

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLICY PROCESS BETWEEN
ONE TAMBON ONE PRODUCT (OTOP) OF THAILAND AND
ONE VILLAGE ONE PRODUCT (OVOP) OF JAPAN**


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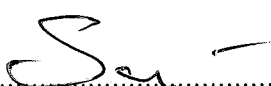
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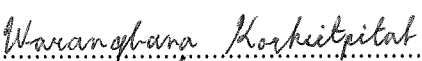
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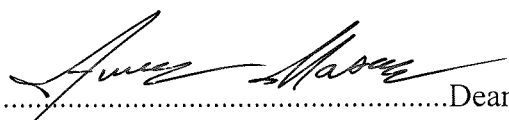
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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation	A Comparative Study of Policy Process between One Tambon One Product (OTOP) of Thailand and One Village One Product (OVOP) of Japan
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The study examines processes of policy agenda, policy formulation and policy implementation between OTOP policy and OVOP policy. The process of policy agenda is analyzed using John Kingdon's multiple streams model, the process of policy formulation is analyzed using the iron triangle model, and the process of policy implementation is analyzed using the top - down and the bottom - up approach. The three principles of OVOP movement are further brought to analyze OTOP policy process. The were as follow:

1) The comparative analysis of policy agenda between OTOP and OVOP. In the comparative analysis of problem stream showed that Thailand and Japan have different levels of problems and impacts. The financial crisis in 1997 involved with OTOP policy is a national problem, whereas the economic stagnation of Oita prefecture involved with OVOP is a provincial problem. In the comparative analysis of policy stream, the policy within the primeval soup of Thailand is shaped by the ruling/ political elites, while that of Japan comes from intention of villagers. In the comparative analysis of political stream reveals that OTOP and OVOP policies had the reason. OTOP policy is motivated by election victory of Thai Rak Thai party (TRT) in 2001, brought Thaksin Shinawatra into the prime minister office. OVOP policy is also motivated by being elected as the Oita governor of Morihiro Hiramatsu. The study further found that in both cases the political stream was the most important stream in the agenda setting. And, when the three streams were converged, a policy window of

OTOP and OVOP were opened. The policy entrepreneurs of OTOP were TRT advisors shaping the policy into the policy agenda under Thaksin's decision. In case of OVOP, Hiramatsu played a role as a policy entrepreneur influencing the policy into the policy agenda under his own decision.

2) The comparative analysis of policy formulation between OTOP and OVOP by using the iron triangle framework. The researcher found that Thaksin and TRT party was hope of Thai people for recovering the 1997 economic crisis. The study also suggests that TRT of Thaksin gained power over the iron triangle of policy making including the political group, business sector, and bureaucracy in this case. The party can formulate OTOP as a public policy smoothly with the efficiency structure, organization and integration. In case of OVOP, the policy is advocated solely by Hiramatsu, no the iron triangle involved with liked in the OTOP case.

3) The comparative analysis of policy implementation between OTOP and OVOP by using the top-down and bottom-up approach, and 3 principles of OVOP movement. The research showed OTOP policy implementation was in the line with the top-down approach. The government mainly guided, initiated, controlled, and developed OTOP policy and projects. In contrast to OVOP, the policy implementation was in the line of the bottom-up approach. Villagers played a major role in policy implementation.

In addition, comparing the three principles of OVOP movement with OTOP revealed that in a principle of Local to Global, OTOP products lacked universality and identity, while OVOP products were developed from local resource as well as created outstandingly and uniquely. In term of Self-Reliance and Creativity, Thai government was a main actor in OTOP policy meanwhile villagers were a main actor in OVOP policy. Oita villagers were supported by the prefecture in technology, marketing, and so on. Furthermore, the OVOP policy attached little importance to the loaned money. In principle of Human Resource Development, OTOP gave priority to develop products and disregarded human resource development. On the contrary, OVOP set its ultimate goal in developing human resource by establishing the village leader development school (Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku) to develop the village leaders, building a network for exchanging knowledge and information, as well as conducting a study visit in order to gain more knowledge for community development.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Significance

In 1997, Thailand faced an economics situation which drastically caused it to lose at least 30,000 million USD of reserved fund to the international Hedge Fund. Consequently, Thailand lose its financial security that it had to depend on the loan for developed countries from IMF, in order to maintain the country's financial and economic stability. Due to this situation, Thailand had to edit 11 international investment laws, in order to liberate the asset purchasing activities by foreign investors. On the other hand, the cash flow of United States and other developed countries had remarkably flourished during the mentioned economic crisis (Taweewat Puntarikwiat (2001, pp. 15-16). This circumstance demonstrated the new model of colonialization via the tactful international funding by the developed countries to the developing countries and the undeveloped countries. This resulted in a seriously decrease the economic growth in the first 3 years of the Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan to only -2.6%, with 0.8% growths in the agricultural sector, and 0.4% growth in the industrial sector in the same time, resulting in the reduction of national income per capita per year, from 75,991 Baht in 1997 to 73,771 Baht in 1998 (Sukhothai Thammatirat Open University, 2015).

The economics crisis also aggravates the problems of poverty and inequality of income distribution. The poverty situation which previously seems to be improving became worsen, that the proportion of poor citizen increased from 11.4% of total Thai population or 6.8 million poor people in 1996 to 15.9% or 9.9 million poor people in 1999. Meanwhile, the income distribution gap was wider, with the income share held by the lowest 20% decreased from 4.2% to 3.8%, whereas the income share held by the

top 20% increased from 56.5% to 58.5% (Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University, 2015).

Moreover, almost 1 million people became unemployed from the lay-off after the business went bankrupt, comparing to the period prior to the economic crisis. The income per household also decreased significantly, a comparative between first half of 1999 and 1997 demonstrated that 41.4% of the households earned lower income; 52.4% of the households had the similar income, and only 6.2% had higher income level. (Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University, 2015).

After the economic crisis described above, the government and private sectors realized that the foreign capitals and the stock market are not sustainable. Thus, the leap from the state of dependency would require sufficiency, as well as the exploration and development of local resources in order to create a wealth and truly sustainable development from the foundation. The examples of alternative policy solutions for the economic crisis included the work of Chatthip Nartsupha, which presented the idea of community culture, and the work of Kitti Limskul about the OTOP policy, as well as the concept of sufficiency economy and new agricultural theory of King Rama IX.

Due to the economic pressure mentioned above, the Thai Rak Thai government which led by Prime Minister Pol.Lt.Col. Dr. Thaksin Shinawatra issued the populist policies in respond to the Thai citizens' demand in various issues, including the 30 Baht Healthcare Policy and One Tambon One Product (OTOP). After winning the major election, Thai Rak Thai Party could arrange the single-party government and resulted in the concrete implementation of the party's populist policies. The OTOP Policy was one of the populist policies that Thaksin's government selected as the policy for local community development plan, which further evolved into public policy in 2001. Such policy shared the fundamental concept with Japan's OVOP project, as an attempt to strengthen the community from within. The OTOP Policy included 5 objectives as described below:

- 1) Job creation and increasing the community's income
- 2) Encouraging the local wisdom utilization
- 3) Development of human resource
- 4) Strengthening the community

5) Enhancing the creativity within the community (Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior, 2014)

Afterwards, the OTOP Policy was implemented and regulated by the OTOP Administrative Committee, which affiliated under the Prime Minister's Office, which involved another 16 government organizations and 5 subcommittees as the following details:

1) The administrative subcommittee, in which the Minister of Finance acted as a president. The responsibilities involved the implementation of policy and the strategy approved by the OTOP committee, project coordination, and approval of the budget for all departments related as well as conducting the public relation of project information.

2) The production promotion subcommittee, in which the Minister of Agriculture acted as a president. The responsibilities included the promotion and support of product development and controlling the quality of production factors and product.

3) The marketing promotion subcommittee, in which the Minister of Commerce acted as a president. The responsibilities are included the determination of marketing policy and promotion in both domestic and international market, as well as the protection of intellectual property.

4) The quality control and product development subcommittee, in which the Minister of Industry acted as a president. The responsibilities are to determine the development plan of quality control.

5) The OTOP subcommittee, in which the Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Interior acted as a president. This subcommittee is responsible for the selection of outstanding community product, strengthen the community, cooperation and monitor the local administration (Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior, 2014).

Puntita Tanwattana and Warangkana Korkietpitak (2012) studied the impact of OTOP policy both in terms of positive and negative consequences in Thailand. Positively, OTOP resulted in a development of tangible products which successfully increased the income and led to the export opportunity. Negatively, the OTOP products lack quality and innovation in product development. Moreover, the market faced the

problems of oversupply from the similar products. In short, the OTOP project could not leap forward from the product discourse. According to Yamazaki (2010)'s finding from "A Comparative Analysis of One Village One Product (OVOP) and its Replicability in International Development", it was found that the Thai OTOP Policy prioritized the product development more than the development of other attributes as the OVOP's original concept suggested. This finding was consistent to the opinion from Murayama (2010), OVOP Policy, specialist who is currently a president of International OVOP Policy Association (IOPA). Maruyama stated that "... An application of OVOP concept in Kenya, Malawi, Uganda, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam faced the similar problem, which all countries prioritized the products development rather than the human resource development, which was actually a top objective of OVOP project ..."

The OVOP, which was the original model of the OTOP project, first occurred in Oita Town in Japan as the solution for the poverty problems. Oita is the province where people had the lowest income per capita in Kyushu Island. The province also faced the problem of workers' relocation to other towns. Therefore, in 1979, Morihiro Hiramatsu, the provincial governor of Oita, initiated the OVOP policy (Hisao, et al., 2005). In order to improve the quality of living standard and well-being of community, as well as strengthen the community until it could be self-sufficiency, by using the local wisdom and resources in each community.

It could be said that the OVOP policy is a unique concept of endogenous development, which was initiated by the local people. The endogenous development could maximize the value of local resources and improve the local well-being. Under the OVOP, which is the major principle of community development and increasing the standard of living in the community, the local resources would be managed or produced into the premium and unique products, in accordance to the local identity and culture, which could be distributed both domestically and internationally based on 3 fundamental concepts described as following.

- 1) Local Yet Global
- 2) Self-Reliance-Creativity
- 3) Human Resource Development (Hiramatsu, 2008)

Therefore, the definition of OVOP concept is not only to develop a product, but it is also the process of thinking, servicing, and preserving the natural resources and environment, wisdom, tourism, arts and culture, and traditions, as well as the innovation from the collective local wisdom. The exchange of knowledge would improve the product quality, which could be differentiated with its own globally famous selling point, including the product from the human capacity. This would reflect the OVOP's top priority of human resource development (Hiramatsu, 2008). The Japanese OVOP also established the Toyo Kuni Development School where the local leaders would be trained, exchange knowledge, and learn from other regions, both domestically and internationally.

Once the OVOP or Oita brand has started to gain reputation in Japan, local citizens started to return to their hometown when the revenue increased. After 2003, the OVOP project was implemented in other regions, until it later became the central and local government's project and policy in more than 20 countries (Oita OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee, 2014).

It was obvious from the case of OTOP policy during the economic period, that the "Thai Rak Thai Party" led by Thaksin Shinawatra, seized the opportunity after winning the major election and establishing a single-party government to concretely implement their various set of policies. The OTOP project, or One Tambon One Product policy was one of the selected policies for community endogenous development which became the public policy in 2001. Likewise, in 1979, the OVOP policy formulation process was similar to the Thai OTOP policy, as the Oita province also faced the problems of local economic depression and citizen relocation, that Mr. Morihiko Hiramatsu, governor of Oita province, selected the OVOP policy as a solution for Oita province.

The stated problems reflect the resemblances and differences between Thailand's OTOP policy and Japan's OVOP policy in various dimension. Therefore, the researcher intends to conduct the comparative study between both policies, from the agenda setting, policy formulation, as well as policy implementation. As for the agenda setting, the Multiple Stream Model would be applied in the analysis. And the Iron Triangle Model would be used in the analysis of policy formulation. Finally, for the

comparative of policy implementation, both the Top-Down Approach and Bottom-Up Approach and the 3 Principles of OVOP Movement will be utilizing in the analysis.

1.2 Research Questions

1) What are the similarities or differences between the agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy implementation of the OTOP policy in Thailand and the OVOP policy in Japan?

2) What are similarities or differences between the roles of policy entrepreneur, the agenda setting, the policy formulation process, as well as the policy implementation of the OTOP policy in Thailand and the OVOP policy in Japan?

1.3 Research Objectives

1) To compare the agenda setting process, policy formulation, and policy implementation of Thailand's OTOP policy and Japan's OVOP policy.

2) To compare the roles of policy formulator in the process of agenda setting, policy formulation and implementation of Thailand's OTOP policy and Japan's OVOP policy.

1.4 Scope of Study

The Comparative Study on the One Tambon One Product (OTOP) in Thailand and One Village One Product (OVOP) in Japan: Policy Process Analysis is a qualitative research, consisted of documentary research, in-depth interview, and the analytical description, with the scope of study as described below.

1) Scope of content: This research would compare the OTOP Policy in Thailand and the OVOP Policy in Japan in term of agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy implementation.

2) Scope of population and target group: The researcher would conduct the in-depth interview with three target groups of key informants selected from both Thai and Japanese populations. Three groups of Thai key informants consisted of informants for

the OTOP and community, the OTOP and policy, and the OTOP and socio-economy. Likewise, the three groups of Japanese key informants consisted of informants for the OVOP and community, the OVOP and policy, and the OVOP and socio-economy.

3) Scope of time frame: As for the OTOP policy, the researcher would begin the study from the 1960's period, when Thailand has just started to implement the National Economic and Social Development Plan and continuously implement the policy of liberal economy, until the economic crisis erupted in 1997, resulted in the Thai Rak Thai Party's selection of OTOP policy as one of its populist policy solution for the economic problems. As for the study of OVOP, the study would begin from the period after the end of World War II, when Japan focused on the development of major cities according to the industrialization model, which resulted in the economic recession and social stagnation due to the relocation of local young to industrial urban area. Hence, Mr. Morihiko Hiramatsu, the previous governor of Oita province initiated the OVOP policy, in order to revive the local communities within the Oita province. Nevertheless, the comparative study between these two policies requires the study of the period prior to the determined scope in order to truly understand the process agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy implementation.

1.5 Benefits of the Study

1) The study would lead to the understanding of similarities and the differences between the OTOP policy in Thailand and the OVOP policy in Japan in terms of agenda setting, policy formulation process, and policy implementation.

2) The study would reveal the similarities and the differences between the OTOP policy in Thailand and the OVOP policy in Japan in terms of the development and policy effectiveness.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the comparative Study of the One Tambon One Product: OTOP Policy Process in Thailand and One Village One Product: OVOP Policy in Japan, the researcher did the comparative analysis between both policies in various dimension, from the policy agenda, the role of policy formulator, policy formulation process, to the policy implementation. This chapter would describe the literature review of related theories and researches.

2.1 Public Policy

Public Policy is highly important to the state's affairs as they would always be problems which must be solved within the state's society. Therefore, the suggestion and process which lead towards the solutions are highly essential to the state's decision to implement the solution effectively. However, the definition and scope of meaning for the word "public policy" is not so explicit, as the body of knowledge is still new for the scholars, for it has been around for just 50 years. (Surasit Vajirakachorn, 2006, p. 8) Nevertheless, the researcher found various definition of public policy from the scholars which can be described below.

Amorn Raksasat (1977, p. 2) broadly stated that the public policy is the idea of what government should or should not do, how, how much, and when. Public policy is likely to consisted of 3 elements;

- 1) Determining the goal of what must be done.
- 2) Determining the new approach
- 3) Determining the supports

Supachai Yavabrabhas (1990, p. 3) remarked that public policy is any approach of past activity, involve with the present activity, and relate to the activity which could happen in the future.

Koonton Thanapongsathorn (1992, p. 9) noted that public policy means the broad approach which is prior determined by the particular government as the guideline which led to the activities, in order to reach the goal or objectives.

Soytrakul Attamana (1992, p. 143) stated that public policy is the combination of public policy from the government sector, non-profit organization, and non-government organization, by the government sector's leader in the thorough authorization, with the guideline for operation or project, by clarifying the social problems and the approach towards success. All of this is meant for the state to provide the values for the whole society, while the non-profit organization and non-government organization could support the government's operation for public profit.

Patcharee Siroros (1996) wrote that public policy is anything which the government choose to do or not to do, which must consist of goal, strategy, and implementation. Therefore, policy is a process which is continuous and include combined authorization by the officers and the management, etc. The final policy should be possible to implement, with clear strategy on how to reach the goal and objective.

Jumpol Nimpanich (2004, pp. 8-9) said that public policy is any particular issue involve with the specific order of authorization; i.e. the acceptance of problem, dealing with problem, and then it would involve the authority figure. The whole process would involve various individuals, groups, and organizations.

Surasit Vajirakachorn (2006, pp. 10-11) wrote that public policy must consisted of the state's authorization in the desired approach, which must be used as a framework in the government's activity. The government operation would focus on solving problems in the society.

Friedrich (1963, p. 70) stated that the public policy is the proposal for the individual, group, or government's operation in the particular environment, which consist of some threats and opportunities. Such opportunities and threats would drive the policy proposal, which aim to utilize the advantage and overcome the situation, in order to reach any particular goal.

Easton (1953, p. 129) said that the public policy means the allocation of benefit or valuable things among the individual and interest groups within the political society.

Lasswell and Kaplan (1970, p. 71) noted that public policy means the authorized plan or project, including the goal, values, and approach, which clearly specify that the public policy must be aligned with the social values, including the approach towards goal.

Sharkansky (1970, p. 1) defined the public policy as the activities organized by the government or government's organization. It would include all of the state's activities and the regulations which control the individuals' activities as well as the government's organization operation.

Eyestone (1971, p. 18) said that public policy is what related between the state and its environment, which means the economy, politics, and society.

Eulau and Prewitt (1973, p. 465) noted that public policy is the state's decision with the particular goal and continuous operation. In other words, public policy is the decision in any operation with continuous commitment.

Anderson (1975, p. 3) wrote that public policy is the operation framework authorized for solving problems. Or the chosen approach which the government or government organization would respond to the problems with a clear goal of what must be done.

Dye (1978, p. 1) said that public policy is anything which the government choose to do or not to do. And in the part which is chosen to do would include all of the state's activity, which can be both routine activity or non-routine activity.

It is obvious that the definition of public policy varied according to the scholars' perspective and vision. But it can be concluded that public policy is the proposal, guideline, along with the process which the state can implement to solve the problems.

2.1.1 Problem Formulation, and Agenda Setting

As for problem, Anderson (1984, pp. 44-45, as cited in Surasit Vajirakachorn, 2006, pp. 35-38) defined problem as the condition of scarcity which result in the need that must be considered by the policy formulator, in researching the approach to solve the particular problem. The problem must be accepted in the society that what happen is problematic. If the society view the issue as non-problematic, then it should not be counted as the policy agenda. As for the expansion from problem to policy agenda,

Surasit Vajirakachorn (2006, pp. 35-38) concluded the idea of Anderson et al. (1984; Peters, 1986, as cited in Surasit Vajirakachorn, 2006) as following.

In Anderson et al. (1984, p. 7, as cited in Surasit Vajirakachorn, 2006, pp. 35-38) view, the problem would be selected as policy agenda due to many reasons, whether the problem is related to the benefit of important groups, and whether the power of affected group, such as the political group or capital group. Another reason is the consideration of the group's social status and the number of members within the group. If the group consists of many members, the group's importance also increased, which could result in the more likelihood for the problem to become a policy problem. Furthermore, the problem which would become the policy agenda must also align with the political leader's policy in the election campaign. The problem mostly emerged from the survey whether it receives the people's attention. And the problem might have the characteristic of a crisis, such as natural disaster, war, or riot.

Peters (1986, pp. 45-51, as cited in Surasit Vajirakachorn, 2006, pp. 35-38) shared the similar perspective with Anderson et al. (1984, as cited in Surasit Vajirakachorn, 2006), that there are many reasons which contribute to the problem development into the policy agenda. Firstly, there must be the impact or alignment with the important group's interest, which resembles what Anderson et al. already stated. Another reason could be the similarity between the problem and the previous policy agenda, which would allow the problem to easily developed into policy agenda if it emerges from the new project initiation, which is the characteristic of side-effect form the state's project or policy implementation, such as dam construction would result into land allocation for those who are affected. Another reason in Peter's perspective is that the problem's relation to the institution or values held by the particular society. For example, the problem about monk who misbehave according to the religious principle would not be hard to developed into policy agenda in the Buddhism society such as Thailand. Another type of problem which could be the policy agenda is the problem which cannot be solved by the private sector, such as security problem, facility problem. Furthermore, technological readiness is another reason why any problem would be or would not be developed into the policy agenda, as the government still lack the capacity to cope with some problem. For example, there are many local environmental problems which many municipalities cannot deal with.

Nevertheless, Surasit Vajirakachorn (2006, p. 38) concluded that any problem could developed from ordinary problem into policy problem according to both scholars' idea due to many reasons and consequences, but both scholars did not mention many other factors such as the role of press in advocating the problem in the current society, which is highly influenced by the information.

Mayuree Anumanrajadhon (2010, p. 110) concluded that problem formulation is the first step of policy formulation process, which is related to the success or failure of the policy. Those related to the policy decision must consider which problem to enter the policy agenda setting process and identify the expected problem, in order to bring the policy agenda at the appropriate time. Policy agenda is the set of problems which receive attention by citizen and the state during the particular period (Kingdon, 2003, p. 3).

In other words, problem formulation is the step of problem identification and definition, which is the first step of policy process as well as the fundamental step of the competition game to find the policy option for the policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation. In order to identify the problem and define it, there must be perception first, as people would perceive the event when it occur in the society. The perceptions may differ according to the experience and background of each person, and so the problem interpretation could be problematic. Problem definition is thus an important step in the policy process, as it is related to the process which the problem could access the policy authority, or developed into the policy agenda as previously mentioned. Access to the policy authority depends on the political system which the person who see the problem and the authority dwells in. In the Elitist theorists' perspective, problem identification and definition belong to the authority, which could be the political leader or the collaboration between the political leader and economic leader. Hence, most people do not participate in this step. Furthermore, only the safe issues would be selected into the system of policy formulation process, which does not mean that all problem issues would enter the evaluation process and developed into the policy agenda and policy formation in the next step. During the period of problem formulation and policy agenda setting, the researcher would use the Multiple Streams Model of Kingdon (2003) as the analysis framework.

2.1.2 Policy Formulation

After the step of problem formation and agenda setting, the next step is the policy formulation, which is a highly important step as the public policy formulation is the development of approach for action to solve the public problem. Here, Lindblom (1968) defined the policy formulation as the political process, which is the negotiation among the conflicting groups. While Dror (1971) defined policy formulation as the policy decision. In terms of the policy formulation process, Lindblom (1968) identified 4 steps of policy formulation as following.

- 1) Primary processing or the search for problem
- 2) Goal or objective identification
- 3) Brainstorming of policies expected to help achieving the goal
- 4) Policy choice making

Meanwhile, Dror (1971) identified 3 steps of policy formulation as following.

- 1) Meta Policymaking Stage
- 2) Policymaking Stage
- 3) Post-policymaking Stage

Kingdon (2003, p. 21) further explained the importance of the policy formulator's role within the government. The group of persons who are closely related to the state's policy formulation usually dominate the state's administration, but nevertheless the government remains the most important part who consider the problem and formulate the policy. The government's administrator consists of the President, civil servants who directly report to the president, and the political appointees within the President's office and bureau (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 21-44) as described below.

2.1.2.1 The President

The President is the policy formulator with the highest authority. The President is one of the person with most role in agenda setting, selecting a problem to consider, and identifying policy problem. If a particular problem is prioritized by the President, it would be considered first among the various issues, as the President could access the information resources of the institutions and organizations, such as the position appointment, important policy formulation, relationship with the executive organization structure. The President could bring the citizen's demand and transform it

to pressure the government officers to select the problem for consideration according to the President's will.

2.1.2.2 The Political Appointees

The political appointees include the officers in the organization and bureau appointed by the President, including the cabinet and ministers. The cabinet has important role of initiating the policy, especially the President's policy or any ministers which must be approved by the cabinet first. When the cabinet give the approval, it could be announced as the cabinet resolution and become effective immediately for the state agency. In case of the Act announcement, the parliament must give approval prior to the announcement of the new law. However, if the cabinet disapprove, the minister who proposed the policy would reconsider it or reject it. Furthermore, the cabinet may propose their opinion to the government's leader in the case when a new policy is needed for the country's successful administration as previously announced to the citizen.

2.1.2.3 The Civil Servants

The civil servants are the source of policy agendas, as they would gather information and problems which would be proposed as the alternatives for policy formulation for their supervisor or the policy formulator with authority to decide and announce the effective policy or law, ministerial regulations, orders, and regulations for the civil servants to follow, in order to solve people's problems. Generally, even if these civil servants are the state mechanism, but the high level civil servants are also influential enough for the political sector to listen, as they are likely to have been working for a long time and also experienced. Some civil servants also have a close relationship with the politicians and the interest groups, that they have the important role in the policy formulation. The civil servants become the source of information for policy formulation. If the formulated policy is complexed, which the legislation might not have enough time to gather information, the executive or the high-level civil servants would play the role of important role of policy formulation.

Therefore, it could be said that the civil servants organization is highly important to the policy formulation. In other words, the civil servants are those who have been working for a long time, so they have the specialization and experiences in administration and coping with the interest group, politicians, and legislature in the

possible planning of the government policy. In addition, the civil servants also maintain relationship with the standing committee of the parliament and the interest groups, which the three-way relationship can be called an iron triangle, as they could join their advantages in the rather monopolized policy problem identification.

2.1.2.4 The Congressional

Although the executive or the cabinet might have a more important role in the policy formulation than the legislative, but in the case when the executive's policy must be announced into the Act, the executive must submit the proposal of the Act for the legislative's consideration by the parliament. If the legislative gives their approval, the Act would be further announced and become effective. If the legislative disapproved, the proposal of the Act would be rejected. The legislative could also initiate the policy formulation as well, by allowing the representatives who engage with the problem directly propose the problems to the parliament, in order to formulate into a policy in the same fashion. The legislative could also submit the motion or ask question to the government about the problems, to initiate the policy formulation for the executive to carry out, including the exercise of power through the parliament's various committees which could also be the channel to initiate the policy formulation and pressure the executive to formulate a policy to solve the public problem as well. Therefore, it can be said that the legislative is an important organization in the policy formulation (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 21-44).

For the non-government policy formulator, Kingdon (2003, pp. 45-70) stated that the non-government group which has the role of policy formulation and participation in the policy formulation include the following groups.

2.1.2.5 The Interest Group

Interest group is another way of manifestation of people's political participation which is highly essential for the development of democratic system, especially in terms of politics, policy advancement, and the government's decision to allow for their group's advantages, which might overlap with the benefit of the public as well. Therefore, the interest group is a very important organization in the advancement of policy formulation.

The interest group's function is to support its members' objectives, including the specification of the members. The group would acquire many advantages

for its members, who join the group by paying the member fees and attending the group's activities to express the group's unique characteristics, such as the cultural group, professional group, interest group with economic function, the group with the function of maintaining the group's economic advantage, or contemplating the idea. The interest group's main function is to make a demand according to the individual's idea which can be called the similar ideal, such as the campaign for liberty or environmental conservation. The interest group would provide information, facts, and news for its members, who have their own specific goal in each mission. The mission is benefit-related, which the benefit might be in other form than the economic advantage, such as the group demanding for the right of the alternative gender, etc.

The important elements of the interest group can be described as following.

- 1) Capital: The group with large capital would succeed, as the capital would allow them to access the public relations media and the specialist who could assist in the public relations and planning for the effective operation. A group with large capital would not require the mass to support them, but would instead hire the experienced lobbyist to advance the policies.

- 2) Size: The group with large number of members has many advantages, as they become the foundation of voters who support the demand, and there could be more representatives who contact the government. The advantages also include the votes, fundraising, and recruiting the coordinator.

- 3) Popularity and acceptance: This would allow working conveniently with few obstructions.

- 4) Leadership: The group with high level of capacity is usually succeed, when the leader understand and follow the other group's action as well as seek the opportunity to gain benefit for the group.

The role of the Government of the United States towards the interest group could be classified in 3 ways as following.

- 1) In the federalism system, the government's authority structure is divided into the national level, state level, and local level, which each level has the important role in the public policy formulation. The interest group could coordinate with any sector which seems to support the success of the group's policy.

2) The separation of power into 3 branches; Legislative, Executive, and Juridical, allows each branch to play its role in public policy formulation. Thus, the interest group could coordinate with any sector which seems to support the approval of the group's policy.

3) The system of check and balances allows each branch of government to participate in the monitoring of other branches' operation, which could be beneficial for the interest group in conveniently pressuring the desired policy through the branch with the direct role. Hence, the interest group could coordinate with any sector which seems to support the consideration of the group's policy.

The interest groups become important and beneficial for the American politics in various dimensions as following.

1) They gather the political information and opinion from the citizens.

2) They act as the representatives in making a demand, which can be both the support or the opposition to the policy which affect the overall society.

3) They act as the mediator for the communication between the citizens and the government, as the interest group would join the benefits among various sectors as well as exchanging information with the government.

4) They monitor the operation of other interest groups and the government.

There are various approaches of intervention by the interest group, such as participating in the social campaign, bringing benefit to the society, lobbying or sending the lobbyist to contact with the government, presenting the group's demand, suggestion, and beneficial information, asking for the government's cooperation to support the policy which is desired by the group, giving financial support which can be done legally by donation to support the candidate, etc.

The interest group's operation in pressuring the government depend on the group's objectives, financial status, acceptance by the elites, and relations with the politicians or other interest group. The more complex and modern government, the more complex strategy would be used by the interest group. For example, the intervention to the Legislative branch could be done by seeking and send the lobbyist to contact the legislator who support the relevant policy, so that the lobbyist could

present the proposal or suggestion of intervention to the Executive, as the Legislative could submit the policy proposal and spending plan to the parliament. As for the intervention to the Juridical branch, which must determine how laws should be interpreted and remain neutral so that the judgement remain without bias, the interest group's intervention would be in the form called "Friend of the court", which pressuring the court through the journal or publications about the law. In other words, the interest group share the same goal of having the opportunity to voice their needs, participate in the public policy formulation, awareness of each group's information about friend, enemy, or the neutral one, as well as asking for the support for the desired policy.

2.1.2.6 The Academics, Researchers and Consultants

The group of academics, researchers, and consultants is another important group in the policy formulation. According to the information, this group of people are active throughout the policy formulation process. They might have the finished policy research, or working on it, which can be synthesis into the policy agenda. Hence, the research or academic work would help saving time to survey the new information and reduce redundancy in the work. Or without the research which can be utilized, this group of people should study about the policy problem, publish the policy agenda, and drive it towards the decision process in the policy formulation as well. This group could better affect the alternative policy than the policy agenda of the state.

2.1.2.7 The Media

The media has the role, duty, and responsibility for the society, especially the television media who could access almost all group of people. The media has the influence in formulating the knowledge, idea, attitude, and the behavior of people in the society as well as checking the public policy which affect the society. The media is an important institution for the public policy formulation, as the public policy which contribute to the well-being of the people must include the participation process by various stakeholders, who must be well-informed of the essential information. Therefore, the data and information relevant to the public policy are usually communicate through the mediator, which is the media, who also has the duty in checking the policy formulation process and follow-up with the public policy's consequence towards the people. The strong media is thus a required condition for the

public policy which contribute to the people's well-being. On the contrary, if the media lack the strength and ethics, it would not be able to support the policy formulation which led to the well-being, and its presentation of information might also damage the consumers and general public.

It can be said that the media is like the mediator which reflect the society's feeling. It could arouse the people's attention in various policy agenda, thus the media must be the essential element of the policy formulation process, as it could gather the people's opinion as well as formulate its own suggestion. For example, various newspaper could provide the channel to voice the people's proposal of problems. Or some television station might include the program where the people could join in expressing their opinion. Reflecting the problem and need of the people to the media could be the channel of bringing the problem agenda into the filtering process, in order to further formulate the policy. Therefore, the media's role in the politics include the following issues.

- 1) The media has the surveillance or monitoring duty.
- 2) The media must allow the people to access the facts.
- 3) The media must present the policy agenda in order to raise the debate, political exchange, or public opinion expression, and especially it should allow the pluralism of different opinion, which is important for democracy.
- 4) The media must check the government and the political institutions, that they operate according to their assigned roles and duties.
- 5) The media is the channel for supporting political opinion.

2.1.2.8 The Political Parties

The political parties have the role of proposing policies and alternatives for the people, by formulating the public policy aiming for governing and managing the nation as well as proposing the clear and tangible policy which could be the problem's solution and meet the need of the people. As the people would vote for the parties which propose the policy that match their needs best, the parties' policy would differentiate the people's political standing point. Furthermore, the policies could be another factor which encourage people to vote. The role of political parties in proposing policy and solution strategy is the direct duty required of every political parties, either the government party or the oppositional party, in order to raise the society's awareness of

existing problems. Meanwhile, it must also propose the solutions and alternatives for the particular problem altogether.

2.1.2.9 The Public Opinion

The public opinion, or the attitude of the mass towards the important issues in the society, is one of the important factors influencing policy formulation by the people who are mostly affected by the public policy. Hence, it is best if the public participate in expressing the problem and needs, and bring the problems into the policy formulation process. Identifying the public problems from various perspective could also be an advantage, as the information would be gained from both the positive and negative dimensions, so that the policy formulator could further analyze the information. The public opinion is thus an important part of the political decision process, as it reflects the clear influence towards the public policy formulation. Policy authority would prioritize the public opinion in formulating the policy for the majority's benefit. Although it might be hard to clearly identify the public opinion and the policy formulation, but it is the issue which cannot be ignored by the policy formulator, as the politicians see that it could be unexpectedly harmful for their political future decision (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 45-70).

As for the model for explaining the policy formulation, Kingdon (2003, pp. 71-89) proposed the analysis of advantage and limitation of each model as following.

2.1.2.10 The Model of Comprehensive, Rational Decision Making

The model of comprehensive and rational decision making is the basic model which starts at goal and situation formulation, then select the best alternative and formulate the policy of rational decision model. It consider the public policy as the attempt to formulate the policy alternatives for the maximum benefit of the overall society. The rational policy means the policy which yield the higher socio-politico-economic benefit than the socio-politico-economic cost being paid for such policy. The government should not implement the policy with less return than the cost. And the return must be considered in both monetary terms and socio-politico-economic advantages and disadvantages. The comprehensive and rational decision making model consists of the following elements.

- 1) The decision maker could clearly compare the problems.
- 2) The decision maker has knowledge and understanding of the goal, values, and objectives which must be considered, and thus bring clarity to the consideration of the problems and the priority of each case.
- 3) The alternative solutions are clearly checked.
- 4) The outcomes of cost, benefits, advantages, and disadvantages from every alternatives are checked.
- 5) The outcomes from each alternative are compared
- 6) The decision maker would select the alternative which best serve the highest organization goal, values, or objectives.

Furthermore, the model of comprehensive and rational decision making must include various factors, either the efficient database system and the thorough, complete, reliable, and updated data gathering for analysis. There must be the experienced data analyst as well as the budget for investment. There must be the clear specification of value, objective, and decision criteria. The new alternatives should be explored and the creative one should be encouraged. There should also be the preliminary estimation of the expected outcome of the decision and outcome from each choice, in order to select the strategy with low risk. When the low-risk strategy is selected, the limited success comparative strategy should be used. And if the innovative strategy is selected, the possible outcome of each options must be considered with all existing knowledge and experience, especially the various analysts' opinions. Hence, the analyst must be committed to the decision attempt, whether the problem is important enough for further analysis or not, and then concretely analysis the reasonability and possibility of each case.

The uniqueness of the model of comprehensive and rational decision making is that it would be efficient only when the information is completed and the essential resources are enough for the policy implementation, and there must also be the systematic analysis. However, the limitation of this model is due to the fact that there is no social benefit which could be clearly negotiated, and if there is any conflict of interest and high cost, then it cannot be comparable. And the policy formulator would lack the motivation to decide base on the social objectives. Moreover, the policy formulator would not be motivated to think about the highest total benefit for society.

And if the country has any policy or large investment project which might not yield financial return for a long time, then it would require a lot of time to gather data in order to analyze the policy alternatives and outcome of each option. Furthermore, the model of comprehensive and rational decision making also lack the ability of social and behavioral prediction, and the calculation of cost and benefit could not be done precisely. Moreover, the uncertainty of each policy alternative's outcome could prevent the policy formulator from considering other new options. And when the policy is divided in multi dimension in the large bureaucratic system, it would be hard to coordinate in decision making.

2.1.2.11 The Incrementalism Model

In this model, policy formulation is only the revision or adaptation of the existing policy a little by little. The Executives would consider the existing policy as already correct, so there is no need to cancel nor formulating a new one. It only required the consideration of policy in the part which is added, decreased, or changed from the existing one which is easier than formulating a new policy and is also the approach which is actually used. Additionally, the proposal of incrementalism policy from the accepted and existing policy would cause less dispute than starting all over with the new policy. Therefore, it lessens the conflict in the political system and also help enhancing political stability.

The incrementalism model's important characteristics include the formulation of policy which continued from the existing policy of the former government, as the policy formulator usually do not formulate the totally new policy which require too much time to analysis the benefit, cost, and gigantic investment capital. The policy formulator often choose to follow the existing policy which is safer than choosing the new and unpredictable policy which might cause the conflict.

The incrementalism model's advantage is its simplicity and convenience in practice, as the policy formulator would only look at the existing policy and consider how much to add with the available budget, human resources, material, equipment, and time. Also, such decision has the high political, financial, and administrative possibility. The disadvantage of this model is the lack of alternative creation process and reasonable decision, without any challenge or innovation, and could be too conservative, which would be hard to progress or creative in solving the urgent problem.

2.1.2.12 The Garbage Can Model

The garbage can model or the decision making in the chaotic organization without discipline and clarity in the matter to be decided, but the executive is required to solve the problem instantly without enough time to find the clear reason of the problem. For this type of decision, the authority might not know what is going on in the organization until the problem resemble the decision maker's experience that the decision can be made. And if the decision is not compatible with the problem, it would not be solved. This model is applied from the theory of organization choice, which the organization resemble a garbage can where the various problems and solutions were dumped in and the persons in each department would seek the way out by matching various problems and solutions together, while advocating and developing the policy agenda from the problem presentation circulated within the policy stage. The various policy agendas are the result of the attempt to seek the way out by matching the existing solutions and connect them together.

The essence of the garbage can model is the organization with vague objective and high turn-over rate, which lack appropriate technological usage. Such organization would be chaotic and lack discipline or clarity in problem solving as well as cooperation. Therefore it could not use rationality in decision making and thus require the new model of decision making suitable for its situation. The organization is the compilation of alternative solution. Stories and feelings surfaced within the organization would reflect the situation that require decision, or solution approach expressed by the staff members so that the executive becomes aware of the issue which must be decided.

The process of the garbage can model is started at the problems, which is the point where dissatisfaction originates and requires attention for solving problem. Then there would be the solutions, which are the ideas suggested for solving problem. These ideas are separated from the problems, with one suitable idea which would be implemented. Then there would be the participants, or the organization members who enter and exit the organization. As the participants may be highly dynamic, the problems and solutions could change swiftly. Lastly, there would be the choice opportunities, or the opportunities and timeframe which the organization management must decide on one of the choices (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 71-89).

Furthermore, McConnell (1966) viewed policy formulation as the power negotiation. The Iron Triangle could still explain such definition well, as the state's policy formulation is the triangular relationship which is called the Iron Triangle. The relationship is based on the benefit negotiation, reciprocity, as well as depending on each other between the politician, the bureaucrat, and the business sectors. The politician expect to win the election, which must depend on the capital from the business sector to provide for the political activities. The business sector itself is based on the concept of profit maximization by its close relationship with the politician. Through the political funding support, the business would be rewarded by the concession or the government's projects as well as the policies which respond to its need. Meanwhile, the bureaucrat is the important mechanism of the state's operation and public policy formulation, which the politician must still depend on the bureaucrat. As the highest executive authority belongs to the politician, the bureaucrat could be appointed in the important position only through the politician. Therefore, the bureaucrat would follow the policy formulated by the politician, which also respond to the pressure from the business. Hence, the researcher would use the Theory of Iron Triangle to explain the policy formulation in this study.

2.1.3 Policy Implementation

Policy Implementation is one of the important part of the comparative analysis in this study. There are many definition of policy implementation by the scholars as described below.

Voradej Chandarasorn (1984, p. 535) wrote that policy implementation is not only the operation to fulfil the policy objectives but also the description of related processes for the development or improvement of a successful policy implementation.

Jumpol Nimpanich (2004, pp. 8-9) stated that policy implementation means the management of policy as well as the various environment, organizational behavior analysis, relations and coordination of the participants, which could influence the success of policy implementation.

Surasit Vajirakachorn (2006, pp. 74-75) noted that policy implementation is the realization of the approved policy towards the implementation stage, which there must be the clear policy objectives and guideline for practice including disbursement,

sourcing additional budget, data collection, data analysis, problem analysis, organization formulation, human resource management, formulation of alternative practices, planning, as well as the negotiation with the related sectors.

Mayuree Anumanrajadhon (2010, p. 218) wrote that policy implementation is the operation to fulfil the formulated policy objectives, in which the policy could be the order from the state authority or the enacted law. The related person must raise the various resources as well as design the organization and operate in order to fulfil the objectives.

Williams (1971, p. 144) stated that policy implementation involves the ability to raise all resources in order to operate and fulfil the goal or objectives designated under the preparation to follow the policy during the particular period.

Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) stated that policy implementation is the various action to pressure all related sectors to coordinate in order to fulfill the objectives by acting until the policy outcome is reached.

Van Horn and Donald (1976, p. 103) said that policy implementation is the action or activity by the state or the private sector. The state must realize the abstract policy decision with the understanding of the policy objective and act to fulfil it. For the part of private sector, following the law which is the formulated policy by the state can be viewed as policy implementation as well.

Edwards and Sharkansky (1978, p. 293) wrote that policy implementation means giving order as well as direction to fulfil the order and the related activities such as signing agreement contract, founding the organization, hiring officers, and assigning missions.

Bardach (1980) wrote that policy implementation is the political process which has the authority to select the policy to implement, which must pass the negotiation and benefit exchanging then develop towards the announcement of policy. Afterwards there would be the political condition among the organizations who compete among each other in order to implement the policy. Hence, policy implementation is what must be done by the state to solve various problems according to the formulated goal.

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989, pp. 20-21) wrote that policy implementation is the action to fulfil the Executive's order or the laws. Such policy implementation is the

mission to fulfil the policy objectives under the consent by the participants or the target group, in parallel with the consideration of consequences following the action.

In conclusion, policy implementation means the negotiation and benefit exchanging, which developed towards the policy announcement under the Executive's order, which can be in the form of hierarchical order or laws. The order or policy must include the clear objectives and action guidelines, which the related partners must raise the various resources as well as designing the organization and manage the policy, with the consideration of various environment, organizational behavior analysis, and the relationship and coordination from the related sectors. During the process of policy implementation, there are usually the questions of who would gain or lose the benefits from the government policy and how to integrate the benefits of the interest groups, so that the formulated policy objectives could be fulfilled.

2.1.3.1 The Mechanism of Policy Implementation

Lester and Stewart (2000, pp. 104-108) saw that the mechanism of policy implementation involves various sectors including the political, legislative, bureaucratic system, lobbyist group, the interest groups, as well as the related civil sectors. The political sector has the role to decide and direct the policy implementation by the related organizations. Nevertheless, the political sector would have lesser role than the bureaucratic sector, which include the bureaucratic system and the bureaucrats. The bureaucratic system and the bureaucrats is counted as the most important part of policy implementation because the bureaucratic system must collect and analyse information for the politician. Furthermore, the bureaucrats might be able to twist or conceal the information from the citizen and the Executives. Therefore, the bureaucratic could dominate the politician. And both the political and the bureaucratic sectors would be negotiated and integrate the benefit by the stakeholders such as persons, juridistic person, civil sector organization, and the interest groups, etc. (Mayuree Anumanrajadhon, 2010, pp. 229-231).

As for the policy implementation, Voradej Chandarasorn (1999, pp. 35-47) wrote that there are 2 levels of policy implementation; macro level and micro level. The macro level involve 2 steps.

The first step is the transformation of policy into the plan, action plan, project, activity, and finally the task. The politician who act as the executive would

formulate policy in various forms, such as policy, the cabinet's resolution, or laws. Afterwards, there would be the designation of organizations who would implement the policy. Such policy must include the clear objectives and goals. Meanwhile, the assigned organizations must understand the policy goals and objectives, and cooperate with the policy implementation, then the policy would be transformed into plan, action plan, project, activity, and task.

The second step is the acceptance of plan, action plan or project to implement, which is the guideline assigned by the central government towards the regional or local organization to fulfill. There must also be the approach which encourage acceptance by the regional or local organization as well as the related civil sectors.

The micro level is the step which the regional or local organization accept the plan, action plan, or project to implement under various context within the area. In this micro level, there are 3 steps of policy implementation. The first step is the mobilization. The second step is the action. And the third step is the continuation.

The first step of mobilization begins when the organization receive the plan, action plan, or project from the central government and must mobilize the support from the internal officers as well as all sectors within the area, including the civil sectors and the interest groups, in order to formulate the action plan, project, activity, and task within the area.

The second step of action is the actual policy implementation, by adjusting the action plan according to the context and the local needs. Meanwhile, the organization must also adjust the officers' behavior according to the action plan, project, activity, and task.

For the third step of continuation, the central policy formulator must depend on the skill of the local executives, who must use their capacity to empower the officers and motivate them to accept the policy, until they are willing to implement the policy until succeed.

2.1.3.2 Problems and Obstruction of Policy Implementation

Surasit Vajirakachorn (2006, pp. 105-108) stated that there are 6 types of problems and obstruction in the policy implementation as described below.

1) Problems about capacity of the organization who implement the policy. This type of problem involve human resource factor, as the government organization usually lack enough officers to match the task they must responsible for, and the budget factor which it is often found that the policy formulator would assign more work without providing additional budget to cover the increased mission. There is also the factor of material, equipment, and technology.

2) Problems about direction. The efficiency of policy implementation must depend on the policy direction, as the problem in policy implementation would increase when the policy actor lack the capacity to direct and evaluate the outcome of the action, whether the capacity to transform the policy towards the implementation in accordance to the policy objectives or how the activity or mission response to the policy goals and objectives.

3) Problems about cooperation and resistance to the change. Such problems might emerge when the assigned policy did not originate from the officers' need, or when the officers did not prioritize such policy, or even because of the authority within the organization did not support the policy enough, or the policy might cause the change in the officers' action or influence the organization's budget or human resource. The executives might not understand the actuality of the officer's practice in action, or the officers might not agree with the content or approach of the policy. Or the officers might not coordinate due to the lack of understanding of how to follow the policy.

4) Problems about authority and relationship with other related organizations. Such problems could emerge from the level of communication and relationship with other organization which direct the particular policy. Or in the level which the organization is required to coordinate with other organization as well as the level of officers' possibility to coordinate.

5) Problems about support and relationship between organizations or important person. Whether the policy would succeed or not depend on the coordination and relationship with important persons and organizations related, such as the lobbyist, the civil society, the interest group, the politicians, the influential persons, the bureaucrats, and the mass media, etc.

6) Problems about policy redundancy and the responsible person in policy implementation. Sometimes the policy for solving the particular problem might involve many organizations assigned to implement it, which result in the competition among them. In terms of policy redundancy, it would be the result from the conflict between the new policy and the previous policy in use. (Surasit Vajirakachorn, 2006, pp. 105-108)

When considering the model to analyze the policy implementation, this research would use the Top-Down approach and the Bottom-Up approach.

1) The Top-Down Approach. This approach was suggested by Hood (1976, pp. 6-8), who call it as the model of perfect administration which focus on giving order, directing, and monitoring of action according to the policy objectives. However, it depends on the unity of bureaucratic system, the united hierarchical order, the conformity to the order without any resistance, the single formal rule and tradition of organization management. Furthermore, there must be the complete communication and coordination, without any pressure by the condition of time to fulfil the operation. In other words, the Top-Down approach essentially requires the authority of the policy formulator, who must possess the authoritative power in directing the policy implementation to fulfil the designated objectives. Therefore, if the policy formulator lacks the authority according to this model, it would result in the negotiation with the implemented policy.

2) The Bottom-Up Approach. As there is the limitation of the Top-Down Approach which lack the negotiation during the policy implementation, as described by Elmore (1978, pp. 185-230) that the previous policy implementation focus on the policy formulator within the structure and hierarchical order, but overlook the actors and those who would be influenced by the policy implementation. Therefore, the Bottom-Up Approach or the Bottom-Up Perspective emerged. This model focus on the analysis of the policy implementation, especially with the participants at the bottom level. In other words, although the policy formulation might be done by the authority, but it might lack clarity in the objective which requires further discussion of the objectives during policy implementation between the policy authority and policy actor. The policy formulator would provide various resources such as budget or support, so that the policy actor could utilize their skills, understanding in the context, and the

proximity to the problems within the area for the policy implementation. Or it can be said that the bottom-up approach of policy implementation lack the serious hiehrarchical direction as the top-down approach.

According to the above literature, the related policy process in this research would be divided into 4 steps as described below.

- 1) Problem Identification and Definition
- 2) Agenda Setting
- 3) Policy Formulation
- 4) Policy Implementation, according to these models

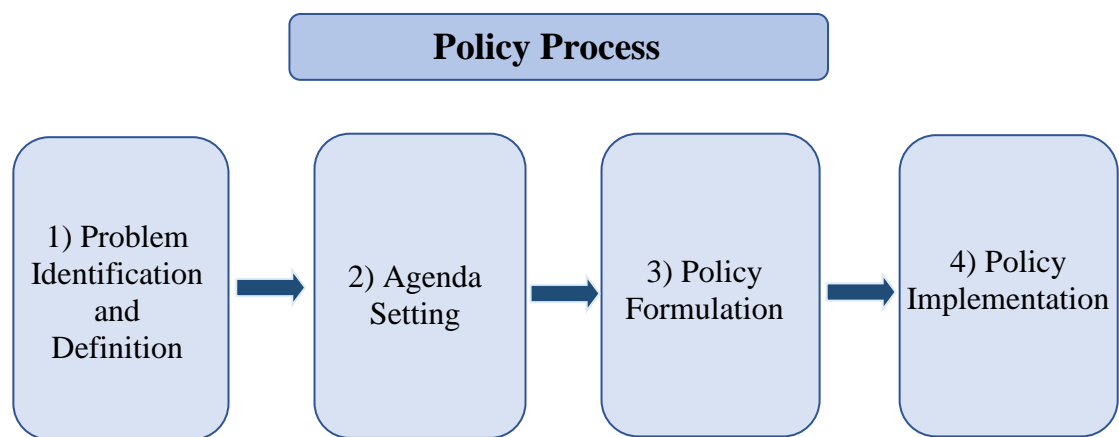


Figure 2.1 Policy Process

2.2 Multiple Streams Model

This research would use the theory of Multiple Streams Model by Kingdon as the research framework to study the problem formulation, and agenda setting, with the important concept that the policy process originates from 3 streams; the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream as further explained.

Public policy formulation process is the formulation of policy problem and policy alternative decisions by the authority, and the decision of policy leader. Thus, Kingdon viewed the policy problem as the problem which receive serious attention by the bureaucrats or the group of people who are close to them during the particular period. The Multiple Streams Model is therefore constructed to study the public policy

development during a particular period, which focus on the health and logistics within the United States' central government, where Kingdon had interviewed the persons closely related to the decision about health and logistics for over 4 years. There was the case study of the policy initiation by the study of the government document, information from celebrity and the specialists, as well as the academic writings. Kingdon saw that the change in the policy formulation and alternative policy determination originated from the participant in policy formulation and the process which prioritize the alternative policy (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 4-5).

Kingdon (2003, pp. 21-44) wrote that the participants in policy formulation include the President, the Congressional, the bureaucrats, the lobbyists, and the activists, such as the interest groups, the political party, and the civil sector, all of which could be the origin of policy and policy alternatives. Therefore, policy problem formulation might related to the problems from all sectors other than the government, such as the problem from the citizen's movement with the leader or the widespread problem for the scholars and especially the bureaucrats. The policy change might be the result from the change within the political party or the ideal related to the political campaign.

The Processes of Agenda Setting and Alternative Specification can be the results from

- 1) The influence from policy formulation due to the crisis or the event with highly important pressure.
- 2) The scholar's knowledge base, such as the argument which point out the economic regulations of the inefficient logistic truck or airlines, which open up the channel of policy formulation among the policy formulator.
- 3) The political process which determine the national mood. The uncertainty of referendum, the election result, the changing of executive, and the changing majority in the congress might affect the process of policy agenda setting and alternatives specification (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 71-89).

2.2.1 The Multiple Streams Model

The Multiple Streams Model is the theory which Kingdon developed from the Garbage Can Model, which during the year 1976, 1977, 1978, and 1979, Kingdon interviewed those who were related to the public health and logistic policy processes in the United States of America. There were 114 participants involved with the logistic policy and 133 participants involved with the public health policy, resulted in 247 total participants for Kingdon's study (2003, pp. 4-5). Kingdon's explanation of policy making process, and agenda setting within the United States' political system by the result of an empirical study is widely accepted and highly influence the policy study, that it was referred to over 14,000 times by September 2015 (Baumgartner, 2016, p. 53).

Kingdon (2003, pp. 90-164) noted that there were 3 streams of agenda setting process by the central government, which were the policy problem stream, the political stream when the problem is acknowledged, and the interest group who propose the change of public policy by participate in the political activities such as the political campaign and lobbying. Therefore, Kingdon proposed that agenda setting process involve 3 major streams; problem stream, policy stream, and the politic stream. When these 3 major streams connect, the problem could enter the agenda setting process. Kingdon (2003, pp. 2-4) further explained the Agenda Setting that it is the problem which receive priority and attention internally and externally during the particular period. Agenda setting can be classified in 2 types; the governmental agenda and the active decision. When the problem enter the agenda setting process, there would be several forms of alternative solutions, which the possible solution must be considered by the possibility, budget, and participation from the related persons in this Multiple Streams Model.

Baumgartner (2016, p. 53) discussed 3 factors which influence the Multiple Stream Model origins. The first model originated prior to the period when Kingdon publish the work "Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies" in 1984. The academic field in the United States at the time was widely active about public policy, policy process, elite, and the policy civil society, which became the context that gave birth to such work. The second factor was Kingdon's own background as the legislative scholars. Since his first work "Candidates for Office" (1966) which based on his thesis, Kingdon prioritize the election campaign. And in his second work which followed

several years later, “Congressmen’s Voting Decisions” (1973), he studied the decision by the Legislative. And the last factor was the influence of biological thinking and natural selection which is prevalent in almost every page of Kingdon’s work, that explain the interaction and complexity of policy process. Apart from the aforementioned factors, the scholars agreed that the Multiple Stream Model was developed from Cohen, March, and Olsen’s Model of Garbage Can Decision in 1972. Here, Baumgartner (2016) pointed out that the Multiple Streams Model is the simplified explanation of the Garbage Can Decision Model (Baumgartner, 2016, p. 58). Meanwhile, Chow (2014) added that the Multiple Streams Model is the Garbage Can Model which is further extended in the pluralism approach, which consists various actors, objectives, and attitudes, in order to explain the decision process in the uncertain and vague context (Chow, 2014, pp. 52-53).

Kingdon proposed that the policy process is dynamic, non-rational, and unpredictable, (Chow, 2014, p. 51) due to the uncertainty and complexity of the policy context, in contrast with the existing theory which insisted that all decisions are rational and therefore the policy process is systematic and formal. Hence, the existing rationalism policy formulation theory saw that policy formulation process is continuous in steps which started from problem identification and alternative analysis in order to suggest the policy solution. Nevertheless, such idea neglected the fact that the policy process might originate from chaos, and could additionally be influenced by other external factors such as time, national mood, or even the political ideal. With these limitations, the scholars agreed that there is the need for other theory which could also explain the changing, dynamic, and complex context of policy process, which include multi actors and objectives (Chow, 2014, p. 52).

According to the Multiple Streams Model, there are 3 independent streams; problem stream, policy stream, and politic stream, underneath the administration by the policy entrepreneur who connect the 3 streams together, resulting in the opening of policy window towards the agenda setting, and later become the public policy

It can be said that Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Model is based on the main assumption that the policy process or agenda setting is an active, everchanging, dynamic, non-rational, and unpredictable process within the context which is usually vague and complex. Therefore, policy formulation is the result when the three streams

of problem, political, and policy streams merged. Each stream is developed and progress independently and separately, but could merge together in the context which allow the problem to enter the government's agenda setting process (Kingdon, 2003, p. 331; Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016, p. 4; Young, Shepley, & Song, 2010, pp. 3-4).

2.2.2 The Problem Stream

Kingdon (2003, pp. 90-93) saw that the problem stream is the problem or issue which receive attention by the people and the government. The problem stream could only emerge when the policy formulator, citizen, and the government are aware of the problem, and especially when the problem affect the state. Problem identification and specification could be done by the individual or the group of individuals with multiple values and advantages, and thus resulting in the different problem definition. And the stakeholders prefer that the problem is defined according to their own values. Therefore, the perception of the participants in the problem could be affected by the problem definition which might change form the actuality of the problems, that it could be better or worse depending on the public awareness and the political leader who would pay attention to the problem and the selected approach of solution, as well as the agenda setting, when the individual or group is aware of the solution and pay attention to the problem and seek solution.

Chow (2014) shortly add the explanation that the problem stream refers to the problem issue which receive attention from everyone including the government, while Zohlnhöfer and Rüb (2016) added that the problem stream is the condition which became problematic and require solving. But as for Young et al. (2010), the problem stream is the perception process of the problem. According to Kingdon's vision, the problem stream is the social condition which receive attention from the government and considered problematic, by the systematic indicator or the negative feedback of the existing policy. Such indicator would evaluate the level of the particular condition, and if it is worst enough, the policy formulator would consider the condition as problematic. Larkin (2012) further commented that the political stream involve the anxiety of many individuals who desire the change or the consequence from the disaster, tragic event, or the attention from the mass media towards a particular issue in the long term, which resulting in the perception and mutual feeling among the public, from the small problem

which accumulate into the crisis, or from the individual or group which drive an issue towards the public attention. The characteristic of problems including the indicator, focusing events, crises, symbols, and policy communities, which Kingdon (2003, pp. 90-115) further explained as following.

2.2.2.1 The Indicators

The indicator is the factor which could reflect or explain the particular thing, hence it is formulated to measure the change, identify the status, or reflect the action characteristic. The indicator is related to the standard criteria and could be evaluate the outcome. It is the instrument which help identifying problem, planning, and evaluating the development as well as evaluating the formulated objective or goal's success. The indicator would be used to measure a particular condition quantitatively, in comparative with any standard criteria in order to show the level, size, or seriousness of the measured problem or condition. A good indicator would be the important warning sign for us to find the way to prevent the damage beforehand, or to reduce the possible impact. Indicator is also the instrument which point the direction where the development or activity of the particular state's public policy progress and how far the objectives and goals are fulfilled, which is the evaluation of the work's effectiveness or outcome. Usually the problems which emerge from the authority's attention might not pass the level of political pressure or being awared only slightly, but some indicator might reflect the irregularities within the system and thus reveal the problem.

The pervasive, necessary, and powerful indicators could be the revelation of problems, in which any solution could cause the anxiety among the participants of policy process. Necessarily, such indicator could give the understanding with the seriously error indicator, which is the conclusion of the indicator's necessity. The example indicator of the indicators is the United Nations' concept of economic growth which can be socially indicated by the Gross National Product or GNP, prior to the 1960, under the idea that the social development can be expressed by the economic growth.

The Economic Indicator can be monitored from the GDP and GNP, by comparing the yearly ratio with the pervious year. This indicator of GNP, when adjusted by the inflation rate, would equal to the economic growth rate. And the GDP (Gross National Product) refers to the total value of the final products and services

manufactured during the particular time, using the resources owned by the citizen of the particular nation, while the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) refers to the total value of the final products and services manufactured within the country during the particular period, without any concerns of the manufacturing resource ownership whether they belong internally or externally. On the contrary, the internal resources which are used for manufacturing overseas would not be counted within the GDP as well. The GDP can be calculated from the present price and the fixed price. The GDP of the recent price would calculate the product value in the monetary terms according to the market price of the products and services, while the fixed price GDP would calculate the product value according to the yearly price of the base year. And finally, the Per capita GNP refers to the calculation of the GDP divided by the total number of population.

A good indicator is not only the honest perception of the fact, but also precise and effective. The gathered facts and the interpretation based on these facts would be the important information for the discussion of interpretation of the indicators of the data transformed from various accounts. The policy problem could be swiftly interpreted. The interpretation of indicator must be comprehensible by the general individual. After the indicator is found, it is necessary to gather the basic information of each indicator from the relevant organization, who already gathered the basic statistical information in the particular matter. For some indicators without prior information, the starting point might be collecting the data from the present year and finding the past data if possible, so that the indicator could reflect the change from the past and help analysis the future trend. And the important thing for the indicator is the information and the continuity of information, for if any indicator lack the information or the information is not continue, it would not be possible to analyse the development result and evaluate the change, the current situation, and the future trend (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 90-115).

2.2.2.2 Focusing Events, Crises, and Symbols

As the problems might not be clear in its own, the usage of indicator would require the focusing on problems in order to receive attention from the group of people who are closely related to the government. The definition of the policy problem means the condition which cause the need, deprivation, or dissatisfaction, which led to the exploration for solution. The exploration can be done by those who were affected

by the problems or the representatives. Problem is the condition which result in both direct and indirect need or dissatisfaction in various individuals, such as famine, poverty, traffic jam, flood, and pollution, etc. In general, when any problems emerge, the related person would try to find the way to cure or solve the problem. If it cannot be finalized, the problem might not be treatable with any forms of private actions. For example, the consequence might be high and involve too many stakeholders. These problem would become the public problems that require the government's intervention to solve them.

The public problem has the special characteristic of interdependence, subjectivity, artificiality, and dynamics. The public problem tends to be the crisis which require urgent solution. In other words, the public problem is usually not independent but is a part of the public problem system. Solving one problem could cause another problem. Furthermore, the public problem is usually vague, sensitive, and complex, as it is the result from the human perception and judgement, which could varied through the time. As for the condition, it means the problem which occur when we believe we could do something about it. The problem is not only related to the condition or external situation, but also the perception of element and how the interpretation could formulate the problem with the values, comparative, and interpretation. Such problem must be valuable enough to find the solution.

The problems are formulated from various condition, such as the statistical information, the experience of the policy formulator, the academics' proposal, the mass media, the community leaders, and the need of the local citizen, under the policy formulation which allow the participation from all related partners. The problem must be divided from the reason and priority of the problem, which can be classified as following.

- 1) Crisis Problem refers to the problem which require the urgent decision, or else it could cause serious damage.
- 2) Non-Crisis Problem refers to the problem which require attention but not urgent, so there is quite a lot of time for preparation of decision.
- 3) Opportunity Problem refers to one type of the non-crisis problem. This type of problem would include hidden potential and opportunity within the form of policy problem, which is related to other problem, the policy formulator, and the analyst

who have different perspective according to the view of policy formulator and the situation.

Furthermore, the structure of policy problem can be classified as following.

- 1) The problem with good structure, few participant, clear solution, and clear future advantage.
- 2) The problem with medium level structure, with few participant, clear solution, clear advantage, but the outcome calculation is uncertain.
- 3) The problem with vague, confusing, complicated, and complex structure, which the solution is hard to find.

It can be said that the public problem is the result from the citizen's demand. There might be several interest groups, but the opportunity for the problem to become policy issue and receive attention from the policy formulator would differs. Some problem might be put into the agenda setting urgently, but some problem might be rejected, depending on various reasons such as the problem structure, the problem characteristics, and the role of agenda-setters. The problem structure is highly influential to the development of the problem. Public problem with quite good structure has more opportunity to enter the agenda setting and receive attention from the policy formulator than the problem with rather confusing structure, as the problem with quite good structure would not generate the complicate condition and policy conflicts among the participants. The public problem would become the policy agenda or enter the agenda setting and receive attention from the public policy formulator when it possess some special characteristic; the condition of crisis which require urgent solution.

As for the role and influence of the policy entrepreneur such as the interest group and political party, they are also the important factors in advocating the public problem towards the policy agenda. However, the success of these policy entrepreneur would varied according to the level of preparation, whether they are ready or not, and the opportunity to access the policy formulator, whether it is possible or not. If the policy entrepreneur is rather prepared and has the high chance to access the policy formulator, the advocacy of problem towards the agenda setting would not be too hard to do. But there would be the issue which must be concerned, especially the limitation of problem territory from expanding to impact other policy entrepreneur, and preventing the problem to spread widely.

As for the problem in public policy formulation, which might cause the long-term problem for the society, such as the populism policy which focus only with the election campaign by using the budget in advance without any consideration on the investment in the new facilities. As finally the state's resources would be limited, the policy formulator is thus required to consider the account receivable and account payable, in order to limit the ratio of public debt and GDP. Furthermore, the people must check the policy action of the government, whether it allows the advantage for their own business or their allies. If the government's policy formulation is problematic, for example; does not respond to the people's need, involve too much usage of populism policy, or the corruption and allowance for their clans, the people would have the right to exercise their power as the citizen who pay the tax to change the government through election, impeachment, protest, or resistance through not paying tax.

Furthermore, when the bureaucratic system dominate the process of public policy formulation would benefit the leader of the system rather than the overall society. In this case, the solution might be the political leader who has both political right and leadership in negotiating with the bureaucratic system and formulate the strategic administration system, starting from the government's announcement of policy plan. And in the policy implementation, the responsibility to act must be checked so it could be beneficial in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. There must be the consistency among the action plan of the ministry, bureau, and department, etc. Each plan must include the follow up through the indicators, and the action plan must be executed according to the allocated budget.

2.2.3 Policy Stream

Kingdon (2003, pp. 116-117) stated that the policy stream emerges from those in the policy community, or the specialists, who proposed the inclusive health policy alternative in order to solve the problem and propose policy into the policy agenda. And the policy stream also includes the idea and proposal draft from the diverse community and society, as well as the bureaucrats, researchers, and the supportive interest groups as well as other individuals. The process of policy stream would require a long time and the same policy must be repeatedly and continuously proposed, that there might be the change of proposal concept, proposal debate, and lead to the adjustment of the

proposal draft to respond to the problem participants until the latest accepted proposal would enter the agenda setting. Then the proposal draft could enter the agenda setting. The idea of the proposal must be possible, appropriate, and do not oppose to the values and beliefs of the problem participants and could actually be allocate. For example, there is the possibility of budget allocation, being supported by the political groups both in the same side and the opposite side.

The policy community include the policy specialist who formulate the policy. The policy specialists could be from both inside and outside the government. Some of them could be the standing committee of the representatives who lobby the public problem into the agenda setting and receive attention by the policy formulator, which could be the result from the initiation by the policy specialists in various issues, who must systematically analyze the problems. There must be the knowledge exchange as well as the collective interaction among the participants throughout the long period. Hence, the concept proposal by the policy agenda setter who is also experienced, specialized, highly independent, and free from political pressure and changes. In this policy community, there is often some framework about the public policy which the experts and specialists subscribed to. Such framework would facilitate initiation as well as the revelation of public problems. Therefore, if we could understand the underlying frameworks of the policy community, we could better understand the agenda setting in such policy community. In dispersing from one policy area to another area or related community, the specialists might differ highly in the level of dispersion. Some community might be hindered, diverse, and highly scattered, as each community has different needs (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 117-121).

Young et al. (2010, p. 4) added that while the problem stream and policy stream is about agenda setting, the policy stream would involve the specific alternatives for coping with problem by the policy community members, which include both the actors from inside and outside the government who interact, exchange opinion, and create policy alternatives together.

In other words, the policy stream means the realization of concept or solution policy. It might be proposed, developed, debated, and approved by the specialists in academic circle or think tank institution within the policy community, from the political

party, or both the formal and informal allies who share the mutual benefit (Chow, 2014; Kingdon, 2003; Larkin, 2012; Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016).

As for the people's value and belief within the society where policy proposal is negotiated, they must be the public value and belief which is beneficial for people within the society. The harmony or division in the society would affect the policy's consistency. And in order for the policy proposal to retain, the policy formulator must conduct the public relation of the idea and educate people in the society, both inside and outside the state so that the public could understand. There may be public presentation, lobbying the Legislative members to support the approval of such policy proposal, report, or interview through the media. The policy proposal does not only have to originate from the society's consensus, but could also come from the minority's idea as well. However, the policy proposal of the community or society must include the policy alternative which is likely to be announced or enter the agenda setting. In other words, the policy must have both technical feasibility and budget feasibility as well as receive attention from the society from the public relation (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 131-143).

Policy stream is the policy proposal for solving problems, which identify the choices to be decided. The policy proposal is the result of the diverse idea of the specialists, scholars, researchers, analysts, planners, etc. within the policy communities, which is called the "Primeval Soup" by Kingdon (2003, p. 116). For example, after the economic crisis in 1997, scholars agreed that the national development strategy and the main economic policy of Thailand at the time was the origin of liberalization in various issues according to the liberal capitalism, which later developed into the neo-liberalism approach which is currently widespread. Such approach is the dependency and siphoning the resources from the third world country into the developed country underneath the wrestling and depredation of wealth from the inferior country. It can be said that this approach is a form of neo-colonialism. And according to this perspective, the policy community are all aware of the threat from depending on the first-world country's economy, following the liberalism approach, that there was the widespread pressure for idea and approach to ensure the independence from being the neo-colonial country in Thailand at the time. And the policy communities were all share the goal to empower the grassroots and communities.

In other words, the problem stream is the problem condition and significance, which affect the policy formulator and the overall society. The indicator of such problem could be in number or statistic which indicate the damage from the problem, such as the number of unemployment, the statistic of decreasing household income after the 1997 economic crisis in Thailand. Problem stream also include the threats from the event and crises. For example, the 1997 economic crisis affected all sector. And there would be the feedback which acquire even more attention to the problem, such as the feedback of 1997 economic crisis which impact the influential scholars within the academic circle and policy formulation's solution against dependency on the world economy. The perspective at that time was that Thailand must escape the world capitalism system through the socialism approach which aim to empower the grassroots and community. For example, King Rama IX suggested the sufficiency economy and new approach of agriculture, Chattip Natsupa proposed the approach of community culture, and Kitti Limskul proposed the One Tambon One Product (OTOP) approach, etc.

2.2.4 The Political Stream

Kingdon (2003, pp. 145-164) suggested that the political stream is the highly influential stream in solving problem for the people's satisfaction and the change within the political stream would affect the various agenda settings, including the political influence such as the national mood, which changes according to the society's perception that can be reveal through opinion expression and survey of attitude. Pressure group campaign could also reflect the specific opinion and needs, which could be both the problem stream or policy stream of each group in the society as well as the election result. The change of administration is usually the opportunity for those who are newly appointed to express their perspective and policy for the problem stream, or the policy stream in the different way from the former authorities.

In other words, the political stream means the political power towards each decision maker. There are three mechanisms; change in the national mood, the balance of political pressure, and the internal situation of the government. The change in the national mood could reflect the political atmosphere or the social movement. As the national mood could lead to the increasing or decreasing priority of the problem issue

in the same way with the political pressure from both the oppositional party and the support party who could influence the problem significance. And lastly, the political stream occurs due to the situations in the government, such as the transfer of those who were appointed in the major positions which could be either supportive or obstructive factor for the policy issue significance (Chow, 2014; Kingdon, 2003; Young et al., 2010; Larkin, 2012; Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016). For example, the national mood after the 1997 economic crisis in Thailand was seeking the new political choice. Therefore, the Thai Rak Thai party under Pol. Lt. Col. Dr. Thaksin Shinawatra presented themselves as the new alternative for Thai politics under the slogan “new idea, new action” which was well received by the Thai society in terms of the pressure group campaign, election result, changes of administration. During the year 2001, the government party or the Thai Rak Thai which was led by Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra who was called Thailand’s CEO from the total authority which was backed up by 19 million voters. In other words, the former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra had the highest authority in selecting any policy from the primeval soup at the time.

Another important element of the Multiple Streams Model is the policy entrepreneur, which refers to the policy entrepreneurs who motivate or support the policy problems. The policy entrepreneurs would act as the mediator or agent who coordinate as well as negotiate with the related persons in the policy process. Kingdon divided the policy entrepreneurs in 2 types, which are; the visible policy entrepreneurs who usually hold the important political position such as the senate, or the interest groups, lobbyists, or even the NGOs, and the hidden policy entrepreneurs such as the bureaucrats, consultants, or scholars who would work in the background. When the problem stream emerges in the society and receive attention from the policy authority, the hidden policy entrepreneurs would propose the alternatives to be selected, by performing the role of supporters and presenters, and would sacrifice various resources in order to appoint the policy within the agenda setting during the suitable time and situation (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 68-70, 122-124).

On the other hand, the policy entrepreneurs would merge the three streams together and act to support the policy. Here, Kingdon described the policy entrepreneurs as those who intend to invest their own resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money, in order to support the better status for the future in terms of material and

objective benefits (Kingdon, 2003, as cited in Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016, p. 5). Thus, the policy entrepreneurs should be counted as the important part of the Multiple Stream Model, as the policy formulator might not clearly understand the problems and lack enough knowledge for solving problems (Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016, p. 5). Hence, the policy entrepreneurs would have the role within the political stream and policy stream, that they must act as soon as the policy window is open, or else the opportunity would be wasted (Chow, 2014, p. 52).

Within the policy windows, any public problems enter the agenda setting and receive attention from the policy formulator depends on the situation or opportunity. If the situational allows, it would mean that the policy window is open and ready for the policy problem to enter the agenda setting. On the contrary, if the situation is not favorable, it would mean that the policy window is closed down. The policy window can be open and closed according to the situation. Therefore, the policy agenda setters who might be the policy entrepreneurs or those within the policy community must prepare their own policy proposal to be ready at all times. So that when the policy window is open, they could hurriedly advocate their problem agenda into the agenda setting. This is the important characteristic of the Multiple Streams Model, that under some situations the policy window would be open, such as during the crisis or political change as when the government is changed. But the policy window could be closed swiftly if it was found that the particular public problem could not be solved or the solution is not accepted politically, or if opening the policy window would obstruct the benefit of any influencer to the policy formulation. In addition, the policy entrepreneurs must also know how to propose the policy so that it could be considered within the political condition and the society's context (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 165-190).

Nevertheless, when the policy proposal enter the agenda setting or already received attention from the policy formulator, some problem agenda might be rejected or receive no decision according to the general process and step of policy formulation. Policy rejection could occur due to many reasons such as the case when the policy formulator suspend the particular policy due to the conflict between the proposal and political advantage, or it could be the socially sensitive agenda for the mass, or the senior officials might suspend the policy to avoid any political consequence or conflict

with their own benefits. And in some case, responding to the political need rather than the people could cause some policy proposal to be rejected.

If there is no obstruction in any process, the 3 streams would merge and result in the policy window opening. The policy window means the opportunity to support the proposal in order to advocate the solution policy. The opportunity could originate from the change within the problem stream or the political stream, such as the result of change within the government or parliament (Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016, p. 5).

When the policy opportunity emerges, it would lead to the policy outputs. Therefore, the policy window opening is the opportunity for the policy entrepreneurs to advocate those related to policy formulation as well as the society to be aware of the problem agenda. The policy proposal could then have support from the political stream enough to influence the decision towards the desired direction. The policy window might be open from the situation at hand, and would be an essential condition for the policy change. The three major streams must also ripened together, which means that the solution must be linked to the problem and receive attention to the policy formulator within the political streams. Meanwhile, the policy formulator must respond to the problem and suggestion for solving problem as well. When all of these conditions occur, it means the policy window has opened and the three major streams are ripened (Kingdon, 2003, as cited in Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016, p. 5). And the policy window usually open and close with fast speed, so the policy entrepreneurs must link the three streams within a limited time, under the support for decision by the person with highest authority. In other words, when the policy window is open, the policy partners must use this opportunity right away to merge the 3 streams and advocate the policy decision towards the policy agenda, that it would become the public policy.

As for the debate on the application of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Model outside the United States' political environment, Chow (2014) provided the proof in the research "Understanding Policy Change: Multiple Streams and National Education Curriculum Policy in Hong Kong" that Kingdon's theory can be applied with the context within the Asian nations as well. Furthermore, it could help the policy formulator to better understand and manage the policy process (Chow, 2014, p. 50). The research, "Understanding Agenda Setting in State Educational Policy: An Application of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Model to the Formation of State Reading

Policy (2010)” by Young, Shepley, and Song, is the demonstration that Kingdon’s theory can be applied for the study of national policy process (Young et al., 2010, p. 14). Furthermore, this research also prioritize the study of the governor’s role in the 3 streams of problem stream, policy stream, and political stream, in order to understand the influence of the governor in the agenda setting process (Young et al., 2010, p. 5).

Meanwhile, Charles (2011, pp. 71-72) who studied the higher education policy change of Ontario state and the College of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) in Canada by using Kingdon’s theory, explained that the choice of Multiple Stream Model was chosen as it was the most suitable model when comparing to other options such as the Rational Comprehensive Planning model, Incrementalism, Public Choice Theory, Historical Institutionalism, Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, Advocacy Coalition Framework, as it could explain the policy development process. Charles also added that the Multiple Stream Model is not the inclusive theory and does not cover all dimension of the policy process, especially the policy implementation and evaluation. But Kingdon’s theory put priority on the process prior to the decision in the policy development process, which Kingdon called the agenda setting.

Eustis (2000, pp. 186-187) who studied the inclusive service policy with the United States’ 1996 Telecommunication Act, by testing and comparing the agenda setting theory of John Kingdon, and Frank Baumgartner and Bryan Jones pointed out that the strength of Kingdon’s theory is the flexibility of the three streams approach, which could be adjusted to suit the elusiveness of the policy process. Moreover, the theory’s strength is also the explanation of the government officers and the policy community, as well as prioritizing the policy information such as budget prediction and systematic follow-up as the policy change facilitator. However, the weakness of this theory is that it prioritizes the agenda setting as the academic process and over look the political will and the public participation.

Another research, “An Agenda Setting Analysis: the Application of Kingdon’s Framework to the Road Accident Fund (RAF)” by Lindokuhle Angel Ndlovu which also utilize Kingdon’s theory in the survey of policy agenda setting of the Road Accident Fund (RAF) in South Africa, emphasis the importance of participants in the policy agenda setting process by referring to Kingdon’s theory. According to Kingdon, the participants in the policy agenda setting can be divided in 2 groups; the actors inside

government and the actors outside the government. From Kingdon's perspective, the participants / actors refer to everyone who initiate the policy agenda setting, including the President, the political appointee, or even the other drive from outside the government such as the press, the interest group, and general citizen. Here, Kingdon proposed that the most important people in the policy agenda setting process are those within the government, including the President, the political appointee, as well as the bureaucrats. The actors outside the government would include the groups such as professional groups, labor groups, interest groups, and the public who could affect the agenda setting process in two ways; campaigning for the government to execute the measure, or attempting to get the government officer to pay attention to the problem agenda (Ndlovu, 2008, pp. 38-44).

In terms of strength, Chow (2014) pointed out that the Multiple Streams Model is based on the empirical study, which collect the data from interviewing with the public health and logistics policy formulators in the United States for total 247 persons. Furthermore, it is also the appropriate alternative theory for coping with the ambiguity in the policy formulation process. Baumgartner (2016) proposed that apart from the quality of writing, Kingdon's research also become the instrument for teaching in various subjects, whether the basic United States politics, the study of legislative process, interest group, and policy formulation. The Multiple Streams Model also focus on the behavioral study, on who play what role within the policy community. And finally, Kingdon's work was also complimented on the appendix with the correct research methodology which explain the questionnaire and the interview process.

Meanwhile, this theory was also criticized by the scholars and policy formulators in various perspectives. Even if the theory is suitable for the reality of policy formulation, but the Multiple Streams Model is still limited in application, as Kingdon never attempt to test this theory outside the United States territory. In this matter, Chow (2014) further explained with reference from the research findings that the political condition of the eastern nation differs from the western nation due to the cultural, historical, and political ideal differences. Another important limitation is that this model does not correspond to the importance consequences of mass media, especially the social media. The media influence is something which cannot be avoid and also important to the policy process, as the media could raise the problem agenda

towards the policy agenda setting. Kingdon's theory was also questioned on the independency of the three major streams which influence the policy formulation process (Chow, 2014, p. 53). This corresponded to the study by Zohlnhöfer and Rüb (2016) which explained that although this theory was successful, Kingdon's Multiple Streams Model still receive criticism due to the lack of hypothesis which can be tested, as Sabatier (2007, as cited in Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016) stated that "the Multiple Streams Model has no clear hypothesis and highly elusive in structure and the research process, which makes it hard to prove the fact". Moreover, Kingdon's metaphorical language which explain the theory was also another important problem, whether the definition of the word stream, policy opportunity opening, merging, policy entrepreneurs, were all the examples of the concept which lack clarity and precision in analysis. The researches related to the Multiple Streams Model are described below.

Charles (2011)'s study, *Policy Windows and Changing Arrangement: An Analysis of the Policy Process Leading to the Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act*, aimed to study the change in the higher education policy of Ontario state and the College of Applied Arts and Technology in Canada during the late 20th century and early 21th century. This research was a qualitative research which collect data from primary and secondary document from 1990-2002, as well as the structured in-depth interview with the policy actors and the important policy entrepreneurs. And in the year 2002, the Ontario State government reviewed the status of academic degree certification of those who graduate with bachelor degree, resulting in the change in the management of CAATs. The new education policy was formulated under the framework of two laws; the Post-Secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000 and the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act, 2002. The researcher applied John Kingdon's Multiple Streams Theory to collect the data and result. According to Kingdon's theory, the policy is the result of the complex process prior to the decision which is connected to the problem stream, policy stream, and the political stream during the time of policy window opening. And in this case, although the society and population growth might change, but the Ontario's higher education system is still strict, as it monopolized all degree authorization of every university under the Degree Authorization Act, 1983, until the new policy is changed with the Post-Secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000, added more choices for Ontario

citizens. And the CAAT proposed the bachelor's degree project after the policy reviewing by the Post-Secondary Education Quality Assurance Committee and the policy approval by the Ministry. And Anne Caroline Charles's study also found the evidence which support Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model. Nevertheless, there are 2 issues in the problem streams; the macro policy structure which designate the condition and limitation of choices appropriate to the policy goal and policy solution, and the micro policy structure which was constructed and connected to the benefit specifically. Furthermore, this research also found that the former institutional structure and the institute itself have important influence to the policy development, as the policy change was the result of policy window opening and the policy entrepreneurs, together with the policy stream which change the consequence.

Chow's (2014) study, *Understanding Policy Change: Multiple Streams and National Education Curriculum Policy in Hong Kong*, aim to study the process Moral and National Education (MNE) policy formulation in Hong Kong by using John Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model as the foundation of analysis. The research could be divided in 3 parts, starting by stating the background, problems, process, as well as the political conditions within the context of MNE policy, following by the evaluation of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Theory as the potential explanation of MNE policy changes, and finally using the theory to study the MNE policy formulation process. Here, Kingdon's theory was suitable as the policy formulation is dynamic, non-rational, and unpredictable. Furthermore, the theory also focus on the three streams within the context of policy formulation, which includes the problem stream, political stream, and policy stream. The three streams would merge due to the policy window and the operation of policy entrepreneurs. It was found that the process of MNE policy formulation corresponded to Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model, which was also the good example to explain how the policy problem could emerge in various contexts as well as proposing the suitable solution. The researcher suggested that MNE policy was the merging of three streams according to Kingdon's theory. In this case, the problem stream which required the government to act instantly was the negative feedback of MNE policy from both the scholars and the authority. Meanwhile, the policy stream covers the solution from the policy expert. In this case, it was mostly agreed that the cancelation of such policy and starting the process of listening to opinion would be

more desirable. One of the policy experts' suggestion was to suspend the MNE policy and allow the educational institutions to decide whether they want to implement this policy or not. Finally, the political stream involves various factors such as the national mood, the legislative change, and the movement campaign. In this case the political stream reflected the national mood which aim towards the cancelation of MNE policy, as well as the National Legislative Assembly election in September 9th, 2012. The three streams were advocated by the group of policy entrepreneurs, which in this case was the Scholarism who organized a rally to protest the MNE policy 2 days prior to the election of National Legislative Assembly, which involves over 120,000 participants. This became the policy window which led to the policy change. And finally the Hong Kong government agreed to suspend the MNE policy and allowed the academic institutes to decide by themselves whether to implement the policy or not.

Eustis's (2000) research, "Agenda-Setting: The Universal Service Case", aimed to test John Kingdon and Frank Baumgartner/Bryan Jones's agenda setting theory about its application with the case of inclusive service policy of the United States Telecommunication Act, 1996. The researcher used both the qualitative and quantitative methodology, as well as content analysis of the primary and secondary document about formulation and development of telecommunication policy. According to the study, it was found that the inclusive study was selected as the legislative measure as it was connected to the telecommunication law which must be amended. Even if some policy formulator agreed with the solution according to the market mechanism, which would means the suspension of support for telecommunication service, but the inclusive policy was still a part of telecommunication policy amendment due to the support of the senates from the rural area and the President's leadership. As for the differences between the theory of Kingdon and Baumgartner / Jones, it was found in this study that Kingdon's hypothesis about the consequence of event which is the formal cycle and indicator could be used in this case better than Baumgartner and Jones's Punctuate Equilibrium Model. Furthermore, the influence of interest group was another issue with difference. In case of inclusive service according to Baumgartner and Jones, the interest group would be the major actor in agenda setting. And at the end, the researcher suggested the element of new model which integrate and collecting both the concepts of Kingdon and Baumgartner / Jones for the sake of agenda setting study.

Henstra's (2010) study, "Explaining local policy choices: A Multiple Streams analysis of municipal emergency management", aimed to study the Canadian municipality in advocating the crisis management policy, such as during the event of snow storm, flood, or industrial disaster, in order to study the municipality's decision in identifying problem as well as bringing the problem towards the policy process and agenda setting. In this work, the overall agenda setting process of the Canadian municipality would be studied, especially within the area of Sarnia city, by the analysis through the framework of Multiple Streams Theory. Although this Kingdon's theory is usually used in the national level, but in this case it was used to analyze to policy in the municipal level. As for the problem stream, it was found that generally the Canadian municipality could face various crisis, which the attention in crisis management would depend on the citizen's mood and awareness of the danger and fragility of such crisis. Also, if any crisis receive attention from the media, it would also caught the attention of people and the political as well. In the case of Sarnia, the city is the largest chemical industry of Canada, which possess the chemical threats such as chemical leakage, explosion, and fire hazard. In terms of policy stream, the Canadian municipality would generally depend on the experts in crisis management which could be inside the municipality, the scholars, NGOs, the Red Cross, as well as the Canadian Risk and Hazards Network (CRNet). In the case of Sarnia, the important person for Sarnia's crisis management policy was Carl Gardner, who was the officer who responsible for the crisis management in the police department. He was one of the founders of Ontario Association of Emergency Managers, as well as participating in Canada crisis management both regionally and nationally. Carl Gardner was therefore the policy entrepreneur for Sarnia's crisis management as well as the public warning system. In terms of political stream, in the Canada municipality, the executives are usually sensitive to the need of interest group and advocating group. In case of Sarnia, although people paid small attention to crisis management, but during the year 2000 when the chemical fog covered the southern part of the city, there were the proclaims which criticizing the crisis management as well and the Canada Ministry of Environment's suggestion to check the chemical factories within Sarnia. So, Carl Gardner became the policy entrepreneur by proposing the policy of city warning system to the mayor, until the system was actually installed in the year 2002.

Nuthawut Jinarat (2011) proposed the study of The Public Policy Advocacy Process: A Case Study of Community Forest Bill 2007, in order to study the problem stream, policy stream, political stream, and the role of policy allies network in the policy advocacy for the 2007 Community Forest Bill. The study was divided in 3 phases as following.

- 1) The study of policy problem and advocacy during 1988
- 2) The study of policy stream and advocacy during 1989-2006
- 3) The study of political stream and advocacy during 2007

It was found that the problem stream was the consequence from the state's policy of forest concession, which led to the serious natural disaster at the southern region of Thailand at the end of 1988 and the demanding for the community forest bill. The policy stream was the idea of community forest which emerged during 1989 as the policy proposal for managing forestry resource by the public participation and further developed into the draft of Community Forest Bill by the Royal Forest Department and the citizen. The political stream was the political support and pressure towards the National Legislative Assembly after the coup d'état in September 19th, 2006, and the founding of temporary government in 2007, which opened the policy window and became the opportunity for the policy network to fully advocate for the policy until finally the 2007 Community Forest Bill was approved in November 21st, 2007.

Kingdon's (2001) research, "A Model of Agenda - Setting, with Applications", aimed to discuss the political limitation in policy change by using the agenda setting theory. The research content was divided in 3 parts, starting from the review of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Theory. Afterwards, the researcher raised the example in the case of relaxing the telecommunication regulation. And in the last part, the meaning was discussed. According to Kingdon's theory, policy formulation originated from the 3 streams of problem, policy, and political which exist separately and independently, but merge during the policy window opening. The example of telecommunication control relaxation was during the decades of 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, when there were complains about the consequence from the strict control that the transporters complained that they could not enter the new market. Here, the problem stream emerged from the complaint which felt like the problem that require solving. In terms of policy stream, during the decade of 1960s, there were many study about monopolization,

economy of scale, and the obstruction of market entrance, which led to the theory that the market competition could replace the government's control. If the state suspends its control of market entrance, the market's competitive nature would control the consumers and help saving the exceeding cost from the state's control. This theory became the legislative proposal at the end. And as for the political stream, it was highly developed during the decade 1960s, and 1970s which created the right-wing political condition from the government resistance as well as the success of political campaign. The researcher also suggested that apart from the policy expert's analysis work, the political limitation also has the role in the formulation of policy outcome, as it is important to select the goal correctly according to the political foundation, not theoretical foundation. Another political limitation is that the advocacy for policy change must follow the political culture. This could explain why one approach is successful in one country while fail in another country. Finally, the last issue which the researcher aim to study is whether the change could happen either gradually or instantly. The study of change in public policy during the past century revealed that the public policy did not change gradually but the change would occur instantly and swiftly. After the major changes, the administration would be quiet until the next major change.

Larkin (2012) proposed the study called "John Kingdon's "Three Streams" Theory and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996", which found that the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) was a beneficial example to explain John Kingdon's Multiple Stream theory within the policy formulation process. According to the literature review, it was found that various states within the U.S. with death penalty were dissatisfied with the Central Government Court as it could not enforce the death penalty which was judged by the jury and the judge. Therefore, the decision of the Supreme Court in 1976 which protect the legitimacy of the Constitution in the Death Penalty Act would be just the decision with almost no practical result. Furthermore, the defendant and the attorney would attempt to avoid the death penalty by persuading the Central Government Court to reverse the judgement, or at least delay the time of execution. The local states expected that the policy to limit the writ of Central Government would help persuading the parliament to limit the power of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, although the death penalty was supported by the majority of people, the local states could not persuade the parliament to change its

perspective. This problem of legislative dead end continued until the major tragedy in the explosion in Oklahoma City, which was the turning point towards the elimination of the political dead end. This research also found that the AEDPA was a good example in explaining Kingdon's policy formulation process. In this case, the problem stream originate from the inability of the local states to enforce the death penalty law without the Supreme Court's consent. However, the true problem was the states' inability to persuade the parliament to review the status of the Supreme Court's writ. Meanwhile, the political stream originated from the ability of the reformation campaign group which proposed that reformation would result in the ability of the Central Government to maintain its standpoint. And in the case of AEDPA, the reformation would guarantee justice for the victims and those who survive the Oklahoma city's explosion. The researcher concluded that the value of Multiple Stream Theory is its breadth and flexibility. Moreover, it is also beneficial for explaining the limitation of the Government's administration.

Ndlovu (2008) proposed a research "An Agenda Setting Analysis: the Application of Kingdon's Framework to the Road Accident Fund (RAF)". Lindokuhle Angel Ndlovu's work aimed to survey the agenda setting process of the Road Accident Fund (RAF), which is the system of compensation for the road accident now being implemented in the South Africa, by using John Kingdon's Theory of Agenda Setting. This study focused on the year 1996, when the RAF was founded until the year 2005, and focus on the issue related to dealing with corruption. The main objective of the RAF was construct the system to compensate for the damage consequences from road accident and include those who use the roads and the passengers of public transportation system who have the risk of road accident. Nevertheless, there was the change of the RAF Act in the year 1996. Therefore, the majority of people who used to benefit from the fund received nothing at the end due to the corruption problem. Here, John Kingdon's theory was used to study the development of RAF fund which led to the proposal of Road Accident Benefit Scheme (RABS). It was found that Kingdon's theory of agenda setting could help explaining the agenda setting process of the RAF fund. According to Kingdon's Multiple Stream Theory, the problem stream in this case originated from the financial crisis and the media's report that the financial status of the RAF was problematic, which reflected the problem within the fund and created pressure

for the policy change. The RAF investigation committee thus proposed the policy solution by the RABS project. Meanwhile, the political stream reflected the national mood, the government change, and the pressure from the interest group as the major evidence of the agenda setting of RAF. Furthermore, the media's news report also played the role in the Fund's agenda setting process.

Keurmaetha Rerkpornpipat (2007)'s study, "Analysis of Public Policy Process in Solving Pollution Problems from Mining Activities: A Case Study of Lead Contamination at Klity-lang Village, Kanchanaburi Province", aim to study the conflicts in the process of solving problem, the complex relationship pattern among the related or hidden parties within the public policy process, the conditions which influence policy decision, as well the mechanism which drive the public policy process. This research also utilize the Multiple Streams Model in the analysis, which revealed the connection between the social movement in advocating the policy to solve the problem of lead contamination around Klity-lang village. The framework of multiple streams which include the problem stream, political stream, policy stream, and the strategy of using the particular time to advocate the policy decision, help explaining the phenomenon which a policy is selected during one time and rejected in another time even if the content remain the same. In this case, the problem did not change, as the level of lead contamination within the stream was still high and the villagers were sick from the high level of lead contamination in the blood. But the change was found in the political stream which is the important condition of policy decision, especially the influence of being in the news which did not only caught attention from all parties but also operate to reduce the problem stream. On the contrary, when the problem stream's pressure was lessen, the problem received less time in the news. Afterwards, the policy decision would depend on other political stream such as the budget, the change of policy authority, and the reciprocity between the government bureau and the entrepreneurs which led to the fluctuation of policy decision.

Ridde (2009) proposed the study "Policy Implementation in an African State: An Extension of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Approach". Valery Ridde commented that the Multiple Stream Theory could be applied in the variety of places and policy situations. In this work, he used this model to analyze the problem of health service equality policy in Burkina Faso, where Valery Ridde found that the problem stream

was that the national health service could not efficiently reach people with low income. And the NGOs also agreed with such thought. It could be said that people with low income in Burkina Faso were the group with virtually no power to demand anything. Burkina Faso also lack enough budget to support the inclusive public health service for its people and must depend on the aid from international organizations and the 1st world countries. As for the policy stream, the various policies of models model for public health service lack the concept of health service for those with low income. As for the political stream within Burkina Faso, no authority would play the role of advocacy for the inclusive public health service towards the agenda setting. Or in other words, there was no policy entrepreneur in Burkina Faso.

Stou and Stevens (2000) proposed the study, “The Case of the Failed Diversity Rule: A Multiple Streams Analysis” in order to study the failure of racial cultural diversity policy, which resulted in the education gap between American students and the students with other races within Minnesota State, under the analysis with the Multiple Stream Theory. It was found that the problem stream was the gap in education outcome of American students and students of other races. The Native American, Asian American, and Spanish American students’ grades were lower than the standard, which caught the attention of the society on how the problem could be solved. As for the policy stream, there was the perspective that such problem can be solved only when the policy integration is used, by the State Board of Education (SBE) who found the approached called diversity rule. This approach ensure that the school committee must be aware of diversity and have no bias. The district education must monitor enrollment and participation in various courses, as well as all the inequality. The district education must also collect the students’ data in terms of race, gender, family income, and English language proficiency. And the punishment measure was also formulated. This diversity rule became the policy which was advocated without the public support as there should be, while the graduation rule could still maintain the general diversity of the classroom among the teachers and students. Also, the skill tests of the students must be based on diversity, and the education district must be under the direction of each district. It could be said that the graduation rule existed for over 10 years and was already accepted by the policy formulator. However, the diversity rule was viewed as problematic by those related to it, who were disappointed in the form of the rule, as the diversity rule could

not demonstrate enough concept to lead to the students' capacity improvement. And the related persons from various sectors all felt the empathy that the school environment would fall under the state's punishment. And due to the pressure from various sectors as well as the controversies in the diversity rule, the political stream also rejected the diversity rule.

Thanet Sorat (2010) proposed the study of The Logistics Policy Formulation of Thailand which aim to study the Thailand's logistic policy formulation as well as the roles of various groups in the policy formulation process. This research used the Multiple Streams Theory as the analysis framework and found that the problem stream was the problem from the change in world commerce under the trend of globalization, which resulted in Thailand's liberalization of commerce internationally and regionally, such as the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS), and the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). Furthermore, there was the problem from the increasing logistic cost due to the rising oil price in the world market. The policy stream originated from the role and relationship of various groups relating to Thailand's logistic policy formulation. The researcher concluded that logistics is directly related to the private sector, and the state only play the role of supporter by formulating logistic policy. As the state is not the direct stakeholder and lack the understanding in logistics, the process of logistics policy formulation required the private sector and scholars to involve in order to identify problems and propose the related opinion. Thailand's logistic policy formulation was initiated by the political, from the political leader with the background and basic from the business sector. Although the concept formulation was initiated by the political, but the bureaucrats played the role in drafting the Thailand logistics policy and formulate the details by depending on the opinion of the private sector and the academics. Therefore, Thailand's logistic policy became tangible and long-term. And the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board prepared the 2007-2011 strategy of Thailand logistic system development. It can be said that the logistic policy formulation was initiated by the state when the government assign the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Council to responsible for preparing the plan. And according to this study, it was found that the process of logistics policy preparation corresponded to the policy formulation theory progressively, and the policy

formulation also prioritize the participation by the groups from both the private sector and academic sector.

Young et al. (2010) presented the research called “Understanding Agenda Setting in State Educational Policy: An Application of Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Model to the Formation of State Reading Policy”, which used Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Theory to explain the reason why reading became important for the U.S. Government’s agenda setting process during the second half of 1990 decade. The data collection was conducted by interviewing the actors of reading policy in California, Michigan, and Texas. According to Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Model, policy formulation is based on the three streams of problem stream, policy stream, and the political stream. The policy stream means the process of problem awareness, while the political stream would explain the problem significance to the state’s agenda, and the policy stream refers to the specification of solution detail by the policy specialists. It was found that the Multiple Stream Theory could be applied in the national education world, in order to explain the agenda setting process. In this case, the various factors which affect the status of the government’s reading policy included the feedback from parents, teacher, the business groups, the statistic of the students’ success, political pressure from the government, regional and the national benefit, the belief that reading create obstruction for the students’ success, and the widespread understanding that the decrease in reading capacity reflect the failure of the public school. Furthermore, the state officers also encourage reading to be the important agenda, by motivating the agenda which should enter agenda setting and the option which should receive serious attention. It was also found that the application of Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Theory might depend on the issue to be studied and the government’s participation as well.

According to the literature review, it was found that Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Theory was studied and applied broadly both inside and outside the U.S., and cover the various dimensions of national policy process, as the theory was used for the analysis framework in the policy researches described above. Within the United States, Young et al. (2010) applied Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Theory to explain why reading became an important issue for the United States Government policy agenda setting during the second half of the 1990 decades. And prior in the work of Eustis (2000) called “Agenda-Setting: The Universal Service Case”, John Kingdon’s agenda setting theory was tested

by applied in the study of inclusive service policy with the United States Telecommunication Act, 1996. Similarly, the work of Larkin called “John Kingdon’s “Three Streams” Theory and the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996” found that the AEDPA was the beneficial example for explaining John Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Theory in the policy formulation process.

As for the researches which applied Multiple Streams Theory outside the U.S., the examples could be found in the work of Charles (2011) who used Kingdon’s Theory to study the change of Ontario post-secondary education and the College of Applied Arts and Technology in Canada during the late 20th century and early 21th century. As for the Asian region, there was the research “Understanding Policy Change: Multiple Streams and National Education Curriculum Policy in Hong Kong” by Anthony Chow (2014), which aim to study the policy formulation process for the Moral and National Education (MNE) in Hong Kong. And in South Africa, there was the research called “An Agenda Setting Analysis: the Application of Kingdon's Framework to the Road Accident Fund (RAF)” by Lindokuhle Angel Ndlovu, which aim to survey the agenda setting process of the Road Accident Funds (RAF) or the compensation system for the road accident currently in operation in South Africa.

It can be said that the Multiple Streams Model has the character of conceptual framework for the historical study of agenda setting process which can be applied broadly in many areas, by analysis of factors why other policies were not considered to enter the agenda setting. On the other hand, the Multiple Streams Model could be used in the analysis of why the policy received attention from the policy entrepreneurs until it could be advocated towards agenda setting. And when consider the essence of the Multiple Streams Model, it would be found that this concept was about the 3 streams of problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. And when the 3 streams merge, the policy window would open up. The policy entrepreneurs could push the related policy problem towards the policy agenda setting according to the Figure 2.2 below.

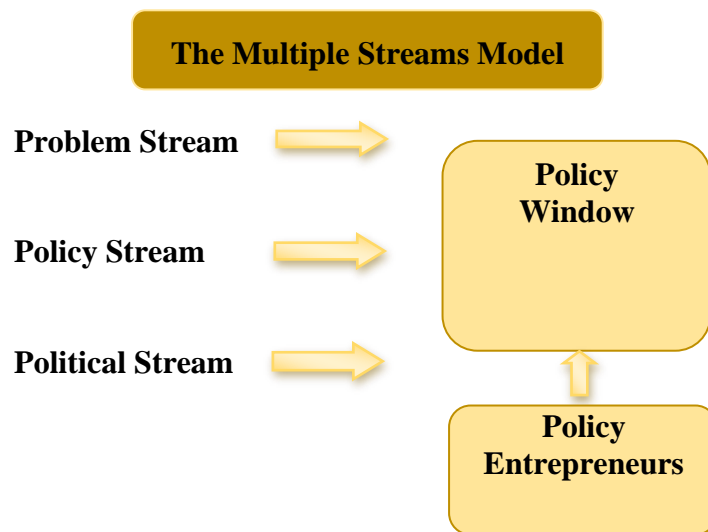


Figure 2.2 Multiple Streams Model & Agenda Setting

2.3 Iron Triangle Model

For the comparative of policy formulation process, the researcher would apply the Iron Triangle Model in the study and analysis. The Iron Triangle Model is the concept which explain the three power polars within the policy process, public policy formulation, and policy area. The actors within the Iron Triangle include the legislative, the bureaucrat, and the business group.

1) The legislative, executive, or politician means those who were elected or the stakeholder of election, such as the Member of Parliament, the political party officers, the ministers, the parliament committee / sub-committee, as well as the local government in various levels, etc.

2) The bureaucrat refers to the bureaucrat or the employment of the bureaucratic organization who direct and control the resource, implement policy, or administer various problem issues.

3) The private sector / investor / business sector / interest group with the objective of fulfilling their own advantage. This group possesses various resources such as knowledge, economic benefit, network, capital, or popularity which can be used to

lobby the public campaign through the interaction with the legislative and the bureaucrat (Cerny, 2001, p. 4).

McConnell (1966) explained that the relationship in the form of Iron Triangle within the policy formulation process is based on the basis of benefit negotiation, mutual benefit, as well as mutual depending on each other. The form of relationship originate from the political sector's expectation of winning election, which depend on the capital from the business to spend on the political activities. Meanwhile, the business sector is based on the concept of maximize profitability, which require close relationship and financial support to the political sector. In return, the business group would be rewarded by the business opportunities, such as the state's projects, concessions, or policies which correspond to their needs. As for the bureaucrat, which is the important mechanism for the state's administration and public policy formulation, would also depend on the political sector who control the highest executive authority in order to step up towards the important position, by following the policy formulated by the political sector which was advocated by the business sector. This corresponded with the explanation by Canova (2007, pp. 57-58), that the Iron Triangle is the small but secure network or group of allies between the state and the business sector who join hands and control the public policy. Each side of the Iron Triangle relationship mutually depend and reciprocate on each other. The business group would give the financial support for the politicians to win the election, and on the other hand it could access the government organization and dominate the legislation process in order to protect its business advantage. Meanwhile, the political sector would depend on the bureaucrat to implement the policy as lobbied by the business sector, which the bureaucrat would be rewarded in salary or career position.

Despite the strength of the concept, the Iron Triangle was criticized as something normal within the limit of national politics, as the politicians in democratic system must be concerned about being elected and resource management. The bureaucrats must be concerned about the compensation, reputation, and the career growth. And lastly, the private sector is usually concerned with the maximizing the profit or productivity (Cerny, 2001, p. 4). Furthermore, the specification that all policy formulation is under the Iron Triangle relationship might be too shallow and too simple explanation. Here, Griffith (1939, as cited in King & Shannon, 1986, p. 216) argued

that the Iron Triangle is not iron nor triangle, as the relationship is elusive and circular. He explained that only during the decade of 1930-1940 which the Iron Triangle dominate the executives, member of parliament, and the lobby group. In fact, the research institution, university, or even the individual or the press might also take part in this relationship. On the contrary, Hecla (1978, as cited in Gais, Peterson, & Walker, 1984, pp. 162-163) referred to the study from the agricultural, water, and other public policy and found that the Iron Triangle was not erroneous, but only incomplete, as it overlook the political change and national administration. And the detail consideration found that it overlook the open network of the citizen which increasingly infiltrating and participating in the government.

In various literatures, the Iron Triangle was referred to and compared to other similar concepts. King and Shannon (1986, p. 215) mentioned the Iron Triangle with the cozy little triangles and unholy trinities as the coordination allies among the bureaucrats, parliament committee / sub-committee, and the interest groups, while the issue network is the more inclusive policy network which could infiltrate and disperse better. Cerny (2001, p.3) commented that the Iron Triangle is a part of the issue network, policy network, and the policy communities with more breadth and complexity. In addition, the studies of relationship between the interest group, member of parliaments, and the bureaucrats usually connect and refer to other models such as the subgovernment, the policy subsystem, and whirlpools (Gais et al., 1984, p. 162). Jordan (1981, pp. 96-98) conducted the comparative study of the Iron Triangle, the issue network, Corporatism, and the cabinet government in the policy process and proposed that the Iron Triangle is the secure relationship of the limited actors within the closed policy area. Various policy formulations occur within this triangle which consisted of the interest group, the government / bureaucratic organization, and the parliament committee. It is hard to access the Iron Triangle, even in the level of the President or Ministry. This type of relationship could be found in the U.S. and U.K., with some differences in detail. While the policy issue would be broader, more open, and more complex to solve the conflict and approach the policy formulation, with the unlimited number of network participants, and hard to predict. The complexity and the lack of policy authority is the uniqueness of the issue network. And Corporatism refers to the centralized power which direct the policy sector through the spinning of the

associations and organizations. This type of relationship is secured, specialized, solving problem at the top level, hierarchical, include the top-down interaction and the relationship between the commander and subordinate, focusing on the loyalty and conformity. Lastly, the concept of cabinet government would focus on the ability of the central government to interact.

According to the literature review, it was also found that the Iron Triangle are mostly used to explain and applied with the political context, political economy, and the policy formulation of the U.S., Japan, and the Greater Megong Subregion. Within the U.S. political context, the concept of Iron Triangle was developed during the decade of 1950-1960 (Jordan, 1981, p. 96) and became normalized during the end of 1970s, when it appeared every day in the news, the government's internal memorandum, as well as the various documents (King & Shannon, 1986, p. 215) including the broad policy of election, water resource, agriculture, food and medicine, controlled industry, conservation of marine resource, public health, and military, etc. Mitnick (2018) proposed the Iron Triangle relationship within the U.S. controlled industry, which included the actors from the controlled industry or the interest groups, the parliament account committee, and the various administration or bureaucratic organizations. The result of the relationship is the decision and the control policies which tend to protect and empower the controlled industry as found in the food and medicine industry as well as the military. The structure of the Iron Triangle included the motivation and the opportunities which circulate among the actors. This structure is secured as long as the motivation and opportunities still exist, and there would not be the new actor to interrupt the circulation of benefit and motivations. The relationship within the Iron Triangle actually existed as well as protected by the actors from the industry, the political, and the bureaucrats. The Iron Triangle became normal within the U.S. supervision process prior to the end of 20th century and became strong within many controlled industries until today.

On the contrary, the study by Gais et al. (1984) argued that the Iron Triangle relationship still exist with lessor influence from the 1940-1950 decade. The research team argued that the U.S. politics has already changed due to the influence of various factors. One of the important factors was the swift expansion of the number and diversity of the interest groups who could access the formal representatives within the

U.S. political system. The new groups of citizen emerged from various social and economic trends, such as the growth of the educated middle class or the reformation of communication technology. This new interest group does not follow the typical pattern of political influence but support the demand of resource allocation and oppose the influence of the Iron Triangle, as well as attempt to push the policy debate into the public space.

Within the Japanese context, the Iron Triangle was also not strange (Maclachlan, 2004, p. 311). There were debates and discussions from various perspectives Rakhmanko (2015) saw that the Iron Triangle is an important element of the Japanese post-war political economy system, which was created to encourage the swift economic growth and the construction of secure economic environment through the guarantee of the smooth and efficient communication process as well as the close cooperation between the government and the business groups.

While Johnson (1989, as cited in Rakhmanko, 2015, p. 6) argued that the it is the abnormal nature and also the corruption. The Iron Triangle is the complex structure, as it include the variety of elements, levels, and forms, which cover various economic sectors including the construction, postal system, public health, production, financial, agriculture, or logistics in the different level of both national and local level as well as in many other forms such as pre-arranged bidding or money laundering (Rakhmanko, 2015, p. 5). This issue was reflected in the work Maclachlan (2004), which attempted to explain the political power of the postal officers within the Iron Triangle by pointing out that the private sector within the Iron Triangle of the postal service was the postal officers. This differed to other economic sector, as this group of postal officers gradually developed into the ally of the Democrat party and also connect the relationship with the internal bureaucrats. The political and bureaucratic connection allow the political officers to suspend the postal system reformation.

Within the Japanese context, there was also the study which point out the negative consequence of the Iron Triangle. As when the time pass, the relationship between the politician of LDP party-the bureaucrats and the private sector would developed into the major corruption. The government major spending with the unnecessary and inefficient project led to the increase of Japan's public debt (Maclachlan, 2004; Rakhmanko, 2015). This was related to the study by Warangkana

Korkietpitak and Watunyu Jaiborisudhi (2013), which found that the relationship within the Iron Triangle between the LDP party, business group, and the bureaucrats led to the patronage system and the mutual exchange of benefit, and was also the origin of corruption within the Japanese political system during the 1990s. This issue was also extended towards the work of Colignon and Usui (2001) who studied about the Amakudari phenomenon. Amakudari is literally translated as fallen from the heaven. The researcher found that Amakudari or the employment of retired bureaucrats in the private organization or company would create the coordination network between the institution and work as the important mechanism of the Iron Triangle called Amakudari. As the Japanese believe that the bureaucrats work for God and the nation, and when retired they would enter the material world and seek personal benefit.

Within the context of the Greater Megong Subregion, the Iron Triangle concept help explain the power relationship within the paradigm of irrigation development. Blake (2016, pp. 24-56) studied the formulation and circulation of power influence related to the development of irrigation system and control of water resource, by comparing between the North Eastern of Thailand and the Northern Region of Cambodia. The researcher found that the case of Thai and Cambodia did not correspond to the concept of Iron Triangle consisted of the three power polars of politicians, bureaucrats, and the interest groups. However, the context and the assembly of the interest groups reflect the even more complex ally. In the case of Thailand's North Eastern region, the model of Golden Pentagon might be a better fit, as the paradigm of Thailand irrigation system development involved 5 power polar of the Royal Irrigation Department and Department of Water Resources bureaucrats, the politicians, the interest groups, the military, and the royal institution. While the Northern Region of Cambodia might be better suited with the concept of Iron Quadrangle, as the paradigm Cambodian irrigation system development involved 4 power polar of the bureaucrats, the politicians especially from the CPP party, the private interest group, as well as the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the aid organizations according to the following Figure.

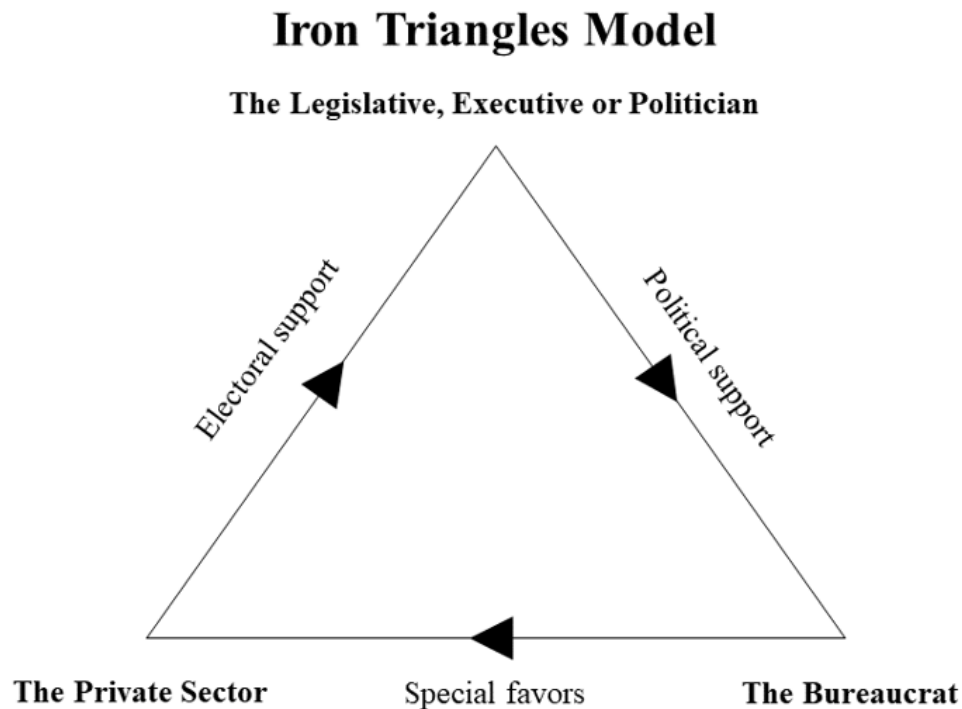


Figure 2.3 Iron Triangles Model

2.4 Top-Down Approach and Bottom-Up Approach

To compare the policy implementation, the research would use the Top-Down Approach and the Bottom-Up Approach to study and analyze. The Top-Down Approach prioritize the policy and the control of policy implementation by the policy formulator, as it was believed that during the policy formulation process, the senior executives have higher importance for the policy implementation process than the junior officers (Voradej Chandarasorn, 2008, as cited in Chuchart Passayanavin, 2012, p. 17). This is based on 6 paradigm as following.

First, the organization formulate the structure which allow efficiency in the policy implementation.

Second, the clarity of the theory and rationality requires the appropriate law enactment and the sufficient support for the actors both in terms of necessary resouces and instruments.

Third, policy assignment to the actors would need the appropriate regulation for fulfilling the policy objectives, by assuming that the bureaucrats and the related group should be limited in power to prioritize by themselves. And policy implementation must also receive support from the legislative environment accepted by the policy actors.

Fourth, although the policy actors must have high skills and commitment, they might focus on the personal benefit.

Fifth, motivation from the executive or the law enforcer is required for coordination from the policy actor. Meanwhile, receiving cooperation from the interest group would ensure that policy implementation would be more effective

Sixth, prioritize the review and change according to the changing situation (Calista, 1994, as cited in Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2003, p. 426).

Meanwhile, Sombat Thamrongthanyawong (2003, as cited in Chuchart Passayanavin, 2012, p. 18) explained that the core of the Top-Down Approach is highly related to the power exercising by the policy formulator within the context in which the policy was formulated, under the policy implementation and the scope of policy change by the policy actor. No matter if it is appropriate or not, the policy formulator would exercise the power to authorize all of the related matters. Matland (1995, as cited in Liedl, 2011, p. 7) added that the concept of Top-Down policy implementation originated from the power decision, which the central actors are the most important part to create the desired consequence. The Top-Down policy implementation can increase the efficiency through the clear policy objective, reduction of the related actors to as few person as possible, limiting the scope of change, as well as finding the supporting institution to advocate the policy formulator's idea. According to the aforementioned definition, we could conclude that the Top-Down Approach prioritize the policy formulator as the center, as it is believed that the policy formulator has more importance to the success of policy implementation rather than the policy actors at the lower level, for the policy formulator would exercise the authority to direct all related matters.

Nevertheless, the Top-Down Approach was criticized from various perspectives since it was developed (Imamura, 2015, p. 16). Some criticisms were about the number of factors, the specification of the major factor affecting the policy implementation. And the hardest criticism was about the priority of policy formulator as the only major actor of the policy implementation process while ignoring the importance of opinion

from private sector, bureaucratic officers, or the local officers (Sabatier, 1986, as cited in Imamura, 2015, p. 16). The Top-Down Approach was also criticized that it only focused on the formulated regulations and ignore the process of discussion before reaching the consensus of solution. In other words, this approach made it seems like there is no other opinion or option in solving problem, which could result in dissatisfaction in the policy actors who have proposed other alternatives (Liedl, 2011, p. 7).

In contrast with the Top-Down Approach is the Bottom-Up Approach. Both approaches (Bottom-up) have been debated within the world of political sciences for several decades. At first, it was the study of policy implementation method and attempt to find the key factor of success for policy implementation (Liedl, 2011, p. 4). As for the concept of Bottom-Up Approach, this approach prioritize the policy actors based on the paradigm that they could decide and use their judgement to formulate the action guideline within the area, where they are closer to the problem than those at the top. Furthermore, each problem differs in its cause and context, which could result in the different outcome from the policy formulator's goal. Whether the policy objectives would be fulfilled or not would depend on the negotiation between the policy formulator and policy actors (Chuchart Passayanavin, 2012, p. 18)

Pulze and Treib (2007, as cited in Reungrit Ketsuwan, 2008, pp. 55-57) proposed the difference analysis of the Top-Down Approach and Bottom-Up Approach in the 5 major issues as following.

Table 2.1 Difference Analysis of the Top-Down Approach and Bottom-Up Approach

Issue for Comparing	Top-Down Approach	Bottom-Up Approach
Research Strategy	From the political decision towards policy management	From officers towards the executive network
Objective of Analysis	Giving predictive suggestion or policy suggestion	Descriptive or explanation
Model of Policy Process	Step by step	Merged together
The characteristic of policy implementation process	Follow the hierarchical order	Solve problem according to the distribution of power principle
The basis model related to democracy	Leadership Model	Participation Model

According to Matland's (1995, as cited in Liedl, 2011, p. 4) explanation that the study of Top-Down and Bottom-Up policy implementation approach did not limited only within the government sector. According to the literature review, it was found that both approaches were applied with the policies of many sectors, including political, economic, society, and international policies. Various studies also proved that both approaches have strength and weakness in practice. Politically, Bozzini (2013) proposed the lesson of success and limitation of Top-Down approach within the governing system through the case study of Rawanda's anti-corruption campaign. It was found that the Rawanda government used the Top-Down approach in the political, economic, and social sectors of the nation. Such approach which included the enactment of Anti-Corruption Act, 2003, the founding of anti-corruption organization, serious law enforcement with those who committed the corruption, and the campaign of the negative consequence of corruption by the government organization had a good result towards the control of corruption, while also weaken the internal auditing

organizations and did not encourage the transparency principle and the citizen's participation.

Similarly, Jacko (2012) proposed the case study which compared the success of Top-Down approach and Bottom-Up approach in the anti-corruption by the 2 local governments in Slovakia. The local government of Martin and Sala was acclaimed nationally and internationally due to their success in anti-corruption. However, both governments had different policy implementation approach, as the Martin government used the Top-Down Approach in the project "Transparent City" initiated by the governor. The project led to the swift change and positive result. But it was noted that the governor's leadership and personal skill had major role in all process of the projects. While the Sala government used the Bottom-Up approach which was highly successful. But if the widespread consequence is desired, the support from the executive and the local council would be required.

For Nuclear policy, Aldrich (2012) studied the public opinion and the civil society activity in terms of nuclear energy since the World War II until the event of earthquake and tsunami in Tohoku on March 11th, 2011. It was found that Japan override the objections and anxiety of the public which were the consequences from the nuclear bombing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The government continued the project of nuclear development for commercial purpose and decreased the energy dependency through the Top-Down approach and financial injection until succeed. However, the major earthquake in 2011 changed the political and social landscape about nuclear both nationally and internationally. After the disaster, the citizen and civil society organizations attempted to move with the bottom-up approach, such as monitoring the radioactivity leakage, challenging the government organization, and the major protest.

Economically, Crescenzi and Pose (2011) proposed the combination of Top-Down approach and Bottom-Up approach in the economic development policy. As a result of the globalization trend in economy, the Top-Down approach, which was widely used by deciding to inject the financial resources and labors within the deprived area, was questioned for its ability to cope with the current challenges. The bottom-up approach was then brought in to help coping with the situation, by giving power to the local actors and focus on the economic resource management within the local area. Such approach became the efficient alternative for economic development. However,

the bottom-up approach still lack the clear framework of local factor consideration, the specification of appropriate approach to solve problem, as well as the consequence evaluation. Therefore, the combination of both approaches under the framework at the intermediate level could help encouraging the policy of bottom-up development as well as merging between both approaches.

In the same direction, Russell (2015) presented the Neo-Syntheis approach in public policy implementation, by emphasis on the serious participation of the affected communities, the reformation, and the policy implementation, as the various approaches of policy implementation all have their strength and weakness. The Top-Down approach was very beneficial, as the goal and objective is clear, and the policy according to this approach would be designed inclusively. However, the Bottom-Up approach would be more practical in some countries, if there is no problem of distrust and corruption. Meanwhile, the Synthesis approach which is the foundation of the Neo-Synthesis approach, would emphasis the combination of the Top-Down and Bottom-Up approaches by allowing the local level to express their opinion, together with the bottom-up governance, control, and activities. Nevertheless, the effect of these approaches towards the primary stage of policy formulation would be minimal. It was found that the strength of Neo-Synthesis approach is that it could establish the interaction and communication among the actors in all level, through the power distribution to the local and the operational actors together with the Top-Down governance and administration by the policy administrative organizations.

Other study related to social issue was the study of housing security policy implementation. Liedl (2011) questioned whether the Top-Down approach has more advantage than the Bottom-Up approach for the implementation of anti-theft in the residential housing project. This research studied Netherland's Veilig Wonen project which has the top-down approach as it received financial support from the Ministry of Interior from the start, and Germany's Zuhause Sicher project which has the Bottom-Up approach as it was initiated by a police officer within his own responsible area and convinced his colleagues within the same area to join the project. Afterwards, he convinced the police officers from other district. It was found that the Top-Down approach has the disadvantage in coping with the different and complex levels of management while also dealing with the related allies and organizations. The project of

Bottom-Up approach would be much simple in terms of management structure. However, the advantage of the Top-Down approach is the clear capacity and ability, while the Bottom-Up approach would have disadvantage in this issue. Other advantage of the Top-Down approach is the speed of operation, which can be done swiftly. The findings also revealed that there is no perfect approach for the implementation of housing security project. Both the Top-Down and Bottom-Up approach could not completely cope with various influences. But there is the tendency that the Top-Down project would operate more quickly and broadly, while the Bottom-Up project would be more sustainable and last longer, according to the following Figure 2.4.

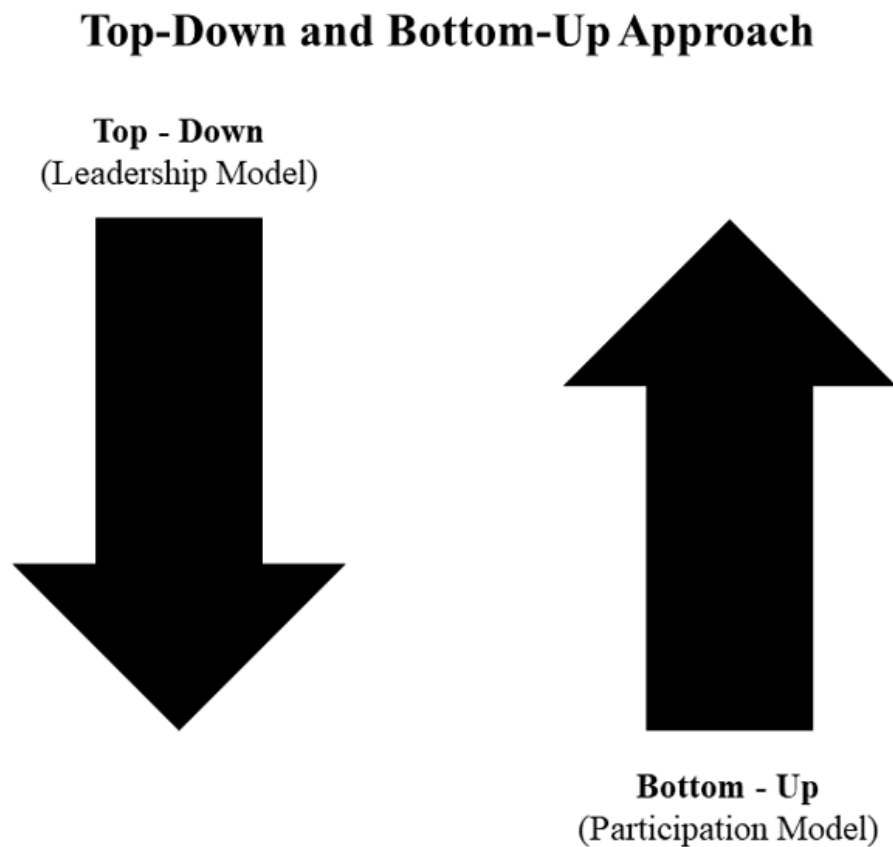


Figure 2.4 Top-Down Approach and Bottom-Up Approach

2.5 One Village One Product: OVOP Principles

The problems condition in Oita prefecture during the 1970s was the migration into the city by the working adults due to the development policy. Furthermore, the average income per capita of Oita prefecture was low comparing to Tokyo and other area. (Hiramatsu, 2008)

Hiramatsu talked to people in his province and found that this area is facing the problem of labor scarcity, especially those in the early adult age range who are the important power for any business. Moreover, the public facilities were not enough, and there was no support from the central government. This led Hiramatsu to a realization that when the people face problems which they complaint but received no response, it would harm the community. And the most harmful thing is the lack of motivation to conduct business. Therefore, the motivation for people in the community must be created urgently.

While Hiramatsu entered the field in Oita prefecture, apart from the local problems, he also found the model to solve the problem of local community degeneration, which was the Oyama village process. The Oyama village had the community development from within, due to its limited agricultural area, lack of main industry, and the far distance from the urban area at the center of Oita prefecture. This resulted in the initiation of self-sufficient concept of the community. In 1961, there was the initiation of New Plum and Chestnut (NPC) project, which the villagers united and encouraged growing the plum and chestnut by using the integrated agriculture approach, as plum and chestnut are the suitable plants for the geography and climate condition of the village. Thus, growing plum and chestnut should generate better income for the villagers than growing rice (Adachi, 2003).

The development of Oyama village started from the encouragement to grow plum and chestnut instead of rice and then expanded to the human resource development. There was the activity which arrange for the field trip abroad such as a trip to Hawaii, for the young adult to learn and be motivated as well as widen the villagers' perspective. And finally, there was the environment development and the construction of facilities (Hisao et al., 2005). The model of Oyama village development was applied into Oita prefecture development policy in 1979, by governor Morihiko

Hiramatsu, who advocated the process of One Village One Product: OVOP and resulted in Hiramatsu (2008, pp. 5-17)'s perspective of local development in Oita prefecture after being elected as the Oita governor as following.

The transfer from Gross National Product towards Gross National Satisfaction (GNS): This must start by raising the level of the citizen's wellbeing through the increasing of income and self-confidence. Related to the GNP, the highest aim of transferring from GNP towards the GNS is the local revitalization under the awareness, pride, and satisfaction of one's own way of life in the community. Therefore, it is essential to revive the locality for the young adults by allowing the local people to create what is their identity including the culture and tourism, as well as focusing on the human resource development (Hiramatsu, 2008).

The endogenous development: There are two modes of development. First type of development is the exogenous development such as the industrial development under the modern concept which depend on the external investment and resources, especially in the developing country, where the industrial-based development could not avoid the pollution problem. Furthermore, this type of development require the area with the corresponding resources for the efficient including the cost reduction. For example, Thailand was successful to attract the investment for the motor industry due to the factors of skilled labors, having enough industry within the related clusters, good supporting basic facilities, and the policy which support the industrial investment. The second type of development is the endogenous development, which is the important basis for the OVOP process, or the development which differs from the major industrial development. This type of development is small and require small amount of capital and resources, leading to the sustainable development as a result from the development within the community, from the existing root and resources. The benefit from the endogenous development would be returned into the community, unlike the exogenous development which the benefit would be returned to the investing company.

Application of Gross National Satisfaction with the society: The application of GNS does not only aim towards the economic values but also the consideration of quality of life and the existence with the nature. Both the material and spirit must correspond and support each other. Here, Hiramatsu believed that the Sufficiency

Economy philosophy and the paradigm of OVOP shares the same roots, as both approaches considered the following elements.

- 1) Human's existence together with nature
- 2) Prosperity from agriculture and industrial must progress together
- 3) Equality between the urban and rural area
- 4) Technology transfer from the modern industries towards the local industries
- 5) Differences and inequalities

According to the paradigm of Oita development, Morihiko Hiramatsu who initiated and advocated the process of OVOP proposed the 3 principles of OVOP process as following (Hiramatsu, 2008).

1) Local Yet Global: This is the global thinking with the local action, by producing the products and services using the local wisdom and culture which reflect the identity and pride of the local people towards the international acceptance.

2) Self-Reliance Creativity: This is the drive behind the movement of the community members which led to the community's success in the OVOP process, by creating the activities which depend on the capacity of the community members which allow them to think independently. In other words, these activities must come from the need of the community members, decided by the community members, and reflect the self-reliance local spirit. And the government organization should only support the technology and marketing. But financial support for the community should not be the framework for community development. For example, the Oita prefecture's role was the promotion activities to sale the local products in the major cities. In other words, the state's role resembles the salesman's. This made OVOP to be more than just the encouragement of unique product manufacturing, but also include the process of community revitalization as in the case of Oyama city, which was the model for the OVOP process. After the end of World War II, the central government's policy encouraged the farmers to grow rice. But due to the inappropriate geography, the productivity was low. So the group of villagers united and rejected the central government's rice growing policy and grow plum and chestnut instead. The slogan "Grow chestnut and plum and go to Hawaii" reflected the self-reliance creativity of the community members. And in 2004, the Oyama city grew 1.76 times from the year 1980,

resulting in the high income for Oyama citizen that they could leisurely visit Hawaii and other places throughout the world. Furthermore, the Oita prefecture also arranged the community shops where the villagers could sell their products. And this province shops generated over 1.6 billion yen.

3) Human Resource Development: The focus on human resource development would led to the community leaders with capacity and vision, in order to revitalize and motivate the community member towards success through challenges and creativity. This level of development is the highest goal of OVOP.

In the year 2001, the number of OVOP products in Oita prefecture went from 11 to 336 products, and the income increased from 36 billion yen to 141 billion yen. And in 2005, the OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee was founded to create the international OVOP network. In 2007, there were 1476 people from 46 countries who studied the OVOP process in Oita. The coordination development would lead to the mutual exchange of knowledge in local revitalization (Hiramatsu, 2008). However, the development coordination and OVOP network must never forget that the definition of OVOP did not only refer to the product but also the thinking process as well as the service, caring for the environmental resources, maintaining the wisdom, tourism, culture, and tradition.

It can be said that the One Village One Product: OVOP concept has 3 principles for efficient project implementation as in Figure 2.5.

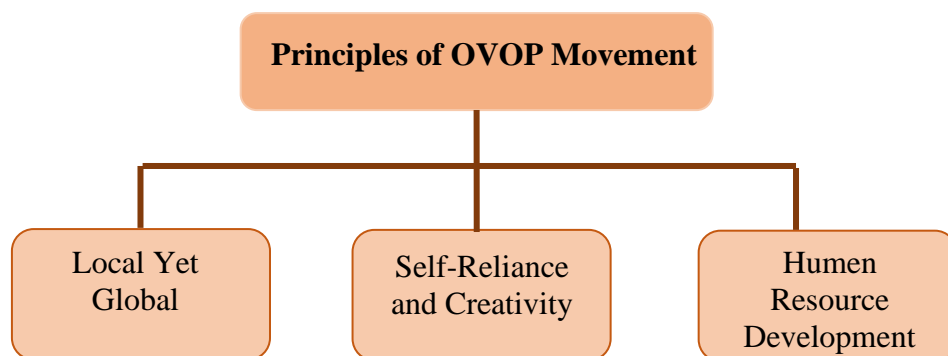


Figure 2.5 The Principles of One Village One Product

When considering the related concept, although this research utilize the Multiple Streams Model, but in order to reveal the clearer picture in the comparative between the OTOP policy and the OVOP policy, the study must look at the whole process since the problem formulation towards the policy agenda process in order to see the different dimension of both policies in the broader terms than the Multiple Streams Model, which ended at the Policy Agenda. Furthermore, the researcher also utilize the concept of One Village One Product: OVOP as the important model leading towards the success of the similar policy as the comparative analysis framework for both policies during the phase of policy implementation study according to the following research framework.

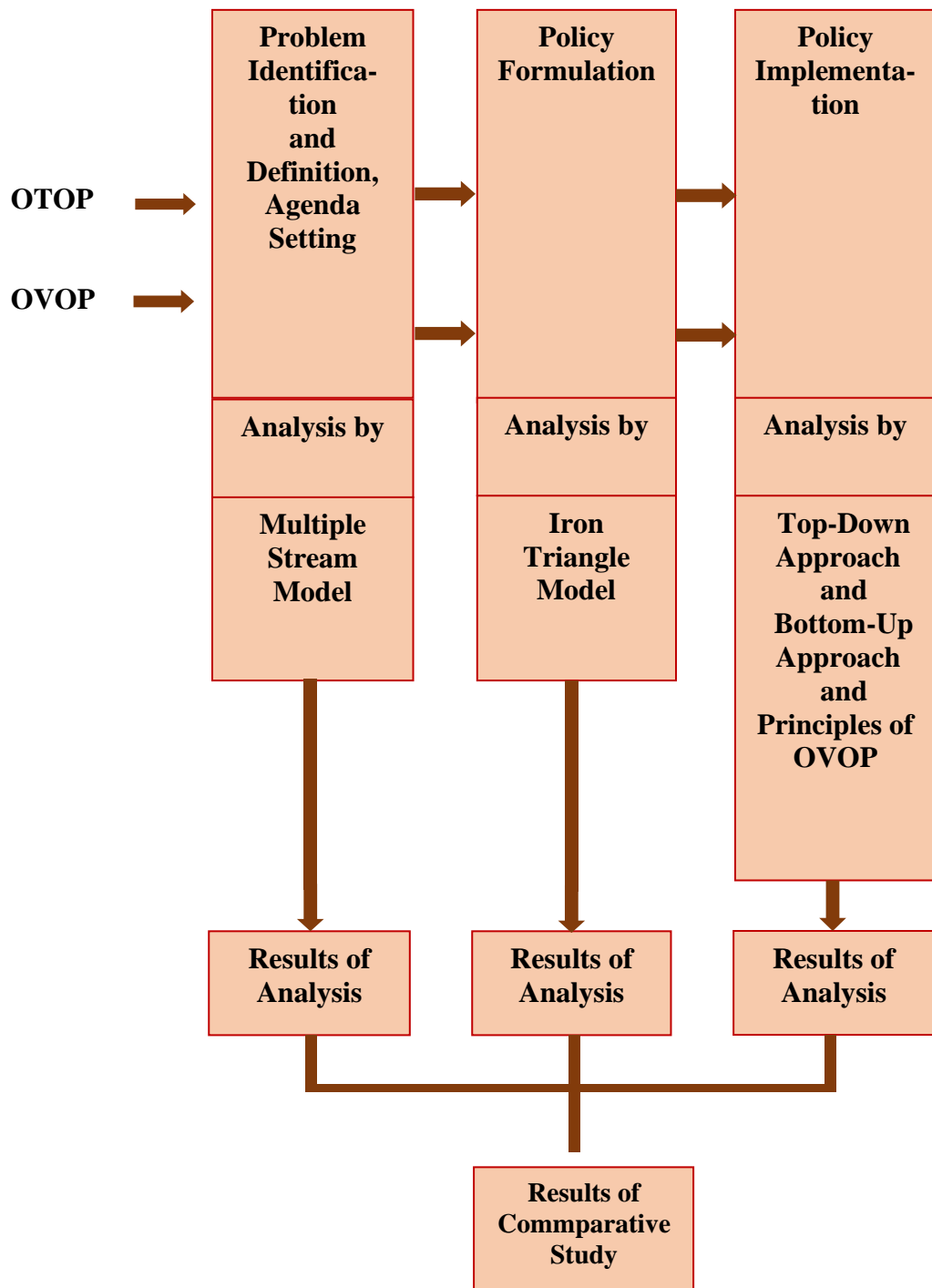


Figure 2.6 Comparative of the OTOP and OVOP Policy

2.6 Related Researches

Suttirat Chucheun (2006) presented the study “The Problem of Policy Implementation: Case Study of One Tambon One Product Project in Pattani Province”, which aimed to study the problem of policy implementation by using 4 criteria to measure the problems. The criteria include the effectiveness criteria, the management criteria, the satisfaction criteria, and the creativity criteria. The researcher also suggested that the factor of organization capacity, controlling the policy implementation, coordination and resistance to change, connection with the related organization, the organization’s support or important person’s support, were the problems which obstruct the fulfilment for the effectiveness criteria as well as the policy implementation. As for the criteria of management, satisfaction, and creativity were in the medium level except for the factor controlling policy implementation, coordination and resistance to change. The factor of connection with related organization was also problematic to the policy implementation. The criteria of creativity is in low level. Therefore, the government should support the budget, number of officers, knowledge and training, and technology to the bureaucratic officers related to the project. There should be the advance and systematic planning of the responsible department and continue to do so. There should also be the encouragement for coordination among the government and private organizations. There should be more motivation at work, and integrate the policy. In the Ministry level, there should be the adjustment of regulations and allow the influence group, interest group, politicians, and the senior bureaucrats to express opinion beneficial for the development and improvement of the project. For future research, there should be the study of policy implementation problems in other provinces, in order to understand the success and different problems in various context. And there should be the study of opinion from local people, interest group, and other related person in order to yield a clearer information.

Chaweewan Denpaiboon and Kochakorn Amatasawatdee (2012) conducted the research “Similarity and Difference of One Village One Product (OVOP) for Rural Development Strategy in Japan and Thailand”, which aimed to study the similarity and difference between the Thailand’s OTOP and Japan’s OVOP in various dimension. The research team selected the area for Thai case study in Sang Wiman village in Nakorn

Si Thammarat, and the area for Japan case study in Oyama city of Oita prefecture. According to the study, it was found that the OTOP project and OVOP project differs in the origins and the application of policy. The OVOP project was initiated and applied by the community members, while the OTOP was controlled and directed by the central government with the higher authority than the people. The thing which revealed the picture of government authority was the advocacy for the OTOP project under the direction of the OTOP committee, which was affiliated with the Prime Minister's Office. As for the products, the OVOP project focused on the creation of quality products which reflect the identity of each community, while the OTOP products were controlled by the central government. As for the financial support, the OVOP project did not focus on the financial support to the community. On the contrary, the Thai government provided loans for the OTOP community enterprise. Furthermore, the OVOP project aimed to develop the human resource while the OTOP project did not focus on such goal at all. As for the similarities between both projects, they both aimed to solve the poverty and the migration of local people. In terms of marketing, the OVOP received support and aid from the government in the product marketing, which resembles the OTOP's marketing support by the government. However, the OTOP's marketing was more widespread as it was the national policy, while the OVOP was the local policy.

Haraguchi's (2008) study "The One-Village-One-Product (OVOP) movement: What it is, how it has been replicated, and recommendations for a UNIDO OVOP-type project" support the UNIDO's objective in solving poverty and study the suburb in Africa, by following the OVOP project in Japan as the model and studying the OVOP in other area, such as the Thailand's OTOP, and Malawi's OVOP, in order to find the gap to develop UNIDO's project. According to the study and the analysis, it was found that the OVOP had 3 objectives of supporting the sale and management system, the product quality, and the community capacity development, which were fulfilled completely by the original OVOP project in Japan. However, the OTOP project in Thailand and the OVOP project in Malawi could fulfill just the objective of supporting the sale and management structure, as they focused only with the outcome in this objective. Nevertheless, solving the gap problem between the original OVOP project in Japan and the OTOP project in Thailand and the OVOP project in Malawi could be

done, as UNIDO is specialized in the Private Sector Development (PSD) which could fill the gap in the 2 objectives which the Thailand's OTOP project and Malawi's OVOP project did not emphasize. UNIDO proposed that the OVOP must develop the technology and coordination under the available resources within the community as well as the human resource development. In addition, the government sector must allow the community to play the role to create the developmental concept by themselves, which would create the social capital and sustainable development. Here, the important principle of community development is the participation process for the community to learn to develop under the unique condition of each community. Especially for the community capacity development, the UNIDO would apply the model of Enabling Rural Innovation (ERI) in order to motivate and develop participation within the community. In terms of the product, UNIDO could arrange the product standard assurance by UNIDO which might be called "OVOP-UNIDO" product, as well as arrange for the UNIDO Investment and Technology Promotion Offices (ITPOs), in order to promote the product towards the international market as well as receiving feedback from the customers through the website, which the ITPOs would deal with the customers' feedback and reflect the data towards the manufacturing community in order to improve the product.

Huttasin's (2008) study "Perceived Social Impacts of Tourism by Residents in the OTOP Tourism Village, Thailand" aimed to study the perception towards the socio-cultural impact within the Baan Tawai community after it was selected as the pilot project of tourism village according to the OTOP concept. Nara Huttasin suggested that the community members' perception included both the negative and positive perception in terms of social consequence. Positively, it was perceived that there would be the economic benefit and well-being. While the negative perception of the social consequences were the higher land price, occupation change, and garbage problem, which can be decreased by the sustainable social supports in all dimension. Furthermore, the villagers also saw that the community tourism would not affect the traditional way of life nor increase the number of drug usage, prostitution, property damage, and theft. Also, this study found that if the community were strong in coordination, mutual feeling, and the community pride prior to the project, there would be the chance for the community to have the long-term social sustainability.

Jianxun's study "Thai OTOP Campaign: Prospects and Problems: The Case of Chiangrai Province" aimed to study the OTOP within Chiangrai province on the theory of rural development and the people's participation as well as the human resource development. It was found that although the operation of project could support the manufacturers as well as the SMEs, and create cooperation in the community while develop the human resources to solve the poverty within the community, but such objective was not completely fulfilled as it should due to the support and aid from the government. It could be said that this failed the basis concept and the project objectives, as evident in the case study of material sourcing for the OTOP project in the area which manufactured the folk liquor. The liquor was not actually produced by the folk method but follow the state's suggestion while also use the external raw materials. Some communities produced various types of community products, which resulted in the problem of similar characteristic of products from different communities. Furthermore, the OTOP faced the problem due to the state's intervention in all process from the organization of OTOP fairs throughout the country as well as supporting the grassroots manufacturers. While the state also focused on the support for the successful OTOP products while ignored the unpopular OTOP products. In addition, the OTOP project also failed at the basic objective of the project, which is the development of sustainable job creation in the rural economy in order to reduce the seasonal migration of labors.

Kasornbua and Namsawad (2013) conducted the research "The Competency Development of One Tambon One Product (OTOP) Community Enterprise to Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs): A Case Study of Processed Banana Food Products Community Enterprise", in order to study the management, marketing development, and packaging design development. It was found that the community enterprise of processed banana food products still requires the competency development in order to step up to the small and medium enterprise (SMEs) level. In terms of management, the community enterprise still lacks the agility and knowledge in management. There should be the monthly meeting to exchange opinion, and the training by the related organization or encourage the community enterprise member to study from other organizations. In terms of the distribution channel, it was found that the product of the processed banana food products community enterprise had no problem in selling. However, there were 2 major problems. Firstly, there were many competitors for the

product of the group. And secondly, the important details in the packaging is still missing. The community enterprise should have the packaging design in order to differentiate its product as well as changing the production towards pre-order production, which would help reducing the marketing risk. And if other community enterprise wishes to develop itself into the SMEs, there should be the guideline in developing the marketing management and financial management competency.

Kurokawa, Tembo, and Velde (2010) presented the study “Challenges for the OVOP movement in Sub-Saharan Africa -Insights from Malawi, Japan and Thailand” at the Overseas Development Institute London JICA. This research aimed to study the OVOP project within the Sub-Saharan Africa area, by comparing the effectiveness of the OVOP project in 3 countries. The research team presented the findings as following. The Sub-Saharan Africa applied the OVOP project and focused overall at the Top-Down implementation, which prevented the area to develop the OVOP project sustainably. According to the comparative study of the OVOP project, it was found that the OVOP project in Thailand and Malawi differs from the original OVOP in Japan, as both countries focused only with solving the economic problem while ignoring the importance of social development, such as community development and human resources development. Nevertheless, the OVOP project in Thailand attempted to transfer itself towards the local community and government. While Malawi attempted to emphasis on the leadership development for the OTOP project in the community of Sub-Saharan Africa. There must be the adjustment of OVOP manufacturers’ connection to connect with the national and global chain of commerce, towards the brand creation and utilization of E-commerce according to OVOP model in Thailand as well as providing the management and financial training. Moreover, the OVOP in the Sub-Saharan Africa must develop more coordination among the network and the entrepreneurs, and finally the OVOP should not be evaluated by the sell numbers and profit but rather by the index which reflect the social development.

Mekhum (2010) presented the study “Bringing the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy into Province by the Group of OTOP Product Producers Using the Local wisdom in Nonthaburi Province”, in order to study the application of Sufficiency Economy philosophy towards the daily practice of the OTOP manufacturers who use the local wisdom within Nonthaburi province. The researcher found that the knowledge

the daily practice which would led to the success in work included the elements such as the sober household, the environmental conservation, the use of natural resource with appreciation, and the use of material available within the community. It was found that there were high levels of sober household, with the understanding of the application of sufficiency economy. Most manufacturers had the second job and the practice of household savings. As for the daily practice, it was found that most manufacturers conserved the environment and spent the resource in the sustainable way, by using the raw material carefully and economically. Most would use the raw materials available within the community and natural environment, and were aware of their usage.

Natsuda, Igusa, Aree Wiboonpongse, Aree Cheamuangphan, Sombat Shingkharat Wiboonpongse, and Thoburn's (2012) study "One Village One Product – rural development strategy in Asia: the case of OTOP in Thailand" aimed to study the strategy of rural development through the OTOP project in Thailand, by using the case study in the Chiang Mai province as the area of study under the framework of Endogenous development. This article presented the findings that the OTOP project aimed to solve the poverty in the rural area, but the OVOP aimed to solve the problem of migration within the trend of industrial development. The Thai OTOP attempted to raise the level of OTOP products by pushing the product quality standard through the system of giving stars to represent the product quality. The government sector also provided marketing support and loan support for the entrepreneurs. However, the marketing and financial supports were limited to the OTOP which received high level of stars. Furthermore, the OTOP project had the characteristic which the community must depend on the state in various ways and emphasis on the quantity of production rather than the product quality development. Nevertheless, the development of the housewives group in Chiang Mai province was found to generate income for the group members who were mostly elders. Hence, the OTOP could produce the social capital for the community which was the form of Endogenous development.

Pasaribu's (2007) study "Developing of Small and Medium Enterprises for Poverty Alleviation in Indonesia: Lesson Learned from OTOP Program in Thailand" aimed to study the concept of poverty alleviation by the OTOP project, in order to develop the SMEs and alleviate poverty in Indonesia. In this work, Sahat M. Pasaribu saw that the OTOP project did solve the poverty problem in Thailand. Since the OTOP

project was initiated, it generated income for the community both inside the country and from the international market. The Thai government had attempted to solve the poverty problem which was the result from the 1997 economic crisis by focusing on the support of product creation by the SMEs, so that the entrepreneurs and the community would gain the income from the primary product processing which the government would advocate and take care of the entrepreneur. There were also the specialists who provide consultant as well as arrange for the coordination among the local entrepreneur, the private sector, and the government. This resulted in the movement for community economy with the capacity to transfer towards the national level, which also affect the social development indirectly. In other words, Pasaribu was that the OTOP project could empower the community economy as well as alleviate the poverty problem by using the locally available resources. And Thailand also had the good databases to provide support for OTOP project, which allow those related to the project and policy to access the information easily, resulting in the effective project development. The government also organized the OTOP Champion project to develop the OTOP product quality. When Indonesia is considered, both countries are similar in many ways and therefore the OTOP project is suitable for the SMEs development to alleviate poverty problem in Indonesia.

Narongsak Pitchayapisut (2008) conducted the study about the role of the government sector and the society in “The Local Revitalization of Japan: Case Study of OVOP (One Village One Product in Oita prefecture)”. This research studied the origins, characteristics, model, development, and the progress of Japan’s local revitalization as well as the OVOP: One Village One Product of Oita prefecture and the roles of various sectors towards the localization. This included the role of the state or the central government and the local government in Japan as well as the role of the society which refers to the people, group, associations, or the organizations. It was found that in terms of the Human Resource Development, the local government of Oita had the most important role as it was believed that human resource development was the most important thing for local revitalization. In terms of production, the state also played the important role, as the local government of Oita prefecture had the role of technological support and product development. Meanwhile, the society, people, and the group of associations had the role of manufacturers. And the agricultural co-op

would support the manufacturing equipment, finance, and budget. The state or the local government had the concept of non-financial support but it would give the technical support, while the central government would support the fund for the local. And the society, through the agricultural co-op had the role of financial supporter as well as the companies or shops who donate money to the local government for using with the local revitalization. In terms of marketing, the state through the local government had the very important role of finding distribution channels in various forms, through the construction of shops and companies to sale the local products, and through the public relations. The central government had the role of finding distribution channel. And the society, through the agricultural co-op would be the distribution channel in the forms of shop operated by the co-op. And other companies in Oita also provide the place for distributing products.

Wanna Prayukvong's (2007) proposed the study "A Buddhist Economic Approach to Happiness & Capability Linkage in OTOP Craftsmen in Southern Thailand". This research studied the Buddhist Economic approach related to the OTOP craftsmen in Southern Thailand, with the aim to study the application of local wisdom and the capacity of the craftsmen within the OTOP project, as well as observing the element and the accumulation of social capital by the craftsmen. Under the Buddhist Economic approach, the craftsmen were related to the Social Capital Index structurally, as the OTOP group members were related to the craftsmen in the administration of OTOP project. There were the communication among the members, the mechanism to solve conflict, as well as the participation in the OTOP project. And the important factor for the craftsmen in terms of the career wisdom and the enlightenment of networking were the concept about happiness which also affect the social capital index, the number of years as the group member, the family relationship with the wisdom heritage, the local leadership of the family, and the level of education. Nevertheless, the income from OTOP project was not related to the fulfilment of OTOP objectives according to the findings. The researcher thus suggested that the OTOP policy implementation must empower the society and community, apart from evaluating the product quality by giving stars according to the quality level. There should be the connection of the local wisdom towards the social capital, not only for income generation but also the empowerment of the society, the happiness of strengthening the society and

community, the pride of creating the products which are also the cultural heritage, as well as the human resource development within the community.

Shakya's (2011) study "Understanding One Village One Product in Japan, Thailand and Nepal Agro Enterprise Centre Japan International Cooperation Agency" aimed to compare the OVOP project in Japan, Thailand, and Nepal. It was concluded that the original OVOP project of Japan had been through the continuous development for a long time. The OVOP project was developed by the community and the local government under the coordination of the community member, by maximizing the benefit from using the local resources and transfer the local wisdom towards the internationalization. The central government only provided help for the organization development and marketing support. Meanwhile, the OVOP project in Thailand became the national policy, or the national agenda, especially through the large role of the central government and the Prime Minister, by allowing the use of local wisdom to develop the products within the local community. And the various sectors were well-participated. In the researcher's view, the OVOP project in Thailand was successful as there were 70,787 communities who participated in this project. As for Nepal, the OVOP project was also initiated as the national policy to alleviate poverty in the similar way with Thailand, with the MoAC (government program) and FNCCI (private sector) as the core players. The private sector was assigned with the marketing development, while the government sector would be responsible for the product. From the researcher's perspective, the OVOP of Nepal succeeded in the development of product quality and packaging, but its development differed from the OVOP product in Japan, including the development of local leader, the local people's skill, the problem of lacking the coordination in network, the problem of depending on the government's budget, and the problem of marketing, especially the brand development of OVOP project.

The National Statistical Office of Thailand, Ministry of Information Technology and Communication (2007) conducted the survey of people's opinion towards the local community products during 2007. This survey collected the information about perception and participation in the project of local community products, the usage of local community products, the manufacturing of local community products, and the union or networking to exchange knowledge with other

community as well as the general opinion related to the local community products and the suggestions. Part of the detail results are described below.

As for the usage of local community products, most people at 71.1% stated that they were using the products while 28.9% stated that they did not use the products. The products which were mostly used were the processed food (48.9%), such as chili paste, chili sauce, sundried banana, salted egg. The reason for not using the products were the limited distribution which made it hard to find the product (12.5%). As for the manufacturing and organizing related projects or activities about the local community products, most people (35.9%) stated that there was no manufacturing of products in their community. 35.3% of people stated that their community manufactured products, while 28.8% of people were not sure or did not know. As for the various operation about the event organizing related to the local community products, people of 52.2% stated that they did not participate in any activity, project, manufacturing, working, etc. which related to the local community products. Of those who stated their participation, 47.8% also expressed opinion related to the local community administration in the medium to high level. 86.3% stated that their community or village did encourage coordination. As for the networking with other community, 55% stated that their community united with other community, 27% stated that there was no networking, and 18% stated that they were not sure. In terms of the support from government organizations or officers, 85.3% stated that they have received some supports from the state, and only 4.3% stated that they have not received any support. And 10.4% stated that they did not know or could not be certain.

The National Research Council of Thailand (2003) conducted the research to evaluate the “One Tambon One Product” project, which aimed to study the manufacturers, sellers, consumers, and the overall society. It was concluded that the OTOP project could develop the local capacity empower the community, generate income to the manufacturers and sellers, and create job for the local community which resulted in less migration of labors as well as increasing income for people. Meanwhile, it was also found that the OTOP project was problematic due to its dependency on the state’s support especially in terms of finance. The OTOP products were not standardized, and there was no clear guarantee of product quality by the government organization. Furthermore, the products lack the uniqueness and the modern

technological production, as the manufacturers lack the technological knowledge and distribution channels were limited, while the government's public relations campaign through the media was not effective enough. The researcher suggested that the OTOP should incorporate a qualified system with the quality control in all process and conduct the human resource development for the project, manufacturers, and sellers, in order to encourage learning and technological development and become the learning organization. The government should also assign the related organization to responsible for the national and international marketing plan.

Nattamon Teerakul, Aree Wiboonpongse, and Songsak Sriboonchitta (2014) presented the study "The Self-Reliance Process of Agriculture Community Towards OVOP and the Lesson for Thai OTOP", which was the collection of related secondary information and the anthology of community enterprise researches, in order to generate a descriptive analysis which compare between the process of Japan's OVOP and Thailand's OTOP in various dimension, such as the philosophy or concept, policy, and implementation. This research aimed to find the factor of success in the case of Japan's OVOP and the weakness of Thailand's OTOP development. The research team found that the OTOP applied the 3 principles of self-reliance, human resource development, the focus on agricultural sector which is the community root, and the professional administration of OVOP. However, the Thai OTOP was operated without the true understanding of the 3 principles of OVOP philosophy. Furthermore, the implementation process of OTOP project was Top-Down, while the OVOP was implemented with the Bottom-Up approach. Here, the research team suggested that the OTOP should not be implemented with the Top-Down approach, but should be implemented by the community members. The community product manufacturing must consider the national or international standard while firmly based on the local resources and create uniqueness and local identity for the product. The community enterprise paradigm should be adjusted from state-reliance towards self-reliance. And the highest goal should be the human resource development, so that the community enterprise could be sustainable. Therefore, OTOP should focus on the human resource development instead of product development. And the government should also focus on the technology and marketing rather than just the financial support.

Tun (2011)'s study 'The Impact of ICT and Networking on the Business Performance of One Tambon One Product Enterprises in Greater Bangkok and Metropolitan Areas' aim to study the relationship between the outcome of the OTOP entrepreneurs and the ICT and networking which related to the business performance of the OTOP enterprises. Here, Mya Tun (a) Amiritha Pillai suggested that the experiences, the number of officers, the usage of ICT and enterprise networking are related to the performance in one way. With the increase of work experiences, the number of officers, the usage of ICT, and the enterprise networking, there would be the increasing performance. Therefore, the government should give the financial support, training, and the administration and development of suitable environment for the OTOP enterprises to be aware of and understand their own capacity, as well as support the national economic system development. The enterprises should also use the ICT and the enterprise networking to strengthen their own performance.

Yamazaki's (2010) study "A Comparative Analysis of One Village One Product (OVOP) and its Replicability in International Development" aimed to study the characteristics of the original OVOP project in Japan and the differences from the OVOP projects in various countries. This research compared the OVOP project in Japan, Thai, and Malawi in the various dimension of policies, those who influence the project, and the context of each project. Here, Jun Yamazaki presented the findings as following. For the comparison of the policy objective, the Oita's OVOP aimed to revitalize the community economically and socially, while the Thai OTOP focused on the income generation, development of local industry, and the community development, and the Malawi's OVOP emphasized the poverty alleviation and the united of community's power. The Oita's OVOP developed and defined various products including the material product and cultural or tourism product. The Thai OTOP focused on the tangible product, and the Malawi OVOP focused on the project and limited the product development in the food and crafts. As for the financial support, the Oita OVOP did not receive any financial support, while the Thai OTOP received the supporting loan from the government, and the Malawi OVOP was supported financially for its activities. In terms of Marketing, the OVOP in Oita, Thailand, and Malawi received the government support for marketing, community and human resource development, as well as the development of learning. The OVOP in Oita

focused on the social development in the community, human resource development, empowerment of community leader and local members. The OTOP in Thailand focused on the manufacturers. And there was no development in this dimension for Malawi. As for the comparison between the context, the OVOP of Oita aim to reduce the economic gap between the city and the rural area as well as rural development. The OTOP of Thailand also attempted to reduce the gap between the city and the rural area. But Malawi focused on the poverty alleviation only. Oita focused on the reduction of labor migration. And Thailand focused on the solution for seasonal migration. Meanwhile, Malawi also aimed to absorb the surplus labor. As for the marketing context in Oita case, the market within the nation was highly available, similar to Thailand, although there were other limitations in the condition of OTOP product quality. And in Malawi, the market inside the country still lack the demand for OVOP products. And as for the role of related persons, the OVOP project of Oita prefecture involved the limited role of local government as the supporter of the project while the local community had a major role. But the OTOP project in Thailand involved the major role of the central government and minor role of the local government. The case of Malawi differed from Thailand, as the power distribution was high. However, the local government's role was quite limited due to its own capacity. As for the community role, the OVOP of Oita prefecture focused on the major economic and social role for the community. The OTOP of Thailand focused on the community's role in the product development and manufacturing in the similar ways with the OVOP of Malawi.

According to the review of literature related to the OTOP and OVOP project and policy, no study was found to conduct the comparative study between the OTOP and OVOP under the framework of policy process analysis.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research, the qualitative research method is used according to the following detail.

- 3.1 Methodology
- 3.2 Key Informants Selection
- 3.3 Research Instruments
- 3.4 Construction of Research Instrument
- 3.5 Data Collection
- 3.6 Data Analysis and Verification
- 3.7 Comparative Analysis of Policy Process

3.1 Methodology

This research is a qualitative study, consisting of 2 phases.

1) Documentary research: This phase of study included data collection from academic document, article, journal, thesis, research paper, and the available online, which related to One Tambon One Product Policy in Thailand and One Village One Product Policy in Japan, in order to conduct the policy analysis using the Multiple Streams Model. The data collection would also include academic paper, research paper, report, research report, conference report, and government document, etc.

2) In-depth interview: 18 key informants who were related to the OTOP policy of Thailand and OVOP policy of Japan would be interviewed in order to gain the related information for the research as well as verification of findings from the secondary data.

3.2 Key Informant Selection

The key informants were selected through the following process.

First step: The researcher would study the academic document, article, journal, thesis, research report, and the data available online and the existing network, in order to find the important persons with related experience to the OTOP policy of Thailand and OVOP policy of Japan.

Second step: After the list of important persons related to the OTOP policy of Thailand and OVOP policy of Japan was created, the researcher would select 18 key informants from both groups, who could be classified in 3 sub-groups. The first sub-group included 3 key informants about OTOP and community. The second sub-group included 3 key informants about OTOP and policy. And the third sub-group included 3 key informants about OTOP and socio-economy. Similarly, the key informants related to the OVOP policy of Japan can also be classified in 3 sub-groups. The first sub-group included 3 key informants about OVOP and community. The second sub-group included 3 key informants about OVOP and policy. And the last sub-group included 3 key informants about OVOP and socio-economy. All key informants are listed as following.

The key informants for OTOP and community

- 1) Manoon Sornkerd, Pensioner, Community Development Department Ministry of the Interior
- 2) Thawee Buthpho, Deputy Director General of Community Development Department, Ministry of the Interior
- 3) Surasak Aksornkul, Director, Planning and Data Coordination Group, The Community Development Department, Ministry of the Interior

The key informants for OTOP and Policy

- 1) Sayumporn Limthai, Former Deputy Permanent Secretary of Interior
- 2) Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn, Deputy Permanent Secretary of Industry
- 3) Dr.Pantita Tantawattana, Environmental Research Institute Chulalongkorn University

The key informants for OTOP and Socio-Economy

- 1) Yoopin Claymont, Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University and International OVOP Policy Association
- 2) Dr.Irsoon Ruangrattana-amporn, Independent scholar and International OVOP Policy Association
- 3) Dr.Warangkana Korkiertpitak, Office of the National Security Council and International OVOP Policy Association

The key informants for OVOP and Community

- 1) Associate Professor Dr. Somchai Chakhatrakarn, Former President of Thai Student Association under the Royal Patronage at Japan and Former Vice President of Thammasart University
- 2) Jun Kuwano Aoyama Kakuin University, Japan
- 3) Daisaku Yanagihara, Teacher and a son of Japanese farmer

The key informants for OVOP and Policy

- 1) Prof.Dr.Hiroshi Muryama, Former dean of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University, Japan, Mr. Morihiko Hiramatsu's Ph.D. Thesis Advisor of Policy Science, whom was an initiator of OVOP process.
- 2) Prof. Dr.Matsumoto Son, Faculty of Policy Science, Kyoto Prefecture University, Japan
- 3) Masaru Suzuki, Former Specialist at Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

The key informants for OVOP and Socio-Economy

- 1) Assoc.Prof. Hongpha Subboonrueng, Assistant Dean at Faculty of Economics, Thammasart University
- 2) Assoc.Prof. Dr.Chaweewan Denpaiboon, Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University and International OVOP Policy Association
- 3) Dr.Russama Marubodee, Faculty of Agricultural Technology, Rajamangala University of Technology Tawan-ok

After the in-depth interview with the key informants, the researcher would use the Significant Friend technique by requesting the key informants to suggest the additional list for key informants, which were Dr. Preuk Chutimanukul, independent

scholar, and Ajarn Tirarat Shinsaen, Assistant Dean of Agricultural Technology Faculty, Rajabhat Mahasarakham University

3.3 Research Instruments

The research instruments for this study included the document analysis form and the in-depth interview form, which were constructed according to the research framework created from the data collected during the document study and related research analysis. For the data collection, the researcher conducted the conversation, observation, and in-depth interview with the key informants. The questions included the following issues; what were the similarities or differences between the agenda setting process, the roles of policy formulator, the policy formulation process, the policy content, and the policy implementation in the OTOP policy of Thailand and the OVOP policy of Japan.

3.4 Construction of Research Instrument

This involved the preparation for the unstructured interview, which is flexible and open, without any specific order of questions. The researcher would prepare the question topics first in order to completely fulfil the research objectives. The construction of research instrument involved the following steps.

- 1) Studying the related document and research
- 2) Analysis the data from the related document and research
- 3) Formulating the framework for interview
- 4) Constructing and adjusting the interviewing form

3.5 Data Collection

The data collection involves the following 2 phases

- 1) Data collection from academic document study, including the academic document, article, journal, thesis, research report, and data available online,

which related to the OVOP policy of Japan and OTOP policy of Thailand. This would be the secondary data which would be used during the analysis of policy process.

2) Data collection from in-depth interview. The researcher informally requested for the cooperation from the organization for interview the specialist through the telephone and email, in order to inform the specialist about research. Afterwards, the formal invitation letter would be issued to the organizations of the key informants. The data collection would be conducted through the in-depth interview, using the open-ended question which allow flexibility and openness as there were no order of question and also possible to pose the deep-level question. The researcher would write the memo and request the permission to record the interview. The question will be selected from the interview form in order to ensure that the answer would correspond to the topic, which would also demonstrate the specialization in the related topic. Afterwards, the question topics would be repeated in order to ensure the complete answer to fulfil the research objectives. After the interview session is completed, the research would verify the data results immediately. If there were any queries or unclear topic, the researcher will contact the key informants for questioning via telephone or email.

3.6 Data Analysis and Verification

Nisa Chuto (2008, p. 214) stated that the qualitative research analysis was the systematic process of thinking and organizing which start from entering the field. This involved drafting the question, connecting the data together, and processing the data with various methods such as classification or comparative until direction of data start to emerge.

For this study, the researcher would analysis the data from interview together with the data from document study. The analysis would follow the qualitative research approach, by describing the phenomenon or the evidence, and interpret the data to reach the conclusion. The researcher would process both the data from document and interview memo by conclusion of answer from the interview form.

Afterwards, the researcher would conduct the triangulation method in order to verify the data. According to Supang Chantavanich (2000, pp. 129-130), the triangulation is the principle of data verification in three-way, by not completely believe

that any information source received is already reliable. Thus, the researcher is required to seek other possibility of information source to data reassuring.

The researcher would verify the completion and accuracy of data from interview memo and the secondary data conclusion note. Through the triangulation, the researcher would study various data sources such as academic document, journal, article, thesis, research report, as well as data available online in both Thai and foreign languages, in order to ensure the reliability of data from various sources. Furthermore, the in-depth interview with the different key informants would be compared in order to verify if the information would match. Additionally, the researcher would verify information received during the various periods whether they would match. Then record the frequency of the repeated information from the interview and document study and conclude the finding from the interview and document study.

3.7 Comparative Analysis of Policy Process

The researcher would conduct the comparative analysis of information related to the OTOP policy of Thailand and OVOP policy of Japan, using the policy process analysis approach which start at comparing the agenda setting by follow the Multiple Stream Model. As for the policy formulation process comparative of the OTOP policy of Thailand and OVOP policy of Japan, the Iron Triangle Model would be used in the analysis. And for the policy implementation process, the researcher would use the Top-Down Approach, Bottom-Up Approach, and the 3 principles of OVOP Movement in the analysis, in order to reach the conclusion of policy process for the OTOP policy of Thailand and OVOP policy of Japan.

CHAPTER 4

AGENDA SETTING, POLICY FORMULATION AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION OF ONE TAMBON ONE PRODUCT (OTOP)

This research applied Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model as the framework for analysis. According to the previous study about this model, it was found that the Multiple Stream Model was a result from the empirical study, through the interview with the logistics and public health policy formulators in the United States. However, the Multiple Stream Model can be applied in other area outside the U.S. such as Canada, South Africa, Hong Kong, as well as Thailand. The Multiple Stream Model would explain the three streams; the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream, all of which were related to the policy process which starts with the problem formulation which is the step of identifying problem and problem definition. After the problem is developed towards the policy problem, the next development would be the agenda setting, or policy formulation. Although the Multiple Stream Model only explain the agenda setting, but the policy formulation and implementation would be the complement for the clearer picture in the policy process within the following topics of analysis.

4.1 Problem Stream and the OTOP Policy

In Kingdon's Multiple Streams Model, the problem stream is analyzed under the event and crisis, indicator or consequence of indicator, and feedback. The evolution of the OTOP policy also consisted of these elements which became the pressure towards the policy window opening.

4.1.1 Event and Crises

The problem of economic security was the result of the capitalism system, which originated when Thailand entered the national development according to the liberalism economic development, as the Thai state during the cold war attempted to support the liberal countries under the leadership of the U.S.'s anti-communism campaign. This resulted in the Thai economic development direction according to the capitalism approach, under the discourse of development and modernization, through the development of basic facilities in responding to the industrial sector investment, with the agent who responded and publicize the ideal in Thailand as well as other third-world countries much in the same way which the elite served as the representative of the colonizer's benefit. Thailand also became the place for the U.S. soldiers to relax.

The initiation of the first economic development plan during 1961-1966 happened under the guidance of the World Bank (Globalizer) and the Thai agent who used to be influenced by the neoclassicism economic concept. Such changes led Thailand to depend on the wisdom of American specialists and the World Bank officers, which result in the economic development in the liberalism direction. This manifested in the development of basic facilities in response to the investment in the industrial sector and elimination of various obstacles towards the foreign investment as well as lowering the regulation related to manufacturing, goods transportation, and finance as much as possible.

After the end of the cold war, the trend of global Neoliberalism which the U.S. attempted to create the opportunity within the IMF and World Bank's ruling of policy by advocating for the liberalization, de-regulation, and privatization also included the strong campaign from the United States, who threatened against the countries who opposed to the liberalization (Benlo, 1998, p. 81). During the 1980s, the real sector gradually started to influence the Thai economic, which the agricultural sector used to be the most important part. After the Plaza Accord agreement in 1985, the foreign direct investment (FDI) within the real sector had led the Thai GDP to grow swiftly. It could be said that the 1980s was the time when the real sector gradually gained the importance for Thai economy, especially the textile industry (Kasian Tejapira, 2006, pp. 10-12).

During the year 1968 to 1986, the Thai economy reached its golden period, when the Thai GNP was higher than all countries with low-to-medium income, with

the average GNP at 6.7% per year while other countries' average GNP was only 2.4% per year. Thailand became one of the fastest growing economy in the world (Warr, 2009, p. 151), with the GDP during 1957-1997 was average 7.6% per year (United Nations Development Programme, 2007). This was the result of the physical investment, including the machineries and industrial factories which were the major factor of supporting the economic growth (Warr, 2009, p. 151).

The financial sector in Thailand also gradually adjusted itself to the Neoliberalism policy, by taking the loan from the World Bank and IMF while accepting the condition that there must be the reengineering to support the financial liberalization during the middle of 1970s. Then Thailand gradually relaxed its financial regulation to respond to the Japanese investment under the Plaza Accord agreement. And during the early 1990s, Thailand accepted 8 commitment with IMF, resulted in the Thai Baht status as the currency which can be exchanged with freedom. This reflected that Thailand's approach has always been responded to the financial Neoliberalism policy until the financial liberalization, which started with the permission to found the International Banking Facilities (IBF) in 1993. As the IBF was founded in Bangkok, it was also named Bangkok International Banking Facilities (BIBF). Later in 1994, the provincial branch was also permitted to operate under the name Provincial International Banking Facilities (PIBF) Bank of Thailand, 1998, p. 42).

The IBF refers to the international financial business which the state permit both the local and international commercial banks to operate as the source of capital as well as facilitate and reduce the cost of Thai business which requires the international loan. The founding of IBF originated from the vision of the Bank of Thailand which aim for Thailand to be the financial center in this region, as well as the financial research center, and eventually develop into one-stop financial center. The IBF services include many service such as money deposit or international loan in foreign currency, local loan in foreign currency or in Thai currency, money exchange for non-baht currency, loan guarantee in foreign currency with person of foreign residency, financial transactions related to international trade, locating foreign loan or becoming the loan manager, financial and economy information service, investment project analysis or operation, business takeover or merger consultant, financial consultant, endorsing debtor with

foreign currency, and loan guarantee or endorsement of debt securities related to exporting in foreign currency, etc. (Bank of Thailand, 1998, p. 42).

The IBF received more tax privileges from the commercial banks, as they would pay less income tax, specific business tax, and the interest tax than the commercial bank and would be waive the revenue stamp. The Thai and Foreign commercial banks all registered for the permit to be the IBF, which total 47 banks received the permit. Among them included 15 Thai commercial banks, the branches of 12 foreign commercial banks in Thailand, and the 20 new foreign commercial banks (Sompop Manarungsan, 2003, pp. 133-134).

In other words, there was the push for the neoliberalism financial policy, which was supported by the globalizer such as wall street capital group, the international organization such as the World Bank and IMF, and the United States, resulted in Thailand's confidence in the financial liberalization that it could lead Thailand to become the region's financial center and the New Industrial Country (NICs). This corresponded to the strategy of the agent which formulate the national financial and economic policy, such as the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Council, and the Bank of Thailand, whose goal was the development of Thailand financial sector according to the Neoliberalism policy. Therefore, the state's authority became lesser than the capital's authority. The acceptance of IMF's 8 conditions reflected the continuity of the implementation of Thailand's Neoliberalism financial policy after the economic restructure and the alleviation of financial limitations after the transfer of Japanese fund since the Plaza Accord Agreement. Until finally, Thailand followed the trend of Neoliberalism that the government allowed the founding of IBF, which could be counted as the start of Thailand's financial liberalization. Thailand became the first South East Asian nation with the financial liberalization.

The capital influx into Thailand after the financial liberalization included the actual investment and the pseudo-investment or portfolio investment, which the latter seek to generate short-term profit in Thailand's stock market. The pseudo-investment highly affected Thailand's economy, as the capital group could control the Thai Baht exchange rate and the transactions in the stock market within their hands. Through the transactions of globalized liberal financial policy, there was the opportunity to bring the foreign loan with lesser interest rate to provide short-term loan within the country.

Such liquidity led to the excess expenditure of the business sector, which the products and services were over the actual demand and resulted in the economic bubble. And due to the implementation of Neoliberalism financial policy which reduced the state's control, the Hedge Fund from United States used its massive capital to disrupt the finance market and attacked Thailand's financial system, resulted in the loss of over 30 billion dollars of reserved capital collected during the period of capitalism development by the national bank of the countries which followed the Neoliberalism policy. This led to the financial crisis in 1997 (Taweewat Puntarikwiat, 2001, p. 17, as Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) further added about the economic crisis at the time as following. "The affected problem stream was mainly related to the economic policy in 1997, as the problem was obvious. The economic crisis occurred all over the world, especially the developing countries were highly affected. The country in the similar group of Thailand could be compared, especially Korea, which the consequences were rather obvious that this problem occurred. Therefore, the economic crisis was apparent during the time when I was serving in the Ministry of Interior and the government at the time ordered the solution for each problem. The major problem was unemployment, as the people from other provinces who worked in Bangkok became the labor in various sectors were highly affected. There were over million of unemployed labor. Without the wages, they had to travel back home. In other words, there were 2 consequences from the economic crisis, those who migrated to work in Bangkok, and those of the financial institutions who helplessly failed"

It could be said that the problem stream which occurred with Thailand's socio-economy during the late 1990s directly affected the financial sector. The overall society were also affected, such as the government sector, the private sector, the manufacturing sector, labor, and the general people, as the state spent all of its reserved capital to protect the Baht value that they lack any reserved capital to implement any project effectively to solve the economic problem as well as other social problems at the time. And the other private sectors and a lot of manufacturers borrowed money from the financial institution who also borrowed from the foreign loan with the exchange rate of 25 Baht per 1 USD. But after the floating exchange rate was implemented, the exchange rate increased to over 50 Baht per 1 USD, resulted in the business close down due to

the inability to cope with the collective debts. The lay-off led to the severe problem of unemployment which affected deeply to the grassroots level.

4.1.2 Indicator and Feedback

The economic crisis in 1997 was the lesson for Thailand about the threat of modern colonization on the Neoliberalism approach. Due to the Plaza Accord agreement which was directed by the United States, Japan had to reduce their production cost which was the result from the Yen appreciation. Therefore, Japan was required to move their base of manufacturing into the South East Asia. And Thailand was part of the important transfer of Japanese fund, resulted in the massive influx of capital from Japan into Thailand. Hence, during the 6th Economic Development Plan in 1987-1991, there was the illusion from the average economic growth rate at 10.5% per year (Pichit Likitkijssomboon, 2001, p. 4) and even reach the peak growth rate of over 13% per year. This led to the confidence of the government of the former Prime Minister Chatchai Choonhavan that Thailand would soon become the NICs (Benlo, 1998, p. 80).

The economic crisis in 1997 was deemed by many scholars the third loss of the Nation's capital city, as the Bank of Thailand did not only lose its fund reserved during the 4 decades of development to the Hedge funds, including George Soros's Quantum fund and Julian Robertson's Tiger fund which attacked the Thai Baht at the time, Thailand also lose its authority to prevent asset ownership from foreigners as well. Under the amendment of 11 laws, the security of the first world country's economy would be enhanced, while Thailand's economic security was no longer possible.

Furthermore, there was the threat of the liberalism ideal which dominated the third world's country's society and culture through the cultural influx of globalization, which the third world country would gradually absorb the value of such culture and then adhere and admire them instead of their original culture. Finally, the inferior country would become the cultural and social colony. This occurred through the depreciated of agricultural socio-culture and place the premium on modernity and industrialization, or lessen the value of sufficient saving and value the consumption which follow the capital trend instead. The integration such as the assembly of Asean countries could be counted as a part of the world capital system which is uncertain, non-

sustainable, and could be affected from one area to another area or swiftly from the macro level to micro level. This was obvious in the economic impact index which affected the communities and households in Thailand as following (Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University, 2015; United Nations Development Programme, 2007).

- 1) In 1998, the growth rate of Thai economy was negative, at -10%
- 2) During the first 3 years of the 8th plan (1997-1999), the growth rate of Thai economy was also negative, at -2.66%
- 3) In 1997, the Gross National Product per capita per year was 75,991 Baht, and decreased to 73,711 baht in 1999.
- 4) Despite the fact that the poverty trend was continuously decreasing prior to the economic crisis, but the number of poor people soared up from just 6.8 million people or 11.4% of all population in 1996 to 15.9 million people or 15.9% of all population in 1999. In other words, the number of poor people increased 3.1 million during the period of 1996-1999.
- 5) During the same time, the income distribution became worse, as the income share of those 20% with lowest income decreased from 4.2% to just 3.8%, while the income share of the top 20% earners increased from 56.5% - 58.5%.
- 6) The number of unemployment due to the lay-off after the business bankruptcy increased almost 1.4 million people after the economic crisis.
- 7) During the economic crisis, the household income decreased substantially. According to the comparative between the household income during the first half of 1999 and the first half of 1998, it was found that 41.4% of the households received lesser income, 52.4% of the households received the same income, and only 6.2% of the households received higher income (Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University, 2015; United Nations Development Programme, 2007).

Such economic crisis reflected that Thailand's strategy of national development and major economic policy were the start of the liberalization in various dimension, with the neoliberalism policy which dominated and despoiled the economic wealth of Thailand through the rules which were controlled by the United States and the first-world countries. Additionally, there was the dependency in the investment, capital, and technology from the first-world countries as well as the advantage of the transnational capital from the first world country, which were the major fund with the size of trillion

dollars over Thailand's national capital. These allowed the transnational capital, especially the funds to snatch away the wealth and resources from the third world country.

This corresponded to Yoshihara (2001, p. 150)'s statement about Thailand's capitalism development, that it was obvious that Thailand received just the outdated technology and the wages at low rate. Thailand depended on the foreign capital as it lacked the industrial venture which is dynamic enough, while the first-world countries already absorbed the wealth and resources from Thailand to enhance their own economic securities.

It could be said that the indicator or the index of the above consequence reflected the damages due to the economic crisis, which impact all sectors. Then there was the question if the capitalism development was actually the equal development, as the result of the westernization as in the case of Thailand seems like small fish which was swallowed by the larger fish, when the national wealth was collected in the mechanism resembled to gambling without any certainty.

4.2 Policy Stream and the OTOP Policy

The policy stream and the consequences of the 1997 economic crisis were the pressure which affected all sectors' awareness of the necessity to seek the policy solution for the economic crisis, especially the economic problem of those named "the grassroots and communities" who were the majority of the citizen in order to support them for their self-reliance. The policy stream emerged from the various idea of the specialists within the policy community, with the diversity and circulation in each policy community. The policy must have the practical and technical feasibility, enough public relation and social interest, as well as the budget feasibility. Few of the policies would be selected and arrived at the public policy decision stage.

After the 1997 economic crisis, many scholars deemed that the national development strategy and the principle economic policy of Thailand were the origins of the liberalization according to the capitalism, which later developed into the neoliberalism approach that is widely adopted nowadays. Its characteristic is the dependency and the resource absorption from the third-world countries towards the

first-world countries, which the inferior country would be robbed of its wealth that might be called the neo-colonialism. Thailand was the country of rich resources and variety of agricultural products, which used to be the advantage in term of international competition. During the 1960s, the Thai economy depended highly on the agricultural products, such as rice, corn, and rubber, etc. Majority of Thai people depended on the income from agricultural activities (Perkins et al., 2001). However, the capitalism development in Thailand shifted the priority from the agricultural sector which was the important basis of the nation towards the manufacturing sector which lack competency. The agricultural sector used to hold over 38% share of GDP in 1951, but its share decreased to just 8.9% in 2008. Meanwhile, the industrial sector used to hold 17% share of GDP in 1951 and its share increased to 40% in 2008 (Thailand's National Economic and Social Development Board, 2015). This happened because Thailand focused on the industrial sector which did not have the root in the national resource and competency. Furthermore, Thailand also depended on the development of financial and capital market which it lacked the access to the underlying mechanism and power but rather believed in the development discourse and convinced that it could be the economic tiger of the region. When Thailand ignored its agriculture sector and the importance of the community way of lives, the economic crisis erupted in 1997. Here, Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) further added the following statement. "The rate of unemployment in Bangkok were over million people. They returned to their hometown because at least they could still afford to live without wage as they could still be with their family. The Thai society has some advantage of the extended family outside Bangkok which could take care of each other without income as they still possess their own land and live as family who share things together. Therefore, part of those who were affected from the crisis were the labors from the rural area who must travel home. This could be the point of origin when the government at the time started considering the grassroot economy. The government realized that if they ignored the grassroot economy problem, the overall nation could also be affected. Additionally, it also revealed the outstanding point of Thai society that when the Thais were affected by any crisis in the grassroot area, they could still care for each other in the rural society. Without income, they could still find something to eat and afford to live due to the local wisdom and the abundant social capital"

The above statement corresponded to Surasak Aksornkul (personal communication, January 24, 2017), who stated that “In 1997, the villagers still had their own career. They had their saving group for production, with the village’s fund. The impact at the time affected mostly the major companies in the exporting sector. However, the villagers could still continue their own ways of life. Actually, the policy according to King Rama IX’s sufficiency economy policy had saved the Thai society a lot, as the villagers were hardly affected even if the economy in the middle or large level was already collapsed”

The above statement reflected that Thailand’s agricultural sector and communities were ready to mitigate the economic crisis from the global capitalism. The problem of liberal economy insecurity led the policy community to be aware of the threat from the economic dependency to the first-world countries in the capitalism approach, that there was the strong attempt to flee the condition of being the neo-colonial country in Thailand at the time. Various policy communities aimed to empower the grassroots and community. The scholars and thinker such as Sulak Sivaraksa, Saneh Chamarik, and Prawet Wasee shared the opinion that the 1997 economic crisis was the result from the focus of wealth development rather than the social development. Therefore, the heart of reformation might not be the system of banking, stock market, or financial system, but rather the reformation of school, monastery, family, and community (Pasuk Phongpaichit, 1998, p. 72). There were diverse policies circulated within the primeval soup of the Thai policy community related to the economic crisis at the time, which some examples of policy alternatives are described below.

4.2.1 The Sufficiency Economy and New Theory Concept

The Sufficiency Economy concept was one of the policy solution for the economic crisis which was highly influential for the development of alternative economy policy. It was the idea of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, whose partial statement from December 4th, 1997 can be quoted as following “Being the tiger is unimportant. The important thing is that we have enough to eat and to live, with the sufficiency economy...meant the self-reliance enough for oneself.” (Pasuk Phongpaichit, 1998, p. 71).

There was also the principle of median path ways and sufficiency, which based on the concept that “Human needs resemble the ocean which cannot be filled. Therefore everything should start with limiting the human’s need”. This principle contrasted with the liberalism economy which pose no limit in seeking the resource to supply human need. Therefore, the Sufficiency Economy concept was the foundation of the collective wealth ideal within the community, which could evolve into the national ideal of resisting the Capitalism and Neoliberalism. In other words, this was the attempt of ideal war between the community and the global capitalism and deconstruct the discourse that “Sufficiency Economy is just agriculture”. In fact, the Sufficiency Economy refers to “the limiting of human desire which one could not afford”.

As for the New Theory, or the New Agriculture Theory, was the concept which aim to develop the people’s well being so that they could afford to live without being affected by the economic factors which are full of uncertainty (Faculty of Science, Thammasat University, and the Department of Community Development, 1998, pp. 17-18).

The underlying assumption of this theory is that it require the small area of land, or approximately 15 Rais, located within the dry area, with the soil condition which allow digging reservoir, and the family members of approximately 5-6 persons. Those who applied the New Theory should be able to feed themselves and their families, as the New Theory’s essence is the management of water resource and land area, starting by dividing the 15 Rais of land into 4 parts, with the ratio of 30: 30: 30: 10.

30 % of land area would be used to grow rice during rainy season, in order to feed the family for the whole year. The rice which is left from consumption could be sold. During the dry season, this area of land could be used for growing other crops for consumption and sale similar to rice.

30% of land area would be used to grow fruit trees, vegetables, field crops, and raising animals.

30% of land area would include the reservoir, in order to save water for the dry season and to raise aquatic animal.

10% of land area would include the house and other construction (Faculty of Science, Thammasat University and Department of Community Development, 1998, pp. 21-22).

The ratio of 30: 30: 30: 10 is flexible and could be adjusted according to the condition of the land and the number of household labor. For example, in the case of the Southern region where it often rains, the area of reservoir can be reduced and increase the area for farming or raising animal. Or in case of the small household, the area for rice farming can be reduced.

Digging reservoir is essentially important for the New Theory agriculture. As the New Theory focused on the availability of water during the dry season, so at least there should be 30% of the land area reserved for reservoir. The location of reservoir must be easily accessible. The risk from drought can be reduced if there are also the external water resource. This would increase the moisture and soil fertility throughout the land area than the traditional irrigation. The type of plant would depend on the land area, amount of water, and number of labor. The choice of rice varieties should be appropriate for the area and the consumption preference of the family. And after the harvest, the family should grow the short-term crops to maximize the benefit from the land. There should be various types of fruit trees in order to increase the cashflow throughout the year. And the farmers should assemble to increase their negotiation power with the trader. The choice of animals should also appropriate to the area and the number of household labor. Animals should be selected for food and additional income (Faculty of Science, Thammasat University and Department of Community Development, 1998, pp. 35-36).

In other words, the New Theory is the model of how the household and community could feed themselves. The crops left after consumption would then be sold for additional income. When consider that there are increasing integration or relation in the economy, such as integration into the Asean community, although the members of the group received some advantage from such integration, but when the economic crisis occur in one country then it could expand towards other country swiftly as in the case of Euro zone economic crisis. But the Sufficiency Economy would lessen the dependency of the households and the communities from the capitalism economy. Therefore, the impact of the economic crisis would be less. Furthermore, the New Theory also focus on the self-reliance capacity of the household and community. So if there is any threat from the new insecurity problem such as food insecurity, the community which practice the New Theory would be less affected than other. The New

Theory focused on the availability of water during the dry season, so at least there should be 30% of the land area reserved for reservoir.

4.2.2 The Community Culture Concept

Chatthip Nartsupha proposed the concept of community culture which was developed from the study of community concept in various areas, such as Chayanov's farmer community concept in Russia as well as the dominant feature of the community culture and the village community in Thailand, in order to resist the growth of global capitalism system. Chatthip deemed that the Thai village community is the basis of Thai society, unlike the European individualism and the system of private ownership (Vichitvong Na Pombhejara & Chatthip Nartsupha, 1999, p. 145). The historical evolution of Thai community is the communal system, not individual system. The Thai society has not been through the feudal system but rather the Asiatic system, which was reserved as the part of feudalism. The Thai rural village community most abundant resource was the land, which allowed the community to reproduce in the rural area at all time (Chatthip Nartsupha, 1991, p. 199).

Additionally, the characteristic of the traditional Thai society and culture include the love for freedom, generosity, and the dislike for state. Meanwhile, the Thai community also based on the kindness, kinship, sharing, mutual dependence, mutual support, faith in Buddhism, and living together in a small community called "Baan" or village. The Thai villagers' society and culture is therefore anarchism, which differs from the collective system and strictly hierarchical Chinese or Indian society and culture. The various ethnic groups in Thailand and the northern part of South East Asia such as Lua, Lawa, Palaung, Khamu, Tinh, Kachin, Hmon, and other ethnic groups would trade with the Tai and other group on the lower area. They therefore use Tai language as the central language and involve with two cultures; their own culture and the Tai culture. Within the current border of Thailand also include numerous networks of trading between the village community. The exchange rate in these villagers market depend on the personal relationship of the exchanger and the objective for increasing adequacy, not for profit. This was called "exchange for eating", so the market was not driven by the law of capitalism. This meant the Thai society is special, as the major institution is the local community which has resisted various systems throughout the

decades. The economic, social, and cultural bond of the village still exist and thus the characteristic of Thai community is remained. (Chatthip Nartsupha, 2001, pp. 53-55)

The uniqueness of Thai community is thus its bottom-up characteristic, which originated from the internal initiation and operation within the local wisdom and culture, which could enhance and increase security for Thai community well.

4.2.3 The OTOP Concept

Kitti Limskul proposed that the OVOP process (One Village One Product) which originated in Oita prefecture of Japan could be applied into OTOP, (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016) with the aim to empower the community internally. The OTOP project included 5 objectives as following (Thai Tambon, 2015; OTOP 5 Star, 2015)

- 1) Create job and increase income for the community
- 2) Encourage the usage of local wisdom
- 3) Encourage the human resource development
- 4) Empower the community
- 5) Encourage creativity in community

The original model of OTOP was the development policy of Oita prefecture in 1979, by its governor, Mr. Morihiko Hiramatsu. The goal of OVOP was to be one of the approaches to civilize the community and increase the well-being level of community members through the production or management of the available resources into the quality and unique product, which is appropriate to the local culture. The strategy included the 3 fundamentals as following. (Hiramatsu, 2008)

Local Yet Global means thinking in the global scale but action in the local level, such as manufacturing product with local culture which is appropriate to the taste of consumers throughout the country and the globe. This also included the product development with unique identity not only to respond to the need of community but also the national and global standard.

Self-Reliance-Creativity means that the activities must come from the need of community members who make the decision, while the government organization would only provide technological and marketing supports. This characteristic enabled OVOP

to more than just manufacturing of unique products, but also include the community revitalization process.

Human Resource Development was the highest goal of OVOP. The true drive of the regional development is “human”, which is required to be brave, challenging, and visionary, in order to be the leader of developmental process in each community. This would enable the regional economy to develop automatically and naturally.

The word “product” does not only refer to just the product but also the thinking process which include the service, the care and reservation of natural resource and environment, the conservation of local wisdom, tourism, arts and culture, the tradition extended from the local wisdom, and the exchange of knowledge in order to develop a unique product which would be widely accepted throughout the country and the world (Hiramatsu, 2008).

Considering the above policy of local community development, it would be obvious that each policy has its own similar and different uniqueness. The similarities are the major goal of local community development and revitalization. As for the practical and technical feasibility, the researcher would like to offer opinion that the community culture concept might have lessor feasibility than the OTOP policy and the Sufficiency Economy, as the OTOP policy included the evident element and objectives of developing human resource, community, and product. As for the King’s Sufficiency Economy, it included the tangible theory of water resource management, mixed-crop farming, and water management for dry season.

For the Community Culture concept, Chatthip advocated this idea under the global political circumstance while the cold war was about to end with the victory from the liberal world. Chatthip Nartsupha thus proposed the Community Culture concept to resist the trend of global capitalism which was about to dominate the whole world. It was like the spearhead of ideal in the war between local and globalization.

As for the public relation and society’s attention, the Sufficiency Economy concept was widely accepted in the Thai society as it was suggested by the King, while the OTOP policy received wide coverage of public relation and received a lot of attention. Meanwhile, the Community Culture concept was limited in just the academic world. In terms of budget, the Multiple Stream model’s perspective proposed that if any policy require the high budget in order to be feasible, it might affect the

policy agenda setting. However, when considering the process or policy of the previously mentioned policies, the researcher deemed that the budget issue was not likely the obstruction to select any policy to enter the agenda setting.

In other words, under the policy stream among many alternatives from the policy communities related to community empowerment, there were different and similar feasibilities, public relations, strengths, and focuses. Hence, the policy stream according to Kingdon's model was not the major factor for any policy selection for policy decision. The policy stream of Thai community development and empowerment of the policy communities became hugely popular mainly due to the treat from the problem stream after the 1997 economic crisis.

4.3 Political Stream and the OTOP Policy

According to the Multiple Stream Model, the political stream would include the national mood, pressure group campaign, elected result, changes of administration, etc. The political stream would be highly influential for the advocate of policy towards the policy decision among those community development and empowerment within the primeval soup. According to the analysis of various policies in the policy stream, the strengths of these policies differed and therefore the pressure towards policy decision came mainly from the political stream.

Due to the economic crisis in 1997 which led to the major loss in Thai economy and society in the broad area, resulted in the severe consequences to the financial, industrial, and service sectors were the main cause driven the national mood. The pressure group campaign which included the scholars, academic groups, and the academic seminar and dialog process demanded the policy alternatives which could solve the related problems from the economic crisis. While the industrial sector and service sector regressed, the agriculture sector could still absorb the excess labour from other sectors.

When the election result and changes of administration related to OTOP policy were considered, an important event in 2001 was found when the Thai Rak Thai party under the leadership by P.M. Thaksin Shinawatra was supported by over 12 million votes. The Thai Rak Thai party was found in 1998 under the slogan "New Idea, New

Action”, with 23 original founders, five of whom used to be the member of Palangdharma party, two of whom were in real estate business, and the rest of founders were scholars and former government officers. (Pasuk Phongpaichit and Baker, 2009, pp. 64-65)

Under the pressure of the problem stream due to the 1997 economic crisis, which was the wounded lesson for the ventures, the Thai Rak Thai party under the leadership of Shin Corp group of the former P.M. Thaksin used this opportunity to gather the large groups of investors, such as the Bai Yok group, the Jusmine group, and the Nescafe group, etc. The Thai Rak Thai offered itself as the alternative for people, and it was the political party which could attract the investor groups as the direct representation of each group, in order to maintain their business advantage as well as participating in the control and directing of the national policy. (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009, pp. 69-79) Furthermore, the Thai Rak Thai could also gather many renowned scholars, such as Purachai Piumsomboon, Kanit Nanakorn, Somkid Jatusripitak, and Surakiart Sathirathai, etc. Therefore, the Thai Rak Thai party had immense level of capital and could construct the populism policy which corresponded to the capitalism consumption culture in the society.

Moreover, McCargo and Pathmanand (2005, pp. 166-167) noted that Thaksin’s political communication was one of the important contribution to his success, as there was the systematic used of communication, marketing, and control of the media. Thaksin also applied the model of speech delivery and image construction of Bill Clinton and Tony Blair in his own political communication.

As for the group of election canvasser and the influential person in the local level, Thaksin employed various means to reduce or control their power, as he was well aware of the role and influence of those people as the provider and protector of the local villagers under the patronage system mechanism as well as the capacity to control the votes of people in each area, which could have a significant impact for the election in all level. And generally, the state must listen to the opinion or demand from such local influential groups. Here, Thaksin and Thai Rak Thai party replaced the relationship between the election canvasser and the influential persons with the relationship between the state and villagers (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009, pp. 188-196), through the expression of empathy with the poor and the policy which respond to their demand,

together with the merge of small political parties as a part of Thai Rak Thai Party. Additionally, Thaksin and Thai Rak Thai party also strategically expressed themselves as the representative and political party of the poors who fight for the poors. (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009, p. 80) This was evident in his speech in 2000 as following “Fellow citizens, the native of the rural area, I want us to be able to depend on ourselves, have no debt, could afford the education for our children. I want you to be cared for when you are sick, and could sale your crops at good price...as well as being able to compete proudly in the global level” (McCargo & Pathmanand, 2005, p. 85).

Afterwards, Thaksin Shinawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party declared the war with poverty, and announced that the poor would disappear from Thailand. Furthermore, the Thai Rak Thai party’s policies also differed from other parties, as it would reward those who vote for it by the populism projects in various forms after the political power was gained (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009, p. 93).

The Thai Rak Thai party’s policy did not depend on the government officers or scholars as the former government’s policies, as the Thai Rak Thai party had its own policy process through researching and work shop organization in order to study the problems and demand of the people for many years, under the direction of those scholars who supported the Thai Rak Thai party (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009, pp. 80-82, as Sayumporn Limthai’s (personal communication, August 22, 2016) following statement. “Before becoming the government, the Thai Rak Thai party already conducted the study in advance by delegating the tasks mainly to the university scholars and specialists. Therefore, the policies at the time were the results of those studies, which looked at the case of other countries or some new application. When the Thai Rak Thai party became the government, it could propose the policy right away...This differed from the previous government, as most policies used to originate by the government official, especially in the period of former P.M. Chuan Leekpai which depended mostly on the government official”

The economic policy of Thai Rak Thai economy was the dual-track economy, which suggested that the economic problems must be solved together in both levels, including 1) macro economy, and 2) grassroots economy. There would be the policy sets in package, and in the time of proposing policy, the government would announce them in related package (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22,

2016) as in the case of the Village Fund policy which granted each village 1 million baht, or the 30 Baht for all cures project and the OTOP project which based on research and countable. This reflected that the Thai Rak Thai policies were real, tangible, concrete, and could solve both the macro and micro economic problems.

In other words, the Thai Rak Thai policies were designed to match the demand of the poors, who were the majority of voters. This form of policy by the Thai Rak Thai party could carry the favor of most poor people in the rural area.

It should be noted that the Thai Rak Thai policies reflected the Pragmatism approach of the former P.M. Thaksin Shinawatra, as the political party's policy would be accessible and tangible for the people. Also, it would not implement the policy which require the long wait for the effective result, in order to aim for the election result mainly. Together with the usage of active marketing in the political communication with the people, the Thai Rak Thai party could won the general election with landslide votes. It could be said that the former P.M. Thaksin Shinawatra had the highest authority in deciding to select any policy from the primeval soup at that time. And due to the problem stream from the economic crisis in 1997, which resulted in the unemployment in the labor sector, the excess agriculture products, and the phenomenon of continuously increasing household debts, the policy stream of community empowerment was advocated.

The OTOP policy was one of the policies within the Primeval soup with the similar level of feasibility with other policies such as the Sufficiency Economy and the New Agriculture Theory as well as the Community Culture concept. The OTOP policy had the important principles of global yet local, self-reliance, creativity, and the human resource development according to the approach of Toyo no Kuni Development School. There was also the support for development of tourism resource and unique community product. Meanwhile, the Sufficiency Economy and the New Agriculture Theory followed the principle of modesty and median path way according to the Buddhism philosophy, which presented itself in the practice of the New Agriculture Theory which implemented the Sufficiency Economy concretely.

The Community Culture concept seems to have less practical and technical feasibility in comparative with the two concepts mentioned above, as it was the study which found that the uniqueness of the Thai village community was the community

culture which included generosity, modesty, self-reliance, network, and assembly, which would be less clear in practice than the two concepts already mentioned. For example, it was unclear whether which form of network should occur, and the existing network such as the religious ceremony network, ritual network, market fair network, etc., should gather into the co-operation, or on how the religion could be the driving force behind the community.

The public relation and the society's attention occurred after the economic crisis in 1997. The Sufficiency Economy and the New Agriculture Theory were widely accepted in the Thai society as the media and scholars extensively responded to it. However, as the concept was deemed as the gift granted by King Bhumibol to his people, no political group should announce it as one's own policy. As for the OVOP concept which was adapted into OTOP project, it was also widely pushed towards the broad society through the populism policy for Thai Rak Thai political campaign. Meanwhile, the Cultural Community was only limited in the field of academic and NGOs who were interested in local community development only.

According to Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2016)'s view, other competing policies within the policy stream such as the community culture, community enterprise, and co-operative could only be accessible or understood by some groups only, while the OTOP policy could generate the tangible income. Therefore, Thaksin selected this policy to enter the agenda setting. Surasak Aksornkul (personal communication, January 24, 2017) also added that the case of co-operative was a good activity and policy, but in practice there was the problem in the system of control which might not be serious enough. And the co-operative would only take care of its member, not including people in general, unlike OTOP which could be announced throughout the country in all villages, all districts, and all organization, while the co-operative would be limited in the ministry, bureau, and department.

The OTOP policy was one of the populism policy set of Thai Rak Thai party which aimed to process the excess agriculture product into the product which could be sold in both Thai and foreign market. This would generate additional income for the farmers together with creating job and income for people outside the agribusiness sector as well as reducing the unemployment rate in the rural area and the migration from the rural area into the city (Pasuk Phongpaichit & Baker, 2009, pp. 80-82). The OTOP

policy followed the Thai Rak Thai's form of policy, which must be accessible, tangible, and practical, or would not implement any policy which require long period of time to see the outcome. Under the usually successful political communication with the goal of winning the election through the support from people in the rural area who were 80% of the total population (Takei, 2007, as cited in Kurokawa et al., 2010, p. 15), the state used the OTOP policy as one of the populism policy set for its campaign for the next election (Claymont, personal communication, December 19, 2014). Thus, OTOP policy followed the politics' will of achieving the result in the short period of time.

Furthermore, Nagai (2003, p. 303) deemed that the Thaksin Government implemented the policy in contrast with the period of Chuan Leekpai government which used to ignore the rural area. In other words, the OTOP followed the model of OVOP project of Oita prefecture in Japan and became the national development policy when the government declared war with poverty and adopted the OTOP project as an important policy to solve poverty (Shakya, 2011, p. 14). At the time, Thailand also had the problem of excess agriculture product. Therefore, the Thai Rak Thai government deemed that the OTOP policy could help processing the agriculture product into product for sale while also earn the popularity for the party, which might be called populism (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016).

Nevertheless, one of the important affecting the OTOP policy receive attention in the political stream was the fact that Kitti Limskul, the stong supporter of OTOP policy, was one of Thai Rak Thai founders since 1998. Kitti presented the concept of local community development according to Oita's OVOP project, that Thaksin became aware of the utility of this approach, although he did not participate in the first field trip to Oita with Somkid Jatusripitak and the group to meet with Morihiko Hiramatsu, the initiator of OVOP process. But afterwards, Thaksin and Somkid led the group of approximately 100 followers for another field trip of OVOP project at Oita again and met with Hiramatsu as well as exchanged knowledge in person. Furthermore, the team also included Suwit Mesinsee and Yutthasak Supasorn who also shared the role of advocating the OTOP policy. Afterwards, the OTOP policy entered the agenda setting swiftly with the Thai Rak Thai government (Fujioka, 2011, p. 140; Puntita Tanwattana & Warangkana Korkietpitak 2012, p. 141; Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016; Puntita Tanwattana, personal communication, November 30, 2016; Korkietpitak, personal

communication, August 8, 2016; Manoon Sornkerd, personal communication, July 9, 2016; Surasak Aksornkul, personal communication, January 24, 2017), or as Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) stated as following. “It originated as Thaksin bought the idea of OTOP policy, then the Thai Rak Thai party also followed him”

Additionally, Puntita Tanwattana (personal communication, November 30, 2016) commented that the origin of OTOP project policy was the centralized political power which P.M. Thaksin Shinnawatra held exclusively, that he could advocate the OTOP policy which was part of the populism policy set from the top-down right away. Surasak Aksornkul (personal communication, January 24, 2017) shared the similar perspective with Puntita that the politics at the time was rather stable as it was almost the single party with one team to advocate the policy. So everything was easier when the team who responsible for the economic policy was one team. In the mixed-party government, each party might join each other without any power to drive any policy. But here, the government’s policy was like the Thai Rak Thai policy.

Furthermore, Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) added that Thaksin selected the OTOP project as an important policy by himself. At that time, not only there was the unemployment problem in Thailand, but there was also the excess agriculture product problem as well. The OTOP policy would yield many advantages for the government by 1) helping the rural people to manufacture product which would partly help the agriculture sector, 2) becoming the populism policy set which satisfy the people at the grassroots level, as OTOP could be operated together with the Village Fund policy which allow microcredit cashflow that the villagers could loan from the fund with low interest rate and thereby solving the problem of informal debt as well as driving the OTOP project. As the villagers were mostly in debt with high interest rate, without the budget from the Village Fund, the OTOP project would not be possible. Therefore, the Village Fund allowed liquidity for those who manufacture OTOP product. It could be said that Thaksin’s economic policy in the form of package could respond well to the need of the villagers.

Hongpha Subboonrueng (personal communication, November 30, 2016) shared the similar perspective that OTOP came from the concept of reviving the grassroots due to the labor problem, together with solving poverty and helping the farmers through the OTOP policy which would add value to the product, together with the financial support

from the Village Fund policy together with the marketing support. Without these financial and marketing support, the OTOP could not be successful in any community.

In other words, the consultants of Thaksin Shinnawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party such as Kitti Limskul and Somkid Jatusripitak played the role of policy entrepreneurs who advocated the OTOP policy towards the agenda setting. Apart from the closeness between the policy entrepreneurs and the political authority, the content of policy was also important, as OTOP matched the criteria of the former P.M. Thaksin, that the policy must be easily accessible by the people, tangible, concrete, and pragmatic, which would be easy for political communication that would ensure the voters' supports. The name of OVOP process and the OTOP project both signified production, which is pragmatic and matches the marketing approach of the former P.M. Thaksin.

According to the above details, it could be concluded that when the problem stream from the economic crisis merged with the the policy stream of the OTOP project and the political stream of the Thai Rak Thai party led by Thaksin Shinnawatra, the policy window thus opened up. The policy entrepreneurs who were the consultants of Thai Rak Thai party then advocate the OTOP policy towards the policy agenda setting under the decision of P.M. Thaksin Shinnawatra.

4.4 Policy Formulation, Policy Implementation and the OTOP Policy

When the OTOP policy entered the policy agenda setting, then the next step would be policy formulation, which the researcher analyzed with the Iron Triangle framework. Afterwards, it would enter the policy implementation process, which would be analyzed with the top-down and bottom-up approaches.

4.4.1 From the Central to the Local

As OTOP entered the policy agenda setting during the Thaksin government, then the political power of the Thaksin government pushed the OTOP policy towards the policy formulation process. According to the Iron Triangle framework, the characteristic of the state's policy formulation would be like the triangle of relationship which could be called the Iron Triangle Policy based on the benefit negotiation,

reciprocal benefit, and mutual dependence between the politics, the bureaucrats, and the business (McConnell, 1966).

When considering the Thai politics associated with election, the general characteristic is the patronage system which is the network of relationship between the group and political party through the system of election canvasser who represent the local community such as the village headmen, subdistrict headmen, and local politicians. These canvassers are closed to the people on the basis of patronizing for a long time, and in return they would receive various advantages. Furthermore, the political group or party also have the reciprocal relationship with the business investors, who would provide financial support for the political group or party's activities. The political group would repay the ventures with political position in the government or any other form of advantage.

In the capitalism election within the patronage system, the party which would win the national election is the party which could gather most political canvassers and ventures. The Thai Rak Thai party under the leadership of Thaksin Shinnawatra could incorporate the large ventures as their political partners rather than the supporters who provide financial supports as in the past. And for the groups of political canvassers or local influencers, the Thai Rak Thai party introduced the populist policy such as the Village Fund of 1 million baht, 30-baht universal health care, low-income housing, and the OTOP project to win the villagers' heart, or the poors who felt they have been ignored by the government throughout the period of development. This was the attempt to replace "the relationship between the villagers and political canvassers or influences" with "the relationship between the villagers and the political party". In other words, the Thai Rak Thai party could successfully incorporate patronage system in the election.

According to the analysis of OTOP policy formulation with the Iron Triangle framework, it was obvious that the consequence from the Thai Rak Thai leader's own investment together with the connection with other capital groups as the party's political partners had pulled one of the two angle left, which was the business sector, to merge with the political sector as mentioned above. The last angle left was the bureaucrats. To analysis the Thai Rak Thai party's control over the bureaucrats, it would require consideration of the consequence from 1997 economic crisis, which destroyed all the wealths, dreams, and hopes of Thai people completely. However,

Thaksin Shinawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party became the hope for Thai people in all sectors, and therefore they were ready to support Thaksin Shinawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party as seen in the winning of election in 2001. The Thai Rak Thai party under the leadership of P.M. Thaksin Shinawatra received total authority from the support of almost 12 million voters, Thaksin was called the CEO of Thailand at the time. In other words, Thaksin Shinawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party received protection from the people in their administration as well as policy formulation and implementation, that they could succeed in their missions. And due to the political supports from the people, the bureaucrats were convinced from the social trend which people gave their overwhelming supports for the political party. In addition, the Thai Rak Thai party also had the group of consultants and scholars within the party, who provided recommendation for the party and government's policy, that the Thai Rak Thai party could depend less on the bureaucrat than the former government party, especially when the administrative power was centralized under the CEO named Thaksin Shinawatra.

It could be said that although the Iron Triangle policy might not be able to clearly explain the negotiation process between the politics, the bureaucrats, and the business in the OTOP policy formulation, nevertheless, the structure of Iron Triangle could still explain why the politics could dominate the bureaucrats and the business through the highest political authority of Thai Rak Thai party under the leadership of Thaksin Shinawatra.

After winning the election, Pongpol Adireksarn who was the Deputy Prime Minister at the time sent the invitation for 20 government officers from various offices to participate in the brainstorm meeting about the community product development policy approach. (Nisakorn Jungjaroentham, personal communication, March 17, 2017). Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) further added the following statement. "At first the OTOP policy had no detail but simply the broad concept of 4-5 lines which was announced to the parliamen"

Nevertheless, it was believed that the OTOP policy was criticized and debated in the meeting. Some officers suggested the name "OVOP", which Pongpol Adireksarn asked the participants to study the name of the policy. After 2-3 meetings, the group

finally reached the decision to call the project One Tambon One Product or OTOP (Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn, March 17, 2017).

Afterwards, the Prime Minister's Office Regulation about the Directing Committee for the One Tambon One Product was announced in September 7th, 2001, which designated the directing committee for the national OTOP project with the authority to formulate strategic policy by creating the master plan for OTOP project (2001-2006). The OTOP project implementation thus followed the 5 objectives as following (OTOP 5 Star, 2015).

- 1) Create employment opportunity and generate income
- 2) Empower the community to be able to think and act in their own community development
- 3) Encourage the use of local wisdom
- 4) Encourage the human resource development
- 5) Encourage creativity based on the foundation of community and ways of life.

Below are the goals, visions, strategies, principles, as well as the plan for OTOP project. (Puntita Tanwattana & Warangkana Korkietpitak, 2012, pp. 138-140)

Goals

- 1) To use the community capacity to manufacture products according to the market demand
- 2) To develop the quality of life and increase income for local people
- 3) To ensure that the local community could rely on themselves.

Vision

To develop local products and industries in order to improve the overall national economy, as well as encourage the socio-economic development and reduce poverty, through the development of community products with the available resources, cultural heritage, and the skills within the community.

Strategies

- 1) To bring local knowledge, labor, and resources to develop local product
- 2) Focus on the manufacturing of product from local resources
- 3) Support the local and regional economic development

4) Create the OTOP network

5) Focus on the partnership between central government and local government in the manufacturing process and market expansion towards the national and international level, through the general distribution channel as well as e-commerce.

Principles

1) Products should be developed with the local knowledge, labor, resources, and the unique characteristic of the local community, in order to conserve the Thai heritage. However, the design must match the modern lifestyle and the international standard in order to compete in the international market.

2) The development must follow the conscience of self-reliance and base on creativity and local-level decision.

3) There should be the human resource development in all level of the manufacturing chain and marketing.

4) There should be the development of product quality and standard

5) There should be the development of innovation

Main Plan

1) Encourage the connection between project and the civil society

2) Product development through research and development

3) Adding value to the product

4) Focus on the marketing

5) Internate usage as the mediator

6) Financial and international supports

7) Support the tourism, culture, and historic places

8) Focus on the public relation

9) Follow up and evaluation

According to the objectives, goals, visions, strategies, principles, as well as the plan for OTOP project, this policy aimed to encourage the community creativity in product development according to the local culture and ways of life. The community should bring the local wisdom to develop the product, and the state would provide technological, administrative, and marketing support for both national and international market as well as developing the network of merchants and the internet, in order to support the local development and ensure the community's self-reliance. The

community would become the center of employment and income generation under the usage of local resources and wisdom to develop the unique products and services of high quality.

Afterwards, the OTOP project was designated under the control of the OTOP committee, affiliated with the Prime Minister Office and other 16 government organizations, as Kurokawa (2009, pp. 980-982) noted the examples of some organization affiliated with the OTOP project as listed below.

Ministry of Interior, through the Department of Community Development, was responsible for the OTOP Champoin project and the system of rating the OTOP products with stars, as the department's objective already involve the improvement of community well-being through the housewife group or any other group in the community.

Ministry of Industry, through the Center of Industrial Promotion with 13 offices throughout the country, provided support the SMEs and household industry such as product label design and training in product management.

Ministry of Commerce had the role of supporting OTOP product for export, especially the OTOP with 4-5 stars. Moreover, Ministry of Commerce also focused on solving the problem which the OTOP group emphasized the production quantity and ignored the quality, as this problem could affect exporting.

Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, through the Department of Agriculture Promotion offices throughout the country, directly supported the farmers in the OTOP by suggesting technique as well as providing training about product, management, and marketing, etc.

Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives, with over 600 branches throughout the country, also supported the farmers to afford agricultural equipment, fertilizer, and seeds.

The SMEs Bank provided the special loan program for the household industry and coordinated with the Bank of Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives in supporting the community enterprises.

Other affiliated organizations could support the household industry, such as the Center of Non-Formal Education under the Ministry of Education would provide training supports for people. There was also the Department of Skill Development

under the Ministry of Labor, which provide various training programs in IT, electricity, and dressmaking, etc.

Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn (personal communication, March 17, 2017) further added the following statement. “The major role of OTOP policy was carried out by the Ministry of Industry through Wim Roonggrod, Ministry of Interior through Sayumphon Limthai, Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives through Kanok Katikarn, and the Ministry of Commerce through no particular keyman. Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives would link the bureaucratic sector with the community for the OTOP project, while Ministry of Industry would connect with the manufacturing standard and marketing test in order to answer the consumer’s demand. And the Ministry of Commerce was responsible for marketing in Thailand and foreign countries”.

Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) further commented on the OTOP policy as following. “OTOP was about the existing capital. OTOP did not start from scratch and therefore could progress the policy swiftly. At that time there were about 7-8 ministries who worked together integratively...OTOP was the example of smooth integrated mission”

Furthermore, Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn (personal communication, March 17, 2017) expressed her opinion regarding the integration among various organizations under the OTOP policy, that this policy was the appropriate integration between the politics and the bureaucrats, as it truly integrated the organizations through various mechanisms including mutual budget allocation by the OTOP committee, which pulled down the barrier between ministries, bureaus, departments. Each organization would be delegated work according to their own mission. For example, the Department of Community Development was responsible for the standard, while the Ministry of Commerce was responsible for marketing channel in the integrated operation and budgeting.

In other words, the progress of OTOP policy formulation was the result of the proposal by the committee representatives from the affiliated ministries, bureaus, and departments as well as the consultant team, who formulated the detail of OTOP policy together. And OTOP policy could be counted as the example of successful integrated mission among the government organization.

Furthermore, the OTOP policy also led to the foundation of other committee called the National OTOP Administrative Board who pushed the OTOP policy towards implementation through the central and regional mechanisms as following. (Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior, 2011, p. 15).

Central mechanism included the National OTOP Administrative Board, which the office of Board Director was in the Office of Prime Minister at the Royal Thai Government House. The board consisted of sub-committee as following.

- 1) Administrative Sub-committee.
- 2) Production Promotion Sub-committee
- 3) Product Quality Development and Standard Sub-committee
- 4) Marketing Promotion Sub-committee
- 5) Research and Development of Product and Technology Sub-committee
- 6) Public Relation Sub-committee
- 7) Monitoring and Evaluation Sub-committee
- 8) Foreign Relations Sub-committee

Regional mechanism included the Provincial OTOP Sub-committee and District OTOP Sub-committee.

Provincial OTOP Sub-committee included

- 1) The Provincial Governor as the Sub-committee Chairman
- 2) Head of the affiliated government offices as the board of sub-committee
- 3) The related private sectors and specialists as the sub-committee
- 4) Provincial Community Development Officer as the sub-committee and the secretary

District OTOP Sub-committee included

- 1) Chief District Officer as the Sub-committee Chairman
- 2) Representatives from affiliated government offices as the sub-committee
- 3) The related private sectors and specialists as the sub-committee
- 4) District Community Development Officer as sub-committee and the secretary

The Thai Rak Thai government under the leadership of Thaksin Shinawatra could efficiently integrate and control the political sector, the business sector, and the government sector according to the Iron Triangle concept of policy formulation, resulted in the allocation of duties, responsibilities, and the structural formulation of each organization from the central to regional level in the OTOP policy formulation.

After the OTOP policy was formulated according to the administrative structure, the next step was the policy implementation through the executive order, which might be in the form of order or other regulations. In implementing any policy, there must be the benefit integration with affiliated groups to ensure the smooth implementation of policy and the fulfilment of policy goals and objectives. The analysis in this research would follow the model of Top-Down Approach and Bottom-Up Approach.

As the OTOP policy entered the implementation stage, the central committee through the National OTOP Administrative Board would formulate the framework and strategy of OTOP policy implementation as well as supporting the OTOP policy administration according to the formulated policy and strategy. As for the Regional OTOP sub-committee would responsible for the operations according to the central policy, such as management, integration with the affiliated administrative agencies, budgeting, product selection, product quality development, and marketing. The clear picture of the responsibility of each sector could be described as following (Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior, 2011, p. 17).

Sub-district Level Each particular local agency was responsible to the organization of community in order to brainstorm and select the unique products within their sub-districts. Such product must be the result of the local wisdom and manufactured from the available resources in their community.

District Level for each district, the district OTOP sub-committee would consider the rank of product from the sub-districts in the area as well as following the central policy and allocating budget.

Provincial Level the Provincial OTOP Sub-committee would responsible for the similar missions with the district OTOP sub-committee, by ranking the products from districts within the province and following the central policy and allocating budget.

Central Level Apart from the duty of policy and strategy formulation for OTOP policy to be implemented by other sectors, The National OTOP Administrative Board would also formulate the criteria of products selection and registration of exemplary products which would be further proposed to the cabinet according to the following Figure (Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior, 2011, p. 17).

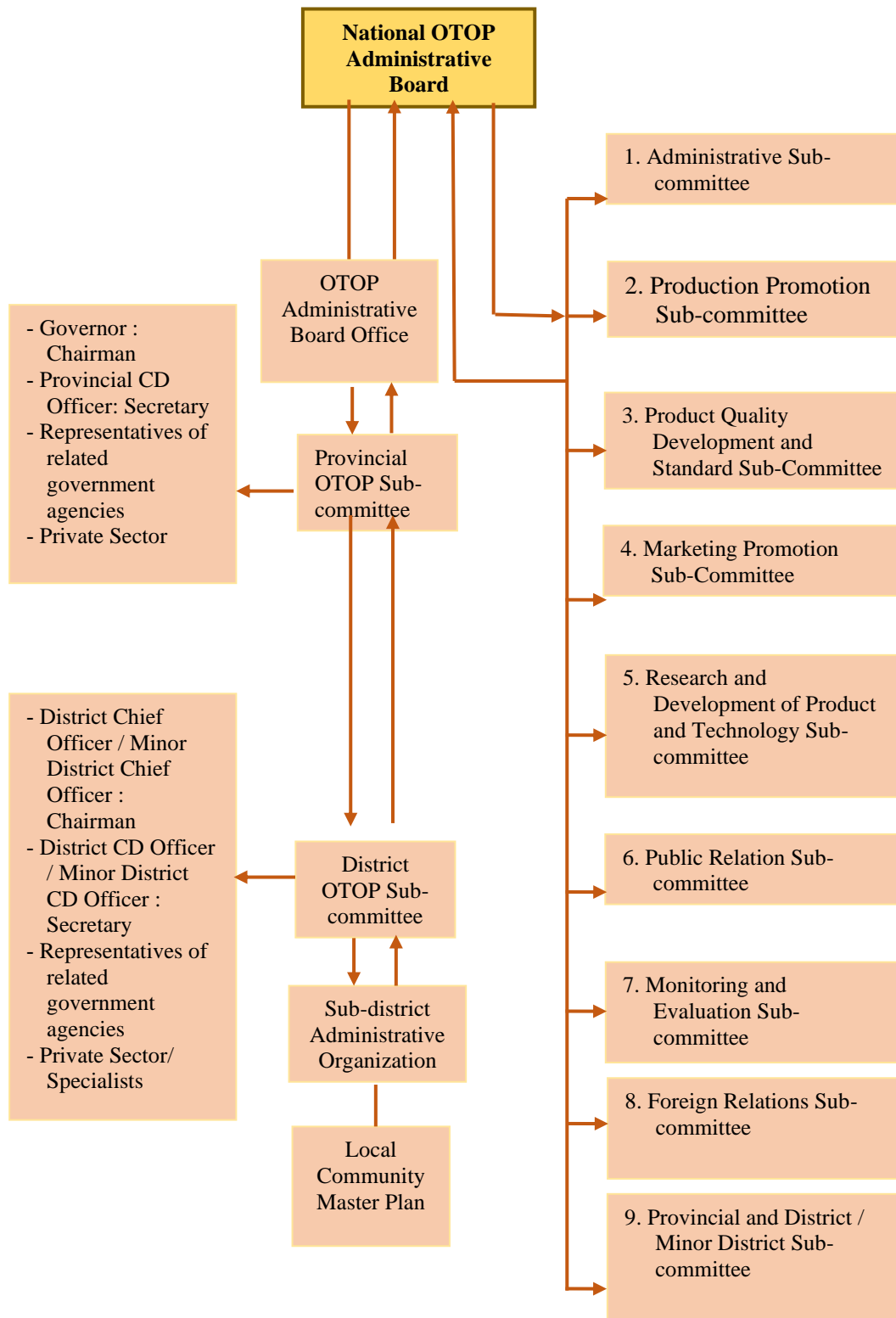


Figure 4.1 The Administrative Structure of One Tambon One Product (OTOP)

Source: Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior (2001, p. 16)

According to the implementation of OTOP policy, it could be said that the OTOP policy originated from the power of the central government, under the direction by the National OTOP Administrative Board, affiliated with the Prime Minister's Office which was the center of authority in the OTOP project administrative structure from the Top-down.

According to Kyungmi (2012, p. 86), the OTOP policy was deemed the hierarchical policy as the National OTOP Administrative Board was controlled by the Office of Prime Minister while also direct the Provincial, District, and Sub-District OTOP policy, respectively. The role of the National OTOP Administrative Board was to formulate policy, strategy, masterplan, budget, affiliated organization, and product standard, which was the characteristic of the Top-down decision. According to Haraguchi (2008, p. 17), the OTOP policy was directed from the Prime Minister in the overall level, then the regional and local OTOP sub-committee would accept and implement the central policy.

The above statement corresponded to the opinion of specialists and other scholars who studied the OTOP policy, such as Nattamon Teerakul, Aree Wiboonpongse, and Songsak Sriboonchitta (2014), Haraguchi (2008), Kurokawa (2009), Natsuda et al. (2012), Kurokawa et al. (2010), Chaweewan Denpaiboon and Kochakorn Amatasawatdee (2012), Puntita Tanwattana and Warangkana Korkietpitak (2012), Claymont (personal communication, December 19, 2014) Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) Matsumoto (personal communication, May 28, 2015) Warangkana Korkietpitak (personal communication, August 8, 2016), and Chaweewan Denpaiboon (personal communication, December 4, 2017) Most of their findings shared the same direction that the OTOP policy involve the authoritative characteristic through its guidance, direction, control, and command from the central government until the OTOP policy became the national policy, which resembled the exogenous development project aiming for the swift outcome, focusing on exporting and product development, emphasis the urban and foreign market. In terms of power structure, it could be deemed that the OTOP policy was implemented with the top-down approach in all process of OTOP policy implementation.

As for the principle of OTOP policy implementation, at first it started from the question on how the community could manufacture products and sell them, which

would develop the additional career into the main career. By focusing on the community product management, the community economy could be more balanced. In other words, OTOP policy aimed to develop the grassroots economy (Thawee Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016) It could be said that the OTOP policy's approach was Top-Down, with the government agencies as the major actors in the OTOP policy. And the original objective was to generate income to the community.

4.4.2 From Product Development to Human Resource Development

After the OTOP policy was implemented with the top-down approach for a while, there was the question related to human resource development in the OTOP policy by Puntita Tanwattana and Warangkana Korkietpitak (2012), who deemed that the success of OTOP policy was measured by the tangible products, income generation, and OTOP product exporting while the OTOP products still lack quality and innovative product development. There were the problems of too many similar products and the excess OTOP products. And Yoopin Claymont (personal communication, December 19, 2014) commented that OTOP policy differed from the OVOP of Japan, as the image of OTOP policy did not focus on the development of human resource and community. This was obvious from the public relation which focus only with selling and supporting OTOP products that OTOP meant just the product for people in general.

Looking back at the original goal of implementing the product policy, which were the processing of product and product development in order to generate income for community, which would stimulate the grassroots economy (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016; Manoon Sornkerd, personal communication, July 9, 2016; Thawee Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016; Surasak Aksornkul, personal communication, January 24, 2017). Nevertheless, the development of OTOP policy implementation could be considered in phases as Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) suggested as following

- 1) Product Development
- 2) Connecting OTOP with tourism
- 3) Human Resource Development

The major Key Person of the OTOP such as Somkid Jatusripitak and Suwit Mesinsee provided the framework of project development under the OTOP policy, that the OTOP must followed the 3P. The first P was Product, or capacity of production. The second P was Place, which was the connection between OTOP and tourism. And finally, the third P was People, which meant the human resource development (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016; Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn, personal communication, March 17, 2017).

As mentioned above, the OTOP policy did not ignore the human resource development, but the OTOP policy had to respond to the important problem during the initiation period of top-down implementation. First of all, there was the economic problem which was the consequence of the 1997 economic crisis. Thus, OTOP started with income generation for people and community. Secondly, there was the political problem as the Thai Rak Thai required the swift policy effectiveness. The effectiveness of tangible product development could be more evident than the intangible product, especially the human resource development which would be the most sustainable development but also require the long period of time. Therefore, the phase of human resource development in the OTOP policy was implemented in the last order.

Nevertheless, the initiation of OTOP policy did not start from zero, but rather based on the housewife group which have been supported by the Department of Community Development, especially through the project of product development according to King Rama IX and Her Majesty the Queen such as the Silpacheep Project, etc. (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016; Manoon Sornkerd, personal communication, July 9, 2016; Thawee Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016; Surasak Aksornkul, personal communication, January 24, 2017) According to Surasak Aksornkul (personal communication, January 24, 2017), the following detail was obtained. “The current government also deemed that the OTOP concept is not new but rather existed since King Rama IX and Her Majesty the Queen visited the provincial citizens and supported the community products such as silk, conservation, career development, and water resource management. It could be said that the development project according to the King’s idea existed for a long time, but only the OTOP project was announced in policy while the similar development projects in the past was more scattered as they were not announced

as policy. Therefore, the OTOP policy gave a clearer picture when every department joined in, and there were also event organization and continuous advertising and public relations, that the brand started to gain value”

Thaweeep Buthpho (personal communication, December 15, 2016) gave the corresponded detail as following. “His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen have worked with the villagers, solved their problems, and developed their careers for a long time. They bought the products from the villagers with unlimited quantity and then seek the outside market. This was His Majesty the King’s work as in Doi Kham project...Our Department of Community Development only followed his path, which developed the knowledge base, wisdom, and people. So speaking about the OTOP project, the King and the Queen already started it for a long time ago”

Therefore, the OTOP project was the extension from the basis of many projects according to the King’s idea and the groups of housewife which were supported by the Department of Community Development for a long time. The OTOP project only repeated the procedure, with more media coverage and event organization in various places that the society got used to it. Also, the project name was unique and could attract attention. And it should be noted that after the 1997 economic crisis, there was the trend of using or consuming Thai products, which led the mass demand of local community products. As a result, the OTOP project became quickly and widely known by Thai people.

During the first year of OTOP policy implementation, most actions were the top-down order for survey and registration. During the middle of the project, the central government assigned the provincial governors to identify 5 unique products in their territory. However, some provinces lack the understanding of OTOP identity and proposed something else. For example, Rayong province proposed Longan fruit (Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn, personal communication, March 17, 2017). Meanwhile, the indicators for being OTOP actually included the background story, the involvement with the local wisdom, the usage of local resources, the local community identity, and the labor from the community. The registration process would include these indicators, and if the product met the criteria then it could be counted as OTOP product (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016).

Thaweeep Buthpho (personal communication, December 15, 2016) classified the process of OTOP project promotion by the Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior, as the leader in OTOP policy implementation together with other organizations as following.

1) Encouraging unionization for career development. In case of the single entrepreneur, there must be the special condition such as using the local raw-material and labor from the community.

2) OTOP registration, which the entrepreneur could express their intention to join the OTOP process in 3 groups; the community group, single entrepreneur, and SME with capital less than 10 million Baht.

3) Product Ranking, or OTOP Product Champion (OPC) from one star to five stars.

4) Entrepreneur development in terms of administration, business planning, product development, packaging, as well as product quality development.

There were two existing types of entrepreneur; those who were the community groups with community bond and mutual supports within their group, and those who were single entrepreneur or SMEs, who focused on the maximum profit. The community groups were the same groups with housewife group which the Department of Community Development had supported and developed, while the SMEs groups later joined the project. (Thaweeep Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016). The approach to develop both groups was to exchange the strength of each type, as the OTOP groups by SMEs had higher capacity in administration, product development, and marketing than the community group although they focused on the commerce and profit. Meanwhile, the community group's uniqueness was their mutual bond. These strengths were exchanged through the forum where the groups could learn from each other's experience and knowledge, such as teamworking or coordination of the community group, or the administration, marketing, product development, packaging, display, and exporting by the SMEs groups. In other words, the SMEs groups could raise the standard of the community group (Sayumporn Limthai, personal communication, August 22, 2016; Thaweeep Buthpho personal communication, December 15, 2016).

Nevertheless, Puntita Tanwattana (personal communication, November 30, 2016) noted that the OTOP policy which also include the SME's activity might not solve problem for the community farmers but rather increase capacity for SME. Russama Marubodee (personal communication, July 28, 2016) further added that OTOP should be the unique product form each community which would build awareness and generate income for all members of the community. However, many of the OTOP products were owned by single entrepreneur who solely sell the product and receive income.

4.4.2.1 Product Standard for OTOP Product Champion (OPC)

Regarding the OTOP product standard, the National OTOP Administrative Board implemented the project called OTOP Product Champion, or OPC, in order to develop product quality and product standard for exporting, by selecting the OTOP products from throughout the country according to the following criteria (Kurokawa, 2009, p. 983).

- 1) Product has the potential for export with a strong brand
- 2) Product can be manufactured continuously while maintaining product quality
- 3) Product quality must be accepted
- 4) There must be the background story of the product

The ranking will be represented by the star system; 1 star refers to low quality, 2 stars refer to low quality with potential for development, 3 stars refer to medium quality with potential for export development, 4 stars refer to high quality with some development needed, and 5 stars refer to high quality which could be exported. OPC would stimulate competition through the quality criteria. Therefore, the OTOP products which would like to receive more stars must seek to be supported by other standards, such as the FDA by Ministry of Public Health, or TIS by Ministry of Industry. There was also the OTOP community product standard, which would be selected once in every 2 years. And the entrepreneurs who wish to receive more stars must enter this selection process (Thawee Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016).

In other perspective, the OPC could also reflect the image of top-down bureaucratic system, which the regional and local OTOP project was controlled by the central government authority through the star system which control the OTOP

entrepreneur as the objective of quality control by Thaksin government (Kyungmi, 2012, p. 89). According to this approach of OTOP product quality assurance, the positive side was to raise the product standard. However, the financial supports would be easier granted to the entrepreneurs with 4-5 stars than the entrepreneurs with lesser stars (Kurokawa et al., 2010, p. 13).

Furthermore, just the product with over 4 OPC stars ranking would be selected to participate in the national OTOP event, while the product with lessor stars would be displayed only at the provincial level. Additionally, the support for exporting would be limited for 5-star OTOP product only. (Puntita Tanwattana & Warangkana Korkietpitak, 2012, p. 151) While the government still placed higher priority for the product quality under the OPC star system than the technical training and networking among the OTOP entrepreneurs (Haraguchi, 2008, p. 19). It could be said that the implementation of OPC continuously widened the gap among the OTOP entrepreneurs and focused only with the product development more than the important long-term goals of OTOP policy, of encouraging the self-reliance creativity and human resource development.

4.4.2.2 Financial Support for Entrepreneurs

Regarding the financial support for OTOP entrepreneur who demanded capital to expand their business during OTOP policy implementation, Sayumphon Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) gave the detail in the following statement. “OTOP was the set of populism policy set to attract the people at the lower level, together with the Village Fund which injected money to generate liquidity, that the villagers could borrow from the fund with low interest rate and impact the informal debt which was the important problem of villagers at the time. As the villagers borrowed from the loan sharks with high interest rate, their debt accumulated and became problematic. Therefore, without the financial injection, the OTOP policy could not be possible”

Regarding the relationship between OTOP policy and the Village Fund policy, it could be said that without the Village Fund, the OTOP policy might not be active enough. As the village fund of 1 million baht per village could be accessed in over 70,000 villages (Thaweep Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016), the community with readiness could use this fund to develop OTOP project

within their community. However, the community which was not ready would spend this fund on other things which could not truly be beneficial for the internal development of community.

Additionally, Puntita Tanwattana and Warangkana Korkietpitak (2012, p. 153) explained the government's loan relating the OTOP policy that the loan for OTOP was available both directly and indirectly, through the Village Fund which aimed to support business and investment in community, or through the SMEs Bank which provided loan for OTOP entrepreneurs to expand or improve their business, manufacturing technology, marketing, and product distribution. Furthermore, after the Thai Rak Thai party won the election again in 2005, the SML fund was found to accelerate the community economic development. And some OTOP entrepreneurs also received financial supports from the Local Administrative Organization, Department of Community Development, and other government agencies. Nevertheless, Natsuda et al. (2012, p. 375) added that the marketing and financial supports for the OTOP entrepreneurs were limited to the OTOP with high stars only.

4.4.2.3 Marketing and Public Relations

Regarding the marketing and public relations of OTOP project, the government agencies would provide marketing support through various campaign such as OTOP event organizations both in Thailand and other countries, brand creation for OTOP, construction of website, and advertising through media (Department of Community Development, 2001), that the OTOP project expanded and dispersed. Surasak Aksornkul (personal communication, January 24, 2017) commented on the success of OTOP policy public relations as following. "For other community enterprises, they still exist nowadays, but received less priority or focus than the OTOP. And many community enterprises also seems redundant with the OTOP as the group of villagers might be both the OTOP entrepreneur and community enterprise. Other community enterprise also had less role of support for PR media in order to construct the image when comparing to OTOP, although most community enterprises were the same group with OTOP"

Similarly, Natsuda et al. (2012, p. 373) also commented that the government had important role in driving the OTOP project, especially in terms of marketing through many OTOP event organizations, logo design, and the usage of

e-commerce, as the OTOP project aimed to support the OTOP product exporting to the foreign market as well as the internal market, together with supporting OTOP stores within the community, in the urban area, and in the international airports (Yamazaki, 2010, pp. 27-28). And Shakya (2011, pp.13-14) shared the perspective that the government played the important role, as the OTOP project received supports of trade fair, product registration, and the OTOP Champion project which increase the capacity of manufacturers and improve the product quality as well as developing the OTOP business of entrepreneurs together with development of knowledge base under the created network.

Additionally, the OTOP project also utilized online marketing, as the government provided the website Thai Tambon.com, which gave informations regarding the project, manufacturers, and OTOP products (Kurokawa et al., 2010, p. 13). Puntita Tanwattana and Warangkana Korkietpitak (2012, pp. 154-155) further added that the government attempted to conduct public relations for OTOP project through the event “OTOP City” as well as selling OTOP products at gas station, department stores, as well as the websites related to marketing and trade fair. Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) provided further details about OTOP City as following. “OTOP City was the example. And these groups were encouraged to sell their products through the new marketing channel, as the communities already manufactured products but lack the marketing and distribution channel. So the government fulfilled the distribution channel for them”

Currently, there would be just 3 National OTOP events held at Impact Arena, Mueng Thong Thani, Bangkok. The OTOP city event is organized during the end of the year. Additionally, there were OTOP Mid Year event and the OTOP Advancement with His Majesty event which coordinate with the Silpacheep center during the mother’s day in August. There were also the OTOP Town event which would rotate from one department store to another. Furthermore, there was also the OTOP event at the border named “OTOP 3 Provinces 2 Nations”. And the distribution channel for OTOP products expanded to the Pracha Rat Sookjai stores located at various branches of PTT gas station for over 148 stores throughout the country (Thawee Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016).

Due to the public relations, marketing, and OTOP event organizations, the sale value of OTOP products increased from over 10 billion baht in 2002, to over 30 billion baht in 2003, over 40 billion baht in 2004, over 50 billion baht in 2005, and almost 80 billion baht in 2008, according to the following Figure (Shakya, 2010, pp. 12-13).

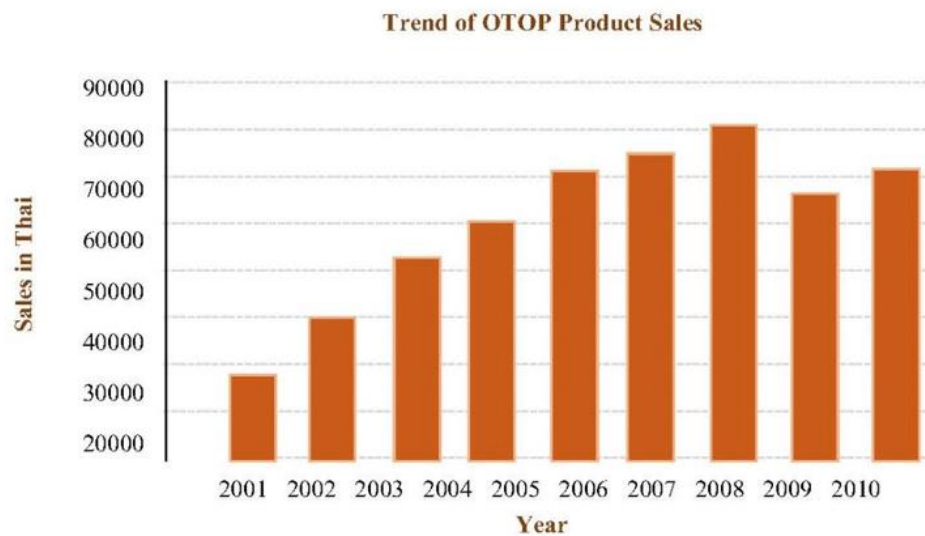


Figure 4.2 Trend of OTOP Product Sales

Source: Shakya (2010, p. 13)

And during 2014 and 2015, when the Department of Community Development registration was open, there were over 40,000 OTOP entrepreneurs from 3 groups who registered over 80,000 products. The Department of Community Development collected the data of sell from OTOP products and found that the sales value were approximately 100 billion baht per year (Thaweeep Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016; Surasak Aksornkul, personal communication, January 24, 2017). It can be said that the initiation and support for OTOP policy from the government was rather successful in terms of sale, which generate income for the entrepreneurs.

4.4.2.4 Connection with Tourism

Regarding the connection with tourism under the OTOP project, the state's objective was to attract tourists to visit and spend money within community, in

order to study the community's way of life and buy products, which would generate income for the community directly. Currently, there are 110 OTOP villages for tourism, such as Baan Tawaii in Chiang Mai. The whole Baan Tawaii village's unique identity was their carved woodwork. If any OTOP under the OTOP Village project was granted the exemplary tourism village award, the government would support the field trip to foreign country for the village leaders. After the field trip, many village leaders would lecture and transfer their knowledge and experience received from other countries to their communities (Thaweeep Buthpho, personal communication, December 15, 2016; Surasak Aksornkul, personal communication, January 24, 2017).

Regarding the activities in OTOP policy implementation, although there was no clear focus on human resource development but rather focused on the product development, we could still see some activity of human resource development even if it was not so evident, such as the networking among the OTOP entrepreneurs and the international field trip for entrepreneurs, etc.

4.4.2.5 Human Resource Development

Human Resource Development directly within the OTOP policy was started seriously in 2016, under the name OTOP school. The training was provided in 3 places; at Bang Chao Cha, Ang Thong Province, which is the basketwork community, at the Phatthalung Province which grow Sang Yod rice, and at Phu Kae District, Saraburi Province. There would be 3 more schools open in 2017, where the entrepreneurs who studied from the successful entrepreneurs would provide lecture in the area. The OTOP school provided training in all process related to OTOP. The villagers who passed the training could become lecturer, as they already possess existing wisdom and knowledge base. So when they received the skill and knowledge about communication, they too could become the lecturers who pass on the knowledge. Currently, the OTOP school already trained 3 generations of leader (Surasak Aksornkul, personal communication, January 24, 2017). Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) further added the following statement. "In the future, there should be the OTOP university to provide knowledge supports in marketing. It should be the community college. And there should also be the community museum"

It was obvious that although the OTOP policy previously started at product development as the first mission and later develop human resource, that the

overall image would seem like OTOP was the policy of product development, as Thawee Butpho (personal communication, December 15, 2016)'s following comment. "As previously we were led by the product, now we are led by the human before product. Previously we focused on the development of market and product, the pride of sales value rather than people. For what the government repeatedly express always focused on the economy rather than human resource development. ... Our OTOP used the name of One Tambon One Product, but in practice that was not how we do it. We created the trend through event organizations to build awareness by bringing community product from SMEs and entrepreneurs to promote that there were plenty of them"

Claymont (personal communication, December 19, 2014) further added that when thinking about OTOP, the image of product would come first, as the previous years the government talked about OTOP only through this dimension. Only the product received public relations, but no image of human resource development was presented. Furthermore, Natsuda et al. (2012, p. 375) also commented that the Thai OTOP policy attempted to raise the standard of OTOP product through the OTOP product standard of OPC system or stars system. Although the state provided marketing and financial supports for entrepreneurs, but they were limited for the OTOP with high stars. Moreover, there is the characteristic which the community must depend on the state quite a lot. And OTOP emphasized the production quantity rather than the product quality development. This resulted in the products copying, excessive OTOP market, and debt for the OTOP entrepreneurs. In other words, the sustainability of the community enterprises (CBEs) and the small and medium enterprises (SMEs) was the heart of OTOP policy, while the groups still highly depend on the state, that the human resource development faded away, as Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016)'s following comment. "OTOP policy was like button the shirt from the wrong button which resulted in the faulty practice that required unbutton and re-button again....OTOP was only the additional income...The word OTOP sounds to the Thai as the product...OVOP or OTOP actually refers to the culture, tradition, the ways of life, livelihood, or all of them"

In conclusion, although the OTOP policy implementation was in the top-down approach, which the government was the major actor in all phases of policy

implementation, starting and focusing on product development in responding to economic utility, and seriously starting to develop human resource in 2016, but those who were related to this policy such as JICA (2003), Pasaribu (2007), Kurokawa et al. (2010), Yamazaki (2010), Shakya (2011), Natsuda et al. (2012), Puntita Tanwattana and Warangkana Korkietpitak (2012), Chaweewan Denpaiboon and Kochakorn Amatasawatdee (2012), Claymont (personal communication, December 19, 2014), Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015), Sayumporn Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016), Thaweeep Buthpho (personal communication, December 15, 2016), Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2016), and Surasak Aksornkul (personal communication, January 24, 2017) all shared the similar perspectives that OTOP policy was successful in brand creation. This led to the wide awareness of OTOP product both nationally and internationally, as well as quite successful in terms of sales value and could generate income for the entrepreneurs.

CHAPTER 5

AGENDA SETTING, POLICY FORMULATION AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION OF ONE VILLAGE ONE PRODUCT (OVOP)

Regarding the OVOP policy, the researcher would use the Multiple Stream Model as the framework for analysis similar to the OTOP policy analysis. When the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream merges, the policy window would open up, and the policy entrepreneurs could advocate the policy towards agenda setting. The analysis of policy process would give a clearer picture of policy formulation and implementation.

5.1 Problem Stream and the OVOP Policy

Regarding the problem stream according to Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model, the problem stream involved event and crises, indicator of the consequence, and feedback, which the OVOP policy consisted of the following elements similar to the case of OTOP project in Thailand.

5.1.1 Event and Crises

After the Meiji reformation, Japan opened the country and accelerated its modernization together with westernization according to the principle "Fukoku Kyohei" or "Wealthy nation-Strong military" (Prasert Chittiwatanapong, 1938, p. 12). At first, Japan's economic development started from the industrial economy from the cotton weaving industry, which in 1897 became the spearhead in exporting to China and led the Japanese economy to become a complete industrial economy instead of importing. (Yoshihara, 1988, p. 11) Therefore, it could be said that the textile industry

became the model for modern industrial development such as cement, paper, food, iron, shipbuilding, and weapon industries, etc.

Watunyu Jaiborisudhi and Warangkana Korkietpitak (2009, pp. 145-146) stated that after the end of World War I, the military had a lot of authority to designate Japan's direction under the militarism which rooted in the Bushido ideal, that the military was free from the politics and integrated with the institution of emperor. There was the quote that "In order for the military to be resolute, the commander should receive order only from the Emperor", which corresponded to the Shinto religion which also supported the nationalism and loyalty to the Emperor. In other words, the militarism ideal led the Japanese nationalism towards chauvinism. Furthermore, due to the previous victories, the Japanese military became arrogant and raised their status as the legitimate ruler above any other institution. Therefore, even the industrial development followed the military utilization rather than the production for consumption. This characteristic of political demand required industrial operation to respond to the politics' military industry. And it was certain that the Zaibutsu group with the close relationship to the elite and the military must be supported in the state's military activities. Therefore, both groups would reciprocally support each other. The military would gain the economic and industrial bases to support the military activities and warfair, while the Zaibutsu would gain the advantages and privileges in various forms such as financial supports from the state, the customs privileges, as well as the regulations which the state enacted to raise the resource, that the state must limit its contact with just the Zaibutsu group. For example, Mitsui received the mining concession and military industry, or Mitsubishi received the administration of shipbuilding business in Singapore through the Navy as well as the construction of aircrafts for the Airforce, etc.

Moreover, the Zaibutsu also influenced the politics, as the connection they had since the Togugawa period through the trading influence. As a result, the representatives of Zaibutsu network were assigned the positions in the cabinet and important government position such as the Minister of Finance, Minister of Industry, and the Director of National Bank during the period after the end of World War I. Therefore, when the military would like to expand its power and the Zaibutsu would like to maintain the growth of industrial economy through seeking the foreign market and resources, the Zaibutsu became not only the important power in manufacturing the

weapon but also the planning of industrial expansion and development towards Manchuria (Yoshihara, 1988, p. 21).

After the end of the World War II, the United States governed Japan and advocated the new constitution for Japan to replace the Meiji constitution which was less democratic. The new constitution's content included higher economic liberalism concept, especially the abolishment of monopoly under the Zaibutsu's control through the sell of stock for people, resulted in the companies which were distributed from the Zaibutsu called the Keiretsu or network company. Afterwards in 1952, Japan became independent from the United States as the treaty required the Japanese Army's disarm, resulted in the United State's burden in maintaining the nation's security in place of Japanese Army. This allowed Japan's economic development to advance swiftly (Pensri Kanchanomai, 1995, pp. 285-301).

Furthermore, Somchai Chakhatrakan et al. (2006) stated that there was the enactment of agricultural land reformation law together with the new agricultural co-operative law in 1947, to ensure the minor farmer's protection of their own land for farming, as most farmers had to rent the land from the landlord prior to the end of World War II. Kuwano (personal communication, July 13, 2016) provided additional explanation as following. "After the World War II, the U.S. advocated the land reformation policy to reduced monopolization in economic wealth by the landlord. The land reformation would divide the large area of land for the farmers to possess, and these minor farmers assembled together under the agricultural co-operative and gained high negotiation power with other sectors, including the political and the government"

Additionally, Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016) commented on the Japan's land reformation as following. "The agricultural reformation actually happened after the World War, as Japan halted so much of their agricultural activities and destroyed most of their forest due to the preparation of war and the fight during World War II. Citizens were enlisted in the manufacturing of weapon, warship, aircraft, and work for the warfair....Afterwards, the agricultural sector and technology were ignored. Nevertheless, Japan had a good foundation. At that time, Japan was so poor and the food was scarce. There was famine, as there were almost 100 million Japanese citizens with no one to produce food for them. Then the U.S. enacted the agricultural land

reformation and allocated farming land for the farmers, and Japan started to produce food for their citizen first”

Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016) further commented on the Japanese Agricultural Co-operative as following. “Japanese Agricultural Co-operative was not the loan co-operative, but rather the community co-operative in the commune style, where the entrepreneurs gathered. Japanese Agricultural Co-operative was rooted in the national development based on actuality. What is the actuality? There must be the consideration of origine of culture, tradition, and ways of life. For example, why can’t the Thai work together in group while the Japanese must work together? Why the single person in Japan would be very weak and become very strong as a group? On the contrary, the single Thai is strong but become weak in group. These were the result of history and environment. In an earthquake, it would not be possible to runaway and survive alone. Then what would you do with the family? Earthquake, volcano, all need working in group in order to survive together. If this year they need to farm, it would not be possible to finish on time if they are independent from each other and work separately. As the time is limited, and it would not be possible for one person to finish transplant rice seedlings, so they were required to work together. For example, if there are 10 people with 5 Rais of land each, if all of them work together that they could finish 25 Rais. When the winter came, the wind would stop the rice to grow, but they would still have 25 Rais of rice for eating. But if they work separately in their field and could not finished, there might be no rice at all. Therefore, Japanese people were good at working together as a team with harmony, mutual supports, and maintaining the group’s benefit...Their environment and society became the foundation which allowed the Japanese Agricultural Co-operative to gain high negotiation power both in trading and in politics”

Regarding trading, Hongpha Subboonrueng (personal communication, November 30, 2016) noted the example of melon quantity control for good price. The co-operative would discard the dowdy melon in order to prevent market excession, which would lower the melon’s price. And Puntita Tanwattana (personal communication, November 30, 2016) also proposed the similar perspective with Somchai Chakhatrakan as following. “In the case of Japan, they would assemble during the time of problem in order to solve it. Conglomeration is already the strength of Japan,

as they could assemble in group with harmony...starting from group, network, and co-operative”

It could be said that conglomeration of the Japanese was the basis which ensure the Japanese Agricultural Co-operative’s strength, that they could negotiate effectively with both the business sector and the political sector. Most Japanese farmers would be affiliated with the agricultural co-operative (Yanagihara, personal communication, July 14, 2016), which would play the role as described by Kuwano (personal communication, July 13, 2016) as following. “The politicians, whether the LDP party, any other party, or the local politicians, would have to ask for voter’s supports from the agricultural co-operative”

Regarding the national development of macro econmy, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) had continuously advocated for the national industrial development policy. Since 1962, the government initiated the Comprehensive National Development Plan, which was the policy of relocating the industrial development project to the new industrial city (Matsui, 2011, p. 18). The new industrial city zone would be the seaports in 4 regions as following (Narongsak Pitchayapisut, 2008, p. 26).

- 1) Keihin Region, including Tokyo and Yokohama city
- 2) Hanshin Region, including Osaka and Kobe city as well as the area around these cities.
- 3) Chukyo Region, with the center at Nagoya city
- 4) Kita Kyushu Region, with the center at Fukuoka city (Narongsak Pitchayapisut, 2008, p. 26)

Due to the national development strategy of relocating the industrial zone to other regions and the huge injection of budget, the dependence of the regions on the central government budget was unavoidable. The external stimulation of industrial sector and the construction project which did not connect to the local economic activities or the locally-initiated industrial sector. Such condition became problematic in truly driving the local economic growth. Furthermore, the development policy of relocating the industrial based also affected the local community in the negative ways, such as environmental problem, pollutions, local agriculture regression, and problem with forest and marine resource (Matsui, 2011, p. 20).

Until the 1970s, Japan became the powerful industrial nation of the world. The rapid growth and expansion of the industrial economy resulted in benefits from the continuously increasing business turnover. The government's encouragement for people to enter the economic and industrial system together with the support of labor to enter the industrial economy led Japanese companies to implement the motivation policy for employee through the system of life-long employment and other welfares, such as housing or loan for housing. Moreover, the companies would provide activities to ensure the employees' loyalty to the corporate from the first day of reporting at work, when they would be greeted by the chairman. And in the case of marriage, the companies would be the host and provide the expenses for their employees. (Sumitra, 1999, pp. 176-177).

Matsui (2011, p. 18) noted that the life-long employment system in Japan was the very important motivation in attracting the newly graduated as well as labors from various areas into the metropolitans, which were developed according to the model of industrial city. As a result, the urban area expanded and the population increased rapidly, while the population in suburban area decreased due to the relocation of labors into the industrial urban area. Although in 1972, P.M. Tanaka attempted to advocate the Japanese Archipelago Reformation Plan through custom measurement and other measurement in motivating the people and industry to relocate towards the area with lesser population, together with the construction of road and railways towards such area, but this plan was canceled due to the gasoline crisis (Vogel, 1985, pp. 106-107).

Regarding the case of Oita prefecture, this marginalized prefecture with mountainous geography was heavily affected by the relocation of working adult due to the business and industrial development policy in the urban area. As a result, Oita had lowest GDP in the Kyushu Region during 1960s-1970s (OVOP Committee, 2006; Savitri, 2008). Therefore, the central government's policy which emphasized the industrial economic development certainly affected the relocation of labors from Oita agricultural sector towards the industrial urban area (Somchai Chakhatrakan, personal communication, July 14, 2016).

Narongsak Pitchayapisut (2008, p. 29) further added that the Kyushu region's economic and industrial center was in Fukuoka. Therefore, the Fukuoka prefecture's income was much higher than other prefectures in Kyushu region and also affected the

labor problems in local agriculture sector. As the new generation would expect to work in the urban area, the families which used to farm had to stop as the head of the household already neglected their farm and entered the industrial economic system in the urban area, that only the women and the elders were left behind in suburban area. And Hongpha Subboonrueng (personal communication, November 30, 2016) shared the similar opinion that due to the industrial economic development policy, the labors in Oita all moved into major cities such as Tokyo, Nagoya, or Osaka and left the local area neglected. It could be said that the Oita was almost the poorest prefecture in Japan (Puntita Tanwattana, personal communication, December 2, 2016)

Moreover, Murama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) deemed that the major city development policy together with the support for major corporate expansion, were the policies formulated by the central government. Therefore, the local community revitalization approach which came from the internal idea would reflect the challenge from the community or region in resisting the central government's policy.

In other words, the problem stream of regression and sluggishness in the Oita's economic and agricultural activities originated from the economic development according to the industrial capitalism approach together with the development of major industrial cities in various regions. The industrial capitalism development led the Japanese economy to grow swiftly. The corporates and factories were concentrated in the major cities under the industrial development policy. And such enterprises attracted labors with high wage and welfares. As Oita was not the major city with economic and industrial importance, the young adults as well as agricultural labors influxed in to the urban area that the farms and forestry area in many area of Oita were neglected.

5.1.2 Indicator and Feedback

According to the Multiple Stream Model, the indicator is like the empirical evidence which clarify the condition of situation within the problem stream. The indicator of consequence from the focus attempt by Japan to develop its industrial city towards the labor relocation from Oita to major city could be considered as following.

Prasert Chittiwatanapong (1986, p. 33) commented that the important factor of Japan's development was the United State's undertaking of national defense burden for Japan. In 1986, Japan only spent 6% of its annual budget for military, while the United

States spent 15% of its budget with military activities. This corresponded to opinion of Pensri Kanchanomai (1995, pp. 302-303), which deemed that as Japan's security was protected by the United States, Japan could use its resources such as capital and labors as the basis of national economic development. During 1954-1967, Japan's GNP growth was approximately 10% peryear, which was faster than other country's GNP at the time. And during 1960-1970, Japan's economic growth (GDP) was average at 12.1% per year (Prasert Chittiwatanapong, 1986, p. 33).

The comparative of the economic development of Japan with other developed countries such as the United States and West Germany at the time would give a clearer picture. In 1950, Japan's economy was 27 times smaller than the United States' and 2.2 times smaller than the West Germany's. In 1977, the size of Japan's economy expanded until it was only 3 times smaller than the United States', and 2.8 times larger than the West Germany's. And during 1950-1970, Japan's economic growth was 10 times greater than the United States' economic growth, and 22.2 times greater than the West Germany's economic growth (Chamornmarn, 1996, p. 1), until Japan became the second most powerful industrial nation of the world during 1970s. The government of Japan also encouraged the national economic development and announced the economic development plan to increase the GDP two times, resulted in the rapid expansion of Japan's industries (Narongsak Pitchayapisut, 2008, p. 28).

Due to the policy which supported industrial development, the labors in Oita mostly moved to major cities that many towns in Oita became sluggish as could be indicated from the number of population of Oita as following (Oita, 2016, p. 2).

Table 5.1 Number of Population of Oita during 1955-1970

A.D.	Number of Population (People)
1955	1,277,000
1960	1,239,000
1965	1,187,000
1970	1,155,000

Source: Oita (2016, p. 2)

It could be said that the number of population in Oita continuously declined since 1955 to 1970, corresponded to the information from United Nation Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD). This reflected the trend of industrial capitalism economic development which increased the number of population in the major cities such as Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama, and Shiba, as well as Osaka region which included Osaka, Kyoto, and Nara. Meanwhile, the number of population decreased in other rural area as following (Takai, 2012, p. 8).

Table 5.2 Comparative between the Increasing and Decreasing Number of Population in the Major Cities and Rural Area of Japan During 1955-1970

A.D.	Region	Population Trend (Increase/Decrease)	Number of Population (Approximate)
1955	Tokyo	increase	230,000
	Osaka	increased	80,000
	Other rural area	decreased	370,000
1960	Tokyo	increased	380,000
	Osaka	increased	200,000
	Other rural area	decreased	600,000
1965	Tokyo	increased	240,000
	Osaka	increased	100,000
	Other rural area	decreased	390,000
1970	Tokyo	increased	230,000
	Osaka	increased	80,000
	Other rural area	decreased	400,000

Source: Takai (2012, p. 8)

According to the above data, the decline of population number in Oita corresponded to the decline of population number in other rural areas which were not developed into business or industrial cities, while the population number in the major cities increased throughout the period from 1955-1970.

Kurtis (1996, p. 68) also said that the growth in business and industrial sectors was the reason for 64.9% decline of labors in Japan's agricultural sector during 1960s-1980s. Moreover, the per capita prefectural income in 1970 of the prefectures with highest income per capita such as Tokyo was 872,000 yen per capita per year, Osaka was 757,000 yen per capita per year, and Aichi was 685,000 yen per capita per year. Meanwhile, the prefectures with lowest income per capita in Japan included Kochi, Tottori, and Oita. The income per capita per year of Kochi prefecture was 472,000 yen. Tottori prefecture's income per capita per year was 370,000 yen. And Oita prefecture's income per capita per year was 309,000 yen (Takai, 2012, p. 8).

It was obvious that in 1970, Oita was the prefecture with lowest income per capita of just 309,000 yen per year. Comparing to other prefectures with top income in Japan, Oita's income per capita was almost three times lower than Tokyo's and Osaka's, and two times lower than Aichi's. And when comparing to other prefectures with lowest income, Kochi and Tottori's income per capita differed from the top income prefectures almost 100% and over 100%. Scholars such as Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015), Hongpha Subboonrueng (personal communication, November 30, 2016), Puntita Tanwattana (personal communication, November 30, 2016), Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016), Korkietpitak (personal communication, August 8, 2016), Irsoon Ruangrattana-amporn (personal communication, November 1, 2016), Preuk Chutimanukul (personal communication, July 28, 2016), Russama Marubodee (personal communication, July 28, 2016), Kuwano (personal communication, July 13, 2016), Suzuki (personal communication, May 30, 2016), Yanagihara (personal communication, July 14, 2016), and Chaweewan Denpaiboon (personal communication, December 4, 2017) all agreed that Oita was almost the poorest prefecture in Japan.

It could be said that the industrial economy development policy of Japan after the World War II was the reason for swift growth of Japan's economy. Nevertheless, the development of major business and industrial cities in Japan had an important

consequence to the area outside the development. Oita prefecture was one of the place outside the development, therefore its income per capita was much lower than those of the prefectures with top income per capita, that the labors of Oita relocated into major cities as seen in the above indicator of population number.

5.2 Policy Stream and the OVOP Policy

Due to the problem of labors' influx towards major cities, Oita prefectures faced the labor problem that its farm area was not fully developed, and the problem of economic regression in the local area. From the analysis of indicator according to the Multiple Stream Model, it was found that the problem of Oita prefecture also occurred with other prefectures in Japan which were not the industrial or business cities as well. Therefore, the policy stream during the period of problem in Japan consisted of variety of models, approaches, processes, or policies for solving problem circulated within the policy community. Few policy which would be selected must have the technical feasibility, enough public relation and attention from the society, as well as budget feasibility, before they could become the policy outputs.

Due to the above problem stream, various models of local revitalization emerged in Japan during the mid 1950s, such as the assembly to object the community leader's development in Yufuin, from the dam project in 1953 to the opposition of resort development project in 1970. Additionally, there was the local revitalization movement at Aya town in Miyazagi prefecture called "the fly by night village" by critics, which the Mayor, Goda Minoru, initiated the One-plot Market process or hitotsubo saien in 1967. This became the origin of the word One Household One Product or "ikko ippin" (Matsui, 2011, pp. 20- 25).

The above details reflected that the local community in Japan attempted to revitalize their local community from the society's sluggishness and community economic regression. There were the related approaches, models, processes, or policies in solving sluggish problem of local community as following.

5.2.1 The Oyama Town Movement

The Oyama Village in Oita had 80% of area which was forest or remote area. Previously, the central government and the Oita prefecture encouraged the villagers to grow rice under the policy of double the rice production after the end of World War II (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 41). Moreover, the Oyama village also faced the problem of decline in population of working adults, similar to other local area in Japan (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p. 72), together with the problem of very low income per capita per year comparing to the national income per capita. The Oyama village's income per capita per year was only 170,000 yen, while Japan's national income per capita was 400,000 yen in 1961 (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 42). But due to the initiation by the visionary leader such as Harumi Yahata, the former mayor of Oyama town, who deemed that Oyama area was not suitable for growing rice and thus initiated the process called "New Plum and Chestnut movement" (NPC) with the slogan of "let's plant plum and chestnut and go to Hawaii" in 1961.

At first, there was the meeting between Oyama Municipality, Oyama Agricultural Co-operative, and the people, led by Harumi Yahata, in order to seek the way to raise the level of the community's well being. Other agricultural activities were proposed to replace growing rice, such as growing green tea, raising pig, or raising cow. But finally the consensus was reached that they would encourage growing ume plum and chestnut in community (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 35), as these two activities would not required as much as labor as growing rice, that the farmers would have remaining time for other activities. Furthermore, there was another advantage of growing plum and chestnut as it would not require fertilizer or pesticide as required in growing rice (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p. 73).

Yamagami and Fujimoto (2011, p. 42) stated that initially, Yahata visited and discussed the problems about the career of people in community and convinced them to grow plum and chestnut instead of rice. However, he faced the problem of convincing the old generation and therefore Yahata approached the new generation who were around the age of 20-30 years old. After seeing the advantage of growing plum and chestnut instead of rice, these group of people would convince their parents. And Yahata would point out the approach to ensure the village community's well-being by increasing income and lessen the workload of people in the community. Yahata then

compared the life of farmer and salary man and insisted that being the farmer according to NPC approach would generate higher income than being a salary man.

Robert Watson, an American who used to be the foreign coordinator of Oyama town also emphasized on the role and importance of prestigious leader with intellect and ability to convince the villagers as well as the vision for community development (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 43).

Hisao et al. (2005) stated that the development according to NPC process involved 3 phases. The first phase (1961-1954) was the period of encouraging villagers to grow plum and chestnut instead of rice. The second phase (1965-1968) was the period of human resource development. And the third phase (1969 onwards) was the period of community development.

During the 1st phase (1961-1964), Oyama in 1965 included 85 hectares of plum and 200 hectare of chestnut. And in 1966, 500 villagers grew plum on 100-hectare land and harvested total 50 tons of plum which generated approximately 10 million yen of income. Other 465 villagers grew chestnut on the 220-hectare land and harvested total 100 tons of chestnut which generated about 15 million yen of income (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 36). It could be said that during the period, changing from growing rice into growing plum and chestnut yielded a good result for the Oyama villagers.

The 2nd phase (1965-1968) was the period of human resource development. Due to the increased income of villagers, the Yahata villagers started to plan for the sustainable development by developing human resource and creating the community leader, by sending 16 villagers to participate in the field trip at Hawaii, U.S., in 1967. And in 1969, they sent the young adults with the capacity to be the next generation community leaders to participate in the field trip at Kibbutz, Israel, in order to return and develop the agricultural industry within their community (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, pp. 36, 39).

The 3rd phase (since 1969 onwards) was the period of continuous development of community, together with the adjustment of environment and construction of facilities such as cultural center, community information center, etc, as well as develop the community members' quality of life (Harashima, 2011, p. 65). For example, in 1969, the chestnut trees withered while the plum harvest greatly decreased. And the same problem returned in 1972 and 1973, that the community leaders, villagers, and

agricultural co-operative together planted the enoki muchroom, sumomo plum, and kyoho grape in addition to ume plum and chestnut. And during the 1990s, ume plum was developed into the famous ume plum wine (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 36).

Furthermore, the Oyama movement also included the founding of Konohana Garten store, which also consisted of restaurant. This store was managed by the villagers, and became additional distribution channel apart from the direct sale of products and selling through the Oyama agricultural co-operative. Konohana Garten also expanded its branches to other area in Oita (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, pp. 47, 49). There was also the community networking through the community radio station and cable TV and the exchange of experiences with other communities in Japan as well as the partner networks of Oyama in other countries, such as Megiddo in Israel (Naomi & Koichi, 2008, pp. 12-15). Additionally, Oyama also prioritized the human resource development by provided training, networking, and transferring of knowledge in agriculture, administration, marketing, etc., continuously from one generation to the next (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, pp. 47, 49; Schumann, 2016, p. 11).

In Adachi (2003)'s opinion, Oyama was the model of community development by the community members as well as the development of human resources for creativity, self-reliance, as well as environmental development. And due to the Oyama community development, the government allowed different policy implementation in each local area in order to suit the demand of community members who truly understand what was needed better than the outsiders.

It could be said that the Oyama movement was the result from having a visionary and skillful leader like Harumi Yahata, who brought the community towards the sustainable development and wealth, by utilizing the area's weakness in growing rice in growing other plants which were more appropriate to the area. And the people in the area would understand their geography better than the outsiders like the government officers or regional officers. There was also the human resource development, community leader development, and continuous bonding within community as well as product processing and creating distribution channel to sell product manufactured within the community.

5.2.2 The Yufuin Town Movement

Yufuin town also faced the problem of community sluggishness similar to other area in Oita prefecture. There was also the development projects which crept into the community, such as the dam project in 1953, and resort and golf course development project during the early 1970s. Then the community leaders and the villagers together discussed the way to prevent and solve the community problems (Matsui, 2011, p. 22). The mayor of Yufuin town, Mr. Iwao, who received training from Oyama town's experiences, followed the development of Oyama town in terms of field trip at the successful city or project. After the community members figured out the uniqueness of Yufuin town, it was found that the hot spring and beautiful nature was the unique identity of the town. Iwao thus sent the new generation of community members to study from the resort city and hot spring spa model at Baden-Baden in Germany in 1970, in order to study the administration of environmental-friendly hot spring spa and resort (Matsui, 2012, pp. 44-45). The 3 persons spent 50 days to study Baden-Baden, and returned to Yufuin with the know-how of community empowerment and spa administration from Baden-Baden, which they later transferred to the community members. Yufuin then emerged with the new slogan "...creating our Yufuin to be the resort town which could attract tourists with nature..." (Schumann, 2016, p. 12; Takai, 2012, pp. 24-25).

In 1972, Yufuin advocated the "One Cow Ranch Movement" in order to maintain the folk livestock business which would also conserve the green field of Yufuin. However, in 1975, there was the earthquake which destroyed 1 hotel. However, there was the rumour that Yufuin town was badly damaged, resulted in the cancellation of hotel and resort reservations in Yufuin. Therefore, the Yufuin community members organized various event in order to show that Yufuin was not badly damaged as rumour, and still be the attractive tourist destination, through the event such as Yufuin Musical Festival, BBQ Festival, horse carriage run in the town, and the Yufuin Film Festival in 1975 (Erfurt, 2011, pp. 162-165, 203-205; Takai, 2012, p. 25).

Schumann (2016, p. 12) stated that the important factor which was the strength and uniqueness of Yufuin community was the focus on maintaining the nature and community environment, which was the identity of Yufuin. Therefore the entrepreneurs must cooperate with Yufuin town to maintain its nature and unique environment,

together with the reorganization of the main street façade which included beautiful stores, restaurants, museum, and local business which could attract tourist from within and outside the country. Meanwhile, it could attract labors to continue working in Yufuin town. Furthermore, Matsui (2012, p. 45) deemed that the Yufuin strategic development of resort and spa town which focused on maintaining the natural environment differed from the neighbor town such as Beppu, which seek to develop its town as the modern hot spring spa full of entertainment complexes and nightlife.

It could be said that the emergence of spa town such as Yufuin followed the model of community development in Oyama. However, both town differs in terms of available resource. As Yufuin's uniqueness is its nature and hot spring, and they have learned the model community in order to develop into spa town and transferred the know-how to other villagers who developed Yufuin together. Their important concern was to create the identity of natural spa town which differs from the modern spa town such as Beppu, that the town development must correspond to the concept of natural spa town. The community leaders and the villagers could also solve the town crisis from earthquake through event organizations so that the outsiders could see Yufuin's beauty and its well condition after the earthquake.

5.2.3 Local Community Revitalization Movement (Chiiki-okoshi)

According to the first Comprehensive National Development Plan in 1962, and the 2nd plan in 1969, which aimed to attract corporates and factories to relocate their production base towards the new city. Certainly, this policy was supported by the central government's injection of huge budget towards the region through the development of infrastructures. Although this kind of developmental policy could stimulate the local economy, but meanwhile the central government's development also created dependency from the local to the central government. Furthermore, the industrial development stimulation from the central government and various construction projects did not integrate with the local industrial initiation and economic activities. Moreover, the central government's industrial development also affected the environment, agriculture, forestry, and local fisheries (Matsui, 2011, p. 20).

According to the above problem condition, the local community in Japan started to ask for the sustainable development under the initiation of local revitalization from

the local leadership which resisted the centralized development policy of the central government. This trend was called the local community revitalization process, or *chiiki-okoshi*. The word *chiiki* meant the local or region, and the word *okoshi* meant revitalization. Afterwards, there was the academic conference called Okinawa island local revitalization (*Okinawa shima-okoshi*) in 1979, in the same time with the initiation of the One Village One Product: OVOP process led by governor Morihiko Hiramatsu in the same year (Matsui, 2011, pp. 20-21). The Oyama town process (1961) and Yufuin town process (1970) were all the consequences of the *chiiki-okoshi* as well.

During the early 1980s, there was also the *chiiki-okoshi* movement in other prefectures. In other words, *chiiki-okoshi* spreaded throughout Japan. For example, the year 1983 was the time of OVOP in Hokkaido, One Product Furasato in Hiroshima, the process of Shin-himuka zukuri in Miyazaki, and the process Jige-okoshi in Tottori. The year 1984 was the year of Nihon-ichi-zukuri process in Kumamoto, the process of Furasato sangyo-okoshi in Fukushima, and the process Furasato sanpin in Kyoto. This period became the trend of local revitalization or *okoshi* in Japan under the community's initiation which seek to reduce the control by central government. The trend received good feedback from the local government through the adjustment of local revitalization approach to suit each area in various ways, such as eco-tourism, local product manufacturing, and directly selling local products to consumers (Matsui, 2011, pp. 21-22).

In other words, *chiiki-okoshi* was not just the immediate trend but rather the mutual feelings of the local community members in many area of Japan, since they felt threatened form the development which could not be fully beneficial for the local community. Afterwards, the process, policy, approach, or midel of initiation in each area became the widely accepted trend in Japan in 1970-1980.

In terms of the technical feasibility of the three processes of Japan local revitalization or policies according to the Multiple Streams Model, the Yufuin policy followed the local development model of Oyama town, and both policies shared similar approach such as field trip at the exemplary community in foreign country, utilizing the community's strength and available capacity to develop community, community empowerment, and human resource development. Therefore, both policies could be applied and adjusted to suit other area efficiently in practice. As for the *chiiki-okoshi*

process, the technical feasibility was not as evident as the previous policies mentioned above. The chiiki-okoshi was rather like the trend of local revitalization which became broadly accepted all over Japan.

Regarding the public relations and society's attention, the area in Oita prefecture deemed that the Oyama movement was the original model of local revitalization, and even the Yufuin town also followed Oyama town's process. Therefore, the Oyama town process received wider attention, while Yufuin town process and chiiki-okoshi were the trends of local revitalization which became widely known and accepted throughout Japan. Then it could be concluded that the local revitalization or chiiki-okoshi might received most attention from the society. Meanwhile, the budget feasibility of the three policies was not the important problem which could affect policy decision in this case.

5.3 Political Stream and the OVOP Policy

In the Multiple Streams Model, the political stream is the most important stream when advocating any policy towards decision in selecting any policy to enter the agenda setting. The pressure in political stream would include the national mood and pressure group campaign. Regarding Japan's development according to the industrial capitalism approach after the World War II, when the government aimed to develop major cities of every region in response to the industrial economy, such development affected other rural area outside the developmental zone of the central government that they faced sluggishness and economic regression as well as the relocation of labors into the major cities.

The Oita prefecture was one of the area affected by the consequences. As Kyushu region's economic and industrial center is in Fukuoka, the provincial income in Fukuoka was much higher from other prefecture s' in Kyushu region. Meanwhile during the 1960s-1970s, the Oita prefecture's GDP was lowest in Kyushu. Furthermore, the income per capita in major cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Aichi were much higher than Oita's. For example the income per capita in Tokyo was 872,000 Yen per year in 1970, while the income per capita in Oita was just 309,000 yen per (Takai, 2012, p. 8). This situation was the reason for the labors' relocation to work in major cities, similar to other local area's problem in Japan. The indicator of this problem was the decline in

population number of Oita during 1955-1970 (Oita, 2016), while Tokyo region which consisted of Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama, and Chiba, as well as the Osaka region which consisted of Osaka, Hyoko, Kyoto, and Nara, all could be found the increase in population number in the same period during 1955-1970 (Takai, 2012, p. 8).

Due to the above problem stream, some community in Oita prefecture initiated the national mood and pressure group campaign in the form of local community revitalization, such as the process in Oyama town and Yufuin town. Moreover, the local revitalization process also occurred in other prefectures, such as Aya town in Miyazaki, and Umaji village in Kochi prefecture. Until 1970, the important local revitalization trend called *chiiki-okoshi* emerged and expanded throughout Japan, as found in the time of OVOP in Hokkaido, One Product Furasato in Hiroshima, the process of Shin-himuka zukuri in Miyazaki, and the process Jige-okoshi in Tottori, the Nihon-ichi-zukuri process in Kumamoto, the process of Furusato sangyo-okoshi in Fukushima, and the process Furusato sanpin in Kyoto, etc.

Such local revitalization trend was the result from the problem of local sluggishness and regression, which led to the national mood that demanded local revitalization. The community which assembled in the form of pressure group campaign all attempted to find the way to revive their own local community. This trend continuously developed from the 1950s until the year 1979, when Mr. Morihiro Hiramatsu, the governor of Oita at the time, advocated for the One Village One Product: OVOP to enter the agenda setting. Therefore, the national mood of local revitalization was the stream which pushed the local community to become pressure group campaign for local revitalization. This process involved evolution and historical background, rather than the revolution of pressuring the OVOP policy to occur.

Regarding the governance system of Japan, the prefecture system was in used since the Meiji constitution in 1890s, when the Prefecture Code (Fukensei) was enacted and the burgh system was canceled. The code divided Japan in 47 prefectures and called Tokyo as To, Osaka and Kyoto as Fu, with other special administrative zone at Hokkaido called Fu. The rest of 43 prefectures was called Ken. In each prefecture, there would be the governor appointed by the Ministry of Interior. But after the United States government announced the 1947 constitution, Japan had to dissolve their Ministry of

Interior and therefore the prefectures and other local agencies no longer affiliated with the control of central government (Prasert Chittiwatanapong, 1999, pp. 136-141).

The 1947 constitution specified the principle of local autonomy in section 92-95 (Nakharin Mektrairat, 2003, p. 189) as following. Section 92 stated that the regulation related to the local administration and organization must corresponded to the local self-governance. Section 93 stated that the local administrative organizations must include the council to provide opinion according to the law. The executive, members, and officers must be elected from people in each area. Section 94 stated that the local administrative organization has the right to manage their own properties as well as enact the law within their authority. Section 95 stated that the parliament could not enact any particular law for using with any local administrative organization without the majority of votes from people in the particular area (Pratya Vesarach, 1999, p. 6).

Regarding the administrative structure, the prefecture consisted of the council elected directly by people in each prefecture. The 40-120 council members would be re-elected in 4 years. The prefecture council has the authority to enact the law, approve budget proposed by the executive, designate the customs and other fees, buy the public assets, appoint the account auditor, interrogate and vote of censure for the executive, etc (Nakharin Mektrairat, 2003, pp. 196-197).

The executives consisted of the governor and the executive committee. The governor would be elected directly by people in each prefecture and stay in the position for 4 years. The governor's authority included appointing the vice-governor with the approval from the prefecture council, executive power, proposing the law for the council to approve, collecting tax, budget management, collecting customs and other fees, appointing officers, approving contract, founding and administration of public affairs, calling for the council meeting, proposing problems for the prefecture council to consider as well as suppressing the law and dissolving the prefecture council. The executive committee is the organization which was founded to balance with the executives. The executive committee has no authority in budget approval, nor proposing the law. Furthermore, most committee would be appointed by the executives with the approval from the prefecture council (Nakharin Mektrairat, 2003, pp. 198-199). The prefecture itself responsible for the public health, social welfare, infrastructure, commerce, industry, forestry, fishery, education, environment, police

affairs, disaster prevention and mitigation, as well as the community enterprise (Nakharin Mektrairat, 2003, pp. 203-205).

Nevertheless, Nakharin Mektrairat (2003, p. 200) commented that although the local organization of Japan followed the principle of Separation of Powers and principle of Check and Balance, but in practice the executive has more authority than the council due to the executive's power in administration of the local affairs.

It could be said that the power of the Japan governor, who would be elected directly by the people according to the principle of Separation of Powers, has more authority and independence than the Thai governor who would be appointed and controlled by the central government. Furthermore, the authority of governor in Japan is evidently higher than the council, as the committee according to the principle of Check and Balance would be appointed by the executive. According to the Multiple Streams Model, the political stream is the most important one for any policy to enter the agenda setting. Therefore, the higher authority of the governor would ensure the convenience in advocating or selecting a particular policy for implementation. Furthermore, selecting the policy such as OVOP to enter the agenda setting also corresponded to the prefecture's major mission regarding the community enterprise.

Regarding Morihiko Hiramatsu, the former governor of Oita prefecture during 1979-2003 who initiated the OVOP project, his background also came from Oita. He was born in March 12th, 1924, and graduated from Tokyo University with law degree in 1949, and finished his PhD in policy at Ritsumeikan University afterwards. After graduating from Tokyo University, Hiramatsu worked with the MITI, or the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, which is currently the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry or METI (Hiramatsu, 2008, pp. 30-32).

In 1975, Hiramatsu worked as the vice-governor in Oita prefecture, when he visited the local community throughout the prefecture in order to listen to their problem. He found the shared characteristic of lacking enthusiasm in Oita people, or Yodakii. Hiramatsu deemed that this problem must be urgently eliminated, and other important problem for Oita was the growth of economic and industrial city. He therefore seek the local identity to resist such form of development, by looking at the local restaurant or any other cultural uniqueness. So Hiramatsu explored the whole prefecture to find the approach or model to develop the local community in Oita according to his concept

(Matsui, 2011, p. 24), which Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) further commented as following. “A year prior to Hiramatsu’s election as the Oita governor, most people in Oita knew that he would enter the election. However, Hiramatsu was only familiar with the national policy but not the local stories, so he spent the year to visit the whole Oita province to discuss with the villagers about their problems and demands...Hiramatsu also gave high priority to the leader of new generation in the community”

Matsui (2012, p. 41) said that Hiramatsu then found two successful cases of local revitalization in Oita at Oyama and Yufuin, which became the model for developing the OVOP later. As the Oyama town is mountainous, with low mineral resource, the community switch from growing rice to growing plum and chestnut in order to overcome repetitive poverty of their community as well as resisting the central government’s sustainable development policy through rice growing. The resistance of central government policy was also found in Yufuin, where the local community was developed into an eco-tourism town instead. Nobuyoshi and Lutful (2005, p. 74) further added that when Hiramatsu visited the area, sometimes the villagers would request building bridge or bringing doctors in their community. And Hiramatsu deemed such demand as unsustainable, for the sustainable development of local community would be the human resource development.

Regarding the case of Oyama, Hiramatsu praised Mr. Harumi Yahata who initiated the New Plum and Chestnut movement: NPC as the father of the OVOP movement (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 44), which would not be possible without the visionary leader like Harumi Yahata, who found the creative way of switching from growing rice to growing plum and chestnut which yield better results.

Afterwards, Yahata saw the more sustainable development of human resource, by creating the community leader. So in 1967 he sent the community leaders to visit Hawaii, United States, and in 1969 he sent another group of young people with potential to be the next generation of community leader for a field trip at Kibbutz in Israel (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, pp. 36, 39). The Oyama movement also provided training, networking, and transferring of know-how in agriculture, administration, management, marketing, etc., continuously from one generation to the next (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, pp. 47, 49; Schumann, 2016, p. 11) while building community

network through the radio and cable TV station, and meeting with the allies network of Oyama in other countries (Naomi & Koichi, 2008, pp. 12-15). Moreover, the Oyama movement also seek new distribution channel in addition direct selling and selling through Oyama co-operative, by founding the Konohana Garten with branches in many area of Oita (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, pp. 47, 49).

The information from Nobuyoshi and Lutful (2005), Igusa (2015) Harguchi (2008), Yamaski (2010), Matsui (2011), Yamagami and Fujimoto (2011), Matsui (2012), and Schumann (2016) all presented the similar information, that the Oyama movement was the original model for OVOP movement, which focused on the 3 principle of OVOP; Local Yet Global, Self-Reliance Creativity, and Human Resource Development.

It was obvious that the first principle of Local Yet Global was the global-level idea with the local action of manufacturing products and services from local wisdom and culture. Oyama's wisdom and culture were the basis of product development into famous merchandize such as ume plum wine. Regarding the principle of Self-Reliance Creativity, all processes must come from the need of community members, who would decide on what to do while the government organization's role would only be limited to technological and marketing support. This approach was used by Yahata althrough the Oyama movement by brainstorming the idea from the Oyama municipality meeting, Oyama agricultural co-operative, and the people, whenever there would be the community activity. And regarding the Human Resource Development, this principle is the highest goal of OVOP movement. And in the case of Oyama town, it was also the most important thing for community development, as obvious from sending the community leader to study from the international field trip in order to return and develop the local community, as well as other activities for human resource development, especially the networking inside and outside Japan, the availability of community radio station and cable TV as the medium for exchanging opinion and technique from inside and outside the community, which Hiramatsu described as following (Yamagami & Fujimoto, 2011, p. 44). "Community development would not be sustainable if it is organized by the state, not from the basis of community. On the contrary, the state should not be the leader in community development but rather facilitate those who initiate their local community revitalization", and

“The development of human resource was like the key of community development from within. Community could not change without any initiation from its members with the soul of entrepreneur. OVOP is the villager’s movement. So the villagers must be the core of movement while the state only supports them, especially not in financial terms as it would led the villagers to stop trying to revitalize their own local community”

Regarding the Yufuin movement, this movement also affected the construction of OVOP movement (Matsui, 2012, p. 41). And it should be noted that the Yufuin movement followed the original model of Oyama community development, but the Yufuin villagers together found that their community’s unique feature is the nature and hot spring. They therefore studied from the community of Baden-Baden to further develop Yufuin into the spa town which full of nature instead of night-life as in Beppu town, as Hiramatsu (2008) described as following. “In building coordination and OVOP network, it should be noted that the definition of OVOP is not limited to just product but also include the thinking process, service, conservation of natural resource and environment, conservation of local wisdom, tourism, arts and culture, and tradition”

The above statement reflected that even if the principle or most approach of the OVOP movement might be influenced by the model of Oyama town, but the Yufuin town also affected the OVOP process in the part which is not product but the concept of being an environmental-friendly spa town. This could influence the concept of OVOP as the tourist attraction which also conserve the environment, as well as the unique feature in the natural spa town of Yufuin which differed from Beppu. This reflected the exploration of available identity within community according to OVOP’s approach.

Regarding the chiiki-okoshi movement, this trend of local revitalization in Japan originated in 1950s and spreaded throughout Japan at the end of 1970s. And in 1980s, this trend was responsible for the local revitalization movement in many area, such as the OVOP movement in Hokkaido, One Product movement in Furusato at Hiroshima prefecture, Shin-himuka zukuri movement in Miyazaki prefecture, Jige-okoshi movement in Tottori prefecture, Nihon-ichi-zukuri movement in Kumamoto prefecture, Furusato sangyo-okoshi movement in Fukushima prefecture, and Furusato

sanpin movement in Kyoto prefecture, etc. It was undeniable that the OVOP movement was the result from the national mood of local communities which revitalize themselves. It could be deemed that the strength of civil society was the important force which demanded the government to consider the model of development policy (Irsoon Ruangrattana-amporn, personal communication, November 1, 2016). And Kuwano (personal communication, July 13, 2016) also commented that “The problems of young adults’ relocation to major cities and the local sluggishness were the force which drive the local people to revitalize their community by themselves”

Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016) also added that “OVOP movement was advocated by Hiramatsu in order to solve the problem of young adult relocation, as he attempted to create job in community. With job and income, people could stay in their own area securely. How to ensure that the local income would be secure and enough for living. Japan and Thailand has one thing in common that people dislike relocation, but they had to move due to circumstance. Therefore, OVOP was advocated to create job and generate income in community as well as promoting the prefecture, which would also generate income, employment, and fame”

Furthermore, Oita prefecture also has abundant natural resources and agricultural produces with the capacity for community development, local product development, and tourist attractions development according to OVOP principle which also corresponded to Japan’s culture that when people travel anywhere they would buy local products for consumption and usage, especially souvenirs. (Hongpha Subboonrueng, personal communication, November 30, 2016). Matsuoka (personal communication, May 28, 2016) also noted that the local project development of the community members became the most important thing which stimulate the OVOP’s dynamic in development.

Regarding the name of project, One Village One Product: OVOP, Matsui (2011, p. 25) deemed that the name OVOP given by Hiramatsu was creative. However, when the names of other local community revitalization movement in Japan were considered, such as the movement at Aya town in Miyazaki prefecture during 1968 called “hitotsubo saien” or One-plot Market Garden, and the movement called “isson ippin” or One Household One Product, such movement might influence Hiramatsu’s approach

in naming the OVOP movement. Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016) commented on this issue as following. “OVOP also came from isson ippin, which the word Isson meant one village or one community. Ip meant one, pin meant unit or type. So isson ippin could mean one community of village with one product”

Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015), Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016), Preuk Chutimanukul (personal communication, July 28, 2016), and Russama Marubodee (personal communication, July 28, 2016) also shared the similar opinion that the name of ipson ippin movement influenced the name of OVOP movement.

It could be said that Hiramatsu’s inspiration came from the field trip in local communities of Oita prefecture during the time when he was the vice-governor of Oita prefecture, when he found the problems such as local economic regression, sluggishness in rural area, policy problem of the central government, lack of motivation of local people, and relocation to major cities by the young adults, etc. Apart from the problems, Hiramatsu also found the policy, model, approach, or movement for solving local problem such as Oyama town movement and Yufuin town movement. So he found the solutions for various problems in Oita. Furthermore, the trend of chiiki-okoshi was the important drive for Hiramatsu’s OVOP movement.

During the period when Morihiko Hiramatsu was still the vice-governor of Oita prefecture in 1975-1979, he did not have enough political authority to advocate OVOP movement towards the agenda setting. Nevertheless, the election result and changes of administration certainly influence the support of any policy towards agenda setting. And after Governor Tajichi Masaru’s position was expired, Morihiko Hiramatsu was elected as governor to replace Mr. Masaru in 1979, which Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) provided the following opinion regarding Hiramatsu’s entering to the governor position as following. “Hiramatsu was become the well know candidate for Oita governor prior to the election for almost 1 year. Furthermore, Oita citizens deemed Hiramatsu had been the former senior government officer of MITI, and therefore must have the connection with major corporates. So Hiramatsu must be able to attract the major corporates to move their production base to Oita prefecture”

Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) also added the following statement. “Certainly, with his capacity and connection, Hiramatsu could actually attract the major corporates’ investment such as Canon, Sony, and Toshiba at Oita prefecture as the villagers expected to compete with neighboring prefecture such as Kagoshima or Miyazaki...Nevertheless, after Hiramatsu’s field trip throughout Oita prefecture, he knew that ultimately the local people would not be benefited from the policy of attracting outside capitals to the prefecture”

Being the governor of Oita prefecture allowed Hiramatsu with authority to support the collective policies to enter the agenda setting, as previously mentioned that the Japan’s governors have independent authority outside of the hierarchichal control from the central government as the Thai governor. Therefore, Hiramatsu’s authority was rather high. Although there was the prefecture council and the committee in responding to the check and balance and separation of power, but the governor’s authority was much higher than the council and the committee. Furthermore, the selection of OVOP policy to enter the agenda setting also corresponded to the prefecture’s mission regarding community enterprise.

On November 26th, 1979, there was the meeting between Governor Hiramatsu with the mayors of Oita, or the Oita Council Member Meeting, which was the first step of bringing the OVOP policy to enter the policy agenda setting, as the following speech from the meeting. “I would like us to propose products from the town or village which you could support to become a successful product at the national level. Or if you found no product which should be supported, you could choose any interesting thing from the community such as place, nature, history, folk song, or anything....” (Matsui, 2011, p. 23).

Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) further commented on Hiramatsu’s speech towards the Oita mayors as following. “Hiramatsu ordered the mayors to find the products or uniqueness of their area, which Hiramatsu said no need to ask me but show me what you have got in your area. Then each municipality must compete to show their capacity, that the mayors were very surprised when Hiramatsu said such things during the meeting. Then the mayors must find the products or unique things in their area. So many mayors who were not familiar with this approach all asked the same question on how they should deal with this policy”

According to the Multiple Stream Model, when the three streams of problem stream, policy stream, and political stream merges, the policy window would open up and led to the policy decision of OVOP process after that meeting.

5.4 Policy Formulation, Policy Implementation and the OVOP Policy

After the Oita Council Member Meeting, the OVOP process could enter the agenda setting although Hiramatsu was the only person who advocate this policy towards agenda setting and policy formulation without any organization structure to support the newly formulated OVOP policy (Kyungmi, 2012, p. 81; Matsumoto, personal communication, May 28, 2016). This reflected the prefecture's authority which could give direction and command to the municipality in Oita prefecture. For this issue, Kaneko (1999, pp. 152-153, as cited in Yamasaki, 2010, p. 21) discussed the reason that prefecture is the local governance at the higher level from the municipality and therefore the prefecture is responsible to initiate coordination among municipalities. Furthermore, the prefecture is also responsible to the direction of municipalities in its area.

Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) further commented on the governor's authority above the mayors, that the prefecture's governor could command the mayors through the Prefecture Council. There are two types of governor's authorities; the executive authority from planning the prefecture development strategy, and the budget approval authority for the municipal budget allocation.

Nobuyoshi and Lutful (2005, p. 75) further added that apart from Governor Hiramatsu's announcement of OVOP policy towards the mayors in the prefecture, Hiramatsu also announced the OVOP policy to the people of Oita prefecture, that the policy was formulated in the meeting called "Get together with Governor on Regional Development".

It could be said that the OVOP policy formulation was the result from a single authoritative person's support, from Governor Morihiko Hiramatsu of Oita prefecture, who had the direct authority over the municipalities. According to McConnell (1966)'s Iron Triangle concept, policy formulation would include the negotiation among the politics, the bureaucrats, and the business (McConnell, 1966), but no process of

negotiation between the three partners mentioned above was found. In other words, the Iron Triangle framework could not explain the OVOP policy formulation in Oita prefecture. Furthermore, Hiramatsu also announced that the OVOP policy was formulated for those related to the policy, or the people, to understand.

Regarding the OVOP policy implementation, the similar characteristic with the policy formulation was found. After the announcement of OVOP policy formulation in the meeting, Hiramatsu ordered the mayors of Oita to implement the policy rightaway, which was different from the usual policy implementation (Kyungmi, 2012, p. 81). Additionally, Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) also noted the initiation of OVOP implementation during the Council Member Meeting as following. “Hiramatsu delegated the task of implementing OVOP policy in the municipalities to all mayors. One of them asked Governor Hiramatsu whether he had set up any organization, structure, plan, or project to support the policy, which Hiramatsu answered that there was none. Hiramatsu further added that there would not be even the budget, but all municipality must implement the OVOP policy in order to fulfill its goal of local community revitalization”

Kyungmi (2012, p. 81) further added that the reason why Governor Hiramatsu did not formulate any clear organization, structure, or approach for OVOP implementation as he intended to avoid the hierarchical structure of bureaucratic system.

It could be concluded that the implementation of OVOP policy differs from general policy implementation, as there was no structure to support the OVOP policy implementation. Generally, policy implementation which required the set up of organization and structures to support policy implementation. However, the OVOP policy had none of the structure, apart from Governor Hiramatsu’s order, goal, and objective of local community revitalization. There was no approach for implementing the policy nor the budget allocation from Oita prefecture. As a result, the policy implementor such as the mayors all questions how to follow the policy. In other words, at first the OVOP policy implementation was full of obscurity on the implementation approach, resulted in the question and doubts from the actors.

However, it could be deemed according to the model of top-down or bottom-up approach of policy implementation, that the reason why Governor Hiramatsu did not

formulate any structure nor approach of policy implementation was to avoid the hierarchical structure of bureaucratic organization, as he intended to ensure the civil sector's role in OVOP policy rather than the role of the state as the major actor in such policy. Therefore, the structure formulated by Governor Hiramatsu was actually the Bottom-Up Approach, which required the community members to be the core of policy implementation, as they were the people who understand the community's problems and environment best.

After the mayors received Governor Hiramatsu's order to seek the product, merchandize, culture, tradition, or tourist attraction of each area in their municipality, in order to support the OVOP policy, they initially invited the community leaders to attend the announcement of OVOP policy implementation (Igusa, 2015, p. 27). In 1980, there were 143 products which were proposed by the local community to OVOP process, such as Shitake mushroom from Oyama town and Shochu spirit from Haiji and Usa (Murayama & Kyungmi 2012, pp. 192-193).

From the analysis, it was obvious that the basis of Japan's local community is the community organization which was the core of local society and economic development, such as the Seikatsu Kaizen Group which resembles the housewife group who gathered in small group. The Seikatsu Kaizen group's role was to survey and solve problems faced by the group's members, such as health, sanitation, and cooking, through the utilization of locally available resources. Apart from the Seikatsu Kaizen Group, there were also the small informal groups of community development which organized activities for local culture revitalization, conservation of community landscape, or tousim for local community visit (Oita Economic Information Center, 1982, p. 66, as cited in Yamasaki, 2010, p. 22). Furthermore, the Seikatsu Kaizen Groups were also skillful in food processing and already connected to the local market. Meanwhile, the informal community development groups were encouraged to participate in the OVOP process in terms of product and social activities. (Yamasaki, 2010, p. 22)

Regarding the associations affiliated with local manufacturing in Japan, the Japan Agricultural Association or JA is the largest organization in rural sector who provide technical and financial supports for its member (Harashima, 2006, pp. 54-59, as cited in Yamasaki, 2010, pp. 22-23). Yamasaki (2010, p. 23) deemed that activities

related to OVOP process all originated from the support of JA, including development, marketing, and public relations. Additionally, there are also other association affiliated with OVOP, such as Fishery Co-operative, Industry and Commerce Association, and Hotel Association, etc. (Puntita Tanwattana, personal communication, November 30, 2016; Somchai Chakhatrakan, personal communication, July 14, 2016; Hongpha Subboonrueng, personal communication, November 30, 2016; Kuwano, personal communication, July 13, 2016; Suzuki, personal communication, May 30, 2016; Yanagihara, personal communication, July 14, 2016)

It could be said that the Japanese local community was the network which strongly connected villagers together as the basis through the civil society groups, such as Japan Agricultural Co-operative. Such civil society group also has responsibilities and activities which could respond to OVOP policy well, such as manufacturing of products, community guided tour, and community culture revival under the main principle that products and activities must based on the available local resource. Regarding the mechanism of support for OVOP policy, such civil society group would provide loan, technical support, public relations, marketing, and power of negotiation for the community. As a result, each community which already had unique product and service could bring them out when the supports were ready. Not long after the OVOP policy implementation, municipalities could affiliate 143 products in OVOP process. This reflected the strong foundation of Japan's local communities who were ready to be the core of OVOP policy according to the Bottom-Up Approach.

However, despite the strong foundation of Japan's local community, but during the trend of liberalism economic development which swoop in Oita prefecture, the labors still go to work in major cities, together with the problem called by Igusa (2015, p. 27) as the mindset problem as the villagers were not familiar with the commercial business. Therefore, the OVOP policy required strong community leader and the active administration which stimulate OVOP to progress. Such process must be developed by the community members, as the state only act as a supporter.

As the OVOP policy supporter, Governor Hiramatsu created the environment which all organizations and government agencies of Oita prefecture had the role in OVOP policy implementation. The agriculture department presented the OVOP products at the booth in the Agriculture Festival on October 17th, 1980. The commerce

and industry department presented OVOP products in the 1st food culture fair. And the forestry and fishery department conducted the public relations in regional revitalization by processing Shitake mushroom (Kyungmi, 2012, p. 82).

After the OVOP policy had been developed for a while, the state expanded its supports as following (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, pp. 78-79).

Research and Development

- 1) Consulting Center for Agricultural and Fishery Products Processing
- 2) Research and Consulting Center for Hot Spring Business and Flower

Plantation

- 3) Research and Consulting Center for Mushroom Farming
- 4) Marine Science and Fishery Institution
- 5) Agriculture Technology Center
- 6) Citrus Planting Experimental Station
- 7) Cattle Farming Experimental Station
- 8) Manufacturing Technology Development Center

Human Resource Development

- 1) Leader Development School (Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku)
- 2) Meeting for presentation and networking among OVOP network
- 3) International field trip and training

Marketing

- 1) OVOP Products Market
- 2) OVOP Company
- 3) OVOP Exhibition
- 4) OVOP Festival
- 5) OVOP Store

Financial Supports

- 1) Low-interest Loan
- 2) Infrastructure Development Supports for Municipality (Nobuyoshi &

Lutful, 2005, pp. 78-79).

Obviously, the duty of Oita prefecture was delegated to the organizations during the OVOP policy implementation, including research and development, human

resource development, and financial support, while the community's main role would be the development according to OVOP policy's process.

However, Nobuyoshi and Lutful (2005, p. 78) stated that the low-interest loan under the OVOP policy was only provided as the support for entrepreneur, not the support for direct investment in the OVOP business, such as loan to buy refrigerator for storing additional produces, etc.

Regarding the plan following the OVOP policy, some plans can be concluded as following (Kyungmi, 2012, pp. 83-84).

In 1980, the initial supporting plan of Oita prefecture began, including the plan to support unique product of the region, to support the sourcing, research, and development. There were also the plan to support OVOP process, the implementation of OVOP policy, training, and the fund for OVOP product development.

In 1983, the general plan of Oita for training and develop human resource's skill began

In 1990, the general plan of Oita prefecture in 21st century for human resource development and training began

In 1999, the plan for new decade development, supporting the broad expansion of OVOP process, developing the OVOP process supporting system, building Oita brand, together with local and national networking.

The strategic plan of OVOP policy consisted of activities which could be categorized as following (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p 78; Igusa, 2015, pp. 27-28).

1) Human Resource Development plan: The Oita prefecture would provide support and suggestion, such as leader's school (Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku), as they deemed that the community leader has an important role in empowerment, stimulation, vision, marketing, administration, and the development of OVOP process in their community.

2) Product and Service Development Plan: Oita prefecture would develop product and service through the mechanism of research center according to the formulated responsibility, in order to develop the quality of product and service as well as reduce the cost through the use of technology. Regarding the loan, Oita prefecture would provide low-interest loan for its member who has the reason for product and

service development. For example, the loan would be granted for buying oven for product processing, etc.

3) Marketing Development Plan: Although villagers might not understand marketing, the Oita prefecture would help suggesting them not to sale product to the agent. Moreover, Oita prefecture also provide marketing supports, by building and increasing distribution channels both inside and outside Japan. (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p. 78; Igusa, 2015, pp. 27-28)

Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) said that after the OVOP project began, so much changes had occurred that the local people became enthusiasm with the local economic development. OVOP was not just the policy which local government provide direct support for the project, but rather the attempt to maintain the foundation of activities.

After the implementation of OVOP policy in Oita prefecture, the outcomes could be found. For examples, the number of OVOP product increased from 143 items in 1980 to 320 items in 1999, and to 810 items in 2002. The income generated for Oita prefecture's communities was as much as 36 billion yen in 1980. The income increased to 141 billion yen in 1999. And in 1970, Oita prefecture's per capita income was 309,000 yen per year, which was almost 3 times lower than income per capita in Tokyo and Osaka and 2 times lower than the Aichi income per capity. But in 1990, the income per capita increased to 2,375,000 yen, which was just one time lower than the income per capita of Tokyo, Osaka, and Aichi prefectures. In 2003, Oita prefecture saw the increased of income per capita to 2,647,000 yen, which was lower than Tokyo, Osaka and Aichi income per capita. But the relocation situation was better after the OVOP policy implementation. The number of population in Oita prefecture increased from 1,155,000 people in 1970 to 1,236,000 people in 1990, and 1,221,000 people in 2000 (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p. 79; Takai, 2012, p. 8; Oita, 2016, p. 2). Matsuoka (personal communication, May 28, 2016) also expressed similar opinion that the OVOP policy brough the development to the overall economy and society of Oita prefecture.

After the implementation of OVOP policy for a while, it became successful. The researcher would then analyze the success of OVOP policy according to the 3 principles of OVOP process; Local Yet Global, Self-Reliance Creativity, and Human Resource Development.

1) Local Yet Global

The enterprise required local wisdom, culture, and resources, in the unique way which could be accepted internationally. Hiramatsu (2008, p. 11) used the example of Shitake mushroom, which the share of Oita prefecture was as high as 34% in Japan market. Shitake mushroom from Oita prefecture was 3,000 yen per 100 gram, while the Totota car's price was about 3,000,000 yen per 1.5 ton or 200 yen per 100 gram. Therefore, the value per weight of Shitake mushroom was higher than Toyota car. In other words, OVOP chose the internal development in the local revitalization through the creative value-added local resources which became Oita's unique products. Meanwhile, the ecosystem and environment must also be considered, such as the case of Yufuin town where the tourists would visit to enjoy the natural scenery and the service of unique hot spring spa. After the field trip to Oyama town and Baden Baden town in Germany, the villagers developed Yufuin with the concept of "building our Yufuin to be the resort town which could attract tourists with its nature". The villagers thus coordinated and developed the city while maintaining nature and environment. As a result, Yufuin became the spa town with natural identity which differed from modern nightlife spa town in Beppu. Yufuin town then became unique and could attract international tourists until now.

2) Self-Reliance Creativity

The OVOP policy implementation required the villagers and community to think independently. The operation of manufacturing or providing any service must be initiated from the community member's creativity, which would be the self-reliance for sustainable development from the community, by the community, and for the community. This is a bottom-up process, which the state must avoid directing the community but rather act as the supporter in technology and marketing. The financial support must be crucially related to the OVOP enterprise supporting, as the OVOP policy would not emphasis on the loan. Hiramatsu (2008, pp. 13-14) provided the example of Oyama town which was the original model of OVOP. After the end of World War II, the central government encouraged farmers to grow rice, but due to the inappropriate geography, the productivity was low. The villagers then assembled and rejected the rice-growing policy of the central government by planting chestnut and ume plum instead, under the slogan "grow chestnut and plum and go to Hawaii" with

the leadership of Oyama Agricultural Co-operative. Oyama farmers also grow enoki mushroom in addition to chestnut and ume plum, reflecting the community members' self-reliance and creativity. In 2004, the overall agriculture productivity of Oita province increased 0.91 times from in 1980, but the overall agriculture productivity in Oyama was much higher than Oita's productivity. In 2004, the Oyama town saw the productivity increase of 1.76 times from the year 1980, that Oyama citizen had enough income for traveling to Hawaii and other places internationally. And the Oita prefecture also provided community stores where the villagers could sell their products and merchandizes that they could generate income at 1.6 billion yen.

3) Human Resource Development

The highest goal of OVOP policy was the human resource development. In order to fulfill all goals of OVOP, it must begin at human resource development. Therefore, they found the school to develop the local villagers' capacity called "Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku" in 1983. The school provided training in the evening to allow people of all careers to participate. Oita prefecture provided 12 branches of school in various parts of the prefecture. Each branch would have 30-40 students, who would spend 2 years to study all of the course. The first year of school would be about the general principle and process of OVOP, through the presentation of case study from international projects which succeed or failed. And the second year of the school would be the training to develop various skills which the learners were interested in. The lecturers might be the local people who succeed in OVOP process, and the Oita governor acted as the school's principal. The major goal of the school was to create the community leader who would develop their hometown. And if the learners were interested in the international field trip, Oita prefecture would provide 50% of financial support for the trip's expense. Currently there were over 1,800 alumni from Toyo no kuni school. Some of them became the local politicians in the prefecture or municipal level. And the alumni of Toyo no kuni together created the network to support continuous revitalization of the local area (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p. 77; Hiramatsu, 2008, pp. 15-16). Matsui (2006, p. 17, as cited in Yamasaki, 2010, p. 19) deemed that the alumni of Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku received not just the knowledge for community development but also the network among community leaders and villagers, which is highly important for exchanging know-hows among them.

The continuous implementation of OVOP policy for a long period of time led OVOP of Oita prefecture to succeed in fulfilling its goal of human resource development. With the Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku school which created community leader, disseminated know-hows to the community, built the network, and went to the field trip, the villagers in Oita prefecture could rely on themselves, with creativity to develop local community in terms of conservation together with generating income. They could raise the level of local wisdom to the international level, through the available wisdom, culture, and resource which maintain its uniqueness that could be accepted internationally. Somchai Chakhatrakan (personal communication, July 14, 2016) provided further information regarding the success of OVOP policy as following. “OVOP aimed to develop human and employment in community, to generate income so that people could live in their area securely. The question was how to generate secure and enough income. Japan and Thailand shared a similar characteristic that people dislike relocation, but they had to due to the circumstance...If you visit Oita and expect to see five-star hotel, there would be just the Ryokan. You have to pay high price to sleep in Ryokan. You would not eat luxury food, but you would wear Yugata with sandal and walk on the street full of people, then eat grilled food with the bamboo plate. This is the selling of their true identity and origin, not imitation...As for the OVOP product, you would not be able to find it unless you travel there. So it became the selling point and tourist attraction. For example, Bo Saang umbrella could be bought anywhere in Thailand such as in Jatujak market. But OVOP differs, so it was beneficial for tourism, food, commerce, society, and culture. But ours was not like that”

Chaweewan Denpaiboon (personal communication, December 4, 2017) further added the following comment. “OVOP aimed to attract people to buy in their community, which would be the tourism in the same time and generate income in their community, which would be the development in the community...OVOP was like the explosion from within. The community members were the manufacture, administrator, and seller in the community stores. The bar code would identify the owner of the product. When the product is sold, the money would go to the co-operative account, then further transferred to the product owner’s account.

Kuwano (personal communication, July 13, 2016), Yanagihara (personal communication, July 14, 2016), Suzuki (personal communication, May 30, 2016),

Hongpha Subboonrueng (personal communication, November 30, 2016) Puntita Tanwattana (personal communication, November 30, 2016), Irsoon Ruangrattana-amporn (2016), Preuk Chutimanukul (personal communication, July 28, 2016), and Russama Marubodee (personal communication, July 28, 2016) all provided information corresponded to Somchai Chakhatrakan and Denpaiboon that OVOP products are outstanding, unique, and initiated by community members who produce, manage, and sell, which cannot be bought somewhere else but in the community, in order to generate revenue for the community in other forms such as tourism, souvenir selling, and other expenditure in community, etc.

However, the OVOP policy of Oita prefecture ended in 2003, when Morihiko Hiramatsu's period of governor expired (Matsuoka, personal communication, May 28, 2016). But in the year 2005, Hiramatsu founded the OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee to build OVOP network internationally. In 2007, there were 1476 people from 46 countries who studied the OVOP process at Oita. Initiating coordination would lead to the exchange of community revitalization know-how among each other (Hiramatsu, 2008). Furthermore, Hiramatsu also found the International OVOP Policy Association or IOPA in 2006, to build network and organize academic conference as well as provide training program both inside and outside Japan (Murayama, personal communication, December 2, 2015). Here, Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) informed that Hiramatsu used his existing network such as government officers, young leaders he supported, and NGOs to create OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee and International OVOP Policy Association or IOPA, in order to drive the OVOP process even if Hiramatsu might not be in any political position in the future. Puntita Tanwattana (personal communication, November 30, 2016) also provided similar perspective as following. "Apart from the government agencies of Hiramatsu, there were also other networks. And during the period of transformation, he changed into NGO, by building OVOP centers and becoming the director of OVOP center. So even if he was no longer the governor, but he could still drive the policy through the centers which at first started within Japan, in Oita prefecture, then expanded throughout Japan and outside Japan, globally. People who visited for a field trip did not go to the Prefecture Administration but they would visit the OVOP center founded by Hiramatsu instead. This was the principle which

create policy continuity, that what he created would not end when he stepped down from the governor's position"

Furthermore, Japan International Cooperation Agency or JICA also supported the OVOP process as the sustainable local development policy for other countries who adopted the OVOP process to use within their own countries, such as Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia, China, Mongolia, South Korea, Guam, and Malawi. Currently, the government led by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is advancing with the Sixth Sector Industrialization strategy which could be said to base on the OVOP policy of Oita prefecture (Murayama, personal communication, December 2, 2015). Chaweewan Denpaiboon (personal communication, December 4, 2017) further explained the definition of Sixth Sector Industrialization strategy as following.

- 1) Sourcing the basic products such as agriculture, fishery, and forestry products.
- 2) Adding value, such as processing, packaging, and labeling in order to show the background.
- 3) Product distribution, which the state must find the market place, but there would be the tourism within community.

It is obvious that the Sixth Sector Industrialization involves 3 process, that when combining the numbers of process would equal $1+2+3 = 6$, or when multiplying the numbers then it would equal $1 \times 2 \times 3 = 6$. Therefore, the strategy is called the Sixth Sector Industrialization. (Chaweewan Denpaiboon, personal communication, December 4, 2017)

It could be said that although the OVOP process of Oita prefecture would end after Morihiko Hiramatsu's term as Governor, but the approach from OVOP policy became the model for national policy such as Sixth Sector Industrialization of Abe's government, and developed into the international development policy through JICA.

In conclusion, the success of OVOP policy was unavoidably related to the political security of Hiramatsu during his long period of governing the Oita prefecture since 1979 until 2003, or 6 terms in total, that OVOP policy was continuously implemented (Murayama, personal communication, December 2, 2015). Hiramatsu placed the role of government sector as the supporter for OVOP policy implementation

and encourage the community spirits for the people. The major responsibility in development of OVOP must be initiated with the capacity of local community's member who think independently. In other words, the activities must come from the demand of community members. And the decision must also come from the community members only. It could be said that the OVOP policy was implemented in the Bottom-up approach which held the community members as the most important actors in the policy process, which ensured the community's strength, human resource development, and sustainable development.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS OF COMPARATIVE STUDY

In this comparative Study of the One Tambon One Product: OTOP Policy Process in Thailand and One Village One Product: OVOP Policy in Japan, although the researcher conducted the comparative analysis through John W. Kingdon's Multiple Streams Model, which the comparison would end at agenda setting, but this research also compared both policies in terms of policy formulation and implementation, in order to yield a clearer picture of the comparison between both policies' process. The comparison of policy formulation would be conducted through the Iron Triangle concept, and the comparison of policy implementation would be conducted through the top-down and bottom-up approach, and the principles of OVOP movement.

6.1 Comparative Analysis of Agenda Setting

The researcher compared the agenda setting with in the Multiple Stream Model, that when the problem stream merges with policy stream and political stream, the policy window would open, and the policy entrepreneurs could advocate policy towards agenda setting under the decision of political authority figures.

6.1.1 Comparison of Problem Stream

The comparison included event and crises, as well as the feedback of Thailand's OTOP policy and Japan's OVOP policy.

6.1.1.1 Problem Stream and the OTOP Policy

The problem stream under the event and crises which led to the proposal of OTOP policy was the economic crisis in 1997. Consideration is needed in the capitalism economic development, which was the result for Thailand's decreasing control from the government in the economic system under the trend of Neoliberalism.

The new trend also came with the new controlling paradigm such as Liberalization, De-regulation, and Privatization.

One of the most influential liberalization was the financial liberalization, which affected the influx of capital into Thailand. The lack of financial discipline created the economic bubble. And due to the Neoliberalization financial policy which reduced the state's control, the Hedge Fund could use huge amount of capital to attack the Baht currency. As a result, Bank of Thailand lose almost all of its reserved capital and then the financial crisis in 1997 erupted. Afterwards, Thailand lose the ownership of assets to foreigners in many business under the legislative amendments of 11 laws. Moreover, there was the problem of excessive agricultural product due to the regional economic regression.

The indicator and feedback were considered as the empirical evidence in the Multiple Streams Model that clarify the condition of the situation within the problem streams, and the indicator of consequences of the economic crisis in 1997 could be described as following. In 1998, the Thai economic growth rate was negative, or -10%. And during the first 3 years of the 8th National Development Plan (1997-1999), the Thai economic growth rate was still negative, at -2.6%. GDP per capita per year also decreased considerably comparing to the period prior the economic crisis. In 1997 GDP per capita per year of Thailand was 75,991 baht, but in 1999 it decreased to 73,771. The poverty problem also increased after the economic crisis, as 11.4% of population or 6.8 million people were considered poor in 1996, but the number increased to 15.9% or 9.9 million people in 1999, or additional 3.1 million people during 1996-1999. Meanwhile, the national income distribution became worst, as the share of income from the lowest 20% percentile decreased from 4.2% to 3.8%, while the top 20% percentile increased from 56.5 to 58.5. The household income also decreased substantially, as the comparative analysis of income during the first half of 1999 and 1998 found that 41.4% of household had less income, 52.4% of household had the same level of income, while only 6.2% had more income. And the rate of employment increased to almost 1.4 million people after the economic crisis (Sukhothai Thammatirat Open University, 2015).

As a result, the labors in the industrial sector, financial sector, service sector, and other business sectors influxed back to the rural area, to live with the local

community and their family where the lands were available for working. The families and communities could share and care among each other well. In other words, the local communities in Thailand could absorb the excess labours from capitalism system efficiently.

6.1.1.2 Problem Stream and the OVOP Policy

The problem stream under the event and crises which led to the proposal of OVOP policy was the problem of sluggishness and economic regression in Oita prefecture, where the labors influxed to work in the major cities due to the policy of relocating the industrial development project towards the new industrial cities in 1962, under the Comprehensive National Development Plan. The industrial development led Japan to become a powerful economy. And the government encouraged people to enter the industrial economic system even more, in order to maintain the continuous economic growth. Nevertheless, the stimulation of industrial sector as well as infrastructure construction projects did not connect to the local economic activities and the local industrial sector. For example, the Kyoshu region had Fukuoka prefecture as the economic and industrial center. Therefore, the income of Fukuoka was higher than other prefectures in Kyoshu. The new generation of people then headed towards working in the city and enter the industrial economic system in the major cities under the development. When the labors from Oita prefecture moved to work in the major cities such as Tokyo, Nagoya, or Osaka, then the rural area became neglected.

Regarding the indicator and feedback which reflect the sluggishness problem of Oita prefecture, the number of population of Oita prefecture provided the obvious evidence as following. In 1955, the number of population was 1,277,000 people. But in 1960, the number of population decreased to 1,187,000 people and just 1,155,000 people in 1970 (Oita, 2016, p. 2). Meanwhile, Takai (2012, p. 8) provided information which indicated that the cities which underwent industrial development according to the capitalism economic development such as Tokyo and Osaka saw the increased number of population, while other rural area's number of population decreased.

Regarding the per capita prefectural income, the prefectures with top income in Japan in 1970 were Tokyo, Osaka, and Aichi. The per capita prefectural income was 872,000 yen in Tokyo, 757,000 yen in Osaka, and 685,000 yen in Aichi.

Meanwhile, the prefectures with lowest income in Japan were Kochi, Tottori, and Oita. The per capita prefectural income was 472,000 yen in Kochi, 370,000 yen in Tottori, and 309,000 yen in Oita (Takai, 2012, p. 8).

As mentioned above, it was obvious that in 1970, Oita was the prefecture with lowest per capita prefectural income at 309,000 yen per year per person. Comparing to the prefectures with highest income in Japan, it was found that the income of Oita was almost two times lower than Tokyo and Osaka, and over two times lower than Aichi. And among the prefectures with lowest income, Kochi and Tottori's per capita prefectural income differed from those of the prefectures with top income almost one time and over one time.

6.1.1.3 Comparative Analysis of Problem Stream

From the comparative analysis of the problem stream which led to the OTOP policy formulation in Thailand and OVOP policy formulation in Japan, the researcher found that the problem streams of both policies were related to economic consequences from the liberal capitalism development. But the difference lies in the origins of problem. The origin of Thailand's problem was the economic crisis in 1997 due to the Neo-Liberalization trend that became the international economic trend. When the Thai government responded by loosen its financial control, the baht currency was attacked by the Hedge Fund. However, the sluggishness and economic regression in Oita prefecture originated from the economic development policy called the Comprehensive National Development Plan, which focus only with the major cities that the labors from Oita prefecture relocated to the developed industrial city. When consider in detail, the difference of problem stream would be obvious, as the economic crisis in Thailand did not originate due to the demand of the state, while the sluggishness and economic regression in Oita prefecture was the result from the national development plan, or the national policy which affected the prefectural level.

Furthermore, there were the differences in situation and level of consequence, as the economic crisis in Thailand affected the whole country that some Thai deemed the 1997 economic crisis as damaging as the 3rd lost of Thai capital, according to the indicator and feedback such as the negative economic growth rate, the decline in GDP, and the increasing poverty and unemployment problem. Meanwhile, the sluggishness problem of Oita prefecture only affected the prefectural level, as

shown by the indicator and feedback such as the decline of population number in Oita prefecture and the increase of population number in other developed prefectures, or the per capita prefectural income of Oita which was much lower than those of the developed prefectures.

Regarding the relocation of population or labour in both cases, it was found that the economic crisis in Thailand drove the financial, industrial, service, and other business sectors which were concentrated in major cities to shut down, resulted in the relocation of labor back to their hometown. On the contrary, the industrial development policy in Japan's major cities led the labors to relocate from Oita prefecture into those industrial cities.

In conclusion, the consequences of event and crises in the problem stream were at different level, as Thailand's economic crisis in 1997 was the national-level problem with broad consequence and various indicators and feedback, whiel the sluggishness and economic regression in Oita prefecture was the prefectural-level problem, with the indicator and feedback in the form of people's relocation and different income between Oita prefecture and other industrial cities.

6.1.2 Comparison of Policy Stream

Regarding the policy stream which Kingdon (2003) defined as the variety of concepts, suggestions, or policies from the specialists in the policy community, which circulate within the primeval soup, just some part of the policies would be selected to be the policy outputs. Hence, the idea, suggestion, or policy can be indicated by the technical feasibility, public relation, and budget feasibility.

6.1.2.1 Policy Stream and the OTOP Policy

Regarding the policy stream of Thailand after the problem stream of economic crisis in 1997, it was obvious that there were various policies within policy community which aim to solve the problem of economic dependency on the first-world country and the absorption of resources from the third-world country. The idea, suggestions, or policies were found as following.

1) Sufficiency Economy and the New Agriculture Theory

The concept of sufficiency economy was King Bhumipol's idea which based on the concept of the middle path way, sufficiency, and knowing one's

stand or modesty. The concept of sufficiency economy differs from the liberalism economy which seek to supply the unlimited demand of human. And the sufficiency economy concept could be used in all situation from the community to political level. Regarding the new theory or the new agriculture theory, the objective was to improve the quality of life for people, so that they could have enough to eat, to consume, and depend on themselves. The important principle is water resource management which would ensure the availability of water during the dry season, by digging reservoir at 30% of the land area. The rest of the land area would be used to grow mixed-crop, so that the household and community could have enough to eat and survive. The rest of the crops can be sold for additional income.

2) Community Culture Concept

Community Culture is the concept which deemed the Thai village community as the basis of Thai society, unlike the European society of individuals with the individual ownership system. Chatthip Nartsupha proposed that the historical development of Thai community was communal, not individual system, as the Thai society have not been through the feudal system but rather the Asiatic system. The rural village community of Thailand has the important resource of land, which allow reproduction in the rural area at all time. Furthermore, the characteristics of the traditional Thai society and culture were the independence, kindness, kinship, sharing, mutually depending on each other, supporting each other, and living together in villages. Within the current boarder of Thailand, many networks of not-for-profit exchange called “take turn to eat and share the food” are still available among the village communities. It could be said that the essential institution of the Thai society is the local community which have been fought and negotiated with the various systems which attempted to dominate them for a long time.

3) Concept of OTOP Product

The concept of OTOP project followed the development policy of Oita prefecture in 1979 by Governor Morihiko Hiramatsu. OVOP was the approach to raise the well-being of community members by manufacturing or management of local resource to be the quality, unique identity which correspond to the local culture. The word product did not only refer to merchandize but also the thinking process, including services, concervation of natural resource and environment, conservation of

wisdom, tourism, arts and cultures, tradition, the extension of local wisdom, and the exchange and learning how to create quality product with the unique selling point which would be widely known nationally and globally. There were 3 principles of development; Local Yet Global, Self-Reliance-Creativity, and Human Resource Development.

Regarding the feasibility of the three policies, it was obvious that OTOP policy and Sufficiency Economy concept had more technical feasibility than the Community Culture concept. The OTOP's approach of development for human resource, community, and product was clear. The Sufficiency Economy and New Agriculture Theory about water resource management for dry season mixed-crop planting is also clear in terms of practice and technique. However, the Community Culture concept was highly abstract, as it involved culture, society, and ideal, as it was the head if ideal clash between localism and globalism, among the circumstance which capitalism became the world's major trend.

Regarding the public relation and attention from society, the Community Culture concept was only aware among the scholars, while the Sufficiency Economy concept and OTOP policy received wide public relation and a lot of attention within the society.

Regarding the budget, the Multiple Streams Model deemed that if a lot of budget is required, then it might affect the chance to enter policy agenda setting. However, the researcher deemed that the budget feasibility should not be the obstruction of selecting any policy to enter the agenda setting.

6.1.2.2 Policy Stream and the OVOP Policy

Regarding the policy stream in Oita prefecture after the problem stream of local community sluggishness after the central government announcement of industrial development policies in major cities. As a result, Japan's local communities attempted to revitalize their own local community to solve the problem with the following approaches, models, movements, or policies which related to OVOP policy.

1) Oyama Town Movement

The Oyama town movement was the response to the problem of adult population decline similar to other area in Japan and the low income per capita per year, which was much lower than the national income per capita. In 1961, the

income per capita of Oyama was just 170,000 yen, while Japan's national income per capita equal 400,000 yen (Yamagami and Fujimoto, 2011, p. 42). Within the same year, Harumi Yahata, the former mayor of Oyama initiated the New Plum and Chestnut movement or NPC, to replace rice growing with the slogan "Let's plant plum and chestnut and go to Hawaii". Yahata convinced the new generation of the advantages of growing plum and chestnut instead of rice, and the possibility to raise the income and lower the load of work for people in the community, which the NPC approach could even generate higher income than being the salary man.

There were 3 phases of development according to NPC movement. The 1st phase (1961-1964) was the promotion of growing plum and chestnut instead of rice. The 2nd phase (1965-1968) was the period of human resource development. And the 3rd phase (since 1979) have been the period of community development. The Oyama movement even founded the store Konohana Garten which included restaurant managed by the villagers. There were also the exchanges of knowledge among the Japanese community and other allied community network of Oyama in other country, together with training, network building, and continuous transferring of know-how in agriculture, management, administration, marketing, etc.

It could be said that the Oyama movement originated from the visionary community leader such as Harumi Yahata, who deemed that the community members should know the environment of the area better than the outsider such as central or regional government.

2) The Yufuin Town Movement

The Yufuin previously faced the similar problem of community sluggishness as Oyama town. The mayor of Yufuin, Mr. Iwao, thus learned from the Oyama town. Then the community members together surveyed the unique feature of Yufuin and found that its nature and hot spring were the town's unique feature. Iwao then sent the new generation to study the model of resort and spa town at Baden-Baden in Germany in 1970. Furthermore, the Yufuin town also supported the "One Cow Ranch Movement" movement in order to maintain the folk cattle in 1972, organized the Yufuin Musical Festival, BBQ Festival, and horse carriages tour in 1975, and organized the Yufuin Film Festival in 1975, which was the development of additional tourist attraction in the city.

Although the Yufuin town followed the model of community development in Oyama, but both town differs in terms of available resource. Therefore the Yufuin was developed by its villagers to become the natural spa town that differs from modern spa town such as Beppu.

3) Chiiki-okoshi Movement

The development of major industrial cities under the Comprehensive National Development Plan with no connection to the local industries and economic activities affected the cities in the area outside the development zone, resulted in the social sluggishness and economic regression in many area. Therefore local communities in many town initiated and led their own local revitalization which became the trend called Chiiki-okoshi. The words chiiki meant local or region, and the word okoshi meant revitalization. The revitalization movement of Oyama in 1961 and Yufuin in 1970 were both the consequences of chiiki-okoshi movement as well.

In 1979, there was the academic conference called the local revitalization of Okinawa island (Okinawa shima-okoshi). And during the early 1980s, the local revitalization movement also occurred in other prefectures. It could be said that the local revitalization movement or okoshi was widespread throughout Japan.

The local revitalization trend or chiiki-okoshi originated from the mutual feelings among the local community members in many area of Japan, who felt threatened from the development policy which could not truly benefit the local. Afterwards, the local revitalization movement became the widespread trend throughout Japan during the 1970s to 1980s.

The technical feasibility according to the Multiple Stream Model was similar in the case of Oyama movement and Yufuin movement, which used the same strategy such as field trip in other countries, utilizing the locally available uniqueness and capacity for community development, community empowerment, and human resource development. In other words, both movement could be applicable in practice. Regarding the local revitalization movement or Chiiki-okoshi, it was just the trend which led to the widespread trend of local revitalization in Japan. Therefore, the technical feasibility of Chiiki-okoshi was less clear comparing to the other 2 movements.

However, the analysis of public relations and attention from society was different. As the Chiiki-okoshi trend was the origin of widespread acceptance for local revitalization movement throughout Japan, it could be said that the society was possibly interested in the Chiiki-okoshi movement, while the Yufuin town movement received less attention than the Oyama town movement which was the original model of local revitalization in Oita prefecture.

Regarding the budget feasibility, it should not be the major problem for the advocacy of three policies mentioned above. Although the Multiple Streams Theory deemed that if any policy required the high amount of budget, then it could affect bringing the policy towards the agenda setting, but according to the analysis of the three policies, the researcher deemed that the budget feasibility was not the obstruction for selecting any particular policy to enter the agenda setting.

6.1.2.3 Comparative Analysis of Policy Stream

The comparative analysis of the policy stream which led to OTOP policy in Thailand and OVOP policy in Japan consisted of the indicators such as technical feasibility, public relations and attention from the society, and budget feasibility. The researcher found that the different size of problem stream, with different severity and consequences, affected the policy solution for each problem. The problem from economic crisis in 1997 in Thailand was the problem stream with widespread and varied consequences for the Thai socio-economy. The villagers in communities might deemed that they were just the small part without the capacity to fix the severely damaging crisis and therefore the role of solving problem should belong to the state. On the contrary, the problem in Oita prefecture only affected the prefecture. The villagers and communities could see how the problem stream affected their local communities' sluggishness and regression, that they could find the way together to solve the problem.

Regarding the policy entrepreneurs in both cases, the researcher gave the serious reconsideration on the policies or concepts within the Thai policy stream including the Sufficiency Economy concept, Community Culture concept, and OTOP policy were all initiated from the elites. On the contrary, the movements or policies within the policy stream of Oita prefecture were advocated by the community insiders who proposed the policy, approach, or movement themselves. This could happen due to the three important factors as following.

1) Development policy from government: The villagers and communities in Thailand have been supported by the state for a long time through the top-down policy, which always deemed the villagers and communities as the receivers. Therefore, most villagers and communities in Thailand would expect and assigned for policy and role from the state to solve problems, similar in the same way the villagers thought they could not do anything about the 1997 economic crisis. However, the case of villagers and communities in Oita prefecture differs from Thailand, as their perspective was that the community insiders are those who know the problem as well as the solution better than the central government in Tokyo. Therefore, the villagers and community in Oita prefecture performed the Bottom-Up policy.

2) Lost of advantage from policy under the problem stream: Considering the problem stream under the economic crisis in Thailand, the villagers could expect that the policies set would aim to give more support to them, that they expect more help from the state. However, the elites and scholars were aware of the serious consequences within the problem stream, that they became the policy entrepreneur during the period of crisis. On the contrary, the villagers and community in Oita prefecture felt differently from the villagers in Thailand. They deemed that the Oita prefecture faced the sluggishness and economic regression due to the Comprehensive National Development Plan, so the communities were required to solve the problem through community development and local revitalization through their own empowerment, with the locally available resources, such as the Oyama movement and Yufuin movement.

3) The strength of villagers and communities. In the case of Thailand, the villagers and communities were not only supported by the top-down policy but also lack the human resource development, strong community leader, working in group for community, and the strong co-operative. Therefore, when the problem stream occurred in Thailand, the villagers had to depend on the state to solve problems. On the contrary, the villagers and communities in Oita prefecture were already strong, as they have been continuously developing the human resources and assembling in group to help each other due to the harsh natural environment, having the strong and initiative community leader who led the villagers to solve problem in their community together, the network for knowledge exchange, and the strong co-

operative which could negotiate, maintain benefit, administer, and sell the community products together.

Moreover, from the analysis of the indicator within the policy streams which included technical feasibility, public relations, and budget feasibility, the primeval soup in the cases of Thailand and Oita prefecture had different uniqueness which led to the different policy decision. However, it was not the limitation nor the advantage which would result in the selection of any particular policy by the politicians, that would further led to the policy outputs and agenda setting.

6.1.3 Comparison of Political Stream

Regarding the political stream which Kingdon (2003) noted as the very influential stream, as there must be the policy entrepreneurs who advocate the policy towards the policy outputs. The political stream would include the following indicators; national mood, pressure group campaign, election results, and changes of administration. And the policy entrepreneurs would advocate the policy towards agenda setting which would be finally decided by the political authority.

6.1.3.1 Political Stream and the OTOP Policy

The political stream in the case of Thailand could be analyzed through the indicators mentioned above. As the problem stream from the economic crisis in 1997 resulted in the important loss for the Thai society and economy throughout the country, there was the national mood which pressed the pressure group campaign which consisted mostly of scholars, academic groups, and processes of academic seminar and dialogue to find the policy alternatives which could solve the economic consequences. And when considering the election result and changes of administration related to OTOP policy, an important event could be found in 2001 when the Thai Rak Thai won the general election under the leadership of Prime Minister Thaksin who was supported from almost 12 million voters.

The Thai Rak Thai party could assembled the large capital groups such as Bai Yok group, Jasmine group, and Nescafe group, as well as the accepted scholars such as Kanit Na-nakorn, Somkid Jatusripitak, and Surakiart Satirathai, etc. Therefore, the Thai Rak Thai party had huge amount of capital and could construct the populism policy which correspond to the capitalism consumption culture of people in the society.

Furthermore, Thaksin and Thai Rak Thai party used the strategy of presenting themselves as the representatives and party for the poors who fight for the poors. They announced the war on poverty and announced that Thailand will no longer have poor people. The policies of Thai Rak Thai party also differed from other political parties which depended on the government officials as in the former government, as the Thai Rak Thai party had the process of constructing their own policies.

Thai Rak Thai party proposed the dual track economic policy, which would solve the economic problem in 2 levels of macro economy and grassroots economy simultaneously. And there were the policy set packages for each level, that the government would announce policies in relating packages. Some examples were the case of village fund policy, 30 baht universal health care, and OTOP project, which could be measured quantitatively and tangibly that the Thai Rak Thai's policies were deemed as real, concrete, tangible, and able to solve both macro and micro economic problems.

After the landslide winning of general election by the Thai Rak Thai party, it was able to form the single-party government. Hence, Prime Minister Thaksin had the highest authority in selecting any policy from the primeval soup, which the researcher found from the analysis of the strength, weakness, differences, and the indicators in the policy stream that none of the policies had limitation or advantage for its being selected towards agenda setting by the politics. There could be one exception for the concept of Sufficiency Economy and the New Agriculture Theory, which was deemed as the concept given to the people by King Bhumibol and therefore would be severely inappropriate for any political party to use as their own policy.

Nevertheless, there were more findings apart from the indicator of policy stream, such as the technical feasibility, public relations, and budget feasibility according to the Multiple Stream Model. It was found that the OTOP policy could tangibly generate income, while other competing policies within the policy stream could be accessed by particular group of people. Furthermore, the OTOP policy also follow the pattern of Thai Rak Thai policy, which must advocate for the concrete policy that is accessible by the people, or they would not implement the policy which require a long period of waiting for the policy effectiveness. Under the efficient political

communication and the expectation to attract the voters, Thaksin then selected OTOP policy to enter the agenda setting process.

Regarding the role of policy entrepreneurs, the researcher found that the initial policy entrepreneur was Kittu Limskul, one of Thai Rak Thai party founder since 1998, who proposed the local community revitalization according to OVOP movement of Oita prefecture for Thaksin to be learned and aware of the utility of such approach. Afterwards, Somkid Jatusripitak became the policy entrepreneur in the place of Kittu Limskul, when Somkid and his followers met with Morihiko Hiramatsu, the initiator of OVOP movement at Oita prefecture in the first trip. Then Thaksin and Somkid and the group revisited Oita prefecture to study the OVOP project one more time. There were also the team including Suwit Mesinsee and Yuthasak Supasorn, who were also the policy entrepreneurs of OTOP project. Then the OTOP policy was swiftly advocated towards the agenda setting of Thai Rak Thai government.

In conclusion, the agenda setting of the OTOP policy could be analyzed with the Multiple Stream Model, that there were 3 streams of problem stream from the economic crisis, policy stream of OTOP project, and the political stream of the Thai Rak Thai government under the leadership of Thaksin Shinawatra. When these three streams merged, the policy window then open up. Then the policy entrepreneurs who were the consultants of Thai Rak Thai party advocated the OTOP policy towards agenda setting, under the decision of Thaksin Shinawatra who had the highest political authority as the Prime Minister at the time.

6.1.3.2 Political Stream and the OVOP Policy

Regarding the political stream in the case of Oita prefecture, part of the political stream pressure at the time was the mood of local community and pressure group campaign. Japan's industrial development after the World War II aimed to develop the major cities in all region in response to the industrial economy. Oita prefecture was one of the area affected from the problem stream, that some local community in Oita prefecture saw the emergence of mood of local community and pressure group campaign in the form of local revitalization movement, such as the Oyama and Yufuin town movement. Moreover, the local revitalization trend also occurred in other prefectures of Japan, that in 1970s an important local revitalization

movement called Chiiki-okoshi emerged and became widely accepted throughout Japan.

Regarding the prefecture system of governance which relate to the authority of the Governor in Japan, it was found that although the local government in Japan followed the principle of Separation of Powers and the principle of Check and Balance, but in practice, the executives had higher authority than the council due to the executive's authority in the local activities. It was obvious that the Japan's governor who were elected directly by the people had higher authority than the legislative. Although there were various committees under the will to separate power and balance the authority of the governor, but they were also appointed by the executives. And according to the Multiple Stream Model, the political stream is the most important stream to advocate any policy towards agenda setting. So the selection of OVOP movement for agenda setting also corresponded to the main mission of the governor in terms of community enterprise.

In other words, due to the higher authority over the legislative, Japan's governor had the power to select policy towards agenda setting.

Regarding the path to rise to the position of authority as the Oita prefecture's governor of Morihiko Hiramatsu, the former governor of Oita prefecture during 1979-2003 who initiated the OVOP movement, it was found that Hiramatsu who was the former executive of MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry) which is currently the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), started his position as the vice-governor of Oita prefecture in 1975. Afterwards, Hiramatsu had visited the local communities in Oita prefecture to listen to their problems and found 2 reasons for the sluggishness and economic regression in the local area as following.

- 1) The growth of economic and industrial cities according to the Comprehensive National Development Plan

- 2) Lack of enthusiasm, or Yodakii

After the field trip in Oita prefecture, apart from finding the 2 important problems, Hiramatsu also found two success cases of local revitalization in Oita prefecture, which were the Oyama town movement and Yufuin town movement. These two movement became the approach for development of Hiramatsu's OVOP movement.

Considering the 3 principles of OVOP movement, which were the principle of Local Yet Global, Self-Reliance Creativity, and Human Resource Development, the influence of Oyama town movement towards OVOP could be found as following.

1) The principle of Local Yet Global is based on the product development from the local wisdom and culture of Oyama town which created famous products such as the Ume plum wine.

2) The principle of Self-Reliance Creativity which ensure that all processes must arise from the community member's demand and decision, while the government agencies only provide the technology and marketing supports, is based on Yahata's approach in Oyama which brainstormed the idea from the meeting between Oyama municipality, Oyama Agricultural Co-operative, and the people to advocate any community activity.

3) The principle of Human Resource Development which was the highest goal of OVOP movement was also deemed as the most important goal for community development in the case of Oyama town movement, as obvious in the field trip which the community leaders would learn from other countries and develop their community accordingly. There were also the continuous activities of human resource development within the community such as the networking both inside and outside Japan, having the community's own radio station and cable TV station as the mediator for exchanging opinion and techniques from the community's insiders and outsiders, etc.

The Yufuin town movement also affected the construction process of OVOP movement. Yufuin community found their unique feature which was the natural hot spring, and after the field trip to Baden-Baden, they further developed Yufuin into the natural spa town. This corresponded to the approach of OVOP policy, with the principle that the OVOP products refer not only to the merchandize but also the thinking process, service, conservation of natural resource and environment, conservation of local wisdom, tourism, arts and cultures, and tradition. This reflected that although most approach of OVOP movement might be influenced by the model of Oyama town movement, but the Yufuin town movement also influenced the OVOP movement in the part other than the product.

Regarding the local revitalization movement, or Chiiki-okoshi, which became widely accepted in Japan in the late 1970s to 1980s, the local revitalization movement then occurred in many area of Japan. And it could be said that the OVOP movement originated from the mood of the local community which advocated for their own local revitalization process.

After the field trip to the local communities of Oita prefecture, Hiramatsu found the problems such as local economic regression, local sluggishness, lack of motivation in the local people, and the relocation to major cities by the young adults, etc. Additionally, Hiramatsu also found the solution for solving local problem, which was the OVOP movement developed from Oyama town movement and Yufuin town movement, together with the trend of chiiki-okoshi which was the important drive for Hiramatsu's OVOP policy.

The election result and changes of administration also influenced the advocate of any policy towards agenda setting in the political stream. The researcher found that during Morihiko Hiramatsu's time as the vice-governor of Oita prefecture governor in 1975-1979, he did not have full political authority to advocate the OVOP towards agenda setting. But after April, 1979, Morihiko Hiramatsu was elected by the voters to be the Oita prefecture, resulted in Hiramatsu's authority to advocate the collective policies towards agenda setting. As previously mentioned, the authority Japan's governor is independent as they would not be in the hierarchical controlled from the central government as in the case of Thailand. So Hiramatsu could select OVOP movement towards agenda setting process.

Although people expected that through Hiramatsu's capacity and connection, there would be the investment by the major corporates which would develop Oita prefecture, but Hiramatsu was well aware that Oita prefecture's local communities would not be truly benefited from the policy of bringing the investment from outside to the prefecture.

And in November 26th, 1979, Governor Hiramatsu announced to the Oita Council Member Meeting, which could be counted as the agenda setting of OVOP policy that Hiramatsu had been developed, as Hiramatsu ordered the mayors to find the products or unique features of their local area. This was possible as the governor has the responsibility to direct or command the mayors through the Prefecture Council,

together with the role of preparing the prefecture development plan as well as the authority to approve the municipality's budget.

The important findings from the above analysis was that the OVOP policy originated from Hiramatsu's know-how which he developed from experience and the actual field trip in Oita prefecture. Or in other words, OVOP policy did not originated from the policy entrepreneurs who presented it to the policy authority. Or it could be said that Hiramatsu was the policy entrepreneurs who advocated the OVOP policy. And as the policy authority, Hiramatsu did not select any particular policy from the Primeval Soup under the policy stream according to the Multiple Stream Model.

In conclusion, the agenda setting of OVOP policy could be analyzed with the Multiple Stream Model with the three streams of problem stream from Oita prefecture's sluggishness and economic regression due to the industrial city development, policy stream of OVOP movement, and the political stream when Morihiro Hiramatsu became the governor of Oita prefecture. When the three streams merges, the policy window then opened, and Hiramatsu was the policy entrepreneur who advocate OVOP policy towards agenda setting under his own decision as the highest political authority as the governor of Oita prefecture.

6.1.3.3 Comparative Analysis of Political Stream

The comparative analysis of political stream of OTOP policy in Thailand and OVOP policy in Japan included the indicators of national mood, pressure group campaign, election result, changes of administration, and the policy entrepreneurs who advocate policy to enter agenda setting, with the political authority who would make the final decision.

Regarding to the indicators, national mood and pressure group campaign of both policies, it was found that for the case of OTOP policy, the problem stream of economic crisis in 1997 led to the national mood which pressured the pressure group campaign who were mostly scholars, academic group, and seminar movement to seek the solution, while in the case of OVOP, the mood was the result from the consequence of industrial development policy in major cities of the Japan's government. Oita prefecture was one of the affected area, that some local communities in Oita prefecture became the pressure group campaign in the form of local revitalization movement, such

as the Oyama and Yufuin town movement, which led to the local revitalization trend or Chiiki-okoshi.

There were similarities of both policies in terms of national mood and pressure group campaign. Regarding the national mood of both policies, there was the similar feeling within the area which attempted to solve the social and economic problem. However, the researcher found that the pressure group campaign of both policies were a little bit different, as the pressure group campaign in OTOP policy were mostly from the academic community, while the pressure group campaign of OVOP policy were mostly the community members.

Regarding the election results and the changes of administration, there was the important transition point in the OTOP policy which was the Thai Rak Thai's victory in the general election in 2001 that resulted in Thaksin Shinawatra's highest policy authority as the Prime Minister. As for the OVOP policy, there was the election result and changes of administration in 1979, when Morihiko Hiramatsu became the governor of Oita prefecture, resulted in Hiramatsu's highest authority in policy decision for Oita prefecture.

The researcher found that the policy authorities in both cases were just recently won the election. Regarding their authority, both Thaksin Shinawatra and Morihiko Hiramatsu had high executive and political authority. When Thaksin became the Prime Minister in the single-party government, he gained the highest authority similar to being the CEO of Thailand, while Morihiko Hiramatsu as the governor also had the higher authority than the legislative as he was directly elected and could control or direct the mayors through the Prefecture Council, responsible for the prefecture development planning, and could approve the budget of each municipality.

There were also the differences in terms of election result and changes of administration in both case, as in the case of OTOP was the national-level election result and changes of administration, while the case of OVOP was the local-level election result and changes of administration. In other words, the political stream of both policies were in the different level of politics.

Regarding the comparative analysis of policy entrepreneurs in both policies, it was obvious that the policy entrepreneurs in the case of OTOP rather followed the Multiple Stream Models, as their role started with the suggestion of Kitt

Limskul, a scholar who was the Thai Rak Thai consultant. Afterwards, the role of policy entrepreneurs became the responsibility of Somkid Jatusripitak and his team, including Suwit Mesinsee and Yuthasak Supasorn. In other words, the OTOP policy was advocated by those with close relationship to the political authority, while other policy entrepreneurs of the policies in the primeval soup at the time did not have the close relationship with the political authority as in the case of OTOP policy.

Moreover, OTOP policy matched the former Prime Minister Thaksin's paradigm, as it was the accessible, tangible, and concrete policy. And when the three stream merged, the policy window opened up, then OTOP policy enter the agenda setting through the policy decision of the political, or Thaksin Shinawatra who was the Prime Minister at the time. In other words, he was the one who selected OTOP policy from the primeval soup. Meanwhile, the role of policy entrepreneurs were different in the case of OVOP policy, as Hiramatsu was the political authority who was also the policy entrepreneur and advocated OVOP policy by himself, as the OVOP policy extended and developed from his actual experiences and field trip in Oita prefecture. Afterwards, when the 3 streams merged, the policy window then opened up, and Hiramatsu as the political authority decided to enter OVOP policy towards agenda setting. It could be said that Hiramatsu did not select any policy from the Primeval Soup under the policy stream according to the Multiple Stream Model.

6.2 Comparative Analysis of Policy Formulation

After the agenda setting, the next step is the policy formulation, which the researcher analyzed according to the Iron Triangle framework. According to McConnell (1966), the state's policy formulation is similar to the triangle of relationship called the Iron Triangle, which based on the negotiation of benefit, reciprocal benefit, as well as dependence among the political, the bureaucrats, and the business.

6.2.1 OTOP and Policy Formulation

The OTOP policy formulation was related to the canvasser system of election, which the politicians in national level depend on the village headmen, district headmen,

or local politicians who were closer to people as the foundation of this system, while the canvassers would be rewarded with advantages from the politicians. Meanwhile, the capital groups would provide financial support for the political group or party's activities, which the capital groups would be rewarded with the political position or other forms of advantages. However, the researcher found that the Thai Rak Thai party's approach was different, as they connected the major capital groups as the political partners rather than the financial supporters. Furthermore, the Thai Rak Thai party provided various populism policies such as the Village Fund of 1 million baht, 30 baht universal health care, affordable housing, and the OTOP project to attract the voters, which could be deemed as the attempt to replace the relationship between villagers and the canvassers or local influencers with the relationship between villagers and political party.

According to the analysis of OTOP policy formulation through the Iron Triangle framework, the researcher found that as the Thai Rak Thai party's leader was the capitalist himself who could connect other capital groups as the party's political partners, two of the angles of the business and the political were merged in one. As for the last angle of the bureaucrats, consideration must be made with the situation after 1997 economic crisis, when Thaksin Shinawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party became the hope for Thai people to solve the crisis as evident in their victory from the election in 2001. The Thai Rak Thai party under the leadership of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra became the total authority from the supports of almost 12 million voters. Therefore, people became the armour which protect Thaksin and Thai Rak Thai party's administration and policy implementation, as they received immense supports from people. As a result, the bureaucrats were required to follow the social trend which the people support the political.

Moreover, the Thai Rak Thai party also had their own scholar team as the party's consultants who provided policy suggestion for the party and the government. Hence, the Thai Rak Thai party depended less on the bureaucrats comparing to the former governments, especially when their administration would centralize the power in the CEO system.

Afterwards, Thaksin Shinawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party brought OTOP towards policy agenda setting and formulated this policy. Pongpol Adireksarn who

was the Deputy Prime Minister at the time sent the invitation letter to government officers from various departments to participate in the brainstorming meeting for community product development policy. And during the meeting, Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn suggested the name One Tambon One Product or OTOP, which was later accepted by consensus. Afterwards, the Regulations of the Office of the Prime Minister on National OTOP Administrative Board, 2001, was enacted on September 7th, 2001, which designated the responsibility of the National OTOP Administrative Board in formulating strategic policy and OTOP project master plan (2001-2006). Afterwards, the OTOP policy was assigned under the control of National OTOP Administrative Board, affiliated with the Office of the Prime Minister, with other 16 related government agencies.

The researcher found that the drive of OTOP policy towards formulation was the successful integrated mission between government agencies, as the related ministers, bureaus, and departments worked together as a team in this project.

Furthermore, there was the OTOP Administrative Board Office which pushed the OTOP policy towards implementation through its mechanism in both the central level and regional level. The OTOP Administrative Board Office at the central level was located at the Prime Minister's office in the parliament, while the regional level consisted of the Provincial OTOP Sub-committee and the District / Minor District Sub-committee.

6.2.2 OVOP and Policy Formulation

Regarding the OVOP policy, after entering the agenda setting process, Hiramatsu did not formulate any organization structure to support the OVOP policy. Furthermore, the OVOP policy formulation was only the result from the push by just a single authority, or Morihiko Hiramatsu himself. Such process did not follow the Iron Triangle framework of the political, the bureaucrats, and the business. In other words, the Iron Triangle framework could not be used to explain the OVOP policy formulation in Oita prefecture.

6.2.3 Comparative Analysis of Policy Formulation

According to the comparative analysis of policy formulation in both cases through the Iron Triangle framework, it was found that the OTOP policy followed the Iron Triangle framework, as Thaksin Shinnawatra and the Thai Rak Thai party could connect the iron triangle in policy negotiation, until it was rather united under the policy formulation by the political. Meanwhile, the OVOP policy formulation did not follow the Iron Triangle framework, as no role from the three partners of the political, the bureaucrats, and the business was involve.

6.3 Comparative Analysis of Policy Implementation

Regarding the comparative analysis of policy implementation, the researcher conducted the comparative analysis through the top-down and bottom-up approach. The top-down approach deemed that the model of perfect administration is the model of complete authority which depend on the power of policy formulator, who must have the authority to command the hierarchical implementation of policy to fulfil the objectives, while the bottom-up approach is suitable for the analysis of policy implementation which related mainly to the low level personnel. It is widely known that the policy would be formulated by the authority who might not understand the context in the area and therefore the exchange of policy implementation goal between the policy authority and the policy actor is required.

6.3.1 OTOP and Policy Implementation

The OTOP policy implementation could be divided in the central level and regional level. The central level, by the OTOP Administrative Board Office and other sub-committees were responsible for the formulation of process and strategy of OTOP policy implementation as well as supporting the OTOP policy implementation according to the policy and strategy. Meanwhile, the regional OTOP sub-committee would responsible for various operations to fulfil the policy from central level, such as administration, integration with affiliated government agencies, budgeting, product selection, product quality development, and marketing.

According to the study of information, the researcher found that OTOP policy was formulated by the power of the central government under the direction by the National OTOP Administrative Board, which affiliated with the Prime Minister's Office as the center of authority which directed the power structure of OTOP project, that it became the national-level policy which was the exogenous development project. OTOP policy aimed for the swift effectiveness, focused on exporting and product development, and positioned its products for the urban market and foreign market. From the perspective of power structure, it could be deemed that the OTOP policy was implemented from top-down. The approach of OTOP policy implementation originated from the idea on how to support the community to manufacture products which could be sold, with the main goal of generating income for community.

Although the OTOP policy was questioned by scholars that the human resource development objective was ignored in this project, but the researcher found that the OTOP policy did not completely ignore the human resource development, as Sayumphon Limthai (personal communication, August 22, 2016) classified the OTOP project implementation in phases as following.

- 1) Product development
- 2) Connecting OTOP with tourism
- 3) Human resource development

The researcher also found the reasons for the top-down implementation of OTOP policy which focused on product development first, as mentioned below.

1) Economic problem, which was the consequence from the economic crisis in 1997, required the implementation of OTOP policy at income generation for people and community first.

2) Political problem, as the Thai Rak Thai required swift effectiveness, so it was simpler to implement the policy which develop the tangible product that could be seen concretely rather than to develop the intangible product such as human resource development

It could be said that human resource development is the most sustainable way of development, but it also require the long period of time for development. Therefore, human resource development became the last phase of implementation for OTOP policy.

During the first year of implementing the OTOP policy, there was the top-down command for surveying and registration, as the central government assigned the provincial governors to find 5 unique products from each province. The existing OTOP entrepreneurs could be divided in 2 groups; the community groups, and the single-entrepreneur groups or SME. And the approach to develop both group was to encourage the SME OTOP groups with the higher capacity in administration, product development, and marketing than the community groups, who were unique in their mutual bonds, to exchange their strength and weakness through the forum of exchanging experiences and knowledge. Nevertheless, the researcher found that this approach of development might not actually solve problems for community-level farmers which would truly develop the sustainable community, but rather the support for SME's capacity. Furthermore, the top-down policy implementation consisted mainly of government's actors, which could be divided as following.

Product Standard of OTOP Product Champion (OPC) The OTOP administrative board implemented a project called OTOP Product Champion or OPC, which should stimulate competition of quality. Therefore, the owners of OTOP products who attempted to gain more stars would be required to pass the standards such as Thai FDA of the Ministry of Public Health, or TISI of the Ministry of Industry. However, the OPC could also be deemed in the other way as the reflection of top-down hierarchical structure of the bureaucratic system, which the central government's authority would direct the OTOP project towards the regional sector and local sector, and control the OTOP entrepreneurs through the star system. It was obvious that only the product which received 4 stars in OPC project would be invited to participate in the national OTOP event, and the products with lower stars would only be displayed at the provincial level. Moreover, the support for exporting would be provided only for the 5-star OTOP product. The implementation of OPC project only widened the gap among the OTOP entrepreneurs and focused on the product development rather than other 2 important goals of OTOP policy, of encouraging the self-reliance creativity and human resource development.

Financial support for entrepreneurs. Regarding the financial support for OTOP entrepreneurs, the researcher found the relationship between OTOP policy and various loans, such as the village fund which was advocated by the state. Without the village

fund, the activities in OTOP policy might not be possible. In other words, the village fund was the injected money for liquidity, that the villager could borrow with low interest rate to pay debt to other lenders, and to be used as the fund for their enterprises. Additionally, there was also the loan from SMEs Bank which allowed the OTOP entrepreneurs to borrow for business expansion or development as well as development of manufacturing technology, marketing, and product distribution. And finally, the government also provided the SML fund to rush the development of community economy. And some OTOP entrepreneurs also received financial support from the Local Administrative Organization, Department of Community Development, and other government agencies. It could be said that the OTOP entrepreneurs could still depended on various forms of loans continuously.

Marketing and Public Relations. Regarding the marketing and public relations, the government would provide support in marketing through various campaigns, such as OTOP event organizations both inside and outside Thailand, OTOP brand communication, website development, and advertising through the media. Due to the continuous role of the government support, the OTOP products became widely known and accepted in general. As in 2014 and 2015, the Department of Community Development registered over 40,000 OTOP entrepreneurs from three groups, with over 80,000 products. And according to the Department of Community Development, the OTOP products could generate revenue approximately 100 billion baht per year. (Taweep Bootpoh, personal communication, December 15, 2016; Surasak Aksornkul, personal communication, January 24, 2017).

Connecting with tourism. The government aimed to attract tourists to visit and spend money within community, to buy products and generate income for the community directly. Currently, there are 110 OTOP villages for tourism. And the government also granted awards for exemplary OTOP tourism village by sending the village leaders to the field trip in other countries. It could be said that the government is still the major actor who develop tourism connection for OTOP policy, similar to other process in the OTOP policy.

Human Resource Development. The direct development of human resource recently started in 2016 when three OTOP schools were opened. And three more OTOP schools opened in 2017. The OTOP school would provide all training related to OTOP

by inviting successful entrepreneurs as the lecturers in their area. The trainee could become the lecturers and further expand the knowledge.

In conclusion, the OTOP policy started at product development as the first mission and later develop the human resources. As a result, the overall image of OTOP policy became the policy for product development. Moreover, the community rather depended largely on the government's action and focused on the quantity of products instead of product quality development. This led to the problem of product imitation and excessive market for OTOP product. And although the OTOP policy implementation was top-down with the government as major actor in all phases of policy implementation, starting with the product development, but the OTOP policy was successful in terms of revenue, branding, and communication of OTOP products both inside and outside Thailand. The strong branding and the stable revenue of the OTOP policy were the reasons why OTOP policy has not been terminated by the following governments who took turn to manage the nation.

6.3.2 OVOP and Policy Implementation

According to the analysis through the top-down and bottom-up approach, the researcher found that the OVOP policy implementation was rather different from other policy implementation in general, as there was no structure to support the OVOP policy implementation. Generally, the policy implementation would require organization and structure to support the implementation. However, Governor Hiramatsu only provided the goal and objective of local community revitalization but did not formulate any strategy to follow the policy. Furthermore, the Oita prefecture did not provide any budget for OVOP policy implementation to any municipality or any other organization. As a result, the policy actors such as the mayors all questioned how to follow the policy. In other words, the start of OVOP policy implementation was rather vague in terms of execution and left the actors with questions and doubts.

The reason why there was no structure to support OVOP policy implementation was to avoid the hierarchical structure of bureaucratic organization, as Hiramatsu intended for the community and people to have more role as the major actor in the OVOP policy rather than the government. Therefore, the structure which Hiramatsu provided for OVOP policy was bottom-up, which the community members must be the

core of policy implementation as they could understand their own community's problems and context better than the outsider.

Considering the local community organization in Japan, the researcher found that Japan's local community is already strong and consisted of various civil society groups such as Japan Agricultural Association or JA, Quality of life development group or Seikatsu Kaizen Group, as well as other small informal community development groups. These civil society groups would play the various roles of ensuring negotiation power for community, providing loans, technical supports, public relations, marketing, manufacturings, providng guided tour, and cultural revitalization in community. It was obvious that the approach of civil society's group in Oita already has the strong foundation which can support development according to the OVOP policy.

As the government's support for community, Hiramatsu created the environment which ensured participation from all government agencies and organizations in Oita prefectures in the implementation of OVOP policy through the marketing and public relations activities, such as OVOP product display booth at Agriculture Fair, OVOP product display in the 1st Food Culture Fair, and public relations of Shiitake mushroom's utilities. Afterwards, the government's support in the OVOP movement expanded towards other dimensions as following.

1) Research and Development: There were various research centers such as Agricultural and Marine Product Processing Consulting Center, Hot Spring Business and Flower Farm Research and Consulting Center, and the Cattle Breeding Experimental Center, etc.

2) Human Resource Development: There were the leadership development school (Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku), conference for exchanging and presentation among the OVOP network, and the field trip to other country.

3) Marketing: There were the OVOP exhibitions and OVOP fairs, etc.

4) Financial: There was the low-interest loan and the financial support for municipality in development of infrastructure.

Regarding the low-interest loan, Nobuyoshi and Lutful (2005, p. 78) stated that the loan in case of OVOP policy was only provided as the support for entrepreneur, not the direct financial support for OVOP business investment. For example, the entrepreneur might take the loan to buy additional refrigerator for product storage. It

could be said that the Oita prefecture provided support for the OVOP movement in research and development, human resource development, and financial support, while the community's main responsibility would be the development according to policy.

Considering the 3 principles of OVOP; Local Yet Global, Self-Reliance Creativity, and Human Resource Development, it was obvious that the OVOP policy gave highest priority to Human Resource Development, as it is the top goal of OVOP. Therefore, OVOP policy started with human resource development first.

The OVOP policy led to the founding of Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku school in 1983, as the night school which aim to create the community leaders who could develop their own communities. There were 12 branches of school throughout Oita prefecture. The curriculum required 2 years to finish. During the first year, students would learn the general principles and process of OVOP as well as presentation of case studies. On the second year, training of various skills would be provided. Governor of Oita prefecture would act as the school's principal. The Oita prefecture also provided financial support for Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku's students at 50% of the expense for international field trip. Those who graduated from this school could bring the knowledge to develop their community, build network among the community leaders, help ensure self-reliance creativity in community development, and raise the local wisdom to the global level.

Murayama (personal communication, December 2, 2015) stated that after the OVOP project began, there was immense change which increased the community members' enthusiasm towards local economic development. OVOP was not the policy which local government would provide direct support to the project. And after the OVOP policy was implemented in Oita prefecture, the following outputs could be found (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p. 79; Takai, 2012, p. 8; Oita, 2016, p. 2).

- 1) The number of OVOP products increased from 143 items in 1980 to 320 items in 1999, and 810 items in 2002.

- 2) OVOP products could generate revenue for communities in Oita prefecture for 36 billion yen in 1980, which increased to 141 billion yen in 1999.

- 3) In 1970, the prefectural income per capita of Oita was only 309,000 yen per person per year, which was almost 3 times lower than prefectural income per capita of Tokyo and Osaka and over 2 times lower than prefectural income per capita

of Aichi. But in 1990, Oita's prefectural income per capita increased to 2,375,000 yen, which was roughly one times lower than prefectural income per capita of Tokyo, Osaka, and Aichi. The prefectural income per capita of Oita prefecture also increased to 2,647,000 yen in 2003.

4) After the implementation of OVOP policy, the relocation problem was better as the number of population in Oita prefecture increased from 1,155,000 people in 1970 to 1,236,000 people in 1990, and 1,221,000 people in 2000. (Nobuyoshi & Lutful, 2005, p. 79; Takai, 2012, p. 8; Oita, 2016, p. 2).

According to the study, the researcher found that the OVOP products were unique with their own special identity, produced by people in community, managed by people in community, and sold by people in community. OVOP products could not be bought in other local community and thus require the buyer to enter the community only. This led to the additional income to the community, such as in the form of tourism, selling souvenir, and other spending in community, etc.

But in 2003, OVOP policy of Oita prefecture ended as Morihiko Hiramatsu finished his term of governor. However, Hiramatsu used the network such as government officials, young leaders whom he supported, and NGOs to create the OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee and International OVOP Policy Association or IOPA in order to continue driving the OVOP movement. Afterwards, Japan International Cooperation Agency or JICA promoted OVOP movement as local development policy in other countries, where the OVOP movement was adapted and applied. Currently, the government of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe advocated the Sixth Sector Industrialization strategy which also based on the OVOP policy of Oita prefecture.

The researcher concluded that the success of OVOP policy was possible due to the political stability, as Morihiko Hiramatsu could stay in Oita prefecture's governor position for 6 terms since 1979 to 2003. Therefore, the OVOP policy could be implemented continuously. Hiramatsu strictly laid out the role of the state as the supporter of OVOP policy implementation and motivator of community member, but the major role of OVOP development must come from the capacity of local community members who think independently. In other words, the activities and decisions must come from the need of community members, or it could be said that OVOP policy

focused on the bottom-up implementation, which the community members were the most important actors within the policy process, resulted in the strength of community.

6.3.3 Comparative Analysis of Policy Implementation

According to the comparative analysis of policy implementation through the top-down and bottom-up approach, the researcher found that the OTOP policy implementation was top-down, as the OTOP policy was responsible by the OTOP Administrative Board under the affiliation with the Prime Minister's Office. As a result, OTOP became the national-level policy of exogenous development project, which the government was the major actor who directed, initiated, controlled, and developed the policy and OTOP project mostly in all processes as following.

- 1) The Top-Down command to survey and register unique product of each province
- 2) Formulation of product standard for OTOP Product Champion (OPC) project
- 3) Financial support for entrepreneurs
- 4) Marketing and public relations supports
- 5) Initiation in connecting with tourism
- 6) Initiation of human resource development

On the contrary, the OVOP policy implementation was bottom-up, as there was no structure to support the OVOP policy implementation. The reason why Hiramatsu did not formulate any structure nor the approach of OVOP implementation was to avoid the hierarchy of organization in the bureaucratic system, as he intended for the people to be the major actor of OVOP policy rather than the state. It could be said that the OVOP policy was the endogenous development, with the people as the major actor while the state or Oita prefecture acted as the supporter in the following area.

- 1) Research and development: The related research centers were founded.
- 2) Human resource development: The leader school "Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku" was founded.
- 3) Marketing: There were the OVOP exhibitions and OVOP fairs, etc.

4) Financial support: The low-interest loan was provided as well as the financial support for municipality's infrastructure development.

Regarding the organizations within the local communities of both cases, the researcher found that the OTOP project was based on King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit's projects, which the state already provided supports for the housewives group, resembling the Seikatsu Kaizen Group in Japan who played the role of manufacturing, technical supports, together with the conservation of existing community cultures.

Regarding the differences, the community organization of Oita prefecture consisted of the strong and efficient co-operative who played the role of negotiator for the community with the state and the private sector, production management, and community resource management as well as providing financial supports for its member. Meanwhile, most co-operative in Thailand lack the strength nor negotiation power, and most co-operative members mainly expected to loan from it.

Regarding the value or priority in policy, it was found that the OTOP policy started with product development and continuously focused on product development for a long time, and recently started to actively develop human resource in 2016. Therefore, the overall image of OTOP became the policy for product development, and people perceived that OTOP meant just the product. On the other hand, the OVOP policy prioritized human resource development the most, as it was deemed that investment in human resource development would be the most sustainable development.

Regarding the products, it was found that the majority of OTOP products were tangible products which lack unique identity, as there were many similar products which resemble each other. The important OTOP distribution channel was the OTOP fair organized by the central government, such as the OTOP city event at Mueng Thong Thani, Bangkok, or OTOP fair in other province. The OTOP products could be found in general stores, while the OTOP tourism attractions were not as outstanding as the tangible OTOP products.

Meanwhile, the OVOP products consisted of both the tangible products and the cultural products in various tourist attractions of Oita prefecture, which were the intangible products. These products were created from the available resources in community, produced by the community member, managed by the community

members, and sold by the community members. Therefore, the products were outstanding, unique, and could not be found in other places. So if the consumers wish to buy such product, they must enter the community only. This corresponded to OVOP policy objectives to actually generate income to the community.

As the OTOP policy have been implemented until now, the researcher used the 3 principles of OVOP movement which was the original model of development; Local Yet Global, Self-Reliance Creativity, and Human Resource Development, as the framework for comparative analysis of policy implementation in the case of OTOP and OVOP as following.

1) Principle of Local Yet Global: The OVOP chose the endogenous development approach for local revitalization by maximizing the capacity from locally available resources in adding value to the products, resulted in unique products of Oita prefecture. The products were outstanding, unique, created from local wisdom, but could be accepted by the international market. However, the OTOP products lack the international acceptance and unique identity, as there were many similar products. Part of OTOP products also focused on mass production.

2) Principle of Self-Reliance Creativity: The OVOP policy aimed to encourage independent thinking in the villagers from their own creativity. The Oita prefecture did not provide any direction for the community but only provided technological supports and marketing supports. The loan would be provided only as the indirect support for OVOP entrepreneurs. It could be said that the OVOP did not prioritize the loan. On the contrary, the major actor of the OTOP policy was the state, who mainly directed, initiated, controlled, and developed the OTOP policy in all steps. Furthermore, the OTOP entrepreneurs also depended on various loans continuously, such as the Village Fund, SMEs Bank Fund, SML Fund, and the financial support from Local Administrative Organization. Hence, most OTOP entrepreneurs lack the creativity and self-reliance ability.

3) Principle of Human Resource Development: As the ultimate goal for OVOP policy was the human resource development, Hiramatsu thus founded the community leader school “Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku” in order to create the new leader who would continue the development in their own community. The alumni of Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku also became the network among villagers from various area, who

could exchange know-how and information among each other. Moreover, there were opportunities for international field trip in order to learn and develop the local community. Meanwhile, the OTOP policy started and focused on product development to generate income for community and solve economic problem. As a result, the human resource development under the OTOP policy was neglected. However, the state started to actively develop human resource by founding the OTOP school in 2016.

In conclusion, the policy implementation of OTOP policy was top-down, with the state as the major actor who provided direction, initiation, control, and development for OTOP policy and project. But the OVOP policy implementation was bottom-up, with the major actor in the civil society. The government or Oita prefecture was just the supporter. The OTOP policy focused on manufacturing the tangible products while OVOP policy gave the highest priority to human resource development. Most OTOP products lack unique identity as there were many similar products, while OVOP products focused on uniqueness. Most OTOP entrepreneurs depended on various forms of loan, while OVOP did not focus on providing loan for entrepreneurs.

Nevertheless, the researcher found that OTOP policy was successful in branding and creating awareness of OTOP products both inside and outside Thailand. Currently, the OTOP policy is still implemented through various structures and mechanism continuously due to its strong brand which is widely known and the yearly revenue of approximately 100 billion baht. As a result, the new government could not simply annul OTOP policy.

Although the OVOP policy ended in 2003, but Morihiko Hiramatsu ensured that it will continue to be active through the creation of OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee and International OVOP Policy Association or IOPA. And finally, Japan International Cooperation Agency or JICA used the OVOP movement as the example for sustainable local development policy for various countries. And the current Japan government also developed the Sixth Sector Industrialization based on the OVOP policy.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provide the conclusion, discussion, and recommendations from the comparative study of One Tambon One Product: OTOP policy from Thailand and One Village One Product: OVOP policy as following.

7.1 Conclusion and Discussion

7.1.1 Comparative Analysis of Agenda Setting

The agenda setting of OTOP policy and OVOP policy occurred when the three streams including the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream merged. The results could be explained by the Multiple Streams Model as following.

7.1.1.1 Comparative Analysis of Problem Stream

According to the comparative analysis of problem stream in the case of OTOP policy from Thailand and OVOP policy from Japan, the researcher found that both policies originated from the economic problems with some differences in the problem condition.

1) First of all, the economic problem in Thailand was the consequence from the economic crisis in national level, while the economic problem in Oita prefecture was the consequence from the development of industrial cities which affected sluggishness and regression only in the prefectural level.

2) Secondly, the economic crisis in Thailand affected both the nation's economy and society, while the sluggishness in Oita prefecture affected just the decline of population number due to relocation as the prefectural income per capita in Oita was much lower than those of the prefectures in the industrial development plan.

3) The economic crisis in Thailand was the reason why many business and large enterprises must closed down, and the labors moved back to their home town as a consequence. On the other hand, the sluggishness in Oita prefecture

occurred as the labors from Oita prefecture relocated to the major industrial cities in Japan.

In conclusion, the level of consequences from event and crisis under the problem stream was different. The economic crisis in 1997 was the national-level problem which can be indicated by various forms of indicator and feedback. However, the sluggishness of Oita was just the prefectural problem which can be indicated by the number of populations in the labor age who relocated to the major industrial cities.

The problem stream of this research corresponded to the study by Young, Shepley and Song (2010), who stated that the problem stream is the perception process of problem. Larking (2012) also deemed that problem stream is the concern from many people who demand change. And Chow (2014) deemed that problem stream means all issue of problem which receive attention from everyone including the government. Zohlhöfer and Rüb (2016) deemed that problem stream is the condition which became problematic and required solution.

In this study, the comparison of problem streams from the case of OTOP and OVOP policy found that both policies corresponded to the problem stream in Kingdon's theory as they all consisted of event and crises, indicator, and feedback. And they were also the problem issues which received attention from people and government, as Kingdon's theory deemed that the problem stream only emerged when the policy formulator, people, and government were aware of the problems and their consequences towards the society and the state (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 90-93).

7.1.1.2 Comparative Analysis of Policy Stream

Regarding the comparative analysis of policy stream, the researcher found that both policies aimed to solve problems in their own society. However, the researcher found the differences from both cases as following.

- 1) The Sufficiency Economy idea, Cultural Community concept, and OTOP policy were all initiated by the elites, while the movement in the policy stream of Oita prefecture such as Oyama town movement and Yufuin town movement were all originated from the community members.

- 2) The local community in Thailand have been supported by the government through the top-down assistance from various policies. As a result, the villagers and community lack the strength to depend on themselves. Meanwhile, there

has been the continuous human resource development for the community in Oita prefecture. Therefore, the local community of Oita prefecture is strong due to the good community leader, strong network, and efficient co-operative.

The policy stream in this research followed the theory which deemed that policy is the tangible solution which is formulated, developed, opposed, and approved by the specialists within the academic or think tank institutes within the policy communities, or from the political parties and their formal or informal allies who share mutual benefits (Chow, 2014; Kingdon, 2001; Larkin, 2012; Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016).

In conclusion, from the analysis of technical feasibility, public relation, and budget feasibility, the researcher found that they were not the obstruction for the political's selection of any policy from the primeval soup towards policy agenda setting in both the case of Thailand and Oita prefecture.

This pattern corresponded to Kingdon's theory which stated that policy proposal might not reflect the society's opinion. Policy proposal could come from the opinion of minorities in society. However, policy proposal of community or society must be the possible policy alternative (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 131-143).

7.1.1.3 Comparative Analysis of Political Stream

Regarding the comparative analysis of political stream in both cases, the researcher found that both policies were similar and different in the following dimensions.

- 1) Both policies involved the mood from people's feeling who wanted to solve problems in their societies.

- 2) The pressure group campaign in the case of OTOP policy mostly consisted of the elite and scholars community, while the pressure group campaign in the case of OVOP were mostly the community members.

- 3) The election result and changes of administration in the case of OTOP policy was the Thai Rak Thai's victory in the 2001 general election, when Thaksin Shinawatra became the Prime Minister, and in the case of OVOP policy was also the election in 1979 which Morihiro Hiramatsu was elected as the governor of Oita prefecture.

- 4) As Thaksin Shinawatra became the Prime Minister with the single-party government, he had the highest authority to make the policy decision.

Similarly, Morihiko Hiramatsu was also the highest authority figure for policy decision in Oita prefecture.

5) The election result and changes of administration in the case of OTOP policy was the national-level politics, while in the case of OVOP policy was the local-level politics.

6) Regarding the policy entrepreneurs, OTOP policy was advocated by the scholars who were the consultants of Thai Rak Thai party, while the role of policy entrepreneurs in the case of OVOP policy was acted by Hiramatsu who advocated the OVOP policy by himself.

7) Unlike the other policies within the primeval soup, OTOP policy was advocated towards agenda setting by policy entrepreneurs who were closed to the political authority. However, no policy was selected from the primeval soup by Hiramatsu in the case of OVOP, as Hiramatsu himself acted as the policy entrepreneurs who proposed the OVOP towards agenda setting.

It was found that the comparative analysis of the politic stream in the case of OTOP policy and OVOP policy corresponded to Kingdon's theory and other related study, which stated that the political stream refers to the political power which affect the decision maker such as the national mood, the pressure group campaign, the election result, and the changes of administration (Kingdon, 2001; Young, Shepley, & Song, 2010; Larkin, 2012; Chow, 2014; Zohlnhöfer & Rüb, 2016).

However, the role of policy entrepreneurs in the case of OVOP was acted by Hiramatsu, or the political authority who became the policy entrepreneur himself, unlike the OTOP policy from Thailand and the general model of Multiple Streams theory, which the policy entrepreneurs would motivate, convince, or support the policy problem, then became the agent or mediator who coordinate as well as negotiate with related person in the policy process (Kingdon, 2003, pp. 68-70, 122-124).

In conclusion, the comparative analysis of OTOP policy and OVOP policy according to the Multiple Stream Model found the three streams as following.

Problem stream: In the case of OTOP policy, the problem stream was the consequence from 1997 economic crisis. In the case of OVOP policy, the problem stream was the sluggishness and socio-economic regression in Oita prefecture.

Policy stream: In the case of Thailand, OTOP policy was selected from the primeval soup. However, in the case of Oita prefecture, OVOP policy was not selected from the primeval soup but was developed by Hiramatsu himself.

Political stream: In the case of OTOP policy, there was the political stream from Thai Rak Thai's victory in election under the leadership of Thaksin Shinnawatra. In the case of OVOP policy, there was the political stream from Morihiko Hiramatsu's victory in the governor election of Oita prefecture.

When the three streams merged, the policy windows of both policies then opened up. The policy entrepreneurs, or the Thai Rak Thai consultants in the case of OTOP policy, advocated the policy towards agenda setting under the decision of the top political authority at the time, or Thaksin Shinnawatra. Hiramatsu acted as the policy entrepreneurs who advocated OVOP policy towards agenda setting by himself for his own policy decision.

Hence, this research could prove that Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model could be applied in other political context outside of the United states, similar to the study by Chow (2014), "Understanding Policy Change: Multiple Streams and National Education Curriculum Policy in Hong Kong", the study by Henstra (2010), "Explaining local policy choices: A Multiple Streams analysis of municipal emergency management", the study by Ndlovu (2008), "An Agenda Setting Analysis: the Application of Kingdon's Framework to the Road Accident Fund (RAF)", and the study by Ridde (2009), "Policy Implementation in an African State: An Extension of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Approach Valery" etc.

7.1.2 Comparative Analysis of Policy Formulation

The researcher conducted the comparative analysis of policy formulation in the case of OTOP policy and OVOP policy through the Iron Triangle framework and found the following results. The OTOP policy was advocated by the Thai Rak Thai party led by Thaksin Shinnawatra who could combined some business sectors in the same group with the political sector. Meanwhile the bureaucrats must accept the power of Thai Rak Thai party as they became the hope of Thai people, or almost 12 million voters, for solving the consequences from economic crisis in 1997. In other words, Thaksin Shinnawatra's Thai Rak Thai party could dominate the Iron Triangle which consisted

of the political, the business, and the bureaucrats, that the OTOP policy could be smoothly formulated as the public policy, with the efficient structure, organization, and integration.

The Iron Triangle meant the network of the state and the business sector who coordinate and control the public policy. Each side of the relationship within the Iron Triangle mutually depend and reward each other. The business would provide financial support for the politicians to win the election, and they would be rewarded with the access to the government organization and domination of legislation process which they could protect their business profit. Meanwhile, the political would assign the bureaucrats to follow the policy as lobbied by the business, and the bureaucrats would be rewarded by salaries or career growth (Canova, 2007, pp. 57-58).

In other words, although the negotiation process between the political, the bureaucrats and the business could not be pointed out evidently in the case of OTOP policy formulation, but the structure of the Iron Triangle framework could be used to explain the control which the political had over the bureaucrats and the business when the Thai Rak Thai party received the highest political authority under the leadership of Thaksin Shinnawatra.

Meanwhile the OVOP policy was formulated by the support of a single authority figure, or Mr. Morihiko Hiramatsu, without any role of the Iron Triangle or the political, the business, and the bureaucrats according to the framework. This could be explained that the OVOP policy was the policymaker's personal demand, together with the rather authoritative power of the governor in Japan's system. Furthermore, Hiramatsu did not formulate any structure or organization to support OVOP policy, unlike the study by Rakhmanko (2015) which deemed that the Iron Triangle framework was the important part of Japan's post-war politico-economic system which was created in order to ensure the fast economic growth and secured economic environment through the guarantee of smooth and efficient communication process as well as the close coordination between the government and the business groups.

7.1.3 Comparative Analysis of Policy Implementation

Regarding the comparative analysis of policy implementation in the case of OTOP policy and OVOP policy, the researcher used the top-down approach and bottom-up approach and found the following results.

It was found that the nature of policy implementation in the case of OTOP policy followed the top-down approach, as the political power constructed the OTOP policy as the national-level and exogenous community development policy. The evidences consisted of the role of the state as the initiator, controller, and developer of OTOP policy and project mostly in all process. In other words, the Thai government was the actor of OTOP policy, corresponded to the top-down approach that policy implementation might be changed by the actors, whether the change is suitable or not. Policy formulators would exercise their power to control and direct all of the related matters. In other words, the top-down policy implementation started from the authoritative decision with top priority to the actor from the central government, and aimed to reduce the related actors as much as possible (Hood, 1976, pp. 6-8; Matland, 1995, as cited in Liedl, 2011, p. 7; Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2003, as cited in Chuchart Pussayanavin, 2012, p. 18).

Meanwhile, policy implementation in the case of OVOP policy followed the bottom-up approach, as Hiramatsu intended that the civil society should be the main actor in OVOP policy. He therefore avoided formulating any structure and approach for OVOP policy implementation. It could be said that OVOP policy was the process of endogenous development, which the state or Oita prefecture provided just the support. This corresponded to the bottom-up approach which emphasis policy implementation by the actors at the lower level, with the paradigm that the practitioners could decide and use their own judgement to formulate implementation approach within their area, as they are closer to the problem than those at the top. Furthermore, how much the policy objectives is fulfilled would depend on the negotiation between policy formulator and policy actor (Elmore, 1978, pp. 185-230; Chuchart Pussayanavin, 2012, p. 18).

Additionally, the researcher also conducted the comparative analysis of both policies in other dimensions as following.

Local Community's Organization: It was found that the OTOP policy was based on King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit's project, and the housewife group resembled the Seikatsu Kaizen Group of Japan. However, Oita prefecture's co-operative was stronger than the co-operative in Thailand, that they could be the community's negotiator and managers of the community's production and resources. On the contrary, most Thai co-operative lack the strength and negotiation power.

Policy Development Value: The researcher found that the case of OTOP policy started mainly with product development since the start of policy and therefore became the policy which focused on product development, unlike the OVOP policy which focused on human resource development.

Product and merchandizing: The researcher found that most product and merchandizing in the OTOP policy were mostly tangible products. Many products were similar or imitation, that the unique quality was lack, especially when they were sold through various events organized by the government as well as general souvenir stores, while the tourist attraction under the OTOP project was not unique enough. On the contrary, the products in OVOP policy consisted of both the tangible and intangible products such as cultural heritages in tourist attractions. These OVOP products were created from unique local resource and can only be purchased by visiting the community.

Regarding the comparison of both policies in terms of the 3 principles of OVOP movement, the following results were found.

1) **Local Yet Global:** OTOP products lack the international dimension, as there were many similar products, while OVOP movement developed their products from the locally available resources in the community, resulted in the unique and internationally-accepted products.

2) **Self-Reliance Creativity:** The main actor of OTOP policy was the government who played the important role of policy implementation. Furthermore, the OTOP entrepreneurs had to depend on various loans from government. On the contrary, the main actor of OVOP policy was the civil society, while Oita prefecture only provided technological support and marketing support rather than the loan.

3) **Human Resource Development:** OTOP policy focused on product development that the dimension of human resource development was neglected until

2016, when the government just began the OTOP school. On the contrary, the top goal of OVOP policy was the human resource development and therefore the community leader school “Toyo no Kuni Zukuri Juku” was founded in order to create new community leaders, build network, exchange knowledge and information, as well as to ensure the field trip to increase community development know-how.

Nevertheless, OTOP policy was successful in terms of branding that the OTOP products became widely known. Other success of OTOP policy was the revenue of approximately 100 billion baht per year, that the OTOP policy cannot be terminated by the latter government. However, the OVOP policy ended in 2003 when Morihiko Hiramatsu finished his terms as Oita’s governor. Nevertheless, he still has the role in non-government organization such as OVOP International Exchange Promotion Committee and International OVOP Policy Association or IOPA, that OVOP policy was developed into the international-level development policy under the supports of JICA. Japanese government led by Shinzo Abe also developed the Sixth Sector Industrialization strategy based on OVOP policy.

In conclusion, the researcher found that both policies followed the Multiple Stream Model that when the three streams of problem, policy, and political merged, the policy window opened up in both cases. The obvious differences of both policies were the policy entrepreneurs, as OTOP policy involved policy entrepreneurs who were the consultants or closed team with the political authority or Thaksin Shinnawatra, that OTOP policy could enter agenda setting conveniently as in the Multiple Streams Model. However, the policy entrepreneurs in the case of OVOP policy was the same person with political authority, or Morihiko Hiramatsu who advocated OVOP policy that he developed by himself towards the agenda setting on his own.

Regarding the comparison of policy formulation through the Iron Triangle framework, the researcher found that the Thai Rak Thai party by Thaksin Shinnawatra could controlled the political, the business, and the bureaucrats together, which is the ability to negotiate between the three angles in the framework. As a result, they were integrated in OTOP policy formulation, while this was not found in the case of OVOP policy which resulted from just the support by Morihiko Hiramatsu only.

Regarding the comparison of policy implementation through the top-down and bottom-up approach, the researcher found that policy implementation in the case of

OTOP was top-down, with the government as the major actor, while the policy implementation in the case of OVOP was bottom-up, as the people were the major actors who were supported by the state. Regarding the comparison through the 3 principles of OVOP, the researcher found the differences which resulted in the failure of OTOP policy to fulfill the three principles. For the principle of Local Yet Global, it was found that most OTOP products lack unique identity as there were many similar products. For the principle of Self-Reliance Creativity, it was found that the OTOP entrepreneurs depended on the state immensely in various ways, including project initiation, planning, as well as the loan. This was the result from the government's action as the major actor in OTOP policy implementation. And regarding the principle of Human Resource Development, it was found that the OTOP policy started with product development and focused mainly with the tangible product that the human resource development was neglected. However, the OTOP policy implementation was successful in terms of branding and revenue from sales. The OTOP products were widely known and the revenue from sales were satisfactory.

7.2 Recommendations

According to the comparative analysis of OTOP and OVOP policies, the researcher found the gap between OTOP policy and OVOP policy which was the best practice. The gap from both policies was identified and developed into recommendations as following.

7.2.1 Recommendations for OTOP Entrepreneurs

7.2.1.1 The OTOP entrepreneurs should be aware of the most important principle of OVOP process, which is Human Resource Development, not the product development. Human Resource Development is the most sustainable development which would stay with the community for a long time. The OTOP entrepreneurs should start from exploring their local wisdom, together with studying various know-how of product development, community development as the sustainable tourist attraction, management, and marketing from external sources. There should also be the network of OTOP entrepreneurs who could exchange know-how and technology. And most

important of all, even if the human resource development by the villagers and community would be hard, but with the awareness of Sufficiency Economy in self-development and community development from wisdom and reason, we could understand how to develop human resource efficiently, with modesty. As we know ourselves, our community, and the available resources, we could develop ourselves and human resources with the appropriate direction and framework for our own local community. And during crisis, the community would be able to initiate and solve problems by its own.

7.2.1.2 OTOP entrepreneurs must be able to rely on themselves, as the OVOP principle focused on self-reliance creativity. Therefore, OTOP entrepreneurs should develop their own community co-operative in order to be as efficient as in the case of Japanese co-operative who could negotiate with both the state and the private sector for the community. Moreover, the co-operative must have the role of managing produces, merchandizing, and various resources in the community for maximum profit of community. And the loan from co-operative would replace other loan from the state which the OTOP entrepreneurs previously depended on, that they must spend it carefully, with the internal auditing process from the community members. The OTOP entrepreneurs must be modest and use their wisdom which would be the strength to ensure successful self-reliance. Regarding the creativity, they must learn from best-practice OTOP group in order to develop their own OTOP enterprises. And OTOP entrepreneurs should build the network to exchange information, knowledge, as well as techniques which could match the available resources in their own community.

7.2.1.3 The OTOP entrepreneurs should truly seek the local identity to implement OTOP activity according to the principle of Local Yet Global. After the OTOP project was implemented for a while, it was obvious that the project focused on the development of tangible products, which, sadly, were imitated and mass produced. Hence, the OTOP entrepreneurs should reconsider oneself with wisdom and reason in selecting the truly unique product which can be created by the available resources in community. They should produce quality product, not mass product but rather focus on the background story of the product in order to add value. Furthermore, the focus with the tangible product led most OTOP entrepreneurs to neglect the intangible products such as cultural heritage and tourist attractions. They therefore should consider the truly

unique attractions or cultures in the community then develop into the community's OTOP. For example, there could be cultural activities, homestay, farm stay, local food, and store for selling OTOP product which could attract tourists to their community. This would generate income to the community in the various dimensions other than just selling tangible products.

7.2.2 Recommendations for the Government

7.2.2.1 The government must shift their focus to the Human Resource Development, as they have already began by founding the OTOP school in 2016. This is a good start for developing community leaders and OTOP entrepreneurs. However, the government must urgently communicate and build understanding among the OTOP entrepreneurs that the most important principle of this development process is human resource development, which it must convince the OTOP entrepreneurs of the sustainable utility of this approach.

7.2.2.2 The government must gradually shift its role from the director to supporter, in order to ensure self-reliance creativity. Apart from providing the OTOP policy, the government must actively encourage the set-up of efficient co-operative in each community, with the principle and approach of operation, in order to create the co-operative of community, by community, and for community. Hence, the OTOP entrepreneurs and co-operative would gradually replace the role of the government. In other words, there should be the gradual shift of actor from the state to the civil society and community, and change the OTOP activity implementation from top-down to bottom-up approach.

7.2.2.3 The government sector must build the understanding that OTOP is not only limited to tangible product, but under the principle of Local Yet Global, the community, people, and OTOP entrepreneurs should be aware that OTOP or OVOP also include the intangible products such as natural resources, tourist attractions, cultural heritage, etc. Therefore, each community could expand its opportunity to present the truly valuable and unique identity of the community. Additionally, the government should found organization related to OTOP product research and development as well.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF KEY INFORMANT

LIST OF KEY INFORMANT

1. Manoon Sornkerd, Pensioner, Community Development Department Ministry of the Interior
2. Thaweeb Buthpho, Deputy Director General of Community Development Department, Ministry of the Interior
3. Surasak Aksonkul, Director, Planning and Data Coordination Group, The Community Development Department, Ministry of the Interior
4. Sayumporn Limthai, Former Deputy Permanent Secretary of Interior
5. Nisakorn Jungjaroentharn, Deputy Permanent Secretary of Industry
6. Dr. Pantita Tantawattana, Researcher at Environmental Research Institute Chulalongkorn University
7. Yoopin Claymont, Researcher at the Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University and International OVOP Policy Association
8. Dr. Irsoon Ruangrattana-amporn, Independent scholar and International OVOP Policy Association member
9. Dr. Warangkana Korkiertpitak, Office of the National Security Council and International OVOP Policy Association
10. Associate Professor Dr. Somchai Chakhatrakarn, Former President of Thai Student Association under the Royal Patronage at Japan and Former Vice President of Thammasat University
11. Jun Kuwano, Aoyama Kakuin University, Japan
12. Daisaku Yanagihara, Teacher and son of Japanese farmer
13. Prof. Dr. Hiroshi Muryama, Former dean of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University, Japan, Mr. Morihiko Hiramatsu's Ph.D. Thesis Advisor of Policy Science, whom was an initiator of OVOP process.
14. Prof. Dr. Matsumoto Son, Faculty of Policy Science Faculty, Kyoto Prefecture University, Japan
15. Masaru Suzuki, Former Specialist at Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

16. Assoc. Prof. Hongpha Subboonrueng, Assistant Dean at Faculty of Economics,
Thammasart University
17. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chaweewan Denpaiboon, Faculty of Architecture,
Chulalongkorn University and International OVOP Policy Association
18. Dr. Russama Marubodee, Faculty of Agricultural Technology, Rajamangala
University of Technology Tawan-ok
19. Dr. Preuk Chutimanukul, independent scholar
20. Tirarat Shinsaen, Assistant Dean of Agricultural Technology Faculty, Rajabhat
Mahasarakham University

APPENDIX B

QUESTION OUTLINE OF THE INTERVIEW

QUESTION OUTLINE OF INTERVIEW

What was your opinion towards the OTOP/OVOP Policy?

1. Regarding social and economic problems which existed before utilized OTOP/OVOP policy what event and crisis affected the economy and society
2. What was the background of problem stream?
3. Regarding solving socio-economic problems before utilized OTOP/OVOP policy, did anyone or any groups of people propose any policies beside of OTOP/OVOP policy?
4. From the last answer, please give the detail of those policies: strengths and weaknesses?
5. What was the background of policy stream?
6. What was the reason of OTOP/OVOP policy's formulation?
7. What was the background of politic stream?
8. How was the OTOP/OVOP policy promoted?
9. How was the OTOP/OVOP policy implemented?
10. In your view, what are the factors which drive OTOP/OVOP policy is applicable?
11. What was the OTOP/OVOP policy result?
12. How did the OTOP/OVOP policy change after the regime changed?

BIOGRAPHY

NAME

Mr. Watunyu Jaiborisudhi

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

Bachelor of Arts in Southeast Asian
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Thammasat University University
Master of Arts in International Relations,
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PRESENT POSITION

Senior Reseacher Institue of East Asia
Studies, Thammasat University