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The Defense of State's Role in Public Policy**

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Abstract

Criticisms of the state's role relate to many of its aspects–the continuing expansion of the scope of its responsibilities; its encroachment on people's lives and freedoms through its making of public policy, and its inefficiency of operation, as compared to the private sector. The origin of the state's role and its various types that led to a varying extent of intervention in society are delineated. Economic and political rationales for the state are discussed, arguing for its significance in public life and that the nonexistence of state is implausible. The state's roles in various kinds of public policy, all vital to the public, are examined. The issue of statelessness and stateless people indicates the state's significance, contrary to the thesis that it is withering away. Also discussed are the effects of globalization in minimizing the state's sovereignty. Transnational corporations have a rather large role in today's global economy, while at the same time and to a certain extent, affect economic policy making of many sovereign states. It is, nonetheless, argued that there are other non-quid pro quo policy areas that are not at all attractive to these international corporations. Thus, a large portion of state sovereignty still remains.

Keywords: *state, public policy, state's role, sovereignty, globalization*

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คณะรัฐศาสตร์
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รัฐยังต้องมีบทบาทสำคัญในนโยบายสาธารณะ**

พิษณุ เสงี่ยมพงษ์*

บทคัดย่อ

ข้อวิจารณ์เกี่ยวกับบทบาทของรัฐครอบคลุมหลายปัจจัย ประการที่หนึ่ง รัฐได้เพิ่มขอบข่ายของบทบาทมาโดยตลอด ประการที่สอง รัฐได้เข้าแทรกแซงชีวิตและเสรีภาพของผู้คนในสังคม และประการที่สามมีข้อวิจารณ์เกี่ยวกับความไม่มีประสิทธิภาพในการบริหารจัดการของภาครัฐ บทความนี้กล่าวถึงที่มาและประเภทของบทบาทของรัฐซึ่งนำไปสู่หลายระดับของการแทรกแซงสังคมของรัฐ และวิเคราะห์เหตุผลความจำเป็นในเชิงเศรษฐศาสตร์และการเมืองที่รัฐต้องมีบทบาทในสังคม โดยที่บทบาทดังกล่าวสะท้อนออกมาเป็นหลายประเภทของนโยบายสาธารณะซึ่งล้วนแต่มีความสำคัญต่อสาธารณะ บทความอภิปรายยกตัวอย่างประเด็นปัญหาความไร้รัฐและคนไร้รัฐที่น่าจะช่วยชี้ให้เห็นถึงความสำคัญของรัฐได้ แทนแนวคิดที่ว่ารัฐจะสลายไปและอีกส่วนหนึ่งอภิปรายถึงผลกระทบของโลกาภิวัตน์ในการลดอำนาจอธิปไตยของรัฐลง โดยบทความวิเคราะห์บทบาทของบรรษัทข้ามชาติภายในเศรษฐกิจโลกว่าอาจไปเกี่ยวข้องหรือมีผลกระทบต่อการตัดสินใจในนโยบายสาธารณะด้านเศรษฐกิจของรัฐได้ แต่บทความก็มีข้อเสนอว่ายังมีนโยบายสาธารณะด้านอื่น ๆ ที่ไม่ใช่ด้านเศรษฐกิจที่บรรษัทข้ามชาติเหล่านี้ไม่น่าจะให้ความสนใจ ดังนั้นจึงยังน่าจะมองได้ว่าอำนาจอธิปไตยของรัฐในส่วนอื่นนอกเหนือจากด้านเศรษฐกิจยังคงมีอยู่อย่างค่อนข้างสมบูรณ์ในรัฐ

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I. Introduction: The Arguments for and Against the State's Role and Public Policy

The notion of "big government" connotes a negativity, according to certain views. It denotes the fact that it encroaches to a large extent on society, while infringing upon the rights of individual citizens because of its extensive bureaucracy and intrusive regulations and policies. In the minds of some people, such as most Americans, especially the Republicans, big government represents a problem. Associated with big government are the state's bureaucratic institutions along with state policy or public policy. In fact, they represent a clearer picture of how the state or government encroaches on society and the people within it. In most places, the government is criticized by those detesting the state for the growth in its size and scope of operation. In the United States, for example, there have always been criticisms of the government expansion. Generally, people value the services that government provides; but others are concerned about the costs and the effectiveness of government programs (Kraft and Furlong 2015, 38). Similarly, in Thailand, in times past there were only four main broad spatial divisions of the state in coping with public affairs–the four pillars–consisting of the city, the palace, the treasury and trade, and the agricultural land (Rong Syamananda 1993, 33). In modern times, such segments have become over ten functionally-specialized ministries, with departments and sub-departments, as well as newly created types of state bureaucracies, namely public enterprises, independent organizations under the Constitution, and public organizations.

Despite criticisms of the state interfering with the lives of its citizens, the state is needed to address social problems. Kraft and Furlong (2015, 1-3) discuss the safety issue of visitors to privately operated amusement parks, such as Walt Disney World and Six Flags, in which periodic accidents, some fatal, were reported every year. In October 2013, a number of people were trapped on Universal Orlando's Hollywood Rip Ride Rocket Roller Coaster for nearly three hours. In July 2013, a woman fell from a roller coaster to her death at Six Flags. Preventive measures constitute a necessity, to control and regulate. These usually fall into the realm of the state. By the same token, the United States Product Safety Commission (CPSC) is a regulatory agency responsible for ensuring public safety in a range of consumer products. The Commission currently regulates over 15,000 products, ranging from lawn mowers to baby cribs (Kraft and Furlong 2015, 2). In Thailand, the School Lunch Project Fund Bureau was set up to provide elementary school children with lunch and fresh milk (Saiphin Kaew-ngamprasert 2019, 15). Also in Thailand, excise taxes had long been imposed on alcohol

and nicotine products for the purpose of cutting down on their consumption. The tax more recently was raised on sweetened products, such as sugary beverages, while the next step of action would be on salty products. These taxes originated from demands by the Thai Health Promotion Foundation for many measures and programs, such as food and health education with the goal of health promotion and illness prevention (Supreeda Adulyanon 2019, 15).

II. Objectives of the Paper

Given these polar opposite arguments for and against big government–the state's role in public policy–this paper will cover the following. The theoretical origin of state's role is discussed. The paper, then, outlines the different types of state, with large and small roles, in accordance with theories of the state. It discusses the theoretical rationales for the state's function in society. It discusses the essence of the state's action in public policy, in relation to the private sector. Finally, it argues and illustrates why the state's role along with its policy are still much needed.

III. Paternalist State Who Knows Most and Best

Conservatism represents the traditional idea that attributes to the state authority. Behind state authority lies conservative thought regarding human nature, society, and economy. As per human nature, conservatives see human beings as imperfect, psychologically limited, and dependent creatures, fearing isolation and instability. The belief that people desire security and belonging has led conservatism to emphasize the importance of social order. Regarding society, conservative thinking sees social hierarchy, in which classes and groups have their own specific roles. There are leaders and followers. As such, it places an emphasis on the capacity of the government to provide society with leadership. On the economy, property ownership gives people a sense of confidence, security, and protection. Therefore, a significant role of the state is to honor the individuals' right to property (Heywood 2018, 34-42).

Related to these thoughts is the concept of paternalism–in a fatherly fashion–referring to an authority being exercised over others with the intention of conferring benefit or preventing harm. Societal welfare and laws such as the compulsory wearing of seat belts in vehicles represent examples of paternalism. Like conservatism, the basis for the concept of paternalism is that wisdom and experience are unequally distributed; and those in authority know best. On the contrary, critics argue that authority is not to be trusted and that paternalism restricts liberty and contributes to the infantization of society.

Associated with conservative paternalism is the assertion that an extent of coercion is essential for most public policies. The state role necessarily affects public policy. In the above examples, overseeing the operation of amusement parks implies some degree of control. Some laws must exist that specify the operational procedures of these facilities. Agencies responsible for the supervision usually hold the authority to introduce and enforce specific rules for the parks. In the case of tax on tobacco, alcohol, and sugary beverages, the requirement to pay tax is imposed on the production and sale of those products. The taxes would go to various public health projects of the Thai Health Promotion Foundation (Supreeda Adulyanon 2019, 15). In the same vein, the school lunch program is financed through tax payments of some kind.

IV. The extent and Various Styles of State Roles

Different types of states have disparate styles of roles with closely related to public policy. Styles can be differentiated with reference to a spectrum of large and small extents. The state policy making differ in line with the styles.

The Minimal State Role

The night-watchman state in Locke's simile denotes the type of state with a minimal role. It is within the idea of classical liberalism, whose aim is to ensure that individuals enjoy the widest possible realm of freedom. The state constitutes a protective body, whose core function is to provide a framework for peace and social order, within which citizens conduct their lives as they like best. The state exists mainly to maintain the domestic order. It also ensures that contracts or voluntary agreements between citizens, such as business contracts, are properly executed. The state also provides national security for its citizens. The discussion of the minimal state is taken up by the New Right, drawing on liberal ideas and particularly on the free market or classical economics. According to free market economists, such as Hayek and Friedman, state intervention reduces competition, efficiency, and productivity (Heywood 2013, 67-68).

Within the market economy, the control of resources in production and consumption is mostly in the hands of private individuals, making the extent of the state's role in the economy at a minimum. The invisible hand of the market determines the proper amount of societal resources going toward production and consumption; hence, the associated terminology of free market economy, where supply and demand flow freely. Producers and consumers are better off by communicating voluntarily with each other, in order to reach the optimal level of production and consumption. In classical

economics, this optimal level of resource use should benefit the society as a whole. The actions of players in the free market are freely determined, without any restriction by the state.

Along with the state's minimal role, public policy is known to be kept at a minimal level, leading to some repercussions. Primarily, substantial resource inequality tends to emerge in such a minimalist, night-watchman state, or the market economy. Without any strong regulation of private behavior, players in the economy strive to maximize their utility of resource use. In turn, some actors could be extremely successful, while others might fail, as all players are left on their own. There is no known mechanism in the market system to care for those who do not succeed in the market. Over time, the rich tend to get richer, while those with few resources tend increasingly to lose economic power in the market. Some people–perhaps a large number–lack the resources for adequate consumption and for securing a comfortable life. As the inequality of wealth, power, and status increase, there is a greater likelihood of alienation among the less successful and of conflict between the rich and the poor (Danziger 1996, 229-232).

The Large Extent of State Roles

This is the polar opposite of the night-watchman state. Various terminologies exist to refer to such a role, while being associated with the earlier discussion of conservativism and paternalism. The most extensive form of state intervention is found in totalitarian states. Their essence is the construction of a domineering state, whose influence penetrates every aspect of human existence. The state brings not only the economy but also education, culture, religion, family life, along with many others, under direct state control. Public policy is used to direct these aspects of life. The private sphere of life is reduced to a minimum. Collectivized states represent a terminology associated with totalitarian states. The Soviet Union and former Eastern Europe, examples of such states, abolished private enterprises altogether and set up a centrally planned economy via state policies and a network of economic ministries and planning committees. The state owned the land, natural resources, factories, and machines (Heywood 2013, 71). The state devised a detailed economic plan as to what level of each goods would be produced from what combination of resources (Danziger 1996, 232-233). Coercion seemed to be automatically imbued in almost all state policies, with an incredibly large extent of state roles.

At a specific point in history, socialism and socialist states were equated with the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin and Lenin. Communism was a term adopted in the twentieth century. Under Stalin, the model of orthodox communism was embraced and

followed after 1945 by China, North Korea, Cuba, and throughout Eastern Europe. The terminology of Economic Stalinism referred to state collectivization and central planning (Heywood 2013, 42). Orthodox communism, representing one version of socialism, signified a remarkably strong state role, vis-à-vis the private sector.

A term closely associated with the totalitarian state is nationalization, bringing property into the hands of state. Such state ownership is not exactly similar to the notions of common property, public ownership, or social ownership, which all appear to suggest property being owned collectively by all citizens. Rather, nationalization results in state ownership of property, which, in turn, indicates a larger role of the state and its discretion over the use of such property. In other words, there is a large extent of state intervention (Heywood 2015, 304-305).

In Thailand, a high extent of state role was once related to the conception of nationalism, in which the state was responsible for the operation of a variety of public enterprises. The essential ones consisted of utilities, mainly electricity generation and supply, waterworks, and telecommunications. Some others, including the national airline, the zoological park, and the state railways, constituted the responsibilities of the Thai State within the notions of nationalization and nationalism. The operation of public enterprises by the Thai State also automatically downplayed the role of transnational corporations. The reasons given for the state's operation of public enterprises ranged from the fact that certain enterprises, especially utilities, constituted essential services and, therefore, were in need of state direction. Also, Thailand was recovering then from the plight of the Second World War; the private sector was not well equipped to deliver some of these services (Ekawit Maneethorn 2011, 164-173).

The elitist view of the state separates the rulers from the masses. The elites constitute the former, whereas those being ruled are the latter. This separation is seen by classical elitists, such as Vilfredo Pareto, as inevitable and desirable. The ruling elites–a cohesive minority–are always able to manipulate and control the masses, even in parliamentary democracy. Power is naturally concentrated in the hands of a small group of dominant figures who can well organize themselves and make decisions. Such is "the iron law of oligarchy" (Heywood 2013, 101).

In terms of state and private sector separation, elitism sees a possibility of blending between the two sectors among the elites that rule, particularly in democracy. C. Wright Mills, in *The Power Elite* (1956), offered a portrait of the United States being dominated by a nexus of leading groups. These "power elites" comprise a triumvirate of big businesses and political cliques surrounding the President. Drawing on a combination of economic power, bureaucratic

control, and access to the highest levels of the executive branch of government, the power elites are able to shape public policy (Heywood 2013, 101-103). However, while being the minority, the power elites manage to make policy decisions that impact on the majority–the society at large. The policies made by the elites reflect the preferences, values, and interests of the elites, rather than those of the public or society. Hence, the elitist state, by all means, reflects the state's heavy role in public policy-making and associates well with the paternalistic view of public policy. Public policy is seen in elitism as being imposed on the society, albeit some involvement of the private sector in the decision making process.

The Combined Role of State and Private Sectors

In between the polar opposites of large and small extent of state role is the combination of state and private sector involvement in policy making. In the mixed economy, the direction of production is determined by both the state and the private sector; and other roles in the economy are also shared among them. The state owns or directly controls some major factors of production, such as those relating to key commodities–coal, oil, and steel, for example. On the other hand, a substantial role in the economy is played by the private sector–individuals, households, and business firms. With an increasingly significant private sector's involvement, the extent of the state's control on public policy naturally decreases. On the one side, society benefits from quality products, resulting from competition among private firms through the market mechanism. On the other, there exists a touch of command and control through state intervention. The state could stipulate the values of certain factors of production, such as wages. It might also design various schemes of taxation and subsidies in order to direct the production system (Danziger 1996, 236-237).

Certain ideas denote this mixture. Primarily, the pluralist state believes that it acts as an umpire or referee in society among various private individuals and groups. While these latter compete among one another, the state is considered a neutral arbiter, protecting citizens from the encroachment of fellow citizens. In other words, rights and freedoms of private individuals are deemed as protected by the state. This "neutrality" of the state suggests that the state acts in the interest of all citizens. It is believed to represent the common good or the public interest. Neo-pluralists hold a slightly different view of the business sector, namely that businesses enjoy a privileged position, with which other groups clearly cannot rival. Being the major investors and the largest employers, businesses usually direct governmental decision making (Lindblom 1977, 172-174).

In terms of the capitalist state, the state is not neutral, either. Marxists argue that the state operates in such a way that benefits a special class–the bourgeoisie-over the proletariat. Social classes are endowed with unequal power; and the state becomes an instrument through which the bourgeoisie dominate the proletariat. Such instrument takes the form of state policies that most of the time benefit the bourgeoisie. The state finds it unwise to make policies that adversely affect the capitalist class, because it has economic power through the ownership of capital. The state is reluctant to make and implement public policies that are contradictory to the interests of that class, the well-being of which has certain economic repercussions, such as on growth and incomes. Evidently, with a healthy economy, the state would receive a positive evaluation from society–the notion of legitimacy of the state. In the Marxist critique of the capitalist state, the state and the private sector both have roles in the economy and society.

As for the corporatist state, the state is also biased toward certain groups over others. It is also a state with a sharing of role between the government and the private sectors, mostly with an intention to manage the economy for the wholesome benefit of society. The state tries to integrate economic interests into the public policy process, starting from decision making. The state, however, is biased and selective in inviting particular groups, mostly major economic interests, into the public realm of policy making. These major interests are designated as "peak organizations," usually including large industries, organized labor, and major financial institutions. Leaders of these peak organizations are given great influence in working with the state, particularly in economic policy. There is consultation and cooperation among the state and its bureaucracies, big capital, and big labor, rather than conflict and competition among them (Danziger 1996, 242; Heywoood 2013, 103-104).

Closely related to the corporatist state is the developmental state, in which the state exerts a strong role in intervening economic life with a specific purpose of promoting industrial growth and economic development. The state does not attempt to replace the market as in a socialist system of planning and control. On the contrary, there is much reliance on the market, but with active guidance by the state, whose bureaucracy implements policies that support private firms and export-oriented trade, as well as direct foreign investment. The cooperation between firms and government under a powerful state's planning agency targets niches in which exported goods can be sold profitably. The state bureaucracy is supposedly a supportive "big brother" of private firms, while directing the country toward economic development. One feature that distinguishes it from the corporatist state would be its vivid goal to prioritize

economic growth. Usually identified examples of these states include newly industrialized countries (NICs) of East and Southeast Asia. For the interventionist Korean State, the bureaucracy collaborates extensively with a few major Korean companies. Governmental loans, tax credits, and other subsidies are channeled to these companies. (Danziger 1996, 240-241; Heywood 2013, 68-69).

A perspective associated with corporatism and the developmental state is the concept of governance. It incorporates a changing characteristic and role of the state through inviting the multi-societal sectors to participate more extensively in the public policy process. This essentially denotes the mixture of involvement of the state and the private sector. Various terminologies suggest such a changed character of the state, for instance, the "hollowing out" of the state; the networking within multi-societal sectors; the regulatory state, in which the state steers, but does not dominate society; and the development of partnerships between the state and societal sectors. This requires a new mindset, institutional structure, and operational procedure within the public policy process (Peters and Pierre 2006, 209-211). In Thailand, there is a growing importance of new forms of institutions partnering the original state institutions–the bureaucracy–with the private sectors. Among many of these, examples are the Thai Chamber of Commerce, the Joint Public and Private Sector Consultative Committee (JPPSCC), the National Committee on Hazardous Substances, and the Foundation for Consumers.

As to a social democratic state, it intervenes in society in order to bring about broad social structuring, usually in accordance with principles of fairness, equality, and social justice. The state holds a strong and active role in correcting the imbalance and injustice of the market economy. It tends to focus less upon the generation of wealth, but more on what is seen as the equitable or just distribution of wealth. The main features of this characteristic of the state are Keynesianism and social welfare. The aim of Keynesian economic policies is to manage capitalism, pushing for growth and maintaining full employment. The adoption of welfare policies comprises a social security system and health benefits within the aim of empowering the individual and creating a better society. The state complements the market with policies which are usually believed to be compassionate ones.

The above discussion constitutes the conceptual analysis of various styles of state intervention in society. The consequences of each style are varying degrees and types of public policy. For the developmental state, it generally focuses on economic policy, while collaborating with the private sector in moving the state toward income growth. The social democratic state values social well-being, extensively working in the area of social welfare.

V. The Rationales for State Intervention in Society along with the Essence of State Actions

The vitality of the state and its actions through public policy is probed in-depth within this section of the paper. Primarily, theories in public sector economics are generally known to outline the occasional malfunction of the market. There are situations where no incentive exists for the private sector to supply goods and services for the benefit of society. For some of such goods and services, there can be no restriction on consumption. Classic examples are national security and environmental protection. There can be no direct charges of such services to consumers, while everyone may benefit from the provision of those goods and services. These services must then be provided by the state. Also, there can be certain costs of production, which are inappropriately excluded from calculation. Such social costs usually adversely affect the society as a whole, as, for example, certain manners of production generate some pollution. The state, then, would need to require the inclusion of such costs into the cost of production, known in economic theory as land, labor, and capital. In the free market, firms are generally free to operate in any way they desire, such as specifying the quantity of goods to be produced. Classical economics suggests that the invisible hand of the market usually adjusts well the price and quantity of production. But in instances where certain firms constitute the sole or very few producers of some products, their behavior in the production process is less than desirable, such as specifying too high a price for their products. The state, then, is also needed to regulate such monopolistic behavior (Stiglitz 2000, 77-80). All these state actions constitute public policies to correct the market's malfunction.

Political rationales are also made for state actions in public policy. Since they are less frequently discussed, unlike the economic rationales, they are more thoroughly explored below in subsections, along with examples of state actions.

The State of Nature and the Leviathan

The state of nature, a conception proposed by Thomas Hobbes, primarily signifies the political rationale for the state's role in society. It represents a negative view on situations, in which there can be constant wars and threat to the continued existence of humankind. Within some of Hobbes' descriptions of the state of nature, individuals are equal to one another; therefore, anyone may dominate others by whichever means available–usually through strength and cunning. They generally have the same desires, underneath which lie greed and craving. With the competition to fulfill those desires, each tries to dominate the others, hence, the maxim "man is a wolf to man." These human desires and acts all fuel the state

of nature with permanent conflict, as the concepts of law, justice, and property are nonexistent. Nothing is unjust; and anything can be done by anybody, since no law exists and injustice is not known in the state of nature. The state of lawlessness means the law of the jungle governs human relations or, rather, human non-relation. Being termed as industry, work and working are senseless, as the fruits of such work and working are not recognized. They could at any time be taken away by any means possible (Mann and Dann 2005, 480-482).

Hobbes theoretically posited a transition to statism. The state initially emerged from reason. Individuals agreed to divest themselves from their natural right or absolute freedom in order to achieve peace. In other words, they created laws to restrict individual freedoms, thus preventing them from always following their natural desires which could be harmful to others. These laws averted individuals from claiming their right to do what they pleased. Some of individuals' inherent rights were transferred to the state with absolute power. The Hobbesian conception, the state was created to safeguard lives and property in return. The power wielded by the state quelled conflict and instituted peace through its public policy. Power must be in the hand of one person or an assembly, representing the majority will.

In a famous Thai court case, a minor member of an elite clan descended from past monarchs at the age of sixteen, drove her car into a Thammasat University van on December 27, 2010, sending 9 people to death. This girl was under-aged at that time and by law not supposed to drive. Driving against the law, she was seen by Thai society as someone from a noble, famous, and wealthy family violating laws. She was charged with driving without a license, reckless driving, causing multiple deaths and injuries, property damage, and using a mobile phone while driving. She was sentenced to three years in prison, which was later suspended by the Supreme Court. It imposed an order for the girl to perform 48 hours of community services annually for four years as a condition for her conditional release through the suspension. On the other hand, the affected parties sued the girl in the Civil Court, which ordered her to pay 26 million baht to the surviving victims and the families of the deceased victims. There was later an issue in enforcing the Supreme Court's order (Bangkok Post 2019).

In today's states, there are civil and criminal laws that uphold private property and personal safety. In cases of violations, some remedies are obtainable through various state institutions, particularly the Police Department, the Ministry of Justice, and the Courts. The above case illustrates such a violation, in which compensation of some kind is sought in courts. In another case of property violation, someone with previous police records, together with some

accomplices, took a 10 million baht worth of diamond from its owner after a mock examination of the stone. The Police was immediately brought in to investigate the incident ("Arrest Warrants Sought in ..." 2018). In both of these sample cases, along with other incidents involving violation of private property as well as personal and public safety, it becomes the duty of the state to take some action in addressing the situation in the name of morality and justice. In another example, the Consumer Protection Police Division along with the Food and Drugs Administration investigated a case where a brand of food supplement is commercialized in the market without any supposedly formal approval by the Food and Drugs Administration. Such approval is officially required in order to protect consumers from possible toxic substances in food and drugs ("Ta Lai Rong Ngan Palit Ya ..." 2019). These samples of real incidents represent protection of private property and safety, whose operations are usually by way of state's authority and coercive actions.

In his depiction of chaos in the state of nature, Hobbes asserted that civic peace and social unity are best achieved by the establishment of a commonwealth. An ideal, to Hobbes, is one ruled by a sovereign power, an artificial person–Leviathan–the metaphor for Hobbes' perfect government. His writing attempted to prove the necessity of the Leviathan for preserving peace and stifling civil war in the state of nature. Any system of political rules, however tyrannical, was preferable to no rules at all. Hobbes' own life context was, in fact, responsible for setting the stage for his writing and philosophical thoughts. Primarily, he lived in fear. In his autobiography, Hobbes recounted that on the day of his birth in 1588, his mother learned that the Spanish Armada had set sail to attack England. This news so terrified Hobbes' mother that she went into labor prematurely. Fear is, therefore, a significant theme in Hobbes' writing. Also being a royalist, Hobbes views that the sovereign authority, which might as well be a monarch, can well eradicate fear and insecurity (Mann and Dann 2005, 486-487).

The Social Contract: Hobbes' and Locke's Views

Another significant political conception in praise of the state is social contract theory, in direct association with the discussion of the state of nature and Leviathan. Hobbes called on people in the state of nature to sign a social contract, leading to a state with full sovereignty to guarantee peace. This would eradicate of lawlessness, violence, and political instability. The contract would be an actual or hypothetical document, which acted as a peace treaty between the warring parties in the state of nature. This contract was regulated by a series of laws of nature that Hobbes believed to be the natural products of unfettered human reason. Some of

these laws were to seek peace, to avoid political chaos by agreements to lay aside some natural freedom, and for individuals to keep their words. A strong, sovereign ruler was entrusted with enforcing the law, making individuals keep their words toward each other within a contract, and honoring individuals' rights to specified property and security. Individuals, by way of social contract, could be restrained from encroaching on others' rights and from hurting one another. In this way, the laws of nature were deemed well observed (Mann and Dann 2005, 479-480).

Although John Locke did not contradict Hobbes to any extent, he held a more liberal version of social contract theory. While some of the freedoms were impartially restricted by the social contract, Locke emphasized that individuals retained the right to life and liberty. Especially in Locke's rather liberal thought, the power of the state was restricted in scope, in that the whole point of government was to protect property and people's lives. The state's role was not limitless. If a government was acting tyrannically and unjustly, threatening our personal security or lost the capacity to protect private property, then people had the right to rebel against it, just as the English did against James II in their Glorious Revolution. As such, like Hobbes, Locke held a negative view of the state of nature and thereby saw state protection under a social contract as necessary. But there was a limit to what government could do to its citizens within the Locke's conception of social contract (Mann and Dann 2005, 466-467).

Jean Jacque Rousseau and John Rawls' philosophical thoughts were also related to social contract theory. For Rousseau, members of a society should enter into social contract, resulting in a rules-bound society, whereby the state must act according to the so-called general will. Acting in such manner, the state respected the real interests of each member of society. The social contract, to Rousseau, therefore, was conditional on the general will. State actions and policies should aim at the public interest, rather than at particular interests. The general will or the public interest was especially significant in Rousseau's conception of the social contract (Heywood 2015, 223; 164-165). The concerted effort among the Thai state's bureaucracies–Kasetsat University's Faculties of Veterinary Science and of Forestry; the Zoological Park Organization under the Royal Patronage, the Department of National Parks, Wildlife, and Plant Conservation–to augment the populations of Thai and Burmese antelopes represents an example of a pursuit of the public interest. These two species are endangered of extinction, possibly affecting the ecology of Thailand. Various measures out of the public policy have been devised to correct the situation (Nikorn Thongthip and Amphiga Thongphakdee 2019, 15).

Courts' decisions on cases brought before them also constitute public policy making. A somewhat idiosyncratic decision, yet with genuine effect, provides a vivid example of the state's function in securing the public interest. The Missouri Court sentenced David Berry, Jr to one year jail term, in which once per month, he must watch "Bambi," the Walt Disney classic cartoon, released since August 1942. Within three months of 2015, Berry and his family had killed around 100 deer. Berry and two of his family members were arrested on charges of killing hundreds of deer over a period of three years, according to the Missouri Department of Conservation. Berry's attorney asked for a court's leniency, but to no avail. With respect to this Walt Disney Cartoon, Bambi, a young deer whose mother was killed by hunters; and Bambi, in an iconic movie scene, curled up next to the dead body of the mother. Such sad moment of the cartoon was believed to have brought Berry, a poacher, to realize the negative impact of his private action on a saddened youngster whose mother passed away, as well as to refrain from further poaching. Poaching usually adversely impacts the ecology and the environment, possibly leading to extinction of a species (teleSUR 2018). Such court decisions based on the idealism of resource conservation are examples of the public interest in a "non-state of nature." But policy making of a judicial institution differs somewhat from that of the executive and legislative branches. For a court, its action may only be reactive, making the policy decision on a case-by-case basis and only on cases brought before it.

John Rawls also worked in the context of social contract theory. He, however, added a major twist to it–the notion of the "veil of ignorance." Its general idea is that personal characteristics of societal members, such as individual interests, desires, appearance, gender, and race, were to be cloaked to the eye of state's policy makers. As such, the latter would deliver fair public policies, unlikely benefiting any particular groups of people, since these policy makers themselves could possibly be in any groups of societal members. These fair policies represent the terminology of "justice as fairness." Rawls devised two additional principles. The first, the Liberty Principle, stated that as much freedom as possible should be allowed, as everyone similarly and simultaneously experienced it, but as long as it did not interfere with other people's freedom. Secondly, while the Equality Principle guaranteed that people were treated equally; however, certain inequalities were permitted, as long as they were taken into consideration for the benefit of the worst-off. From these two principles lay the groundwork for the modern liberal welfare state, which guarantees basic rights, such as freedom of speech and the right to vote, to its citizens, while trying to give redress to the economically least

advantaged members of society through programs of public assistance, such as employment insurance and state welfare (Mann and Dann 2005, 526-527).

In Thailand, social assistance and welfare are under the purview of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security. As an example, there has been a call from the Foundation for the Blind to the Ministry to raise the blind's monthly allowance, along with further assessment of how much difficulty is being faced by people with different kinds of disabilities in coping with their life conditions and in society. It concerns the issue of enforcing the employment quota of disabled persons, one person with disability per 100 employees, under the current Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities Act (Matichon 2019). Special treatment of people with disabilities is in accordance with Rawls' Equality Principle, in which an inequality could be applied to the worse-off people of the society, as they must face more hardship in life than those without disabilities. This falls under the purview of the Thai State through its bureaucracy and its social policy.

The Necessary Evils

Some negativity is, to some people, associated with the state, primarily its bureaucracies, constituting the state's arms and legs. There is some explanation to such negativity. Primarily, a characteristic of a bureau is its large size, which is common for state bureaucracies, since each bureaucracy deals with a large scope of tasks. That is because the state and its bureaucracies speak for the whole society, not just its parts (Heywood 2013, 70). For instance, there are some health, welfare, and internal security issues with labor and migrant labor, involving a span of four ministries–Ministry of Health, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, and the Ministry of Labor. Coordination and cooperation become a necessity in organizations with large size and scope of responsibility, together with many rules and regulations to follow. In the fulfillment of state's missions, there usually have to be some coordination and cooperation among subdivisions or departments within a ministry as well as across ministries. The above example of the attempt to increase the population of Thai and Burmese antelopes, representing endangered species, suggests a necessity for a concerted effort across state bureaucracies. There is a possibility of poor communication and coordination across these bureaus, leading to the commonly heard criticism about the troublesome management of state bureaucracies. Red tape is a terminology with a negative connotation associated with the inefficient operation of state bureaucracies (Downs 1967, 26-27, 100).

The lack of output market usually comprises another characteristic of a state bureaucracy. Economically, most organizations

are two-faced. On one side, they face input markets, where they purchase the scarce resources that they use to produce their outputs. On the other side, they face output markets, where they sell what they produce. The quid pro quo transaction of buying and selling of products provides an automatic evaluation of a producer's output. If products of organizations can be sold for more than the input costs, selling them means a profit to the producer, as well as the fact that the products are valuable to consumers willing to pay such a price. The free market system allocates scarce resources among firms, appreciating the products which consumers are willing to pay for, while disparaging those that deliver no profit. The market also provides a guide for evaluating the performance of individuals within firms. A salesperson, for instance, who brings in twice as many sales as another is obviously more valuable to a firm (Downs 1967, 29). Those involved in business transactions within the free market condition adjust their behavior in accordance with these market evaluations or signals, particularly the market output. These adjustments lead to efficiency of production and consumption within economic theory. For a non-quid pro quo state bureaucracy, such output market's essential message is naturally absent, as sales and profits are not the prime objective of most state bureaucracies. Therefore, no essential message exists that possibly helps adjust production and consumption.

Despite the shortcomings, the state and its bureaucracies are still needed. A terminology of "necessary evils" is given to them (Downs 1967, 32). Understandably, they are considered evils, usually with respect to their bulky size and troublesome management, mostly due to the much needed coordination and the lack of vital messages from the market mechanism. Nonetheless, the argument for the bureaucracy is similar to that for the state's role and policy. In fact, the state's vitality almost exactly equals the bureaucratic vitality, as suggested by the above discussion of economic and political rationales for the necessary evils.

The inequality problem constitutes another essential rationale for the state's policy. The above discussion of the market mechanism can only lead to efficient resource allocation. But there is virtually no market mechanism that can address the inequality issue of the society. From the above examples, production costs that outweigh the sales prices result in a loss to some firms. Also, a salesperson who could bring about a proportion of sale less than others' usually faces a professionally adverse situation. The firm in the former situation could possibly go out of business, while the salesperson in the latter example could lose his/her job to some others. Nothing in the market may redress these less-than ideal situations. Certain forms of assistance from the state's social welfare policies, such as social security and income support may correct part of such problems.

Within most state policies, some coercion is necessary. In fact, the state constitutes the only source of coercion vis-à-vis the private sector. The former actually coerces the latter through various types of public policy, from the Constitution to public laws and bureaucratic rules and regulations. Society and the private sector have no authority to coerce. The reasons behind the power of state coercion are, for example, reassuring some equality and justice and maintaining public safety. On the other hand, despite the rationales for the state's coercive power, many continue to associate it with the terminology of the necessary evils.

The Expansionist Dynamics of State Power

New Right theorists explain the expansion of state's role by both demand and supply side pressures. Demand side pressures emanate from society, as people normally prefer more to less, especially in a situation where there is no direct payment for the state's services. Public policy in the form of public programs is mostly financed by tax revenues. Such demand is satisfied by supplying policies and state services. This is explained in terms electoral politics, bureaucratic politics, and by public choice theory. Public choice theory explains policy making by assuming that individuals usually act in a self-interested fashion. Hence, within electoral politics, electoral competition encourages politicians to move ahead of their counterparts by making promises of increased spending and generous state programs. In Thailand as well as some other places, the terminology of populist policy connotes a generous supply of state programs. Within bureaucratic politics, bureaucratic self-interest is responsible for big government and state intervention, because they lead to an enlargement of the bureaucracy itself, which helps ensure job security, improved pay, open up promotion prospects, and enhance the status of public officials (Heywood 2013, 64-65). The expansionist explanation, therefore, constitutes a political explanation of the expansion of state roles and the increase in the number of public policies.

VI. More Argument for the State and Its Policy, Despite the State Withering Away Thesis

It is reiterated in this paper that public policy comes via the state's role. However, contrary views exist, such as the conception of the minimal state. This view regards as essential the role of the market and its mechanism in allocating societal resources, while belittling and detesting the state and its interventionist role in society. Even more highly negative views toward the state are classical communism and anarchism.

Anarchism denotes the situation of no rule, implying no existing formalized state of any kind. The anarchist ideology is defined by the

belief that political authority of all forms, and especially in the form of the state, is both evil and unnecessary. As such, anarchism asserts that the bureaucracy constitutes an unnecessary evil, not a necessary one (Downs 1967, 32). Anarchists favor the creation of a stateless society through the abolition of law and government. In their supposition, the state is evil because, as a repository of sovereign, compulsory, and coercive authority, it is anathema to the principles of freedom and equality. The state is unnecessary because order and social harmony do not have to be imposed through government. Central to anarchism is the assumption that people can manage their affairs via a voluntary agreement, without the need for top-down hierarchies or a system of rewards and punishments, which usually constitute the state's actions and roles (Heywood 2018, 92). Some anarchists perceive the government as being symbolized by "the club, the gun, the handcuff, or the prison." As discussed above, the state definitely has traces of such features, because it, in fact, monopolizes authority, vis-à-vis the private sector. Collectivism, as part of anarchist thought, is the belief that human beings are social animals, better suited to working together for the common good. There is a capacity for social solidarity and mutual assistance within human beings (Heywood 2018, 101).

Unlike other political ideologies, anarchism has never succeeded in becoming a reality, at least at the national level. No society or nation has been modeled according to the anarchist principles. The goal of anarchism–the overthrow of the state and dismantling of all forms of political authority–is widely considered to be unrealistic, if not impossible. The notion of a stateless society is sometimes seen as, at best, a utopian dream (Heywood 2018, 92-95). The earlier discussion indicates that states have an essential feature of coercion out of necessity. Order and social harmony, such as contracts fulfillment and respect for other people's property and freedom cannot always be guaranteed by the voluntary action of individuals, as proposed by anarchists. Positive voluntary actions on the part of individuals may be expected only whenever it is convenient to them. At other times, those voluntary actions may not be practical.

Classical Marxism, as part of the socialist conception, represents another political ideology that downplays the state's existence. The Marxist discontent with the state is mostly due to its core presumption that the state constitutes the instrument for the oppression of the exploited class. Being a bourgeois state, it is biased in favor of capital over labor. Hence, state policy usually benefits the bourgeoisie, the owners of productive wealth–capital–to the detriment of the proletariat, who live at near subsistence level, selling labor. Such socio-economic structure is bound to produce conflict between the two social classes, while being refereed by the biased

state. This conflict, however, instigates the proletariat to stage a revolution to overthrow the present system of class and production. The revolution, along with the dictatorship of the proletariat, as suggested by Marx, would at first reduce class antagonism and later abolish the class system. Ultimately, the state would wither away, as it loses its reason for existence.

Despite Marx's view of the state, in orthodox communism or the empirical happenstance of one form of socialism, the withering away of the state never took place. The communism that transpired in mid twentieth century Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin eradicated private enterprise within the collectivized state. However, instead of the withering away of the state as it lost its power, the state, in fact, gained even a stronger role, totally commanding society and the economy under a totalitarian state structure (Heywood 2012, 122-123; Heywood 2013, 70-71). Elsewhere, communist regimes existed in Eastern Europe and still exist in China, Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea, mostly with varying degrees of state command and control, extensively directing both the economy and society (Heywood 2018, 79).

Both classical communism and anarchism have never materialized in human history. The rejection of the state along with the dismantling of all forms of political authority actually proved to have been unrealistic. Conceptions regarding the state, such as the social contract and the general will seem to find their places in the history of mankind; in fact, they have a vital practicality in public policy, in that the private sector fails to function in many aspects, such as equality, social justice, morality, and public goods provision.

Today's real incidence of stateless people indicates that the state is still vital. Working in this particular area of social and international issue, the UNHCR emphasizes that today millions of people around the world are denied nationality. The international legal definition of a stateless person is one who is not assigned a nationality by any state under the operation of its law. There are many reasons why someone is a stateless person. These stateless people have difficulties accessing basic rights, such as education, healthcare, and employment, causing them much hardship in their lives (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, n.d.).

In Southeast Asia, the Rohingya have been living in Myanmar for generations. But Myanmar considers them as Muslims who immigrated during Colonial rule. Not having originated from Myanmar, they have not been granted full citizenship. According to the 1982 Burmese Citizenship Law, a Rohingya or any ethnic minority is eligible to citizenship only to citizenship if he/she provides proof that his/her ancestors have lived in the country prior to 1823 (The Hindu 2017). In today's statism, the state provides services to its citizens, such as healthcare,

education, personal and human security, along with many other services. Every person on this planet has the right to nationality and the right to say "I belong" to a place. Being without a nationality means lack of access to services provided by the state. Usually, these services and protection are provided not only by reason of their being essential, but also of morality, equality, and social justice. The problem with stateless people like the Rohingya is the fact that they do not receive the privilege of such state's services. They, therefore, usually carry on their lives without any healthcare, education, and employment security. Worse, for those like the Rohingya, they may have no permanent place to stay, while living in constant fear of being pushed away from a country, Myanmar, in the case of the Rohingya. As such, the issue of stateless people perhaps could support the argument that the state is still essential. As to the case of the Rohingya, without belonging to any state, their lives have been adversely affected. If the state were not necessary as some political ideologies suggest, stateless people would then not constitute a problem.

VII. Further Argument for the State and Its Sovereignty in the Policy Process, in spite of Globalization

One particular aspect of globalization in the discussion above comprises its impact on state sovereignty and, in effect, its role vis-à-vis state policies. One major part of globalization is transnational corporations (TNCs) and their role in national and world economies. Their impacts on both levels have been known to exist in today's borderless society and economy. On a more negative note, they have been said to exert control on global capitalism. Also on another is their effect on state sovereignty, as they possibly shake up state's policy making. An evidence of their role is the fact that they apparently erode state power (Stone 2007). Within corporatist, pluralist, and Marxist conceptions of the state and its making of policy, the private sector, mostly corporations, is seen as having a considerable number of roles to play in the economy, affecting state policy in one direction or another (Heywood 2013, 100-105). In this manner, state power and its sovereignty have been said to have been lost or lessened, to a certain extent. And given that corporations hold a privileged position in state policy making, the same is possibly true in the case of TNCs, if not much more so, due to their larger scope of operation and size (Lindblom 1977, 172-174). On a more positive note, albeit the TNCs' encroachment on the national policy making, states do make adjustments in cooperating with them. In fact, states do gain benefits in coexisting and trading with these international business organizations.

From a different angle, however, corporations, TNCs or not, all have the profit

motive uppermost on their minds. The operation and priority of TNCs across borders is usually not to enrich or privilege a specific locality, but rather to give their shareholders profits, wherever they may be (Stone 2007). As such, the involvement of these TNCs in state policy making is likely to be in particular areas, especially economic, tax and trade, which can possibly help them to send profits back to them and their shareholders. On the other hand, there is a wide span of other non-quid pro quo policy areas that are not attractive at all to the TNCs. These generally involve social welfare, public healthcare, health promotion, and public education, issues ultimately to do with social justice and equality. It is, therefore, highly probable that the state is able to retain its full sovereignty in these policy areas, which are usually not of interest to the TNCs. Thus, state sovereignty would be lost only in parts to the forces of globalization and to TNCs. But other parts of its sovereignty are still intact for the state to make policy.

VIII. Conclusion

All the discussion on the state and its role comprises a significant part of political science. The extent of such role vary according to the types of the state, as delineated in theory of the state. In all types, public policy is affected, with repercussions on public life and society. All the discussion in the paper juxtaposes such state role with its action in public policy. Along with both economic and political rationales for the state's policy function, the incidence of statelessness and stateless people, a global problem, should prove that the state is still vital. Also, despite globalization, state sovereignty still remains in many policy areas, aside from economic policy.

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