

## The Making of Start-up Entrepreneur in Chiang Mai: Neoliberalism, Space-Time and Negotiation

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### ABSTRACT

*The purposes of this research were 1) to explore and causes of problem that occurred in the process of startup, and what are the obstacles that they are facing? 2) to examine the fundamental of the problem, the actual cause of problem that the startup entrepreneur have to face 3) to reveal the process of negotiating of a startup, operational and tools to dominate and negotiate with the problem. The interview form and questionnaires were utilized as research tools. In-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and a quasi-experimental design were used to gather data. Content analysis was used to assess qualitative data from 12 key informants, while descriptive statistics were used to analyze quantitative data from 134 samples. Results indicated that 1) What is the challenge of a startup entrepreneur in Chiang Mai? It was discovered that there are three problems: disparity in access to economic resources, establishing a firm from the ground up, and negotiating the connections of diverse groups. 2) . The most critical prerequisite for new business owners is to build up money over time. The term "time" refers to contestants who are racing against the clock. include fluctuations in the economy 3) policies and procedures assisting new business owners. The Thai government does not comprehend and is unable to assist. In and of itself, it's a contradictory policy. The state is uninterested in originality, but it does assist enterprises that can get finance through a network of extensions.*

### Keywords

Startup entrepreneur, Neoliberalism, Negotiation

### INTRODUCTION

A startup is a form of doing business. The startup uses a technology and creates its innovation based on digital experts. Steve Blank (2010) gave the definition of startups as organization forms established for a repeatable and scalable of business model. The importance of the definition of startups is repeatable and scalable. Both repeatable and scalable are different from SMEs business. The startup business is also a new economic foundation for the future of Thailand. Due to startup is simple, the initial cost is not high, and the technology and /or innovation used as the core of business creation are designed to be able to repeat and scale without limits, economic value added and business growth have been increased (Thailand Startup Association, 2016). At present, startups have changed the economic model of many countries around the world. The startup has been divided according to the type of technology used. The advantages of a startup are a repeat condition that will result in the same product, product or service can be created, the service size can be expanded rapidly. This is considered to increase the number of customers in multiples. The disadvantages, for example; the current government faces the entry of foreign startups that do not use personnel in that country, which causes no more employment. The state receives taxes from startups fewer than multinational corporations that come to open businesses in the country. Business operators may also lose benefits when starting to destroy the economy in the same way as in the case of Grab, the personal bus booking platform that comes into the country. As a result, some taxi drivers have to lose revenue benefits (BBC News, 2016).

Since the national development agenda with innovation, established in 2016, the state has more support in the form of starters which can be from financial support. A cooperation has been created with the private sector in the establishment of an innovative incubation program. National event such as Startup Thailand has been organized. Innovation in higher education, regional and national startup competition has been supported (SIPA, 2016). In 2014, Thailand Tech Startup Association, an organization formed by the startup in Thailand, was created the White Paper. The proposals of the association on law, tax compliance and investment were considered to be improved by the government. A startup trade association of promoting new technology entrepreneurs was supported. Development of startups in Thailand is due to the development of each private sector before the state support. From the public sector since 2016, the government has agreed to assign the OSMEP (Office of Small and Medium Enterprises Promotion) to install strategies and plans on promoting SMEs in the short-term by creating a new entrepreneur development program (Startup). This is to bring the target group to those who interested in doing business or who have started a business soon. For those who have started the business no more than three years, have not registered a commercial, legal entity or have not yet entered the tax system and community enterprises, not yet registered as juristic persons, entering into the process of developing competitiveness by receiving cooperation from other relevant agencies such as public and private financial institutions; OSMEP, the first agency that has been assign a state mission that has a role with the startup group. The definition of startups then will be a business model that uses innovation and technology as a heart of the business. The state also lost the meaning of a startup as an initial enterprise. The

definition and meaning of the startup operator that expands the definition to cover a wide and different one another are attempting to be demonstrated.

The economy moves into a new form of using innovation and technology to create a business. As being the impact on the government, the world has to change the policy on the economy to support the leap of technology businesses that have to create value added to all countries. In 2016, the government of General Prayut Chan-O-Cha established Thailand 4.0 policy. This aim for making Thailand has become a country of a higher replacement current condition. Thailand is also a country that attaches to a country that has been in the medium level. One of the productions of the policy in Thailand 4.0 is the support to create a startup entrepreneur in Thailand. In the current, Thailand can be divided into five main levels of startup. There are international, national, regional or provincial, local, and hybrid level. (National Economic and Social Development, 2017). The numbers of startup in Thailand was establish in Bangkok. There is however only one part of the startup in the province of the main cities which was born during Thailand 4.0. Chiang Mai, the northern of Thailand that the government has to the importance in the development of innovative and entrepreneurs in the digital signature with the university in the northern.

From the model, archive upload five formats in Thailand, the located in the growth of the archive to upload a different in potential and the competition competitive business. The startup Thailand is divided into two types which are the startup options and startups who do not accept to be selected. The startup option can be determined to self-growth and choose to stop the growth of the service area. They are can be an increase in revenue from the business model and expand the customer base in the area. While the entries do not accept to be selected will not be able to expand, base on the guests to more than. The problem of the expansion is the restriction of the entries do not receive the care from the government and few startups are success in Thailand can grow to millions of users. When most startup cannot step from a province or region. The long-term those startups may have an end that is no different from the OTOP product that has many repeatable village products (National Economic and Social Development, 2017). A competition by cutting prices may not be different from many small startups that have repeatable and replicable business models. The end of an unapproved startups may occur because it cannot grow further in long term and cannot have enough support from the government (Chaninthorn, 2018). Another barrier for startup is also a law in Thailand that is not consistent and workable to start the business as well as the education system. Young people who are the end of the study did not have accumulated knowledge for the new business and being the owner of the business. This barrier is very important when the world has changed whereas the education system still the same in the growing country (SME Bank, 2560).

The Startup in Chiang Mai consists of two main groups. Firstly, a startup found by a foreign use of Chiang Mai base to create a startup without the necessity to have the customer base is the Thai people. The reason why a foreigner lives and create a startup in Chiang Mai is because of a positive factor such as the appropriate to create a startup in terms of living

cost and the quality of life (Hynes, 2016). Secondly, a startup found by Thai people who live in Chiang Mai as a base to create a startup business. Both groups have a distinct archive to upload by a foreign entrepreneur or the digital nomad's group will have a group together itself is a weekly activity through the appointment in the application and social media. The entries found by Thai people in Chiang Mai is less than those found in Bangkok.

The Startup of Thai people in Chiang Mai, named "Startup CNX - New Startup Chiang Mai", was established through the Facebook Group. There are 491 members which are only 1.8 percent compared to alliances of the Chiang Mai digital nomads group with over 27,037 members (Startup, Ban Hao, 2561). The member of Startup-CNX group, a person who works a startup business in Chiang Mai, quite well known and has moved away from general worker being a digital worker. There are a different way from the group the foreign startup completely on the archive to the Thai people in Chiang Mai. In general, work base does not have to be moved to the other provinces. The wake up the startup that the government has made a public relation in Bangkok and the region as a result, the Thai startup in Chiang Mai, there is created informal. Activities of Thai startups and foreign-invested group are not relevant and do not have to create a partnership. For the observation in startups found steps in Chiang Mai, there are small numbers of users that can expand the base of service to the other provinces. Although there are a few numbers of startups, they are well known. They support one another such as lending digital personnel for another startup in case of shortage personnel (Chiang Mai Digital Nomads, 2018).

Startups in Chiang Mai, have been supported through government programs as the main sponsor. For example; the new entrepreneur development project (Startup or new entrepreneur) via the Office of Small and Medium Enterprises Promotion, to develop and promote to be a new entrepreneur ready to adapt and upgrade to SME 4.0 plan. Linking the organization to promote the entrepreneur in the body of knowledge, consulting, applying research, innovation, and technology to marketing leading production. Increasing production efficiency as appropriate lead to an increase in competitiveness in entering the entrepreneurial society (OSM, 2019). Target groups are students, general individuals, entrepreneurs who are not legal entities, community enterprises, smart farmers, and juristic persons who have been in business for no more than three years. Another project support, Northern Innovative Startup Thailand (NIST), a training project create innovative and technological entrepreneurs in the northern region. The NIST project is a collaboration between the Science and Technology Park, Chiang Mai University (STeP), Ministry of Science and Technology. National Innovation Agency Office of the Secretariat of the Science Park Business Promotion Committee (MOU), Northern Chamber of Commerce and the Northern Science Park (Northern Innovative Startup Thailand, MPU), etc.

There were two groups of startups in Chiang Mai, foreign and Thai. Most members are residents. In this context, startups mean a group of entrepreneurs. In business model that they use technology and innovation as the core of operations. Also, the startup is a new entrepreneur or those

who started the enterprise. According to the target of government project, new entrepreneurial potential development project follows Thailand 4.0 policy. Startups in Chiang Mai often has the conditions of expansion and business size that are limited more than the startup business run by foreigner's startups. The conditions gain access to government support, especially foreign startup control, are not serious and not cover. These include legal conditions that do not support business startups. Education system does not follow current social context. It affected those who need to be a startup entrepreneur. Lacking knowledge and skills to be enough making those who want to be a startup, there is a need to be more than a need, but without skills to build and fight in the economy. Thus, in my study to a group of startups who are Thai refer to new entrepreneurs and those who use technology and innovation for running a business. To study in the problems and causes of problems, including the negotiation with the problems for the startup faces.

### LITERATURE REVIEWS

Many people have heard the term "Startup" for quite some time. Now, both the public and private sectors of Thailand are pushing the start-up business to create both value and acceptance in the world market. Both by creating new technology and innovation. Is a matter that is gaining a lot of attention in the Thailand 4.0 era, especially from the young generation who want to be entrepreneurs, whose initial capital is not very high. Build up with interesting ideas. These things lead to the new generation to startup business more and more. According to the 2018 Thailand Startup Ecosystem Survey, revealing the performance of startups, found that startups that are able to generate revenue accounted for 63.72 percent, of which 40 percent of Star Up that began to make money after establishing a business for 6 months. According to the continuous growth data from Techsauce Startup Report 2018, in 2015, there were 27 Thai startups that received funds In total of 36.30 million US dollars in 2016, 31 Thai start-up companies received a total of 78.17 million US dollars. In 2017, 31 Thai start-ups received a total of 10.6 million US dollars. In 2018, there were 35 Thai start-ups receiving a combined grant of US \$ 61.25 million. However, successful start-up business numbers That is able to stand business for more than 1-3 years with only 10%, which is a great challenge for those entering this business.

From the 20 years national strategy policy. The state wants to build a foundation for the new generation to have skills and spirit in doing business, focusing on digital technology that will help change the structure, economy and society, and can help the country overcome the middle income trap. The government therefore attaches great importance to this startup business, as it is seen that Thailand is the future of Thailand.

Now, it is the era of Digital Transformation in which technology has played a role in every dimension and context of social change. It can be said that this period is the intersection of many new opportunities and upcoming businesses. At the same time, at this time of the Industrial Revolution, it was the collapse of the old business. If those businesses do not prepare and adapt to move the organization forward. A few years ago, it was believed that many People

probably look at the competition of large corporations and startups like the phrase 'Big fish eats small fish'. However, big fish cannot swim as fast as smaller fish. So what will the competition be like in this business game?

Many big organizations in Thailand are moving towards the transformation to drive organizations towards Digital Transformation. Including companies in the True Group and Charoen Pokphand Group, a large organization that has been in business for more than 30 years but the driving force of the True Group of companies during this time of the 4th Industrial Revolution. That was a time of change, but True chose to continue the game by opening up the waters for small fish like Startup. By aiming to support small organizations Of the new generation has grown together Including open arms to receive Startups to work with agencies of 'True' Group companies under the True Incube Incubation & ScaleUp Program. The collaboration between Startup in the True Incube Incubation & ScaleUp Program Batch 6 - Rising Startup Together 'project. Including cooperation in supporting and pushing from various agencies Of companies in the True Group and Charoen Pokphand Group formed under the concept of 'Synergy'. They analyzed the strengths of each of the companies in the True Group to see how these strengths will help startups grow at the leap. Including going to the opportunity to Synergy together. In order to join forces, both Startup and True - including affiliates such as CP, CPAll, Makro, etc. - must be connected. These agencies will work with the Startup on the project as a partner to help expand the startups. Because I believe that today what is basic knowledge, we can already find it on the Internet. But what this program will fill in for startups is the skills of working with large corporations, which startups will be able to use these skills to further their business. This will help startups grow their businesses quickly and sustainably. Therefore, match up for startups to work with people in real business. Bringing the strengths of each department to work together, although it is a large organization, it cannot go down to doing everything on their own. Experimenting with this new market is a risk for large corporations that cannot be done by themselves if a startup will help them move faster.

In the end, start-up entrepreneurs have become monopolized by big capitalists who need to use capital to drive but big capitalists are unable to provide all kinds of capital to start-up entrepreneurs. As a startup entrepreneur, it takes many forms, leading to a study of capital.

#### 1.Capital

In this research the apply concept Capital of Pierre Bourdieu. He was the first person to systematically analyze social capital. He explained capital is labor that is accumulated in a materialized form or combined with Individuals or groups of individuals to enable them to allocate social power in the form of concrete labor or internal labor (Bourdieu, 1997). Capital is an inheritance that can be changed continuously. There are characteristics that can both be felt and can not be touched. It is also a factor in determining the position of the social position and the possibility of the actors or individuals entering the fields that exist in the social space. The capital has a very wide scope. Bourdieu has divided capital into 4 types which are (Bourdieu, 1997) economic capital. Cultural capital, social

capital and symbolic capital. In this study, attention is given to economic capital and social capital

### 1.1 Economic capital

Economic capital consists of capital in the meaning of Marx, which includes economic possession that enhances the ability of the actors in society, at the same time to be able to change directly and instantly.

Economic capital may be made into an institution in the form of property rights. This type of capital is a rational capital model, which means that, firstly, it can be calculated in a firm amount. Second, the model can be clearly identified, such as cash in the bank. Machinery / land price etc. Therefore, it is easy to study this type of capital, whether it is analysis of capital accumulation, property ownership, exchange, transfer, such as those studied by economics.

Capital in economics is one of the factors of production together with land, labor and entrepreneurs.

Economic capital is tools, machinery, equipment, and production sites, meaning man-made materials for use in conjunction with other factors of production for the production of goods and services. Also known as capital goods, including buildings such as factories, roads, bridges, railways, machinery, tools such as factory machinery, water pumps, tractors, trucks, tractors, labor-intensive equipment, raw materials such as seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, fuel, steel bars, processed wood, rubber sheets, plastic resins, vegetables, fruits to be assembled or processed. These capital goods are considered real capital, capital in money or money capital. In terms of economists, it is considered only a medium of exchange, but capital goods can be a better indicator of production capacity than capital.

Therefore, in this study Economic capital therefore consists of first, money. Second, rights in assets, tools, equipment, constructions, land, buildings, shares, etc.

### 1.2 Social capital

Pierre Bourdieu sees social capital in two dimensions. The first is in terms of connections, relationships, or networks. Social capital is a relationship. The second dimension is the importance of social capital, not just relationships. It is a matter of asking what the relationship is for what purpose, what is the goal. (Bourdieu, 1997) That is to say, some actions that have the goal. He sees society as a field of diverse social conditions. Is an area of relations that has many dimensions. He was the first to take the idea of capital that is not just economic capital. He added cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital, all of which can be transformed back and forth. If there is a large amount of economic capital, it can be converted into social capital or cultural capital. That is to say that capital is not stable. Can be processed at any time in which privatization is an important field that keeps their status from falling. Social capital therefore consists of

1. Resources that are related to group members and social networks. The amount of social capital owned by an individual depends on the size of the network. The correspondence that the actors are able to raise funds effectively. Therefore, the quality of social capital is created from the sum of There is a relationship between the actors More than just the quality of the group only.

2. The combination of cognition and recognition which is a symbolic feature and can be transformed can be a symbolic capital.

For Bourdieu, social capital is created by social power and requires regular practice, including social closeness. The existence of a network of relationships that occur or are seen is not a natural existence. It is the result of the endless effort of institutions that want to maintain and maintain that social capital. The increase in social capital from existing relationships is the many details that each individual as an object of this relationship invests in 'capital', which is an investment in long term sociability. Therefore, the value of social capital comes from previous inequality or exclusion because it was created from the obligation or social attachment that can be transformed under specific conditions. Which may transform into an economic capital or may be transformed into an institution in the title of nobility. For example, a child is born into a good family. Parents are high level government officials, have received good education from educational institutions because the family has good financial status to be able to bear the expenses. And when this child finishes his studies, he will enter government service and can climb up until Get a high position and receive a high salary. Therefore, the social capital that this child received was partly from the family that the parents passed on to. Another part comes from the educational institutions that parents have selected. And another part comes from the status of being civil servants. The social capital of this child is different from other children because they were born in families with different funds, making the creation and accumulation of capital in the next phase of life differently. However, the creation, accumulation and capitalization of this child must occur through the implementation of various strategies to maintain and increase, because it is not something that will be easily acquired and will never end.

Therefore, the social capital in this study will be considered The first, networking which is joining or joining into a network. The second, an understanding of how to group or join into a network that has a goal in The third, to accept the goal of grouping and becoming a network.

### 1.3 Culture Capital

Cultural capital refers to what a person receives from a social process. Which becomes a trait that allows people to increase their value. This is usually something that melts in a person's body and is expressed through behaviors such as knowledge, taste, manners. In addition, this also includes various assets Which have value that is not economic but can have economic value such as works of art, academic certificate (Bourdieu, 1997). Cultural capital can be divided into 3 types as follows

1. Embodied state: in the form of a permanent body and mind Often appear in the form of culture It takes time to accumulate and combine it to take shape. This type of capital can change external or internal congestion. To become a capital that is within people. Changing from one type of capital to another cannot change instantly, but the process of capital conversion requires other conditions: time, society, and social classes. This type of scholarship can be reduced and disappeared by people who have and use this type of scholarship, including the ability / knowledge to speak about art. Having an elegant personality Able to pose gracefully,



that is to say with his own physical ability and memory. At the same time, this type of scholarship is linked to physical persons and leads to a genetic transfer that is often deformed or invisible because it is something that individuals add to inheritance as a prerequisite. In order to act as cultural capital of one's own family or class. The people who received it did not feel or realized that it was capital, but it was their ability to acquire righteousness. This type of capital will be inherited. Which is the best way to inherit capital that is hidden in individuals and classes. By the time it will be an intermediary that serves to connect cultural capital and economic capital, the differences in ownership of each family cultural capital. It can be seen in the first age that begins to accumulate and pass on the capital, and as the age grows, the cultural capital that is created and accumulated in itself will increase.

2 . Objectified state is capital that has characteristics related to cultural capital in other ways, expressed objectively in the form of media or objects such as pictures, writings, books, dictionaries, machinery, etc. Such cultural capital can be transmitted through materiality, for example by accumulating paintings, capital accumulation can be passed on like economic capital. What can be passed is the ownership of the image, which is ownership in the way of consumption of paintings. Therefore, cultural products can be both objects and symbols. People who own the means of production must find a suitable way to collect capital. Therefore, cultural products can be things that are objects and symbols. People who own production tools or are owners of capital must find a suitable way to collect capital.

3 . Institutionalization state is capital that is made into a clear object or material It is a reference to the basic characteristics of cultural capital in the form of guarantees, expressed in the form of certificates, certifications and qualification examinations. Cultural capital can therefore be transformed under specific conditions, which may be transformed into economic capital, such as salaries or transformed into institutions in the form of educational qualifications. This type of scholarship makes the difference between formal knowledge that is accredited with talent and ordinary cultural capital. This scholarship can also create alternation between cultural capital and economic capital. By guaranteeing scholarships with the value of money because the product of the exchange of economic capital to cultural capital creates value in the form of cultural capital for those with educational qualifications. Profits in the form of objects and symbols that are guaranteed by educational qualifications depend on the rarity, investment in time and effort.

Therefore, the cultural capital in this study will be considered from the knowledge and awareness in various dimensions. Can be divided as follows: 1. Embodied state is the knowledge that is inherited. 2 . Objectified state is the ownership of various objects such as books, writing, machine tools, etc. 3 . Institutionalization state is a certificate of qualification etc.

In this study, the characteristics of economic capital, social capital and cultural capital are divided. As follows: Economic capital consists of cash and assets. Social capital will consist of networking or relationship groups and cognition and recognition. Cultural capital consists of

knowledge that is inherited, books, writing, tools, machines etc. and certificate, qualification etc.

## METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

The beginning of this research is when the researcher investigates the academic paper and the publication to find the data of a startup in both Thai and international scholars. This step will explore the whole structure of startup process and to survey and study of news, media announcement to understand the discourse making process of the startup. To get a good valid data, a fieldwork will be conducted. Lacking of literature about the startup leads to many limitations, leading the fieldwork study more important for this research project.

To collect the data in the field study, I will use participant observation and non-participant observation in of this Chiang Mai area where a startup entrepreneur, the groups of entrepreneurs and organizations related to a startup and where they do general activity such as the workshop, seminar, religious activities or their workplaces. Moreover, there are key informants from these groups who are influent to the startup in their groups. Both formal and informal interview techniques will be used to getting competent data.

Field data collection has started since May 2018, the first time I connect to the groups of entrepreneurs and organizations related to a startup. I can help them with the preparation of the exhibition, seminar, monthly meeting and the authority to read any working-paper materials. Further field data will be conducted from July to October, 2019. During this period, I will follow the activities cooperated with their local partners which include a startup in the Chiang Mai area.

2.1 Key Informant. Here is an overview of key players in news production that discusses the complication of working with the authorities, and describes how the groups of entrepreneurs and organizations, and the state working on the process of the startup.

- Startup CNX
- Office of Small and Medium Enterprises Promotion
- Finance institution
- Northern Innovative Startup Thailand (NIST)

In conclusion, these groups and organizations have been working on the startup issue with different tools. Direction or indirection, they have in a way constructed a startup representation for the entrepreneur. An interesting point is that even though all of them concern with the plight of the startup, they do work on the same thinking foundation goals. All these organizations are taken as an agency in this study. They contribute to the negotiation of the startup representation at each level.

2.2 Population and the selection of a startup informants. This thesis tries to retrieve information only from the organizations side, I found that the startup was involved in the working process of these four organizations in some ways. To understand the nature of the startup network, it is

necessary to look at how the participation of the startup with their organization's staffs or informants. With current data collection, interactions of the startup cannot be verified even though the group and organization. This is the reason why I chose to follow the individual startup in two groups and organizations. One startup works in the organization while the other interacts with the organization as an outsider. After this process finished, I will set up a schedule to interview a further eight startup informants. In selecting the individual startup, the following criteria were used:

- 1) Social background
- 2) Work position in the organizations
- 3) Business experience
- 4) Duration a business

2.3 The role of the interviewer. This study recognized my influence as an interviewer in determining what the story was like and what stories were told in the interview. I am aware of my influence in interviewing the respondents in the creation of what stories are told. Modan and Shuman (2011) argue that interview data should not be considered inferior to natural conversation information. Both the position of the interviewer and the interviewee is constantly fluctuating, which allows the speaker to manipulate the method of embedding information in strategic narratives. The account that tells the story that is analyzed and discussed in the thesis is derived from my interview, focusing on their lives in the business process, beginning and following life after the beginning. Although I try to position myself consistent as I understand the views of the respondents, my status to the insiders and outsiders are constantly changing throughout the interaction with the respondents.

2.4 The data collection of concept. From three important concepts, concept of flexible capital accumulation is determined primarily from the form of space and time of working. Focusing on data collection from operations in space and time of working, such as idea of office hour, main space in workplace, and how to balance working time and working space to everyday life etc. The concept of capital will focus on economic capital and social capital in particular. By considering the process and ability to raise funds. Lead to benefits and economic value, such as sources, processes, other elements related to funding. Including the principles used to assess to success of the economic capital accumulation of entrepreneurs etc. The concept of negotiation, in this study, negotiation is a practice of power relations, which will be considered together with the collection of data from capital accumulation. Primary for linking issues to the guidelines in operational of the negotiation between each other. By collecting data from these three concepts, the tools mentioned above are used in section 10.2.1 - 10.2.3 according to the suitability of the actual context in the fieldwork.

There are three units of analysis in this research. In this study, the unit of analysis has three levels. First, Individual-level by studying the entrepreneur in conducting economic competition as a startup entrepreneur, either through participation in a state-owned activity or never attending. This leads to the problem and causing the problem of a startup facing, including to accumulated through a negotiating for to become a startup entrepreneur. Second, group level by the startup as members of groups and organization to

negotiate process in various forms. This led to the response to research questions on the issue of problem and negotiation as well as the role of the state in individual entrepreneurs negotiated with the process of becoming startup entrepreneurs. Third, is the institution level by studying the roles and policies involved through private and government agencies. This institution supports and encourages some startup entrepreneurs' group which is a process of exclusion from the state. This leads to an understanding of the problem of attempting to explain the making of a startup entrepreneur in Thai society.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework is an operated framework to examine ideologies and power relations in the startup. It should be noted that the discourse in this method is a political economy definition. As Foucault argues that knowledge, discourse and power are interconnected. According to Hall (1997), discourse is a group of words in the language to represent knowledge of a particular historical period and Foucault's discourse sends and produces energy. While reinforcing, it also undermines and exposes the power. With this complex relation, power relations and ideologies are a hidden in contextual representation, and that such a representation with regards to the startup will be an examined. Discourse can render or oppose power in this sense. While discourses are a part of social structure, there are an influenced and produced in social interactions. By linking the problem to their role in the process of startup, discourse analysis can reveal valuable insights in different contexts in which various discourses on initiation occur.

In this study, I employed political economy analytical categories such as definitions, topics, discourse of sub-topics and definitions of subsections of various parts of the data. Sub-topics consist of interactive experiences and everyday life. This method analyzes strategies at the macro level of positive representation and the negative presentation of the initial entrepreneur involved in the message. Examples of data to consider in analyzes including topics, forms, quotations, naming participants, and access to information.

## RESULT

What problems do startups face? It is divided into two phases, pre-COVID and COVID continue. In this third chapter, we will discuss the pre-COVID period. The problem can be summarized in three problems:

1. Inequality to access economic resources
2. Continue to operate business beyond the initial stage
3. Negotiating the relationship of integration

From the problems faced by start-up entrepreneurs in Chiang Mai Province, when looking at entrepreneurs classified by different types of capital holding, it was found that entrepreneurs in each group had access to different problems. These are different from the classification of the 6 groups of entrepreneurs are those with high economic capital. High social capital but has low cultural capital, there is 1 person. The group has no economic capital at all. But there are 4 cases of high social capital and cultural capital. There are 3 groups with low economic, social and cultural capital. Groups with low economic capital Low cultural capital But without social capital, there are 2 cases. High social capital

groups Low cultural capital But there is no social capital, there is 1 person. And groups that do not have both economic capital and social capital But there is a high cultural capital, there is 1 person. The approach to the problem is different as follows. Groups with high economic capital and social capital However, with low cultural capital, it will face problems of longevity through the early stages and bargaining problems of joining a group. Those with no economic capital at all, but with high social capital and cultural capital, and those with low economic, social and cultural capital, face all three problems. Groups with high social capital, low cultural capital, but no social capital, and groups with neither economic capital nor social capital but high cultural capital. Will face inequality in access to resources and problems of standing business distance beyond the initial stage. And groups with high social capital Low cultural capital but no social capital Will face the problem only to stand the business distance past the initial stage only.

Therefore, the conclusion from the study of problems faced by startup entrepreneurs in Chiang Mai Province, it was found that all entrepreneurs have to face the problem of regulating the continue to operate business to pass through all start-up technicians. In addition, groups that do not have to deal with the problems of maintaining relationships or negotiating relationships among the groups participating, both formally and informally, are those without social capital at all. That is, a group with low economic capital, low cultural capital but no social capital, there are two, one with high social capital, low cultural capital but no social capital, one and one without both. And social capital But there is a high cultural capital, there is one, and those who do not have to face problems with access to economic resources are those with high economic capital. There was 1 group with high economic capital, high social capital but low cultural capital, and group with high social capital, low cultural capital but no social capital had one. All start-up entrepreneurs in Chiang Mai have to face the same problem of standing distance through the start-up phase. Which group does not have to face treatment and negotiation is the one with social capital? That is, a group with low economic capital, low cultural capital but no social capital, has two. There was one group with high social capital, low cultural capital but no social capital, and one group that had neither economic capital nor social capital but had high cultural capital.

From the aforementioned conclusions, it can be considered the problems faced by entrepreneurs startups, inequality in access to economic resources, is a problem facing specific groups. The problem of continue to operate business over the initial stage is the most important problem. And the problem of negotiating relationships among the groups of activities, some people are already in a relationship, it is also a problem for some groups. Hence, the major problem faced by the start-up entrepreneurs is the timing of the competition, which need to be able to recover or grow in a short time. But in fact, the fact that entrepreneurs have low capital make it impossible for startups to survive. Capital here includes economic, social and cultural capital, although entrepreneurs with high capital are not high enough to be at the level of large capital. The negotiating ability has made it possible for the entrepreneurial capital to include economic, social and cultural capital, not all capital groups. This allows

the startup entrepreneurs to encounter problems and survive in other businesses, other sources of funding and other activities that can support them, but they have to face the congestion of "time" which means competition is taking place. In the face of big capitalists (competitors), economic volatility makes it difficult to accumulate capital or survive the economy.

Therefore, the most important condition for any startup entrepreneur is to accumulate capital against time. Which time in here refers to competitors who are also racing against time. Including the economic volatility, which under efforts to become a startup operator Although there is a large amount of capital and less capital varies, the most common problem faced by all groups is capital accumulation that the speed of capital accumulation does not meet the time period. This ability is the ability to accumulate capital, which means speed. Not keeping pace with time in this sense means rivals and economic volatility.

What challenges startups are facing, but will focus on facing the COVID crisis, unlike the Tom Yam Goong crisis that at the time of major corporations. Is the most impacted, but this COVID-19 affects every sector, whether big or small, will all be affected, and small businesses themselves, if the hemp line is not enough, will be more affected. Therefore, from the study of the main problems faced by entrepreneurs in Chiang Mai, these startups are

The continue to operate business problem which can be considered from the problem of lack of income and the problem of holding the business continuously. Due to the analysis of income and expenses of the business during that period and if the business still hears the ability to continue its business, there will be an opportunity to raise capital or raise more capital so the business can continue to operate. But if the business is lost and it has to halt or shut down, it means that the operator is unable to hold back the period of operation of the business until it finally has to shut down. The entrepreneurs who encounter this condition are group 2. (Non-economic capital but with high social and cultural capital) Group 3 (Group with low economic, social and cultural capital) Group 4 (Group with no social and cultural capital) And low economic and cultural capital) Group 5 (group with high economic capital, no social capital, and low cultural capital) Group 6 (group with high cultural capital. But no socio-economic capital)

Problems of capital accumulation, which are considered from the problem of increasing and reducing income. Capital accumulation process has been a major business driver. Profiting is a key engine that drives business systems forward. The capital accumulation and profit-making processes of the capital system create conflicts, advances, regression, tension and contention. The new generation of capital accumulation is the accumulation of capital, knowledge and technology in order to keep the business going strong. The entrepreneurs who encounter this condition are group 1. (Those with high economic and social capital with low cultural capital) Group 3 (Group with low economic, social and cultural capital) Group 4 (Group with no social capital. And low economic and cultural capital)

Resource access problems, where resources here refer to economic resources. Considering the issue of raising capital and the cancellation of business activities due to the COVID

situation. The state has issued a number of aid measures, but access to the help desk of entrepreneurs has not yet reached that assistance. Although some investors have raised capital, it is an additional investment from the original capital and has not raised any capital from government assistance. That is not economic capital but with high social and cultural capital) Group 3 (Group with low economic, social and cultural capital) Group 4 (Group with no social and cultural capital) And low economic and cultural capital)

Although government measures have come up with twelve major measures of government relief to the economic situation during the COVID crisis, It will not be a specific measure for entrepreneurs to start up. But, as an entrepreneur, there are 5 measures that are directly related to the start-up entrepreneurs studied. 1) Tax measure, 2) Financial institution debt assistance measure, 3) Monitoring and remedy measures Labor worker Temporary worker Self-employed career that is not covered by social security, 4) measures for viewing and remedy for entrepreneurs, 5) measures to help SMEs

The relationship it can be described as follows: Tax measures Most of the measures are to reduce interest in various forms, which can solve problems in continue to operate business. But there was only one group of entrepreneurs: those with high economic capital, high social capital, and low cultural capital. The second group, that is, those without economic, social capital, and cultural capital. And the fifth group, that is, those with high economic capital, lack of accessible social and cultural capital. In terms of measures to provide assistance to financial institutions' debtors, most of the measures are credit lending and interest rate reduction, thus solving longevity and capital accumulation problems. But there was only one group of entrepreneurs: those with high economic capital, high social capital, and low cultural capital. The second group is those with no economic capital, high social and cultural capital, and the fifth, those with high economic capital, lack of social capital and low cultural capital. Accessible car Care and remedial measures Labor/worker Temporary worker Self-employed career not covered by social security by supporting 5000 baht per month for 3 months, have access to resources, but no operator group has access. Most of the 7 measures of operator supervision and remediation are credit programs that focus on certain types of businesses, which can solve the problems of longevity and capital accumulation, but there is only one group of entrepreneurs, that is, those with high economic capital. High social capital and low cultural capital. The second group is those that do not have economic, social, and cultural capital. The fifth group is those with high economic capital, low social and cultural capital. The sixth group is those that do not have socioeconomic capital but have high cultural capital that can be accessed and measures to help SME businesses that focus on the moratorium on business and lending to businesses However, there is only one group of entrepreneurs, namely those with high economic capital, high social capital, and low cultural capital. And the fifth group, that is, those with high economic capital, lack of accessible social and cultural capital.

Therefore, the practitioner of the study faced three main problems: how to continue business operation issues, capital accumulation issues, and resource access issues. Most cannot

face the problem with state aid measures. Measures that are accessible are not accessible to all conditions, and entrepreneurs who have access to help from measures are characterized by the need to be a group of entrepreneurs with a high level of capital to have the opportunity to access this short-term remedial measure, because having a single capital is high, shows the bargaining power of various types of capital, but it is not yet comprehensive in all dimensions of bargaining. The remedy of the state during the crisis could not really solve the problem of the entrepreneurs. And the measures that occurred mainly focused on solving problems for a particular group of entrepreneurs It does not help to solve the problems that entrepreneurs are facing startups.

## CONCLUSION

When considering various measures and information The above can be concluded that Measures or policies That came out for entrepreneurs who studied startups were of a general nature Not specific to startups directly in the case of different types of entrepreneurs. In addition, the support period is too short. When that aid was over, but the crisis remained, inconsistent with the actual situation. Including inaccessible access to help Maybe because of the limitations of the state that do not do insufficient publicity. And the Thai state allows the market mechanism to work too much, without intervention for private commercial banks under the same measures for assistance.

Startups are known to be born out of the so-called creative economy policies that emphasize creativity: cultural capital. But the reality is that cultural capital cannot keep start-up entrepreneurs alive because the state policy on start-up development under the creative economy is contradicting itself. While creative businesses should be promoted, that is, entrepreneurs with high cultural capital. But in the case of the study, it was found that the policy or measure did not promote entrepreneurs with high cultural capital. It allows some entrepreneurs with social networks and capital to survive, leaving entrepreneurs with only cultural capital to fail. This means that cultural capital is not a decisive measure of survival. Because the real deciding factor is economic capital, followed by social capital. Thus, cultural capital, if there was only one alone, could not survive. Because economic capital will lead to long standing Social capital leads to economic capital, but cultural capital alone cannot survive at all.

So, the situation has shown us that while the creative economy advocacy policy focuses on creative entrepreneurs to invest in state-sponsored entrepreneurs, the reality is and from this past crisis, it is clear that the state is not focused on supporting people with low economic capital. Ultimately, the creative economy of startups in Thailand will fail. It will only help people with economic capital. Finally, startups in Thailand cannot grow because entrepreneurs lack capital and have to sell their intellectual property to large capitalists and then become employees of their own companies or businesses, so startups made in Thailand are not startups. Ups that are innovative, unique, or highly innovative. But it is the reproduction of technology (copy digital) innovation elsewhere to make it suitable for the domestic context. So it is a problem because they just want to control the local market but have never truly invested in innovation. To become an



entrepreneur, you must start by encouraging thinking outside the box. Already in Thailand, start-up entrepreneurs that can survive are small businesses, networks of large companies, or big investors such as Charoen Pokphand Group. Make entrepreneurs startups that do not have capital, it is virtually impossible to run out of money to survive. The point is, start-up entrepreneurs are not seen to ordinary people, everything is monopolized by large capital to need results. And the main goal of these startups is to control the internal market, not the competition. In the end, a group of surviving startups fell into the old capitalist's mechanisms and made a business that was built on the legacy.

When considered under this policy and governance. The Thai state does not have the understanding and ability to support entrepreneurs and startups. It's just a policy that is contradicting itself.

Because when talking about the creative economy, the state doesn't pay attention to creativity. The state does not support creative people, but the Thai state instead supports people with networks to build on. To support people who have access to capital. Therefore, however, from the case of this study, the policy on startups or creative economies in Thailand is likely to fail because entrepreneurs with economic capital, even with or without any crises, can survive. Because there is capital. People with social capital, in the presence or absence of any crisis, survive because there is a network that leads to economic capital. But entrepreneurs with only cultural capital cannot survive. And the more crises that help become more difficult to reach, these entrepreneurs will not survive in the real economy.

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