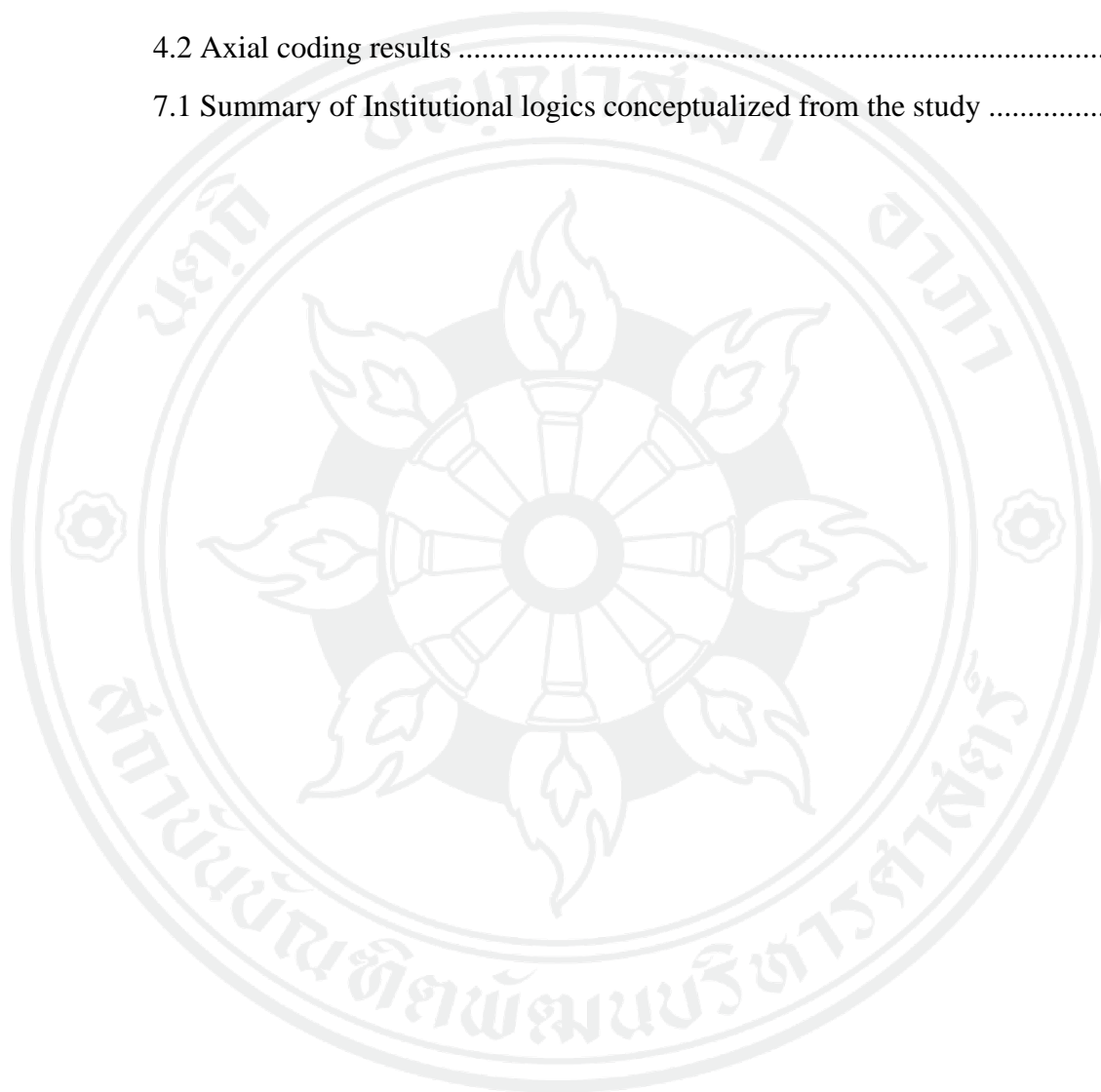
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aging Concept in Thailand

Within twenty years, Thailand will enter the stage of a “super-aged society,” as defined by Prasartkul (2013), when the size of the older population, referring to those aged 60 and over, will double the number the young (aged 15 and below). Such a situation will result in several social issues that will require a holistic approach in terms of both individual preparation and public policy planning. Though many sociology experts and some policymakers are aware of this critical situation and its consequences, the communal baseline and orientation for unraveling this issue are yet to be solidified. There are several influences to consider, as there have been several shifts and changes in the Thai social context over the past decades.

Due to the advancement of medical technology in the healthcare industry, many surveys and statistics have projected an incredible ratio of senior citizens, which have rapidly increased worldwide. Thailand will also face this phenomenon and will become second only to Singapore within the Southeast Asia region. The Foundation of Thai Gerontology Research and Development Institute or TGRI (2014) has indicated that over the past 50 years, the life expectancy of Thais at birth has increased dramatically—from 58 to 75 years. The Mahidol Population Gazette (2015) has also estimated that Thai people that reach the age of 60 are likely to have an additional average of 20.2 years for males and 23.5 years for females added to their life expectancy. Another statistic presented in the United Nation’s World population prospect (2015) shows that, by 2050, the proportionated size of the Thai elder population will triple that of the young, at 37% and 13% respectively.

Furthermore, if the projected rates of low fertility and high longevity continue at the same pace, the Thai population will have the same proportion of adults (aged between 15-59) and elderly at 46.3 and 40.4%, while the remaining 13.3% will comprise the young (aged under 14) by the year 2100.

The consequences of this rapid aging of the population are infinite. Several issues relative to physical and mental illnesses will require supportive measures and will exhaust tremendous funding from the treasury in the near future. In 2013, the Thailand Ministry of Public Health conducted a survey of the health status among the elderly, under the Health Promotion Program of the Elderly and the Disabled. The survey (TGRI, 2014) found that one-fifth of Thai elderly led a sedentary lifestyle as they were either bed ridden (2%) or home bound (19%). The report also stated that both conditions are the results of their limited mobility and the inconvenience of going out. Most common health complaints included limited physical ability (58%), followed by hearing impairments or communication problems (24%), vision impairments (19%), learning disabilities (4%), emotional problems (3%), and a diminished intellect (2%). Other chronic illnesses such as hypertension, diabetes, and osteoarthritis (knee joint impairment) were also identified at 41%, 18%, and 9%, respectively in the same survey (TGRI, 2014). Therefore, public health management is the major concern for the Thai government because the growing number of the older population indicates two things. First is the lowering of national productivity, and second are higher medical expenses. This rapid change in the demographics could threaten the financial stability of the Thai treasury in many ways.

Besides physical problems, Thailand's National Statistical Office (2007) has identified three major psychosocial issues of the Thai elderly: depression (50.1%), being neglected or living alone (28.1%), and being financially deprived (16%). Many possible causes were identified as triggering the factors of depression in old age, which often lead to suicidal thinking and behaviour. The psychological explanation has commonly emphasized the reflective mind and collective attitude of the older individuals regarding how they perceive themselves. Other contributors include the life-changing experiences that affect their health, finances, or social status. A survey conducted during 2004-2005 by the Institution of geriatric medicine showed that the Thai elderly suffered from depression at 87%, and the elderly in Bangkok area reported the highest suicidal temptation rate at 5.2%, while the second was the northern region elders at 4.1% (Thai Health Promotion Foundation, 2011). Altogether, aged population issues are crucial and need immediate intervention. The overall

consequences can severely affect not only the national economy but social welfare as well.

Another element investigated in this study is the dynamic of social changes and its massive influence on the attitude and lifestyle of the Thai people during the past decade. Ranging from globalization to the emergence of the Internet, the digital economy and mobile technology, and social media, these movements have gradually transformed Thais' beliefs and behaviours in numerous ways. Finally, they have affected the core construct of Thai society: the Thai family structure. Thirty years ago the average number in the Thai household was five (National Statistics Office, 1980), and the typical Thai family was comprised of three generations: the grandparents, parents, and their offspring. Nowadays, Thai households are getting smaller as marriage and child-bearing rates are decreasing worldwide. The fertility rates of Thai women have dropped drastically, from 4 to 1.5 children per woman (United Nations, 2015). The rise of the "nuclear family" phenomenon, together with Thailand's imbalanced development and hasty urbanization, has led to another social challenge as future Thai elderly will have the high tendency to live urban life in solitude. The TGRI (2014) has identified the growing number of elderly living alone from 6% in 2002 to 9% in 2014, while those living only with a spouse increased from 16% to 19%, respectively.

As a result, the Thai elderly can no longer luxuriously rely on their descendants for financial support. In 2007, 52% of Thai elders still depended on an allowance from their offspring. As the Thai family, in general, is shrinking, the potential for informal support will also decrease and the demand for formal support from the government will eventually sore. Fortunately, reports have shown improvement in the elderly's attitude, as their source of income has shifted from their child to their own work or employment. This shift in financial resources was noted in a report, which indicated that 37% of Thai elders still clung to their children as their primary income security, while 34% have their own earnings (TGRI, 2014).

One disruptive force that has driven tremendous changes in the social context and lifestyle during the past thirty years is the great leap of technological development. For most advanced urban areas, complaints and public concerns in regard to deficient urban planning and the lack of supportive infrastructure, such as

public transportation, roadside pavement, and other necessities to create inclusive environments for all aged, have now become less stressful. Mobile applications and competitive services providers, through numerous online platforms, have changed the everyday life of everyone, and Bangkokians are now habituated to the new assistive technologies on mobile applications, such as Lineman, Grab, Uber, and many other upcoming applications to provide for the modern convenience of a mobile lifestyle.

Besides the personal car ride services, food delivery has become a significant transaction in delivery services alongside postal and parcel delivery services. The availability and accessibility of these small-scale logistics vendors are among the extraordinary evidence indicating how lifestyles in the future will transform as never before. Additionally, assistive technologies for domestic medical devices have also been developed to the point where they are much more publicly accessible and more economically friendly. For example, an elder with diabetes can now routinely monitor his or her blood glucose level at home. Hypertensive urgencies can also be prevented if one learns to care for the symptoms and signs with proper equipment and monitoring system. Additionally, technological advancement in geriatric science, communications, and transportation will transfigure the living conditions of the Thai future aging population for a more diverse and complex composition.

As for the upcoming aging population, the Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR) of Mahidol University has categorized Thai citizens born between 1963 and 1983 and has named them “the Million Birth Cohort” or MBC for their comprising a population of one million and over (IPSR, 2015). The total number of this group was far more prominent than “the baby-boomers” in Thailand ever were (Prasartkul & Vapattanawong). This MBC, who are now aged between 34 and 54, will remarkably lead Thailand into its “super-aged society” because their unique preferences and lifestyles could be far more adapted to the dynamic of the socio-cultural context aforementioned. Moreover, the term “urbanite explosion” (Prasartkul, 2001) refers to the combination of numerous urban inhabitants, registered and not, plus the flood of a labor force of three million from neighbouring countries living in the city. The United Nations recorded in 2015 that 50% of the Thai population resides in urban areas and are legally registered.

Altogether, with smaller family structures, economic viability, mobile lifestyles, assistive technologies, combined with urbanization and the massive group of the MBC population aging progressively, most urban areas in Thailand could become an overcrowded pool of alienated and older individuals living alone in the near future.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Based on the heterogeneous and complex character of humans and society, the latest stem of thought that involves the interrelationship between the individual and social structures, with emphasis on how they influence each other in a subliminal way, is the “institutional logics” perspective. This theoretical view has been developed from various renowned philosophers’ works, from Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and George Herbert Mead to more recent authors such as Pierre Bourdieu, and many more (Scott, 2014). The Institutional Logics Perspective focuses on a new alternative to untangle complex social issues and to bridge the gap between social theory and practice in the real world.

Due to the evolving nature of social dynamics, there are unpredictable changes that play a vital role in public policy planning. Institutional theory is related not only to sociological study but also to economics and political science. Seven institutional orders - the state, the market, the corporation, the professions, the family, the religion, and the community have different but collective parts in shaping and transforming each societal sector, including its norms and values.

During the past 50 years, researches and studies on institutional power and its influences upon any given industry or social actor have been highly flourishing. Some of the prevalent issues include the coexistence of the cultural-structural elements, their competing and complimenting nature, the legitimacy of beliefs and values, collective patterns of behaviours, and last but not least, the structural transformation and reproduction process. This holistic and analytical approach of the institutional logics perspective was considered to be a new methodology for understanding and, consequently, for anticipating changes in the flux of (post) modern days.

There have been a number of studies conducted under the scheme of public health management and the institutional logics perspective. However, few have

utilized all-encompassing institutional orders as a measure to investigate eldercare services, especially not in the Thai urban cultural and social context. It is evident now that more and more capable elderly in urban areas have begun to be independent and have decided to live on their own rather than depending exclusively on family members or government support. Several types of research conducted in Thailand that have concerned the elderly in remote areas have mostly criticized how the government support inefficiently reached people through local health programs and bureaucratic constraints (Caffrey, 1992; Knodel, Prachuabmoh & Chayovan, 2013; Manasatchakun, Chotiga & Asp, 2016).

Still, there will be high demand for healthcare services and social support in the future, and it is imperative for policy planners to analyze and take all relevant factors into account. This study takes into account the new wave of the population, the MBC, who will become the majority of the Thai elderly in the near future. This cohort possesses a unique lifestyle and preferences in contrast to those at the current aging stage.

The core questions of how each institutional order impacts people's actions towards eldercare, and how they are competing or complementing each other, will lead to the understanding of the reproduction pattern of norms and values. Ultimately, we will be able to design a strategic approach to anticipate such movement and to provide practical guidelines for operational purposes. Nonetheless, in order to provide optimal support for health, security, and the society as a whole, the Thai government and social welfare programs are obliged to consider all approaches available and then proceed with the one that will yield the most sustainable and efficient results.

1.3 Research Questions

This research poses three questions, as follows.

- 1) What are the logics within each institutional order regarding Thai eldercare?
- 2) How do Thai institutional logics interact and affect the current practices of eldercare services?

3) How can the Thai government enhance the healthy urban lifestyle for Thai elderly in the future?

1.4 Research Objectives

1) To explore “the set of logics” that lies underneath each practice regarding aged-related issues in the Thai socio-cultural context at present

2) To analyze how logics are perceived, interpreted, and reflected through generations which have become the reproduction process of the collective behaviors of Thais

3) To identify the gap between conceptual ideology and the social reality, and its constraint in order to develop a strategic approach for the Thai government to tackle aging society issues

1.5 Research Scope

Under the theoretical domain of the institutional logics perspective, social structures are comprised of seven mechanisms that influence an individual's worldview and, consequently, his or her meaningful actions. The seven institutional orders include: the state, the market, the corporation, the professions, the family, the religion, and the community.

Focusing on the multilevel interrelationships within seven social orders, this research follows the constructivist worldview and utilizes the grounded theory method. The researcher will analyze the current approaches of Thai eldercare practices and will determine the opportunities and/or challenges for each social sector through using both document research and reflections from in-depth interviews with a purposeful selection of key informants.

1.5.1 Research Population

The target research population is purposefully selected from an array of experts in eldercare practices in Thailand. The key informants are representative of two or more institutional orders. All participants had involved in or influenced the development of eldercare practices, policies, or programs in Thailand.

1.5.2 Research Area

This research focuses on the environmental context, along with the institutional logics underlying each eldercare practice. The social health of senior citizens has a strong influence on and an inspiring potential regarding institutional changes in the society. Most advanced technology, modern lifestyles, and digital literacy are more developed in urban areas such as Bangkok.

1.6 Expected Outcomes

In light of the growing awareness of the “aging society” and the positive attitude of living “full” long life, researchers, social workers, healthcare specialists, and also the business sector will benefit from promoting a healthy, successful, and independent lifestyle for future Thai elders. The aims of this study are as follows:

- 1) Thai families and society will have a better understanding of and become more attentive to the lifestyles and preferences of the elderly.
- 2) The Thai government can prepare and provide support for the most efficient and favorable social service programs or public policies for all Thais.
- 3) The Thai government can allocate public resources for the best sustainable policies and programs in order to enhance urban living in Thailand.

1.7 Definition of Terms

The term eldercare in this investigation is defined as the preparation and caring for the elderly to help them cope with physical and psychological changes due to age. In many cases, eldercare also infers a sense of parental care rather than that of public welfare.

Urban lifestyle is defined as the collective beliefs and norms that reflect the behavioral orientations of people living in a metropolitan area. The ideal group of urban people in this study is upper middleclass Bangkokians, who are in their middle age and belong to the MBC group, which will become the majority of the aged citizens in the next twenty years.

MBC or the million birth cohort is a term quite common in population study. In Thailand, it refers to the highest childbirth rate from 1963 to 1983 as the total number of newborns was more than one million.

The terms elder, elderly, older person, and senior citizen are used interchangeably to refer to persons aged over sixty years, who may have declining physical conditions but still have functional ability and intrinsic capacity. In other words, an elder person in this research refers to those that are capable of joining social activities or performing personal routines should they decide to do so.

Social institutions are comprised of social members, their functions, their patterns of behavior, and the material components that solidify an institution. For example, Thais believe that three social institutions—the house, the temple, and the school—are the most influential establishments that shape an individual's characteristics and attitudes.

Institutional logics perspective concerns the collective patterns of behavior, as well as the rational part of them. Logics incorporated in social institutions are likely to involve an operational approach toward the decision-making process. Recent theoretical development includes a focus on the reproduction process through space and time.

1.8 Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. A diagram represents the flow of the research structure as shown in figure 1.1. In chapter one, the introduction part portrays the overall context of the Thai elderly situation and the ongoing movements that founded this dissertation, along with the research questions that guided this study.

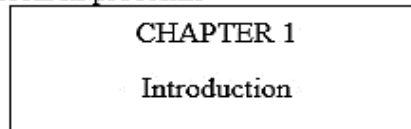
The literature review comprises chapter two, providing a summary of institutional theories in sociology, including their development and prior implications. In chapter three, the research methods employed in this study are explained from an epistemological standpoint to the selected theoretical view through a conceptual framework diagram. The rationales and strategies for using the constructivist grounded theory in this research are clarified here. As qualitative research emphasizes exclusively methodological aspects, the key criteria for each procedure are fully detailed in this chapter, from participant selection and data gathering through to the

particular research techniques employed for maximizing the reliability and validity of the study. Later, the research analysis, in chapter four, provides brief descriptions of the selected key informants, the progression of the data collection, and the coding process. Along the course of the data-collection process, adjustments have been made under conditional circumstances and the researcher's judgment. This chapter is dedicated to reflections on how this research progressed and developed along with the cumulative perceptions and experiences from the study.

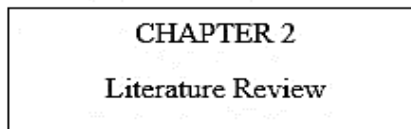
Next, regarding the research findings, the institutional logics and patterns that emerged from the study are categorized into two chapters. Chapters five and six include the findings from seven institutional logics. Each chapter illustrates the main two categories crystalized into "individualism" and "communitarianism" ideals respectively.

In the final chapter, chapter seven, a holistic view of analysis is then discussed and summarized with diagrams corresponding to the research questions proposed in the beginning. This chapter concludes with the overall key findings and the contributions of this study, both from theoretical and from practical perspectives. Lastly, the limitations of this research, as well as recommendations for further research, are also offered in this section.

Part I : Overview of the research problems



Part II : Overview of the theoretical perspective



Part III: Research design and implementation process



Part IV : Research findings and discussion : Material and Symbolic analysis



Part V : Summary and Conclusions

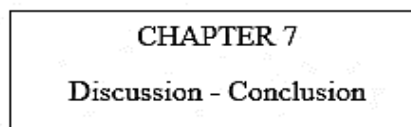


Figure 1.1 The Structural Diagram of the Dissertation

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Thailand has several distinct cultures and social beliefs that reflected through unique ceremonies and practices. From birth to death, Thai has myriad procedures to get through each stage of life properly and (what believed to be) gracefully. Caring for the elderly in Thai culture has no exception. Thais have its own deeply rooted agenda and meanings when it comes to handling and supporting older family members.

Common practices and norms in any society are, in fact, a part of social constructs that have been created, adopted, legitimized, sometimes been revised and then reproduced through time. Cultural artifacts, symbols, and meanings are the inherited elements that converse and convey through generations. To focus on the reproduction process as of how they fuel the social mechanism that contributes to the collective values is to demolish the components apart and determine closer within the historical context of how such values, beliefs, and behavioral patterns formed. Economics, Political sciences, and Sociology are three major disciplines developing and utilizing Institutional theory as a framework of inquiry.

The core concept of this research is to investigate how institutional logics have shaped collective norms and behaviors, and to collect empirical evidence of how changing context of Thai family structure and aging society phenomena is affecting geriatric care industry as well as the long-term care practices in Thailand. Considering the dynamic of rapid changes in present days, understanding the reproduction process needs an inclusive approach to reveal the truth. Therefore, Institutional logic perspective, one most recent development in institutional theory, was chosen as the primary framework for the investigation.

2.1 Development of Institutional Theory

According to Scott (2014), the origin of Institutionalism in Social study rooted as early as in the period of Methodenstreit: a controversial dispute, started in

Germany, over the use of natural science methodology in the social science studies. The debate involved two contradicting epistemologies; one included historical sequencing to individual actions to promote heterogeneity within context while the other one attempted to endorse the absolute generalization to the universe where distinctive cultural and historical influences become major variation in any study.

To Scott (2014), the most powerful figure pioneering in sociology study is Herbert Spencer (1876, 1896, 1910) who theorized “Society” as “an organic system evolving through time.” Moreover, Spencer also defined the social evolution process as the interrelation of “organs” or the sub-system of the institutions to constantly adapt and function within its context. His conception has been widely developed and expanded in Institutional studies throughout the twentieth century (Scott, 2014 p.10)

2.1.1 Historical Context of Institutionalism in Social Study

During “the Industrial Revolution” period, drastic social change and its impacts caused new social movement and the rising question towards institutional power. While Karl Marx was still contending for his capitalism and materialistic world over the Idealistic one, Emile Durkheim started to question the subjective balance and bonding between social orders and individual autonomy. He inquired about the missing piece, the ethical reasoning, as the more and more complex relationships within a society emerged due to the rising of industrialization and state regulations (Durkheim, 1984). Max Weber, then, proposed a combination of objectivism-subjectivism approaches to make peace within the economic and sociological study. Weber suggested that both historical events and analytic theory of collective human behavior could shape an “Ideal types” which could be used “to guide and inform comparative studies” as seen in “the rational Economic Men” (Scott, 2014).

In German, Jurgen Habermas discussed the nature of society and developed a two-level concept comprising “lifeworld” and “system” as two reciprocal mechanisms constituting a social integration (Habermas, 1987). Strategic plans are exercised through communicative actions, and consequently, he proposed the term “Public Sphere” referring to the third buffering space between an individual’s private space and those under control by the states. He also described it as “the transcendental site

where speaker and hearer meet.” Because in his view, “society is dependent upon a criticism of its own tradition,” he questioned the communicative process and rationality between social traditions and everyday interests of an individual. Through a consensus within the public sphere, he encouraged to infuse change and strengthen the vitality within the society (Buckingham, 2011, p. 306-307).

Moreover, Habermas emphasized the complexity of the modern world as systemic structures became more complicated. His focus on the coordination among various subsystems such as economy, politics, law, science, and religion, led to another proposition that each subsystem is operational under a unique set of internal drives or logics (Habermas, 1987).

Another French philosopher, Pierre Bourdieu (1984; 1989), developed his concept of “Habitus” and “Field” from integration of Marx’s and Durkheim’s perception. In his conceptualization of the habitus, Bourdieu (1990) refers to it as a “system of durable transposable dispositions.”

Bourdieu’s works concerned the socio-cultural experience of individuals that govern their decision-making. He portrayed the group of societal agents who “occupy similar positions” as social class, and characterized one as “subjected to similar conditionings, have every likelihood of having similar dispositions and interests and therefore producing similar practices and adopting similar stances” (Bourdieu, 1985). Moreover, his concept of capital (e.g., symbolic, cultural, economic) related to the early development of social stratification study regarding how social classes, particularly the upper one, imposed on the others. Bourdieu (1984) quoted, “Our pride is more offended by attacks on our tastes than our opinions, La Rochefoucauld, *Maxims*.”

Development of institutional theories into new emphases and insights blossomed in the mid-nineteenth century. Two strands of thoughts among political science philosophers, opposing each other, are the rational choice theorists and the historical institutionalists. Borrowed from economic ideology, the first theoretical view believed in the power of micro-foundation of institutions and collective behavior that stemmed from the rationality of each individual, while the latter one, viewed from a macro perspective, focused on how social events from the past and related institutions affects individual preferences and behaviors.

In Sociology, Neo-institutionalism led to a grand development of Cognitive theory in Social Psychology, as well as the new dimension of culture in Phenomenal and Cultural studies. A new methodology based on this new theoretical worldview includes Ethnomethodology used in Cultural Anthropology to incorporate “common-sense knowledge” and everyday demands. (Scott, 2014)

2.1.2 Neo-Institutionalism: The Organizational Study

Again, as the century turned with the rising number of commercial enterprises, a new form of social institutions emerged with new characteristics and bonds within its organs. Apart from Macro (State/ Law) level, and Micro (individual/ family) level, the new social level or degree of structure is named ‘Meso’ level of analysis and been applied into the flourish of organizational study and principles.

Later on in the 1970s, a more crystalized institution theory emerged as J.W. Meyer and Rowan (1977) introduced three major components; the institutional rules, legitimacy, and isomorphism, in the study of the organization and institutional theories. As the modernization grew, many of the sprawling corporations seek legitimacy and therefore need the standardized rules and regulation to justify their existence. The two institutions influencing the emergence of institutional rules, as to founding the coercive characteristics of social institutions, are the “Professions” and the “States” (Thornton, 2008).

The “Professions” institution referred to experts and professionals in the related field of whom presumably possess the best knowledge in theory and practices. This social impression allows a sense of legitimacy for groups of professionals or association. The “States” institution, on the other hand, has the supremacy and authority in providing regulations best for public interests. These two institutions contributed to institutional rules, and legitimacy. Consequently, each organization, striving to be legitimated, were somehow conformed to the same traditions. Their activities, policies, and programs, in other words, has become isomorphic.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) extended Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) focus on isomorphism from the societal level (Macro) to the organizational level (Meso). Besides the public rules and regulations (State) and the ethical standards of practices (Profession), the “Market” was identified as the third social institution for maintaining

the existence and competitiveness for resources and customers. With further emphasis on three types of isomorphism; coercive, normative, and mimetic, as the sources of rationalization, DiMaggio and Powell's approach have brought about several empirical analysis of organizations in various fields.

Another recent researcher focused on organizations and institutional theory is W. Scott (2001) who illustrated several unique qualities of social institutions, such as, having a high degree of resilience, transmittable through various medium and carriers, subjected to change process at different operational levels, and most importantly, embracing the Three pillars of institutions. Developed from DiMaggio and Powell (1983)'s typology, Scott recalled the "coercive isomorphism" as a Regulative aspect of the institution. Rules and regulation – Actors comply with these rules out of self-surviving intuition. Secondly, the normative isomorphism referred to the institutional mechanism in professional fields or workplace environment. Scott (1995) stated that the individual was socially obliged to collective norms and value rather than their own individual choice. Last but not the least, Cultural-Cognitive aspect of institutions was introduced based on the ontology that "people don't discover reality; they create it" (Scott, 1995). Besides laws and Norms, the third dimension of the Social institution is the cognitive knowledge or the knowing capacity of how and who should be doing what.

According to Scott (2001), Institutions are composed of "regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life." Unlike traditional 'Institutionalism' which integrated all three dimensions of institutions, he categorized the three separable components as distinctive, yet necessary and complementing each other. Moreover, Institutional activities and resources are defined as "carriers" and were categorized into four types, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artifacts.

2.2 Institutional Logics Perspective

So many of approaches and interpretations of Institutional theories had been published since the 1850s. The latest proposal of institutional logics as a complex linking mechanism was a recent development from a long inquiry in the social

behaviors and the power of institutions. Complying with Bourdieu's concept of "Homologous" fields, and the "doxa" that governs each semi-autonomous societal order, recent researchers developed more comprehensive arguments emphasizing the "general laws of functioning," in other words, the "logic of practice."

Friedland and Alford (1991, p. 248-249) described 'institutional logics' as the sets of "material practices and symbolic constructions" and further elaborated that they were "symbolically grounded, organizationally structured, politically defined and technically and materially constrained." DiMaggio (1997) stated that "Institutional logics is a theory and method of analysis for understanding the influences of societal-level culture on the cognition and behavior of individual and organizational actors." Other sociological researchers also proposed the social actors as actively incorporating culture into the cognitive organization in variable ways, depending on the social norms and beliefs. Reay and Hinings (2009, p.629) signified Institutional logics as an important theoretical construct that helped explain "connections that create a sense of common purpose and unity within an organizational field." Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 804), comprehensively encapsulated the notion of institutional logics as:

the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality.

This theoretical view has no longer focused on the isomorphism or symbolic replication. Rather, Thornton (2004) shifted the institutional logics perspective on the effects of "differentiated institutional logics on individuals and organizations in a larger variety of contexts". Her studies, from then on, included multiple levels of subject scale ranging from markets, industries, social actors or organizational firms. This reflects one of her principles that "Institutional logics shape rational, mindful behavior, and individual and organizational actors have some hand in shaping and changing institutional logics" (Thornton, 2004).

The new interpretation of institutional logics perspective proposed by Thornton, (2004), included not only the macro level influences, but also the social forces at the micro level of which considered to be informal institution orders. Structuralism,

Rational-choice, Collectivism, were all interrelated in this theoretical basis. In other words, actions are “the product of calculated self-interest,” of which collectively, society’s norms and traditions can be changed through time.

As a result, the institutional orders identified earlier from a macro or formal perspective were extended to include the informal ones. Additional institutions like “Family” and “Religious” coined by Friedland and Alford (1991) were added into the institutional matrix, while the “Democracy” was eliminated as it was redundantly related to the “State.” Later, in 2012, the seventh order was added into the set of institutional logics perspective. Many types of research showed that “Community” should be included as the new aspect of directing individual’s behavior and collective mind. (Calhoun, 1991; Waldorff & Greenwood, 2011; Thornton, 2008)

2.3 Implications of Institutional Studies

From the turning point of the twentieth century, organizational research regarding the institutional theories has been flourishing into diverse disciplines. Research areas covering from identity, practice, social movements, institutional and cultural entrepreneurship, and cognitive and social psychology were those mentioned in the institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). As the theoretical view proposed a new approach to understanding the culture, structure, and process of heterogeneous dynamic in the social study, four fundamental characters of the framework have been integrated and utilized universally.

The four metatheoretical principles are including the embeddedness between agency and structure, the material and symbolic of institutions, the historical contingent condition, and the multi-level dimension of analysis. Each foundation of this new approach was cultivated from a variety of theoretical views posited earlier in the history of social science. Proliferated into diverse fields and institutional works, the major implications widely recognized, to date, are as followed.

2.3.1 Dynamics of Institutional Change

Among popular institutional studies, most of the research questions revolved around the causal effects of institutional powers upon the behavioral aspects of the organizations or social actor (J.W. Meyer and Scott, 1983; DiMaggio and Powell,

1983). Another inquiry that gained interest during the past decade was the institutionalization process, encompassing its emergence and changes through time (Scott, 2008; Thornton, 2004; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012).

As the reality of social study has become more and more diverse evidently in the personal preferences due to availability and variety of choices, each distinctive phenomenon deserves a closer investigation within its own context sphere. One of the key concepts emphasized in the institutional logics perspective is the ‘partial autonomy’ character between the social structure and action.

Scott (2008), together with many institutional researchers, agreed that organizations and field are composed of “Social Agents” with shared values and beliefs, and therefore can be changed once the new logics overpower the existing or previously dominant one. Although old habits die hard, the more dominant logics will be the one that leads to organizational programs, policies, and activities. Thornton (2004, pg.12-13), stated that:

Institutional logics, once they become dominant, affect the decision of organizations ... by focusing the attention of executives toward the set of issues and solutions that are consistent with the dominant logic and away from those issues and solutions that are not.

The overlapping complications within the organization were addressed in both works of Greenwood et al. (2010; 2011). The term “institutional complexity” refers to multiple logics affecting the social interactions and the organizational responses to reconcile with the complexity of their environment. Institutional works are related to understanding how individuals or groups within an organization actively induce the macrodynamic in the field.

Three patterns commonly emerged are including creating new logics, maintaining extant logics, and disrupting or transforming erroneous logics (Haveman and Gualtieri, 2017). Since the social actors are partially autonomous, even though they were embedded in the social structure, these social individuals or groups are capable of socially construct, reconstruct, or even interrupt the institutional logics in which they deem appropriate, or not.

2.3.2 Competing Logics

According to Scott and Christensen (1995), “Institutions do not just grow.” Instead, they must be constructed and maintained as well as adapted and changed. The two perspectives on institutional logics and historic precursor events collided through many empirical investigations aimed to explore the stability and adaptation of organizational management.

Greenwood and Hinings (1993) stated that the study of those interconnection leads to “the values and beliefs underlying intentions, aspirations, and purposes that shape the organizing principles and strategy of action for organizations.” Thornton and Ocasio (1999) also emphasize the important role of the dominant logic that it would “provide the formal and informal rules of action, interaction, and interpretation that guide and constrain decision makers.”

Reay and Hinings (2005) explained their case in Alberta, 1994, when the new logic emerged in the Healthcare industry. Introduced by the Alberta government, healthcare management was supposed to operate with more “efficiency” and “business-like.” In contrast to the previously dominated “medical professionalism” logics which gave supreme priority to physicians’ professional knowledge and guidance, the new logics encouraged all healthcare personnel, instead, to “do more with less.” Nevertheless, the study concluded that “the two logics continue to co-exist and neither one can be considered dominant.”

Another study concerning the co-existence of competing logics by Thornton et al. (2005), in three industries including Accounting, Architecture, and Publishing, showed the interconnection between social changes and developments that led to a new logic which was competing each other for legitimacy. Most influential institutions were including the professions, the market, the state, and the corporation. Though different in the nature of disciplines, the result showed explicit consequences and collaborations between two competing logics. The research focused on three mechanisms; institutional entrepreneur, structural overlap, and the historical contingency. For example, the Accounting industry was affected by the financial growth and ethics of professional audit codes, and two logics emerged; between maximizing profit for their clients or to honor their professional ethics code. Consider the Architectural design field, architects and design professionals suffered from the

emergence of the elevator that brought about the hive of technological advancement issue. The core value of design was tested dramatically; whether to lean towards the Aesthetic or to maximize the “land use” and efficiency?

2.3.3 Agent of Change: A Cultural Entrepreneur

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983), the transformation of institutional logics occurred naturally through “processes of structuration that suit the most powerful actors, the values and beliefs (logics) of these actors come to be reflected in the dominant logic.” DiMaggio (1988) also disputed the early neo-institution theorists regarding their attention towards the agent or social actor that is was insufficient. For him, “Institutional entrepreneurs are individual and organizational actors, who create opportunities for innovation and institutional and organizational change by exploiting cultural discontinuities.” Thornton et al. (2005), also portrayed the social actor as “the institutional entrepreneur” referring to those who are aware of the heterogeneous institutional arrangements and recognize the opportunities for actions to manipulate the mechanism of cultural elements, as well as how to decompose, and how to recombine them.

Similarly, Sewell (1992, p.17) also mentioned the “cognitive capacity” along with the ability of the institutional entrepreneur to transform the “incompatible schematic elements” into new alternatives, proposing new solutions to resolve the current social issue. Nonetheless, this reflexive capacity to visualize and reframe problems and solutions has some constraints as he also disclaimed the varying level of feasibility depending on the strength and persuasiveness of the agent to compete for “the scarce resource of human attention.”

The current perception in Institutional logics perspective agreed that social actors, at any level of analysis, is vital to sustain or demolish the existing institutions. Through the process of institutionalization, these entrepreneur agents were equipped with the power and the right to make choices and to take actions towards their own interest. This view resonances one of Bourdieu’s concept of the “capital” as one variant to the notion of actual practice. In his book, *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu formulated an equation: $[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$. The formula illustrates

the capital as an underlying condition variable to practical structure, aside from the relative of particular actions by the social agents within the field.

Social actor or institutional entrepreneur was considered to be at the Micro level of institutional analysis. DiMaggio and Powell (1988) mentioned the significance of social actor through their “self-interested behavior.” They also identified three possible roles that the micro-foundation of institution contributed to the institutionalization process. First, the social actor may reproduce the existing institution via new member recruitment, or second, one may form new institution together with other social entrepreneurs, and lastly, the existing institution may be de-legitimized once the interpretation gap and constituency building have been breached.

Practical Resolution: Decoupling

Another key emphasis on the actions of social actors at the micro level of institutions involved how they maneuver the contradicting or competing logics in everyday operational tasks. Ordinarily, organizations would embrace and incorporate a “localized” structures and systems which can facilitate effective working environments. The ‘material-symbolic’ foundation of institutional logics perspective detach the institutional logics from the institutional orders. This semi-autonomous characteristic enables the understanding of co-existence of multiple logics collaborating and hindering within one organization, industry, or field. Additionally, this perspective allows for one institutional logics to be derived from different institutions as well.

Another research showed that institutional change could occur through collaborative efforts that encourage independence and separate identities of collaborators, or so-called, the ‘pragmatic collaboration’ (Lounsbury, 2008). According to Reay and Hinings (2009):

rivalry between competing logics was managed covertly... and change strategies were successful mostly because more powerful actors did not recognize the potential shift in institutional logics until it was too late to stop it.

Her focus on the timing or the ‘transition period’ is also indispensable. She also marked that though old logics were appeared to be gone, and the social actors appeared to comply with the new logics, the actual practice of everyday actions,

however, may truthfully convey their inner belief (that guide their behavior) with more honesty.

This final implication was closely related to the organizational fields, and therefore inducing numerous empirical and theoretical works on different scenarios. The multiple logics can co-existence in three configurations; complementing, competing, or hybrid. Much of the work discussed the institutional conflicts as concluded by Haveman and Gualtieri, 2017, that

... not all logics are stable or fully institutionalized, and not all contexts (individual organization, industry, or societal sector/field) are dominated by a single, uncontested logic ... competing logics has explained the conditions under which organizational change can occur and the mechanisms driving change.

In other words, the co-existence of multiple logics is just natural. It is the understanding of organizational mechanism and context that can bring about the appropriate strategies. The ‘cognitive move’ (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) in strategy refers to “an acknowledgment that organizational responses to environmental pressures or changes were fundamentally mediated by managerial interpretations.”

To sum up, the institutional logics perspective is one theoretical framework that incorporates the multi-level analysis, the dynamics of the institutionalization process through time, and the consideration of influential contexts such as culture and individual preferences. This assertion allows research analysis to become more inclusive and practical approach for contemporary issues constantly emerged in social studies.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

From the literature review, institutional logics can be seen as an interstellar of cultural elements encompassing values, beliefs, as well as the normative expectations of social behaviors and actions. This research aims to investigate the institutional logics embedded in Thai societal system and cultivated the eldercare practices and programs in Thailand.

Four requirements to authentically utilize the theory were incorporated into the conceptual design framework. Most recent institutional theory, the institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) required institutional researchers to take into account, first, the partial autonomy of actor and institution, second, the multi- or cross-level of operational process analysis, third, the integration of material and symbolic components, fourth, the historical contingent aspect of the institutional logics.

This research harbored all aforementioned criteria within the qualitative research design and analysis process, as explained further in chapter 4. The underpinned concept that kindled this investigation, however, is the latest paradigm focusing on the microfoundations of institutional logics. In the “Bringing Society Back In: Symbols, Practices, and institutional Contradictions,” Friedland and Alford (1991) suggested two distinctive emphases on “opportunity” and “constraints” to effectuating institutional change. Furthermore, Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), also postulated that “social actors are key to understanding institutional persistence and change.” They proposed the new insight into the human behavior model that encompassed the “situated, embedded, boundedly intentional” characteristics of social action.

The original diagram, Figure 2.1, portrayed the integrative process of three key elements involving in the institutionalization process, from micro-actions to the cultural evolution. Building upon the dynamic constructivist theory, they identified the availability, accessibility, and activation as the key variants to the dynamic reproduction of institutional logics and changes.

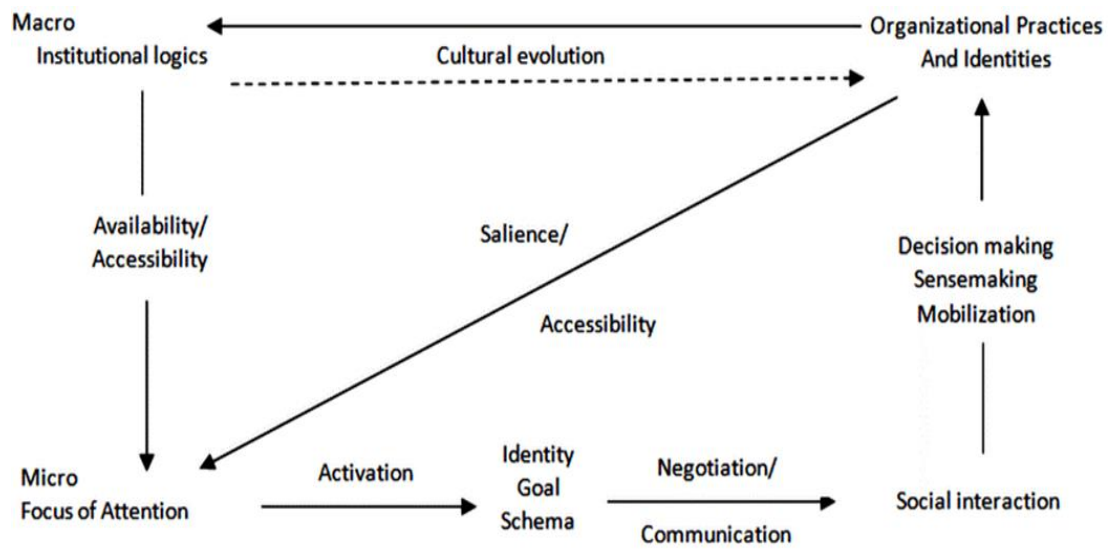


Figure 2.1 Cross-Level Model of Institutional Logics Combining Macro-Micro and Micro-Macro (IPL, pg.85)

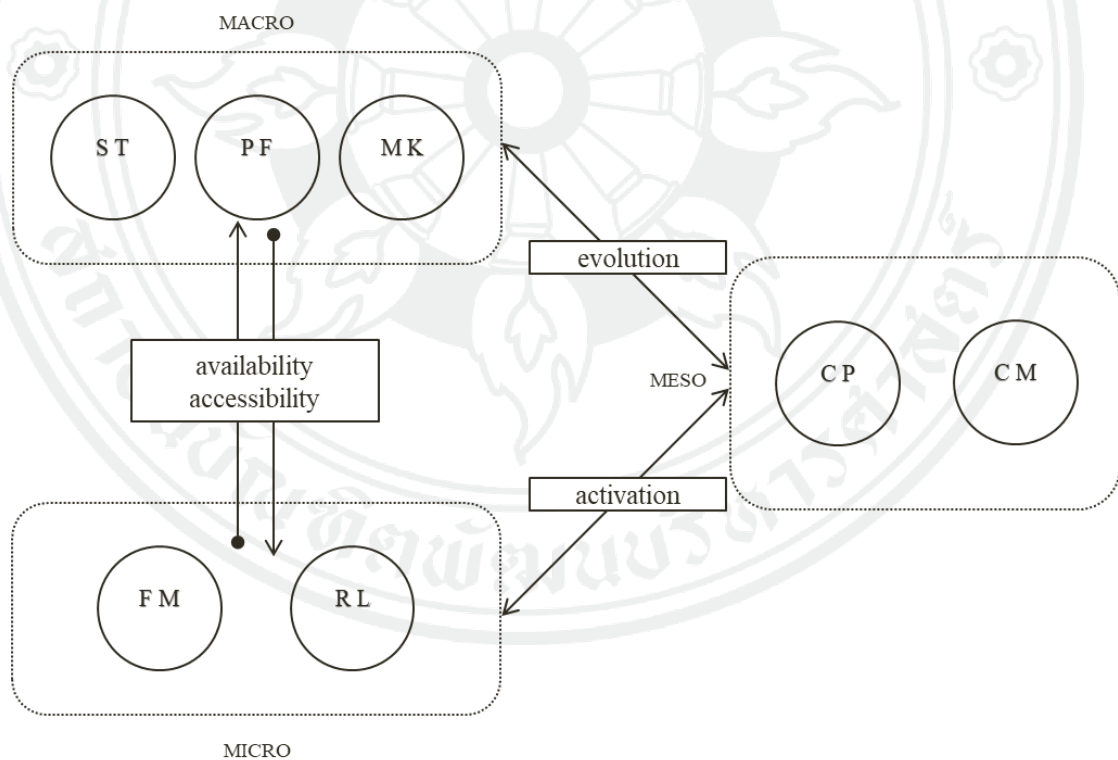


Figure 2.2 A Simplified Cross-Level Model of Institutional Agency and the Reproduction Dynamic

Overriding the cross-level model of how microfoundations and the institutional logics reciprocate and influencing institutional change, Figure 2.2 offers a modified version of the activation process, with further integration of social agents' role as strategic actors. Since most activating transactions in the original diagram were likely to occur through organizational decisions, practices, and identities, the proposed diagram encapsulated the interconnection of multi-level analysis, the cumulative of historical contingency, with emphasis on the potential of social entrepreneur who could manipulate institutional changes through meso level institutions, such as the community (CM) or the corporation (CP). The dynamic of the inter-institutional system was hereby reinforced the comprehensive and never-ending cycle of reproduction and structuration process of socially accepted logics.

Three research questions of institutional logics in eldercare practice involved, first, the underlying logics within seven institutional spheres, including the state (ST), the profession (PF), the market (MK), the family (FM), the religion (RL), the corporation (CP), and the community (CM). Second, the existing interrelationship among each sphere which will be assessed through the availability and accessibility of knowledge, information, and experience suitable for the institutional logics. Lastly, the gap between actual practices and their ideal intentions. To conclude, this research inquires both institutional logics and their institutionalization process. The author aims to foster a positive change in eldercare practice through a better understanding of the social mechanism in Thailand.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHOD

The intent of this study was to provide researchers, public planners, policymakers, service designers, and other stakeholders, including Thai older adults and family members, with the information necessary to make diligent decisions regarding a healthy aging lifestyle. The overall planning and research design aims to unfold the underlying logics that shape current policies, programs, and activities related to the everyday practices of eldercare in Thailand.

According to a review of the literature, logics are social constructs that influence the collective values, norms, and beliefs of individuals or groups, and can be investigated through the analysis of empirical evidence such as behavioural patterns or rhetorical expressions. Though Miles and Huberman (1994) concluded that “[s]ocial processes are ephemeral, fluid phenomena with no existence independent of social actors’ ways of construing and describing them,” they also proposed the possibility that all complex, ambiguous, and sometimes contradicting data can be elucidated through analytical and systematic mechanisms, through research design.

3.1 Theoretical Perspective

This research grew from curiosity concerning the interrelationship of collaborating logics in eldercare and the ongoing practices in Thailand. Additionally, it also grew under the notion of the constructivism (often referred to as part of interpretivism) paradigm. In brief, the social constructivists hold that “reality” and “meaning” for individuals are varied and complex. Most if not all subjective perceptions and understandings are the cumulative results of persons’ experiences and worldviews (Creswell, 2014). Unlike naturalist ontology and objectivist epistemology, constructivist research emphasizes “the phenomena of study and seeing both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other sources” (Charmaz, 2006). The shared experiences and

relationships in the constructivists' worldview comprehensively include those of the participants, as well as those of the researcher herself.

My background in architectural studies involved human perceptions and how we interact with our surroundings and each other. Just as knowledge or truth can never be absolute, comprehensive design research should bring about the shared values of a group whose members have communal experiences and worldviews. Additionally, for constructivism and relativism alike, the reality and meaning of such shared values are valid only in their specific space and time. This worldview coordinates with the theory chosen for this study. The institutional logics perspective identifies one essential aspect, the "historical contingent," as one element that explains how the constellation of logics is the cumulative result of past events. It also influences the ongoing practices, and potentially, is an inducing force of social dynamics for future change.

3.2 Qualitative Research Design

Within the field of social development administration, the institutional logics perspective provides a cross-level framework to examine both the processes and mechanisms that drive social activities. It is multi-dimensional and, therefore, applicable through multiple sets of lenses and methodologies. Following the interpretive paradigm, a constructivist epistemology was chosen in order to clarify the topic under investigation. Several methodologies have been suggested as a suitable means to conduct the research: grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies are among the contemplating choices. In embracing the fact that most, if not all, qualitative studies have never been liberated from the creator's bias, a research method that inclusively addresses the significance and influence of the researcher's self was selected.

Constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; 2014) provides a comprehensive path to fully encapsulate the meaningful processes of the systematic reproduction of Thai eldercare culture. In order to develop an interpretive description of the participants' perspectives, experiences, and worldviews regarding the phenomenon under investigation, heterogeneous content was to be expected. While clusters of hypotheses and assumptions are scattered in diverse directions, particularly

now that the matter of the aging society has become the focus of attention from the full range of both public and private investors, this research aims to refine and enrich the findings through a “pattern inducing” approach. Reay and Jones (2016) have encouraged social researchers “to capture logics by analyzing qualitative data from a bottom-up, inductive approach.”

Utilizing the constructivist grounded theory method, all of the data collected throughout the research process were critically examined and analyzed into a series of meaningful categories, prioritized and developed into fully-saturated concepts. One important key to this approach is to extract the core constructs from the actual data, not from the precursor hypotheses that already exist (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, 2008). Examples and details of the analysis process are further described in Chapter 4. Changes in the research procedures and analytical process were the result of a clearer understanding of the nature of the constructivist grounded theory development.

3.3 Role of the Researcher

Maintaining the key concept of most qualitative studies, interpretive researchers are advised to be aware of their existence within the research process and use the “emic” point of view rather than the “etic” one. According to Crotty (1998), three key propositions that any researchers should always consider when conducting an interpretive study include the following. First are the unprejudiced and receptive interpretations of the data collected from each participant; second is to ensure the “natural setting” of the participants as well as that of the researcher; and lastly are the “in and out” interactions within the human community.

As for the constructivist research approach, the position of the researcher is presumed to be the centre of all research activities. Charmaz (2014) encouraged grounded theory researchers to adopt “the inductive, comparative, emergent, and open-ended approach” of the classic methods of Glaser and Strauss (1967) such as coding, memo writing, and theoretical sampling in order to develop the emerging ideas. However, she also emphasized that relativity and subjectivity arise from the researcher’s privileges and preconceptions which would be naturally brought into the study. Therefore, the constructivist grounded theory researcher should be aware of the impacts throughout the research process regarding the outcomes of the study and be

constantly reflexive. Levy (2003) affirmed that to be reflexive is “to use the researcher’s personal interpretive framework consciously as the basis for developing new understanding.”

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

As humans were the main apparatus in this investigation, a set of meaningful research dialogues between the researcher and the participants were the primary data. The initial data-gathering process used semi-structured questionnaires with prospective participants and then proceeded to the in-depth interviews with the potential key informants. Additionally, the non-participatory observation technique was also employed to extract the relative information regarding the eldercare situations and practices in Thailand.

A purposeful selection of participants identified by their involvement and expertise in the area of study will be categorized according to the level of their social interaction. This does not limit the interpretation scope but ensures a comprehensive distribution of the data collected from a holistic point of view. However, the relationship of the participants’ position and their role will be the guiding parameter for the semi-structured interview questions in the inquiry process.

After acquiring the empirical data through the verbal and non-verbal actions observed and collected, inductive analysis will be utilized in order to code and sort the text into groups. Each category contains a set of actions that were guided by specific logics. In this way, the analysis incorporates an attempt to comply with one of the institutional logics principles, as they were both symbolic and material (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Thornton and Occasio, 2008; Reay and Jones, 2016). Next, an intensive document review, including various sources of data such as press releases, formal publications, public seminars, and live-interviews, will be used to reconfirm the findings from the macro-level perspective.

Three social sectors including the state, the market, and the professions will be investigated in order to portray the current situation of the eldercare service industry, along with its challenges and opportunities in Thailand. As for micro-level institutions, representing the foundation of Thai social construction, the family and the religion, the data collected from the in-depth interviews and non-verbal

observations will then be exclusively retrieved according to personal experiences, perceptions, and perspectives at the individual level. This will help broaden the requirements of the preferable lifestyles for Thai elderly in the future.

Lastly, the participants involved at the meso level of analysis, such as those from organizations or communities that represent strong attention to eldercare in Thailand, are the key to this research. Therefore, all of the techniques and data collected from the document reviews, in-depth interviews, and non-participation observations will be used to illuminate the complexity of the logics as well as the opportunities and challenges in the multi-level operation process.

3.5 Strategies for Validating the Findings

3.5.1 Methodology

Though several methodologies can stem from the same underlying epistemology, the research methodology employed in this study was carefully designed and followed the standard qualitative research protocols. Each procedure takes precautions to move toward a comprehensive and well-rounded theoretical construction.

3.5.1.1 Purposive Sampling

Two criteria for purposefully selecting the key informants include relevance and credibility. The participants for the major method of the data collection in this research were selected based on their professional experience in the eldercare service industry. Their involvements, expertise, or accountability toward the Thai aging population, both voluntary and compulsory, were the requirement for the selection. Moreover, the extant documents, such as information on selective events, seminars, webcasts, and other media, had to be published by recognized institutions in order to ensure the accuracy and credibility of the information provided.

3.5.1.2 Snowball Sampling

The researcher followed the suggestion from the interviews with key informants in order to expand the scope of the knowledge within the field as well as to clarify and to confirm the opinions of other stakeholders. This method ensured thoroughness of the relevant data gathering, as the issue under the investigation was already discussed and elaborated during the research conversation prior to the

recommendation. The snowball introduction can lead to another prospect whose presumably have more experiences and knowledgeable.

3.5.1.3 Random Sampling

Though it is not very common in interpretive research designs, random sampling helps to loosen the prejudice in the researcher's embodiment of concepts. Some unplanned encounters led to distinctive sets of research dialogue, and sometimes constructively provided another set of unbiased data that counteracted previously-primed assumptions. This helped to validate the preconceptions, as well as to expand the data collection process in the attempt to address the periphery of contrasting perceptions and mindsets.

3.5.2 Triangulation

3.5.2.1 Triangulation of Methodologies

Corroborating evidence in the investigation was obtained using various methods. Primarily, in-depth interviews and non-participation observations were used altogether in order to generate the overall empirical evidence regarding the underlying logics found within the topic. Secondary data sources from intensive document reviews, then, provided supporting data to portray the background of the situation as well as to enhance the understanding of the attitudes and behaviors of the actors in the study. Moreover, extant document helped to verify particular details mentioned during the in-depth interviews.

3.5.2.2 Triangulation of Data Sources

This investigation includes a wide range of key informants from the institutional logics theoretical stance. Insights and quotes from multi-level participants, from policymakers, practitioners, academic scholars to eldercare enthusiasts were substantiated in order to enhance the comprehensive contextual data of eldercare practice in current settings. Additionally, extant documents related to the organizations in the study were examined from both the internal and external perspective. Publications from company profiles, public reviews, as well as an overview of the industry landscape were incorporated into this study.

3.5.3 Peer Review or Debriefing Sessions

Several presentations were arranged along the course of this study. Dozens of individual review sessions between the researcher and the supervisor provided an insightful and directional pathway to the core of the study. Several other peer review sessions, including formal progress examinations, ensured that the supporting measures in the study were rigorous and sensible. The collaborative discussions provided invaluable opportunities for the researcher to reexamine and relatively compare the different views and frameworks of the topic.

3.5.4 External Audits

Attempts to detach from personally-primed assumptions and to broaden the possibilities in qualitative research were executed. An external committee that had no connection to the study was presented with the research objectives and the underlying processes of the study. Almost all productive scrutinies from the auditor, the committee, and colleagues were adopted heartily and were brought into revisions and improvement of the dissertation.

3.5.5 Reflective Commentary

In order to honour the key distinctive feature of the constructivist grounded theory employed in the study, memo writing sessions were used as soon as each interview was completed. A research journal was maintained spontaneously from the beginning of the data collection through the remaining of the analytical process. This reflective commentary represented the internal scrutiny from the researcher's own perspective. The development of the research analysis was evaluated and questioned from time to time ensuring that initial perceptions and emerging patterns were developed constructively. During this academic journey, the impressions and assessments from each interview and seminar made various contributions to the overall research crystallization. This "progressive subjectivity" was systematically rearranged and incorporated into the research process in order to enhance the reliability of the institutional logics generated.

3.5.6 Member Checking

Creswell (2003), along with Lincoln and Guba (1985), and Miles and Huberman (1994), recommended “the most critical technique for establishing credibility” so as to have the transcribed findings and interpretations reviewed by the research participants. In this way, all of the written data, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions can be verified from the data source for accuracy and credibility. Especially as this data collection was conducted mostly in the Thai language, partial interview transcripts which had been translated and quoted in the research body were submitted to the key informants along with the overall interpretations of the research conversations.

3.6 Anticipated Ethical issues

3.6.1 Language Barrier

Qualitative research, and particularly this constructivist grounded theory approach, focuses exclusively on the interpretation of both implicit and explicit data collected through various sources. Each choice of words used by each participant can lead to different meanings depending on their personal backgrounds and professional fields.

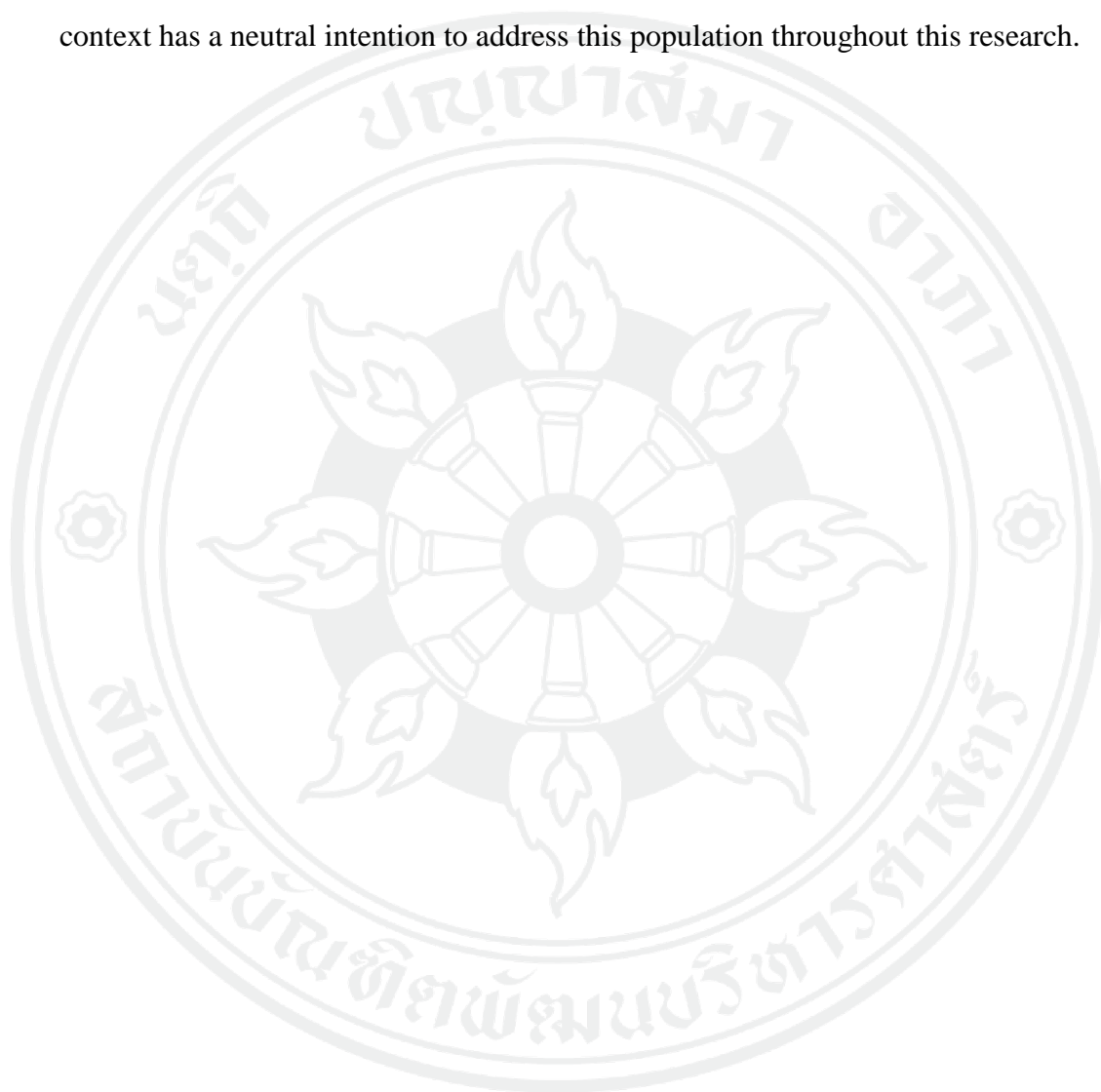
The sensitivity of word choices must be intensively examined and verified by linguistic professionals in sociology or in the humanistic fields. The translated manuscripts must be distributed back to the key informants not only to ensure the accuracy of the data but also to ensure the tone that such transcriptions convey.

3.6.2 Rhetorical Considerations

Though the researcher was fairly confident of her ability in using English as a second language, the vast difference between straightforward translation from Thai to English and the interpretative capturing and conversion of ideas, beliefs, and perceptions of each key informants needed to be constantly recognized. Some words in Thai can mean different things, especially in the Thai culture, where for example being forward and explicit can sometimes be perceived as being impolite.

3.6.3 The Prejudiced Stereotype of Older Persons

Senior citizens, the elderly, older adults, and any other terms used in this dissertation refer to the population aged sixty and over that are still capable of performing daily activities and routines. Unlike the original English, different terms are associated with different connotations. However, such terminology in the Thai context has a neutral intention to address this population throughout this research.



CHAPTER 4

CAPTURING INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS

Despite numerous anticipated issues and some creative solutions proposed by social scholars worldwide, resolutions designed particularly for Thai cultural contexts have not yet emerged. In order to capture the essence of the underlying logics, particularly the beliefs, values, and norms through the experiences of the participants, this study employed the constructivist grounded theory method by Charmaz, 2007; 2014. The philosophy of this approach fits the research purpose as well as the current situation being studied. The research objectives are threefold. First is to identify the set of logics prevalent in the Thai culture; second, is to construct an understanding of social mechanism relationships; and third, is to gauge the eldercare development direction for Thailand correspondingly. The way in which institutional logics of eldercare in Thailand has been developed will contribute significantly to strategic planning that will embrace population aging issues in the near future.

Classical grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; 2008) has empowered qualitative studies with a systematical method to critically examine dialogues from interview transcripts as well as relevant documents. In this study, those regarding eldercare practices and policies in Thailand were analyzed through the coding process and dialectic interpretation techniques, which helped to understand and shape the conceptual framework for the study. Additionally, researchers are obliged to take non-verbal and implicit implications from situational settings into account for the investigation process as well.

Rooted in the heterogeneous and complicated nature of social study, a more attuned approach stemming from the classic grounded theory, constructivist grounded theory, was chosen for the current analysis. This methodology accentuates the perplex layers of perceptions and reflections of participants' experiences, as well as those of the researcher. Since the constructivist grounded theory differs from objectivist grounded theory because it allows for flexibility and for various types of data to be

included in the analysis, this chapter centers on the research rationales and the progression of the data selection process.

The following section aims at providing a comprehensive list of the research participants, the types of data collection, along with their representative roles within seven societal levels. A brief description of each participant's backgrounds and their experiences in eldercare related practices is also included. Next, the coding process and rationales for the selected methods are illustrated along with sample texts and quotes from the data corpus. Lastly, the reflections from the data-collection process will be summarized in order to supplement the research analysis process. A series of analytical memos and field notes were rewritten and reorganized in order to help clarify the progress of the theoretical perspectives and operational steps used in this study.

4.1 Summary of the Participants

This section provides a brief overview of the research participants' background and expertise for three main reasons. First, the list recognizes the agents as microfoundations of the theory. Second, it serves as a conversational method to build a consensus between the researcher and the readers. Third, it helps to strengthen the reflection commentary at the ending of this chapter.

The elements in Table 4.1 were organized in chronological order. This was another attempt to show the sequential relationships from one dataset to another; however, the items in the list are not in order of importance. A relationship matrix was created in order to portray the different levels of the participants' involvements within each institutional order. A descriptive narration of each key informant's background delineating his or her social identity, goals, and schemas can be found in appendix A.

Table 4.1 Summary of the key informants and their relevance within the institutions

Order	Participant name	AGE	Background / Expertise						
		MBC	ST	PF	MK	CP	CM	RL	FM
1	Pol. Lt. Col. Parinya Charoenbundit	Y	●	○			○	○	●
2	Associate Professor Trirat Jarutach	N	○	●	●	●	●		○
3	Ms. Klinpaka Keawcharoen	Y	○	●		●	○		○
4	Professor Worawet Suwanrada	Y	○	○	●	●	○		●
5	Suchinkanlayanatham	N	●	○		○	●	●	○
6	Mr. Somkid Somsri	N	●	○	●	○	○		○
7	Ms. Laiwan Pongsangaim	N	○	○	●	●			○
8	Mr. Mike Ikegawa Mitsuhiro	N		●	●	○	●		○
9	Ms. Nart Fongsmut	Y	●	●	●	○	○	○	○
10	Assistant Professor Ponn Virulrak	Y		○	○	●	●		●
11	Mr.Kandisak Ruenjaichon	Y		●	●	○	○		●
12	Rev. Bro. Bancha Saenghiran	N	○		○	●		●	○
13	Mr. Banloo Siripanich	N	○	●	○		○	○	○
14	Mr. Sant Chaiyodsilpa	N	○	●	○		○	○	●
15	Somdet Phra Buddhakosajarn (P.A. Payutto)	N		○			●	●	●

●	Strongly relevant
○	Partially relevant
	Least relevant

Macro level; S T = the state, P F = the profession, M K = the market

Meso level; C P = the corporation, C M = the community

Micro level; F M = the family, R L = the religion

4.2 Coding Process

The purpose of grounded theory is to construct a theory, hypotheses, or a systematic understanding of the phenomenon from actual data. The results were derived from the analytical process and the coding process simultaneously. Charmaz (2014) posited that the coding process, as the first step for grounded theorists, is to interact with the dataset once the interpretation and labelling process begins.

4.2.1 First Cycle Coding

The selected coding methods for this initial phase included three techniques recommended for grounded theory research (Saldana, 2013, p.62). However, the first attempt to utilize the “in vivo coding” method did not provide a very fruitful result. Because most of the data were collected in the Thai language, in order to determine the code through second-language translation would then compromise the whole purpose and principle of the in vivo coding technique. For example, one word in Thai can be translated into conscious, considerate, thoughtful, sympathetic, or mindful.

The second technique applied to the interview transcripts was the “process coding” method. This time, the codes were applied through the actions mentioned in the conversation. Keywords from the participants’ dialogue were translated into the gerunds which enabled an intimate tie between the words and actions in order to secure ~~find~~ evident or supportive establishment for the study.

However, neither coding technique, on its own, is sufficient to capture the holistic essence of the data. A third method, called the “initial coding” technique, was the final answer to this concern. Combining the two, in vivo and process coding methods, the initial coding method finally helped to create a comprehensive list of codes for the next step.

4.2.2 Second Cycle Coding

From the codes derived from the earlier stage, a clearer view of the research findings began to emerge. Iterative codes and comparative codes were accordingly clustered in a subliminal way. Saldana (2013) recommended three coding methods:

focused coding, axial coding, and theoretical coding, in order to further analyze the initial codes derived from the research data corpus.

4.2.2.1 Focused coding

The goal of applying this method is to further refine and identify the dominant logics mentioned most frequently as it can be implied that they have a significant impact on the eldercare sphere. Using a digital application to generate textual-based analysis, such as Wordle (wordle.net), provides a graphic summary, as shown in figure 4.1. The digitally-generated diagram helps to visualize the priority of each code mentioned. Although the frequency of the keywords that emerged was not a major concern in this study, the holistic view of the constellation of specified codes helped to elucidate the coherence of their interconnections.

4.2.2.2 Axial coding

In order to depict one characteristic of the institutional logics of the competing duality, another coding method was utilized. The axial coding method emphasizes the comparative analysis of the codes' characteristics and dimensions (Saldana, 2013; Charmaz, 2014). The relationships of codes from the initial phase together with closer attention to the key codes from the focused coding phase were re-organized. The results of the code mapping provided a comprehensive constellation of categorized codes, as shown in Table 4.2.

4.2.2.3 Theoretical coding

One final coding method employed in this study was the “theoretical coding” technique, which will be detailed in the next section as the final step in the coding process.

Table 4.2 Axial coding results

Axial Code Categories	Initial & Focused Codes
Controlling	Standardization
	Regulation
	Condition
Controlling	Enforcement
	Manageable
Self-actualization	Trend
	Preference
	Social acceptance
Competitive capacity	Technology assistance
Self-actualization	Self-actualization
Self-reliance	Self-reliance
Flexibility	Mixed-use
	Flexible
	Middle-way
Sufficiency	Self-sufficiency
	Financial capability
	Sustainability
Communitarianism	Communitas
	Mixed generations
	Social bonding
Capitalism	Risk mitigation
	Financial risk
Sufficiency	Acceptance
Competitive capacity	Vitality

Table 4.3 Axial coding results (Continued)

Axial Code Categories	Initial & Focused Codes
Self-reliance	Self-dependency
	Self-assessment
Collectivism	Collaboration
	Integration
Communitarianism	Volunteer
	Dedication
Sufficiency	Quality of life
	Prosperity
	Social equity
Collectivism	Kinship
	Connection
Individualism	Isolation
Hierarchy	Respect
	Seniority
	Priority
Self-awareness	Precautions
	Preventive
	Resilience
Consciousness	Preparation
	Social-savings
	Health-savings
Competitive capacity	Paradigm shift
	Creative
	Innovation
Acceptance	Acceptance

4.2.3 Theoretical Coding

In this phase, the codes from the previous categorization were revisited once again. Similar to “selective coding” and “conceptual coding,” this coding method helps to bring all categories under one umbrella (Saldana, 2013). The goal of the research to induce a pattern emerging from the data was crystallized in this phase.

As the institutional logics perspective was chosen as the theoretical framework for this study, the need to study the intertwining dynamics at a multiple-level of analysis is the main emphasis. According to Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), logics reside in institutional orders, and though interrelated, they are also partially autonomous. These complex subsystems of material and symbolic elements are loosely coupled and can be analytically segregated, blended, or reconfigured. In order to address the issue of embedded agency and change, institutional logics extracted from social mechanisms provide an essential key to understanding the institutionalization process.

Three elements comprising each institutional logic inseparably coexist and mutually drive the process of cultural reproduction. Figure 4.1 illustrates the three ingredients—the ideal, the material, and the practice. The ideal represents the subjective characteristics of the findings, such as the concept, the goal, and the objectives of the policy or program. The material refers to the tangible aspects, such as the availability of resources and the efficiency of the operation process. And last is the practice as the final result of the coupling between the ideal and material influences. As institutional logics perspective encourages the holistic dimension of praxis as a key differentiator to bridge the gap between theory and practice, this study asserts the idea that though each module has its own spheres, their impacts from availability, accessibility, and activation are permeable through each other. The inner sphere represents the core conception—the ideal that drives the other spheres that are more tangible and practicable for actual actions. However, contrasting logics from any sphere can influence changes in the others, inward and outward.

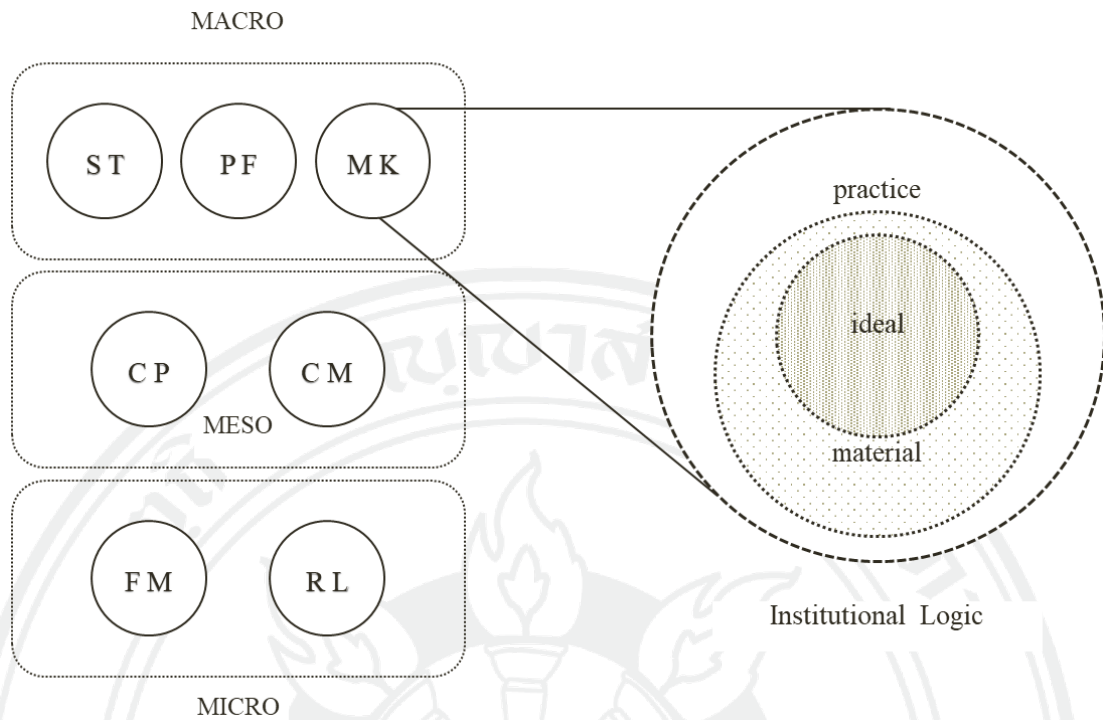


Figure 4.2 Diagram illustrating the three levels of symbolic-material configuration within each social sphere

4.3 Reflective Memo

From the beginning of the qualitative research design, the interpretive nature of the research questions governs the initial approach towards the findings. The first method identified as the primary data collection strategy was the interviews. Meaningful dialogue provides constructive raw materials that can be extracted and refined to serve as building blocks for a grounded theory study.

Starting with an informal interview, so as to build self-confidence and to pilot test the results from the research questions, the researcher found that the question guideline was too generic and did not provide much relevant evidence for the study. At the same time, a new discovery about constructivist grounded theory led to a major revision of the interview script. Embracing the researcher's bias, along with the generalization of qualitative research—that it cannot be universally generalized—the interview questions were revised and simplified to be more compact and concise versions in order to suit the open-ended nature of the chosen research method.

This time, the interviews were conducted purposefully with the participants in the related field. Since architectural study is one applied science, the same worldview and creative capacity can proliferate into diverse disciplines, such as real estate, universal design, or social development. Believing in the ease of dialectic connection, prospective informants that shared the same background or expertise in the architectural field were initially approached. The results from semi-structured interviews using open-ended questions provided richer comments and insightful perceptions. In this study, mutual understanding of the research rationale and its significance paved the way for building trust and rapport between the informants and the researcher, and therefore provided an honest contribution to the research conversation.

During the interviews, several seminars and public events hosted by public and private organizations took place. The first event was suggested by one of the key informants. Thai PBS, Thai Public Broadcasting Service, an independent public entity, hosted a seminar: Gen (O)ld; Life by Design, not by Default. Three out of four of the keynote speakers at this event were considered to be significant for the study topic, and their perceptions are selectively quoted in chapters 5 and 6. The three speakers were approached, but only two agreed to a research interview.

At this point, several intriguing ideas from the interviews and seminars began to form a data corpus. Other public events attended during the data-collection process yielded diverse perceptions and reflections. For instance, GHB housing Expo 2017 showed a strong movement in the real estate market towards the aging population as potential customers. Further, the NIDA Poll seminar on elderly income generation policy provided unique insights from multiple stakeholders, and a participatory workshop by the Office of the Education Council presented a glimpse of how government offices and academic researchers can contribute to the social reality of the life-long learning of the Thai elderly. Those were particular events where most, if not all, participants were well aware of the situation and its critical consequences.

On the other hand, some other events have shown surprising evidence of how the public in general are still uninformed about aging population issues. While the key informants of this research “poured their knowledge onto the stage,” attention always

turned to other celebrities or investment experts. Listening to other speakers hastily addressing the issues reflected how widely the literacy and preparation gaps need to be filled.

However, both types of events, the sophisticated one and the more naïve ones, somehow were favourable in furthering the saturation of the theoretical construction. On the one hand, the conceptualization of several key words or codes emerged and these were strengthened by extensive document reviews. Explanatory interpretation developed from evidentiary support, such as policies, programs, and the activities that took place from the past to the present. On the other hand, the sessions that exhibited less knowledge on the part of the speakers expanded the opportunities and possibilities of neglected thoughts to be reconsidered. An exploratory search through documentation and research was undergone once again in order to ensure the comprehensiveness of this study.

CHAPTER 5

MACRO LOGICS TOWARDS INDIVIDUALISM

This dissertation aims to unfold the compelling logics of eldercare that result in collective values, beliefs, and normative expectations (Oxford, 2017) which occur at multi levels of social units (Thornton, 2012). Additionally, the ulterior motive is to clarify and analyze the interactions between the multiple logics that symbiotically co-exist within the Thai society.

This chapter illustrates the findings from the participants' insights, along with the results from the researcher's interpretation of the institutional logics regarding the issue of the aging population in Thailand from a macro-level perspective. Three institutional orders considered to be parts of macro social mechanisms consisted of the "state," the "profession" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), and the "market" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). However, the categories that emerged from the data analysis showed some shared values from the "corporation" as well. The following section will explain the most apparent logics found within the four societal orders along with evidentiary supplements such as quotes from interview transcripts and excerpts from relevant publications.

5.1 THE STATE: FINANCIAL RISK MITIGATION

As the Thai government has realized the critical effect of the aging population upon national financial security, public planners have developed and provided several programs to tackle this issue. Predominantly, the radical decline in fertility rate from the past has led to a tumbling projection of the national productivity ratio, therefore affecting the source of financial stability for the older generation. Even though the Thai society tends to trust eldercare practices, both socially and financially, in the familial sense, rather than in terms of formal forms of government aid, it is inevitable that the critical situation of the aging society in Thailand will become a large burden for any household alone.

In this study, the analysis under the constructivist grounded theory reveals different concepts that have emerged in the institutional logics of the state. While some programs have reflected the promotion of individual independence, other programs are consequences of the preservation of the communitarianism and the notion of selfless virtue. Nevertheless, the relentless attempts to delegate all duties and resources to local authorities and municipalities show that the Thai government has a more vigorous intention to leverage a self-reliant attitude among the public.

5.1.1 Predominant Logic in Public Policy Planning

Historically, Thailand had its first constitution in 1932, which was the beginning of the westernization of the Thai political setting. The Thai nation adopted the philosophy of “democracy,” which later evolved into Thai “monarchical democracy” with a parliamentary government. Eversince then, the world’s most recognized government system has morphed its multilayers of supremacy along with the Thai paradoxical civilizations. However, unlike direct democracy pinpointed as the main mechanism in the institutional logic of the state by Friedland and Alford (1991), the politics and power in Thailand are more complicated. With countless legal reforms over a century, the Thai political setting has involved diverse groups of legislatures, military ensembles, and political parties, resulting in a multiplicity of constitutions, royal decree drafts, and state regulations. Consequently, the Thai society has long been affected by political inconsistency due to public administration policy differences between each group in power. Nonetheless, the strong forces of industrialization and globalization, together with the abundant resources of the nation, have enabled Thailand to become the second largest economy in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ADB, 2016).

Originating as an agricultural country, Thailand had the first policy planner team founded in 1950 with the main focus on economic development. The board was named the National Economic Council. Later on, in 1972, with the new recognition of social development urgency, the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) was established, along with a new set of strategic planning and goals. Subsequently, Thailand’s development agenda began to

encompass the sustainable development concept, focusing on social equity as well as environmental viability, together with the crafting of national competitive strategies.

However, being a developing country means that the majority of the population is still striving rather than thriving. Statistically, the Thai elderly still rely on family support as 52.3% of the Thai elderly are supported financially by their offspring, and 6.1% from their spouse. According to a survey, only 28.9% earn their money by working, the other 4.4% from pensions or savings, and 2.9% from savings or assets (Suwanrada, 2009). Furthermore, as the fertility rate and family members in the Thai urban family are in a declining state, individual savings has appeared to be one primary source of income for the future elderly population. However, data show that 39% of Thai employees do not save their money while 26% have a well-adjusted income and expenses (NESDB, 2008). Further, 9% have to take out loans to survive each month, and 3% have the competency to save but do not (NESDB, 2008). Therefore, this indicates that encouraging the public to prepare for their individual retirement is one challenging area for the national strategic planner team.

The previous logic in eldercare services and programs reflected from the state was under the public development theory of social welfare. Obligations to support three population groups, including the elderly, the disabled, and the poor, were considered to be a charitable transaction upheld by the society as a whole. Eldercare-related programs in Thailand were aligned with the ideology of “Welfarism” which has been defined as “a society's provision of social, economic, and health benefits to members who are unable to obtain such benefits by themselves” (Barker, 1987).

In 1960, the National Council on Social Welfare of Thailand (NCSWT) was initially founded in order to coordinate between public and private entities in order to facilitate charitable activities and to provide supports unconditionally to anyone in need. Thai elderly and disabled people have not been legally recognized as a special population group, at least not until decades later. Later in 1982, the National Elderly Council was founded and issued its first National Plan on the Elderly or NPE (1982-2001), to develop and implement policies that specifically target Thai senior citizens. This movement was a consequence of the United Nation’s World Conference of Aged Populations held in Vienna, Austria, where all member countries agreed upon a

universal long-term action plan concerning the elderly. Whereas the first NPE plan addressed several issues such as health, education, finances,¹ and social security, among of the most recognizable evidence for promoting public awareness was the cabinet approval of Thai National Day of Older Persons on the 13th of April, the same day as the Thai National New Year's day. goal

Twenty years later, the second NPE plan was released along with the founding of the National Committee of Senior Citizens. The Second National Plan on The Elderly (2002-2021) envisioned Thai elderly as “the societal goal.”¹ The phrase that was originally translated and published in the English version of the National plan was “the elderly are valuable assets to the society” (NPE, 2002). The key strategy is to enhance the security of Thai elderly, both physically and psychologically. Public health services and the social perception of the elderly were the main issues addressed in the plan (NPE, 2002). With more illustrated goals and strategies, therefore, this second plan has been more successful compared to the first one.

Additionally, the Declaration of Thai Senior Citizens, launched in 1999, declared the age of 60 to be considered as the senior citizen's threshold, with a statement that showed a commitment to “... elevating the standard of living of the elderly and protecting them from abandonment and violation of their rights.” This proclamation reflects the seriousness of the state in addressing the aging population issue. Together with the Elderly Act, a Royal Decree issued in 2003, such a commitment has become more crystalized as the right of the elderly to receive protection, promotion, and support has been legally clarified explicitly. Although this act was the only act with the absence of any kind of “punishment” (Siripanich, 2017), still, it represented the legitimacy of eldercare and the well-being of Thai older persons as a special group with specific concerns and needs—physically, psychologically, and socially.

Furthermore, continuing from its previous version, the second NPE plan brought about several projects and social activities concerning the well-being of Thai elderly in many ways. One of the most recognized programs reflecting the government's attempt to promote financial security for the elderly is the giveaway of

¹ ผู้สูงวัยเป็นหลักชัยของสังคม

a monthly living allowance for each elderly that have a low income. This practice began in 1993, allowing only eligible elderly to receive 200 Baht (\$6) per month. Moreover, the government reformation under the decentralization ideal appointed local municipalities to be responsible for the registration and payment process. The allowance rate was increased to 300 Baht, and then to 500 Baht (\$15) in the next two governments in 2001 and 2006 respectively.

However, in this second revision of the NPE plan, in 2009, the requirement for entitled elders changed. In order to promote a social equality mindset through the accessibility of these financial resources, the revised regulations enabled all Thai senior citizens or any individual of the age of 60 to have access to the same amount of monthly living allowance, regardless of their financial conditions. Until 2018, the allowance rate of Thai Senior citizens was a stepping-rate, from 600 baht, 700 baht, 800 baht, to 1,000 baht when the elders reached 60, 70, 80, and 90 years of age respectively. This financial aid is accessible to all Thai elderly unless they were former state officers, where the Government Pension Fund has already provided the financial assistance of a contributory type since 1997. For most people in Thailand, this program under the welfarism paradigm was significantly recognized, with high praise, and was often benchmarked by political campaigns for almost every governmental reform.

Apart from the pecuniary form of support, other programs released during the second NPE plan had also aimed for social security of the elderly. Three key policies were targeting physical health, psychological well-being, and a positive image of the Thai elderly, including the elderly club, tax reduction incentives, and the National Older Person award, respectively.

First, the elderly club was another program flourishing along with the decentralization movement in Thailand. The program was initiated under the goal to fortify Thai elderly into a prospective social force. Each elderly club intends to empower Thai senior citizens through multidimensional activities, from the elderly's personal health, nutrition, education to culture, along with the integration of Buddhist teachings, as well as to reinforce the local society and the nation (Siripanich et al.,

1996). This requires effort from governments, organizations in both the public and private sector, and entities.

According to Siripanich et al (1996), there were 3,487 elderly clubs registered in that same year. The majority of the clubs started in local hospitals with the encouragement from municipal officers and health personnel. Previously focusing on health promotion activities, the elderly clubs have now included cultural and recreational activities, social services, as well as skills and earnings enhancement. They also serve as a community networking web throughout the country. Recently, a survey entitled “Operation and Activities of Elderly Clubs” by TGRI in 2012 showed that most sub-districts of each province have their own elderly club established with 23,040 registered clubs (TGRI, 2012).

Secondly, another policy to promote Thai family bonding as well as to reduce the number of neglected older persons is through tax privilege. In 2004, the Revenue Department, under the Ministry of Finance, enacted a tax deduction incentive for young people with earnings that take care of their elder parents or their in-laws. Once registered, each older parent is entitled to use only one child to claim this benefit. Currently, the young individuals that take responsibility for the health insurance policy for their elder parents or their in-laws are also entitled to an additional tax deduction privilege. The amount of deductible depends on the value of the health insurance policies.

Thirdly, the National Committee for Older Persons has been promoting a positive image of Thai older persons through the National Elderly Person award campaign. Each year, a selection of Thai elderly that have “made an outstanding contribution to society over many years, and [that are] a model of an ethical and moral senior citizen” are recognized and are granted an award of 100,000 Baht (\$3,500), as of year 2018. Additionally, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security also enlists elder personnel according to their field of expertise to become representatives for the councils of local cultural administration committees. With similar intentions, the “Elder Intellect Vault” project was launched in 2000 on the event of Her Majesty the Thai Queen’s Birthday. This “Elder Intellect Vault” project acts as a centre in matching agencies and entities that are in need of specific skillsets

that retired elderly possess. Presently, the Elderly Intellect Vault has 2,819 elderly members enlisted and is taken care of by the NESDB across 75 provinces nationwide.

As a result of three multifaceted policies, the overall public awareness and social attitudes toward Thai older persons have improved to some extent. Some elderly clubs have been successful in strengthening the local community, and some have become a popular gathering destination for elderly from nearby districts. While the tax reduction incentive for parental care may not be very effective since there is no formal inspection to monitor the actual living arrangements or the responsibility, the health insurance policy is a more secure and consistent plan. Nevertheless, these measures indicate that the responsibility of eldercare has been unobtrusively navigated to the elder's family and the community rather than the government or the elderly themselves, and this has led to a new development of a national plan in regards to this matter.

5.1.2 A New Direction for the 21st Century

In 2017, the Twelfth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP, 2018) revealed how Thailand's development goal has shifted away from financial inclusion to social inclusion. The twenty-year plan for 2017-2036 clarified the vision for Thailand as "a developed country with security, prosperity, and sustainability in accordance with the principles of the sufficiency economy philosophy" (NESDP, 2018). This national long-term plan comprised ten strategies, six of which are in tune with the UN's sustainable development goals, along with four complementing strategies. Moreover, the philosophy of the sufficiency economy, the royal guidance from the late King Rama IX, was proliferated into six national missions to accomplish. The six core components consist of National Security, Competitiveness Enhancement, Development and Empowerment of Human Capital, Broadening Opportunity and Equality in Society, Environmental-friendly Development and Growth, and lastly, reforming and improving Government Administration. The issue of the aging population was identified as the first and foremost threat to national development in the near future and was mentioned several times across the 260 pages of the current national development plan. However, only

two out of ten strategies have suggested possible approaches to enhancing the quality of life and well-being of the elderly.

The first strategy of strengthening and realizing the potential of human capital stresses the importance of the knowledge and competency of Thai people of all ages. Supportive measures include educational, occupational, medical, and social incentives in order to enhance the health and well-being of all Thais. The second strategy of creating a just society and reducing inequality pinpoints financial and technological literacy as the primary cause of widening the inequality gap. Additionally, increasing income-generating opportunities and public health accessibility is essential for reaching the goal of the national five-year plan.

Other relevant aspects that implicitly contribute to the social inclusion concept are strategic plans to improve infrastructure, technology and innovation, spatial environments, and competitiveness. As the aging population will eventually become a vulnerable segment of Thai citizens in the future, increasing their resilience capacity is vital to social development. In order to develop and implement a self-reliant model alongside technological aid as the new approach of the forthcoming century, the typical bureaucratic system of the Thai government needs a major upgrade, and this has led to the establishment of a specific task force unit, the DOP.

5.1.3 The New Department of Older Persons

In an interview on June 22, 2017 (Thai PBS), the Director General of the Department of Older Persons (DOP), Somkid Somsri, described how the current office was established in 2015 to continue its core mission from the NESD and the Second National Plan on the Elderly (2002-2021). Since the DOP now concentrates on a specific group of the population, this reorganization will make it more task-oriented than its previous position. Somsri (2017) further believes it will enable overall workflow efficiency as well as the loosening of the bureaucracy in the government, as Somsri clarified in the following passage:

Public works on older person have existed for a long time ... but it was not strong enough to drive the whole operational process. However, today there is

a necessity for the Department of the Elderly to be specialized and segregated in order to roam freely and utilize effectively by the central government.

Moreover, this new authority will enhance the effectiveness of multiple collaborations among other departments, such as the Health Department, the Housing Department, and the Financial Department, which will enable the country to move forward with the long-term goal to be a sustainably-inclusive society. As Somsri (2017) mentioned in the same interview, "... the living conditions and overall situation right now is a credit to the Ministry of Public Health. At present, the elderly in Thailand has great living conditions, great within the world standards." Therefore, the continual assignment is to ensure that older persons' rights are fully maintained in order to enhance their overall well-being, both socially and economically. Four immediate strategies to leverage the elderly's capacity and well-being, in the long run, consist of part-time hiring, the "senior complex" project, reverse mortgages, and the National Saving Fund (Somsri, 2017).

First, public policy has begun to promote and emphasize the capability of senior citizens through elderly employment incentives. Recently issued in 2016, a tax reduction incentive for a private company that hires senior personnel aged 60 and over will have the benefit of doubling the amount. In response to the policy, businesses such as Big C, a supermarket chain, SE-ED, a bookstore chain, and Centara, a hotel management chain, have made efforts to hire older personnel to work in appropriate positions and less demanding tasks, as Somsri stated in another interview:

Older persons are divided into three groups... The first group, 80% of the total elderly, are physically active, meaning that they can still work. We call them the Young Old. We need a greater number of this type as they can make up for labour replacement, plus, they still want to work... The second group is elders who rely on hospitals. Medical treatments for this group depend on foreign medicines which are costly. We need to reduce the number of this group, to be in the first, the active group... The third group of elders are bedridden, refused by hospitals, and are taken care of at home by their family. If elders in the second group cannot make it back into the first group, they will

possibly end up in the third group. Their medical expenses will become a liability for the nation.

This explains how the Thai government sees the prospective capability of the elderly as a passive labour force while focusing on both their financial security and social well-being. This program not only promotes the public image of seniors as able-bodied individuals, but it also vitalizes their self-esteem and competitive capacity.

Secondly, the DOP's immediate strategy focuses on social well-being and attempts to enhance the elderly's living conditions through the "senior complex" program. Together with the Treasury Department, eldercare specialists, and potential investors, the government has allocated the state's properties to be developed ~~and has establish~~ as an innovative habilitation for Thai elderly in the future. Unlike the current elderly public housing program or "Baan Bang Care," this pioneering program will not exhaust the national funding but will sustain itself by virtue of a one-time lease payment and monthly rental fees. According to the Treasury Department's declaration on January 27, 2017, the proposed monthly rent is 1 Baht per four square meters. The ability to offer such small fees resulted from the collaborative consensus under the participatory state approach, which targets the majority of Thai elderly with lower incomes.

The approach of the third program, reverse mortgages, was adopted from other developed countries. It allows older people to convert their house into a daily allowance. The Thai government has assigned two financial institutions under the control of the Ministry of Finance to implement this policy. First is the Government Savings Bank or GSB, and the second is the one in this investigation, the Government Housing Bank or GHB. While the GSB succeeded in providing the reverse mortgage program to the public in 2018, the GHB has still not been able to legalize the program. As the name and the organization's core mission have always been "Making Thais have a home," this reverse mortgage program contradicts the organizational core objective as well as its legislation establishment.

Lastly, the Thai government has also initiated a special retirement fund institution aside from the Social Security Office. The National Savings Fund, or NSF,

began in 2015 to provide another venue for Thai people that are willing to begin planning for their retirement. The program offers a long-term financial savings venue to those that are not registered in the Social Security Office's system. The NSF allows each member to deposit a maximum of 1,100 Baht (\$30) per month into their savings account, and then the government will supply a pension fund when they reach 60 years of age.

To sum up, all four policies explicitly reflect the “self-reliance” idea, with a supporting sense of “consciousness,” as their strategic programs and activities are less charitable and more monetarily driven. It is more evident than ever that the Thai government public policies are now geared towards an independent living ideology. The programs and activities show the underlying logic and belief that improving the security and overall well-being of the elderly should delay the decay and consequently could retain the productivity rate of the nation. Tentatively, those measures mentioned above would move Thailand's economy forward with sustainable and equitable growth, from the micro-social to macro-social level.

5.2 THE PROFESSION: NEW TRUST IN PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

The second institutional order at the macro-level of analysis is the profession. Because the shared norms, professional etiquette, or dominating trends could persist and play a significant role in shaping both coercive and normative characteristics of common practices in the industry. The two industries identified as most relevant to eldercare practices in this investigation are the healthcare industry and the housing industry. Both professions share the same mindsets emerging for enhancing eldercare practices in Thailand. Evidence shows two main categories of logic that reciprocate and interact, namely, “Self-reliance” and the coordinating sense of “Communitarianism,” both of which will be discussed.

5.2.1 Self-reliance Concept in Healthcare Practices

A paradigm shift in the healthcare industry from healing to preventing has now begun to take a clearer path. In one meeting the WHO (2012) presented this information along with alternative plans to handle the world aging population issues. The term “preventive medicine” has gained higher attention in public health

management as it is more sustainable and cost-efficient. The difference in this approach lies in its medical objective to protect, promote, and maintain health rather than curing. Common practices also aim to prevent illness, disability, and death.

The preventive medication idea coincides with the core concept of “active aging,” which explicates the elderly’s capability of living a proper and quality life. Other terms such as “successful aging” also refer to those elderly that are satisfied with their life and can rely on themselves while being able to help others, as well as the society; this is commonly characterized as “productive aging” (Yordpetch, 2006). The WHO has promoted a campaign to moderate aging population issues with the slogan “adding life to years,” not the other way around. The idea is to enhance the quality of life and well-being of elders so that they can stay prolific and prosperous for the longest possible time. Unlike the common practice to cure disease and prolong the patient’s life, this approach emphasizes holistic strategies and prevention methods from becoming a patient in the first place. For example, the idea of an age-friendly environment will help to create appropriate accommodations for dynamic activities—ranging from within the household to the community-city-state scale. It is believed that living in considerate and well-arranged environments will hinder the declining process as one may prolong the intrinsic capacity to remain in the “active living” zone.

5.2.2 Active Aging in Thai Public Policy

Banloo Siripanich, President of the Foundation of Thai Gerontology Research and Development Institute, explained his first acquaintance with the geriatrician profession during in the UN’s first World Assembly on Ageing in Vienna, Austria, in 1982. Among the healthcare specialists from 192 countries, a Swedish geriatrician that sat next to him inspired him regarding the greater advantages of the practice—instead of treating each patient on a one-to-one basis, the geriatrician focuses on non-communicable diseases (NCDs) in the majority of the elderly population as a whole. From then on, Siripanich began introducing and promoting this new healthcare science in Thailand, foreseeing the tremendous benefits of holistic healthcare and long-term well-being for Thai senior citizens, which can be sustainably and effectively enhanced (Siripanich, September 27, 2017).

In his nineties, Siripanich still participated in several conferences and seminars regarding the elderly situation in Thailand. Since he was the most prominent figure in the Thai gerontology field, his presence and comments are considered prestigious and valuable. However, he expressed his personal belief in rather a “dependent” paradigm. During a research presentation and brainstorming workshop hosted by the Education Ministry (Siripanich, September 27, 2017), he rejected the seemingly promising proposal of a life-long learning university for older adults with a slightly harsh comment regarding the project as “a pipe dream.” Moreover, he also stated his belief that being an older person means that one must accept and adapt to unavoidable changes. Siripanich also shared his motto, “Read them through; Know your voice; Employ the right person,” as opposed to the ongoing public strategy to encourage Thai senior citizens to become actively involved in technological apparatus. While he agreed on how each older person must be self-dependent driven, he disagreed on the public plan to create a complicated wonderland. This implies how unconventional policies concerning eldercare support and practices are still associated with mythical beliefs, such as Thailand being abundant in natural and cultural resources, or how Thais have a never-ending familial and social connection for happy living ever after.

5.2.3 New Directions in Personal Healthcare

Another health care professional, Sant Chaiyodsilpa, founder of the Wellness We Care Center, published his alternative caring instructions for patients with diabetes, hypertension, and heart disease through his blog online. Having conducted numerous cardiac surgeries for thirty years, he experienced the improper treatment of the health problems of his returning patients. At the age of 54, he was diagnosed with heart disease himself, along with other NCDs. He then began to look back into the medical science research during the past thirty years in order to find new knowledge discovered ever since he graduated and had been away from the academic world for professional practice. He later learned that the results of several medical experiments, longitudinal data collection, and a massive group of participants showed another promising way to cure some heart diseases, diabetes, and even hypertension (Chaiyodsilpa, 2014). Notably, the treatment does not involve surgery.

On the other hand, this alternative treatment of typical NCDs entails constant discipline and a conscious living lifestyle. Later, Chaiyodsilpa founded the Wellness We Care Center, which is a health and spiritual camp located in Saraburi, 135 kilometres east of Bangkok. The campsite and the health program are a result of his own experiment to eat well, exercise regularly, and to make peace with his mind. Moreover, Chaiyodsilpa's personal findings inspired him to educate others, in sickness or not, to learn how to protect, promote, and maintain their health in the long run. The alternative healthcare camp offered a variety of packages, one-day or three-day courses, in order to ensure that thorough and comprehensive knowledge is given to his prospective "non-patients" (Chaiyodsilpa, 2014).

Additionally, Chaiyodsilpa also emphasized on the "power of the mind," stating that

In 20 years, "Mindfulness" should be used in medical treatments as an alternative to medicine. Mindfulness is such a powerful tool and is not based on any religious beliefs but is fully supported by medical research. Currently, Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) is the main tool for managing and treating stress symptoms. However, he believes that this will become the main tool for most if not all symptoms in the near future (Chaiyodsilpa, 2014).

5.2.4 Self-reliance in Living Arrangements

This new direction of preventive healthcare permeates one's personal and everyday life, and it involves the way that one eats, drinks, and machinates one's body and soul through day-to-day tasks. Physical space in the environmental design is also impacted by this new trend in health and well-being. The environmental settings that correspond to this health prevention approach are aligned with the "independent living" design philosophy. Key concepts involve self-esteem, empowerment, and independence as primary goals. The physical environment includes special designated spaces and devices as well as relevant technologies to help seniors live comfortably and conveniently on their own.

Furthermore, an emerging approach corresponding to the new family structure and social changes is the assisted-living environment distanced from one's original home. This eldercare practice is in line with the rehabilitation attitude commonly

found in western developed countries. The services encompass a special accommodation program equipped with advanced medical technology and attention, regularly monitored by skilled professionals.

Moreover, the trend in Thailand became more apparent when the Thai Red Cross Society established a special housing program, “Sawangkanives,” targeting Thai senior citizens at the upper middle-income level. The Sawangkanives is situated in Samutprakarn province, part of a metropolitan area, 40 kilometres east of Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand. This royal-initiated project was launched in 1991 with only a one 8-storey building, holding 168 units. Operating under the Thai Red Cross Society in collaboration with Chulalongkorn Hospital and Lumpini property management ensured the security of both the physical and social health of the residents. It is for this reason that the project is fully occupied, with 600 applicants enlisted, and the project expanded and launched its second phase in 2011, providing an extra 300 units to accommodate either single or couples’ households. Unlike other housing projects, ownership of the unit is not transferable. Applicants must be 55 years old and over, physically and emotionally healthy, capable of independent living, and willing to make merit to the Thai Red Cross Society at the minimum of 650,000 Baht (approximately \$20,000). Residents may possess and reside in the unit as long as they can manage a healthy and independent living lifestyle.

The profile of Sawangkanives’s resident has confirmed the changing lifestyle of today’s elders in Thailand. In 1995, most occupants in the project were government officers who are single and retired with a pension. Currently, more diverse groups of people have chosen to rehabilitate and to be on their own. Some occupants arrive at Sawangkanives with their spouses, setting up a new home, while some come with their parents or siblings. This new trend to live autonomously and away from their children seems to have spread to modern Thai elders. The lifestyles of the inhabitants also vary amongst those that have extended families in their original home and those that do not. Not all elders are full-time occupants. This indicates the social changes towards a mobile lifestyle. Urban sprawl and public transportation have gradually developed a commuting lifestyle for the working generation. Consequently, many Thai elders are left alone at home for an extended period each day, or worse, the

working child that afford a secondary residence near their workplace would be away from where their parents live during all of the weekdays. Having an alternative facility to securely retain the family elder and conveniently retrieve him or her when available seems to be a flexible and rational practice in present days.

Throughout the country, there are several other residential projects similar to Sawangkanives. Public and private real estate development agencies now venture into this rehabilitation approach to handle aging population issues and to promote the self-reliance logic. A wide range of properties in the senior housing market is blooming in order to supply the demand and economic power of Thai families. Private companies now offer more luxurious living environments and more exclusive health services, and many medical institutions have also joined the trend and have become a part of the transforming process of the Thai family structure.

However, not all seniors agree with this model. Trirat Jarutach (personal communication, July 5, 2017) confirmed that the majority of elderly prefer to stay in their own familiar routine, both behavioural and environmental. Another concept in housing arrangement is called “aging in place.” Most real estate companies currently include age population issues in their new business development plans. These two approaches of “rehabilitation” and “aging in place” were the apparent outcome of the new overpowering logic: “the market.” The ever-growing choices in the elderly’s lifestyle signify the significance of the aging population as a substantial market segment with high capacity and potential. Housing projects in the next decade will reflect how the issue of the aging population has been handled and managed.

5.3 THE MARKET: FROM CAPITALISM TO CONSUMERISM

The last institutional order characterized under the macro-level of analysis is the market. DiMaggio and Powel (1983) recognized the “capitalism” as the driving mechanism in the market. Although this is valid for a developed and free country like the United States, the Thai market operates under a more multifaceted economy system. Capitalism is inevitably dominating in the Thai economy and market systems worldwide. However, other beliefs and values in the Thai cultural context are preventing the idea from solely governing the mechanism of Thai society.

Additionally, the analysis of interview transcripts and relevant publications from various points of view concerning eldercare products and services reflect two major perspectives, which can be identified as “capitalism” and “self-sufficient” logics.

Furthermore, although products and services explicitly targeting elderly consumers have never been under market attractions until recently, the radical changes in population demographics are inevitably affecting the new direction of the target market worldwide. The growing size of the aging population brings new attention to new business opportunities. There are three industries that have evolved in eldercare products and services, consisting of healthcare, housing, and assistive technologies (BCC Research, 2016).

5.3.1 Development of Older Adult Marketing

In defining the development of the older adult market, there have been 3 distinctive stages of development, which consist of three periods: that prior to the 1980s or the period of “neglect;” the 1980s or the “redefined market;” and the early 1990s or the “mature market” (Moschis, 2003). First, during the period of “neglect,” prior to the 1980s, no indication was shown that companies had any interest in the older consumer market. The majority of companies focused on younger consumers, aged under 50—since the nation was youth-oriented, therefore, the older consumer segment was overlooked. This was shown through the lack of products available for older consumers and a lack of published research regarding mature consumers. The majority of research published on older consumers only concerned topics of interest to public policymakers. Moreover, the older consumer market during this period was outlined primarily in a “gerontological” (nursing) context and only referred to people over 65. Therefore, this affected the view of the market’s size and viability. In addition, the older consumer market was viewed as an underprivileged segment with limited economic resources and importance. Consequently, efforts in addressing this market were restricted to matching the views of the public, such as senior discounts, and corporations attended to the needs of the elderly just for the sake of being “socially responsible” (Moschis, 2003).

The second period can be called the “redefined market.” This was due to the shift in the perception toward the older consumer market, which changed around the

1980s. The market landscape for older adults was reevaluated for its scale and spending power. Moreover, the 50-plus segment was seen as a “mature market,” comprising a large cohort of diverse lifestyles and spending power. The headcount conducted in 1980 made marketers and demographers aware of the prominence of the mature market as the mature market also has a large population and a great deal of wealth. However, due to the urgency to seize opportunities in the mature market, numerous marketing approaches made during this period were merely assumptions. This was due to the lack of information regarding the elderly market. Therefore, the 1980s was also known as the “years of trial-and-error marketing.”

Third is the mature market period during the early 1990s. During this period, advertisement and marketing strategies toward the mature market failed due to the lack of accurate information and misunderstanding from the 1980s. The majority of advertisements during the 1980s depicted the mature market as a set of grumpy, secluded, and unwell people that enjoy being with other elderly, purchasing products designed entirely intended for them, and preferring seeing people their age in commercials. This was an erroneous interpretation of the characteristics of the mature market. For instance, Kellogg’s cereal introduced the “40-plus” product but was later removed from the market within six months as it branded and categorized people that bought the cereal as “old.” This was repeated by several companies, which consequently witnessed adults aged over 55 refusing to purchase from their companies since they were depicting older people with inaccuracies in their ads and marketing approaches.

5.3.2 Consumer-based Approach in the Mature Market

According to Freedonia (2015), an international market research firm, a recent in-depth industry study focusing on the eldercare service industry in the United States in 2003, 2008, and 2013 showed an increasing projection of payments per patient. Five products, consisting of skilled nursing care facilities, home healthcare services, social services, continuing care retirement communities, and assisted living facilities, were under the research, and it was concluded that “[h]ome healthcare services will provide rapid growth since a greater number of elderlies wishes to remain at home and regulatory changes will improve access to home-based care.”

As for the eldercare practices in Thailand, in general, they are still considered a luxury. Government public services had long been focusing on medical health benefits rather than the social health benefits of the elderly. Nevertheless, the private sector foresees the rising demands and changes within the Thai social contexts that are taking “family care” traditions away from the current situation. In addition, retirement facilities, nursing homes, and hospice care institutions are available in the eldercare market for both domestic and international clients. Numerous housing projects have been seeking out senior members that possess both the purchasing power and a self-reliant attitude.

Apart from the housing industry, assisted-technology and age-friendly products are also continually thriving. This was apparent, as Charoenbundit (2017) noticed an intriguing stream of commercials for various appliances targeting older persons, as he stated in the interview:

... certain things such as Dharma music boxes, retractable canes, and LED torches were specifically designed and targeted the baby boomer generation. They also have high consuming power. Commercials and direct sales of televisions are targeting the senior market, as well as us [the children of elderly parents] to buy some, if not all, merchandise for our parents.

Common studies of older people used to divide seniors into four groups according to their age range and mainly characterized by their physical and psychological capacity. Recent criteria proposed by the WHO however focus on “intrinsic capacity” rather than numerical value. Although “age” seems like the easiest way to segment the mature market, it turns out to be the least effective. Age does not define people’s behaviour, and the elderly are more self-concern and sensitive to their desires and lifestyles, depending on their experiences. Therefore, a segmentation based on experience is more effective than age. In marketing studies, Moschis (1996) clarified four different types of older people in terms of their needs, attitudes, lifestyles, and behaviours, and these elements were connected with their purchasing preferences.

This approach by Moschis (1996) is called “gerontographics,” which consists of four mature market segments, namely, “Healthy Hermits,” “Healthy Indulgers,”

“Ailing Outgoers,” and “Frail Recluses.” This categorization is based upon two indicators, physical health and social health. First, regarding the “Healthy Hermits,” this group of elderly possesses a negative self-concept and self-worth. They are socially isolated and are likely to have experienced negative life events. Physically similar to the second group, are the “Healthy Indulgers,” except that this group has little to no experience with life-changing situations. They are similar to the younger generation of baby boomers. Third are the “Ailing Outgoers”—this cohort possesses positive self-esteem and self-concepts. Despite life-changing events such as health problems, they accept the fact of being old and cherish their limitations while making the most of life. Finally, regarding the fourth group of “Frail Recluses,” this group has suffered both physical and psychological negative conditions such as retirement, widowhood, or critical health conditions. They tend to be socially withdrawn and picture themselves as old persons.

5.3.3 The Growing Power of the Aging Market in Thailand

On the macroeconomic scale, many Thai elderly participate in the capitalist economy through the Thailand Stock Exchange market. The investment in stock trading is deemed proper for upper-middle and financially-literate elderly. On July 2017, SET hosted a public seminar under the topic “wellness ageing.” The event showcased the movement regarding the aging population and economic consequences targeting potential investors—the Thai elderly. The company stated the following in the publication:

Building a secure retirement fund is compulsory for Thailand to be prepared for an aging society. The focus is to encourage participation in self-responsibility and management of savings to earn a passive income. This will lead to self-sufficiency after retirement ... and will bring forth overall well-being, both in terms of social equity and sustainable economic growth.

This concept of a “passive income” can refer to several types of investment. The socks exchange is one of the most common ventures where the Thai middle-class population with adequate financial literacy places its savings. The concerned citizens that have a retirement plan for their own future tend to move towards long-term investment with collective interest accumulating over time. However, one key

ingredient to reach the proposed wealth formula is the time to grow the investment. Therefore, it is important to start earlier than later.

Suwanrada (2017) illustrated three saving vaults that one can rely on regarding living expenses in old age, including, first, the government allowance system and the Social Security Fund; second, the hedge fund or other pension systems in the workplace; and thirdly, perhaps the most vital source, is individual savings. Suwanrada (2017) emphasized unforeseen events, especially illness and undetermined lifespans. He also concluded in the event that "... in the future that Thai family get smaller and smaller, it is not about being gratitude or not anymore. It was the scenario when we do not even have anyone to be ungrateful for."

5.4 THE CORPORATION: COMPETITIVE REQUIREMENTS FROM THE EMERGING MARKET

In Thailand, organizations both public and private have been through several developments and structuration protocols. Global standardization has developed from merely rules and regulations to crucial toolsets and strategies to survive in this worldwide business landscape. Institutional logics found in the corporation are dominantly reflected in the "competitive" nature of the corporations as to foster the consumerism market and the mainstream economy of capitalism.

Varied among diverse types of organizations, the eldercare logics presented in the policies and practices among public services, private companies, state enterprises, and non-profit organizations are quite different. Isomorphism is inevitable in most cases. Uncertainty and inconsistency are still the root causes of resemblance in management and operations. Dualism has persisted in some organizational types where the two logics of "Competitive" and "Communitarianism" have existed and reciprocated in different scenarios.

Being competitive in the consumer market requires a thorough understanding of customers' needs. Recent movements regarding eldercare products and services are shifting away from the "rehabilitation" approach towards the "Aging-in-place" scenario. It can be seen that several medical institutions are providing practical solutions and ground-breaking information on aging in place practices. Siriraj

Hospital, partnered with the SCG eldercare unit, recently launched a new department as an innovation learning centre. Age-friendly environments are illustrated along with appropriate eldercare equipment to support patients, family members, and the public to partake in optimum care for themselves or their loved ones.

The Faculty of Architecture at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand also recreated a building hall called the Universal Design Center or UDC in May 2018. The partnership between the Thai Health Promotion Foundation and national design academies will continue to four other universities across the country. The central part includes the first UDC at Chulalongkorn University and Thammasat University. The northeastern region will have one centre at Mahasarakham University, in the north at Chiang Mai University, and in the south in Prince of Songkla University. All five Universal Design Centers are expected to be completed in August of 2019.

Klinpaka Keawcharoen (personal communication, July 20, 2017), senior project manager of INTERPAC, revealed that the public hospitals groups, including as Rama, Mahidol, and Siriraj, have been preparing for an age-friendly environment since 2002. However, the plan to incorporate universal design principles has been underutilized all along. The constraints are mostly from the long-term cumulative ignorance that makes corrections more difficult. As the specialized architectural designer of hospitality and medical services, Keawcharoen (personal communication, July 20, 2017) saw the importance of medical establishment to be the role model for other institutions.

In the real estate development industry, the observation of home improvement retails and tradeshow exhibits growing concerns and demands in home improvement and preparation for the “aging in place” concept. This emerging trend has become more materialized, as confirmed by an interview with Kandisak Ruenjaichon, head of Product Design and Innovation Low Rise, SC Asset, one of Thailand’s real estate development companies. Ruenjaichon explained how the company has recognized the growing demands for family-based care for older persons for years. The company began to implement age-friendly designs in 2015 for the topmost premium segment—the Grand Bangkok Boulevard housing project. Ruenjaichon (personal

communication, September 8, 2017) revealed the new direction of housing demand for the Thai upper-class group in the following:

Even though the sales record was not apparent because SC Asset has a good reputation for upscale housing projects, we have a research unit that has conducted a customer satisfaction survey, and the result is remarkable.

The new direction begins in this sector as the target customers for large houses, with four or more bedrooms, for those that have a large family. The majority of their customers are individuals 40-45 years old, with high socioeconomic status, and mostly living together for three generations.

The house buyer usually has teenage kids, studying in secondary school. They like what we provide, not because they plan to bring their parents in, but they also plan ahead for themselves to stay with their kids when the kids get older.

Initially, the houses did not incorporate full-scale universal design standards due to the usual constraint of uncertainty and insured responses. Early effort to break through the real estate business norms was to provide more space, especially in walkways and corridors to meet the minimum clearance of a small wheelchair. Fall prevention guidelines are focusing on unnecessary steps in transitional space. New designs reduce the number and height of steps and substitute them for ramps where applicable. The bathroom is considered to be the most frequent place for domestic accidents. Together with SCG's research and development team, the company has decided to use one of their specially-designed sanitary products, a seamless channel drain, to eliminate the conventional step between inside and outside the bathroom door. After the pleasant results both in sales and feedback, the SC Asset design team is now implementing more full-range of innovations to provide houses suitable for aging in place.

Moreover, another personal communication with a former business development manager of Pruksa, Thailand's largest real estate development company, confirmed a clear example of isomorphism among real estate development companies in Thailand. As she clarified "At present, most, if not all, companies are now focusing on age-friendly housing designs. Upcoming residential projects under research and

design from now on will include features such as a ground-floor bedroom and other aspects to enhance better living conditions for elders”.

Other evidence in the real estate industry shows how strategic investment in the “communitarianism” ideal can bring the organization to a leading position in the industry. The “Forestias: by MQDC” is a mega project from the Magnolia group that has positioned itself as the world’s first community project with the most advanced research and technology to create a perfect ecology system in Bangkok, in the Bangna area. Unlike several other elderly housing projects, the Forestias provides an extensive portion of land to become an urban forest within its multi-purpose complex. As the slogan “For All Well-being” shows, this 300 rai (48 hectares) area will include residential and retail buildings for a mixed-use, multi-generational lifestyle for the future. Since this mega project will not be completed until 2022, the actual popularity and sales cannot be envisaged at the moment. To date, this Forestias project, however, has gained tremendous attention from the public in Thailand.

CHAPTER 6

ANCHORED IN COMMUNITARIANISM

Even with all of the evidence from the macro social institutions that reflected the persistent attempts to achieve an individualist society, another set of institutional logics emerging at the micro level of Thai society showed a different ideology. While the “state,” the “profession,” the “market,” and the “corporation” were seen to induce the coercive and normative regulation, both the “family” and “religion” in the Thai context have a dominating institutional role in shaping an individual’s cognitive capacity. The collective perception of social reality, derived from each person’s beliefs and values system, is initially primed through these two institutions. Likewise, ethical and moral values are among the most significant elements that direct social behaviors and acceptance, and therefore contribute to the societal justification system in Thai context.

Grounded in the research data collected for this study, the complex layers of the making-sense process, as well as the justified decisions, are the result of the nature of Thai people and the cultural values inherited through generations.

6.1 THE FAMILY: FOUNDATION OF THAI SOCIETY

Like many countries in the Eastern region, Thai national culture regarding family bonding is a high priority. This has resulted in different personality or common traits in Thais. While Western society values individualism and is aggressive in terms of competitive values for development, Eastern society values collectivism and being rather polite and submissive as a higher stance for the greater good.

Amara Pongsapich (1994) defined the groups of people that share the same origin or the same ancestry as “ethnic groups.” These specific groups will likely share the same tradition and same language, as well as some unique characteristics that the people in the group inherit from the same ancestry. The development of deep connections helps to reinforce the identity of people or ethnic groups, and sometimes

arouses the feeling of bonds, especially among people that are in the same blood line or religion. The distinct identity refers to culture: the system of intentional reproduction in human society.

Influenced by the long historical Chinese precepts of Confucianism, Thai people also believe that a decent person must possess two traits: a pleasant social skillset and a devoted commitment to the family. However, the adaptation of values may result in different characteristics because of the context of historical events. Maintaining a distinctive identity is the same process that occurs in all of mankind's ethnic groups (Pongsapich, 2006). Fused with the Buddhist philosophy of selfless and sacrifice, most of the Thai Chinese Buddhist population in the urban areas are heedful and prioritize seniority and kinship in their own family.

6.1.1 Formal Establishment of the Family Name

The family in Thai society was legally institutionalized during Rama VI's reign, which was the peak of modernization, or civilization, of Thailand during the nineteenth century (Wongyannava, 2008). The Royal Act of Family Names of 1913 objectified a new form of identification and classification based on ancestry line. The legislation also provided a systematic tool to monitor the population census as the family name refers to both kinship and often suggests geographic location. Unlike the Chinese concept of the clan, Thai family names require a blood-line connection in order to share the same family name. Since polygamy was still a customary practice, many Thai elites and noble families at times had diversely-extended families. Establishing a family name was, therefore, governed blood ties and social classes as it was a severe crime for commoners to fallaciously relate oneself to the Monarchy or Royal family. How family names can symbolize one's status socially, and economic status, is still present today.

To date, the relationships in most of Thai families are still considered to be its stronghold compared to some other countries, or the world's standards. Child rearing, or grandchild rearing, is a shared activity that subtly contributes to the mixed-generation culture.

Knodel and Chayovan (2012) and Knodel et al. (2015) demonstrated data regarding inter-generational arrangements for personal care, both childcare and eldercare, in Thailand's context, and concluded that the main factor is the availability of family members. Compared to the state, the market, and the voluntary sector, the family is still the primary caregiver for Thai older adults. In most cases, a family with migrated parents will rely on the grandparents to care for the grandchild.

Wongsawang et al. (2013) defined the family-provided eldercare in Thailand as a "natural caregiving" procedure, and also identified three major processes—the mobilization of family members, dependent caring practices, and the maintaining of continuous care—as essential steps for a family's informal care arrangement. The study also concluded that variable influences and conditions often lead to the remobilization of family members, or the first process of doing so.

Wongyannawa (2008) mentioned the turning point of the Thai familial revolution on the child-rearing perception that shifted dramatically from domestic labor to the "indicator of the future of the human race." Wongyannawa stated that "children are the focus of parental expenditures more than ever before because parents want to give their children a better material life than they had." Perhaps this is the reason why most, if not all, Thai children feel gratitude toward and feel indebted to their parents and grandparents. Therefore, Thai people are firmly committed to making amends to "the elders" in their family tree. Naturally, returning the favors of such dedication and life-long treatment from parents and grandparents is incontestable.

6.1.2 The Hierarchical Structure in Everyday Lives

The entrenchment of "seniority" and "kinship" among Thai people is explicit in many ways. For a start, enquiring of others their age is not as peculiar as it might be in western civilization. Having gratitude and taking good care of older kin are the mandatory missions for Thai-Chinese descendants today. The most significant holiday in Thailand, Songkran festival, during the middle of April, features three to five days off from work with the beginning date assigned as the national elderly day. Typically, Thai laborers in the urban areas will take couple weeks off during the Songkran month in order go back to their hometown. Therefore, the Thai National Elderly day

symbolizes this long vacation of the world-famous festival to honor older persons in general as well as those in the family tree.

Other evidence can be seen in everyday reality; Thais have a specific way to honor elders on almost every occasion. Every Thai child is taught to make a gesture to pay homage to any person that is older than they are. Similar to Japanese customs, the bow has many levels depending on how highly you respect the person you met. The lower the bow, the higher you mean to show your gratitude. For Thais, placing your hands together in front of your chest and slowly nodding your head is to greet the person you deem respected, or simply an older person. Traditionally, Thais learn three different gestures to display different levels of superiority; the older, the younger, and the equal. The levels of gratitude are expressed with both hands and head. If you are a girl, you will have to muster a curtsy altogether. This little gesture in everyday life reflects the importance of hierarchical seniority. The value of seniority is implanted in every child growing up in Thai society. If a child forgets to pay homage to an elder person when he or she is first encountered, the automatic consequence will be labeled as ignorant, rebellious, or even ungrateful.

Additionally, names identifying status in Thai ancestry lines are also another artifact supporting the Thai hierarchical seniority value system. Kinship terminology in Thai is closer to that of Chinese, particular words are assigned to an older brother or a younger sister. Extended to the kin from father's side and mother's side, different terms are specified meticulously, exempted only that of the grandparents' level. This contributes significantly to the differences from western culture where age is not a significant indicator between siblings. This coincides with the individualist logic in Western civilization where everyone should be treated equally. For Thais, this eminent kinship and tradition of seniority extends subtly into daily life. Whenever anyone is introduced to new people, personal or professional acquaintances, particular titles displaying seniority level are assigned automatically. Unlike western culture, instead of calling one by his or her first or family name basis, Thais have a more complex and detailed way to express familiarity and trust.

Last but not least, Thais also associate parenthood with religious value. A common expression referring to one's parents as "in-house" Buddha emphasizes the

significance of parental status among Thai people. Fongsamut (2015), the executive director of the Sawangkanives Home for Thai Elderly, concluded as follows in an interview on ThaiPBS on August 12, 2012:

Complying with the National strategies, we would want the elderly to be with their family for as long as possible ... Those of you who have elderly at home should consider yourself most blissful, for having Buddha inside your own house.

6.2 RELIGION: THAI BUDDHIST WAY OF LIFE

In Thailand, religions are mixed. The overall population has the freedom to choose its own god or gods. Although national records state that the majority of Thais are Buddhist, this study started out as open to all religions as all faiths were directing the relevant guidance in the way people would righteously behave and are not limited to any specific religion. However, a strong reflection of the “communitarianism” ideal evident in the Thai lifestyle and collective norms is partially related to the influence of Buddhist values. Some of the key virtues in Buddhism such as “accepting,” “consciousness,” and “selflessness” show a strong inspiration in Thai society’s code of conduct.

6.2.1 Overview of Buddhist Teachings

Essentially, Buddhists believe in the never-ending reincarnations of spiritual souls. Each spirit reborn in different realms varies from gods to humans, animal, and evil forms. The causal relationship of karma, good or bad, will lead to the condition of the next life. A more scientific approach of karma also embraces the consequences of good and bad karma that results in the present lifespan.

In regard to one’s lifespan, all Thai Buddhists learn from the very beginning about the cycle of life, or Samsara—that all humanity is born to get old, fall ill, and die. These three natural processes occurred after birth, such as the aging process, physical decline, as well as illness, are something no one can escape. The logic relative to aging in Buddhism is acceptance. Death is one final absolute truth one can never avoid but can only be prepared for.

Having realized the above truths in life, Buddha asked his followers to practice the cognitive control of consciousness. Understanding the inevitability of death makes a person focus more on the present, on the living days. Meditation and walking meditation are common practices to exercise such mindpower. The underlying logic of being conscious is to be careful. Buddhist teaching in everyday life also emphasizes heedfulness. Understanding unforeseeable changes, from both internal and external forces, and to knowingly be prepared for the uncertainty of incidents that occur in life, can help a person find true wisdom to undertake any given tasks appropriately.

Last, Buddhist teaching to be “selfless” is prominent in various verses. One of the most famous allegories encouraging all Buddhists to either make merits, to be kind, as well as to give away their possessions is *Vessantara Jataka*, the story of a king that gives everything away, from the national treasure, a rare white elephant, to his wife and his two children. The storyline is too complicated to comprehend using common sense. Nonetheless, the Jataka is merely trying to address the key virtue in Buddha’s final life, the tenth existence before he reached his final life as the enlightened one. To give away one’s family members represents the most challenging obstacle, by which the exiled king decided to loosen all of his imagined belongings. As Wongyannava (2008) concluded, “[l]eaving behind the most valuable things and relationships in mundane life is highly respected among Thai Buddhists.”

In conclusion, the Buddhist concepts of “accepting,” “mindfulness,” and “selflessness” are fundamentals in Thai society. More recent evidence of the Buddhist view of eldercare practices and the aging process are further discussed, as more contemporary issues and diverse situations have emerged in today’s world. However, the primary virtue of accepting the cycle of life, together with living consciously, asks Buddhists to view the physical changes associated with one’s natural decline as an inseparable part of one’s life. Suchinkanlayanatham shared his perception in the Thai PBS “Own Life by Design” seminar on July 24, 2017 as follows:

Each older person must learn to live on the actual world, not the virtual world.
Understand how we all will be aged, sick, and eventually die. It is the same

for everyone. Do not be terrified and overreact. Diseases and painful conditions on the television are not always real.

This implies that Buddhism, as a religious institution, has been facing a new challenge in modern days. The world of advanced information technology is causing faulty presumptions for the unwise or unaware. Suchinkanlayanatham shared his personal experience in the same seminar, indicating that whenever he visited his mother, there were always some health concerns or new conditions that had developed according to the news she has seen on television. Therefore, he encouraged all Buddhists to be aware of the “cycle of life” and accept the natural process of aging. Suchinkanlayanatham also explained the significant power of mindfulness which will improve a person’s cognitive capacity and will remedy the pain caused by fear of death and, in most cases, imaginary illness.

Besides the general practice of consciousness, or to live mindfully in the present moment, Phra Paisan Visalo elaborated on one of the Buddhist heedful principles. To always keep death in mind is to be aware and to always prepare for one’s departure from the physical world. The teachings of death realization and cautious living were extended onto the aging process and individual preparation in the passage below from Phra Paisan Visalo:

Once the mind is ready for death, no struggling to fight death, it is to behave like a dead man. ... the deeper meaning than to lay still or to meditate for dead was to let things be, no attachment from materials, no affection for life, and to put down all ambitions and emotional responses. If ones can live indifferently between life and death, then death can never harm them.

The idea behind this exercise is to practice mind power to embrace the emptiness of death, so as to surrender one’s personal possessions and self. While it may seem farfetched from today’s competitive lives of the younger generation, Phra Paisan Visalo’s campaign to practice death realization by spending alone time lying in an actual coffin received massive recognition from the public.

Another key person that has reflected the Buddhist philosophy on the aging process is Phra PA Payutto. He recently reached 60 years of age and was honored as

National Older Person of the year 2017, which was the first time the award was given to a person in the monkhood. One of his preaching at the retirement seminar for the state's officers, in 1995, stated the following:

... to be released from the social world, and entering the truthful world, is one of the blissful moments. That time has come. It is up to us to elevate our mind to entering that world properly, or not. ... ones should always remind that to be with the truth is the greatest opportunity of life.

His teaching refers to another consequence of aging and retirement, the change in socio-economic status. Phra PA Payutto emphasized the effect of change caused by external factors. The “social world,” as he explained to the government officials, is the world in which they have full authority and power. Frequently, people would try to please and praise them in order to seek benefit or support from their social role or office’s position, but now that they are retiring, their “social world” will automatically be withdrawn. While most Buddhist devotees are familiar with Buddha’s paradoxical verses, such as “One certainty is the uncertainty,” Phra PA Payutto reinforced the message in their real-life scenarios. This is to instruct the “acceptance” logic, as he finally reminded them that releasing fame, vanity, and one’s social self is an excellent opportunity to seek truthful bliss in life.

To sum up, the Buddhist philosophy and approach to life have comprehensively addressed the physical, psychological, and social changes that come with the aging process. Various techniques for developing one’s cognitive capacity, consciousness, as well as mind power can help the elderly face the changes and cope with their aging decline in both internal and external aspects.

6.2.2 The Spatial, plus Spiritual, Gathering Sites

Quietly cultivating Thai culture, Buddhist temples are scattered throughout and embedded in several thousand villages across the country. Buddhist ideals have had a dramatic influence on Thai society in multi-dimensional ways. The intimate relationship between monkhood and the village dwellers is rooted in one of the Buddhist monastic codes that prohibits any Buddhist monk from monetary transactions. As a result, sustaining life then depends solely on alms offerings from

the faithful villagers or other monks. On the other hand, Buddhist devotees that seek truth in the spiritual realm will approach the venerated monk and ask for his wise providence towards an enlightening path. This patronage system between monks and Buddhists has co-existed and evolved through thousands of years from the beginning of the Buddhist era.

Today, Buddhist temples have become an iconic centerpiece of the community. People of all ages go to the temple with different intentions. Religious rituals and ceremonies mostly take place in the temple. As Thai people are still quite superstitious, for almost every advancement in life—a new house, a new child, a new car, or a new marriage—Thai people will always seek a blessing, or sometimes lucky numbers, from their respected one. Additionally, older people tend to spend their leisure time, and their surplus, to cherish religious observances more than other age ranges.

As sharing, or making merit, is one of the essential foundations of Buddhism, communitarianism reflected through religious beliefs is explicit in Buddha's instruction on everyday life practices. "Do not be selfish" denotes the ethical value that to be a better person is to be selfless. Releasing "self" and "possessions" is a critical practice for both natural and spiritual worlds. Buddhism's supreme goal of reaching enlightenment is also to reach "nirvana." Unlike Christian or Islamic teaching, Buddhist nirvana is not to join divine spirits in a higher spiritual place, nor heaven. Buddhist nirvana is to be gone; to be released from Samsara. Dedication and sacrifice, detachment from oneself, and ignoring self-interest are also fundamentals of Buddhist supreme goals.

In Chiang Rai province in Thailand, one Buddhist monk initiated a campaign focusing on self-improvement for elderly people in the neighborhood and provided the temple grounds as the meeting site. Suchinkanlayanatham, an abbot of Srimueng-Moon temple in Hua-Ngom sub-district, was a visionary monk who vowed to improve lives with the Buddhist approach. Having witnessed many suicide cases in his neighborhood, Suchinkanlayanatham noticed how older persons in rural areas are prone to being lonesome and tending to commit suicide. One striking incident was a widow that took her own life with her pocket full of money (Suchinkanlayanatham,

2017). He started the quest to alleviate the villagers from depression and suffering that did not cause by financial problems.

Together with the head of the community and municipality officials, this special elderly school was established under the dictum “Aging with dignity and quality of older life.”² The temple ground was, and still is, utilized as the school’s classroom. The first group of students was the same village dwellers that lived nearby. The Hua-Ngom elderly school started in 2012 with the ordinary objective of improving the quality of life of elderly people. However, the program was administrated by a Buddhist monk that believes in the interrelationship of small things that contribute to the collective value. In other words, the school curriculum aims to enhance the smallest unit of society—the individual.

The three major subjects in the elderly school include Buddhist teachings, personal healthcare, and the arts, culture, and society. Students are allowed to choose their own activities according to their group’s interests during the afternoon free time. This four-year curriculum graduates students with a degree and a ceremony at the commencement of a “life diploma.” As a result, the program has received high admiration and has gained momentous popularity as families from other sub-districts will commute to the temple to join the elderly school on a regular basis. Other municipalities, local healthcare units, as well as several social service groups come from all over the country to learn from this elderly school in Hua-Ngom because of its effective results.

This elderly school program has shown exemplary practice towards the enhancement of the quality of life of the elderly. Although, a schooling program for MBC, or Million Birth Cohort, may not seem appealing or attractive as most of them would be a fully literated and already competent generation. Nonetheless, the main idea to setup a shared space as a rendezvous for older persons to join together is quite promising. Different goals can be deviated according to social trend of the days.

² แก่อย่างสง่า ชราอย่างมีคุณภาพ

6.3 THE COMMUNITY: NEW SOCIAL NETWORKING MECHANISM

Levy (2002) discussed the importance of the mesoscopic level in social stratification research. This structural differentiation emphasizes the intermediate level between macrosocial and microsocial analysis, often referred to as “the system” and “the actor.” Thornton et al. (2012) recently recognized “the community” as the seventh institution that influences our norms, beliefs, values, and our actions.

The community, in its original term, however, refers to the actual group of people residing in the same territory. Since the area of research in this investigation is framed upon the urban area of Bangkok, Thailand, the role of the actual community is considered to be of small influence on decision-making processes and everyday life. Therefore, the definition of “community” has been redefined to include various kinds of shared identity and spirit.

Linguistically, the word “family” in Thai (Krob-Krua) can be literally translated as “covering kitchen.” The kitchen area in the Thai common sense refers to both cooking and eating functions. Moreover, the word “household” in Thai (Krua-Ruean) is also comprised of the word “kitchen” combined with the word “house.” As Thai vernacular architecture was mainly built with wood, the kitchen compartment was totally separate from the sleeping or living area. In the past, when the Thai family was extended, a new building for the new couple was usually built on the same land where the parents lived. This “fire kitchen” or the cooking arena was considered to be the central ground of the family housing compound. Wongyannawa (2008) concluded that this traditional behavior, such as preparing, cooking, and having a meal together, indicates how being a family may not necessarily rely only on the blood ties, but may also include people practically living under the same roof.

6.3.1 The Traditional Communities in the Thai Rural Context

Charoenbundit (2017) shared his view regarding the social bond in the Thai community in the following passage:

Our society is the agricultural society. We are also a fostering society. If you are ever hunger, you can always go to the temple. You will find certainly

some food there. This is hidden cultural value which was almost invisible, but invincible.

Eldercare responsibility in the rural area involves community members, especially neighbors, because the physical boundary between each household is almost nonexistent. It is very common for the member of one household to look over or check up on the members of another household without an effort to pay an intentional visit. This relaxes the burden of eldercare practice for the younger generation, who sometimes live or work abroad.

However, the circumstance in urban settings is quite the contrary. The working class population that resides in the city must find another way to monitor, as well as to provide sufficient care for, their older parents.

6.3.2 Urbanization and Individualism in Older Adults

Askew (2002) encapsulated the characteristics of Thailand's capital city as follows:

Bangkok does represent Thailand: in an intense, confused and complex way, the capital is shaped by the way of life and power structures which have evolved in Thai society at large... Bangkok's unfinished skyscrapers have been viewed as metaphors for the cupidity of the city's economic elites and a punishment for the overconfidence of the boom decade of the 1980s...

He studied Bangkok as one of the great cities which serve as metaphors and signs, and was applied to its people, culture and values. In his view, the dynamic and ongoing structural change of Bangkok was a result of the broad global processes, such as investment flows, land utilization, and tourism, through various agents that were intractably engaged in those development process. Moreover, Askew (2002) asserted that, Bangkok also reflected a strong distinction between sophisticated urban people and those who live in the countryside. Despite the growing convergence in values and tastes, this common perception still persists and has been embedded in common forms of Thai discourse today.

As this investigation partially incepted from the theoretical view of social classes, the research area focuses on the metropolitan areas and the research target

group is the MBC, who will become the next generation of the aging population. Analysis of recent movements in trends, norms, or the preferred practices of the urban population is likely to influence the preference of people in the other parts of the country as the convergence moves through cities.

Recent evidence of how the mixed logics of individualism and communitarianism are an alternative approach to tackling the issue of the aged population is abundant. Thailand's leading supplier of cement and building materials and the pioneer in housing innovation, the Siam Cement Group or SCG, has steered home products and services for the elder segment since 2011.

According to research on old age physical decline, SCG categorized older persons into different types. The most common types of elderly living conditions include "independent living" and "assisted living." Early elders that are still capable of performing personal and daily tasks by themselves can choose to live independently. The "assisted living," on the other hand, are divided into many levels of health care dependency. Both types can be environmentally arranged to suit the living conditions. Labeled with three color codes, SCG eldercare solutions have published home improvement guidelines according to three levels of eldercare conditions. First, the "green type" of elderly is the "independent living" type. Second, the "yellow group" refers to elders with health concerns but that still can live actively with proper assistance. And lastly, the "orange type" is for those that are constantly in a wheelchair. Therefore, intensive provisions and physical preparations are necessary for this last group (SCG, 2015). However, it is only a matter of time that the green group of elderly will become the yellow or orange.

According to SCG's press release, research and development in the eldercare solution department aim to empower senior citizens to be able to live independently and with greater self-reliance. The actual advertising media, on the other hand, have told the story of a female elder wandering around a house equipped with their eldercare innovations. The ending concluded with an adult businessman entering the scene and merrily walking hand in hand with the female elder who was now presumed to be the mother of the businessman. This suggests that even with self-autonomous living, the elderly still require a sense of belonging from friends and family.

6.3.3 Virtual Connection and Communitarian Concept

Knodel et al. (2015) named a surprising outcome in a 2014 survey regarding the leaping advancement in mobile communication presented in a Thai household that, compare to only 15% of Thai elders in 1984, all Thai families in 2014 has at least one mobile phone for emergency contact and assistant call. This supports the occurrence of the mobile lifestyle of the MBC living in urban areas, who are the target of this study.

The community building process, according to Shigeharu (2008), is the state of flux which is constantly generated from people's experiences. He proposed the term "imagined community" where intrinsic characteristics or shared interests of its members are the salient features that bind its members together as opposed to geographic location or boundary. The recent emergences of groups, associations, and countless social networks in Thailand are the illustration of "the interweaving of cognitive and normative mechanisms" so powerful that they become proactive, and reflexive, in nature.

Similarly, Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood (2011) clarified how different conceptions of the community encompass both an infusing logic and an underlying structure, permitting a clearer understanding of how and why new forms of community relations have emerged and stabilized. Despite the proliferation of global research, few scholars have examined how these newly-developed communities, constituted by actors that lack geographic proximity, can wield power equivalent to that resulting from traditional community forms. While "online" communities are increasingly achieving social, political, and economic impact, authors have pointed out that few of those communities depend upon the Internet alone, and many sustain overlapping ties with local communities. Last, authors have asserted a new definition of the "imagined community," as can be seen in the following:

Communities are collections of actors whose membership in the collective provides social and cultural resources that shape their action. Membership can result from a number of factors including propinquity, interest in a common goal, or common identity.

In this study, the community represents different levels of interaction as one person might belong to more than one social group. A person may have personal, professional, or criminal selves hidden underneath the real physical self. Digital lifestyles and particularly the widespread use of social media contribute greatly to how each individual develops different social selves and identities. Through virtual existences, we are constructing, transforming, and reproducing collective norms and beliefs depending on where we stand in which facet of life.

Charoenbundit (personal communication, July 12, 2017) shared an example of how the Suan-Kulap alumni group has utilized social technology to re-connect within their classes. The annual quarterly, the alumni association, will invite their retired professors on a day trip, traveling to places, having lunch, getting reminded of their shared experience in school days. The activity has long been a tradition, from classes to classes. With the recent advancement in mobile technology and accessibility, Charoenbundit mentioned how it has brought convenience and wider acceptance to the program at different levels, as he states in the following:

We would rent a bus, the starting point is the school, then goes around picking up our teacher from their home. They were retired, but they used to be our mentors. The greatest benefit is how we can keep up with their health condition. Our network includes alumni in renowned hospitals, and we can easily connect and have them cared for simultaneously

Moreover, Knodel et al. (2015) has discussed the increasing number of Thai seniors participating in social activities. In 2014, the Thai elderly aged in their 60s and 70s were more engaged in community services, such as elderly clubs, compared to those in their 50s and 80s. These findings confirm the emerging trend in public programs encouraging older persons to stay outdoors, in other words, being active and enthusiast about new knowledge, such as personal healthcare, occupations, recreation, and even technology. Additionally, another interview with Virulrak (personal communication, August 17, 2017) particularly on the preparation to enter the aged stage, provides an interesting insight:

Of course, the financial security is the most crucial [for elderly well-being]. Physical ability depends on how you live your life. Have you regularly exercise? The social capacity is also related to your own social saving.

This can be applied to creative kinds of savings; besides the financial, one can also be cautiously and collectively prepared for fruitful results in later days. Similarly, Thanakwang and Soonthorndhada (2011) asserted the importance of social support networks; that is, family networks did not always have a direct impact on elderly behaviors but were supportive mediators. Friendship networks, on the other hand, influenced heavily the health-promoting behaviors of the elderly. They also further explained their findings as being related to the social capital concept, as indicated in the following;

The social capital makes community people feel able to rely on each other as well as to control each other by pointing out deviant behaviors. Such influence by friends or neighbors may result in urging kinship support in the case of elderly care through informal social control. Since, according to Thai norms, desertion and ignorance of older parents is unacceptable, informal social control may stimulate elderly support by family members. Findings of this study suggest that friends and neighbors may play a significant role in either providing support to older persons or encouraging their kin to do so.

Researches and studies have shown a growing awareness of the communitarianism approach. Six hundred cities and communities in 38 countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Norway, Japan, and Sri Lanka, have participated in “the Age-Friendly World” campaign hosted by the World Health Organization (WHO, 2015). The idea is to include the elderly population and to reshape the changing society by listening to their special needs and to create age-friendly physical and social environments. Exemplary practices were exhibited for inspiring other communities and cities around the world. For Thailand, the strength of the family relationship still exists, though the sense of communitarianism in suburban or rural areas where houses and villages are clustered around the town center, or a temple, is higher than that in the urban areas. The aging in place approach suggests the older persons befitted in the same environments while adjusting intrinsic capacity

to cope with physical changes and embrace the declining of self-control ability. The most common practice is to rearrange living environments according to “universal design” principles.

6.3.4 Alternative Programs from Public Planners

One public program that aims to promote informal care or social care is also evident in a government real estate development project. An interview with Laiwan Pongsa-ngiam, Senior Executive Vice President, Strategy Planning Business Unit of GH Bank, on July 14, 2017, revealed another idea aside from the “Senior Complex” project.

Conceptually, the DOP and the National Housing Authority or NHA have been considering a mixed-generation approach along with the assisted-living approach for Thai elder living arrangements. While the “Senior Complex” will be equipped with medical health services and technologies, the mixed-generation housing projects will be provided with social health and emotional well-being assistance instead. This notion was discussed by Pongsa-ngiam (personal communication, July 14, 2017) in the following:

It is another idea for mixed-use building type based on the survey by NHA. The result showed 90% of participants refused to choose that lifestyle, that all occupants are senior. It is possible to have a mixed-generation building where the young live upstairs, and the older live on the ground. Family members can live together in different units, but in the same compound.

The NHA has proposed a development plan to include the age-friendly principle into residential housing projects. Believing that Thai elders would prefer to live in a mixed-generation environment rather than among themselves, the NHA building will allocate elder households to the lower floors for convenient accessibility. In this way, the housing projects for the elderly will sustain themselves through the principle of independent living, relying on the communitarianism ideal that family members will care for their older parents without any professional personnel or equipment, unlike the Sawangkanives, or other specialized care housing projects.

Together with Thailand's Government Housing Bank, the financial institution for most of the Thai lower-middle class, the GHB has played a vital role in managing funds for public-related residential projects. In 2016, the total mortgages released represented an 8.2% increase from 2015. The GHB accounted for approximately 31% of total new loans. Overall the financial service transactions of the GHB included housing mortgages, housing insurance, house renovation loans, and mortgage refinance, along with some financial products that support government strategic plans. In 2016, 18% of the total borrowing of 633,991 million baht was from government-initiated projects (GHB, 2017). One mortgage designed explicitly for Thai extended families required the house owner to provide proof of an age-friendly house in order to get a special interest rate. The loan package was intended to strengthen Thai family relationship as well as the Thai society. The program called "grateful home parent care"³ started in 2015 and received widespread popularity from Thai house owners. The mortgages accounted for 12,000 million baht in 2016 (GHB, 2017).

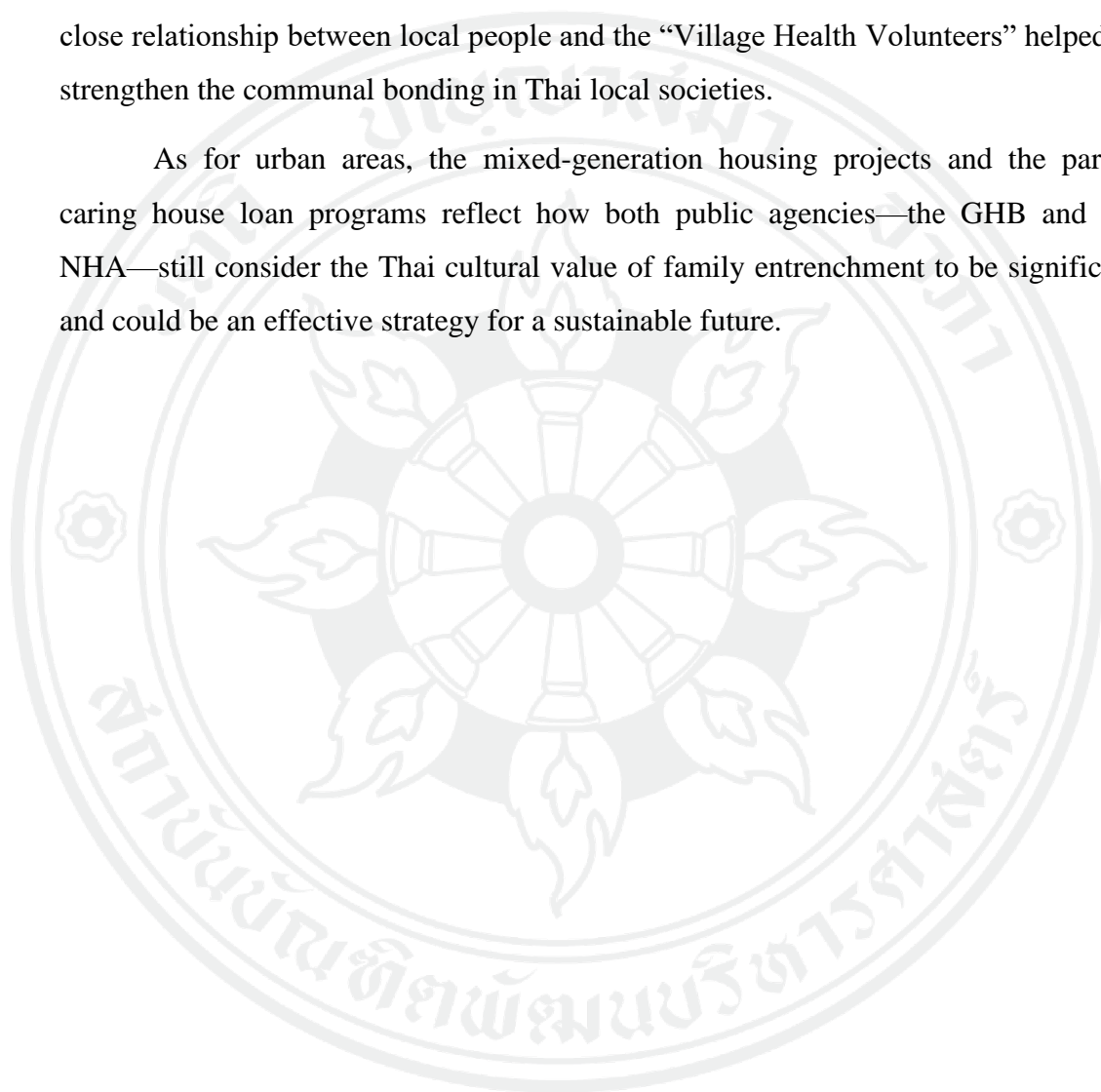
Although issues and difficulties of Thai seniors have been documented since 1982, legislative measures and improvement plans that were earnestly recognized and practically attended to were intangible until the NEP Act was released in 2002. In recent years, the country has been heading towards becoming a welfare state. Many policies have been revised and utilized to extend authority and resources to local municipalities across the country. Planning and caring for the elderly population is no exception. Several programs related to the Thai elderly, such as the elderly school, are under preparation and transformation processes and will be transferred to the responsibility of municipal offices. Local municipal offices, together with sub-district hospitals, have been empowered both financially and legitimately. Besides the government concerns about overloaded centralization, attempts to delegate work and attention to informal care also reflect the Thai beliefs in the strong value of communitarianism.

Empirical change in public administration reform that relate to eldercare practice was the elevation of the "Public Health Station." In 2009, extensive expansion for the units to be locally planted in each suburban community and all were

³ บ้านกตัญญูเลี้ยงดูบุพการี

renamed into the “Sub-district Health Promoting Hospital.” These medical units were empowered with more authority as well as more resources and personnel. The daily missions to provide first-aid medical services were extended into primary care, and health-related activities, as well as the encouragement of “the elderly clubs” programs, which sprang up throughout the country. From this historical event, the close relationship between local people and the “Village Health Volunteers” helped to strengthen the communal bonding in Thai local societies.

As for urban areas, the mixed-generation housing projects and the parent caring house loan programs reflect how both public agencies—the GHB and the NHA—still consider the Thai cultural value of family entrenchment to be significant and could be an effective strategy for a sustainable future.



CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In the early development of institutional theories, growing attention to organizational studies and the structuration of firms was directed exclusively toward the institutional logics of “the state” and “the profession” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Since the two social orders were the most institutionalized ones, with coercive characteristics of established rules and regulations, their eminent impact on the social system was first recognized in early scholarly works. Next, the logic of the “the market” was identified (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), along with capitalism as a dominating force that drives this third social institution. The intermingling among the state, the profession, and the market provided a framework for macrosocial institutional studies, including normative qualities as well as the isomorphic nature of organizations. Later on, Friedland and Alford (1991) discussed the lack of a cultural dimension and cognitive capacity in the institutional research context and brought “the family” and “religion” into a more comprehensive social mechanic system. More specifically, they identified five institutional logics of modern western culture: the capitalist market, the bureaucratic state, democratic politics, the nuclear family, and the Christian religion.

However, the linkage between the macrosocial and microsocial levels is necessary to understand the whole dynamic process of the interinstitutional system. Recently, Thornton (2004, 2012) speculated on “the corporation” plus more recently, “the community,” as the meso-social institutions that can bridge the gap between macro and micro social units and that can magnify the transformation and reproduction processes of institutional logics. While democracy and bureaucracy have been merged into “the state,” Thornton also recognized “the profession” as another institutional order that creates constraints and opportunities for individual action in any industry.

From the institutional logics perspective (Thornton et al., 2012), several logics can coexist and, at the same time, can gradually transform one another through time. The change from the reproduction process may take generations to reflect on and to be able to devise such mechanical systems of collective beliefs and values. While some sets of logics complement each other, some can be contradictory, and therefore weaken the other. Moreover, the historically-contingent aspect of the institutional logics perspective means that the dominant logics can lose their legitimacy across space and time. Depending on other stimuli, both materials and ideals, the dynamic of institutional logics are interchangeable. The balancing nature of multiple logics is often referred to as pluralism: the continual rival of competing forces between institutional persistence and entrepreneurial changes.

A similar situation occurred in this investigation of eldercare logics in Thailand. As explained in Chapter 1 and 3, this research focused on the urban lifestyle of the upper-middle class and the well-educated group as they represent the leading trend in older-age preparation for Thai seniors in the next twenty years. The unique generational traits and socio-economic background of the research target group will be far more developed from the current illustrations of Thai elderly. More importantly, this population group has also been called the Million Birth cohort or MBC, as they comprise a population of a million new-born individuals each year. As stated by UN World population prospect revision in 2017, together with the World urbanization prospect in 2018, the statistical projection forecasts that by 2050, there will be more than twelve million Thai senior citizens living in the urban areas.

The data collection process and systematic analysis using the constructivist grounded theory method were detailed in Chapter 3 and 4, followed by the key findings from seven social institutions in Chapter 5 and 6. Two categories of institutional logics in eldercare emerged as “individualism” and “communitarianism.”

In this final chapter, in order to interweave all of the findings and reflection threads, three research questions are revisited in order to structure this chapter.

7.1 CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

7.1.1 Institutional Logics of Eldercare in Thailand

Responding to Research Question 1: what are the sets of logic within each institutional order regarding Thai eldercare?

According to the evidence exhibited in Chapter 5 and 6, the collected data and the analysis showed that multiple logics interplay simultaneously within each institutional order. Three elements involved in the cultural evolution process included availability, accessibility, and activation. A list of the institutional logics found in the seven social orders is provided in Table 7.1. A summary of the theorized codes is presented in hierarchical order on the social scale, not in order of social impact. The three levels included macrosocial, meso-social, and micro social units.

The institutional logics found in the macrosocial sectors were both interspersed and intertwined. The state, the market, and the profession have different attitudes toward eldercare practice in the Thai context. In brief, the institutional logics found in the state were “self-reliance” and “decentralization.” The institutional logics found in the profession were “conscious living” and “aging in place.” The institutional logics found in the market were predominantly “capitalism” infused with the ideal of a “consumerist” philosophy.

First of all, the dominant logic in the state is the individualism logic disseminated through the publicizing of a “self-reliance” ideology, together with the structural organization of decentralized municipalities. Public strategies to tackle aging population issues revolve around financial facets so as to enable older individuals to secure appropriate jobs and to increase the opportunities for their continual earnings after retirement.

Next, the eldercare professions in this investigation included both medical and social practices. The recent development of medical treatment regarding age-related chronic diseases is moving towards preventive measures that comply with the geriatric approach. “conscious living” refers to both physical and environmental considerations. On the one hand, self-aware medication focuses on cumulative healthy habits such as balanced nutrition, stress management, and continual physical

activities. On the other hand, “aging in place” is a universal design approach that has become the most influential mindset in developing design solutions for eldercare products and services.

Table 7.1 Summary of Institutional logics conceptualized from the study

Institutional Orders		Institutional Logics		
STATE	ST	Ideal	Self-reliance	I L - 1
		Material	Decentralization	I L - 1
PROFESSION	PF	Ideal	Preventive living	I L - 1
		Material	Aging in place	I L - 2
MARKET	MK	Ideal	Customer-based	I L - 2
		Material	Capitalism	I L - 1
CORPORATION	CP	Ideal	Sustainable	I L - 2
		Material	Competitive	I L - 1
COMMUNITY	CM	Ideal	Collectivism	I L - 2
		Material	Communitas	I L - 2
RELIGION	RL	Ideal	Selfless	I L - 2
		Material	Conscious living	I L - 1
FAMILY	FM	Ideal	Kinship	I L - 2
		Material	Seniority	I L - 2

I L - 1 refers to the “individualism” logic

I L - 2 refers to the “communitarianism” logic

Lastly, the market for eldercare in Thailand is infused with two worldviews. First, the “capitalist” logic is overpowering the Thai economy as well as everywhere else in the world. Its dominating power penetrates several other institutional spheres. From government policies to most organizations, competitive capacity is among the major concerns for an entity to survive. However, recent development in the elderly market studies has shown a strong value in “customer-based” logic as older adult

consumers are even more complex and diverse in how they wield their spending powers.

The next two orders are the meso-scopic social institutions that comprise the corporation and the community. The institutional logics found in the corporation were the “competitive” and the “sustainable,” while the institutional logics found in the community were “communitarian.”

Closely related to the market, the favorable logic in the corporation is “individualism.” Most organizations in this study focus on competitiveness and strategic advantage in order to maximize their market share regarding eldercare products and services. However, the shared ideal of sustainable development prevails in some businesses. Corporate social responsibility is heavily utilized as a publicizing tool, and to some extent, can facilitate the logic of “communitarianism” as well.

Although the sense of community for Thai urban inhabitants is very faded and has little potency to drive cultural reproduction processes, the virtual community, such as social groups, had showed a stronger influence on senior citizens’ attitudes. The communitarian paradigm refers to the relationship of an individual and his or her community in a collectivist and socialist sense. Therefore, both material and ideal components of the Thai community reflect the “communitarianism” moral value.

Last, the institutional logics found at the microsocial level are as follows. For the religion, “selfless” and “conscious living” are most prominent virtue of the Buddhist doctrines. While the Jataka and most of the Buddha’s preaching aim to reduce personal obsession and encourage the sharing with one another, the common practice of meditation, death realization, and cognitive living guidelines also asked Buddhism to be constantly conscious. For instance, senior schooling programs help to promote the Buddhism ideal of acceptance and then preparing to live a mindful life along with the physical decline of the aging process.

For the family, the logics of “kinship” and “seniority” play a vital role in directing Thai beliefs and decisions toward eldercare practices. Honoring older persons and revering their experiences as valuable advice make possible for a senior employee to stay in the workforce. The extended retirement practice is more evident

in any family-based organization. To sum up, both one's religion and the family reflect the same mindset to preserve the communitarian aspect of Thai society.

Among several logics that co-exist in the social formation, the corporation and the community are presumed to be the most influential mechanisms to intervene and mediate institutional reproduction and change. To motivate such movement, one would have to understand the interactions between each order as a whole mechanical system in the Thai context.

7.1.2 The Interaction among Thai Institutional Logics

Responding to Research Question 2: how do Thai institutional logics interact and affect the current practices of eldercare services?

This section aims to illustrate the interrelationship among different levels of social units, from the macrosocial level to the microsocial level, and back. Seven social institutions were seen to interact and to intervene with each other extensively. The inter-institutional system allows for both integrative and interdisciplinary theorization. The categorical elements of institutional logics incorporate the structural, the normative, and the symbolic dimensions of social institutions. Moreover, this theoretical framework allows for multi-causal explanations in a series of outcomes where the social development context is historically specified in retrospective.

In conclusion, the two binary categories that emerged from the study were “individualism” or IL-1, and “communitarianism” or IL-2. The coexistence of these two contrasting ideologies reflected the nature of the social mechanism; that is, while some institutional logics are conflicting each other, some that were incepted from similar ideals are harmoniously in concert as they operate in different guises to balance the heterogeneous nature of a society.

Figure 7.1 demonstrates that within the dynamic and hierarchical constellation of seven institutions, Thai society evolved and was elevated through two binary but complementary ideals.

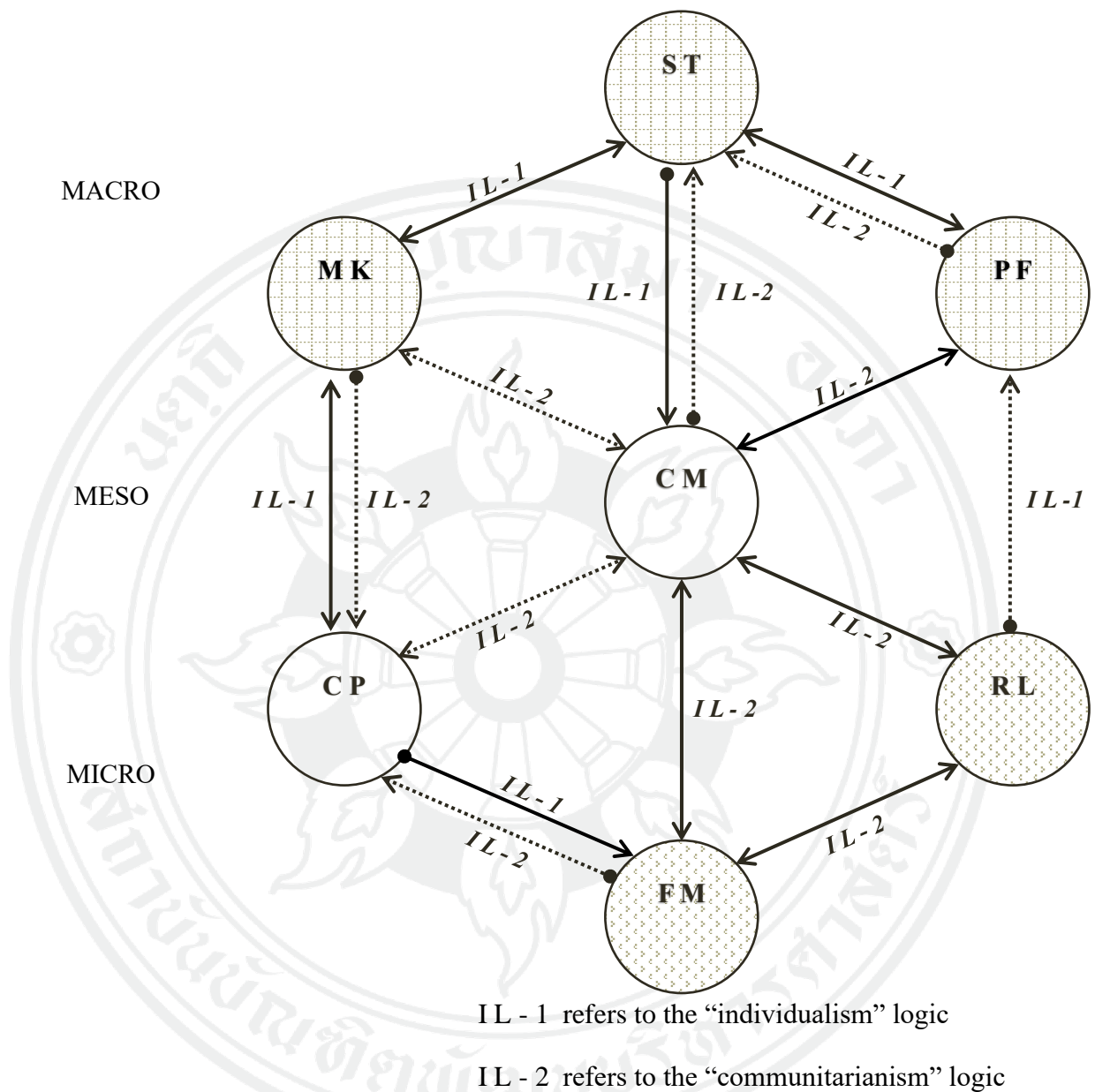


Figure 7.1 Diagram of the proposed framework supporting inter-institutional venues to enhance the well-being of Thai elderly

From the top of the diagram, the institutional logics of Thai eldercare are geared superlatively towards an “individualist” ideology. Three social orders at the macro level—the state, the market, and the profession—complement each other through various ideals, materials, or practices. Notably, the “self-reliant” and “capitalist” ideal of the state (ST) and the market (MK) support each other, as they

both share the same competitive sense and drive eldercare practices in the same individualist direction. In recent years, the term “Thailand 4.0” was coined and has been promoted extensively. Regardless of Thailand’s socio-economy situation and capacity, the publicized term reaffirms how the national direction is oriented towards its competitive capacity. Altogether, the eminence of “capitalism” in the overall market landscape is also reciprocated by the individualist worldview and the strategies of the Thai government in general.

Another cross-level interaction where the elements complement each other is between the profession (PF) and the community (CM). The communal principles and practices are apparently under the “communitarianism” logic. While the medical profession suggests preventive medicine as an innovative approach to aging, another profession in social and environmental development recommends precautionary living arrangements to support the preventive practice. The “aging in place” approach coincides with the “communitas” concept, as it allows the elderly to prepare or adjust their own personal space within their habitual neighborhood in order to grow old comfortably without the need to rehabilitate.

One last set of harmonious relationships that occur at the micro level of Thai society comprises “kinship,” “seniority,” “selfless,” “collectivism,” and “communitas.” All ideal and material reflections indicate the strong institutionalization of the communitarianism ideology. Dominating in the family (FM) and the community (CM), these two institutional orders have been driving the social mechanism of Thai eldercare practices through traditional values, beliefs, and accepted norms. Each day, the continual compilation of actions and judgments made at each progressing step of life is actually an augmented byproduct of institutional logics, along with the emotionally-laden substance contributing to individual’s judgment to actualize his or her goals, identities, and schemas.

According to the diagram, another type of correlation, competing logics, persists in two pairs. First, the contradiction between the state (ST) and the community (CM) is the result of social demographic changes and global trends versus the enduring and cumulative belief from ancient Siamese times. While the Thai government has made several efforts either to mitigate national financial risks or to

empower sub-district municipalities through a “decentralization” strategy, only a few social groups have been able to sustain their vitality and vigor without central support. Moreover, the hidden sense of the “communitarianism” logic, nevertheless, emerged through the encouragement of municipalities and communities to care for the elderly. Volunteer groups providing social services in local villages are an evident result of how smaller units under local offices are being empowered. Numerous participatory researches of universal design and concerning social well-being have helped to signify the strong commitment to facilitate social care practices at the informal level.

Next, the interaction between two contrasting logics in eldercare practice was also found in the corporation (CP) and the family (FM). The stronger power of the individualist logic from organizations is affecting the Thai family institution through their “competitive” requirements. Most corporations operate under the mainstream idea of a capitalist market economy, either adopted or influenced by their default attachment to the individualist ideal. For a company to strive in any industry, strategic planning always includes efficiency or innovative solutions as the keys to achieving competitive advantages. Productivity has always been an indicator of each business’s well-being.

However, a weaker tie yet enduring logics of “communitarianism” is also present in the corporation. Thai entrenchment in the age hierarchy affects Thai society at multi-dimensional levels. Honoring older persons and revering their experiences as valuable advice make it possible for a senior employee to stay in the workforce. The extended retirement practice is more evident in any family-based organization. Situated comfortably in the Thai culture, the family institution used to be presumably the most solid and strong foundation of Thai society. With dramatic changes in physical material, such as the smaller Thai family structure, or the higher competitive requirements, together with perceptual ideals such as self-reliance or independent-living, the family logic in the Thai culture has been subtly changing towards an individualistic ideology as well.

Besides the complementary and contradictory nature of institutional logics, the dueling existence of multiple logics due to the ongoing structuration of modern influences also is presented in this diagram. First, the complementing logics of the

state (ST) and the profession (PF) have shown a strong symbiotic relationship towards individualism, as both the “self-reliance” and “decentralization” logics of the state help to empower the “preventive living” concept in the profession. One popular approach to a healthy living arrangement that prefers privacy and professional care over the informal caring from family members is the rehabilitation approach. Upper-middle and well-educated urban seniors tend to adopt a rehabilitation approach as they are more accustomed to independent living. Relocation and re-connection with new environments both spatially and socially would cause little anxiety as it would compensate these individuals’ changes in lifestyle with convenience, safety, and independence. Marketing demand for special senior housing programs also confirms this logical emergence. Government and private investors are currently developing residential projects of the same kind.

Although the “aging in place” practice in typical Thai households partially facilitates the communitarian sense of living in suburban areas, the idea also has a greater influence on the independent living practice of the urban population, which is under individualism paradigm. As for the social profession, the aging in place approach reflects how the “individualism” ideal can subsequently supplement the “communitarianism” logic. Fundamentally, the universal design principle is to create social equity and well-being for everyone, not only those with less capability. Therefore, the logics in both professions are contributing to another paradigm which is yet to be materialized, communitarianism.

Last, a group of noticeable relations crossing multiple levels of society is that comprising the market (MK) and the corporation (CP) and the competing streams of the corporation (CP) and the family (FM).

Current housing development projects carried out by several companies have reflected both the contrasting logics of “individualism” and “communitarianism.” Diversity in the customers’ preferences is a result of advanced marketing concepts in the “customer-based” strategy. In Thailand, another philosophy that has been less influential yet possesses impulsive recognition nation-wide is the sufficiency economy. Together with the rise in consumer consciousness and customer-based

marketing, eldercare products and services in the Thai market may develop in a different direction to a more sustainable landscape.

As for the family (FM), different mindsets between generations can also lead to a new social setting. A recent logic that has emerged with new family structures and social conditions in Thailand is the logic of “self-reliance.” The absence of extended family members, or even a spouse, shines through the abundance of condominium projects, or the variety of health insurance or retirement savings packages. Statistically, the Thai population imbalance is gradually and constantly leaning towards the tipping point. A higher dependency ratio caused by the nuclear family and the single household has created a new challenge that the traditional eldercare based on family members cannot measure up to. Professional or formal care has gained more acceptance in Thai society as the quality of eldercare products and services can compensate for conventional guilt.

Additionally, advancements in information-sharing technology and the flourishing of corporate social responsibility will enhance overall competitiveness towards both economic and social well-being for all Thais. For example, skilled nursing services are in high demand for Thai eldercare and the cost of these services is still higher than most Thai households can afford. Advancement in communication technology will help synchronize demands and supplies, the customization of caring details, and possibly patient-friendly employment terms.

All in all, the recent concept of sustainable development has emerged from the critical situation of natural depletion and catastrophic disasters that have caused tremendous damages around the world. The sustainable development ideal emphasizes recalling other profits concerned with strategic policy-making. Aside from the financial viability, this ideal requires the environmental sustainability and the social equity altogether. The emergence and its widely-accepted principles allow not only Thai society but the world’s society to consider its meaningful existence, if there is any. Cultural inheritance, social identity, and the core competency of the country are reconsidered and reshaping the overall direction of Thailand to secure a favorable position in the world economy.

7.1.3 Enhancing Eldercare Practices for Thais

Responding to Research Question 3: how can the Thai government create a healthy urban lifestyle for Thai elderly in the future?

The supreme goal of this study is to encourage readers in all related fields of eldercare in Thailand to look closely into the existed, cumulated, and underlying rationales of everyday practice, in other words, the institutional logics perspective. The results from the study provide a retrospective framework for how each societal institution can elevate the aging-population issues and create the possibility of a better society for all ages.

(a) The State

The Thai government can facilitate the materialization process of the “self-reliance” logic within its legitimate domain. The urban area has a higher potency for the “self-reliance” logic to grow. The principles and practices regarding the age-friendly city are ongoing around the world, and practical and plausible tactics and programs are available for study. This institutional logics framework can serve as an assessment tool to facilitate decision-making or strategy-crafting towards eldercare practices and programs.

(b) The Profession

In order to strengthen the “self-reliance” concept, the researcher encourages specialists and practitioners in healthcare and housing to altruistically magnify the attitude. Sooner or later, the elderly will become dependent. Numerous caring techniques and innovative applications to prolong the physical capacity and vitality of elders are everywhere. One eminent hindrance incepted from the family logics of “seniority” and “kinship” must be proportionated and minimized in order to foster the “self-reliance” mindset through independent living practice.

(c) The Market

The dynamics of the market institutions move with investors’ or shareholders’ interests. Concerned consumers can gradually contribute to these changes little by little. Similar to other alternative development rationales, the values and norms in the market landscape can shift from financial maximization to social equalization if all

social actors acknowledge and legitimize the new strategy towards the community good.

(d) The Corporation

The impacts of eldercare on the workforce are unforeseeable. Realizing the potent collateral consequences of institutional logics can provide an innovative baseline for corporate decision-makers to develop an appreciation of what motivates employees to engage in productive ways. As the key player in driving social changes, managerial decisions should adopt communitarianism logics towards eldercare policy. Some relative logics of “sustainability” and “customer-based,” from the market and the community, should also be utilized.

(e) Religion

This research concluded that religion is closely intertwined with the cultural aspects of Thais. From social gatherings, daily gestures, to names, Thais have been subliminally captivated by small details of religious rituals. The religious logics of “selfless” and “conscious-living” can be strengthened through alternative ways of life. The role of religion as an institutional actor can also be fortified through empowerment and support from public and private parties.

An emphasis on activities or programs to recognize and appreciate the aging process gracefully will help in grinding the “acceptance” belief. It will also be beneficial for Thai people’s mental well-being, to value modesty rather than a luxurious living. Being ambitious, to a certain point, is a positive drive towards productivity or creativity. Over ambitiousness however can become a harmful attitude. The middle-way principle is an empirical reflection of the “flexibility” logics in the Buddhist religion.

(f) The Community

The study of the influences of the community is one area with growing recognition. From geographic terrains to the virtual, the institutional logics of the community have been recognized as a key to motivating and monitoring social changes. The “communitarianism” logic found in the community institution provides a promising way out instead of institutionalized care. Informal care or social care is

now being encouraged in most of the rural areas in Thailand. While “self-reliance” dominates the ideal of most urban people, the sense of “communitarianism” is explicit in social groups and the virtual relationships among members. Improving chances and venues for older people to connect and form a community whose interests may lie within the religious logic, or corporation logic, can enhance the social well-being of aging Thais.

(g) The Family

The topic under this investigation was initially concerned with the family institution. The eldercare practices in this research scope confer a sense of caring for parents and immediate family members. Choice and identity are still the prevalent considerations regarding eldercare and elders’ lifestyle. The ideal of “self-reliance” can co-exist with the logic of “kinship” and “seniority” through the religious logic of “consciousness” and, at the same time, can facilitate “communitarianism” practices for the community.

7.2 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS STUDY

The objectives of this investigation were to explore “the set of logics” that lies underneath each practice regarding eldercare in Thailand, and to analyze the reproduction processes as well as their interrelationships among each societal order. The gap between the conceptual ideology and the reality was also investigated in order to develop a strategic approach for all concerned affiliates. Having studied and reflected on several incidents and collective representations of Thai-ness, this study concludes with the possibility that the Thai eldercare situation, as well as Thai society as a whole, can achieve its goals of prosperity, stability, and sustainability through its underlying logics of the religious, and perhaps the secondary logic of the community.

The overall findings showed that institutional logics were the compilation of the partial autonomy of actor within institution, the multi-level of the operational process, the integration of material and symbolic components, and lastly, they were also a result of social developments from the past. Empirical evidence as discussed in the earlier chapters provided a concrete linkage between social reality and the theoretical framework suggested by recent institutional researchers.

Although all of these findings are compatible with previous research in terms of the social mechanisms and their influence or intervention, the institutional logics identified in Thailand's context differs from most research conducted in developed and "free county" settings. Taking cultural contexts and the influence of particular social actors into the equation, this study formulated some of the contributions into three different arenas.

7.2.1 Implications for Theory

The results of this study reaffirm the multi-dimensional interrelationship of social institutions and the underlying logics. The embeddedness between the human agents and the overarching structure creates a complex and processual construction, or deconstruction, of the institutional logics. The potent driving mechanism of Thai culture into Thai eldercare practices is seemingly embedded and uniquely dynamic.

The institutional logics perspective enables a comprehensive analysis, ranging from the beginning of the phenomenon, each relevant influence, to the current development along with its rationale. Unlike other institutional theories, this theoretical view is differentiated chiefly through the causal linkage of multiple derivations. Therefore, tracing back into the inception of each behavioral pattern along with its progressive process helps to understand the complexity of multi-layered supremacy among the seven societal orders. For example, Thai family names were first stabilized by the royal government in order to prevent the amalgamation of the monarch family and to outline the socio-economic status of each individual.

Another key characteristic of the institutional logics perspective that is distinct from previous institutional research is that they account for both symbolic and material matters. This enables a more holistic and thorough consideration, as some ideals are not explicitly present. Especially in the Thai cultural context, several logics conceptualized in this study were a result of interpretation and critical examination, so as to look beyond the façade.

Moreover, the institutional logics perspective provides an analytical framework that enables a more flexible and wider application to different geographical locations in this world. This study has reaffirmed the wide-ranging

applicability and interdisciplinary usefulness of the theoretical view, as well as the analytical agenda.

7.2.2 Implications for Research Methodology

Conducting this research using constructivist grounded theory provided several interesting themes that reflectively emerged from the interpretative analyses. Eldercare practices, both formal and informal, were seen to be the cumulative result of an individual's experiences and his or her personal attitudes that require an extensive and systematic tracing process.

In this cross-sectional study of Thai eldercare during 2015-2018, the constructivist grounded theory was presumably proven to be useful, as it helped to envision the categorical themes of institutional logics in eldercare practices in Thailand. The vastly different data collected from the semi-structured interviews and document reviews were systematically organized and summarized using the memo writing method. The complexity of the social interpretation realm, especially regarding sensitive issues concerning the roots of the Thai culture, the family care of the elderly, can be a great challenge for a social learner to fully comprehend. This study could never have been accomplished without the apparent and plausible directions that guided the researcher through the process of analysis, while attempting to scaffold the theory as well as to reflect upon the data corpus.

Another key characteristic of this method was its capacity to facilitate either proficient or novice researcher. This study confirmed the highly expandable feature of the methods, as well as their elasticity to embrace the multi- or interdisciplinary approach within diversified research areas.

7.2.3 Implications for Practice

In order to understand the social mechanism and its processual tensions, it is necessary to understand the limitations as well as the constraints that govern its dynamic interplay. Multiple logics intertwined in the institutional sphere are quite common phenomena evident in several institutional researches. For Thai urban elderly to become more attuned to the healthy aging lifestyle, it would require dedicated and committed devotion from all social levels.

However, this study focuses on the policymaker or social actor, whose authority or supremacy can empower the change mechanism. This research showed how the community logic can be positioned as the central core for Thai eldercare regarding informal care, social care, community care, family care, self-care, and many more. Institutionalized or formal care in hospitals and medical institutions are there, with limited availability and accessibility. Communitarianism logics such as “communitas,” “kinship,” together with the development concept of “sustainable” in corporations, can contribute to a more socially responsible setting, as well as the public policies and planning.

Additionally, the religious institution can be strengthened both materially and symbolically. The Buddhist devotee, as a social actor, has already equipped with respectable aging programs and activities that can join forces with municipalities. Empowering the religious entities in local villages may be advantageous in this urgent quest to elevate Thai people’s consciousness of their everyday conduct.

7.3 LIMITATIONS

This cross-sectional research design may be true only for the limited space and time on which is focused. The empirical data set may be applicable only to those studying the eldercare situations in Thailand in the same time frame or be utilized as a baseline data for future comparisons. Current study can provide a comprehensive consideration and contemporary outlook for a strategic planner to intervene and improve the ongoing practices of eldercare in Thailand.

Next, the participant selection method employed in this research design was not random. Self-selected participants coupled with a small sample size may lead to misleading conclusions (the verification techniques employed in this qualitative research were explained in Chapter 3). Naturally, purposefully-selected participants may describe eldercare situations and issues based on their intense practices, experiences, or worldviews; however, there is a possibility that they will unintentionally report favorably towards the probing questions by the researcher. Thus, extra precautions in interpreting the findings are essential. Besides, the optimal

balance between the natural setting and the constructive conversation during the intensive interviews must be exercised at all times.

Moreover, cultural constraints rooted in the ideal of hierarchy and seniority have proven to be a potential obstruction in obtaining reliable data. Within Thai natural settings, conducting an intensive interview with participants that have higher authority and seniority can be a challenging mission to probe the questions intended for the investigation.

Last, the theoretical view employed in this study is still under academic construction. This institutional logics perspective provides a comprehensive, extensive, and inclusive view of all possible arguments and conflicts within institutional studies. The interconnection and the proposed linkages were proven to be applicable in this study. However, the lack of clarification or definite criteria may lead the findings into almost anything. By far, most of the logic constructs were still very abstract and wildly open to the researcher's interpretations.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

From the current investigation, further research into institutional logic theories, or constructivist grounded theory, in a different part of the world would provide greater insights into eldercare practices as well as other disciplines.

To be practical, the theorization of institutional logics within the seven institutions in Thai society focused on here might yield different results if the study were conducted in different geographic or socio-economic conditions. Institutionally, presumably Thai citizens should have similar traits and virtues. However, the historically-contingent aspect of the institutional logics perspective should be further tested. Storming waves of industrialization, urbanization, and globalization have affected the Thai way of life momentarily. If they have affected Thai consciousness is an interesting presupposition to pursue.

There is also a possibility that more in-depth study into each social institution would verify, or falsify, the institutional logics identified in this study. The accumulative reproductions, the role of the cultural entrepreneur, the coupling tension

between ideal and practices at any institutional level would also contribute to greater clarity of the institutionalizing process in Thai contexts. Moreover, a different theoretical perspective or a different research method would have provided additional or different research outcomes to enhance the scholarly vigor of this growing field of institutional research.



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APPENDIX A

Descriptions of Participants

This section provides a brief description of the research participants' background and expertise to emphasize the theoretical principle that pinpointed the social agents as microfoundations of the social mechanisms. This descriptive list was organized in chronological order as an attempt to show a sequential relationship from one dataset to another, the list is not in order of importance.

1. Pol.Lt.Col. Parinya Charoenbundit

Parinya graduated from the Architecture department of Chulalongkorn University, in 2000. He studied further in the facilities management field. Currently, he works for the Department of Public Works and Town of Country Planning, responsible for environmental supplies and supports for metropolitan precincts. Having married to a Korean broaden his view towards eldercare practice and policies compared to that of Thailand. Parinya's perspective represents two institutions; the state, and the family.

2. Associate Professor Trirat Jarutach

One major figure in Universal Design research and studies in Thailand, Trirat participated in several public activities and press to promote the age-friendly lifestyle. His role both academic and professional is prominent in the field. Most of his works dedicated to enhancing the disabled user-experience particularly in providing optimal surroundings for elder persons. His position as head of UD research unit allows him to focus on innovations and knowledge to cope with consequences from different levels of the aging process. Trirat's perspective contributes greatly to almost all social institutions.

3. Ms. Klinpaka Keawcharoen

Klinpaka also graduated from the architectural field, her experiences and expertise lie dominantly in healthcare and hospital design. As a senior project manager working at InterPac design company administered by Yodyiam Theptaranon, she comprehends both the extant opportunities and challenges in bringing Thai

medical institutions to the universal level. Her past projects include new constructions and renovation of Rama hospital of Mahidol University, Siriraj Piyamaharajkarun hospital which are major medical service providers in Thailand. Her insights illustrated both the profession and the corporation.

4. Prof. Dr. Worawet Suwanrada

Formerly the dean of College of College of Population Studies, and currently positioned as the dean of Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University. His studies revolved around aging population issues anticipating its potencies and consequences. Focusing on long-term care and community-based approach, his expertise ranged from financial to social prevalence as well as how to manage the impact from an individual to the public policy levels. His knowledge and perceptions founded the market, the corporation, and the family in this study.

5. Suchinkanlayanatham

Addressed in his monastic name, Suchinkanlayanatham is a Buddhist monk who initiated and established one most successful program for elderly in the north of Thailand. In 2012, together with the municipal office and chief of Hua-Ngom community, the Hua-Ngom elderly schooling program started in Chiangrai province. Currently, his collaboration with public offices will expand the program throughout the country. His view contributed not only to the religious logics, but also the state, the family, and the community logics.

6. Mr. Somkid Somsri

Somkid was appointed Director General of the Department of Older Person of Thailand in 2016. His experience in empowering people with disabilities including Older persons started from 2012. Currently, Somkid is retired. His role as the DOP spokesperson and his responsibility for strategic planning and cooperate integration among public and private organization involved him in most of states affairs regarding the eldercare related programs and activities. He emphasized the strength in

Thai municipalities, and suggest private contribution, therefore, his role into this study was presented in almost all institutional orders.

7. Laiwan Pongsangaim

As the Senior Executive Vice President, Strategy Planning Business Unit of Government Housing Bank, Laiwan recognized the aging population as delicate issues that impact living conditions in the future. She speculated how financial security and social well-being are interlocking components. Several of financial products were released to ease those in older generation, the young who want to put effort into eldercare, as well as housing investors who want to become a part of the development process.

8. Mike Ikegawa Mitsuhiro

His appearance in the GH Bank Housing expo as keynote speaker confirmed the dynamic of technological change in this study. His current position as a director of Carecom, a Japanese provider of IT solutions for medical and welfare institution, provides innovative insights from the Senior Housing Development operational view. His professional experience in the digital networking care from many projects in different districts in Japan contributed to the profession, the market, and the community attributes in this study.

9. Ms. Nart Fongsmut

Her major role in this study was the executive director of Sawangkanives Home for Thai Elderly, the first comprehensive establishment for the assisted living concept in Thailand. Under the Thai Red Cross Society, the program started in 1997 and now expanding the 'self-reliance' logic through several other real estate development projects across the country. Graduated in Medical degree, working in several businesses management, her contribution to the study was prominent in the state, the profession, and the market.

10. Professor Ponn Virulrak

His background in Architecture plus his personal interest in diverse areas ranging from laws, economics, comparative cultures, and politics allows him to participate in several of academic and social activities, both physical and virtual. His current position as the managing director of the Lumpini Project Management Service provided business operation perspective of eldercare housing market for middle-income people in Thailand. His reflections were mostly related to the corporation, the community, and the family.

11. Mr.Kandisak Ruenjaichon

Graduated from the Faculty of Architecture, King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang, Kandisak formerly worked as a freelance architect for decades. He took on the position as Head of Property Development Low-rise department, SC Asset, in 2010. His experiences in the organizational operations and his professional and personal perceptions regarding the aging population issues in the future were categorized into the profession, the market, and the family perspectives.

12. Rev. Bro. Dr. Bancha Saenghiran, President-Rector Magnificus

Together with Rev. Bro. Dr. Prathip Martin Komolmas, Rector Emeritus of Assumption University Thailand, Rev. Bro. Dr.Bancha Saenghiran, in his 72, has been the most influential figure in this leading international Catholic University and in Thailand's higher education field. His standpoint in the university policy, as well as his opinion in the development process of Thai eldercare, was contributed to the corporation and the religious institution for this study.

13. Mr.Banloo Siripanich

His numerous positions in major councils and associations involved in senior persons activities and empowerment stemmed from his pioneer and expertise in Geriatrics and Gerontology of Thailand. Banloo wrote an incalculable number of books for Thai older persons and gave suggestions toward aging and personal preparation occasionally through several publications and media. In his 93, he still

attends academic and operational meetings, conferences, and seminars throughout Bangkok and metropolitan areas. His significance formed the profession part, along with several other social institutions except for the corporation logics.

14. Mr.Sant Chaiyodsilpa

One most leading figure in everyday healthcare in Thailand. His personal blog; visitdrsant.blogspot.com, reached four million views in 2014. He restarted himself as a family doctor even with his former position as a director of a private hospital for 6 years. Currently, his aspiration to teach Thai people of the alternative medicine of self-health care is conveyed through his Wellness We Care center.

Recently, He also extended his passion into the experimental establishment of the senior co-housing project. The key differentiator of his housing project is the active-aging approach and the neighborhood support system. His comments and practices reflect evidently in the institution of the profession and the family.

15. Somdet Phra Buddhakosajarn (P.A. Payutto)

Recently honored as a role model for National older person award in 2017. His current role is the Abbot of Nyanavesakavan Temple, located in Nakhon Pathom Province. P.A. Payutto was his known author name as the Monastic name was constantly changing according to the monastic titles. He has written extensively about a variety of topics related to Buddhism, and its relationship to the community and the environment. He was awarded the UNESCO Prize for Peace Education in 1994. His teachings contribute to the community, the religious, and the family logics in this investigation.

APPENDIX B

Interview Guideline

INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS OF ELDERLYCARE IN THAILAND

General Information

- Participant Name / Age
- Organization / Position
- Expertise / Experience

Introduction

1. How do you (or your organization) realize the Aging society situation of Thailand?

Exploration

2. Which dimension do you (or your organization) anticipate the most impact on Thai senior citizen?
 - a. Physical / Psychological / Social
 - b. Health / Security / Participation
3. What products or services have you (or your organization) provide for Thai senior citizen?

Explanation

(main probing question)

4. What are the reasons behind such products or services?

Concluding thoughts

5. In your opinion, how senior lifestyle in countryside is different from the city?
6. In your opinion, how senior lifestyle in the future could be different from the present?

BIOGRAPHY

NAME

Ms. Santhita Phayungphong

ACADEMIC

Bachelor's Degree with a major in Interior Architecture from Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand in 2002.

BACKGROUND

Master of Professional Studies in Design Management from Pratt Institute, New York, the United States in 2007.

EXPERIENCES

Full-time Lecturer at Montfort del Rosario School of Architecture and Design, Assumption University, Bangkok, Thailand.

