

Responding to Challenges in Local Governance: Comparing Hybrid Organizational Responses in Urban Areas of Thailand and Myanmar¹

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Abstract

In response to the public service challenges faced by urban areas, alternative models of governance have emerged to promote responsive, effective, and efficient public service provision consistent with the New Public Governance (NPG) and the New Public Service (NPS) paradigms of public administration. Often these responses involve complex inter-governmental and inter-sectoral arrangements, ‘engineered’ to solve public service problems. While there have been a variety of conceptualizations of how these organizationally complex arrangements emerge and operate, organizational theory has been under-utilized. The research objective of this article is to assess the conceptual and analytic value of hybrid organization analysis in an examination of two organizationally complex local public service approaches in urban areas of Thailand and Myanmar. To accomplish this objective, we first operationalize a hybrid organization in local governance conceptual and analytic framework. Using primarily qualitative data, we then apply evidence on the subject cases to test the explanatory value of

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this framework. Findings demonstrate that the application of the hybrid organization analysis approach contributes to understanding how and why organizationally complex local governance solutions emerge and operate in the case of Thailand and Myanmar. In each case, the hybrid organization approach has been adopted in response to a new public service challenge to which the existing governance structure did not offer any effective solution. We argue that deploying the hybrid organizational analytic approach to assess organizationally complex forms of NPG or NPS in urban settings adds to our understanding of their formation and operation.

Keywords: governance, local governance, good governance, hybrid organization, public service

Introduction

The search for efficient and effective governance solutions and the reality of dealing with public service problems that challenge the capacity of local government to respond responsively, effectively, and efficiently often results in complex inter-governmental and inter-sectoral organizational ‘engineering.’ These complex organizational arrangements, which might include multiple public jurisdictions or agencies, private for-profit organizations, nonprofit organizations, and other civic groups, blend together their organizational characteristics and resources to create adaptive responses to problems of local governance (Crumpton, 2008; Lowatcharin, Crumpton, and Pacharoen, 2019). The intent of this article is to consider how these complex organizational arrangements in local governance emerge and operate in Southeast Asia by examining two cases: one in a small urban area of Thailand and the other in Myanmar’s largest city.

To frame the article’s consideration of organizational complexity in local governance, we begin with a brief review of relevant literature on the search for good governance on the local level in the face of growing citizen needs and demands, and limited capacity among local governments to respond to them. Since the cases considered are located in Southeast Asia, the literature review will also consider the context of local governance in Southeast Asia. Additionally,

we introduce the hybrid organizational approach to the analysis of organizational complexity in local government and consider its potential conceptual and analytic value.

Before moving forward, the meaning of ‘organizational complexity’ as used in this article should be clarified. We see organizational complexity on three levels of analysis. The first level involves organizational fields (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). Populous urban areas around the world represent complex organizational fields that include many governmental and nongovernmental entities that provide a vast array of public services to support daily urban life. On the second level of analysis, sub-organizational field groupings of organizations accomplish numerous urban public service provision tasks in distinct areas of public problems and services. Individual public and private organizations make diverse arrangements through informal and formal forms of collaboration and combination (Oakerson, 1999). On the individual organization level of analysis, organizations possessing diverse organizational characteristics and resources might blend them with those of other organizations (Borys and Jemison, 1989) to create public service production and delivery responses in public service areas of local governance organizational fields. The full picture of ‘complexity’ involves a dizzying collection of organizational relationships that cross these levels of analysis in urban areas (Crumpton, 2008; Lowatcharin, et al., 2019).

Literature Review

The Search for Good Governance in Public Service Provision: NPM, NPG, and NPS

The concept of ‘governance’ in public administration theory, research, and practice emerged in the last quarter of the twentieth century as a general conceptual frame in contrast to traditional conceptualizations of public administration (Osborne, 2010). This re-conceptualization of public administration has been a product of the push for responsive, effective, and efficient forms of public service provision and has

progressed through three general paradigmatic moves: New Public Management (NPM), New Public Governance (NPG), and New Public Service (NPS) (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993; Hirst, 2000; Klijn, 2002; Osborne, 2013; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2003; Peters and Pierre, 1998).

In NPM's focus on flexible problem solving, an entrepreneurial attitude and pragmatic managerial approaches were valued over classic public administration's hierarchical order (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2016). NPM embraces business-sector managerial techniques, market-based strategies, privatization, and public-private partnerships to improve public service effectiveness and efficiency across public service domains (Osborne, 2006; Rhodes, 1996; Peters and Pierre, 1998). NPG should be seen as a corrective to NPM to improve responsiveness and accountability to citizens. Like NPM, NPG looks beyond the hard boundaries of public bureaucracies to make connections with extra-governmental sources to find solutions to public service problems. 'Governance' as conceptualized under NPG involves complex constellations of cross-sectoral relations among government, for-profit private entities, nonprofit organizations, community groups, and individual citizens in public problem solving. NPG privileges effectiveness, public accountability, and responsiveness to citizen needs. Government interaction with other actors results in blending inter-sectoral interests, capabilities, and capacities in the search for public problem solutions (Osbourne, 2006, 2010; Peters, 2011). NPG is often simply referred to as 'governance.' NPS is a citizen-oriented public administration approach that focuses on democratic governance, including the involvement of active citizens, communities, civil society, and other development/humanitarian organizations. It highlights collaborative models and solutions that involve multiple actors outside of government for collective responses to public service provision and delivery challenges (Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015; Robinson, 2015).

Governance on the Local Level

As the closest point of contact between the citizen and the state, local level governance - in terms of both government's exertion of authority

and its responsibility to meet citizen needs and demands for public services - has received substantial attention by theorists and researchers (UNDP, 2018). This interest in local level governance is in part a result of its innovative responses to public service problems in the form of relatively immediate changes in institutional arrangements desired by political leaders and citizens. (Wilson, 2000; Agranoff and McGuire, 2004; Denters and Rose, 2005; Shah, 2006; Stoker, 2011).

Conceptualization of governance as NPG or NPS on the local level incorporates direct and indirect roles of local public institutions, the business community, nonprofit agencies, civic organizations, and neighborhood associations in shared action concerning local public problems. It includes vertical and horizontal inter-governmental interactions, as well as local public service provision approaches that blend the interests and resources of participants within and outside of government (Shah, 2006).

The global literature on local governance has been most frequently associated with decentralization, corruption reduction, and responsiveness to citizens. As governmental responsibility has been exerted on the local level in developing settings, so too have been governance models as platforms for diverse interests coming together to realize shared social and economic development objectives (Shah, 2006). Local governance is seen as essential for improving life, reducing poverty, and enhancing relations between citizens and public and private institutions (UNDP, 2018). As actors in governance relationships, local governments serve both as entrepreneurs and consumers of public goods and services in the local public economies in which they are situated (Stoker, 2011; Oakerson, 1999). They are available for citizen engagement to improve the responsiveness and accountability characteristics of decision making associated with the processes and products of governance (Haque, 2003). Since populous urban areas have been identified as the knowledge and technology drivers of national and global economic growth, the effectiveness of their governance approaches to public problem solving have consequences at the local, national, and international levels of analysis

(Sassen, 2012). Local governance is attractive because it is less top-down and hierarchical, more bottom-up and networked. Moreover, public-private partnerships and problem-solving solutions involving voluntarism are more easily created to accomplish public service objectives (Hooghe and Marks, 2002; Peters and Pierre, 1998).

Stoker (2011) argues that complex arrangements involving more interests than those of local political and administrative leaders require that government play new and different roles. In local governance settings, public managers pursue multiple-organizational arrangements to tackle the problems that individual entities cannot solve alone or cannot solve as efficiently or effectively. Individual organizations often lack the capacity or capability to adequately build and implement needed responses to public service problems. As a result, collaborations emerge among public and private organizations in urban settings which involve inter-organizational arrangements that create exchanges and combinations of resources to deliver public services (Stoker, 2011). These relationships involve process and structural transformations that include blending of capacities and capabilities in the form of interactive processes among multiple stakeholders to address public problems (Saito, 2008). We argue that these organizational transformations in urban areas involve many different organizational variables that can be identified, measured, and analyzed in terms of their impact on the nature of governance.

Urban Governance

Urban population growth is a global phenomenon, with developing countries experiencing the most rapid rates of growth. As a result, urban areas of the world face challenges across public service domains that have required flexible tools of governance involving local, regional, and national government as well as other stakeholders to collectively plan, finance, build, and manage the necessary public services and projects (Avis, 2016). The way that local governments engage in public service problem solving emphasizes multi-stakeholder involvement across

governmental and private sectors. Governance applied in urban settings leads to shared responsibilities that overcome organizational barriers to facilitate problem solving. New formal and informal inter-sectoral structures and processes are intended to develop practical solutions to urban problems (Raco, 2009; UN-Habitat, 2010).

Urban governance also represents a setting for the search for alternative solutions to existing approaches in developing societies. Governance in urban settings draws attention to the importance of sustainable development principles of the inclusiveness, citizenship, accountability, and effectiveness needed to accommodate development and environmental protection (Badach and Dymnick, 2017).

A Model of Hybrid Organization in Local Governance

Drawing upon the conceptual and analytic groundwork of Crumpton (2008), Lowatcharin, et al. (2019) introduced the idea of applying hybrid organizational analysis to local governance. They argue that conceptualizing local governance should go beyond the concepts of NPM, NPG, and NPS to consider the inter-organizational ‘engineering’ that frequently occurs in organizationally complex public economies of urban areas. In unstable local governance settings, local governments develop public service problem-solving approaches that include complex arrangements with other public entities and private organizations. These inter-organizational responses range from informal temporary arrangements to formal, highly stable forms that might include the creation of new public or quasi-public organizations. These responses take on a hybrid nature that involves blending the characteristics and resources of the collaborating entities - what Crumpton (2008) refers to as ‘source organizations’ - to address specific public service problems in local governance (Lowatcharin, et al., 2019). Hybrid organizational responses reflect the purposes, goals, structures, processes, budgets, and staff of multiple source organizations. Figure 1 graphically illustrates how hybrid responses to public service problems emerge in organizationally complex settings of urban local governance.

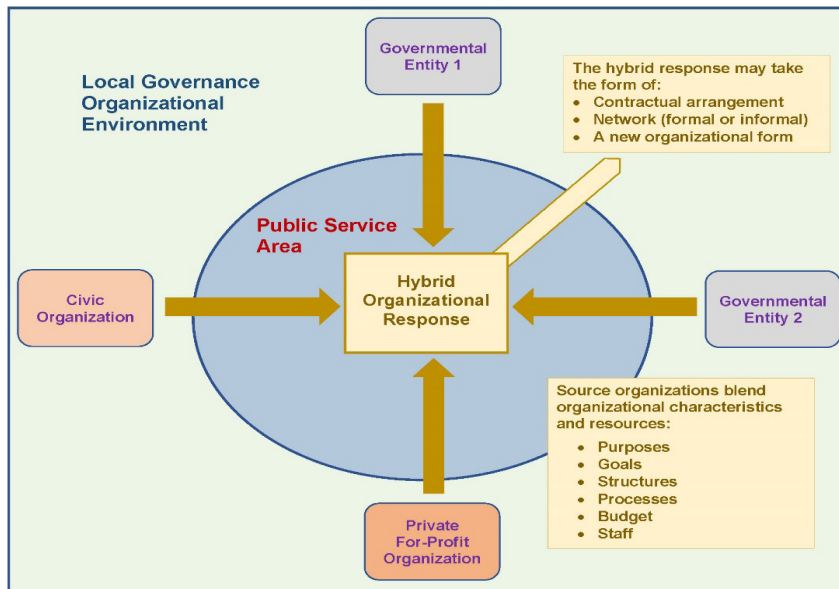


Figure 1 Model of hybrid organizational responses to public service problems in local governance

Hybrid organizational analysis by Crompton (2008) as represented by Lowatcharin, et al. (2019) provides a platform for assessing the impact of organizationally complex arrangements in local governance. It goes beyond conceptualizations of inter-organizational relationships in governance, such as networks or quasi-governmental organizations, to look inside the ‘black box’ of how these relationships are ‘engineered’ and their organizational characteristics materialize. Application of hybrid analysis can assist in measuring the consequentiality of governance arrangements. Hybrid organizational analysis produces evidence regarding the comparative commitments that participating ‘source organizations’ make to hybrid organizational responses in local governance. This approach demonstrates the relative stakes that participating entities have in the hybrid organization, offers potential evidence regarding the relative extent of control each might have over its operation, and considers which

agendas of participating source organizations are being promoted (Crumpton, 2008; Lowatcharin, et al., 2019).

Local Governance Experience in Southeast Asia

The cities of Southeast Asia have been identified as drivers of economic activity to realize national development goals (Gonzalez and Mendoza, 2002; UN-HABITAT, 2011). To support this role and improve the responsiveness and efficiency of public service provision, they have adopted local governance models that promote engagement among local government, the business sector, and civil society (Sheng, 2010; Saroza, 2006). Regarding the nations considered in this article, the literature shows that there has been scant attention to local governance in terms of organizational variables that are the focus of this article (Siriprakob, 2007; Haque, 2010; Chardchawarn, 2010; Kendpihule, 2013; Lowatcharin, 2014; Lowatcharin, et al., 2019).

In Thailand, consideration of effective governance on the local level has been obscured by the nation’s decades-long tug-of-war between centralized control over governmental activities on the local level and the expectation/demand/need for governmental decentralization. One area of governance that has been given some attention by scholars involves transparency and citizen engagement. A product of the nation’s stunted move toward decentralization from the 1990s to the 2014 military coup has been greater citizen engagement and transparency regarding the planning and implementation of public activities on the local level (Siriprakob, 2007; Haque, 2010; Chardchawarn, 2010; Kendpihule, 2013; Lowatcharin, 2014; Lowatcharin, et al., 2019).

In Myanmar, international development agencies have focused on the role of local governance in supporting democratization and development objectives. The Asia Foundation has argued that basic questions, such as identifying which governance problems are most important and the relative role of subnational government must be resolved (Arnold, 2016). UNDP has promoted what it sees as local governance objectives by supporting reforms intended to improve local public service provision, increase social accountability,

enhance bottom-up planning, and strengthen social cohesion and dialogue-building capacities. To do this it has focused on four areas: (1) strengthening the institutional capacity of state/region governments and local administrations; (2) strengthening civic engagement for social accountability, peacebuilding, and human rights; (3) fostering access to inclusive finance; and (4) encouraging social cohesion, peace-building capacity development, community resilience, and recovery (UNDP, 2015b). UNDP has sought to focus its attention on local governance by creating a baseline ‘mapping’ of the state of local governance in Myanmar. In this regard it considered the following aspects: the historic context of local governance in Myanmar; existing institutions of local governance; existing capacity and capability for service delivery on the local level; existing levels of accountability and transparency; and the extent of citizen participation (UNDP, 2015a).

While the literature reveals that local governance in Southeast Asia has received scholarly attention, compared to other regions of the world, it appears to have received less attention - both in terms of breadth and depth. This article addresses this deficiency by offering evidence of organizational complexity in the form of the hybrid organization exhibited in examples of local governance in urban areas of Thailand and Myanmar.

Methodology

The study includes evidence produced in two case studies. The two-case study approach utilized follows Yin’s (2012) contention that the value of multiple case study designs involves the logic of replication. Including two or more cases can be seen as simultaneous replication of what might otherwise be considered as only preliminary or exploratory research. It offers immediate confirmatory value in assessing concepts under consideration. In the current study the conceptual and analytic value of the hybrid organizational framing is applied in two distinct settings, thus offering the immediate and contemporaneous

confirmatory value suggested by Yin (2012). Again, consistent with Yin’s (2012) analysis of how cases should be selected, for this study the cases were selected in terms of the researchers’ assessment of their potential representativeness of the phenomenon of interest - hybrid organization in local governance. The process of selecting the cases involved examination of the subject organizations’ websites and secondary resources in the search of preliminary evidence of their ‘hybridness.’

Both cases represent characteristics of central conceptual interest to the research: they are forms of local governance that have been assessed as likely to possess characteristics of hybrid organization described in the preceding section. Variations in their settings contribute to the potentially generalizable value of the findings derived from the research. The cases are located in different countries, Thailand and Myanmar. These two nations have experienced substantial political, economic, and social transition. The hybrid organizational responses considered in this study include contextual differences and address different functional issues in local governance. The Myanmar case involves historic preservation, while the Thailand case addresses urban transportation problems. One case is located in one of the largest urban regions of Southeast Asia (Yangon), while the other case is located in a small metropolitan area (Khon Kaen). One case involves public policy and service provision in a small, relatively economically and socially homogeneous geographic area, while the other case involves service to an entire large urban region with the diverse economic and social activity that might be expected.

The primary source of data for the study consisted of semi-structured interviews with 20 respondents who had direct knowledge of the cases. This primary data was supplemented by a review of subject organization documents, examination of the organization’s websites, published articles concerning the cases, and researcher observation of the cases and their operating environments.

Findings and Discussion

In the following sub-sections, the study applies the Lowatcharin and Crumpton model of hybrid organization in local governance (Lowatcharin and Crumpton, 2019) to cases in Thailand and Myanmar: The Khon Kaen Transit System (KKTS) in Khon Kaen Province, Thailand and the Yangon Heritage Trust (YHT) in Yangon Region, Myanmar. The preliminary assessment discussed in the preceding section revealed that the two cases were potential candidates representing hybrid organizational responses in local governance. The following discussion offers evidence of the analytic value of the hybrid organizational framing in assessing complex inter-organizational solutions to public service problems in local governance, as well as confirming that KKTS and YHT are examples of the processes and products of hybrid organization that emerge and operate in urban governance.

Khon Kaen Transit System

Over the past decade government, business, and other community leaders have collaborated to identify the need to address traffic congestion in the Khon Kaen urban area as essential to realizing sustainable economic development and improving the quality of life for citizens. This collaboration has formed an important component of Khon Kaen's broader interest in introducing the smart city model of urban governance to the Khon Kaen urban area. Consistent with characteristics suggested by NPG, this interest crystallized as the Khon Kaen Smart City Initiative (KKSCI) that was formed among multiple inter-sectoral stakeholders including Khon Kaen University, Khon Kaen Municipality, Khon Kaen Chamber of Commerce, civil society groups, and other community interests. The ultimate transportation governance approach that emerged in the form of KKTS forms the 'smart mobility' component of KKSCI (Theparat, 2018). It includes five governmental entities and should be assessed as the product of NPG collaborative public service problem solving among inter-sectoral actors as described earlier in this article.

The inter-sectoral group of community leaders that identified and sought solutions to the Khon Kaen area traffic congestion problem also encountered the kind of structural problems that governance solutions often are introduced to overcome. As they determined that a mass transit solution in the form of a light rail train (LRT) system was the preferred approach to deal with the urban area's transportation problems, they also found that the governmental actors with authority to address the problem lacked the capacity and capability to do so. Neither of the five municipalities that comprise the Khon Kaen urban area nor the Khon Kaen provincial government possessed the management capability or financial capacity to plan, design, construct, and operate an LTR system. Ultimately, with the blessing of the Thai central government, collaboration among the urban area's municipal governments and the provincial government and assistance from Khon Kaen University, the inter-sectoral problem-solving community leadership group developed a financing and organizational framework that became KKTS (Taweesaengsakulthai, 2019).

The organizational solution involved the five municipalities of the Khon Kaen urban area agreeing to create a quasi-public organization under national law that would plan, construct, and operate an LRT system. The organization that was formed, KKTS, would also assume responsibility for servicing the innovative financing approach developed for the project, the provincial investment fund (PIF). As source organizations for KKTS, the five participating municipalities made initial capital contributions for its startup. They further collaborated to pursue the documentation required under Thai law for KKTS to be established and operate as a corporate entity to reflect its potential position in the private sector. They each also appointed representatives to serve on the KKTS board of directors, which in turn would appoint the top executives of the organization from among their number (KKTS, 2019).

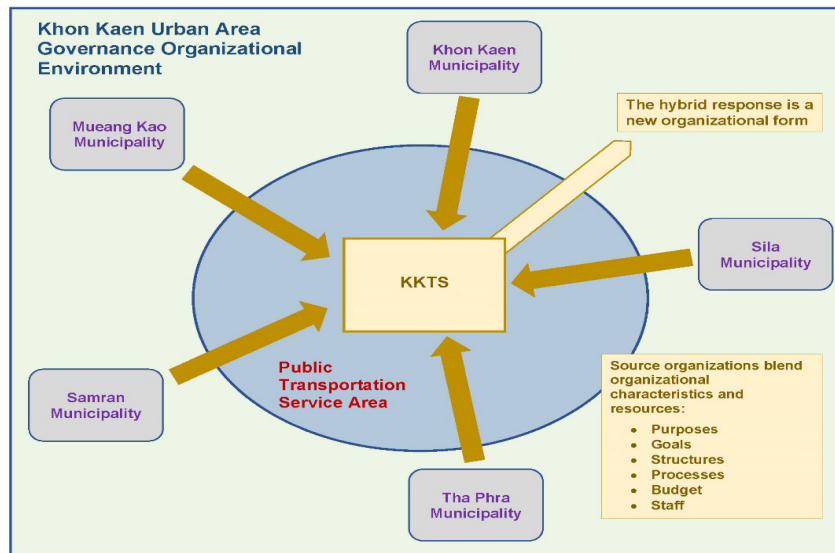


Figure 2 Applying the model of hybrid organization in local governance: The organizational environment, public service problem area, and source organizations of the Khon Kaen Transit System (KKTS)

Figure 2 provides a graphic representation of KKTS as a hybrid organizational entity according to the conceptual terms described earlier in this article. It was created as response to a public service problem identified by inter-sectoral interests via NPG-type processes in the organizational environment of local governance in the Khon Kaen urban area. KKTS was created as an organizational response to address the urban transportation problem because the public jurisdictions occupying the local governance space lacked the capability and capacity to do so. The five municipalities created structural and process connections and blended the staff, financial, and other resources required to create KKTS as a viable organization. Thus, according to the characteristics that we described earlier, the case of KKTS clearly represents the operation of the sort of organizational complexity that often emerges in the governance of urban areas to address public service problems. The hybrid organization conceptual and analytic approach

proves to be useful in understanding how the processes and products of hybridization emerge and operate in local governance. It also offers analytic clarity regarding how KKTS might be assessed in terms of both NPG and NPS.

Yangon Heritage Trust

Since Myanmar emerged from decades of armed conflict and isolation from the global economic system, Yangon, the nation's largest city, has experienced rapid development. With this rapid growth, particularly in Yangon's city center and adjacent areas, concern grew among a variety of interests regarding the impact on the city's quality of life and particularly on its heritage assets. Since Yangon is home to one of Southeast Asia's most extensive and best-preserved collection of colonial architecture, concern grew among a diverse group including the city's historic preservation activists and others regarding the protection of Yangon's heritage assets. This concern was exacerbated by the fact that Yangon's city and regional government did not possess the organizational capability or capacity to address the problem. In 2012, as in the case in Khon Kaen, an inter-sectoral group of community leaders emerged to address a problem in public service provision. It identified the problem of protecting Yangon heritage assets in the context of rapid urban development and sought a solution in local governance to address it. Unlike the case of the community leaders that addressed the Khon Kaen urban area's transportation problem but lacked an immediate organizational response, this group of architects, local and international historic preservation experts, businesspersons, and residents in Yangon's colonial district were able to take direct action to build an organizational response to this local public problem (YHT, 2019a).

This collective concern and action focused on producing an organizational response in the form of an entity that could push for the educational, policy, and programmatic actions needed to protect Yangon's heritage assets. Thus, the original group of concerned interests, in collaboration with city officials and Myanmar central government

agencies with responsibility for planning and development, created the Yangon Heritage Trust (YHT) as a non-governmental organization under Myanmar law. While YHT was formed as non-governmental entity, according to terms identified by Moe and Kosar (2005), it emerged to effectively function as a quasi-governmental entity in local governance. In addition to its educational and heritage protection and promotion activities, YHT was intended to influence Yangon urban planning and development policy in the form of the Yangon Heritage Strategy (YHT, 2019b).

In the year after its formation in 2012, YHT began to demonstrate its institutionalized place in the organizational environment of Yangon urban region governance by the attraction of the source organizations indicated in Figure 3. Compared to KKTS, YHT has relied on a more complex and diverse grouping of organizational collaborators to create the financial and operational resources needed to accomplish its heritage asset protection objectives. In addition to the financial resources and advocacy support provided by YHT's source organizations, their representatives also serve on the organization's board of directors and fill its management positions. YHT blended purposes, staff, and financial resources to address a public problem of local governance that none of its source organizations could address as effectively or efficiently. Furthermore, YHT can be seen as a move toward NPG and NPS in the interest of finding and executing an inter-sectoral and inter-organizational solution to a public problem.

As exhibited by its diverse and changeable set of source organizations, the case of YHT differs in many ways from that of KKTS. However, like KKTS, it can be clearly seen as an example of how hybrid organizational analysis can add clarity to understanding how and why organizationally complex solutions to problems in local governance are 'engineered' by pre-existing organizational and other stakeholders. While KKTS and YHT were formed as hybrid responses to problems in local governance, they were organized and function very differently. KKTS was established by its source municipal organizations under Thai law to function as a quasi-public corporation to perform a public service

function identified by inter-sectoral interests in its urban governance environment to function essentially as would a private corporation. As it develops and operates an LTR system, KKTS will be driven to maximize revenue and minimize costs similar to a private company.

In contrast, YHT was formed under Myanmar law to function as a non-profit organization and perform as quasi-governmental entity. While it seeks to function efficiently, it is not driven to generate revenue to service debt obligations and high operating costs as is the case with KKTS. Both cases clearly exhibit characteristics of hybrid organizations according to the Lowatcharin and Crumpton model of hybrid organization in local governance. Both organizations are intended to address national and regional sustainable economic development objectives.

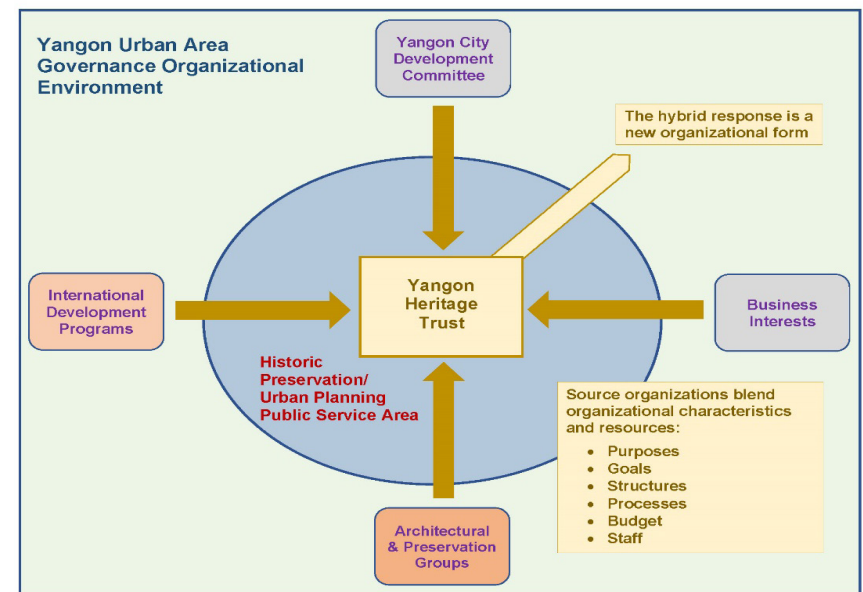


Figure 3 Applying the model of hybrid organization in local governance: The organizational environment, public service problem area, and source organizations of Yangon Heritage Trust (YHT)

Conclusion

The concept of governance emerged as a theoretical and paradigmatic shift in public administration to respond to the challenges of public service provision in complex societies comprised of diverse interests. Governance, as represented in the NPG and NPS approaches, involves multiple stakeholders in public policy development and public service production and provision. It emphasizes collective action and collaboration between and among public, private, and civil society sectors as a modern response to old societal problems. Public problem identification and solution development often involve inter-organizational arrangements among entities from different sectors (Osborne, 2006, 2010; Peters, 2011; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2015). As a result, governance also can be described in terms of organizational complexity involving various forms of collaboration of multiple organizations (Lowatcharin, et al., 2019). In this article we have argued that this is a distinguishing characteristic of local governance in organizationally rich urban areas around the world.

We have further argued that the lens drawn from organizational study, hybrid organizational analysis, adds greater clarity to our understanding of how organizational ‘engineering’ occurs as multiple governmental and non-governmental organizational entities blend their characteristics and resources to address commonly-held problems for which they do not possess the capability or capacity to address separately (Crumpton, 2008; Lowatcharin, et al., 2019; Lowatcharin and Crumpton, 2019).

In applying this conceptual and analytic approach to two distinct cases in urban areas of Thailand and Myanmar, we demonstrated the usefulness of the hybrid organization analytic approach in assessing how organizationally complex solutions emerged and operate in the cases of KKTS and YHT. While they were formed by very different sets of actors to address very different problems, and have many differences in their contextual characteristics, in both cases we demonstrated the sort of ‘organizational engineering’ described by

Lowatcharin and Crumpton (Crumpton, 2008; Lowatcharin, et al., 2019, Lowatcharin and Crumpton, 2019). In doing so, we addressed two deficiencies in the international literature on local governance. First, by applying the hybrid organizational analysis approach, the article contributes practical understanding of how organizationally complex local governance approaches emerge and operate. Second, the present article contributes to understanding local governance approaches in urban areas of Thailand and Myanmar.

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