

**ANALYSIS OF AGENDA SETTING, PUBLIC POLICY
FORMULATION, IMPLEMENTATION AND
DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF
THAILAND'S VILLAGE AND URBAN
COMMUNITY FUND**

Jitsupa Kitipadung

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Social Development Administration)
School of Social and Environmental Development
National Institute of Development Administration
2017**

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation Analysis of Agenda Setting, Public Policy Formulation, Implementation and Development: A Case Study of Thailand's Village and Urban Community Fund

Author Miss Jitsupa Kitipadung

Degree Doctor of Philosophy (Social Development Administration)

Year 2017

The objectives of this study were to study the agenda setting process, policy formulation, implementation, development of the Village and Urban Community fund. The research method was qualitative, combining the document research and in-depth interview with the key informants related to the policy formulation and implementation, in order to study the policy agenda setting process, implementation, and the factors contributing to success, problems, and obstruction in policy formulation, as well as the model of policy development. The result including the following points.

1) Policy Agenda Setting. The researcher applied John Kingdon's Multiple-stream Model as the analysis framework of the policy agenda setting process and found that the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy emerged when the problem stream, political stream, and policy stream converged. The problem stream that led to the Village and Urban Community fund was the government's policy instrument to tackle poverty and build economic opportunity for people, that they could access the formal source of capital in the village level. Besides, the policy entrepreneurs anticipated the necessity to boost the macro economy at the grassroots level, in order to develop Thai economy after the 1997 economic crisis. The policy stream was the result of the background idea behind the formation of the Village and Urban Community Fund, or the policy reference for the policy maker, which included the previous government's policy to solve poverty problem, the knowledge base from the villager's saving group, and the knowledge base from the private development firm who had experience of founding the financial group in various area. In addition,

the village fund policy also combined the connotation of boosting the grassroots economy of Thailand simultaneously with strengthen the society. As for the political stream, the Thai Rak Thai party developed the policy strategy in order to fight during their election campaign and gather the political base from the political group or other interest group, that it became the important opportunity for the policy entrepreneurs to obviously act in the political stream, cumulative form the existing policy of other political parties, and raised this policy towards the political stream by using the policy to build the voter base for the interest group and the political party. Therefore, it could be concluded that the three streams were the important factor in the convergence of each stream and finally push the policy agenda towards the opening of policy window.

2) Policy Implementation. It was found that there were some mutual factors which could contribute to success or become the obstruction in the policy implementation, including the president and village fund committee, the national politics, the administration process and suitable resource allocation, the people's participation, the system of auditing and evaluation, and the development of body of knowledge and the village fund's innovation. Nevertheless, it should be noted that during the process of fund administration, both in the National Village Fund Office and the village funds still lack the integration among organizations and network, which was one of the obstacles during the policy implementation. It would be obvious that the policy analysis required the understanding that policy implementation is a dynamic process which related to the interaction between various factors or context. The mentioned factors could all affect the success or failure in the policy implementation.

3) Policy Development. The village fund should consider other activities apart from the financial lending activity, in response to the community context. The village fund should developed itself into the community activity center, including the economic activity which could help the villagers to sustain their lives, or the social activity which strengthen the community. The development should focus towards being the community financial institution and cumulative community welfare. However, the activity development in various dimension should happen according to the community's readiness. Moreover, the villagers should be encouraged to develop the body of knowledge and think about the new direction of self-development under the direction of country reformation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The support from each individuals and institutions contribute to the success of this research. I would like to express my special thanks to Prof. Surasit Vajirakachorn for the advices that were given at all times. Your advices are helpful and even encouraged the author to finish this research. I am very grateful and would like to thank everyone who contributed and provided necessary information, especially Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto, Mr.Supot Arevart, Mr.Suwit Khunkitti, Dr.Poowanida Kunpalin, Dr.Poldej Pinprateep, Dr.Pridi Chotechuang, Mr.Thienchai Na Nakorn, Mr. Manoon Sornkerd, Mr.Ampon Duangpan, Mr.Anek Nakabutr, Mr.Wichai Nasuwannoo. I am grateful that you are willing to spend your precious time and allowed for the interview in order to collect information about the village and urban community fund policy. The information was extremely important as it linked the events that have occurred in the past. In addition, all of you have provided useful suggestions and comments for the research. I am sincere for your kindness.

Furthermore, I am also grateful and would like to say thank you to all of the National Institute of Development Administration faculty members for imparting useful information to conduct this research, my friends who encouraged throughout this research, everyone that supported and encouraged in studying, and the dedicated parents who push me progress in terms of studies and works. Every supports encouraged and motivated me to finish this research and allowed the study to be successful as intended.

Jitsupa Kitipadung

August 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and Problem Significance	1
1.2 Objectives of the Study	3
1.3 Scope of the Study	4
1.4 Research Outcome	4
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	5
2.1 Policy Development Theory	5
2.2 The Village and Urban Community Fund Policy	46
2.3 Solutions Idea for Poverty Problem	51
2.4 Community Welfare Fund and Its Operation	63
2.5 Related Researches	72
CHAPTER 3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH	80
METHODOLOGY	
3.1 Conceptual Framework	80
3.2 Operational Definition	82
3.3 Research Process	82
3.4 Data Resources and Key Informants	83
3.5 Research Instrument	84
3.6 Data Analysis	84

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS	85
4.1 Agenda Setting Process and Policy Formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy	85
4.2 Policy Implementation	115
4.3 Policy Development	159
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND SUGGESTIONS	177
5.1 Conclusion	177
5.2 Discussion	190
5.3 Research Suggestion	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY	200
APPENDICES	219
Appendix A List of the Interview	220
Appendix B Question Outline of the Interview	223
BIOGRAPHY	226

LIST OF TABLES

Tables	Page
4.1 Report of Follow-Up and Evaluation of the Project Under “Strengthen Thai” Action Plan (Village and Urban Community Fund Project)	156

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Page
2.1 Problem Stream	11
2.2 Independent Process Streams	31
2.3 Management Structure of the National Village and Urban Community Fund	49
2.4 The Poverty Line, Ratio of the Poor, Numbers of the Poor	54
3.1 The Conceptual Framework of Research	81
4.1 Ratio of the Household in Debt and the Average Debt Per Household During 2004-2013	116
4.2 Model of Fund Development	163

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Problem Significance

The majority of Thailand population have been facing the poverty problem continuously for a long time, partially because of the country development plan focused mainly on the economic development. This was obvious since the first National Economic and Society Development Plan (1961) until the 7th plan (1996). The poverty gap and inequality thus expanded and caused many other problems including social problems, economic problems, education problems, and environment problems. The rural people and community were also weak and unable to depend on themselves. As the borderless information society led to the influx of culture, value, and foreign capital from the western country into Thailand without any consideration, it was inevitable for Thailand to avoid aftermath of the recent international economic crisis.

Poverty had been a major chronic problem of the country's development, which received priority from every government. Therefore, the policy of "Village and Community Fund" was announced to the parliament on February 26th, 2001, as the urgent policy under the Pol.Lt.Col. Thaksin Shinawatra's government. This policy was meant to be the instrument to solve the poverty problem through the community process which focused on the community's learning capability development towards self-dependency and the sustainable community. The Village and Community Fund policy was also part of the policy set to solve the poverty which directly related to the grassroot citizen. The policy itself was also a project, with the process of policy adaptation towards the implementation through the project within the same year. The project since then continued until the present day, in which each village or community all over the country would receive the fund of 1 million Thai Baht and the operation details. This project was the new redistributive policy which focused on the income

distribution, for the fund would be lent to the citizen who would invest the money in their career.

According to the Village Fund Act, 2004, the objectives of the Village and Community Fund policy was 1) to be the financial resource for the career development investment, which would create job, income, and decrease the expense in supporting and developing towards the welfare creation or any other benefit for the people in the village or urban community. 2) to be the financial sourcing and coordination in the loan between each village fund. 3) to encourage the village or community's capability in system organization and management of their own village fund. 4) to encourage the process of self-dependent of the village or urban community in terms of education and creativity in problem solving, capability building, and supporting the sufficiency economy in the village or the urban community (National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, 2008, p. 3).

However, the Village and Community Fund policy was criticized as a populist policy with the hidden political agenda. Thus, the policy has been continuously distrusted by the society all through the past 16 years since the policy was started and highly attracted the interest from the society in following, checking, and studying the policy effects. According to the literature review, it was found that the previous operation of the Village and Community Fund policy had the negative effects towards the financial institution and the people in many ways. Nevertheless, even if most of the study would point out the negative effects, the policy was still favored by most of the citizen. Despite the fact that the government had changed so many times, the Village and Community Fund policy still continued (Manager Daily, April 28, 2007, pp. 11-12). The citizen could highly participate in the policy process, for it directly affect the development of the citizen's quality of life.

As the Village and Community Fund policy had the process in starting, implementation, and widely influencing the people for over 16 years, the study of the development of the Village and Community Fund policy would be important to understand the agenda setting/policy formulation process, policy implementation, factors of success, the problems or obstacles, and the guidelines for further policy development in order to adjust the policy to suit the situation and context of the Thai society. As a matter of fact, according to the follow up study of the village and

community fund's operation, there were many funds which could not yet arrived at the designated objectives (Ammar Siamwalla, Somchai Jitsuchan, & Poon Sinwong, 2008). Therefore, the researcher was interested in the previous evolution of the Village and Community Fund policy. This study would analyse the problem stream, political stream, and policy stream, which could be originated from different factors according to the social context responsible for the policy origin, in order to understand the process of agenda setting. The researcher agreed with the concept of Multiple Streams Model proposed by Kingdon (2010), which would be used as the major framework to clearly point out the process, for it would demonstrate the origin of policy and the context which set up the policy. This research thus implement the concept of Multiple Streams Model to explain the process of agenda setting in order to understand such process from all perspective, and to study the factors of success, problems and obstacles in the policy implementation of the Village and Community Fund policy. The researcher would study the process of policy development during the 16 years of implementing the Village and Community Fund policy. This knowledge would shed the light on the public policy in Thailand, and could be the recommendation for the related organization in adjusting the policy and prepare for the further implementation of the same type of policy in the future.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This research aimed to study the development of the Village and Community Fund policy, and focused on four issues as follows.

1.2.1 To study the process of agenda setting and the formulation of the Village and Community Fund Policy

1.2.2 To study the implementation of the Village and Community Fund Policy

1.2.3 To study the factors of success and obstacles in the policy implementation

1.2.4 To suggest the guidelines in development of the public policy of the Village and Community Fund project which would be appropriate for the Thai society context.

1.3 Scope of the Study

1.3.1 Scope of Contents

1) To study the process of agenda setting of the Village and Urban Community fund policy through the analysis according to the Multiple Streams Theory.

2) To study the factor of success as well as the problems and obstacles found with the Village and Urban Community fund policy.

3) To study the framework for future policy development.

1.3.2 Population and Target Group

The researcher conducted the in-depth interview with the total 18 related persons, including the participants of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy formulation, the National Committee of the Village and Urban Community Fund, the operating officers and the related network, the Office of the Village and Urban Community Fund, the network of the Village and Urban Community Fund's leaders, and the Village and Urban Community Fund guru and related scholars.

1.3.3 Timeframe of the Study

This study was conducted during January 2014-December 2016.

1.4 Expected Outcome

It was expected that this study of the development of the Village and Community fund policy could lead to the following outcome.

1.4.1 The better understanding of the development process of the Village and Community fund policy.

1.4.2 The result which could be the framework for further improvement of the Village and Community fund project, in the form appropriate to the Thai society context.

1.4.3 The result which could be the framework for further development of Thailand public policy in other agenda in the future.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study of the Village and Urban Community fund which included the analysis of the agenda setting process, policy formation, policy implementation, and policy development, the researcher reviewed the related literature and presented as following.

- 2.1 Policy Development Theory
 - 2.1.1 Policy formulation and agenda setting
 - 2.1.2 Multiple Streams Theory
 - 2.1.3 Policy Implementation
- 2.2 The Village and Urban Community Fund Policy
- 2.3 The theory related to the solution of the poverty problems
- 2.4 The Community Welfare fund and its operation results
- 2.5 Related Research

2.1 Policy Development Theory

The policy development is the process which develop from the root of the problems with the support of data and facts, and include the analysis of the cause of the problems and the possible solution framework under the capacity of the management factors. The policy could be designated or develop from the emerging idea or requirement. It could point out the guideline or new operating procedure which could better reach the designated objectives than the existing guideline. Therefore, each policy must be studied and analyzed so that the group of authorized persons or the scholars could examine it thoroughly and select the best alternative prior to the enactment. Such process could be called “Policy Development” (Sukhothai Thammathirat University, 1996, p. 80). The definition was consistent to what Amorn Raksasat (1979, p. 8) said, that Policy development was the forming of

policy in order to solve a problem, which required comprehensive reflection and research on the related facts and information, followed by the solution analysis and the possible implementation plan. All of the process should be done before the decision to select the most suitable policy can be made. Policy development is the continuous process, with the ultimate goal of policy enactment, which is the acceptance of the developed policy including the objectives and details of the policy. Therefore, the person or the group who responsible for the policy development must persistently reflect on the original policy, in order to check if it could actually solve the problem as intended. The result of the policy evaluation could be analyzed for further improvement of the policy.

Policy development is one of the management technique in methodically clarifying the reason why an operation is crucial. It started from the information and context study and analysis in order to identify the problems, consider the scenario of solutions, presentation of the policy issues, and the decision of the policy implementation. Consequently, the policy development process must be meticulous, careful, and scientific. In trying to develop the policy which could be useful for the society and the country, it is not enough to depend on the experience and commonsense (Office of the Non-formal and Informal Education, 1994, p. 13).

In other words, policy development is the process of creating or forming a new policy, or adjusting the existing policy in order to reach a better or a more appropriate policy, based on the actual problem. Policy development consisted of the steps which would be executed by the responsible or related persons. For Dluhy and Lind (1972, p. 15), there were 4 steps including 1) the research and analysis of the policy or the policy objectives, 2) the structure formulation and policy development, 3) proposal and implementation, and 4) policy evaluation. Lasswell (1956) also proposed that the appropriate policy development should consist of 7 steps, which were 1) gathering and processing data, 2) policy initiation or supporting the policy formation, 3) forming or designating the policy, 4) adjust the environment to suit the policy, 5) policy implementation, 6) policy cancellation or adjustment, and 7) policy evaluation.

Baker, Micheals, and Prestons (1975, p. 18) wrote that during the step of policy development, the needed objective would be transformed into the alternative in execution and the evaluation of how to reach the objective. Moreover, they also

proposed the steps of policy development which focus on the improvement of criteria for measuring, developing, and evaluating the alternatives as well as the possibilities of each choice.

In conclusion, policy development is the consideration in the policy formation in order to solve the problem, by reflecting on facts, information, solution analysis, and the possible implementation before the decision on the policy enactment. In addition, the scope and steps in policy development would cover many activities such as 1) creating the situation in which the policy could occur, 2) policy incubation, 3) policy initiation, 4) policy formation, 5) policy alternatives formulation, 6) policy analysis, 7) policy solution, 8) policy formulation, 9) policy determination, and 10) policy outcome, which could be manifested in three forms including the law, the decision in resources management, and the command or suggestion from the management. The definition of policy development can also be expanded to cover the policy implementation, feedback, adjustment, control, cancellation, transformation, formation, and bringing the information system into the execution step (Amorn Raksasat, 1979).

Amorn Raksasat (1979)'s thought on policy development can be concluded as following. 1) The state's policies could not be determined by a single person or a group in just one step. Multi-step process is essential, and it requires the participation from the management in all levels. 2) Policy is the public matter and should not be monopolized or determined by any single group of person. The majority of citizen should also participate in the policy formulation and development, for the citizen in democratic country must be able to exercise their power in governing the country. 3) Policies are usually complicated in power distribution, as it could be related to many organizations who should be participate in the policy formulation and development. 4) In the decent policy development, the analysis of information and the participation by scholars from multi disciplines are important, as it would point out the weakness or errors which need improvement. 5) The policy development should seek for the best option and solution. Scenario analysis could be very helpful in this case. Thus, the involved persons should consult and respect each other. 6) It is generally accepted during the step of policy development decision that the legitimate authority must approve a policy. This would bring legitimacy which would support the execution

better than the command without legitimacy. 7) The policy developer should envision the overall policy and realize the faults which could be amended partially or overall in the policy.

As for the policy implementation in Thailand, Amorn Raksasat (1979) transcribed that the policy development was a new concept in political science and administrative science. The concept itself was a better improvement in many ways, which could solve the faults of the wrong or defective policy, the discontinuous policy, and the dissonant policy. It is also possible to apply the concept of policy development in Thailand, as the require contexts were mostly existed. Even if the minor factor might be missing, it would not disturb the principles, the execution skills, the institution, the system, and the personnel. However, there should be the political will to fully exercise the existing context and reinforce the missing part.

Satian Luengaram (1981, pp. 72-73) wrote in the book "Policy formulation and the process of planning", that the goal of policy development is to improve what is not good enough to be better, to follow the changing situation of the society, and to adjust the existing condition of the environment which need to be changed. Likewise, the developed policy should also be adjusted in response to the situation, for the details of policy and the government's policy are not static. New process or new idea which could help improving the policy's quality and eliminate the policy's error in the past.

Manop Janthes (2011, p. 58) commented that policy development could cover wide scope and aim to solve the problem with clear objectives and regularly adjust itself according to the situation. Policy development should be based on the updated and correct information system, with the possibility for an actual implementation. Policy development would include the policy cycle, policy process, and policy formulation. Therefore, policy development could be used in every step of policy aiming towards the suitable and effective policy.

From the above concept of policy development, it is obvious that the scholars give high priority to the step of policy analysis, for it could lead to a better understanding of the policy's pros and cons as well as predicting the possible problems, that the responsible organization could prepare to cope with them beforehand. Then the process of policy analysis could present the various choices of

solution available for the stakeholders, so that they could select the best option with the most likely chance to solve such problem.

2.1.1 Policy Formulation and Agenda Setting

Policy formulation is the first step in the process of public policy, which include the policy formulation, agenda setting, consideration of the public policy draft, until the policy is determined as the solution for the public problem. Policy formulation is fundamentally the decision about the public problems. Anderson (2003) wrote that the public formulation is the proposal development for the solution to solve the public problem, deciding what to do with it. Kraft and Fuslong (2006) also said that policy formulation means the development of framework in solving public problem, while Sidney, Fischer, and Miller (2007) said that policy formulation is an important step of the public policy process, when the policy decision-maker would consider the factors which could influence the final decision. And Nattha Wininaiyapark (2011) defined public policy formulation as a consideration of society through the perception process, which influenced by the value in the society, about the problem which should enter the policy agenda. After considering the suitable policy alternatives according to the designated evaluation criteria, such as efficiency, effectiveness, fairness, sustainability, and the ability to reciprocate, the policy alternatives would be presented to the decision-maker to settle on the policy. In addition, Supachai Yawaprapas and Piyakorn Wangmahaporn (2009) mentioned that the policy formulation is the first step of the policy process which include the problem definition, agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy approval.

2.1.2 Multiple Streams

Policy which occurred from the drive to solve problem could not enter the agenda setting by itself. There must be the agenda setter such as the leader, the stakeholders, and the mass media. Agenda setting arises from multiple streams in the society, which John W. Kingdon had developed the framework for the analysis of public policy decision making for the first time in 1984 (Larkin, 2013). The framework was called “Three Stream”, which Kingdon studied the agenda setting of the policy or policy problem and the policy formulation process by following and

focus on the public health and transportation of the United States during 1976-1979. His methodology included interviewing with the important person in the policy formulation process, both within and outside the government (Kingdon, 2010, pp. 4-5), about the agenda and important problems as well as the alternatives (Siriwan Anantho, 2001, p. 58). The framework later became the model of agenda setting from the three independent streams, which affect the agenda setting. The multiple streams must occur simultaneously in order for the problems agenda to enter the agenda setting as following (Kingdon, 2010, pp. 90-164).

2.1.2.1 Problem Stream is the stream which focus on the public and policy makers' interest in the specific problem of the society, by giving the problem's definition and bringing it to formulate a policy solution. The problem stream requires the indicators which are related to both the government sector and public sector (Kingdon, 2010, p. 90). However, there can be many ways and processes to raise the importance of the problem that it become a problem stream which require solution. For example, the society's information can be followed. And generally, the problem which lead to the definition usually come in the form of value, that could be either conservative or liberal one. Thus, the problem stream includes the period of time which the problem becomes significant, the problem definition, and the feedback from the problem study. It should be noted that the problems already existed, but only when the policy maker becomes interested in them that the problems would be solved and the solution would be developed into a policy (Gates, 2010, p. 358). Moreover, Kingdon (1995, p. 92) thought that the policy maker should consider the change of indicators which would be revised within the system. Therefore, the problem streams would be consisted of indicators, focusing events, and feedback effects, according to figure 2.1. For Kingdon, (1995, p. 92) the policy maker should reflect on the change within the indicator, in order to improve and develop the system in the country. The important indicators include the widespread consequences, the reports of various organization, as well as the researches by scholars who studied the problem, which should support the policy maker in the development of further solution for the problem.

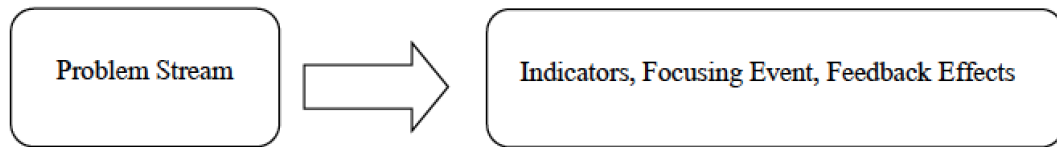


Figure 2.1 Problem Stream

In order to transform a problem into a policy, the importance of the event should be stressed, especially the event which affect the feeling of the majority (Smith Goshin & Woods Byrne, 2009, p. 274), that people can perceive the widespread consequence to the point that the government must acknowledge the event's importance (Walker & Waterman, 2010). Additionally, the feedback of the event would add to the perception and lead to solution as well. (Kirchhoff, Lemos, & Dessai, 2013, pp. 393-414)

In considering “the public’s suggestion in responding to the event” to perceive the problem, it would be essential to solve the problem. Because the focusing event would lead to the growth in policy change. However, there might not be the crisis which would focus the attention to the problem in some case, for the event itself is naturally rare and unpredictable (Kubiak et al., 2005, p. 31, as cited in Pralle, 2009, p. 784). Nevertheless, the lack of the serious event might reduce the agenda of the problem stream, that the agenda setting could shift its focus to other issue. (Clark, 2004)

The crisis could also escalate the focusing event. In this matter, Kingdon (1995, p. 95) wrote that “the problem’s severity must escalate to the point of crisis before it would become obvious enough to be the active agenda”. The gathering of interesting information might reflect the public interest. (Kingdon, 1995, p. 96) Furthermore, Pralle (2009, p. 796) suggested to seize the chance when an unexpected event occur. Therefore, the agendas might lack the clarity without the research. There are also the indicators and focusing event in other forms which stress the danger of the problems, i.e. food hazard. The feedback would reflect the problem perception, especially the people’s suggestion in the feedback of the policy formulation would usually express the public’s feeling towards the issue well. The survey or data gathering and the people’s opinion could also reflect the level of participation in

feedback related to the people's action. For this, Berry (1997, p. 138) explained that it is "the manifestation of the policy formulation, which people were anxious about the problems and they were waiting to see the government's decision in the policy formulation. If the citizen responds to the policy, each people would express their opinion and widely discuss it until the proposal would be obvious to see (Gusmano, Sparer, Brown, Rowe, & Gray, 2002).

Besides that, the feedback could also reflect the public's attitude towards the problems, as it is the shared experience in pressuring the policy maker to formulate and implement a policy. Thus, the public opinion is important for the policy maker. For example, a policy maker would learn the various impact of the policy through the public's negative comment. (Pralle, 2009, p. 785), which Kingdon (2010, p. 101) added that feedback is also one of the way to attract the policy maker's attention.

Brunner (2008, p. 501) conclude the attention of the policy maker towards the problem, when the indicators were the data and incident reports, such as the research about disaster through suggestions from multi channels including the mass media and the public opinion. In some case, there would be the drive of problem stream towards the process of attention attracting by setting the agenda and increase the condition, in order to push towards the policy change. The increase of indicators could reflect the additional severity of some conditions (Brunner, 2008).

Lieberman (2002, p. 445) wrote about the "condition which became problematic, for some problem would not be solved through the form of public policy formulation until they succeed in creating the policy for the specific agenda". Furthermore, as the major goal is the agenda setting, then the "definition of problem framework to attract attention" is considered important in the step of policy formulation. And the "urgent problem" would receive more attention from the authority when it is connecting to the particular problem (Kingdon, 1995, p. 115).

Nevertheless, the indicators might not receive the same level of attention without the event or crisis. Studying about the indicator would not allow the development into the problem in itself, for the policy maker must be concerned about the related problem together with the solution idea (Kingdon, 1995).

2.1.2.2 Policy Stream is the stream about agenda setting or identifying the detail of the decided alternative, which the persons involve in the designation of choices for the policy maker are usually the hidden cluster, including the scholars, researchers, political and administrative scientist, consultant, bureau of the budget, and the groups of stakeholders, etc. The policy stream thus includes the development of alternative solution such as law or technological solution.

1) The Policy Stream

Part of the process of policy formulation, development, and policy dissemination as well as the policy stream with various policy subjects, are the attempt to bring out the agenda in the form of the policy stream, solution stream, or the policy solution stream, which the policymaker must develop the solution simultaneously with finding the faults and reflecting on the issue again. In the national level, the thought would be distributed within what Kingdon called the “Policy Community”, with the related policy actor (Kingdon 1995, p. 117). Kingdon said that the actors were “the researchers, the parliament officers, the staffs in the office of Budget Planning and Evaluation, scholars, analysts, and the stakeholders who were distributed inside and outside the government” (Kingdon, 1995). The persons mentioned by Kingdon had proposed various indicators within the policy community, which not include the management, the member of the Legislature, the interest group coalition, etc.

On the other hand, Smith (1991, p. 236) criticized that Kingdon’s (1984) thought on the Policy Community or the group of public policy organization was obsolete and limited due to its failure to mention the current policy actors such as the elected or appointed government officers and the consumer groups. In fact, the government with many specializations must depend on the group of policy maker, especially the interest group, for the consultation (Marshall, 1995, p. 273). For example, the consumer groups are usually discriminated because the agricultural interest groups who dominate the policy maker responsible for policy about food, etc. (Smith, 1991, p. 239) In Smith’s opinion, the consumer groups must confront the interest groups who are equipped with management and resources aiming towards the direct contact with government and the management of agriculture and food industry (Smith, 1991, p. 240).

It would be more obvious to look at the agricultural policy maker of the United Kingdom during the war between 1930-1947, when there was an outstanding policy for the discriminated consumers (Marsh & Smith, 2000, p. 16). Thus, there was the consideration of other alternative from the external interest group as a part of decision-making process, for the closed policy maker could not dominate the agricultural policy. Although the external production economy condition and the policy maker groups were changed after the war, the policy itself had expand the outcome designation from the existing policy such as over-expansion of the agriculture and the surplus produces (Marsh & Smith, 2000). The policy actors who joined the policy maker group had share the similar understanding about the policy's objectives (Kisby, 2007, p. 83). However, such narrow procedure should not be counted as a gratifying instrument (Jordan, 2005, pp. 318-321). Some researcher therefore replaced the different concept such as the Network Problem Policy instead of the Policy Maker in the policy structure formulation. (Burstein, 1991, p. 341; Marsh & Smith, 2000, pp. 5-6; Carlsson & Sandström, 2008, p. 498; Zahariadis & Allen, 1995, p. 74) Thus, Kingdon's concept of policy community could be applied in consideration, for the policy community is suitable for identifying and explaining the organization structure and the policy formulation with some other concepts.

As a matter of fact, Soroka (1999) commented the concept of policy community could also cover the value formulation of the ideology actors, and seems to be more comprehensive than Kingdon's (2010) theory. However, in order not to conflict with Kingdon's thought, some integration and adjustment was made. For example, the health data and environmental interest group might work together with the agricultural interest group and the food policy maker, etc. As in the local level, especially in Cleveland city, there seems to be numerous policy making with low distribution. But at the national level, the outstanding part is the organization structure which many politicians would formulate the policies and organize the pluralism structure of the policy community more than in the local level.

From the perspective of policy stream, one could ask if anyone should be the policy community actor. The answer is anyone who generally interact with the policy, such as those who are related to the issues of health and food safety, etc. Nevertheless, "The internal and external policy entrepreneur would repeatedly

interact with each other to exchange their thoughts and alternative policies formulation”. The final outcome tends to be accepted through an election, with the clear proposal, alternative, and solution for the mentioned problem (Lieberman, 2002). As the local election, such as the member of the various city council, could not possibly direct their attention to every issue, the “safe and tend to enter the agenda setting” proposal could get more chance to win through the election (Liu, Eric, Arnold, & Kenneth, 2010).

Within the various policy communities, many proposals would be gathered by the specialists, who would give details about the thought and solution, in order to progress with problem sorting and solution finding (Liu et al., 2010). The specialists would “float the ideas soup and the ideas bubble around in the policy communities”. Furthermore, Kingdon (1995, p. 87) said that the group of specialists who focus on the specific policy problem. The specialists about the policy community could come from the interest group in the academic research institution and the government who guide the solution framework (Gates, 2010). The specialists could develop the proposal for the specific policy area (Sardell & Johnson, 1998, p. 181; Kingdon, 1995, p. 117). Lieberman (2002) also said that the specialist could revise the policy alternatives to be presented, for they must formulate the solution proposal for consideration many times, in order to reach the clearest conclusion of the solution.

2) Policy Entrepreneurs

Robinson and Eller (2010) insisted that the policy stream must include “the top policy specialists”, and that the specific policy entrepreneurs must define the solution framework and dominate the multiple streams. In this matter, Kingdon said that “the policy entrepreneurs” have an important role within the policy process, for they are the mechanism in the public policy formulation (Kingdon, 1995), which Kingdon continued that they “could be someone in position, or leaving the position, or recently appointed within an interest group or any research institution (Kingdon, 1995, p. 129). The policy entrepreneurs could be a person or someone who could influence the policy procedure group (Crow, 2010, p. 300). Furthermore, Mintrom and Norman (2009, p. 652) also said that “the policy entrepreneurs would significantly attempt to change the policy”. Therefore, the entrepreneurs must be the

policy supporters who support the policy change by identifying the problem, formulating the solution, and sorting the essential support in policy formulation.

The participation in supporting the policy formulation is possible, for they are equipped with the resources which could facilitate the policy change. In fact, the policy entrepreneurs would be willing to invest their resource “with the expected future return” (Moya, 1998). Besides, Kingdon said that the policy entrepreneurs must follow the definition. 1) The entrepreneurs are willing to invest their resources such as time, energy, fame, and sometimes money, with the expected future return or in the form of the policy which they are satisfied to participate, or even in the form of expanding the operation duty or the career support. 2) The advocate would be willing to invest the resource for driving the proposal to enter the government’s decision agenda (Kingdon, 1995, p. 20).

As what most of the policy entrepreneurs do would involve listening to public’s suggestion about the problem, therefore, they should work well with the others, be generous to the government, be accessible with the personal support network, and be professional (Mintrom & Norman 2009, p. 653). Crow (2010, p. 312) had roughly differentiated the policy entrepreneurs into three categories; 1) the influential specialists, 2) the elected entrepreneurs, and 3) the entrepreneurs who are also the citizen or an actively participated in the political role, such as the Policy Technical Officer. The major role of their works include “Sorting the policy issues into the public space, and attempting to attract the public’s attention which could lead to an important change”. Besides, Kingdon said that the policy supporters are usually the specialists with the political connection or the skill in negotiation in order to dominate the process which could drive the policy towards success (Kingdon, 1995, p. 181). In Crow’s study (2010, p. 313), the jurist and the government officers are usually the policy technical specialists. Therefore, no matter what the legislative assembly’s decision was, the policy supporters from other stream could cross the stream or dominate the problem streams anyway. This issue was expanded in the research by Obornet, Michael, and Mark (2011, p. 341), who added that the policy supporter has an important role in making the strategic mission “becomes virtually urgent [among the stakeholders]”, and “illustrating the necessity to change”. In this case, the necessity to change would depend on the problem

complexity. And generally, the problem clarification is counted as the strategy used during the policy making step, or the initiator in the policy agenda setting, for those who were responsible would “need a significant policy change”. In Mintrom and Norman (2009, p. 652)’s view, the policy entrepreneurs were interested in the problem clarity as a part of the process, which those who were responsible for the problems must set the issue framework, that is nevertheless as important. According to Robinson and Eller (2010, p. 202), “the policy entrepreneurs and the closed policy community usually dominate the problem solving process”, for the problem framework requires specialized knowledge.

In some case, the policy supporters might come from the government’s internal organization, whose proposal resembles the decisive policy agenda. This could be illustrated through the work of Carter, James, and Charled (2004), who demonstrated the means and reasons of “the foreign policy of the entrepreneurs within the parliament”, which the framework and agenda setting were done by the authoritative group. In this case, the members of parliament acted as the policy entrepreneurs who invested the resources and dedicated themselves to the goal of the agenda issues about the United States’ foreign policies. With the dedication and focus to the agenda issues (Carter et al., 2004), the policy supporters might be someone within the government. The government’s means to support the policy formulation were identified by Ellington (2001), which the growth of the contractor, soldier, and the private sectors could all be affected from Kingdon’s form of policy formulation agenda used to formulate the applied management policies. Therefore, the internal government officers who were elected or appointed, including the leaders of the private sectors, might be able to act as the policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon, 1995, p. 129).

When the researchers used Kingdon’s framework in the analysis of the local policy, the studies reflected that the multiple streams in the policy formulation process were usually depended on each other, for the same policy actors usually dominated both the problem streams and the policy streams (Robinson & Eller, 2010, p. 206). According to the study, it was found that the policy actors were greatly responsible for the problem solving within the policy streams, under the process of specific problem solving. On the other hand, Robinson and Eller (2010, p.

210) argued that “participation led to the assembly”. Therefore, some policy actors would dominate the multiple streams which reciprocally depended on other streams, especially within the local level. This could be the result of the smaller area and population size than the national level. Thus, the participation in the problem framework supports and connection with the solutions are usually more narrow. In fact, the closeness of the policy entrepreneurs in each stream could add the potential for the policy’s better safety.

Nevertheless, the strategic process of linking the problem streams and the policy streams usually take time and patience, which might cause the argument about the essential timeframe agreement for the project or program initiation. In some case, the policy proposal developer might need to wait for the right time in solving the problem. And linking with the solution is the strategic process which support the connection between the important solutions, in order for the government’s agenda to be executed. Boscarino (2009, p. 416) pointed out that the policy actor’s distinctive project is the project which could identify the solution and propose the prominent point of each proposal about the problem streams which await for the “next big waves” (Boscarino, 2009). Even if in some case, the useful proposal which might not originated from the problem could be raised. And Rapaport, Levi-Faur, and Miodownki (2009, p. 712) also confirmed that “the solution should be clear in itself, in order to tune to the problems” (Boscarino, 2009, p. 429).

During the process of strategic policy framework setting for the problems to become “the public’s focal point”, the “problem discovery” was counted as the important element for the poicy framework setting (Boscarino, 2009, pp. 416-418). And from the ability to set the agenda issue, which is the political tool, the policy supporter could attempt to create the reaction of personal opinion about the draft of the solution. For example, the formulated agenda could lead to the desired policy, etc. (Jacoby, 2000, p. 751). The benefit of formulating the problem framework identification could lead to the progress of the policy objectives (Jacoby-Markel & Joslyn, 2001). And Boscarino said that the problem frame would make the policy formulator to accept the problem into the policy agenda. Nevertheless, in some hot topic, the situation had to bubbled for a while before the policy actors could discover

the problem. (Boscarino, 2009, p. 429). As the problems continued from the existing problem streams, there would be more necessity to find the way out or alternatives.

According to Gates (2010)'s study about "the people's opinion" which influence the drive of the policy streams, in order to stimulate the political streams with the authority to determine and execute the policy, which could often be found in the local city council, for example. Gates' study was consistent to Robinson and Eller (2010), who thought that the people's voices directly affect the election of the authoritative decision maker. Kingdon also said that "if the authority is confident that the problem is urgent, the policy actor must find the way to approach the new alternative policy stream in order to find the solution' (Kingdon, 1995, p. 174). After the problem's focal point was reached, the focus of attention in solving the problem would become more important. In this case, Kingdon explained that "the consensus would be distributed through the policy community" (Kingdon, 1995, pp. 139-140). When the last framework is accepted by the members of parliament, the new solution could be developed (Karlin & Humphreys, 2007). After the policy communities accept the policy solution which specified through the awareness, the proposal could then progress towards the policy agenda. Therefore, the final proposal usually passed the multiple changes through the mutual problem solving (Kingdon, 1995, p. 124).

In some case, the rejected proposal might be left out from the policy stream due to the internal characteristic of the policy community, which consisted of the policy actors from both the government and private sectors, might include some specialists who could not reach the tangible proposal. Thus, the coordination would result into the delay within such policy stream. Moreover, the distributed lists of proposals would usually fail in the policy stream and received no further important consideration, for the policy actors from both the government and private sectors, together with the various interest groups, would argue about the policy stream. Therefore, the solution and each alternative might not be able to developed to change the existing condition. Nevertheless, Karlin and Humphreys (2007, p. 645) disagreed that "the appropriate policy alternatives must be identified and connected (or linked) to the problem issue". Therefore, the condition of the policy change must be clear, both in the problem issue and the policy stream (Brunner, 2008, p. 505).

Politically, some of the policy supporters would identify the problem, formulate the solution, and convince the policy actors to support their proposal. In this case, Baumgartner and Jones (1993, p. 83) suggested that “the policy entrepreneurs could be able to adapt swiftly to the manipulation of the elite, with the enthusiasm towards the new policy”. It is essential for the policy entrepreneur to perceive their role in the policy formulation process. For example, the application of Kingdon’s research framework could be used with the educational policy change. Young et al. (2010, p. 14) identified that the central government was in position of both the policy entrepreneurs and the participant in the problem streams who benefited from the event. The policy entrepreneur appeared from the government’s support could influence the process of policy formulation process. The policy entrepreneurs participated in the campaign of education, in order to prepare the policy community’s readiness. Kingdon (1995, p. 128) called this “the softening and the delaying, in order to ensure that the related people were prepared for some kind of proposal when the time arrives”, for there could be the resistance if the proposal towards change was proposed too soon (Kingdon, 1995, p. 130). Therefore, the policy supporters would wait for the time to solve the problem or present their proposal together with the political event towards the policy drive”. Laird (2008, p. 430) added that the responsible person for the policy change must identify the case repeatedly should there be any delay from the election or the policy formulator. Therefore, policy formulation must depend on the technical knowledge prior to the serious usage of the proposal by the policy formulator. Furthermore, Brunner (2008, p. 502) said that “the thought of the policy entrepreneurs must be appropriate for the community, and should have the potential for execution”. However, in the case of Chinese political system, Zhu (2008, p. 331) found that the technical conflicts would attract the media and people’s attention, for the lack of technical execution was a characteristic of the Chinese government system.

In the study about the policy formulation at the local level, Galligan and Burgess (2005, p. 9) found the examples which were obvious that the entrepreneurs could not solve the problem, the policy community worked separately, and the policy could not be formulated. Moreover, the result of the policy distribution which the policy community lack integration, freed from each other, and lack the

communication, had led to the insecurity for the agenda setting. (Kingdon, 1995, p. 119). Furthermore, there were the critics from Exworthy and Powell (2004), who said that the policy stream must “clarify their proposal” and use the strategy with the creativity. This is consistent to what Kingdon called “the primeval soup”, which was scrambled by the policy entrepreneurs and focused on the goal and objectives (Kingdon, 2010, p. 209). Besides, priority should be given to the coalition who set the agenda within the policy stream according to the thought of Brunner (2008, p. 506). In fact, Liu et al. (2010, p. 82) thought that the finding of consensus among the policy participants was the most effective factor in setting the policy agenda at the local level. Afterwards, Young et al. (2010, p. 16) suggested that there should be the alliance between the researchers and the interest groups in order to pressure the authority. Thus, the people could give the problem feedback together and pressure the authority while the coalition group would set the hierarchy within the agenda issue and could dominate the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream.

2.1.2.3 Political Stream is the stream which the government or the politics would formulate the problems, with the issue of the problems which needed to be solve. These agendas or problems would arise or formulated as a result of the interaction between the important forces within the society, such as the public mood, the influence power of the interest group, and the activity or the change of the government. Furthermore, the participants during the problem forming could generally be seen as the visible cluster, which might include the management with the high political position, the government’s consultant or the government leader, the member of parliament, the mass media, the interest group, and the political party, etc. Generally, the formulated problem which receive the consensus would have originated by the negotiation between the mentioned participants. The political stream thus includes the public mood, the government’s situation, and the movement of the interest group.

1) The Political Stream: Element Factors

Even if there would be many problems and proposals, but the policy agenda formulation must be open politically. The political stream development would create the environment which allow the change of policy agenda. For this, Kingdon (2010) said that the political stream consisted of the public mood, the

pressure group campaigns, the election results, the partisan or ideological distributions in congress, and the changes of administration. Thus, there are 5 important factors as discussed below.

Firstly, the national mood, or what the majority of people think about the problem, was explained by Robinson and Eller (2010, p. 202), that it is the “trend of people’s support or rejection of the government’s project extension”. As the politicians do not recognize the public opinion, the national mood could be measured through the survey or listening conference, for the member of the city council and the mayor would represent the population with smaller size than the national level policy formulation or the United States’ Congress. Nevertheless, it would be easier for the local government officers to listen to the population enough to understand the public mood (Kingdon, 1995, p. 156).

The received national mood would increasingly affect the initiation of the government’s policy agenda. For many elements about the problem (Kingdon, 1995, p.153), would be beneficial for the election of the member of the parliament. For example, the members of the city council could bring the list of the policy into the agenda when they are aware of the problem, etc. (Robinson & Eller, 2010, p. 147). As for the contemporary politics are influenced by the change within the demand elements, the policy agenda is thus formulated to satisfy the various interest groups (Robinson & Eller, 2010, p. 163). Therefore, when the politicians identify the administrative element related to “the election compensation” [which each politician] followed the stream of which Mayhew identified as “the attempt to get the position” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 149). Therefore, the national mood could drive the action in the discussed form.

Apart from the national mood, other political events could also affect the political stream. Kingdon identified the event with political significance as an influential factor for the political process, such as the result of election and the administrative change (Kingdon, 1995, p. 17). The administrator’s decision change tended to change the hierarchy and result in the different “special agenda”, for the previous personnel change might not be famous. Furthermore, the factors of new policy agenda formulation are highly related to the political event. Therefore, the political events could initiate the political stream as well as other procedural streams.

If the policy supporter could successfully find the channel of the powerful stream, only then the big waves of change might occur.

In order to explain the connection process between the important problem and the possible solution, as well as the policy agenda proposal of the legislature, Kingdon applied the concept of mutual cooperation (Kingdon, 1995, p. 20). The policy entrepreneurs could link the problem and the policy solutions in many streams, in order to open the policy window at the appropriate time for the coordination. In this case, the political window could open the operation by connecting the problem with the suitable solution. And when the political window is open, there would be more policies within the policy area. Whenever the policy stream is open, the existing proposal would be presented to the policy agenda of the government.

Pairing the problem and the solution, linking the problem from the related proposal with the political need and the agenda issue change would lead to the new alternatives, especially. The policy is “the reaction towards the people’s problem” (Birkland, 2006, p. 44). Therefore, the process of connecting is the same one with the pairing of the problem with the solution, which Ness (2009, p. 20) said that the identified problem would be paired with the possible solution within a good political context by the policy entrepreneurs, in order for the event within the political stream to designate the suitable time for the pairing.

When the political atmosphere was supportive, the policy formulator would be open for the agenda proposal. Therefore, the decision of the government in the supportive political system would be crucial for the pairing of problem and solution within the agenda. If the political atmosphere was not supportive for the policy change, the policy formulator might announce to the public about the problem, in order to attract more support for the solution. However, there might not be the obvious wave of the support for the solution, for there might not be any progress. This is the reason why the policy for campaigning by the interest group would need lobbying in order to push the policy solution towards the problem agenda setting. Problem agenda setting could be done by pairing the problem with the solution, which is the result of the policy entrepreneurs who wishes to dominate the three process stream.

The policy supporters would wait for the suitable time for perception, when the political atmosphere is open wide enough to set the agenda and when “the momentum of the support change the political condition”. A good political context thus opens the chance for the political window.

When the window is open politically, the political stream would seem like the politician who awaits hungrily while standing beside the stream of specialists, who has the various solutions in linking the problem with how to solve it. If the politician could feel the tendency for the solution condition, the policy opportunity would be opened to support the solution. And this is how the policy entrepreneur could link the solution with the problem as mentioned.

Since there are the problem window, political window, and the policy window, some degree of uncertainty would remain when the window of opportunity appears (Cavelty, 2008, p. 32). The problem window would open to accept the problem within the stream. The political window would open to accept the political stream. And when the policy window is open could pair the problem and solutions, for the existing solution could not be executed as the intention of the problem window, and there must be the new solution for the authority to approach the policy stream through finding the appropriate alternative solution. Here Kingdon (1995, p. 182) said that when the problem window is open, the policy entrepreneur could then be the solution for the operation (Boscarino, 2009). Therefore, the policy entrepreneur must connect to each other and solve the problem with the policy problem stream, in order to pair each stream, as Riddle (2009, p. 940) explained that “whenever the window of opportunity face with the problem stream or policy stream, the policy entrepreneur would do everything they can in the 2-3 streams, in order for the public policy to occur”. The policy entrepreneur would wait for the convenience in linking the problem stream with the solution and the winner in problem solving (Liu et al., 2010, p. 71). Therefore, the entrepreneur with strategic positioning would wait for the window to open.

In the same manner, the change in the political stream and the political window could be open through “the change of administration”. According to Kingdon’s (1995, p. 176) thought, within the time of administrative change, the agenda would change under the new leader, which Eggers and O’Leary (2009, p. 85)

called the political window “which is open wide among the politicians, in order to bring the new alternative to the set up practice”. When the window of opportunity is open, the authority would need the political proposal for the policy entrepreneur to link the policy stream with the political stream. Bundgaard and Vrangbæk (2007, p. 494) said that “the [policy] entrepreneur” link the problem with solution, and propose a positive “package” within the political stream for the audiences. When the political stream is right, the package or policy proposal would be more accepted, in order to reflect the change in the national mood or any other political event that lead to the opportunity to change. It should be noted that the policy of political stream change has the potential to open the policy window in the agenda setting, which Kingdon (1995, p. 153) said that “the agenda is changed because some important participants are changed”. Therefore, the possibility of the proposal which enter the policy agenda would have increased only when there is “a change of priority by the market dominator, or the personal turnover”. In such change, the opportunity for the policy window would be open to the political stream event. Thus the proposal would receive the change of political policy when the window open (Pralle, 2009). Under the regular political condition, the support for the proposal entering the political stream would seem weaker without the change, for there was no political window open to link the problem stream with the solution. Therefore, the problem window and the political window must be open to service and ready for the policy window to open for the agenda setting.

When the both windows are open, it would be a suitable time to link the problem with solution. However, the related political event in the political stream would still be crucial for the proposal to set up the government’s policy agenda. Smith Goshin and Woods Byrne (2009, p. 289) proposed that the change of the policy could be done when “the problem awareness, the policy, and the political acceptance” converge. Therefore, the convergent of the policy process stream consisted of linking the problem to the solution, policy, and the politics, altogether (Kingdon, 1995, p. 19; Liu et al., 2010).

When any problem arises, the window of opportunity would open to accept the event from the political stream to link the problem with solution, or to create the window of opportunity (Kamieniecki, 2006, p. 67; Pollack, 2003, p. 51,

as cited in Kingdon, 1995, p. 204). In short, the window of opportunity opens when the policy entrepreneur pair the problem stream and political stream (Ryan & Shepard, 2008, p. 58). Hence, the policy entrepreneur uses the window opportunity as the chance to “decide and execute the solution and find the alternatives”. Therefore, the best time to set the agenda is when there is the harmonious balance between both the problem and the political event (Daniels & Martin, 1995, p. 33). And certainly, the two different windows must be opened simultaneously.

The policy entrepreneur from each stream could interact to each other, for the streams could be harmonious together. But some of the policy entrepreneurs might be limited only to the problem stream and the agenda setting. Anyhow, Rapaportet (2009, p. 700) explained that “the continuous interaction among the multiple streams could create the chance to pair the policy problem with other solutions”. The policy entrepreneur who participate at the earlier process of problem solving would create continuity in the efficient development of policy agenda, according to Young et al. (2010, p. 15), who said that the policy entrepreneur must activate many mechanisms within each stream. The indicators and feedback would not be enough, for they only adjust the internal condition of the problem stream. Therefore, the focusing events become the crucial elements for the opening of policy window towards the solution. Moreover, the political mood and the changes of administration is also important to the political stream. But there could be the political pressure from the mixed-party government in the administration towards the same direction.

Brunner (2008, p. 502) interpreted that the opened window could also be closed. Likewise, “if the window disappears, we need to wait until the next appropriate alignments”. The policy entrepreneurs must wait until the beginning of each stream, problem, or the political window opening. According to Hyshka (2009, p. 514), the policy might not emerge if many factors are combined towards the policy change. Therefore, the initiating of the window could open the chance for the policy to continue.

Nevertheless, the unwanted political aftermath might close down the policy window if the suitable political condition is lack, for there must be “the wider consensus about the existing problem and the efficient and possible

solution”. The pairing between problem and solution might failed until the stakeholders reach the consensus (Schwartz & Johnson, 2010). However, Galligan and Burgess (2005, p. 8) argued that the window might not be open for the various proposal or reason, due to the unexecuted action, together with the change within the policy entrepreneurs and the lack of alternative in policy administration. Even though the policy maker might agree with the problem, but the emerging policy change must consist of the effective solution (Baumgartner & Jones, 2002, p. 269).

Poulter et al. (2009, p. 151) said that both the solution or proposal would enter the policy agenda only when the stakeholders participate in the negotiation, for lobbying would be the important part in policy formulation. From the review of related literature, the process of policy formulation would be obvious, as could be seen from the study of Western Australian and Canadian cannabis policy windows and the study of Hyshka (2009, p. 525), that when the authorities have the conflicting reasons/needs, the policy window would be closed. Therefore, it is crucial for the people who wish to draft the public policy to act swiftly, as the policy window could disappear within a short time (Gates, 2010).

The agenda formulation would only be possible during the period when the policy window is open. Exworthy and Powell (2004, p. 265) said that “when the three streams converge and the policy window is open, the change could be possible”. Hence, the policy window brings the opportunity for the policy community, consisted of the policy entrepreneurs and local interest groups who might propose some strategic solution, to join as part of the government’s administrative plan (Galligan & Burgess, 2005, pp. 4-6). If the multiple streams model (problem, policy, and political) are suitable for each other, the policy window would be opened for the proposal towards the government in the policy agenda decision. (Travis & Zahariadis, 2002).

When the policy window is opened, the decision agenda about specific area or field would be narrowed down, unlike the government’s agenda which would be wider. As the window is opened, the policy entrepreneurs would seize this opportunity to progress the solution. (Galligan & Burgess, 2005; Kingdon, 1995, p. 165). If the political condition change, the solution could change the wider government’s policy agenda towards the prioritized decision-making agenda

(Eccleston, 2007, p. 56), which Pralle (2009, p. 782) explained that its priority is closed to the enactment by the legislative within the considered agenda of the parliament.

The public agenda could be defined as the most important agenda for people and those with the right for election. The government agenda consisted of the discussion topic within the government's organization, such as the legislative and the decision administrative. Therefore, the public agenda concerning the public benefit would be limited for the government officer or administrator to determine.

The policy analysts would focus on the attentiveness of the government officers, while the specialists in developing the solution would focus on the complicated change in the political stream. Furthermore, the political crisis or the major political change has destroyed "the sub-system policy", for it changed the form of politician connected to such "sub-system policy" (Kingdon, 2010). During the crisis, the change of policy entrepreneurs usually cancels the link of new policy to the sub-system. According to Pump (2011, p. 2), the new policy entrepreneur "would obscure the scope and process of sub-system policy". Therefore, the policy entrepreneurs who join the different stream must coordinate and interact to each other, in order to relieve the pressure from the derailing within each stream.

Thus, the possible change from the external vibration, such as a crisis event, could open the window to change the agenda topic (Walgrave & Varone, 2008). Moreover, the political factor resulting from the event would change the administration and led to the thriving in the process stream. (Pump, 2011, p. 3) The policy analyst could participate in the change of the policy formulation system through the pairing of problem and solution. But if there is no change in the agenda, the pairing would not be necessary (Ellina, 2003, p. 17). For the change of the policy agenda topic, the policy entrepreneur requires the policy which would pair the problem and the necessary solution, in order to pair the policy problem and politics. In this case, the policy entrepreneur is also the supporter of the policy innovation and act as the mediator in the benefit wrestling administration (Obornet, 2011, p. 327) of the politicians, who would pair the problem and the important political solution into the government's policy.

2) Interest Group Coalition

Even if Kingdon's form could explain the nation's policy formulation, but Kingdon did not consider of the interest group coalition as the legislative organization structure, which would lead to the unity in participation of policy formulation within the policy community. Kingdon's concept of the interest group coalition was created from the associations and organizations who join their resources with the other to frame and share the political power in the policy change. Hula (1999, p. 2) said that the coalition would campaign, support, and wrestle the benefit of the law enactment, with the active need towards the policy change, which Hula (1999, p. 3) identified that the policy coalition would be "the ally with the organization who would facilitate their own objectives" through the networks building. Therefore, the policy outcome must be proposed to the interest groups by the strong representative ally of the government, in order to be successful (Baumgartner, Jeffrey, Marie, David, & Beth, 2009, p. 12). The ally could be formed between the mutual interest group of the policy entrepreneurs in sharing the similar proposal (Barry 1997, p. 193). Baumgartner et al. (2009, p. 118), found that "the government's wider attempt towards a single focus could be more efficient than working alone". Therefore, working together could bring the tangible outcome. (Hula, 1999, p. 7)

The specialists usually join the government in the drafting of policy agenda, while the coordinator would work with the public sector for the symbolic benefit, such as the ability to demonstrate their administration for the election results. The policy makers are aware of the unity of the interest group "when there are enough members with the strong opinion within the interest group, and swiftly reach the efficient organization structure and could collectively position their duties". Berry (1997, p. 234) indicated that "the politicians usually respect (and perhaps fear) the structure of these strong allies", as they do not wish to lose many supporters in the same time. Kingdon (1995, p. 87) commented that this would led the interest group allies "to press the awareness of their problem, solution, or proposal". When the politicians encourage the solution or progress their proposal, they would have the chance to be accepted in problem solving. When an authority changes the decision, the interest group would seize this opportunity to set the policy agenda

concerning their benefit. Therefore, the interest group would employ various strategy in order to reap the political benefit in the policy process, for the efficient interest group would apply the political event as a part of the political process.

The chaotic situation also has an important potential in gathering the influential ally for an easier policy formulation. Kingdon (1995, p. 167) wrote that “the ally is allowed to negotiate for the government’s support, with the potential government member to negotiate in the political stream”). Thus, the support must be changed when the policy is used during the administration, or else the weak government’s ally could be an obstruction for the policy implementation (Kubiak, Sobeck, & Rose, 2005, p. 31).

Lieberman (2002, p. 448) said that finally, those who won the election would determine what happen in the political stream without any concern for the government’s strength. Therefore, the cordial relationship with the various political allies who are also the interest groups could be beneficial for the government. Moreover, the legislature would act when an important agenda arises, which the effective lobbying must also include the relevant facts for the elected members of parliament. Furthermore, Levine (2009, p. 85) said that “the clarity and trust in the quality of the policy could stimulate the members to try the option which might not worth their efforts”. Burns (2006, p. 118) also said that the clarity could help the decision maker to understand the problem, and “the government leader likes the clear message”. The lobbying in order to pass such clear message towards the authority could progress the policy problem solving.

According to Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki, Leech, and Kimball (2009, pp. 152-155), the definition of the lobbyist is “an important person who work closely with the legislative ally, by contacting the person of the gatekeeping position. Lobbying is unavoidable in politics, for it is a part of policy enactment, which Farley, Baker, Batker, Koliba, Matteson, Mills, and Pillman (2007, p. 345) said that politics is about being the representative of the strategic problem, which the lobbyists would help solving. Meanwhile, Lieberman (2002: 445) said that the policy agenda process is a major obstruction in formulating a public policy. When the policy agenda is formulated, there could be a great chance for the policy to change. Therefore, the interest group ally would attempt to dominate the process of

agenda setting. And the policy could be developed from the interest group ally (Hobbs, Ricketts, Dodds, & Milio, 2004, p. 91).

In short, Kingdon (1984) defined the variable or “condition” which would be the opportunity for the policy window to open. The below figure illustrated the variables in the process of policy formulation, according to the multiple stream model theory (Mitchell, 2012, p. 10).

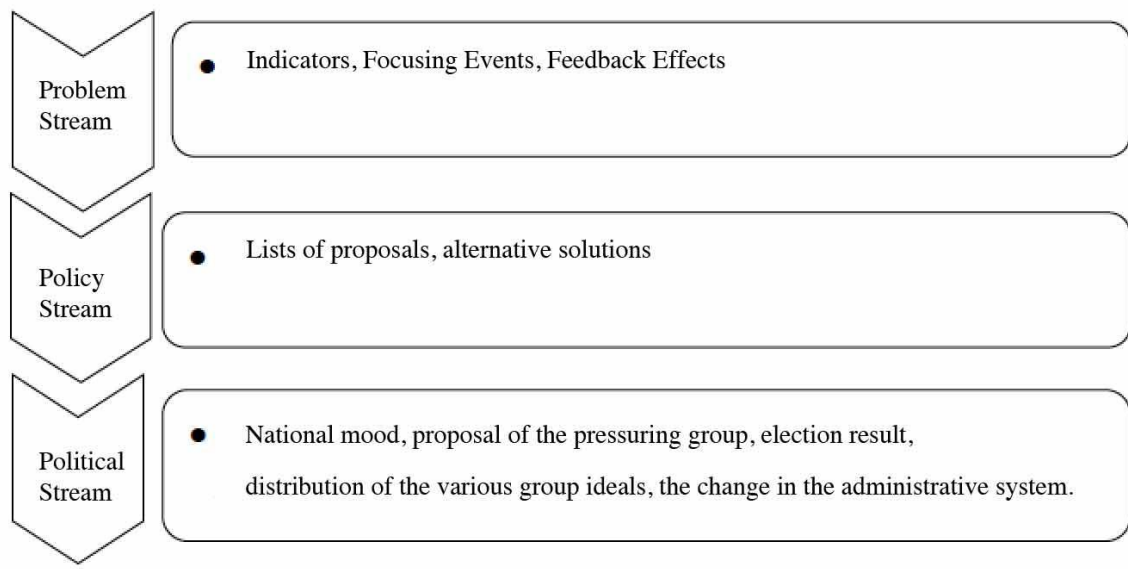


Figure 2.2 Independent Process Streams

Source: Mitchell, 2012, p. 10.

Therefore, the policy formulation originates when all three streams consisted of the problem stream, political stream, and policy stream occur simultaneously, with the participation from the policy stakeholders in both the government and public sector who encourage the agenda setting (Walgrave & Varone, 2008, pp. 390-391). Only then could there be the chance for the policy window to open. And the policy agenda setting is the result or depend on the opportunity/situation arises. However, the three streams mentioned are independent to each other. The existing context or social condition such as value, political culture, and the constitution structure would be the basic condition that would raise the problem to enter the government’s agenda.

Thus, it can be concluded that the origin of the policy process, or the agenda setting, is the discovery of problem or existing problem, the solutions, and the policy proposal, which would lead to the policy formulation process. In order to understand such process of agenda setting, the Multiple Streams Model by Kingdon (1995) is the conceptual framework which could illuminate the process for the clearer understanding, for it would illustrate the background of the policy, the problem stream, the political stream, and the policy stream, as well as the influence of the interest groups towards the policy formulation and the policy supporters.

2.1.2.4 Example of Researches Studying the Policy Through Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model

The study by Zahariadis (2007) applied the concept of three streams proposed by Kingdon, including the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The problem stream is the condition which the authority would formulate the policy in order to respond to what the people want (Zahariadis, 2007). The policy stream is the "soup" (small chance) of the thoughts which compete towards winning the acceptance from the policy network of the government officers, public relation officers, member of the legislature, scholars, and researchers (Zahariadis, 2007, p. 72). In addition, the political stream consisted of the focusing events, the national mood, the campaign group, and the turnover of the administrative or legislative. When the three streams are combined together at the right time, such as during the problem oppression or the political event, there would be the chance to encourage the policy supporter to open the policy window. The combination of the three streams, together with the action by the policy entrepreneur during the time when the policy window is still open, would ensure the acceptance into the policy window (Zahariadis, 2007). In Zahariadis's (2007) study, the Multiple Streams Model was used to explain the decision making in the parliament system, in the formulation of Greece's foreign policy towards the Macedonia. The research framework developed from Kingdon's framework was also used to study the parliament system in Europe, by focusing on the administration importance by the policy entrepreneurs in opening the various opportunity windows. However, the administration's success would depend on the research's context (Zahariadis, 2003). He proposed that the Multiple Streams Model is a strong framework which can be applied to the policy process, link the work, and

study about the traditional segregation between the formulation of internal and foreign policy (Zahariadis, 2003). He also expands the research towards the international stage.

Liu, Yamaguchi, and Yoshikawa (2017)'s study, "Understanding the motivations behind the Myanmar-China energy pipeline: Multiple streams and energy politics in China", was about the decision in building the energy pipeline by Myanmar-China, which was important in the long term for China's energy strategy. This study reflected the perspective of policy process within China, in the historical context, through the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) analysis. It was found that, firstly, the local government and scholars played the important role as the project facilitators, especially during the policy agenda presentation to the National Congress Conference. Secondly, the policy window was still an important element in determining China's energy policy, about the issue of China-Myanmar energy pipeline which was not seriously considered in 1990. Thirdly, even if the cross-border energy project was a part of the national strategy, but the investment support within the south-western region of China was not progressive enough. Nevertheless, this study pointed out to the motivation behind the energy pipeline project, including China's decision about energy as well as explaining why the energy proposals would expand swiftly that they became an official part of the national congress agenda in 2004, at the much larger scale than the first one during the 1990's. There was no change occur within the policy window about China's energy policy process during 1990's, as the problem stream, political stream, and the policy window for the energy pipeline policy was still closed. Moreover, there was no strong supporter who was eager to raise the issue at that time. However, there was a focusing event during 2004. Meanwhile, the important indicators, such as China's increasing energy dependence, the risky situation of national energy sufficiency, and the local entrepreneurs who facilitate the policy had united their coordination to open this policy window.

Chen (2011)'s article, "Is the Policy Window Open for High Speed Rail in the United States: A Perspective from the Multiple Streams Model of Policymaking", focused on the High Speed Rail policy window opening in the United States, which the project returns into the policy agenda after Mr. Barack Obama won the election in 2009, as a consequence of the piling problems such as the airline delay

or traffic jam on the street. This article illustrated the overall perspective of the United States' high speed rail transportation system, then implemented the Multiple Streams Model in the analysis of the agenda setting process of the project. The result reflected that the high speed rail project was the first alternative to prepare for the travel service in the long term, and in the short term it would also stimulate the economic and create more jobs for the citizen. Moreover, the concept of high speed rail was not completed in just a period of a year, but it took as long as a decade, similar to the legislature who spent over half a decade in planning and studying the basic informations as well as creating the policy proposal to wait for the policy window opening. Furthermore, it was found that even if the world's economic was regressed, but the change of the national leader was an important factor which influence the policy window opening, as the major reason of supporting the high speed rail is usually political rather than other reason. Therefore, the political stream and the problem stream were the two main streams which set the agenda of the project. Nevertheless, when both streams were combined, there must be another stream, which was the policy stream, in parallels after such combination before the policy window would open and led to the further decision making agenda.

The study by MacDonagh-Dumler (2000), "Toxic Substances and Federal Water Policy: Application of Kingdon's Model of Agenda Change to The Great Lake Water Quality Agreement of 1972", found that the Multiple Streams Model could not be applied to analysis the case study of The Great Lake Water Quality agreement in all aspects. However, such case study was the beneficial knowledge synthesis for the understanding of the hierarchical change in the Governmental Agenda, with the important factors for the agenda setting including the problem stream, the political stream, and the policy stream. The major finding of this research was that the administrative of the policy stream would be obstructed when the related persons in the problem stream and political stream became the important actors instead, in the development of policy proposal, as the three streams should progress independently according to Kingdon. Thus, the related persons in the policy agenda changing process must be independent from each other. Similarly, success would be impossible if any stream is missing.

In Noppadol Udomwisawakul's thesis (2005), "The agenda setting and public policy formulation: a case study of agricultural commodities and food standards policy in Thailand", it was found that the Problem Stream originated from the founding of the World Trade Organization in 1995, when the importer countries became more interested in the issue of the standard of food and agricultural products, which is usually raised to designate the products standard for importing. Meanwhile, the policy stream was influenced by the international organization and the international agreement, which the government paid attention to the issue during the consideration. Political stream was also a crucial factor for the agenda setting, as the lack of political stability was the key factor of success for such issue. This was obvious from the government of Mr. Anand Panyarachun, who was appointed after the coup d'etat in 1991, which put the issue back into the government's attention after it had been neglected for a while. Afterwards, the internal politics were instable again. The attention towards this issue was also reduced, until the government of Pol.Lt.Gen Thaksin Shinnawatra in 2001. Thaksin understood the business well, and his government was stable, that the political stream progressed together with the problem stream and the policy stream, which were already awaiting to combine, that finally the problem could enter the government's agenda.

Sakkaraponn Theerasirikul (2006) wrote in his thesis, "Thailand's land reform policy formulation process: A study on the land reform law for agriculture", that the political stream during the cold war had raised the concept of land reformation as the protective measure against the communism group. Meanwhile, the policy stream occurred from the transfer of idea about the land reformation from the international organization and the model country. However, there was no direct consequence on the presentation of the concept to Thai government, as it occurred from the meeting and field observation in foreign country. Lastly, the problem stream was the stream which led to the amendment of the land reform law, in order to safeguard against the chink within the law.

Prasongchai Setthasuravich's thesis (2015), "Kingdon's model of Agenda Setting of Rail Transit System in Thailand: A Case Study of Thailand's High Speed Train Project", also used Kingdon's multiple stream model as the framework for understanding the policy background, the factors influencing the policy's origin,

the role of the related persons in supporting the policy, as well as the model creation in order to explain the agenda setting of the High Speed Rail Project, using the qualitative research methodology. It was found that the influential factors for the agenda setting were the results of the three streams, which were consistent to Kingdon's multiple stream models, including the political stream, the problem stream, and the policy stream. The policy entrepreneurs also play a very important role for the agenda setting of the High Speed Rail policy. However, the three streams might not exist independently in the Thai political context, as it should be in Kingdon's proposal. This reflected that the framework still need consideration of the geosocial and the world's trend. Nevertheless, the result also pointed out that the High Speed Rail project could only happen if the political stream is stable. Plus, there must also be the economic readiness to support the investment with the huge capital and the mutual problem awareness among the people sector.

2.1.2.5 Challenging of the Multiple Stream Framework

The multiple stream framework was criticized from the scholars in policy theory, whose opinion was that the framework's prediction power was low, and there were the elements which could not be clearly executed through the experiment from observation (Mucciaroni, 1992; Sabatier 1999; Bendor, Moe, & Shotts, 2001). Furthermore, Mucciaroni (1992) disagreed that this concept was based on the irregular form and the criteria that was too wide. There was also the focus on the level of situation analysis while neglecting the factor of the historical structure or the institutional factors. Moreover, Bendor et al. (2001) also criticized similarly that the framework of Multiple Stream seems like a metaphor rather than the research framework.

Mucciaroni (1992), Bendor et al. (2001), and Sabatier (1999) all asked the question to an important hypothesis of the model, which indicated that the problem stream and the solution are independent from each other. Moreover, Sabatier (1999) viewed that the hypothesis about these independent stream must be under the empirical fact inspection. Bendor et al. (2001) considerably argued about the independence of the three streams, by claiming that it is not logically possible for the problem and the solution to be unrelated. However, they did not recheck with any observation. Therefore, Weiner (1976) tested the independence of the three streams in

the case study of San Francisco's local policy formulation. It was found that the problem, the solution, and the participants were certainly related. Furthermore, Mucciaroni (1992) tested the stream independence in the case study of the tax reformation and the law, in order to find the significance correlation between problem, solution, and the political context. Nevertheless, Mucciaroni (1992) insisted that the Multiple Streams Model is still highly beneficial for the focus research about the relationship and the independence of each stream. Apart from this, Robinson and Eller (2010) also tested the independence of each stream in the research through the case study of the local government policy formulation. However, no evidence was found that each stream was independent from each other, or consisted of the different research participants. Therefore, the empirical researchers have not yet found any concrete evidence about the independence of each stream.

2.1.3 Policy Implementation

The study about the public policy implementation is highly important, for it is the related step to the public policy formulation. When the policy is authorized and enacted in the various way, whether it could solve the problem for people or not would depend on the step of policy implementation. If the policy could be successfully implemented, it could reflect the appropriate decision of policy formulation, for the desired result which could truly respond to the people and the society's need. In the past, the step of policy implementation was usually neglected and received few attentions from the scholars or the officers, until about c.1970. Hargrove (1975) proposed the concept of policy implementation, especially the social policy, in a book called "The Missing Link: The Study of the Implementation of Social Policy". This was the beginning for other scholars such as Williams (1971), Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), to start paying serious attention towards the public policy implementation as well as giving more acceptance and priority to this procedure.

2.1.3.1 Definition of Public Policy Implementation

During the 1970's, policy implementation was defined according to the political sciences theory. For example, Williams (1971) defined the policy implementation as the attempt to judge the organization's ability in gathering people

and resources within an organization, and motivating the officers to successfully execute their missions according to the organization's objective. Such definition reflected the importance of the ability or readiness of the organization in the mission execution effectively and efficiently. Also, Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) said that the policy implementation would cover the activities by each group or person from both the government and private system, in order to reach the designated policy objectives. This definition reflected the attempt of the organizations in transforming the abstract policy into the tangible practice. In order for the policy implementation to be successful, the related person with the policy implementation must understand the policy and manage the resources appropriately as well as working continuously. Moreover, Pressman and Widavsky (1973) defined the policy implementation as a process of interaction between objective formulation and action in order to reach the goals. Policy implementation is the study about the ability to push all the mechanisms to work according to the designated goal. This definition focus on the ability of the organization who implement the policy, consisted of the personnel, resource, morale, coordination between organizations, and the evaluation of the policy implementation results according to the goal. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1989) also said that the public policy implementation is about executing the policy decision under the law authorization by the legislative, the administrative, and the judge's decision. And, Kraft and Fuslong (2006) mentioned the public policy implementation that it is a group of related activities about organization set up, interpretation, and application. As for Woradech Chantarasorn (1996)'s definition, policy implementation would be the study of the responsible organization, on how or which level they could lead and stimulate the management resource as well as all other important mechanisms to carry out the mission according to the policies. This definition reflected that policy implementation is the acquisition of method and framework to develop the policy plan and projects, with the focus on the organization's capacity in each department to push the policy towards the successful implementation.

From the above definitions, it could be concluded that the public policy implementation means the policy administration which included the organization's capacity, organization behavior, interaction of the group and persons, the usage of all management resources, the coordination between the government sector and the

private sector, as well as the context and other factors which could influence the successful execution of the policy objectives.

In other group, the definition of the public policy implementation would be about the study of the organization, the group, or the person related to the policy implementation, whether how much they could successfully implement the policy according to its objectives. For example, Willarns (1971) and Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) mentioned about the policy implementation as the activities by the government and the private sectors, which could influence the success according to the objectives. And Henry (2004) defined the policy implementation as the action and the responsibility according to the public policy, by the organization or between organizations. Similarly, Kla Thongkhao (2005) said that the policy implementation means the process of administration and combination of activities, in order to successfully lead towards the desired results, according to the policy intention by the group of person or the government or private organization. Therefore, the policy implementation would be the execution of process in the determined public policy to success, by each organization. Besides, Surasit Wachirakajorn (2006) wrote that the policy implementation means the process or method to bring the approved policy towards the execution, which would include many activities such as the determination or interpretation of the certain execution framework, budget disbursement, sourcing of additional budget, budget allocation, contract agreement, data gathering, categorization, data analysis, problem analysis, personnel resource allocation, organization structure, alternative practices designation, planning for future, and the negotiation with the people, interest groups, business groups, the parliament, other government organizations, and the international organizations, etc.

Meanwhile, the public policy implementation would directly and indirectly impact the organization, the person, or the group who determined the public policy, in terms of the credential, the criticism of the government, or the reprimanding of the government officers. Moreover, the public policy implementation is the process which would affect the achievement of the country's development towards the worthiness of resources usage and the success of the public policy process.

2.1.3.2 The Importance of the Public Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is the step of bringing the determined policy to implement according to the objectives through each organization. As each public

policy would involve the different knowledge base of the context and the stakeholders, the failure or success of each public policy would depend on the failure or success of the implementation. Thus, policy implementation is an important step of the public policy process. The study of policy implementation would lead to an understanding of the supporting or opposing factors for the public policy implementation, which would eventually help creating the framework which would allow the better success of public policy, as mentioned by Menzel that “the study of public policy implementation would lead to the understanding of its success or failure” (Menzel, 1987)

The importance of the context in public policy implementation can be concluded as following. (Sombat Thamrongthanyawong, 2006)

1) Policy implementation is the second step of the policy process, according to Dror’s opinion, for it is a partial content of the step which occur after the policy is already formulated, which would keep the policy to progress to the complete cycle without any derailing.

2) No matter how well the policy might be formulated according to the reasoning logic, but without any implementation, it could be worthless. If the policy formulation is failed, there would be not only the loss for the citizen, but also the national loss which might influence the political future of the policymaker.

3) It is a process of transforming the government’s policy, which is the abstract or broad framework, into the tangible practice. The policy would be transformed into the form of program and projects, which would be easy to implement. The researcher will further mention about this in detail.

4) It is one of the important missions of the government officials, as the politics would formulate the policy and the government officials would implement it.

5) It is one of the important guarantees of the politics, to ensure that the policy would be implemented seriously by the government officials which would lead to the desired success.

6) The success or failure of policy implementation would directly and indirectly impact the policymaker towards the involved target and the

implementation department. If the policy is implemented successfully, the policymaker would be accepted and trusted by the people, and might be elected again. Meanwhile, the target group who were facing problem would be helped solving the problem or receive the response for their need. And the implementation officials would be praised as well as receive the continuous budget support, etc.

7) If the policy is implemented successfully according to its objective, it would worth the resources usage. There would be no waste in the resource investment, including the personnel, budget, materials, equipment, time, etc., which must be used in the operation.

8) Policy implementation is crucial for the progress in the national development. If the policy is implemented successfully according to the plan of the developmental projects and the objectives, the people's wellbeing would be increased. On the contrary, if the policy implementation is failed, it would mean that the national development did not follow the objectives and target. People's problems would not be solved while the resources would be wasted already. Therefore, the policymaker should select the policy with high possibility which could solve the problem and respond to the need of the majority of people. And the organization who would implement the policy must have enough capacity, in order to assure the policy implementation success.

2.1.3.3 The Background of the Policy Implementation Study

The study about policy implementation is a new disciplined which was developed around the 1970's. Comparing to the other disciplines of policy study in the past, the focus was mostly on the study of policy formulation process and policy evaluation (Hill & Hupe, 2002). However, the study about policy implementation was usually neglected, for the scholars believe that there should be no problem in the implementation if the policy is properly formulated. However, it was often found that although the policy was accepted as a well-formulated solution, it could not be successful or failed during the implementation without any possible reason. And therefore, the policy itself was terminated. Thus, the scholars started to pay more attention to the process of implementation. The study about policy implementation emerged from the theoretical knowledge and empirical study from at least two disciplines, including the public administration and the systems approach (Woradech

Chantarasorn, 2005), by studying the basic problems in the public policy process which could be totally different from the usual problems found in the large organization administration in terms of the perspective framework, unit of analysis, and the design of strategy for the successful implementation. Therefore, the study of policy implementation from past to present often focus on the detailed data gathering about policy or project from the place of implementation. The study usually involved wide scope, with no particular focus on the serious methodology or quantitative analysis, but rather focused on the interview technique than the data in the study about policy implementation. And in the past, the scholars usually considered on some topic instead of attempting to form a comprehensive theory of policy implementation. There is still a lack of prominent theoretical framework or the model which is comprehensive enough to explain the problems in the process of policy implementation.

2.1.3.4 The Organization and Related Persons Involved in the Public Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is a complex issue involving various organizations and persons, who had different expectation and objectives but also had to coordinate, such as the politics, the government system, the government officers, people, or those who would be benefited from the policy (Worradech Chantarasorn, 2005) as described below.

- 1) The Politics: The importance of the politics in the policy implementation can be considered from the parliament system and the cabinet. These two organizations are essential in limiting the policy implementation of the government system by the enactment of law, cabinet resolution, ministerial orders, and other regulations for the related government department to follow. Moreover, they would determine the responsible department with enough capacity to implement the policy. And after the policy is implemented for a period of time, the politics might take part in exercising their authority in controlling the policy practice as well as considering the policy adjustment, policy termination, policy support, or policy extension. On the other hand, the responsible department would try to maintain the good relationship with the politics, in order to demonstrate how well they follow the policy which might be some level of success and to seek benefits and support for

further operation. The support might come in the form of budget support or higher position, etc. Therefore, it can be implied that these two institutions were those who formulated or proposed the policy, considered the organization responsible for implementation, adjusted the policy, oversee and follow the result of policy implementation rather than implement it directly by themselves. As for Thailand, the politics with the most active roles consisted of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister and other Ministers. Most policies usually initiated through the Ministers towards the Cabinet, and then became the Cabinet Resolution. For example, the Cabinet Resolution which dated May 19th, 2003, about the Thai government system strategic plan (2003-2007), was in the responsibility of the Office of the Public Sector Development Commission (OPDC). This policy led to the active and continuous development of the Public Sector until recently. Another example was the Cabinet Resolution to cancel the project of hospital and clinical network setup in Bangkok (Siam News Archives, 2002), which was implemented by the related organization such as the Ministry of Public Health and the Bangkok Metropolitan. However, the control or overseeing, as well as the follow-up evaluation were usually the shared responsibilities of the related Ministries. Therefore, it can be said that the politics play a crucial role in the policy implementation, as the policy approved and followed continuously by them would especially receive attention and priority in implementation from the government organizations. Then there would be more chances for the policy to be implemented successfully.

2) The Bureaucracy: The bureaucracy here means the government organization such as the Ministry, Bureau, Department, or any equivalent organization which act as the coordination mechanism between what the politics determined and the response to the public problems and needs. There was the saying that “Bureaucracy is the system to serve the people”, which means that it could provide the service which cannot be found from the business sector that mainly aimed for profit (Wamsley, 1992). Normally, the capacity of the organization which responsible for the policy implementation would depend on the organization structure. The organization itself must be strong and equipped with enough qualified personnel, budget support, good communication system, materials, tools, equipment, and the appropriate location, etc. The general bureaucracy, especially in the developing

country, is usually large and highly complex. The commanding hierarchy is usually long, with many steps in procedure that led to the slow service or Red Tape. The administration usually lack efficiency. This is also true in Thailand, as previously commented by many scholars including Mr. Anand Panyarachun, former Prime Minister, who said that “the Thai bureaucracy in the past was the system of control, of being the master, rather than the service provider for people. The bureaucracy had too much fat which should be trimmed down, ideally, until only the lean meat is left...” (Prasarn Marukpitak, 1998). Moreover, Prawet Wasi (1997), also said that there were many problems in the Thai bureaucracy including 1) the banal relationship between the political and the bureaucracy, 2) the appointing by using the dictatorial power, 3) the lack of focus on productivity, 4) the emphasis of the officers’ rights over the national rights, 5) the lack of brain, 6) the separated system, which follow the departments, 7) the lack of independent evaluation system, 8) the persistence of the unfavorable behavior within the organization. Meanwhile, Jeera Hongladarom commented that “it could be said that the Thai bureaucracy is already in the Intensive Care Unit (I.C.U.) room). In addition, Wisut Phothithan and Noranit Setabutr concluded in the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board’s conference that “The current Thai bureaucracy is gigantic and clumsy. There were too many officers than needed, and they were overly adhering to the regulations that the power is centralized, with more intention to control and examine, rather than encouraging the good service” (Roung Kaewdang, 1995). According to these comment, it can be reflected that Thai bureaucracy is full of administrative problems. The government thus formulated the bureaucracy reformation in order to increase efficiency and quality of services for people and the tangible satisfaction of the government officers. During the time of his government, Thaksin Shinnawatra said that “an important mechanism to solve the problem is the reformation of the government, both in terms of attitude and value, as well as the bureaucracy structure, the procedure, and working culture. The law and the budget system should also be reformed to be updated”. If the bureaucracy reformation is success, the policy implementation for the well-being of people would be swift and efficient (The Cabinet Statement of Government Policy, 2002).

However problematic it is, the bureaucracy is still an important mechanism in participation of policy formulation and implementation, as it was the bureaucracy where the data were gathered and analyzed, as well as presented to the politics. Thus, it can be said that the bureaucracy is obviously involved in the politics, for the latter would be appointed for just the period of four years, and they would not have enough capacity to gain the data that they must depend greatly on the bureaucracy. As for the policy implementation, the bureaucracy is also responsible directly for it. In other words, the policy implementation is an official mission of the bureaucracy which focus on the service of people or the public.

Unlike the private sector, the problem of loss or non-breakeven in some policy would not lead to the termination or ending of the bureaucracy. One of an important thing is that if the policy depends on the coordination among the various department, the well-coordinated policy would tend to be implemented successfully. For example, the implementation of the serious suppression of drugs policy would depend on the coordination from both the government and private sectors, including the Royal Thai Police, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Public Health, the Private Development Organization, and the Local Administrative Organization, etc. If the coordination between the related organization was lack in the policy implementation, the policy could be failed, as the attitude towards benefit and objectives might varied across each organization. Thus, it can be said that the organization responsible for the policy implementation might or might not be experienced with the policy, but there should be the support from other organization. A good example is the implementation of the counter-deforest policy, which was directly responsible by the Royal Forest Department who was already involved in the policy. Another involving organizations included the Royal Thai Police, the Department of Local Administration, the Customs, and the local army, etc. Another example is the tourism promotion policy, which was directly responsible by the Ministry of Tourism and Sports, which was recently set up in 2011. There were other organizations involved in the implementation of this policy, such as the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Industry.

3) The bureaucrats: The bureaucrats of the government officer are a key person for the success or failure of policy implementation. The bureaucrats'

involvement in policy implementation could be categorized in many levels, such as the level of senior executive, executive, junior executive, and the low-level officer. The goals, values, incentives, and working behaviors would differ across these people. The top-level executives are as important to the policy implementation as the chief or “main engine which would lead the train towards its destination”. The officers are also important as the train which would follow the main engine. Therefore, all levels of executive involved in the policy implementation must possess the leadership and know how to use it. They must be decisive, know how to motivate positively, create participation in the work, building the relationship and acceptance, as well as focus on the team work, as Dwight Eisenhower, the former President of the United States mentioned that the leader is able to persuade the others to do what he desired willingly, and the willingness would arise from the fact that the others also desire to do the same thing”. (Weerawut Makasiranon, 1998). If the executive possess the modern leadership quality, such as being the creative and effective leader, then there would be the high chance for the policy to be implemented successfully. As for the street-level bureaucrats, or the front-line implementators, would be the follower of the plan and projects. They would also be the interpreter of the policy towards the practice framework by themselves, as well as distributing the authority and resources towards the people they serve. They can be called an important mechanism for the policy implementation, especially in the policy concerning the regional and suburban development, or the policy which aim to solve the basic problems for the community, such as poverty, drought, health, or agriculture problems, etc.

2.2 The Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

As Thaksin Shinnawatra’s government aimed to solve the economic problems swiftly, especially the people’s poverty, in order to follow the world economic growth, the government then presented the The Village and Urban Community Fund Policy as an important strategy. This policy was declared towards the parliament as the urgent government policy on February 26th, 2001, and aimed to encourage the self-reliance process of the village and the urban community in terms of people’s economic and society. The government would set up the fund within the villages and

the fund in the urban communities across the country, with the initial support of 1 Million Thai Baht per fund.

2.2.1 Essences of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

The Village Fund policy of Thaksin Shinnawatra's government was the encouragement of the self-reliance process of the villages and urban communities in terms of learning and creativity development for problem solving, as well as building the economic and social capacity of the people through the government's fund of 1 million Thai Bath for each village or urban community. The government would also enhance and develop the capacity of the village to self-organize their fund management system. (The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, 2009, p. 2)

2.2.2 Definition of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

The Village Fund policy was initiated according to the government's policy. The government had allocated the budget for the village and urban community, in order to be the source of circulated capital within the village or urban community. 1) It is the national fund allocated for the village and urban community. 2) This circulated capital would receive the initial funding of 1 million Baht from the National Village and Urban Community Fund, which would be allowed to manage by the member of the village.

2.2.3 Philosophy of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

- 1) Enhancing the community and local consciousness
- 2) The community would direct its own future and village or urban community according to their own wisdom and values.
- 3) The fund would support the underprivileged in the village.
- 4) The fund would connect the mutual learning process between the community, the government, the private sector, and the civil society.
- 5) Decentralization to local authority and, the basic democracy would be developed.

2.2.4 Objectives of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

1) Serve as the source of circulating capital within the village or urban community, for the investment of career development, job creation, increasing income, expense reduction especially in the emergency situation, and lead to the construction of the well-being fund for people in the village and urban community.

2) Enhance and develop the village and urban community's capability to self-organize and manage their own capital.

3) Enhance the process of self-reliance of the village and urban community in learning about the development of creative problem solving, capability enhancing, and encouraging the sustainable economy in the village and urban community.

4) Stimulating the nation's economic at the fundamental level as well as developing the nation's economic and social immunity.

5) Enhancing the economic and social capability as well as strength of the people in the village and urban community.

2.2.5 The Important Principle for the Village and Urban Community Fund

Is that there must be the people's participation in every level and the usage of communication media as the instrument to build understanding.

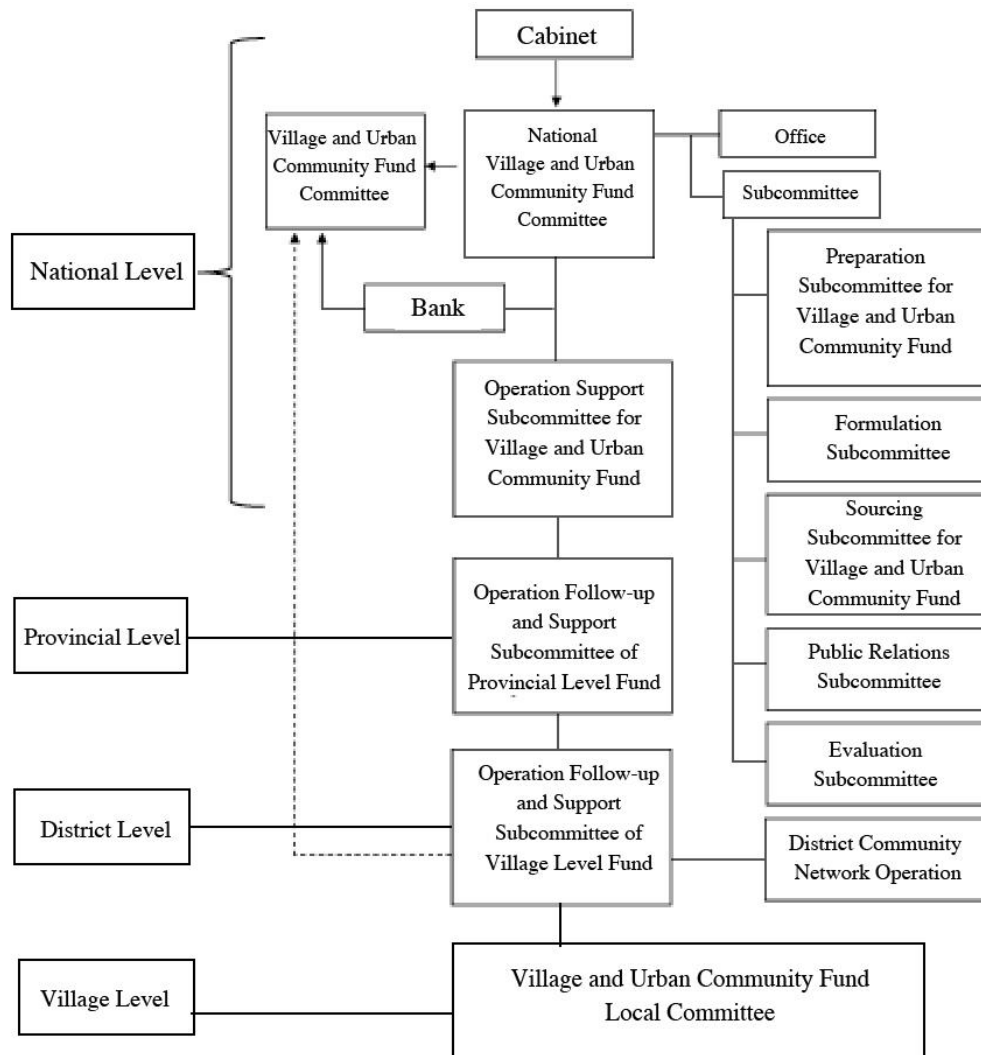


Figure 2.3 Management Structure of the National Village and Urban Community Fund

Source: National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, 2015.

2.2.6 Principle of Financial Allocation

The National Committee of Village and Urban Community Fund's principle of financial allocation for the Village and Urban Community Fund as following.

- 1) The readiness, the attention, and the participation by the member of the community or village.
- 2) The readiness of the fund committee, especially the personal readiness in terms of knowledge and experience in fund management.

3) The readiness of the investigation and evaluation system of the fund committee's operation by the members

4) The readiness of the management coordination and support between the village or urban community funds and other funds initiated by the government within the village or urban community.

2.2.7 The Readiness Preparation of the Village and Urban Community

The member in the village or urban community must coordinate in order to prepare for the formulation of village and urban community according to the following steps.

2.2.7.1 Development of Conscience and Mutual Learning Process

1) Develop the mutual conscience of the people as the mutual owner of the funds, which would be managed by the people, for the member of the village and urban community.

2) Develop the mutual learning process in order to understand the policy of fund management mechanism

3) Develop the participation process of people in the operation and management of the fund, starting from mutually acknowledge, think, operate, follow, receive benefits, and develop the fund towards further sustainability

2.2.7.2 Electing the Suitable Persons into the Fund Committee

Develop the village forum in order to elect the fifteen members of the fund committee, according to the regulations of the National Village and Urban Community Funds as follow. 1) The quorum of the village forum must include 75% of the total households in the village and urban community. 2) The election process should be decided and done by the villagers. 3) The fund committee should be elected within the period designated by the village and urban community fund committee. 4) Good person, with knowledge, experience, and qualification, without any characteristic prohibited by the National Village and Urban Community fund, should be elected. 5) The elected individual must have lived in the village or community for at least 2 years. 6) The elected individual must follow the religious principles, frequently participates in the village or community's activities, be responsible, altruistic, without any involvement in drugs nor gambling, with good financial credit, and stands for

democracy. 7) The elected individual must not be bankrupt nor disable. 8) The individual must never be prisoned, except for the penalty from unintentional act. 9) The individual must never be sentenced for neglect of duty or asset related penalty, except for wrongful interference with goods or trespassing. 10) The individual must have never been fired or discharged from the government or the state enterprise. 11) The individual must never neglect the right of election. And 12) the individual must have never been fired from any fund committee by the committee's consensus nor the member's consensus.

2.3 Solution Idea for Poverty Problem

Currently, the World Bank and Thailand shift the focus on solving poverty problem through the internal factors of each individual, by open up various opportunities for the poor, including the economic and social opportunities. There were the development of the social assurance system and the social protection network systems. The economic opportunity was expanded by the career development and supports, market development, and providing the capital for lending. The political opportunity was also expanded through the power distribution towards the local, in order for them to learn about poverty problem solving by themselves. As for the poverty problems which occurred from the external factors, the solutions were the integration of plans and budgets together for the unity and efficiency in operation. Moreover, the economic development would create balance through the stable macroeconomic and the sustainable self-reliance of the economy at the fundamental level.

Generally, "poverty" would refer to the monetary dimension, or considering the individual's level of income or economic status, when the income is not sufficient to support the living at the lowest standard, or when the income is lower than the lowest quality of life standard accepted in each society. When poverty is defined in reference to the insufficient income, the instrument in measuring the poverty would be the household income or expenses, and the solutions would focus towards increasing the household income through the development and increasing the factors of production and the production process by the poor, the adjustment of market environment in each dimension

in order to assist the poor, as well as allocating the subsidy in various forms such as allowance for living support or for the elderly, etc.

2.3.1 The Concept of "Poverty" and "Rural"

There were many opinions about poverty proposed and various paradigm about the background and definitions of “the poor”. For example, the entourage paradigm views the poor as those who were lazy in studying or work, or the poor might have conducted sins in the previous life. The capitalism paradigm views the poor as those with income too low to live according to the standard, and they were poor because there was not enough modern capitalism economic development. Currently, there is the new theory about the poverty solution. This new perspective does not only consider the low income or consumption, but also includes other non-monetary dimension, as appeared in the prologue of the World’s Development Report 2000/2001, about the poverty elimination as follow. “Poverty is not limit only to the low income nor the low consumption, but also cover the lack of opportunity for education, health care, and other developmental opportunity. It included the lack of power, lack of right, lack of voice, as well as being at risk or in fear” (Thailand Development Research Institute, 2003). When poverty is defined with reference to the wider dimensions, such as the lack of various opportunities, power, and rights of an individual, the instrument for measuring poverty thus become broader. It then looked at the capabilities of the poor, whether and how they were developed or enhanced. For example, there were the expansion of access for the government’s fundamental social services such as education, public health, together with increasing the opportunity to access the production factors such as land, capital, and market, as well as distributing the administrative power, resources, and political power for more participation from the local.

According to the general paradigm and understanding, it is usually inferred that the rural and the poverty are the two things which are destined to be together. Whenever there is something to say about the poverty, the mental image of the rural community far away from the civilization usually occurred. In fact, the rural does not only mean the area where the poor farmers live, and poverty does not only occur at the remote rural area. There are many other dimensions which could be the indicator

or definition. However, the poverty situation in Thailand is that about 85% of poor people lives in the rural area and are mostly farmers. (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 2002)

There is no clear standard meaning of the word “Rural”, as it usually refers broadly to the geographic area of remote community, arid community, or the community where its members consisted mainly of farmers. Even if the Royal Society of Thailand’s dictionary broadly defined the word “rural” as the countryside or the territory outside the capital (Royal Society of Thailand, 2003). Therefore, whenever someone refers to oneself as the rural people, it could be easily understood that he or she came from the remote and arid village. As a matter of fact, the meaning of “rural” can be clearly defined with other dimensions which could generally be found in the rural area, or the “rurality” explanation (Woods, 2005). The important dimensions are as follow. 1) Social dimension; rurality in the social dimension can be defined and explained through many factors such as demographic (light density distribution, low education, low income, high health problems), household facilities (no electrical appliance, mainly use the local materials and equipment), career structure (high proportion of agriculture), and transportation forms (mainly depend on walking or using animal to carry loads). 2) Cultural dimension; there were various ways of life which indicate the rurality. The rural lifestyles are generally simple, relaxed, informal, supportive rather than competitive, and value kindness more than money. The bonding between relatives are tight. The relationship with the natural environment is closed, and the social normalization usually depend on the value, norms, and the traditions with no need for laws. And 3) the geographical dimension; the rurality in the geographical dimension would specially emphasis the area, that the rurality in this dimension would mean the remote area far away from the civilization (city), with low population density and high proportion of agricultural area. Such area would lack the modern facilities and utilites.

2.3.2 Poverty

It does not appear that there is any standard definition of “poverty”, which generally refers to the condition of human without wealth. Therefore, anyone without wealth, with high scarcity, would be called “the poor”. However, there was the

attempt to clearly define “poverty”, by using the poverty line as the evaluation criteria. If any person’s consumption expense is lower than the poverty line, the person would be considered poor. The poverty line was calculated from the cost or expense of each individual in acquiring food and basic necessary items, which would only be enough to sustain one’s life. The poverty line thus reflects the minimum standard of living in each particular society in the monetary unit per person per month. In 2012, the poverty line of Thailand was 2,492 THB/person/month (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 2014). Therefore, anyone with the income below this poverty line would be considered poor.

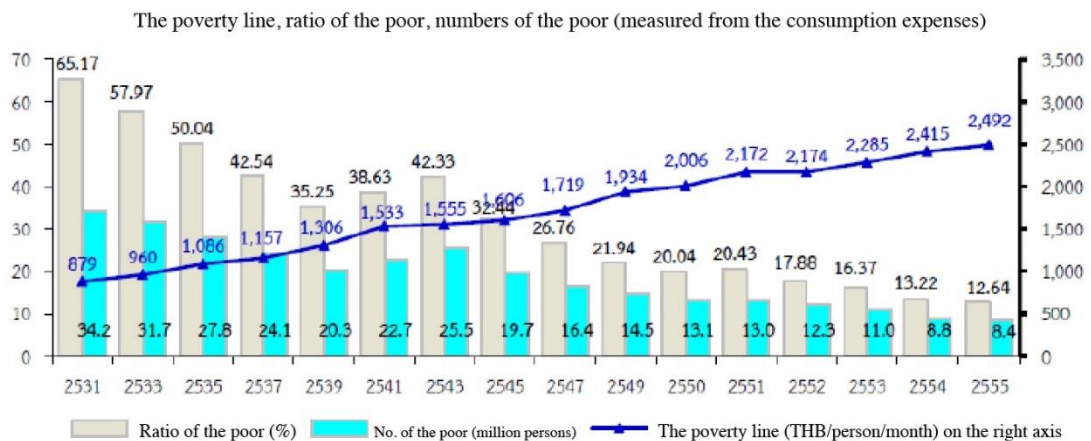


Figure 2.4 The Poverty Line, Ratio of the Poor, Numbers of the Poor (Measured from the Consumption Expenses)

Source: The National Statistic Office of Thailand, 2013.

Another attempt to clarify the definition of poverty was done by the United Nations Development Program or UNDP (2006), who differentiated poverty by considering the income poverty and human poverty. The income poverty can be defined in two meanings, which were the extreme poverty, or the lack of enough income necessary to sustain life with the minimum nutrition, and the overall poverty, or the insufficient income to afford the basic necessities of life which are not food, such as cloths, housing, and the basic facilities. The human poverty can be defined as the lack of basic ability to live well, including illiteracy, malnutrition, and illness. The

latter type of poverty would refer to the ability to access the basic services such as school, hospital, and public utility services.

Currently, there are more Thai social thinkers and analysts who view the poverty problems in the broad definitions, or the structural problem of economy, politics, society, or the government's policy problem. Prawet Wasi (1997) viewed that the society's structure or mechanism would exploit the poor, or make them poor. Prawet Wasi continued that the social structure which led to poverty included at least 10 issues including 1) the wrong attitude of the society which hate the poor for their sins from the previous life, their use of labor, or their worn cloths, etc., 2) the law structure, 3) the resource allocation structure, 4) the educational system, 5) the banking system, 6) the communication system, 7) the government system, 8) the formulation of policy and national development direction, 9) the political system, 10) the weak society as a result of lacking coordination and brainstorming to understand the problems. For Prawet Wasi, these 10 issues of the social structure privilege the rich and create the structural poverty, which had nothing to do with being lazy or lacking. Therefore, these ten social structure problems must be solved in order to eliminate poverty.

Saneh Chamrik et al. (2000) stated that the current poverty problem was the result of the social structure system and the economic development policies within the past 40-50 years, which allocated more resources towards the wealthy's privilege and the poor's disadvantages. Poverty should not be viewed as a personal quality, such as the lack of ambition or diligence, as in the past.

Meanwhile, Nithi Eawsriwong (1998) viewed that the poverty in the contemporary world is not the individual's problem, which some had low income and some might have high income, but rather the results of the economic development policy under the domination from the powerful nations, who seized the resources which the regular people had previously used, such as fishing resource or coastal resources, for the other's usage such as electricity production dam, etc. The people who were left without the capacity to access the resource became poor and powerless, both in the market and in the politics as they could no longer sustain themselves. In Nithi Eawsriwong's opinion, becoming poor and lacking capability or power to access the resource here also include the educational resources, which belong more and more

to the middle class. And the educational resources accessible by the poor are generally not actually useful.

Overall, it is necessary to understand the definition of poverty in terms of economics, politics, society, and culture. The origin of poverty should be understood as affected by various conditions, especially the structural system of economics, politics, and society which privilege the rich and exploit the poor, and the industrial capitalism economic development policy which also increase the modern poverty (Saneh Chamrik et. al, 2000).

Who are the modern poor people? What is the condition of poverty? Those who lack opportunity or suffer hardship? Nevertheless, the definition of the poor people includes 1) insufficient income to afford the minimum fundamental requirement of life such as nutritious food, housing, and the necessities for the standard living quality, as might be found in the minor farmers with low productivity, those who could not find their own food, lack of skill nor regular job, minor freelancers, jobless person, or person with disadvantages, etc. The designated poverty line of 2,492 baht per person per month in 2012 must be lower than the actual value, for the minimum wage calculated by the Labour Tripartite that should be enough for living would be 300 baht per day (for some provinces), or around 6,000-9,000 baht per month, 2) those who have the skill to afford the life's requirement or income below the average standard of people in the same society, 3) those who have the political and social negotiation power or status lower than other member, including those who were biased by the society which prevent them from exercising equal rights, such as the minorities, those who live in the slum or remote rural area, the immigrants, those who does not have any household registration, women (especially poor women or women with low education level), those whose careers are considered vulgar, etc., 4) those without the equal right or opportunity to receive the basic services such as education, career opportunity, healthcare, and other service, such as the elderly, the orphan, people with disabilities, mental illness, or chronic diseases, those without relatives or with mostly poor relatives, homeless children, etc.

The conditions or the origin of poverty might include the following. 1) The lack of suitable production factors and sustenance, such as land, water, capital, production equipment, the lack of forest or sea environment which the food could be

found abundantly as in the past, all of this would lead to the necessity to loan or rent, the high cost, the low efficiency, the low productivity, the consumption which require more buying. 2) The lack of education or training which would increase the efficiency, productivity, career, and suitability of lifestyle, especially in the case which the head of the family's education level is low while the offspring receive slightly higher education or general education which still could not led to career development or hiring. 3) Being the disadvantage from the monopoly capitalism economic relationship system, the change of production from growing rice and integrated farming system into monoculture for sale, the increasing cost while the return is low due to the monopoly system, the chronic debt with high interest rate, and having to buy at the high cost while being able to sale at only the low price. 4) Being the disadvantage from the authoritarian political system, favoritism, capitalism. The poor who usually lack education nor negotiation power would be easily exploited in many ways. They usually have to pay for the services at the higher price or have to pay the unofficial tax or brokerage for those with higher authority. Moreover, their indirect tax would be proportionally higher than the general case. 5) Those who were exploited and failed in the economic and social system of monopoly neo-capitalism, both in terms of production and consumption. For example, they might not be competitive in the capitalism system due to the smaller size, fewer capital, lesser experiences in the production or marketing, higher cost, lower efficiency, which would lead to the bankruptcy, loss, and being jobless, etc. In terms of lifestyle, they could not adjust their consumption, perceive not to save, usually consume things which are not beneficial such as alcohol, cigarettes, or gambling in all possible forms. They probably bought goods through installment or have multiple level of debts, that they could only circulate the money in each cycle and pay the high interest rate and high consumption expense which might not be worth it. Such structural disadvantages and failure would only worsen the life of those with low income to become chronically poor, with no way out. And 6) those who were without job, old, disable, being a child without the proper parent, being a widow, being the head of the large household, etc., while being without job, savings, capacity to find the job, income, or enough assistant to sustain the standard living quality.

2.3.3 The Reason of Poverty in the Rural

Poverty in the rural is the structural problem which is related to many elements. Solving poverty within the rural area could not simply be done by giving money to the villagers to increase their saving nor finding or developing the career for them. The successful solution of the rural poverty would require the responsible person to know and understand deeply of the rural's nature and the rural poverty. Moreover, the actual reason of the poverty must be thoroughly understood by the responsible person. The related issues were studied and commented by a number of scholars who were interested in Thailand's rural problem, which the researcher had reviewed and analyze the result of study and the opinions as following.

Kosit Punpiamrat (1990) wrote in "The Development of Thailand: Idea and Direction", under the chapter of "the economy of poverty", that the existing rural poverty problem could not be solved effectively because those who were responsible realized no priority to such problem. The rural was considered as "the left out" of the society, rather than a crucial mechanism for the national development. The rural poverty problem was thus neglected and worse, being viewed as "rural is the same everywhere, thus can be developed by a single form or plan across the nation". This led to the failure which reflected the chronic problem of rural poverty. Similarly, Thammarak Karnpisit (2003) pointed out that the poverty was based on two important factors, which were the education and the growth of capitalism in the national economic system. He further explained that when the people's education level is low, they became the non-skill worker which resulted in low income. As for the growth of the capitalism system, instead of encouraging the career opportunity or increasing income in the rural area, it only brought more debts from the change of value and consumption behavior, from the simple and affordable lifestyle towards the infatuation with the material luxury. Hence, the causes of poverty could be divided into two categories; internal and external factors. Firstly, the internal factors include the low level of skill and knowledge for career, due to the lack of educational and developmental opportunity as well as the perception of beneficial information. Moreover, there could be the health problems and the burden in sustaining a large family while possessing small or no wealth or land. These factors are the internal reason why a person become poor. Secondly, the external factors, such as the

imbalance development policy of the government which focus on the city rather than the rural area, or the development of the rural which emphasis only the physical capital without any enhancement of the social capital, or the focus on the industrial development instead of agriculture, the natural resources allocation for the commercial uses without considering of any sustainability, the emphasis on the economic growth rather than the income distribution, the focus on opening the country without enough measurement to cope with the various consequences, the legal process which generate inequality within the society, and the government system which could not facilitate problem solving of poverty, as the process are usually complex, slow, and redundant. The planning and budget in many levels also lack the unity. All of the mentioned factors are the external factors which generate and intensify the poverty problems.

Thailand prior to the capitalism development was agriculturally abundant as the saying “Fish in the waters, Rice in the fields.”. Lifestyle of people in the rural area in terms of basic sustenance such as food, housing, clothes, and medicine was quite sustainable. Thai people in general, even those in the rural remote area, would have more food and utilities than the modern poor people who must work in order to afford to buy all of the basic sustenance.

The modern poverty is therefore referring to the insufficient income for the necessary expenses, which were mostly created from the monopoly capitalism system which destroy both the natural resources, the cultural society, and the existing way of life in the community, which were the social and cultural capital of the community.

The development of monopoly capitalism made some people wealthier, such as the investor, major entrepreneur, and the middle class, while the majority of people became poorer. This is the large scale poverty, or the modern socio-economic structural poverty, which is totally different from the comparative poverty in the agricultural society prior to the capitalism society. Although the modern industrial capitalism economic development has positive impact on the public health, education, science and technology, and the administration which increase the productivity and the well-being of some group of people, including the lower mortality rate of mother and child, and the longer average lifespan, but the negative consequences of the monopoly capitalism is that the 80% of people became poorer while only 20%

became richer. The majority of the population faced scarcity and hardship more, while the resources and the socio-cultural capital such as the previously strong and supportive community were destroyed. People became more competitive and selfish. Therefore, both the positive and negative consequences of the monopoly capitalism economic development should be considered critically, in order to actually understand the poverty problem.

Furthermore, there is the paradigm of single-dimension measurement of poverty which led to the proposal of solution focusing on the development of industrial capitalism economic. The World Bank and the economists who support the western capitalism development were responsible for the dissemination of the poverty measurement paradigm through “income per capita” and whether “the income is sufficient to afford the goods and services necessary for sustenance”. Thus, any country with the low average income per capita than other countries would be considered as poor country. Any person with the income lower than the minimum level of income for sustenance would be considered a poor person. For example, in 2013, Thailand would have the total amount of poor people, or those with the consumption expenses below the poverty line, at 7.3 million persons, or 10.9% of the whole population (National Statistical Office of Thailand, 2014)

The single dimension of poverty definition further led to the explanation, that poverty is a result of not enough capitalism development of the country and the poor. Therefore, the World Bank and the industrial capitalism economists proposed the solution that the rich country should lend more money to the poor country, and the multinational company should invest in the poor country more, in order to bring the poor country and the poor people into the commercial production system while increase the competitiveness in the world capitalism economic system. The mainstream economists explained that during the early period of the development plan in the year 1962-1963, there were about 57% poor population (in terms of income) of the whole population in Thailand. After the modern capitalism developmental plan, the proportion of the poor population became continuously lower, until 1996 when there were only 11.4% of poor population from the whole country. This type of measurement focused on the monetary income and the calculation of poverty line, which might not actually represent the image of poor

people, as the living expenses became higher while the modern living required more buying of food and utilities, as they could no longer be found naturally.

Another dimension of truth is that the structure of the world capitalism economic, which was claimed by the economists to be a liberal and fair competition that would lead to the maximum efficiency, was actually the monopoly capitalism system by the multinational company and large capital, which compete in the selfish and unjust style. Therefore, as the world capitalism developed, the minorities who own and control the production factors became richer, while the physical environment as well as the socio-cultural environment are destroyed. More and more gap of inequality became obvious between the rich and poor country as well as the rich and poor people in most country including Thailand.

In the modern capitalism system where it is inevitable for people to sell their labor, generate products for sale, or spend money, the poverty measurement in terms of income is the quantitative measurement which could reflect the partial truth. However, it should only be one of the indicators and should not only look at the income.

The poverty measurement using the poverty line, or considering at the average income enough to afford food and sustenance, is limited technically (whether how much should the number be, and if the number is corrected) and ideologically, that if poverty is defined only in terms of income, it would lead to the conclusion that the solution to poverty would be creating more job and more income until they are above the poverty line, then the problem can be solved. This conclusion is only partially right.

The well-being of the farmers in the primitive society or some groups of the modern farmers who stop or decrease the farming for sale in the capitalism system, and return towards the revival of sustainable economy, which brought lower income and expenses, seems to be better (fundamentally) than those who do the farming for sale only, whose expenses are higher than the income. This was due to the fact that the capitalism farmer must buy the production factors and the sustenance at the price higher than their income, resulted in the low gross income that they could not afford the basic necessities. Moreover, there were people with the income which is only slightly above the poverty line, with a large amount of debt, without any production

factor, social status, political status, negotiation power, and equal rights to access the fundamental services, who could be considered poor in the modern economic system. It was found through the income distribution measurement in Thailand that as the development progress, the income distribution became more unequal. Therefore, the definition of poverty should cover those who were socially, politically, and culturally poor. And the social, political, and cultural indicators, which were different from the monetary indicator, should be developed and considered together with the economic indicator. Then, poverty as a structural problem in terms of socio-economic could be perceived as a whole, and the analysis of the reason of poverty, including the external factor (world capitalism), the internal factor (socio-economic structure in the under-developed country), the consequences of poverty problem to the society, and the solution for poverty could be done correctly or closer to the truth.

2.3.4 Solutions for Poverty

As poverty was the result of the under-developed monopoly capitalism political economy structure, not only from the low education or income of the people, the effective solution for poverty must be linked all over the structure system instead of working in partial projects, which could only solve the short term problem in some cases, but not all. What the authority should do is 1) reforming the socio-economic structure, such as land reformation, agricultural reformation, financial reformation, and tax reformation, which tax should be collected from the rich to help the poor. There should be the reformation of education, public health, mass communication, politics, and society in various dimension, in order to initiate the new fair, democratic and effective structure of ownership and the production factors control. There would be the focus on the development of co-operative organization by the public company of the community, and the liberalized competition rather than the monopoly capitalism. 2) Changing the country developmental policy, from depending on the investment and trading with other countries at the high ratio, towards the development of human resources, employment, internal market and resources development, and selective investment and trading with foreign countries only in the necessary case which would be beneficial for the majority. The policy should shift from focusing on the growth of the national services as a whole towards the development of well-being

and environment of the majorities. 3) Developing the fair, efficient, and inclusive social assurance system and the social welfare at the national level as well as the community welfare in the local level.

2.4 Community Welfare Fund and Its Operation

The Community Welfare Fund was founded with the purpose of developing “the local community welfare system” by the civil society, with the objective to assure the stability through the system of assistance of people in the local community. It would serve as the immunity of living and the “social safety net”, in the various efficient forms, which would be effective and expanding all over the country. There would also be the mutual support in learning coordination and linking between the community’s social welfare system and the local administrative organization system as well as the government organization system.

The development of the community welfare started from the condition of the villager’s poverty, especially the majorities of the farmers, which required the solution from the government, who provide the capital for lending with low interest rate. During the late reign of King Rama V, Ministry of Treasure first introduced the co-operative system which was registered as “Wat Chan Fund Raising Co-operative with Unlimited Liability” of Muang District, Phitsanulok Province, on February 26th, 1916. Afterwards, Thailand entered the period of development society towards modernity after the announcement of the first economic development plan in 1961, or when the villagers would still gather for a meeting when the village headmen rolled the calling drum. However, the rural people who were mostly farmers still could not escape the agricultural debt cycle. The farmer’s debt network then marched into the capital in March, 2007, and gathered around the parliament demanding the cabinet’s assistance for the farmer’s debt problems.

The government’s tangible evidence could be found since 1974, or about 42 years ago, when the developer from the Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior, pioneered with the setting up of the saving groups for production, with the objective to introduce saving and collective financial management through the household’s integrity. The five moral principles included honesty, selflessness,

responsibility, empathy, and mutual trust (Jarus Suwanwela, 2006). Prapan Thiarwiharn from Payao Community Financial Institution commented that the community could not be sustained by only the economic factors, but it also requires the elements of culture, tradition, spirit, warmth, and many other things in order for the community member to be contented. In the past, people could never depend on the financial institution during the time of hardship. Thus, many saving groups, which might not be the financial institution, emerges as the innovation of process that reflect the attempt to save in order to pull the resource and management into the hand of the people (Siriporn Yodkamolsat, 2001, p. 261). Although the honesty share saving from the civil sector had been struggled along, but the villagers were more aware of its importance when the teacher organized the “welfare for education”, which amplified the outcome with the students and teacher. The process of self-development of the community’s strong financial system by the people thus became tangible again.

In 1981, the Community Financial Institution emerged from the combination of idea from three sectors, consisted of the government, the community, and the NGOs. Therefore, the community welfare system development in the followed period could be developed systematically. The examples included the institution led by teacher Chob Yodkaew of Nam Kao Sub-district, Jana district in Songkhla Province, Also Khlong Pia group led by Ampon Duangpann, and the saving group of Na Hwa sub-district led by Klao Kaewpetch. These three groups were located in the same district. As for the north-eastern region, the leaders of idea were partially the government’s developpers and partially NGOs, such as the community organization network “Inpang”, led by Father Lek Kudwongkaew. The network covered the area of Phu Phan, Sakolnakorn, and some part of Udonthani, Kalasin, and Mukdahan. There were over 80 sub-districts or almost 1,000 villages, and over 100,000 members under the name “LIFE: Learning Institute for Everyone”. The leaders also included Mentor Suttinant Pratchayapruk, Father Pai Soisaklang, Father Damduang Pasee, Father Mahayoo Soonthornthai, Father Chiang Thaidee. In Bangkok, there were the group which accept the idea from NGOs significantly, such as the organization network of people with low-income in the urban community, by the Urban Community Development Office (UCD), which is currently called the Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI), or the network of community financial organization.

These groups consisted of the cooperative network, the credit union, the network of saving group for production supported by the Community Development Department, the network of agricultural co-operative supported by the Cooperative Promotion Department, the network of farmers by the Department of Agriculture Extension, the network of community development fund within the land reformation district by the Agricultural Land Reform Office, the network of village bank by the Association of Village Developer and Kasetsart University, the network of honesty saving group by Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto of Trad and Chancellor Monk Manuskhantithammo of Chantaburi, the network of Sajjakorn group by the Thai for Development foundation, the circulate fund founded by the private developmental firm, the network of farmer housewives, and the network of farmers youth supported by the Department of Agricultural Extension. All of these were disseminated throughout the country. Without any part, many development of local community welfares might not be able to grow up until today.

During the economic crisis, there was the succession between the 7th developmental plan towards the 8th developmental plan for the year 1996-1997, which aroused the civil sector's attention and activities in the self-reliance. In 1998, the Social Investment Fund or SIF was founded according to the proposal by the "leaders of the civil society", led by Prawet Wasi, Ammar Siamwalla, Paiboon Wattanasiritham, Anek Nakabutr, and many other volunteer social leaders with the public mind and the conscience in the social responsibility. The SIF fund was supported by the national budget, with the independent administration under the mutual agreement between the World Bank, Ministry of Finance, and the Government Saving Bank, under the principle of generosity, transparency, and budget allocation as the instrument to connect those with public mind and volunteers to unit their efforts to solve the nation's crisis, as well as using the culture and the local wisdom as the means to develop and enhance the social capital, including the virtue of peaceful life according to the sustainable economy of His Majesty the King Rama IX.

In 2000, there was the conference of "Thai Community Under the Current of Change: The Dynamic of Thai Community in the Period of Globalization", on May 30th-31st, 2000, with the supported by the Thailand Research Fund (TRF). The synthesis of the overall social movement was concluded by Anek Nakabutr (2000),

that the strong community was a result of the adjustment of internal relationship by the local, with nothing to do with the local administrative organization, head of sub-district, village headman, or the government. There was the proposal of the new space or forum which does not belong to the existing power of official or money, and there should be the focus of the value in living together as well as the strength of living together under the mutual destiny and peace of the sustainable economy. The new space must emerge in the family first, through the unofficial change of leader which could be of any gender, age, or culture. The community should also have the opportunity to participate in the formulation with the government sector.

Poldej Pinprateep (2006) said that each strong community organization would be active in solving problem and rely on themselves mainly. Afterwards, when they coordinate together as a network during the past two decades, the movement of local community development in Thailand had learn and collect the lessons, experiences, and skills abundantly through the social and economic crisis. The leaders of the village wisdom in each region had been through all kinds of pressure from their local. But they had proof from the actual situation that they could sustain their own small community. And they could even coordinate and support each other into the network at the local level, district level, provincial level, and regional level.

Each strong community network of each type, in each area, had their own background and uniqueness. Some network occurred naturally with the leader who was the true village guru. Some network emerged from the support of an external person or organization, whether they would be the private developmental organization or the governmental organization, such as the network of Isan (provinces in the northeastern region of Thailand) guru and the sustainable agriculture, the network of community financial institution, the network of the mangrove forest and folk fishermen of 14 southern provinces, the network of community forest and the river source, the network of community industry, the network of Bang Chak community business, the network community Santi Asoke, etc.

In 2001, Seelaponn Buasai presented the research report of the Development of Welfare System for People with Low Income and Disadvantages in Thai Society, on March 11th, 2001, about the study of form and possibility in providing welfare by the private sector. The seminar focused on the study of the community's capability in

self-care and argued that this type of welfare system should be better than the system provided by the government, and how it could fill the gap in what the government had already provided. There should be the reflection on the budget allocation system into the community, in order to prevent the condition which, the community would fall apart because of money, looting, or any influential group (Siriporn Yodkamonsat, 2001, p. 240). The reason why this study happened was because of the new government's policy which would directly affect the people in community such as the 1 million fund per village, One Tambon One Product (OTOP), farmer debt settlement, and 30 baht treats all diseases.

In 2001, the Community Organizations Development Institute (Public Organization) or CODI explained the type of community welfare or the basis of providing the community welfare including 1) providing the welfare based on the community financial institution, 2) providing the community welfare from the community manufacturing/business base, 3) providing the welfare based on the natural resources, 4) providing the welfare based on the ideology/religion, 5) providing the welfare based on the urban community, 6) providing the elderly welfare by the elderly, and 7) providing welfare by those in hardship.

The important principle in organizing the community welfare by the CODI could be concluded from each base of community welfare as follows. 1) Consider the actual situation and the way of life in each area. 2) Progress from small to big and proceed gradually. 3) Money is just the instrument, not the goal. It should be used to create the condition to motivate people to work and do good things. What important is to initiate the idea of self-reliance and integrity. 4) The good welfare system should not create the conflict within the community. 5) It should integrate everything together. All activities could enhance the welfare from birth to death for everyone. 6) Mutual giving and receiving. People in the community involving with welfare are usually both the givers and receivers, and therefore their relationship are equal and dignified. 7) Operating with passion and perseverance. The meaning of the community welfare during 2003 can be concluded as a type of activities organized by the community, in order to be the assurance for the well-being, self-reliance, and stability of the community's member, who would benefit by the community welfare.

In 2004, there was an important change of the community welfare, when there was a national conference of “Community Welfare as a Sustainable Solution for Poverty”, on September 2th-4th September, 2004, at Sukhothai Thammatirat University. The conference objectives included 1) to bring trust of the community activists who would be the major core in the arrangement of the community welfare, 2) to propose the community welfare towards the policy level of the central government organization and the local administrative organization to support the movement of people sector’s welfare continuously, 3) to propose the alternative model of the civic society in the community welfare organization. The organizers of this conference included The Network of Community Welfare in Four Regions, The Center of the Civil Society Poverty Solution Support, and other allies from over 10 institutions including the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, Sukhothai Thammathirat University, Faculty of Social Administration, Thammasat University, Faculty of Social Work and Social Welfare of Huachiew Chalermprakiet University, The National Health Security Office (NHSO, the Community Development Department, and the Community Organizations Development Institute (Public Organization : CODI). etc. This could be counted as the major gathering of the community activists after the economic crisis among the trend of focusing on the economic growth. Various resources of the community had been consumed towards the center of the country and the globalization. Therefore, the existing values were destroyed or neglected, that the community who could previously support and depend on each other, such as the basic system and culture of Thai society had to depend on the external society. However, there were many communities who attempted to revive the “local wisdom” and find the solution for self-reliance, in consistent to the culture and the way of life in the particular community.

“Social welfare” could be considered as an option to enhance the basic community’s security, in order to exist with dignity in the trend of globalization by themselves, with less reliance on the external world. Many forms of social welfare were invented. For example, the definition of “welfare” could broadly cover the stages of life from birth to death (Community Organization Development Institute: CODI, 2004). Previously, the community invented various forms of community welfare, including the part which was operated by the internal capital of the

community, and by the support from the external organizations who disseminate what the community does towards other area. The community welfare organized by the community, or the basis of community welfare in 2004, could be formulated in 7 principles with additional change from the previous basis of community welfare in 2003, including the welfare organization by the community enterprise basis of welfare, by the housing or urban community, by the resources basis (soil, water, forest), or by the leadership, etc.

According to the conference of the Four Region Community Welfare Network in 2004, community welfare's new definition was changed from the previous definition in 2011 mentioned above. The social welfare is the development of security guarantee for the member of community, including everything which would enhance their well-being such as things, capital, kindness, and support. It is related to the stages of life from birth, anility, sickness, death. Or in conclusion, the community welfare is the assurance of living life for the civil sector.

The essence of the community welfare is self-reliance while mutually supporting each other, or giving with value and receiving with dignity. The welfare organization is based on the mutual respect and living together with the nature gratefully, on the basis of religion, wisdom, local culture, and the participations in all level.

In 2007, the turning point of the community welfare had arrived, when the Seven Region Community Welfare Network organized the event "Community Welfare, always together" during 4-5 February, at the Wittayatat auditorium, Sukhothai Thammathirat University, with the proposes to expand the concept of self-reliance community welfare, the support from the allies network, and to create the policy suggestion, by Prime Minister at the time, Gen. Surayud Chulanont, who participated in the listening himself. The important results of the sub-meeting by the Seven Region Community Welfare Network were the leveling of the community welfare quality development in the existing area and the expansion of the welfare fund in the new area. The community welfare network activists were also connected in order to drive the community welfare towards the national agenda and the well-being according to the sustainable economic philosophy. There was the development of the "National Committee of Local Community Welfare Fund Support" which half

of the members comprised of the community members and the other half consisted of the representative and the specialists, as well as the “Provincial Committee of Local Community Welfare” with the same proportion of members. There was the continuous budget support with the ratio of 1:1:1 (Government: Community: Local), and the budget support for the expansion of the community welfare fund under the Community Welfare Act. The related laws and regulations which obstructed the support were adjusted, such as the Local Community Council Act and The Community Forest Act. The budget was allocated from the existing fund such as the Community Organizations Development Institute Fund. The Ministry of Social Development and Human Security was responsible for the progress of the community welfare together with the local community and the related organization as well as integrated works of departments within the Ministry. The Local Administration Department would designate the framework of regulations which would allow the Local Administration Organization to support the community welfare fund correctly. There was the support in learning process of the welfare, the development of the community welfare curriculum, the community welfare honor announcement, and the public promotion within the three provinces of the Southern region. The Southern Border Provinces Administrative Centre (SBPAC) was designated to support the community welfare fund and the pilgrimage fund for the Muslims, etc.

Nevertheless, the consistent operation results had led to the supporting framework of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security and its Office of Permanent Secretary. The Office of National Committee for Social Welfare Support also participated and supported the community welfare in terms of legislation, the recognition of the community welfare organization, the policy support as well as planning and budget as following.

- 1) Legislation; The social welfare supports act was adjusted together with the National Legislative Council in 2003. The Social Welfare Support Act 2007 was enacted on December 28th, 2007, with the additional essences in recognizing the civil society organizations as the community welfare organization, allowing the representative of the community welfare organization to participate as the committee in the National Social Welfare Support, Bangkok and Provincial Social Welfare Support. The community welfare organization would also be supported according to

the law and would be able to receive the supporting budget from the Social Welfare Support fund.

2) The civil society organization was recognized as the community welfare organization in the middle of 2008. There were total 688 organizations recognized as the community welfare organizations.

3) The election of the community welfare organization's representative was under the process of proposing to the cabinet to appoint the representative of community welfare organization among the National Social Welfare committee. The community welfare organization would also select their own representative to participate among the Provincial Community Welfare Support Committee.

4) In terms of policy and plan According to the 2nd meeting of the National Social Welfare Committee of 2006, on July 4th, the committee considered the project of 1-baht honesty per day, for the Songkla civil society welfare to proposed for the supporting budget from the government in total 18,250,000 baht for the target group of 50,000 people. The committee agreed with the project concept, which emphasize the saving discipline with money as the instrument. Although interesting, the project would require many details in practice, in terms of management and the long-term consequence. Therefore, the supporting budget would require the policy decision which must be continuous and simultaneous across the country. Moreover, the pilot research which drive the Society Development Strategy and the Social Welfare in 2007, which was supported by the Social Welfare Support fund, indicated that if the government would support the local community welfare (birth, anility, sickness, and death welfare), it would require the budget of 23,725 Million Baht per year in order to cover the 65 million population. (4.2) The cabinet approved the five-year strategic plan of Thai social welfare development no.1 (2007-2010), and the operation plan of Thai social welfare system development for secured life 2007-2011, according to the proposal by the National Committee of Social Welfare Support on February 6th, 2007 and March 13th, 2007. There were total target of 50 villages or local community in Thailand where the community welfare system would be organized to support each other. There was also the formulation of social development strategy, which consisted of the society which stays together, strong society, and moral society, with the focus on the local community welfare.

5) Budget

(1) The cabinet approved the central budget of 470 million Baht to support the operation according to the five-year strategic plan of Thai social welfare development no.1 (2007-2010) and the operation plan of Thai social welfare system development for secured life 2007-2011. In 2008, the Office of Permanent Secretary allocated the budget of 200 million baht for the CODI to support and enhance the community welfare by the sub-district/municipality's welfare fund, with the target of 3000 sub-district/ municipality across the country.

(2) The Social Welfare Support Fund had allocated the budget towards the public benefit organization and the community welfare organization's activities such as expanding the formulation of the community welfare fund in each province's area.

The budget year 2008 was the first year which the Social Welfare Fund Administrative Committee could distribute the social welfare support fund towards the region and local in terms of issues and area (the district administration organization and the municipality) for each province. The committee also appointed the sub-committee at the provincial level with the authoritative power to act for the committee in the provincial management of the fund and project approval within the province. And the project operation would require the participation from the related sector, including the project within the area which request the participating budget from the local administrative organization according to each organization's capacity. In the budget year 2008, the sub-committee at the provincial level had approved total budget of 231 million baht for 2,009 projects, which 1,773 projects were responsible by the government organizations, public benefit organizations, and the community welfare organizations. The number of the organizations whose works are related to the community welfare, who received the joint budget from the local administrative organizations.

2.5 Related Researches

The researcher had reviewed the researches in Thai and other countries which were related to the study of the agenda-setting process of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy with the following details.

2.5.1 The Studies by Foreign Scholars

There were five related studies by foreign scholars. The first two studies were about the consequences from the Village and Urban Community Fund policy by Joseph P. Kaboski and Robert M. Townsend (2005), whose study “Policy and Consequences : The Analysis of Small Financial Institution in the Village Level and the Consequences of Loan Towards the Village’s Economy” was the presentation of an evaluation of the small financial institute of the village or sub-district level which were funded by the government and the private development organizations in Thailand. It was found that the survival of the small financial institution depended on the operation policy in terms of the initial fund, loan, interest rate, and the emergency loan selected by the particular small financial institution. Moreover, it was found that the village fund might reduce the possibility for the villagers to owe the loan shark, and functioned as the measurement to encourage savings under some approximate measurement. The research was the policy evaluation which related to the administration condition and the survival of the small financial institution which the major factor depend on the community’s form of administration.

Nevertheless, the next research by Kaboski and Townsend (2009) was an extension of the previous study which focused on the loan and the administrative form of the village fund project. This study analyzed the consequences of the loan towards the village’s economy, or the consequences from the 1-million-baht village fund by Thaksin Shinnawatra’s government during 2001-2003. The findings from this research were described as following.

- 1) The village fund led to the increase short-term debt and the overall debt of the households in each village, as the debt owing to the village fund did not replace any loan from other financial institution at all. Therefore, the consumption debt increased and affect the future asset of the households.

- 2) The debt from the village fund would led to the increasing debt with the loan shark in the future, as the household within the village had to return the money to the village fund. However, it was found that the village fund does not only led to the increasing loan, but also the increasing savings.

- 3) The village fund led to the debt higher than the payment capacity of the household debt, and affect the future interest rate as well as led to the possibility of increasing loss debt when consider the overall debt condition.

In conclusion, the consequences included the increasing short-term debt and overall debt of each household, as the loan from village fund did not replace any debt from other financial institution. Moreover, it led to the increasing consumption debt and the future asset of the household, by reducing the asset and increasing the current consumption rate. It could be interpreted that the households expected that the future income would increase, therefore they consumed more in the present and reduce the future asset as they assumed that the loan would be easier.

Houghton, Khandker, and Rukumnuaykit (2014) wrote in the research “Microcredit on a Large Scale: Appraising the Thailand Village Fund”, that the Thailand village and urban community fund was the second largest credit project for the individual consumers of the religion. The economic analysis reflected that the benefit of the village fund is more than the cost, and most village fund acted as the social mediator rather than just a financial mediator. However, most village fund dare not risk nor invent new things, so it was obvious that the village fund could not pursue the progress of Thai economy.

The research by Menkhoff and Rungkruxsirivorn (2011), “Do Village Funds Improve Access to Finance? Evidence from Thailand”, was the cross-sectional descriptive study to compare the role of the village fund and the formal financial institution in competitive way, in order to extend the knowledge from Kaboski and Townsend’s research. The interesting findings included, firstly, the village fund had better access for the household with lower socioeconomic status than the household with higher socioeconomic status, when compared to the formal financial institution. Secondly, the village fund approved the loan for the borrower who used to be the customer of the loan shark rather than the financial institution. Thirdly, the village fund decreased the limitation in credit and loan, which illustrated its role to increase the financial access. However, although the financial access was less important target when compared to the economy stimulation, but Thailand’s experiences in the minor financial institution of the village and urban community fund might evoke other countries to see such innovation of the financial institution.

Silvis (2001)’s study, “The low-income housing tax credit: A case study of policy learning coalition building and paradigm expansion”, was a descriptive study of believes, values, and norms which influence the decision in the credit project. It

studied the actors and the policy system characteristics as well as identified the coordination in supporting the policy analysis process as the instrument in the formulation of new policy, with the model of maximum coordination through the theory of policy allies network. This study's objective was to explore the potential to incorporate the "values" within the process of policy evaluation. This study analyzed the policy of approving the home or housing loan for the low-income citizen of the United States. The loan developed from the policy of affordable housing for rent by the states government, which was highly popular among the political parties including both the Republican and Democrat. And the loan significantly reflected the values within the American political culture and the assembly value which is widely accepted in the nation's political economy. It also served as the model for policy learning in terms of project initiation and evolution through the development of political culture, political economy, and policy learning.

2.5.2 Works from Scholars in Thailand

Chaloie Sangusah's thesis (2001), "The formation development and implementation of the Village and Urban Revolving Fund Policy", was the study of the policy process in terms of formulation, development, implementation, and the suggestion for adjustment of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy. In this study, it was found that the formulation of this policy was the adjustment from the existing rural development fund, by considering the choices of administration structure. The policy framework was formulated from what works in the previous policy, with the solutions to solve and prevent the problems which occur previously. The formulation of this policy was consistent to the model of policy formulation called the incremental model, which the Village and Urban Community Fund derived from the Rural Development Fund which was formulated according to the Cabinet's order about the Rural Development Fund 1984, when the responsible organization was changed many times. Meanwhile, the policy implementation seems to build the teamwork rather than control, which consistent to the Organization Development model.

The research by Wichai Turongpun (2005), from the School of Development Economics, National Institute of Development Administration, found that the village

fund policy was expected by the government to change the community income. But in fact, the project did not lead to any change but only worsen the sickness, especially the rising household debt. Previously, the household debt was 70,586 baht in 2000, but in 2004 the debt increased to 84,603 baht, or from 5.7% to 6.1% from the household income. Actually, when the village fund was active, the overall income did not change. In conclusion, the policy had many weakness, but there is a potential for development. Nevertheless, the grassroots policies should not be based on money or led by money, but rather consider the readiness, as there could be further problem when the policy was adjusted too much without the readiness.

Warinthron Witayaworapoom (2006, pp. 65-73) evaluated the effectiveness of the Village and Urban Community Fund: a case study of the pilot fund in Suanluang district, Bangkok, with the purpose to evaluate the productivity of being the capital resource for career development, income building, and the satisfaction of the village fund member towards the fund itself, in order to evaluate the administration process if the committee could followed the designated procedure and the consequence of the Village and Urban Community Fund project implementation. The data was gathered from 2 representative groups including 58 village fund committee members and 242 members of the fund. The evaluation could be concluded that the effectiveness of the loan from the village fund for career development did increase the income and the well-being of the household. And the Village and Urban Community Fund members were satisfied with the operation of the village fund at the high level. As for the process evaluation, it was found that most members were able to pay back the money including debt and the honesty money on time. The committee members understood their roles and the project in the low level. As for the fund administration of most committee members were in the medium level. And the consequences included the obstruction in the lending process because of too many regulations. As for the credit amount, the low credit amount would not be sufficient for actual career. As for the members of the Village and Urban Community Fund committee, it was found that a lot of them lack the knowledge and co-operation, and resulted in the low quality of fund administration. As for the member of the village fund, it was found that some of them did not pay back on time. And as for the fund administration, it was found that the administration was very slow due to the lack of understanding in the project, fairness, and responsibility by the fund committee

As for the consequences from the village fund, Ruangwit Ketsuwan (2007, pp. 125-134) studied about “The Economic, Social, and Political Consequences of the Village Fund Towards Thai People” and found that 83.4% of the fund members already received the average 2.6 times of loan from the village fund. 62.2% of the members also had another loan and pay back to the fund 26.7%. Most of the village fund was spent within the household, to buy the fertilizer, herbicide, other investment, buying the cattle, paying for the descendant’s education, paying the debt, development of short term career, and renovating the house. The village fund was the source of hope, and acted as the capital sources which led to the economic consequence in granting the access to capital to the villagers, who would spend the money to invest and solve the income and debt problems.

There was also the obvious social consequence which help the people to feel good towards the government. The political consequence was the democracy in terms of self-responsibility and protecting the shared benefit. But the largest consequential damage was the rise of current debt and the power abuse which led to the advantages or disadvantages in the village fund. This could easily led to the conflicts, especially in the future when the current debt became loss debt, and people would have to compete to get their loan from the village fund approved. As for the form of the village fund’s consequences, the political factor was the basis of the economic and society, and the economic factor affected the development in the short-term, while the social factor affected the long-term development. The most important factor of the village fund would include the capacity to manage the village fund, especially the skill of the village fund committee, which there would be the short-term consequence in the policy implementation and the long-term consequence in social development. The consequence also included being assisted in the development, which would affect the economy, especially in the short term.

The research by Chaiyasit Anuchitworawong (2007), the specialist of branch economic plan analysis of the National Institute of Development Administration analyzed the origins of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy, that after the economic crisis in 1997, the government depended on the special financial institution as the important mechanism to stimulate the economic and solve the poverty. There were various measures to support the loan for small and medium business. Although

the capital support and loan was not new, but the Thai Rak Thai Party operated it differently. There was the wide distribution of huge amount of money towards the grassroots level through the credit support project for the people who lack the access to the financial resource, with the purpose to reduce poverty on the understanding that the lack of capital was the major reason why the poor people lack the opportunity to invest.

Although the more important thing was the knowledge, the skill to increase productivity, technological usage, and finding the market. On the contrary, this research also found that such populist project by the government aiming to the poor people mostly benefit the people who were not poor. And such support from the government only worsen the income distribution and the inequality. Nevertheless, the village fund was beneficial in terms of enhancing the well-being for the poor. Although there was the concern that it might led to the behavior of continuously generating redundant debt or investment in the business which does not generate profit. In order for the project to actually develop the opportunity for the poor people to escape poverty, the form and operation framework should be adjusted to be clearer, so that it could actually and thoroughly reach the poor people without excluding them away from the system. And the government should be concerned with increasing the people's capability to invest better. Also, the government should change the concept from spending a large amount of money to support the populist project, with the expectation of the future vote, as it might lead to the lack of financial discipline in people instead of the development of self in order to increase their own capability. For the inefficiency of such projects could bring the financial burden for the future government. Moreover, the poverty problem is the structural problem. Therefore, it cannot be solved with a single solution, but required multi-dimension together.

The research by Siripan Nogsuan Sawasdee (2013), about the consequences of the Village and Urban Community Fund and the SML Village and Community Capability Development projects, analyzed the power relationship between the government and the local through the political perspective. It was found that the change from the partial operation of the village fund as well as the SML project operation confirmed the hypothesis of the research, that the income distribution policy in the rural development affected the change of power relationship. The power

relationship changed slowly, gradually, and more often found in the community level rather than the power in the national level. In other words, the Village and Urban Community Fund and the SML project led to the learning and adjustment in many areas. And it could be found in many areas that the community leaders were related to the existing leaders, such as the village headmen, the sub-district headmen, and the local politician.

Meanwhile, the study also found that there was the change of local relationship, as the new community leaders also emerged. Nevertheless, as the village fund and the SML project opened the opportunity for the local or the elector as well as the district to play important roles in many areas, the benefit coordination thus clusters within the atomized leadership, which prevent the community's capability development. Thus, the community could not become as strong as it should be, and led to the community weakness when the people did not truly participate in the project administration. Moreover, this study also found an interesting conclusion which could be beneficial for the public policy understanding usage in the political competition, and the understanding of the power distribution towards the local and the community.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the researcher would describe the conceptual framework and research methodology, which consisted of policy agenda setting, policy implementation, policy development, operational definition, research process, and data analysis.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

After the review of literature, theory, and related research, the conceptual framework and research methodology for this study was designated. The methodology consisted mainly of documentary research, with the additional detail from the in-depth interview. The researcher would study in the three elements as follow.

3.1.1 Agenda Setting and Policy Formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund

Policy agenda setting analysis through the multiple streams model theory

- 1) Problem Stream
- 2) Policy Stream
- 3) Political Stream

3.1.2 The Implementation of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

1) Key factor of success in the policy implementation according to the related theoretical framework, such as leadership, knowledge and innovation, financial management, resources, the public economic status, public participation, political support, and monitoring, etc.

2) Problems and obstruction in policy implementation, especially the problem issue and the practical solutions.

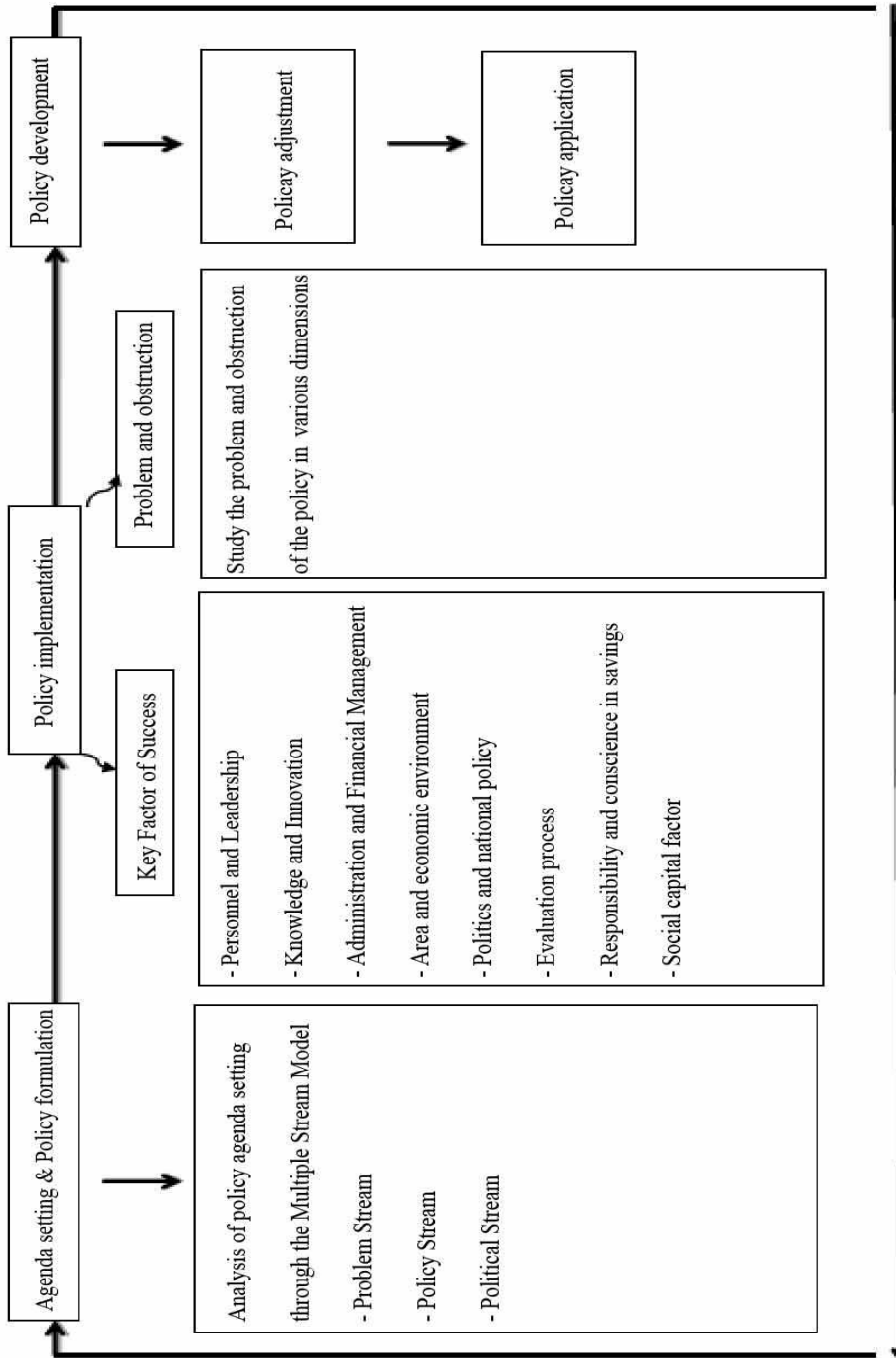


Figure 3.1 The Conceptual Framework of Research

3.2 Operational Definition

1) Policy means the policy of Village and Urban Community Fund initiated by Thaksin Shinnawatra's government since 2001 and still effective nowadays.

2) Agenda setting and policy formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund means the initiation and the process of pushing the policy in terms of formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund

3) Policy implementation means the process which the responsible organization could bring and activate the administrative resources and all important mechanisms of the Village and Urban Community Fund. It would be considered whether the implementation could reach the objectives, on which level, with what outcome.

4) Policy development means the adjustment or changing of the policy and the implementation of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy.

3.3 Research Process

The study process could be divided as follow.

3.3.1 Documentary research. The researcher gathered data from documents such as government's policy, laws, regulations, procedure manuals, budget document, meeting document, meeting minutes, academic document, research, thesis, and articles related to the Village and Urban Community Fund. The documents were gathered from the related government department, such as the Office of National Committee of Village and Urban Community Fund, and the related persons.

3.3.2 In-depth interview. The researcher conducted the interview with related persons in each level of agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy development, from both government and private sector as well as the civil society organization.

3.4 Data Resources and Key Informants

In this research, the interview would be conducted with the key informants selected by purposive sampling method, in order to gain the important data related to the policy process under the research's scope. There were four groups of related persons consisted of 18 persons as follow.

1) The key informants related to the agenda setting, policy formulation, and policy implementation, or the management of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office

(1) Former president of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Committee

(2) Former expert committee and the assistant director of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office

(3) Director of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office

(4) Related politicians with the agenda setting of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy

2) The key informants who were the policy followers and related personnel of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy.

(1) Network and operation officer of the Village and Urban Community Fund Office

(2) Managers of the Village Fund and the Network of Village and Urban Community funds

(3) Former government officers of the Community Development Department, Minister of Interior

3) The key informants related to the development of Village and Urban Community Fund policy

(1) 3 Fund gurus, including

(1.1) Mr.Ampon Duangpan, Expert Committee of the National Village and Urban Community Fund

(1.2) Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto

(1.3) Mr.Mokkasak Yodkaew

(2) Officer and Network of Community Organizations Development Institute (Public Organization)

4) Related scholars specializing in the Village fund and social welfare

3.5 Research Instrument

In order to gain the complete data according to the research objective, the researcher used the qualitative research approach, with the in-depth interview and documentary research technique as the research instrument. Data gathering was done by the documentary research and constructing the question framework related to the research topic in terms of the agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy development framework of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy. Under the concept of policy agenda setting by the Multiple Streams Model, the policy implementation, and the policy development became the criteria for the question structure, which was presented to the advisor for approval and adjustment. Afterwards, the question structure, with the open-ended questions, would be used to interview the key informants in the form of in-depth interview with the four representative groups in order to gather the data according to the research objectives.

3.6 Data Analysis

This study employs the qualitative data analysis for both the documentary research and the in-depth interview. After the interview with the key-informants, the researcher would transcribe the interview and write the conclusion, then interpret the data in order to group them according to the research objectives. Then the interview content would be analyzed together with the document data, including the government document, related research document, and the information about the context. The analysis would be done in the form of descriptive analysis, which connect the relationship of the gathered content according to the related theory, in order to find the conclusion in the forms of descriptive explanation and descriptive research.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The analysis of agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation, and policy development; the case study of Village and Urban Community Fund policy was a qualitative research. Data gathering was done through the review of literature and related research, and the in-depth interview technique with the key informants who were specialized or related to the policy process, including the important scholars. The following results were found.

4.1 Agenda setting process and policy formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy analysis through the Multiple Streams Model

4.1.1 Problem stream

4.1.2 Policy stream

4.1.3 Political stream

4.2 Policy implementation of the Village and Urban Community Fund

4.2.1 Policy implementation preparation

4.2.2 Key factor of success in policy implementation

4.2.3 Problem and obstacles in policy implementation

4.3 Policy development

4.1 Agenda Setting Process and Policy Formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

4.1.1 Problem Stream

4.1.1.1 Poverty Problem

The poverty problem reflected the failure of the policy and the government in the country development, as it was related to all people of the country. As the development only led to the increasing inequality, more people in the society become poor. The gap of imbalance development was a result of the country

development according to the capitalism economic and society concept. The resources were increasingly transferred and used, resulting in the increasing size of the state, capital, and city, while the rural withered (Seksan Prasertkul, 2002). The large gap emerged between the metropolitan and the rural, especially Bangkok which was the primate city. The differences led to the mutual misunderstanding and the different cultural and political perspective.

The problem of the poverty and non-development reflected the weakness of the rural community, which had no capital to solve their problems. Suwit Khunkitti (2015), the former president of the National Village and Urban Community Fund committee stated that poverty is the major problem for the villagers. His opinion was consistent to Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto (personal communication, February 27, 2015)'s notion that this policy might emerged from the scarcity and poverty of the people, which resembles the formulation of the Honesty Savings (Sajja Sasomsap) from the grassroots community with hardship. In such community, the educated citizen did not return to their hometown, which was left with the elderly and those who lack the education opportunity. When these people were left behind, they became the burden in the rural community and made it harder for the community to develop.

On the other hand, Poldej Pinprateep (personal communication, June 18, 2015), the secretary-general of the Local Development Institute and the former member of the National Reformation Council commented that the villagers did not cry out about the poverty, for they viewed it as the normal way of village life. There were the struggles to solve the poverty problem through the various policies of the former governments. Prior to the Village Fund policy, when the villagers were troubled by anything, they would request the government, the provincial governor, or the various organizations to solve each problem. However, the overall Thai society was developed according to the national development plans, since the first one until the current 12th National Economic and Social Development plan (2017-2021). Generally, the proportion of the poor is decreasing, that less than 5% of population would be considered poor according to the poverty line and the average GDP per capita. Although the previous attempt to develop the economic and society led to the increasing income per person, the high employment rate, and the better economic for the nation, but another problem of inequality also emerged. The income inequality in

Thai society was high, as the income of the top 20% earners and the lowest 20% of the whole country was 14 times different. Moreover, there was also the inequality in the land ownership, as the ownership by the 10% of people who own the most land and the 10% of people who own the least land were vastly different. This was consistent to the Thailand situation analysis of poverty and inequality report, 2011, by the Office of the National Economic and Social Development board (2013). It was found that in 2011, there were wide gaps between all income group, as the economic growth mostly benefit the small group of people, especially the richest 10% (Decile 10) earned about 39.2% of the income, the second income group (Decile 9) earned 15.1%, the Decile 8 earned 1.9%, while the rest of the group earned less than 10% for each group. Especially the poorest 10% or those below the poverty line only earned about 1.6% of the overall income. This indicated that the income inequality for each income group was immense, as the richest group's income was over 25 times more than the poorest group's income. About this perspective, Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015), the founder of the Klong Pia saving group and the former specialized committee of the Village and Urban Community Fund commented that solving the poverty problem would be a waste of time, as it is natural that there would be the rich and the poor according to their former basis. However, the important thing should be lessen the inequality in the community.

In conclusion, the poverty and inequality had always tormented the Thai society. Most former governments attempt to solve the poverty, and the Village fund policy was also one of the instrument to solve the poverty.

4.1.1.2 Scarcity of the Capital Resources

In the past, the villagers' access to the capital resource was very scarce. Most capital would be transferred through the government system and hardly reach the villagers. In most rural community, or even in the urban society, part of the poverty problem was the result from the inability to access the capital resources. The most that the rural villager or the urban salary-man can get to reach the capital would be turning towards the informal capital resources. Therefore, the Village and Urban Community fund policy attempted to create the "formal" capital resource, which would allow people to access the capital with the low interest rate. Furthermore, as the poverty is a complex and hard-to-solve problem, capital would be one of the

important mechanic that would help the villagers to escape poverty, as the employment, career, and income would start from the capital. This was also consistent to the perspective of the community leader and the village guru, such as Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015), who explained that some types of capital in the people life were limited, as it would not increase while the cost of living would keep rising. Therefore, the need for capital to sustain life would also increase.

Same perspective was shared by Poowanida Kunpalin (personal communication, March 24, 2015), who was a part of the former founders of Thai Rak Thai party and the former party-list Member of Parliament under the Thai Rak Thai party. Kunpalin explained that the policy team of the party met the people to inquire about their needs, and realized that the villagers need the career but they lack the money and capital. Loaning from the bank would be hard, as they had no credit, while their lands were already under the mortgaged. This became the party's mission to find the solution for the villagers' problems. Kunpalin's explanation coincided with the opinion of Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015), the counselor president of Social Action Party and the former president of the National Village and Urban Community Fund committee. Khunkitti explained that "From my experienced, I witnessed the problem which the villagers had to loan from the informal sources or their clans, which the interest rate would be high. The problem is how to allow the villagers to increase their cash flow, so I thought that they should have the fund to care for themselves during the time of hardship. The villagers could loan and manage the fund themselves".

Therefore, one of the important problem stream prior to the policy was the lack of capital resources for the villager's loan, especially at the village/ community level. On the other hand, the government did not have any direct policy to bring the economic opportunity to the people in the village level to access the capital sources conveniently.

4.1.1.3 Economic Crisis

The economic crisis which occurred in the year 1997 led to the widespread and severe consequences to the Thai economic system, as the crisis emerged during the time of swift growth for the Thai economic during 1990-1995,

that the problems were continuously collected in both financial institutions sector and the private sector. When the economic bubble finally burst, the economic crisis spread throughout Asia, that it was called “Tom Yum Kung crisis”. The Thai government then had to participate in the aid project from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and cut down the expense budget in 1998. It was the most important economic crisis in Thailand history, as 56 financial institutions were closed down, the government seized the control of 5 private banks, some Thai commercial banks were taken over by the foreign capitals, and thousands of private company went bankrupt. In 1998, Thailand faced severe economic problems, inflation, higher prices of consumer products, the closing down of many Thai financial institutions, and the bankruptcy of the private business. (Pudsadee Thiptad, 2010). According to the analysis of the in-depth interview about the economic crisis in 1997, with the formation of the policy stream of the Village and Urban Community Fund, it was found that many informants view the 1997 economic crisis as the “secondary factor which did not directly drive the policy to occur”. Thienchai Na Nakorn and Wichai Nasuwannoo both agreed that the 1997 crisis affect the people at the top level, rather than the people at the grassroot level in the country.

The reason why the villagers faced the poverty and inequality problems was that the previous development allowed very few chance for them to access the resource. However, the economic crisis consequence in 1997 did not affect the villager much, as the rural villagers could basically access the resource as the way of life and did not suffered. For example, they still had the rice, fish, vegetables. Therefore, it did not affect their life sustenance, while the middle class, the urban people, the investor, and the private sector would be highly affected from the chaos related to the financial institutions and banks. The villagers might be affected in some degree if their offspring who worked in Bangkok must returned home. The villagers themselves would be affected only slightly. Therefore, it must be understood that the consequence of the 1997 crisis and the structural inequality problem (which already existed) did not directly related.” (Wichai Nasuwannoo, personal communication, March 17, 2015)

On the other hand, many informants thought that even if the 1997 economic crisis had no direct influence, but it was the factor which pointed to the necessity in stimulating the economic at the grassroots levels. Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015), the director of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, explained that the economic crisis in 1997 might not be the result of any direct factors, but there were many factors which contributed to its emergence, such as the financial institution or the rich people who might seem to fail but were actually well-supported. However, if the grassroots economy is strong and self-sustained, the economic could still progress. Therefore, the 1997 crisis played an important role in raising awareness of the grassroots economy, as the economic crisis in any level would be a chained reaction that would further affect all the related person. The failure here would then lead to the true economic crisis. Therefore, there was the attempt to build the immunity at the strong basic level as the prevention.

In other words, the country's economic immunity could be developed through the stability of the economy at the basic level. Therefore, the policy concept was the result of the government's awareness of the necessity to boost the economy, to accelerate the economic circulation. Thus, the mentioned necessity was also a part of policy formulation, although it might be the background factor instead of the first priority, but the benefit would be mutual (Suwit Khunkitti, personal communication, March 17, 2015). Meanwhile, Satit Ouanduangdee (personal communication, March 16, 2015) stated that the policy emerged during that period because the economic crisis was the major factor, or the urgent problem which the government was seeking the solution to solve the problem that affect the purchase power of the villager, or the capital in the grassroots system. Therefore, part of the reason why the economic crisis resolved was due to the fact that the cash was fed to the grassroots level, in order for it to reach the people as much as possible. Another part was that there were many people who were laid off during the economic crisis, so the government must have considered the way to provide the opportunity to access the capital for those who were unemployed and would like to work. At that time, the options available were just the bank sector and the informal loan. Therefore, the cash of the Village fund would be the solution for this problem. Firstly, those who lose their jobs would have the capital to build their career. Secondly, during the national economic crisis, the banks and

other financial institutions which used to be the macroeconomic mechanisms were hard to access for the people. Moreover, the informal loan would make the problem worse to the villager's way of living. Thus, this policy would be the instrument to solve the economic problem in the mentioned issues.

Due to the body of knowledge about poverty, inequality, and the government's attempt to find the solution for poverty as well as the awareness of the 1997 economic crisis which affected the people in both high and grassroots level, the political leaders, parties, and the benefit groups realized the problem stream of the poverty in the rural and urban community, the lack of capital and the opportunity to access the capital to improve career, bring in more income, as well as the necessity to boost the macroeconomic at the grassroots levels. This became the framework of economic development in Thailand after the 1997 crisis. So it could be concluded that when the public realized the problem stream which directly happened to the life of people in the society and related to the crisis, it became an important opportunity to push the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy towards the political agenda.

4.1.2 Policy Stream

4.1.2.1 Economic Policy Which Would Boost the Cash Flow within the System

In the other side of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy, Thienchai Na Nakorn, the former assistant secretary of technical department, Political Development Council, said that in Thaksin Shinawatra's perspective, the injection of cash into the villages would bring the velocity of money and led to the market liquidity, when the cash in the community/village was loan in order to buy products such as iPhone or motorcycle. Although the scholars or developer might not agree with the economic boost in this form, but in terms of economy, it would create the circular flow in the system. According to the economic financial theory, the cash flow would be related to the activity which would pay the VAT (Value Added Tax), the VAT would be returned to pay the burden which was the loan from the fund. This was consistent to Satit Ouanduangdee (personal communication, March 16, 2015) and Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015)'s opinion that the economic boost in the grassroots level would led to the circular cash flow. When the

cash could flow at the grassroots level, it would also flow at the middle and top levels as well. Therefore, the policy in this form was the money injection to the grassroots economies in order to create the velocity of money for the economy in the whole system. The flow in this case would be created from spending between the majority of people in the country. For example, if the Village Fund injected 10,000 Baht into the system, Mr.A might loan for 10,000 Baht and bought the fertilization. The fertilization merchant would receive 10,000 Baht and could employ the labors. The labors would spend their income with the consumer goods in order to feed the family. The merchants would also spend their profit. Therefore, the money of 10,000 baht would be circulated for many times, and in every place where it was spent, there would be the profit or return in many ways. At this point, there would be growth in everywhere the cash reach, and there would also be the interest or VAT growth in each point, which would collectively become the huge sum of money.

This concept was about the grassroots-based economy, which was previously neglected by the former governments who focus on solving the economic problem at the top level, such as exporting, that they did not see through the grassroots. Santi Uthaipan (personal communication, July 20, 2015), the former director of the National Office of Village and Urban Community Fund Office, said that the fundamental concept of the Village fund resembles growing tree. Previously, the government only water the tree at the top, but the water did not reach the root, so the tree (or the national economy) could not grow. If the tree was only watered at the top, the root would fail. And when the root fail, the top would also collapse. Therefore, it would be important to strengthen the roots and give it the opportunity of self-development.

Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) mentioned the system of the Village fund which was designed to be the economy boosting system, that Thailand had low level of cash in the system. The things which must be done would include the acceleration of speed of cash injection into the system, in order to create the velocity of cash in the economic system, that the cash could flow for many times at the faster rate (multiplier effect). The mechanic of the Village fund was designed in the way that the cash could reach the grassroots level faster, in order for it to flow in more cycles. Because this would be the only way to boost the

economy from the small amount of money, which could also increase the cash in the system. The cash injected into the system could flow through the VAT 7%, which according to the expectation would increase the circulation of cash from 4 times to 6-7 times. At the time, it was expected that within 2 years, the government would receive most of the cash through the indirect economic process. While Poowanida Kunpalin (personal communication, March 24, 2015) supported the agenda of economic base development through the policy that.

Although the policy implementation was immensely attacked by many parties, but it was obvious that the village fund did not only develop the base of the economy for the people sector within the area, but also led to the circulating system. The mentioned cash would enhance the country's economy, that the national GDP grew much larger at the time. Moreover, prior to the decision of implementing this policy, the party had considered the statistic of the people sector's saving, which was the clear evidence of the people sector's intention. What was witnessed, was that the proportion of loss debt or corruption by the people sector was less than 2% compared to the Government Saving Banks'. It was obvious that the honesty, intention, and the conscience of the people about the financial responsibility were higher, especially at the level of villagers who were highly honest. This was the evidence that the project could certainly progress at the time, until it became the successful project nowadays.

Nevertheless, there was the criticism that the political party at the time focused too much on the policy which could attract the voters, as the policy that boost the grassroots level would attract more votes rather than actually enhance the competitiveness of the grassroots group. The cash would only be helpful for consumption while it might not really enhance the grassroots economy (Somchai Pakapaswiwat, 1999). Moreover, it would be consumption rather than building the capacity. The grassroots debt would be higher and could affect the government's financial institution stability.

4.1.2.2 Social Development Policy

The Village and Urban Community fund would also enhance the people's strength in the social sector. Although the major objective of the Village and

Urban Community Fund policy was to initiate the rural development in terms of the community economy, but the benefit for the social sector was the strong network of the organizations, with the network of mutual learning which could feedback the knowledge to the villagers and become the model of self-development. It also offered reflections of many social dimensions, such as the community gathering. After the community with previous drug problem could united themselves, they could develop the drug prevention framework by themselves. This could be counted as the by-product of this policy (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). Part of the communities became much stronger, and braver in expression their opinion. The villagers met at the district and provincial level, that the major change become obvious. The mutual learning and dependence became possible, which reflected the Thai tradition that was beneficial in the development of strong society. In other dimension, the social ways of life became the major instrument to initiate more conversation in the community. They could care for each other, as the fund committee considering the loan approval and help the member with their business career.

Apart from the community learning and the fund self-administrative process, Paramet Ariyadech (personal communication, March 16, 2015) viewed that the development of learning process led to the qualified community leader, from the process of the village fund which enter the area and became the manual of self-study for the people in the village in every way, including living together, democracy, and administration. The members who never participate in any village meeting finally had to participate in the community, as they benefited from the fund's loan. Some committee never used any computer before, but due to their responsibility of accounting and documenting, they had to start learning. This mechanism thus worked as the instrument to initiate new learning process for people in the community. This was regarded as the major essence apart from the economy and politics. Bringing people to learn the process was one of the important policy objective for the Village fund to be the largest learning organization in the country, as there were about 13 million members in total, 1.1 million fund committee, and about 200,000 network committee. The villagers would learn the way of democracy, since the Village fund would be administered according to the direct democracy principle as well as the representative democracy (Suwit Khunkitti, personal communication, March 17,

2015). Moreover, the project would distribute equal power for every village, including the power in terms of budget authorization, administration, participation, and mutual decision on the village's rule. Each village would decide their own rule according to the Village fund's regulation, which acted like the legislation or the constitution. The village's rule of loan would be like the ancillary law in the constitution, which allow the villagers to think by themselves on the interest rate, administrative form, installment, and terms of the loan whether it would be short, medium, or long. The villagers would decide on the rule which their community could accept mutually. This reflected the democracy system's focus on the participation, mutual responsibility, and mutual profit. Therefore, this policy integrated the benefits in the social strength development in both the microfinance part and the political democracy learning together.

4.1.2.3 The Former Governments' Policies to Tackle Poverty

Formerly, the Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior, used to implement the Solving Poverty Project Policy (SP), with the criteria in selecting the household from the target village through the collective standard and the analysis of the Basic Necessities (BN). The household with the average income below the BN standard would be entitled to the SP loan, and the village SP committee would administer the fund which lend the money in the community without interest, while the community would manage the fund itself. The government sector initiated the policy of saving for production since 1974, at Saraphi district, Chiang Mai province, and Thung Wa district in Satun province. In the grassroots level, there was also the capital group called "Social Capital", which existed prior to the Thai Rak Thai party's policy, such as the cooperative and saving group by Teacher Mookda, Women's group, Village's Women committee, etc. The Saving group for production was the prototype which influence the form of the village fund (Pridi Chotechuang, personal communication, June 16, 2015). This notion was consistent to what Poldej Pinprateep (personal communication, June 18, 2015), Secretary-general of the Local Development Institute and the former member of the National Reformation Council, explained that initially, the social capital such as the saving group for production was the Ministry of Interior's policy. The Community Development Department further encouraged the people to unite and form the group such as the career group or other

production group, which would be further developed into the fund by the states who inject the cash into these funds and allow the villagers to administer the fund, in order to circulate the loan.

Moreover, Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015) stated that prior to 2001, the “community capital” received continuous attention from the organizations such as the Community Development Organization Institute (CDOI), co-op, or the Ministries which worked on the occasional community capital.

The policy actors in Thai Rak Thai party might anticipated about them, and use it politically by expanding them. It was obvious that they studied from them, and saw the possibility in terms of the party’s policy which would focus on the community capital while adjusting its form, under the keyword of new idea and new action.

During the major election in 2001, when the political parties campaigned for their votes, Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior, found the project to develop the village committee (VC)’s efficiency. This project was the department’s old instrument for developing the VC’s efficiency throughout the nation (Manoon Sornkerd, personal communication, July 9, 2015). The VC’s headmen of each village would be invited to the seminar. Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015) explained that the villages’ headmen were asked in every seminar for their opinion on the village fund policy in the campaign of the political party. The opinions were mixed, as one group heard about the policy and interested in receiving the fund in their village as soon as possible, for they were ready to administer the fund as they already had some experience. The second group heard about the policy in some level, felt reluctant to believe if it could actually be implemented, but were also willing to learn. And the third group heard about the policy which sound interesting, but still did not want the policy to enter, as there were many existing problems for the current work in the villages and they afraid if the village would be worse. These were the three type of representatives from the villages throughout the country. The reaction would be the same in every forum, which reflected the various level of readiness in each village. Some were ready, while some were not ready to administer the fund.

In conclusion, it was obvious that the government organization and the Department of Community Development's experiences in the saving group administration, together with the existing social capital and community capital in some area, were the database and the mechanism which support the policy formulation.

Nevertheless, although there was the previous project from the government sector in the forms of rural fund, but those projects usually disappear in the long term. Part of it might due to the fact that the cash injected was only occasional. This would be different from the Village fund policy, for 1) the village fund was the circulate fund for personal and return back into the fund, and 2) the Village fund's cash belong to the people sector and can be used anytime, as the cash would always be closed to the villagers. Therefore, the circulation and retaining would be different. The village fund would always be there, while the project cash would be there only occasionally. The village fund would be administered by the people sector. Therefore, the benefit or loss would stay in the village. This was the reason why the villagers would value the fund, as it would be their own duty to administer the fund so that it could remain (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). Therefore, the image of the village fund would be different from the project that would occasionally inject the cash, especially in the villagers' feeling. At first they might not understand it well, but when deeply engaged, the villagers would feel the existence of cash in their village, which would be beneficial for themselves as the instrument, activity, and the mechanism to drive the economy within the area. Although the fact that some villagers loan from the informal sources to pay their debt for the village fund should not happen, but on the other hand it reflected how much the villagers cherished the fund, that they would do anything even to loan from the informal sources in order to keep the fund to continue.

4.1.2.4 Body of Knowledge from the Villagers' Saving Group

Prior to the Village and Urban Community fund, villagers in some area already united into the self-developed community according to the way of sustenance economy, which did not focus on the trend following, such as Mai Rieng community. These communities already realized for a long time that the development which focus on the economy, capital, and production would only weaken the community that they

would not be independent at the end. Wichai Nasuwannoo (personal communication, March 9, 2015), stated that Thaksin Shinnawattra saw this point, that he could formulate the policy which would be attractive to the voters. The policy must also be tangible, as the learning process development was abstract while the cash injection would be perceptible and highly attractive to the voters. Thaksin Shinnawattra observed the model area in Songkhla and Trad, especially the saving group of Mr. Ampon, Teacher chob and Phra Ajarn Subin, in order to study the examples which, the villagers could use their own funds to supervise and solve the community problems, to be the source of circulating capital for their career, and to develop the welfare that led to the mutual caring of each other by the people within the area. And he knew that this could become the policy to respond to the people's need, that it would help the voters to decide to vote for Thai Rak Thai party. Nevertheless, it should be noted that those who like this policy the most were those in the north and northeastern region, while those in the south might not pay much attention to the policy due to their existing strong economy system. Furthermore, in many southern area, the villagers who already had the strong saving groups terrified that the Village fund would destroy the strength of the existing saving groups.

The success of the honesty saving group (Sajja Sasomsap) of Nam Khao district by Teacher Chob Yodkaew could be another example of the body of knowledge from the actual practice by the villagers. Mokusak Yodkaew (personal communication, June 30, 2015), the secretary of the Songkhla Association of People Sector Welfare Network commented that at least the Guru Chob's fund initiate the spark for the politician to see its importance and extend the project further. Whether the villagers could manage would be further developed. Meanwhile, Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015) added that the villagers' saving group emerged prior to the policy. The first saving group in Songkhla and the Southern region was initiated by Uncle Lap Noopradit, from Baan Khlong Kwae, Hat Yai District. Afterwards, the groups of Uncle Klao, Uncle Ampon, and Guru Chob followed, and were called collectively as the financial community or the saving group, or the fund. The financial community fund was built from the villagers' saving. For example, the Khlong Pia saving group of Ampon Duangpan was found since 1980, with the initial member of 51 people, but operated for 35 years until today. This issue

was consistent to Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto (personal communication, February 27, 2015)'s explanation, that prior to the village fund policy, the government saw the success of the various saving groups such as in Trad, and found that it could be encouraged as the policy for the whole country. In fact, each area was different, while this policy might only be the short-term subsidy policy.

This policy was the success from "grassroots to the policy". In other words, the wisdom and experiences of the people in grassroots level about the fund system became the political party's successful policy. Although the government sector previously attempted to initiate various type of fund, but the villagers found that the fund from government could not solve any problem and did not reinforce the community's strength. Finally, the honesty saving groups, which was different from the saving group for production, of Guru Chob Yodkaew emerged. In these honesty saving groups, the member must save with discipline. In this way, although the amount of money maybe small, but there would be the consistency and the increasing members, which would enlarge the fund. The interest from the loan could be used for the welfare. This form was developed from the early type of fund, when the government inject the cash for the member of the career group according to the policy of the Department of Community Development. While the latest form would require the villagers' action, it would be more sustainable and independent from the outsider, as they could depend on themselves (Poldej Pinprateep, personal communication, June 18, 2015). Afterwards, Phra Ajarn Subin observed the saving group and expanded into the honesty saving group in the eastern region, that these two concepts expanded throughout the country swiftly, as the policy was based on the villager's wisdom from the previous practice. On the other hand, Supot Arevart (personal communication, July 21, 2015), the former managing director of the SME development Bank, analyzed that the basis of this policy was no more than the project by the Department of Community Development, which became the basis for the saving groups. During the time, Thaksin Shinnawatra asked the scholars, especially Seri Phongphit, to classify the type and administration of the community financial institution group for the reference in policy formulation. After the data was gathered, he went into the field to prepare the political party and saw these type of financial institution which were strong in many areas. Thus, the policy emerged as the ideal of

the politician would be the total success of the villagers through the mechanism and the group administration in this form as the model. Another important issue was that the saving groups would require at least 7-10 years in average to reach the point where they could sustain themselves. But the political term would only be limited to 4 years, so the shortcut was needed as the prior consideration, that it would not take as long as 10 years, for the government already had the Minister of Interior and the mechanism of the Community Development Department, with the village headmen, sub-district headmen, the district administration organization, the municipality, and the people with body of knowledge.

On the contrary, this was the weak point of the policy, as there were just a few villages which have been ready or strong (Supot Arevart, personal communication, July 21, 2015). Rangsan Thanaphonphan (2008) similarly stated that the development on the self-sustenance strategy could hardly progress, as the populist policy in this form would destroy the self-sustenance of the Thai rural people, that they had to depend on the state in various way again. He noted that there was a duality in the strategy of Thailand economic development. In one way, the elite would drag the Thai economy towards the road of globalization, while on the other way the people had to walk on the road of local community development or self-sustenance and production distribution. Thus, there were two paths. In conclusion, although the method and concept of the policy was on the right direction, but the implementation for the long-term success would require time.

Nevertheless, the village fund would be the solution for the poverty. It was obvious that lately, the process of the village fund was ignored. Although it was the political trend during the first year, but the trend become faded. The process of encouraging and implementing the policy with the villagers was not quite fruitful, as the villagers still felt that the money belongs to the state so they did not have to pay back (Wichai Nasuwannoo, personal communication, March 9, 2015). It was obvious that the thing developed by the outsiders for the villagers would not be sustainable, unlike the issue which the villagers saw the problems, facts, and would like to solve the problem actively. If the villagers think that the saving is important, they would set up the saving group by themselves, which would be more sustainable.

Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) mentioned his experience of fund administration in the similar way during 1983-1984, that it started with the housewife fund from the personal saving at Nampong, Khonkaen, since he was the member of parliament for the first time. He gave the fund of 2,000 Baht for each housewife group, which the group member could loan during the time of hardship. The fund was called “housewife fund”, which was the origin that most villagers would loan to develop their career, buy things for sale, or for the farming. The characteristic of the fund at that time was informal, without rule, condition, nor the clear support from the law. Afterwards, the villagers extended it into the funeral fund, which they could loan to build the job and bring in more income while decrease their expense as they do not have to pay high interest rate to the informal loan. The interest from the loan were returned into the community welfare, as in the funeral fund which became both the welfare and the safety nets.

However, the NGOs and the academic scholars highly criticized this policy, as it seems to them that the project originated with the political objective. Nevertheless, the policy was in practiced for over 10 years. Although in the NGOs’ view, there should be the training for the villagers at first, in order to increase their capacity, but Suwit Khunkitti said that “That would not be necessary, for everybody know how to spend money. The main concern should be whether they would spend the money reasonably, systematically, efficiently, and in the beneficial way.”

From the NGOs and the government’s perspective, the community was never strong, and the villagers lack the skill, that they would need to pass the learning processes and trainings. However, the politician who played important role in the policy formulation view that in practice, the villagers even know more than the government or the outsider. The NGOs usually thought that the villagers should enter the learning process and capacity-building process. On the contrary, the politics and the government sector should learn from the villager (Suwit Khunkitti, personal communication, March 17, 2015). Theoretically, the institutional analysis about the formal and informal institution reflected that the past operation in Thailand focused too much on the formal institution, such as the structure, administrative form, committee, regulations, and legislation, which were the highly formal institution. On the other hand, these organizations lack the understanding of the society’s culture and

way of lives. The villagers' experience and what they learned were all naturally occurred. Therefore, when the government sector dictates their actions and the regulation, it would be alienated and could hardly be successful. However, whatever grew naturally could last longer. This was the important origin of the overall process, that led to the participation process, mutual responsibility and the unity of the community members.

4.1.2.5 Body of Knowledge from the NGOs

The strength of NGOs, and the existence of the Social Investment Fund (SIF) was another factor which focus on the rural development. Among the economic crisis in 1997, there were over 2 million people who lose their job and returned home. The Thai government during that time decided to loan from the World Bank, especially from the SIF, for over 120 million USD. The SIF's objective was to discover the new solution for the society, to focus on the development of the community's capacity and the social capital, to assist the unemployed people and the people with disadvantages, and to enhance the self-sustenance and the community strength. Wichai Nasuwannoo (personal communication, March 9, 2015) stated that the SIF was more beneficial for the community than the Village fund. Initially, the SIF was under the Government Saving Banks and led by Paiboon Wattanasiritham, with Anek Nakabutr as the director. SIF was the fund which enhance the community welfare in each area, by allowing the community to think and plan, and led to the welfare as well as the system which could be independent under any circumstance. This was the origin which the villagers started thinking about self-sustenance. For example, some area thought about the saving, self-development plan, data survey in order to find those who were affected in various ways and planning to help them. Some area analyzed the whole community, which led to the widespread learning process, awareness of self-administration, and the self-development of the community, that it became the big trend during the time. However, the result from the SIF's operation did not reach the ideal of the fund in terms of the community's self-reliance, sustainable economic crisis solution, or strengthen the community (Sompan Techa-atik, 1997). And prior to the village fund policy, Anek Nakabutr, the former director of SIF (2015) pointed out that Thaksin Shinawatra first studied the form of SIF and applied it through the NGOs network who were familiar with the

development in the area. This was consistent to Paiboon Wattanasiritham's opinion, that the concept of grassroots development in the similar way with the village fund was not new, but rather emerged after the effective rural development concept followed continuously by the NGOs during the past two decades. The SIF policy was integrated into the village fund, with the expectation that it would yield multiple benefits from strengthen the community from within, develop the economy unit in the village level, be the small enterprise, and enhance the policy of one tambon one product. The large amount of money injected would also boosts the macroeconomic. Similarly, Prommin Lertsuridej viewed that what happened in this project was the result of Thai Rak Thai party leader's intuition, that if the fund could sustain itself, it would reinforce the community. This was not new, but rather the collage of the existing things in Thailand that create the new value and extend upwards, from the political response towards the clear policy of the government. (Nation weekend, 2001)

Nevertheless, it should be noted in terms of policy stream, that the Village and Urban Community fund had the policy stream pressure from the lack of systematic welfare in Thailand for a long period of time, as the previous development only focus on the economic. The triggering mechanism was the economic crisis during 1997-2000, and the lack of attention towards the politics of poverty. However, these policies were only the first step in developing the welfare system and the policy welfare network in Thailand (Birdsall & Haggard, 2000).

According to the research by Ruengwit Ketsuwan et al. (2007), about the consequences from the village fund in the economic, social, and political terms for the Thai people, it was analyzed that the policy of Thaksin Shinawattra was only following the circumstance rather than the true intention. Especially the village fund policy, which at first there were many options including the part drafted by Thai Rak Thai team, and the part drafted according to the Ministry of Interior, which follow the form of Solving Poverty Problems Project or the SP. There two options were selecting the poor households or bringing the existing fund to be administered by each village. Most scholars and those who had experienced in the community development at the time disagree with assigning the Department of Community Development or any other government department to responsible for this project, while proposed that the

public sector should participate with their community organization in the advance of this policy.

In conclusion, according to the study of the policy stream which formulate the policy of Village and Urban Community fund, it was obvious that there were the basic thoughts behind the background of the policy formulation, such as the previous government's policy to tackle poverty, the body of knowledge from the villagers' saving groups, and the body of knowledge from the NGOs. And, it was interesting that the village fund policy was an integration of the objective in boosting the economy and strengthening the society, which were the basis factor for the policy formulation that directly and indirectly pushed the village fund policy towards the agenda setting.

4.1.3 The Political Stream

4.1.3.1 The 1997 Constitution and the Change in Thai Politics

The 1997 constitution was the first constitution which people participated in the process of drafting the constitution, which had different structure and essence from the previous Thai constitution. And it reflected the intention or the main objective in developing the constitutional draft in order to truly reform the politics (Nopparat Wongwittayapanich, 2007). It was obvious that there was the legislation for the strong Executive according to section 211, and the strong Prime Minister in the 1997 constitution, which designed the election system differently from the previous constitution in order to bring stability to the Thai politics. The 1997 constitution designate the law which was beneficial for the Executive, that they could become the strong political institution. The Executive power by the cabinet used to be viewed as weakened by many factors in the past, especially the factor of being the mixed-party government, that the government as the Executive lack efficiency. The elected government could not last until their terms end. Therefore, one of the important goal of the 1997 constitution was to enhance the political party's development towards the true political institution. (Chak Phanchuphet, 2009). For this issue, Anek Laothammathat (2013) viewed that the objective of the true reformation in bringing the system of party list to elect the member of parliament, or in other words, electing the proportional representation in Thai politics at the time, was the

delocalization of the national politics by open the opportunity for the voters across the country to vote the political representative other than their local politicians towards the national level. The political reformation by the 1997 constitution reflected the socio-political change which the people desire the new alternative to solve both the nationalism and the populism problems (Bukhoree Yeema, 2004). At that point, it would influence the emergence of the political party and the policy of the new political party such as the Thai Rak Thai party, including the executive power of the government leader who'd won the election in 2001. As for the interpretation of the 1997 constitution, Rangsan Thanaphonphan and Chai-Anan Samudavanija gave more weight to the legislation framework about the political party in the 1997 constitution. Rangsan Thanaphonphan (2003), pointed out that the constitution was biased in terms of the political party size, as it punished the small party which received the party list votes less than 5% of the total votes, that they could not have any party list MP, while allow the benefit for the large party which received the party list votes higher than 5%, by transforming the proportion of the party list MP's amount from the smaller parties. Meanwhile Chai-Anan Samudavanija (2003)'s opinion was that the constitutional framework which prefer the single large party was due to the scholars' understanding of the Thai society and imitate the two party system from the United States, when in fact the Thai society would require 3-5 political parties within the system.

In conclusion, the factor from the 1997 constitution structure might be the secondary factor which did not directly impact the political stream in the formulation of the Village and Urban Community fund. However, it had the important widespread influence during the formulation of each political party, especially the Thai Rak Thai party which was the first political party under the 1997 constitution that presented the new policy set which became attractive to the people at that time, resulted in their winning of the election in 2001. The Village and Urban Community fund was a part of the populist policy set which received high attention from the voters during the campaign.

4.1.3.2 The Political Stream and the Thai Rak Thai Party's Village Fund Policy

1) the policy strategic development of the Thai Rak Thai party's campaign

Prior to the emergence of Thai Rak Thai party, the previous government policies were generally led by the government officer and scholar, rather than the politician (Chaipong Samnieng, 2013). After the founding of Thai Rak Thai party, policy formulation was utterly changed as the Thai Rak Thai had their own policy team. The government department was only the supplemental unit who would transform the policy in Thai Rak Thai's broad term towards the tangible implementation.

Ockey (2004), the former senior lecturer of the school of Political Science, Canterbury University, New Zealand, continuously studied the politics in Thai election system for over ten years. Ockey analyzed the phenomenon of Thai Rak Thai, which affected the change of Thai politics in the article "Change and Continuity in the Thai Political Party System", published in the Asian Survey journal. His perspective focused on the party's policy formulation, which previously the Thai politics only involve the patronizing under the "factions" system. Each faction and each MP would credit the faction or himself "without developing into the overall policy of the party". While the Thai Rak Thai developed their popular capitalism policy which directly sold to the poor people at the grassroots level in the rural area, such as the village fund policy, postponement of debts of farmers, 30 baht treats all diseases, turning assets into capital, etc., which would increase policy competitiveness and the party's principles. Moreover, Ockey (2004) also looked at the change in the Thai political party system from the patronizing party towards the class parties as the consequences of the economic crisis rather than the new 1997 constitution. Especially the concept of "new idea, new action" of Thai Rak Thai party especially benefited from the economic crisis which strengthen the party's power. This was consistent to Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015)'s analysis on the attempt of the party which aim to seize the election. And from the fact that the new party such as Thai Rak Thai Party had to find the policy instrument in order to build their base of voters for their first election, the attractive policy for the villagers or rural people who were the large base of voters would be highly important. Poowanida Kunpalin, one of the Thai Rak Thai's strategic team, explained the formulation of the party's strategy prior to the election in 2001 as following.

Back in the year 2000, when the party was found, it was realized that in driving Thailand forward, the party should have the directional framework, strategy, and the mutual goal with most people in the nation, in order for them to select someone to manage the country according to the democratic system. From this starting point, the former leader of the party, Thaksin Shinawatra organized the policy team to responsible for each category of policy, such as economy, society, education, etc. I was a part of the economic team during the time. The leader and many party committees who became the executives in various department, such as the cabinet, all participated in the field observation in order to collect the data. And that was the origin of the policy formulation, by looking at the villager's need, or what could be done to help fulfilling the actual need of the people. In about a year, the team also had the chance to meet the people called villagers guru and interviewed them in many areas throughout the country. Meanwhile, they were also informed by the scholars, executives, or even the government officers within each department were invited to share their information. Thus, it began from listening and the people's participation.

As the party observed the people's need from the field, they found the successful model of the villagers who could manage the community finance in many area, including the model of Mini Bank which was found in Gudchoom district, Yasothon province, where the villagers set up their own financial institution that became highly successful. The Thai Rak Thai party thus brought the possible model and prepare further planning, procedure, and other possibilities until they were confident that the policy was ready for the presentation during the 2001 election campaign. This was consistent to Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015)'s statement that prior to 2001, when the campaign policy would be announced, the Thai Rak Thai party visited the model of the Khlong Pia saving groups for about 3 times. In this issue, Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015) analyzed that the Thai Rak Thai party was trying to find the new thing which could be effective throughout the country. Therefore, they selected the issue of the "community capital", as it could work for the whole country, on the base of the village area strategy.

On the other hand, the Thai Rak Thai party's policy originated from the active survey of the people's need, that their policies could truly respond to the people's requirement and become a competitive policy. Although the competitive policy was also the attempt to be populism in order to attract the voters. As the leaders of Thai Rak Thai party were the group of the national-level investors based in Bangkok, instead of depending on the connection of the election canvasser as the political agent to connect with the voters prior to the reformation, the Thai Rak Thai party brought the politics towards the national policy which directly addressed the villagers. On the other hand, as the political parties' policy presentation were all similar in the past (Kasian Techapira, 2004), while the rural people fell under the connection network or the patronizing system which based on the traditional agriculture society, the rural voters usually followed the lead of the patrons and obviously after the bribe since 1980 (Anek Laothammathat, 2013). Hence, in order to lessen the importance of the patronizing system and briberies, the solution would require the way of politics which allow the rural people to be the "policy base", or to be responded in terms of policy from the government, which should be direct towards the villagers equally throughout the country.

Nevertheless, although there might be many scholars who disagreed with Thai Rak Thai's policy prior to the election in 2001, such as Nithi Eawsriwong, but he still praised the Thai Rak Thai that "they might be the first political party who attempt to propose the policy options for the society. Although we might disagree with the options, but the attempt to propose the policy alternatives should be counted as the progress in the Thai politics." (Nithi Eawsriwong, 2000)

Therefore, it was obvious that the policy strategy of Thai Rak Thai, which was the attempt to fight in the election campaign, by proposing the new policy which approach the people at the grassroots level and the rural people, who were the majorities of the nation, was the political stream which influenced the Village and Urban Community Fund to enter the agenda setting.

2) The united of the political base with other group

Apart from the issue of the Thai Rak Thai policy strategy development, there was also the fact that Thai Rak Thai united their political base with other groups while attract them to be the party members during the founding of

the party. These groups included other political parties, the middle class who could connect with the labor class or grassroots level who scattered in the remote rural area through the capable politicians, scholars, activists, and NGOs. These people were actively involved and pushed the drafting of 1997 constitution until it was successful. (Noppharat Wongwithayaphanit, 2007). The important people for the Thai Rak Thai policy formulation, especially in terms of politics for the Village and Urban Community fund policy, included Prommin Lertsuridej, Phumtham Vejchayachai, Paiboon Wattanasiritham, and Suwit Khunkitti, etc. For this issue, Anek Nakabutr (personal communication, July 6, 2015), the former SIF president, stated that there were two connectors for the Village and Urban Community Fund policy. One was Phumtham Vejchayachai, who was one of the important actor in the party's policy formulation through the coordination with the network of Private Development Organization. He was also well-known among the NGOs, as he was the founder of the Volunteer for Society Project (VSP), while he was also connected to Thaksin Shinawatra during the time he was the assistant director for the company under Shinnawatra Group. During 1994, Phumtham Vejchayachai was his personal consultant when Thaksin Shinawatra was involved politically in the Palang Dharma Party and became the Foreign Minister. And during the period of founding Thai Rak Thai party, Phumtham Vejchayachai was assigned by Thaksin Shinawatra to meet and talk to the groups of people throughout the country, including the university scholars, teachers, NGOs, and the society leaders (Nation Weekend, 2001). This was consistent to Anek Nakabutr (personal communication, July 6, 2015)'s explanation that during the early period of policy initiation, Thaksin Shinawatra used the insider's connection through Phumtham Vejchayachai, which led to the coordination with Prawet Wasi in the policy implementation. Prawet Wasi agreed with the policy and suggested the concept and budget for the project. Meanwhile, Anek Nakabutr expressed his opinion that Thaksin might have "played multiple cards" through the government department, Community Organization Development (COD), Government Savings Bank, and the Office of Prime Minister, who were all the government organizations which led to the different policy opinion between the politicians, scholars, and developers. For this notion, Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015) viewed that there were specialists in various issues among the Thai Rak Thai party. In finance, Dr.

Somkid Jatusripitak oversaw the OTOP policy, while Suwit Khunkitti, Prommin Lertsuridej, and Phumtham Vejchayachai would oversee the rural society and the village fund policy. However, it was unclear in detail if any individual raised this policy as the party's major policy although their election campaign.

For this issue, we could analyze the turning point of the development which attempted to turn the politics into social movement with the power and the political capability in administration, through the centralized structure which distributed towards 80,000 villages in one time. For this type of movement, the NGOs did not have enough capacity to work with the villagers in the broad range. However, Anek Nakabutr (personal communication, July 6, 2015) analyzed that

Thaksin was brave enough to decide to distribute the power through this policy. But we should consider if the bravery was originated from the benefit of the nationwide vote base or the business strategy which utilized the state's fund to take over the persons, political party, and the people's votes in the similar way any company would buy a stock capital.

And it could also be analyzed as the development model which combine the politics and the development.

In conclusion, the fact that Thai Rak Thai party united their political base with the political groups or other interest group was the significant opportunity or approach to allow the policy entrepreneurs to participate in the political stream more obviously. Such groups were the influential group for the policy formation of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy.

3) The policy extension from the former Social Action Party

The Thai Rak Thai party was the political party which united the various groups of people together, including the businessmen, scholars, and private organizations as mentioned previously. But there was another reason why the Thai Rak Thai party won the election, as they included the former member of parliament (MPs) from other political parties as their party members, for they wanted to extend their political base through the existing political parties and groups, especially the former MPs with the vote base in their own area, and the former MPs

who were popular among the people (Noppharat Wongwithayaphanit, 2007). Another person who took part in the Village and Urban Community fund policy as the President of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Committee (VUF) was Suwit Khunkitti, who resigned from the leader of Social Action party on August, 9th, 2000, and joined the Thai Rak Thai party as the assistant party leader. He was elected at the 7th position in the party list system in the 2001 election. In this issue, Thienchai Na Nakorn (personal communication, March 9, 2015), the former secretary of the Politics Development Council, stated that the Village and Urban Community fund policy was the attempt to continue the existing policy of the Social Action party. The existing policy “Circulated Money policy”, which later developed into the village fund policy, was the campaign policy of the Social Action party for a while prior to the joint with Thai Rak Thai party. However, in order to pinpoint the origin of the policy, it would be necessary to analyze the acceptance within the Thai Rak Thai Party as well, whether the policy was derived from the Social Action party or other policy base, as well as the true objective of the village fund policy during the period when it belong to the Social Action party. As for the Social Action party’s view, what the village fund focused on, apart from the money, was the fund administration which was designed for the community member to be responsible together. Therefore, the important byproduct in Suwit Khunkitti’s view might be the participation and the training for the villagers about the decision-making process on the basis of community democracy instead of only investing in the community. These things might be the objectives which were focused by the Social Action party, together with the injected cash, prior to becoming another party’s policy.

In this issue, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) explained that the village fund policy was the Social Action party’s policy, which he used to be the party leader, coordinated with M.R. Kukrit Pramoj, and implemented the “circulated cash” policy. The policy injected the cash which developed the urbanization and income for the villagers, who used to receive the cash and the benefit from working on the basic facilities, which was the origin of the idea. The important background of the project was linking between the circulated cash policy and the pilot experiment with the housewife group at Nam Phong district, Khon Kaen province. The was found that the villagers worked seriously and lived together with mutual love and unity. However, they lacked the capital for the activities.

During that time, the Thai Rak Thai party was just founded, and they tried to negotiate with other political parties who would join them. We had two policies which we would like to do, which was the village fund and the duct irrigation system, which used to be the major policy of the Social Action party's campaign. Initially, we thought that the village fund could be about 500,00 baht per village. Therefore, the total budget would be 40,000 million baht. The Thai Rak Thai party commented that 40,000 million baht was not too much, so it was raised to 1 million baht per village, which would make the circulation better. Moreover, the Thai Rak Thai party thought that it could really boost the economy and solve the economy crisis at the time. As money from the Miyazawa Plan was spent already, while there was still corruption and the people's need was not responded. The basic problems were not solved. There were only a handful of people who benefited from it. Actually it was not the policy of Thai Rak Thai party or Thaksin, but most people thought it belong to him. In fact, it used to be the Social Action party's policy, but we were only a small party. And the work would not be success if we claimed that. If the project did not progress, the policy would not be tangible. Therefore, we kept working quietly, and then it became the Thai Rak Thai's policy during their campaign which became highly attractive for the villagers. Thus, the project originated because the villagers liked it, and the party viewed it as an important policy.

The concept of the village fund resembles the circulated cash policy in terms of the financial liquidity, but this policy would focus on the cash flow more than the cash for investment. Therefore, Suwit Khunkitti combined these two qualities together and developed the Social Action party's policy. However, the party was small and the policy implementation in the mega project for the overall country was difficult. Although the Social Action party used to join the government, but the former government did not realize the importance of this project until the government of Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai. During the Miyazawa plan in 1997, when the government was working on the social safety net, by injecting the cash to boost the economy and solve the economic crisis, Suwit Khunkitti said during the cabinet's

meeting that “Although the Miyazawa money was limited, but if it could be effective in boosting the economy swiftly, then circulate in the system and become the people’s welfare, it would then be the true social safety net”. However, the government at that time did not mention the policy, as the project of this type would not be beneficial for those who operate it, as most cash would be directed towards the village. This was consistent to the comment of Santi Uthaipan (personal communication, July 20, 2015), the former director of the National Office of Village and Urban Community fund office, which mentioned the village policy as the idea which originated from Suwit Khunkitti’s experiment of woman’s fund at Nam Phong district, Khon Kaen province, by allowing them to manage the given cash by themselves. Afterwards, it expanded into the policy, and when the Social Action party’s executive was changed, Suwit Khunkitti became the party leader and announced the village fund as the party’s policy prior to the year 2001. It was the transformation from the body of knowledge from previous practice into the policy, and the woman’s fund was changed into the village fund. And when they joined the Thai Rak Thai party, their condition was that the policy must be incorporated as a part of the grassroots economy policy. Thus, the Village and Urban Community fund of 1 million baht per village became tangible. At that period, the overall form of this policy was still a broad concept, without any clear direction nor procedure.

Moreover, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) also explained the reason why Thaksin Shinawatra “bought” this policy, as he understood it and realized it as “a good political policy”. Although at first, he might look at the political objective as the second priority, and even if Thaksin might raise the first priority to the political benefit, but finally this policy was pushed until it became successful.

Therefore, it could be said that the political stream which pushed the policy was partly the extension of the policy from the existing political party, which allowed the policy entrepreneur and the interest group who wish to be powerful in the politics through the election to play an important part to drive this policy, that it was raised to the political stream. The implementation of this policy also help developing the voter base for the group of individuals at the same time as well.

4.1.3.3 The General Election in 2001

The 20th general election of the members of parliament occurred on January 6th, 2001. It was the first general elections in the new system according to the 1997 Constitution of Thailand, which there would be 100 member of parliament (MPs) from the party list system and 400 MPs from the area of vote system, under the administration by the Election Commission of Thailand. This was also the first election which the Thai Rak Thai party, led by Thaksin Shinawatra, participated and received the highest amount of votes. Although the number of party's MPs were less than half of the parliament's member, but it was enough for them to be the leader of government which could easily find other political parties to join the government (Noranit Setabutr, 2000). The Thai Rak Thai was the first new political party under the 1997 constitution, and received the votes for 247 MPs from the total 500 MPs.

As for the populist policy of Thai Rak Thai party, Poldej Pinprateep (personal communication, June 18, 2015), the secretary of the Local Development Institute and the former member of the National Reformation Council, analyzed that during the time of 2001 election, Thai Rak Thai party raised two policies which were the village fund and the health insurance of 30 baht treats all diseases. These two policies allow them to won, as it became the political gimmick which received immense attention during the election. This was consistent to the perspective of Wichai Nasuwannoo (personal communication, March 9, 2015), the head of the Community Organization Council Office, the Community Organization Development Institute, which saw that the financial issue persuaded the villagers to vote for the party, as the Thai Rak Thai party already analyzed the villagers' need and found that some of them were in need for money. Therefore, they would follow and impress the financial policy, especially the poor people.

The general election in 2001 should be considered as an important political stream in pushing the Village and Urban Community fund policy to enter the policy window agenda. Partially contributed from the policy strategy for election campaign of the new political party, which was aimed towards all group in all class, the Thai Rak Thai could have won the election and began the policy formulation of the Village and Urban Community fund policy.

4.2 Policy Implementation

The Village and Urban Community fund policy was the government's urgent policy which received attention from the people throughout the country, as it was the first policy to encourage the people's freedom of the fund administration, which could be considered as a form of administrative power distribution by the government. As the people must manage the fund themselves, therefore this policy should be considered as one of the government's public policy, which must be implemented tangibly throughout the country. The elements and factors in the policy implementation during the past 16 years could be described as following.

4.2.1 Preparation for the Policy Implementation

4.2.1.1 Preparation in Strengthen the Community

As the Village and Urban Community fund policy was directly related to the simultaneous implementation all over the country, preparation in strengthen the community by planning and development was thus a crucial process. The conscience of the community member in the grassroots level might not be strong, as they were not trained in the self-reliance and sustainable economy. When the capital access become easier and they could easily loan from this fund, the people could spend money on more activities. Although this policy could boost the overall economic structure of the country, such as the GDP growth, but the household debt of the grassroots level also increased (Poldej Pinprateep, personal communication, June 18, 2015). According to the National Statistic Office about the ratio of the household in debt and the average debt per household during 2004-2013 (figure 4.1), it was obvious that although the ratio of the household in debt decreased consecutively, from 66.4% in 2004 to 53.8% in 2013, but the amount of average debt per household tended to increase, from 104,571 baht in 2004 to 163,087 baht in 2013.

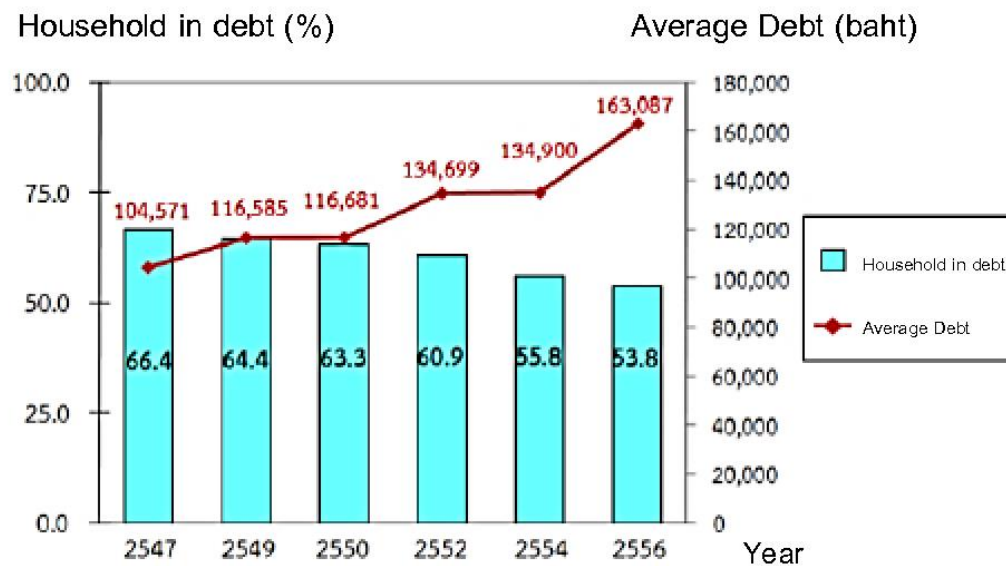


Figure 4.1 Ratio of the Household in Debt and the Average Debt Per Household During 2004-2013

About this issue, it was found that the group of people in debt would switch the source of the loan, by loan from other source to close the existing debt continuously. This could reflect the superfluous consumption conscience, which only worsen the poverty as the household debt of the people increased. However, such preparation prior to the policy implementation might not be necessary for the strong community who could united already, such as the existing saving group within the area. But as a matter of fact, some communities might not be not very strong, such as the community whom the saving group was only 1-2 years old and started to attract the member who intended to save. When the cash was injected for 1,000,000 baht without requiring the villagers' saving, they turned into the consumers who expect for help rather than learning to rely on themselves and manage themselves. This could destroy the community's strength (Poldej Pinprateep, personal communication, June 18, 2015). Therefore, although the policy was beneficial as it could be the important source of community's capital, but the side effect was undeniable, as the opportunity to develop the community strength and self-reliance would be greatly reduced. Poldej Pinprateep (personal communication, June 18, 2015) used the metaphor of pregnancy

which could take 9 months but only require half an hour in labor. Therefore, the community preparation could take a long time before the villagers or community would be strong enough, as they would require the time to prepare qualitatively. Pinprateep's view was consistent to Thienchai Na Nakorn's analysis, that the initial problem of policy implementation was the government's rush to push the policy to happen, while the time was needed for the preparation for training the village committee or the related person in the fund administration so that they could understand the role well. The rush in the policy implementation was partially responsible to the error in some part of the policy implementation. The push in the policy implementation while the preparation was not good enough could result to the project's failure or obstruction in the policy implementation. On the contrary, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) stated that prior to the policy implementation, a level of preparation for the villagers were already completed. Prior to the money transfer to the village, the villagers must learn about the policy through the village's meeting, where there must be at least one person from each household, from at least 75% of the households, participated. There must also be the meeting minute with the signatures of the villagers that they were informed about the policy implementation. Moreover, they had to submit the report to the responsible organization in the village's readiness auditing, such as the meeting of the committee whose term was completed, the understanding of the policy content, the auditing of the saving, the accounting, and the election of the village fund committee from the general meeting. Only after the villagers were ready and the fund office already approve the readiness checklist, the money could be transferred to the village. Initially, as the national budget was limited, the government would loan from the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives (BAAC) and the Government Saving Bank (GSB) for over 80,000 million Thai Baht and 20,000 million Thai Baht accordingly. Nevertheless, this policy did not attempt to set up the strict framework of administration for each village. For if the government tried to administer them all, it would be the policy which tried to tailor the dress to fit everyone. Actually, the villagers should be allowed to think and decide according to the local requirement and the villager's need. Only then would the development become sustainable, the poverty could be solved, and the inequality could be decreased.

4.2.1.2 Not Allowing the Government Sector to Administer

Due to the large scale of the village fund policy and the large amount of budget required in the operation, many departments would be involved. According to the interview with Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015), there was the comparison to the former government's project which were operated from the top-down and the budget was lost due to the corruption. Therefore, the important issue for the policy implementation in this case would be the administration without the government sector and avoiding the involvement from other department.

At the time, there was the request to Minister Purachai Piamsomboon, that the community development committee should not be involved, including the provincial department or any other government agency, as we did not want the process which resemble the father-know-best scheme. Most government department would dictate the villagers, and when it failed, the villagers would not carry the responsibility as they were dictated by the government officer. Therefore, they would not feel responsible. The failure of the fund would usually be the result of the involvement or dictation by the government officer. And this was why the former policy failed.

The former government's policy usually depended on the mechanism of the state, or the government system in transforming the policy towards the practice. This was viewed as the weakness of policy implementation, as the policy implementer in the government system would focus on the tangible achievement rather than the development of the villagers which would require a long time. This reflected the former government's failure in development the community or the local's strength.

Meanwhile, Santi Uthaipan (personal communication, July 20, 2015) explained the policy implementation that initially after the Thai Rak Thai government announced the policy to the House of Representatives and attempt to implement the policy, there was no clear direction of implementation yet. The involved government department thus ordered the related person to assist in developing the implement framework and expand the idea into the tangible result. The government assigned three departments to work. The first group was the Department of Community

Development, Ministry of Interior, who used to work with the saving group and could work in the local level through the developer in the area. The second group was the Government Savings Bank, who was experienced in the loan system. And the last group was led by Suwit Khunkitti, who proposed the concept and practical framework at the Ministry of Interior so that he could be the leader in this policy's implementation. Finally, Thaksin Shinawatra assigned Suwit Khunkitti's group to implement this policy, as it might be best for the policy continuity. If the policy was implemented by the Department of Community Development, it could focus too much on the bureaucraties, while the Government Savings Bank might also focus on the financial business. Therefore, each group's perspective was different. However, the early period of policy implementation was only the proposal of idea and how to implement, with some additional guideline added. Afterwards, the procedure, regulation of the Prime Minister's office, and administrative process would be designated.

As for the administration without the government sector's involvement, Siripan Nogsuan Sawasdee (2013) pointed out in her research that when considering the mechanism of the project administration, it would be obvious that although the government announced in the content that this project was about the resources distribution, or the central budget distribution towards the people directly, but the administration would still be under the government's mechanism of district and province. Thus, it would be unavoidable to say that this project's administration was actually depended on the government mechanism which played more role than the project implementation through the local administration organization.

In conclusion, the swift and efficient policy implementation was the major problem for the government. However, the government mechanism and department were complex and limited in terms of the system, structure, and personal. Therefore, the government, which led by Thaksin Shinawatra, appointed the National Committee of Village and Urban Community Fund to implement to policy, by being responsible for the policy and planning in the set up and administration of the Village and Urban Community Fund according to the Royal Decree of Village and Urban Community Fund (Public Organization) Set Up in 2001, and established the National Office of Village and Urban Community Fund according to the National of

Village and Urban Community Fund Act, 2004. The act designated the establishment of the government organization which would be considered the juristic person instead of the administrative agencies or the State Enterprise, in order to administer the village fund policy

4.2.1.3 Legislation and Regulations in the Village and Urban Community Fund Project Administration

For the Village and Urban Community fund establishment, the government approved the first Prime Minister Office's Regulation about the National Village and Urban Community Fund Committee in 2001, so that it could have the full authorization and responsibility in the policy formulation and planning in the establishing and administration of the Village and Urban Community fund, so that the urgent policy implementation could be swift and efficient, in consistent to the government's policy announced in the parliament. Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015), the former government officer of the Department of Community Development, explained that during the initial period of drafting the fund regulation, the government brainstormed the opinion from various groups of politicians, including Prommin Lertsuridej, Suwit Khunkitti, and the people which were requested to assist such as Santi Uthaipan, and other related organizations including the Cooperative Promotion Department, Community Development Department, and the villager gurus who were experienced in the community fund. Then the first Regulations of the Office of the Prime Minister about the Village and Urban Community fund was drafted. However, as the draft of the regulations which would support the policy that would be implement throughout the country, it would involve many people and might not be able to be implemented in some issue. Therefore, the regulations must be adjusted in order to solve some problem. For example, most Muslim communities in the south region could not follow the original regulations as it was opposed to their religious principle. Therefore, the National Committee of the Village and Urban Community fund met with the religious leader of the Islamic schools, and established another set of committee to adjust the regulations as a part of the whole regulations, which was the fund according to Islamic religion principle. Currently, some of the funds in Satun would use both systems and regulations. And the public relation system would be translated into Yawi language.

The fund regulations were also written in both language, which were the government language and the local language (Yawi), etc.

Meanwhile, Santi Uthaipan (personal communication, July 20, 2015) explained the village fund policy implementation in terms of constructing the “instruments”, which were the legislation and regulation, that initially the Regulations of the Office of the Prime Minister was used. Then the National Committee of Village and Urban Community fund formulated the step to develop the rule into the Village and Urban Community fund act after learning from the Regulations of the Office of the Prime Minister, as it would be harder to amend the act. While the Regulations of the Office of the Prime Minister was being drafted, the national committee of the village fund also started their implementation simultaneously with formulating the framework for the policy implementation. For example, the community would have to debate on whether to implement the policy. The village community must reach the consensus in order for the fund in the local level could be set up. Afterwards, the draft of the fund establishing procedure would be prepared, then the step of referendum, evaluation, and the mechanism to assess the fund’s administration would be set up, until the draft of the fund establishment was completed. Afterwards, there would be the set up readiness evaluation, which would consider both the form and the method of evaluation as well as designate the suitable index. Afterwards, the goal would be more tangible. 1) In terms of readiness, there would be the committee, the regulations which each village would establish by themselves and link to the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office’s. 2) There must be the assessment mechanism, by set up the sub-committee at the district and provincial level. And 3) the administration system, especially the accounting which the Government Savings Bank would assist the administration, must consist of the accounting and the accounting manual, so that each village could learn and draft the details. After learning and considering these issues at the level which could thoroughly cover the administration of the funds throughout the country, the last step would be included in the Regulations of the Prime Minister Office, by clearly differentiating the issues in each chapter. Once completed, the Regulations of the Prime Minister Office would be enacted.

Nevertheless, according to Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015)’s perspective, the regulation/legislation was not highly crucial for

the policy implementation, as it depend mainly on the people's responsibility. The law might be important, but it would be useless if the people involved are defective. The fund regulations were mainly established through the people's participation. Therefore, only the major framework was required so that the people could follow the guideline and adjust the law continuously. After the Regulations of the Prime Minister Office was used for three years, the engrossment would start and the legislation which was developed from the Regulations became the Act of Village and Urban Community Fund in 2004.

4.2.1.4 Administration

Since the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy was first implemented until now, there is the tendency for the productive development. The people in the grassroots level could access the capital source. However, other important goal for this policy implementation also include the good administration system for each village fund (Thienchai Na Nakorn, personal communication, March 9, 2015). The villagers might not have the standard system to screen the loaner, as it was the system of familiar people which mainly require the honesty in returning the money. Hence, this could be the weakness of administration which would be different in each area. However, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) saw this issue as the fund's strength that the administration occurred from the true participation of people, that the villagers could think, action, decide, administer, receive the benefits, and mutually responsible to the possible damages by themselves. This was consistent to Poowanida Kunpalin (personal communication, March 24, 2015)'s explanation about establishing the village committee and systematic administration as well as the rule and regulations were the foundation for people to understand the national budget planning system by themselves. The villagers would learn the administration and follow the possible loss-debt by themselves. These were the mechanism which was the community foundation system that would develop the bonded society.

4.2.1.5 Fund Result Evaluation and the Assessment System

In the analysis of the problem condition from the systematic policy implementation, the policy result evaluation was crucial for the proposal of the effective solution. The evaluation of the government project policy, in both the

national and local level, would bring the broad benefits towards the government and its people, as the evaluation would lead to the development of new alternatives as well as the innovation which could solve the economic and social problems. For the benefit of the people's well-being development, when the village fund policy was implemented for a while, the policy would be evaluated. Initially, the education institution would be responsible for the yearly assessment of the village fund, as the National Village and Urban Community Office would hire the education institution to conduct the yearly research in each topic, on what could be done for the fund so that the villagers would get the body of knowledge to follow after the research completion (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). However, the fund evaluation would be the part of sampling, by focusing on the fund census. The first census was conducted during 2003-2004, when the Rajabhat institution and the public sector mutually work on the national fund census. Afterwards, the second evaluation was conducted during 2008-2009 (Career Seedling Project by the Democrat government). The results included more good point than the bad point, that the Democrat government allocated more budget of 20,000 million baht for the funds. During 2011-2012, there were the assessment of the funds all over the country, by the 6 allies consisted of three banks (BAAC, KTB, and GSB), the Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior, National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, and the public sector's network. The 6 allies would assess every village's fund according to the form with 20 indexes derived from the Office of the Auditor-General of Thailand, in order to be authorized by the Auditor-General of Thailand. This assessment led to the A, B, C, D criteria. Therefore, the census and assessment of the funds throughout the country were conducted for three times already. The results were not drastically different. There might be about 10% of the problematic funds, which might be the existing fund.

By classifying the fund into the A-level and B-level fund, there are currently about 79,000 funds, 21,000 of which could be classified as the A-level (very good), 38,000 B-level (good) funds, 12,000 C-level (acceptable) funds, and 7,000 D-level (need improvement) funds. The D group were the funds with large amount of unpaid debt. Nevertheless, the loss money was still in the process of demanding for payment. Some of the problems included the document problem, the inability to work

of the administrative committee, the conflict within the area, the defalcation, or any other form of seeking benefit in the wrong way. The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office had established the strategic plan since 2015, which directed the branch office towards the list of these funds, consider the problems, and coordinate with the fund network within the sub-district, district, and province, to assist these funds and plan the remedy for the problem. For example, there might be the meeting to elect the new set of committee, or consider the systematic solution for the debt with the assistance from the successful fund from the public sector which became the successful network. The aim was that these funds should be able to come up with the plan within a year. Some might need the money, while some might need the knowledge. The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office (NVFO) would act as the consultant and bringing the allies or network to assist the funds. Thus, the NVFO's strategy would focus on the 10% group with the problems and solve them in each fund. Meanwhile, the officer of the Village and Urban Community Fund Office, Paramet Ariyadech (personal communication, March 16, 2015) commented about the fund governance system that it was an important part which the state should have the policy to enact the law which would govern the community institution with large amount of money in the future, which the NVFO was still preparing the policy of community financial institution regulations, apart from the monitoring system which the villagers would be mutually responsible. For Ariyadech, the government sector should plan the system for the villagers. For example, the account auditor should be the external auditor, who would audit the account according to the suitable standard instead of allowing the villagers to approve the account by themselves. Another issue, which the village fund and the community institution should have the system plan was the risk management through the internal control, as well as the support system of knowledge and evaluation. And the organization responsible for the evaluation must be independent, ethical, and honest.

There was another side of the village fund at the area level. According to the study of the factor contributing to the success in implementation of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy, for the AAA level fund, such as the village fund in Phrom Buri district, Sing Buri province, it was found that the internal factor contributed to the success with not much difference, as the villages were in the similar

social and economic environment. However, the factor which influence the different level of success was the fund committee, as the fund committee of each village had different educational basic, that they could perceive the information differently, resulted in different skill level of administration and public relation for the village fund policy (Chomlada Jantarasaka, 2003). This was consistent to the research by Pakpoom Pusakunsataporn (2014), which compared the administration of two village funds in Samut Prakan province. One of the fund was highly successful (A level) while another fund failed. It was found that the administration of the two funds were different due to the administration factor and the participation by the community member, as well as the environmental factor. However, although the evaluation of the fund's success into the A, B, C, or D level would demonstrate the obvious success, but there would be another external factors which contribute to the success of the fund administration as well.

4.2.1.6 Learning Process

The village fund policy has been continued although the politics changed during the four former governments. One of the reason why the village fund could operate continuously was the fact that the villagers could adapt the village fund according to their lifestyles as well as united with another form of the funds within the area. Wichai Nasuwannoo (personal communication, March 9, 2015) explained that they could expand and integrate things together, while learning from the success of other area. Without the success example or model for self-development, the fund would not develop and might fail in solving the problems from both the internal and external factors.

The important thing for this policy implementation was the community's understanding on how to manage the 1-million-baht cash for the truly sustainable benefit. What essential was to initiate the community's learning process, which was not training nor teaching, but rather the learning in which everyone would present their knowledge or idea through the stage for mutual learning, such as the learning center, etc. (Ampon Duangpan, personal communication, June 30, 2015). Therefore, "the people" would be the major target of the development process. The village fund should be the mechanism which develop through the human center, instead of financial center, while dedicate in the human capability development in

learning administration and push the policy related to education, innovation, and self-management.

4.2.2 Factors Contributing to the Policy Implementation Success

4.2.2.1 People and the Leader

1) Leader

The Village and Urban Community fund project was the project which allowed the villagers to learn the administration process through the fund administration, which accounted for over 80,000 villages throughout the country. There were over 80,000 leader/fund committees emerged (Pridi Chotechuang, personal communication, June 16, 2015). All of these were the process of learning the administration which led to the community's leader development. Therefore, the factor of leader in the fund administration process reflected the human-centered development, which aim not only at the financial target. This was consistent to Jantana Benchasup (personal communication, March 9, 2015)'s analysis that the leader must be skillful in the persuasion, rallying, being the developer who could evoke the public to be aware of the mutual problems, and being the role model in taking action. Moreover, there should be more investment in terms of the process of developing the fund leader's strength, so that they would become the leader with the conscience and qualification, which would be the social capital to solve the community and the nation's problems in the long term. The broad administration which came in various forms of the village fund policy would need the academic works to analyze and introduce the technical processes, as well as the network of capable community leadership to assist in developing the leader who would be truly qualified for the local.

Meanwhile, Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015), the director of the National Village and Urban Community Office, explained that in order for the fund to be successful, the president and the committee must be strong, attentive, and conduct the activity which would allow the project to progress. Therefore, "people" would be the most important factor of the fund. And the most important people of the project would be the president and the committee in each area. If they have the leadership, could understand the objective, and able to

implement the project, then the fund could begin to progress sustainably and continuously. The members' participation in the administration would also be essential. For example, if the president and the committee were strong and influential, the members would not dare to miss the payment term, as they would be considerate in the president and committee. However, if the members lack the consideration in the president and committee, they might not repayment to the fund and the debt might be loss. Therefore, the members would be the part of the support for the sustainable administration. Thus, it is obvious that people is the heart of the fund, especially the president, committee, and the members must have the mutual understanding and could work together.

Most of the village fund's success would depend on the fact that the president and the committee could work with the villagers. These people could keep the fund alive through the term of committee. The administration term was a reasonable, management, as the administration would not be monopolized by any group of people or influential family within the area. Nevertheless, although the National Village and Urban Community Fund support the election so that the fund committee would circulate, but if the villagers in some area still elect the same group of committee after the village fund already exists for over 10 years even if they could elect the new group of committee, their voices must be respected, as the central regulation did not designate the term period of the president and committee, for each area would be different. Some area might need the circulation while it might not be necessary in some area. On the other hand, if there is someone the villagers could trust to work continuously, all the administration work would be continuous. In the future, the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office might enact the regulation which would limit the term of the committee, so that they could only be in the position no more than two continuous terms. Therefore, the fund could be maintained through the process which allow the good person to administer the fund continuously, although it could also risk being the monopolized system. Actually, the circulation would be preferred, so that the newer generation could start to participate in the administration in some case. Moreover, it was important to remember that the village fund did not belong to any individual but belong to the whole village. Therefore, it could be maintained if as much as possible members would participate.

The president and the committee should be the person who receive the most vote from the member. This would be the core mechanism that allow the circulation of the president and the committee. There would be the agenda and processes, while the National Office of Village fund would not designate a clear and narrow regulation of the term period, as it was still spending time to find the different lessons from each area's context. This notion was consistent to Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015)'s analysis that the leader who responsible for the village fund was the important key of success. In many villages, the president would be the village headmen. Until today, the position of the village headmen usually links to the family of the village headmen in some area. Therefore, the allocation of the loan would seem to be preferring the relatives or the acquaintance. This would reflect the weakness which the village headmen could not administer the fund according to the original principle.

Although the success of each fund depend on the "people", it could also be the policy's limitation as it might not be easy for each area to find the qualified person to administer the fund continuously, as "the amount of qualified people is limited". If the qualified person could be recruited, the fund would be successful. However, the villagers or the people left in the rural area were mostly the elders, the handicapped, the people who could not work in the city, or people with various forms of social problems. Therefore, it was not very simple to circulate the leader and find the qualified, skillful person to administer the fund.

The experience of the fund administer in each area was the additional factor, which Mokusak Yodkaew (personal communication, June 30, 2015) stated that the fund administer with prior experience from the existing saving group would understand the procedure or administration better than the committee without prior experience. In terms of experience, Sowat Yookongdee (personal communication, Mach 16, 2015) commented that the internal experience of the leader or the villagers were the important additional factor, which could contribute to the fund's success. Some of these experiences originated from learning through previous practice, which might not be available in some village. As for the committee during the village fund policy implementation in 2001 when the government announced the early retire

policy for the government officials, many of the retired officials returned home and helped the village funds in terms of document, meeting, and the regulations.

Part of the factors which contributed to the difference in the village fund administration were the different level of experience in the fund administration. In some villages where the villagers could administer the village fund well, many of them had experiences from the saving group for production or credit union cooperation. Meanwhile, Paramet Ariyadech (personal communication, March 16, 2015) explained that some committee members might also have prior experience from being the committee of other organization which administered similarly to the village fund. For example, some teacher committee were also the members of the teacher cooperation, or some police committee were also the committee of the police cooperation. Such experience was another factor which influence the progress of the village fund administration.

In conclusion, the factor of the fund committee was related to the success of policy implementation, for the committee members were the representative of the villagers. Although the 9-15 fund committee members and the fund president were elected by the villagers, but when they became the fund committee, they must allow the villagers to participate in the decision making of the fund. And those who become the president/committee must also dedicate themselves for the public work.

2) Members

The key of the village fund and other saving groups were the member. If the member couldn't realize their ownership, the fund would collapse. Moreover, Wichai Nasuwannoo (personal communication, March 9, 2015) stated that the member must be able to participate in the assessment. There should be the annual general meeting for at least once a year, so that the member would be informed, and able to suggest or comment on the policy implementation, so that the committee could implement according to the community's need. Therefore, the feeling of ownership was important. On the other hand, the context of the members in the urban area and rural area were different, as the urban people came from different background, while the rural people would always be in the area and familiar with each other naturally. Whenever they need to gather for any activity or project, it would be hard for the

urban people as they usually consider their own benefit first, therefore the unity in working together might not be as close as in the rural area.

Apart from the experience of the leader and the fund committee, the experiences of the members were also important for the fund's success. The members should have prior experience of participating in some form of group (Sawat Yookongdee, personal communication, March 16, 2015), and be familiar with the group activity, learning to live together under the rule or convention of the group work. Therefore, the member's experience was another important condition for the fund's success.

4.2.2.2 Innovation and Body of Knowledge

The Village and Urban Community Fund was the policy which activated the new space of self-management. Moreover, it was also the forum to learn about the self-management of the citizen, especially the way of democracy, rights, and duties (Pridi Chotechuang, personal communication, June 16, 2015), as well as the community judgement and good governance in the community. The good governance dimension would be possible through the fund's mutual administration. This could all happen in the community, when the villagers could exercise their rights, and be responsible for their duties in the administration. There would be the sharing among the community, which is the important dimension in developing the strong citizenship, although it might be just the small abstract concept.

1) Innovation

During the past 16 years of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy implementation, there were many innovations such as the communication of the body of knowledge, the administration system, the human resource development, and the incorporation of democracy through the socialization in the community's way of life. Nevertheless, if the fund would have meant to be sustainable, it must not be left at the same place. Therefore, the new innovation should be developed from the analysis of the fund area, then further develop the concept, such as increasing the people's income then decreasing their debt. Or when some fund grew larger while the need to loan became lesser, the capital could be innovatively invested in the business which answer the community's problem. For example, some fund invested in the drinking water plant that they do not have to buy

water from outside the village while they can also sell the excessive water outside the village and allocate the profit in the various type of welfare. Some of the funds bought the land for the member without the farming land to buy through the installment, so that they can at least have the land to farm. In some area, there might also be the loan system among the neighbor villages, etc. The innovation must be based on the context of the area. Moreover, the business sector which were the social enterprises should be studied from. Currently, there are many businesses of this type, and the organization which support the fund must match them with the suitable area. For example, if an area was interested in the drinking water business, while there were also the organizations or the companies who would like to invest in the same area, the intermediate organization could match them together by connecting the villagers with the business sector with the knowledge in the drinking water plant or the capital to invest. Or if the fund would like to buy the land, the bank might participate in the guarantee. There could be another option of land allocation for the villagers to farm together as well. Nevertheless, the major problem would be how to persuade the fund or the villagers to think about these issues. Meanwhile, Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015) also agreed that the village fund's image does not only involve the loan and saving, but also include the welfare allocation, such as caring for the elderly, the children's education, building the well, building the bridge, etc. These could motivate people to realize the benefit of joint saving in the fund, as they could see the benefit from the activities and the continuity of the project, which would allow the village fund to sustain itself independently. For example, some of the fund also provide the utility payment service for the water bill, electricity bill, or telephone bill, and the profit from service charge would be paid to the fund and circulated into various kind of welfares. These could be the possible fund's role under the Village Fund Act, and it could be the key factor of success for the village fund in the changing society.

In order to develop the fund's strength, the fund must reach out to the community more, as it was a part of the community and should monitor the development in other dimension. For example, there should be the career development for the villagers to gain the income and reduce their debt. In the rural area where agriculture is the major career, the village fund should assist the farmer's

problem solving. Currently, the farmers did not have any problem in terms of production, but their problems were the trading issues. The village fund's role should involve the way to sale the product at the good price or develop the value-added product. This could increase the villagers' income and support the way to buy the production factor at the cheaper price. Thus, the fund must study and operate at this point. It could be the center for agricultural trading or be the intermediate in the electronic agricultural trading system (Santi Uthaipan, personal communication, July 20, 2015). These innovations could be the framework to enhance the village fund's success, as the fund's motivation in self-development was gradually declining in the past 16 years for they only inject the budget. Therefore, the fund must start to think about the developmental issue according to the changing situation.

The 16 years of the Village and Urban Community Fund operation resulted in the increased cash in the system. Nevertheless, the village fund still could not be the solution for the quality spending. The next step to allow the fund to sustain itself should focus on the fund's expenditure to increase the productivity rather than just paying debt (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). The cash should led to the process which would led to the circulation or the process of increasing income. It could be concluded that the first decade of the village fund (2001-2011) was the decade of learning, grasping the concept, and maintaining the cash. And the next decade (2012-2022) would be the decade of development direction analysis, developing strength, and building the expenditure process to increase productivity. This was consistent to the opinion of Sowat Yookongdee (personal communication, March 16, 2015) and Satit Ouanduangdee (personal communication, March 16, 2015), the officers of the Village and Urban Community Fund Office, that the village fund must develop its expenditure to increase productivity and develop the fund's activity which could be the center of other activity within the village. Apart from the financial activity, the village fund should be further developed towards other enterprises or all the community's financial activities. It could be the production source which connect to the other villages in the production or trading between each other, and become the economic activity mechanic with the center in the village level, which would reduce the state's burden in the assistances, and would also be the factor which would enable the fund to exist in the long term.

2) Body of Knowledge

Apart from the economic mechanism and the financial capital, the Village and Urban Community Fund should develop the body of knowledge in the form of Village Fund school. This would not only expand the capital resource, but also developing the learning resource or the school where the collective wisdom of the villages would be stored. Therefore, the fund could be the center of education in each subject. For example, there was the administration specialized in the tribal culture in Tak province, where the other area could learn about the tribal culture through the connection of the village fund's school, as the mobile educational resource. This could be the core of development for the village fund's school, which the Village and Urban Community Fund office called "the Village fund's education institute". Thus, there would not only be the financial dimension, but it would also include the culture, villager's wisdom, as well as the information center of the village fund which would connect all the dimension together. Meanwhile, Wichai Nasuwannoo (personal communication, March 9, 2015) commented that the process of the village fun allowed people to learn in just some dimension. The villagers might learn about the budget management but not about the developmental process through the fund, or using money as the instrument to develop people's conscience to develop themselves. If the state's standpoint is to push the learning of these issues, the central organization or the National Office of Village and Urban Community Fund must initiatet an operation in the tangible way.

As for the issue of the villagers' body of knowledge, the education background and knowledge of each villager was different. Some were very knowledgeable while some weren't. Therefore, education was essential for the organization. This issue was very important for the village fund, as the administration concept does not only look at the financial management or the benefit, but also the analysis on how to help the villager to lower the debt. This must be done through the community's contextual analysis as well as working together with other organizations in the area, such as the subdistrict administration organization or the business sector, to analyze the problems of the community area together.

4.2.2.3 Financial Management

Currently, many funds or the saving groups is starting to face the problem of the excessive savings in the practical term, especially the problem of investment. For example, if the fund was located in the area with large amount of money and the civilized area, people might depend on the fund less as they already developed the capability to access the career path. When the excessive money increased, there would be the problem of financial management which require the analysis on how to allocate this amount of money. For example, they could buy the government's bond or invest in the Fixed Income Securities (Thienchai Na Nakorn, personal communication, March 9, 2015). However, each form of investment came with the risk which must be studied and considered in detail by the fund.

4.2.2.4 Characteristic of the Area/Environment, and Economy

The factors of success for the Village and Urban Community fund in each area would be different. The fund in the context of urban community might be unique in many ways, as the urban community was already urbanized and could access the capital at the broader scope, while there might be the clearer administration process in the remote area. Nevertheless, Thienchai Na Nakorn (personal communication, March 9, 2015)'s opinion was that one of the fund's factor of success would be the quite small area. When the area is not too wide, most people would know each other and the management could be easier. Therefore, the key factor of the fund's success might not be comparable across the funds throughout the country as their area context would be different. However, Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto (personal communication, February 27, 2015) commented that each area would have the different needs based on the different resources. For example, the major career of people from one area might be agriculture, while another's might be fishery, or industrial. Therefore, the administration on the differences and needs of each area should be adjusted according to the context of the society, economy, and the community's resources.

The context of the village and the location of the community was also the factor of differences. The fund in the urban area would have more variations in the way of lives and existence, and the people would be individual who live privately without any bond. This would be another issue of the community context in the area.

Meanwhile, the fund in the rural area would be closer, as they would meet in both the meeting and in the daily life. There might not be the problem in the administration on how to organize the meeting or get to know each other, but there would be the problems in another forms instead.

In terms of economic situation in the village with different resources, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) explained that it was also the factor which affected the success of village fund in each area. In some poor village where it would be inflexible for the villagers to work that they must find the work outside, it could led to the problems in terms of the member's economic status and the resources for administration. Therefore, the poverty level and the environment in the village would be an important factor. Supot Arevart (personal communication, July 21, 2015) raised the example from most of the successful fund, that there were many factors contributed to the work, including the community's abundant area, or the area of trading. For example, in the area of Pak Kret Ruamjai II in Nonthaburi province, where the cashflow were over 158 million baht and the capital was further developed into the developmental prototype on how to be the financial institution (Prachachart Turakij, 2015), as the fund's main activity was the loan for merchants in Pak Kret market, which was the community of trading where there was large amount of cash flow. Therefore, although it was the urban community fund, but it could develop the mutual benefit and the welfare system on top, that the villagers could realize the benefit and motivation to join the fund. It was obvious that the example of Pak Kret Ruamjai II reflected the factor of success which was known in social terms as ingroup, or the group with similarity, as the Pak Kret community was similar in terms of career. Most of the members were merchant. However, the villagers' career in other area might be more varied that the association would be more complex and complicated. Therefore, the association of the similar members was another factor of success. The career similarity would especially led to the high attention and participation, as the fund could clearly respond to the group's benefit.

As a whole, the different resources, economy, and the community environment might contribute to the success of policy implementation in some level, but they were not all factors. The success could happen if there is "the wisdom in the administration of limited resources to yield maximum profit" (Ampon Duangpan,

personal communication, June 30, 2015). Therefore, resource management was an important issue.

4.2.2.5 Administration

The village fund's administration became tangible and clearer in terms of paradigm after the enactment of the Village and Urban Community Fund Act, 2004. In terms of administration, the villagers were confused and did not understand the administration process during the early period. After the village fund act was announced in 2004, the administration process became more systematic that the village fund became the legal juristic person. Under the legislation support, the administration was more secured than the honesty saving which was founded by the villagers and did not receive any legal support as it was pushed by the policy of the Community Development Department (Boonhome Inthong, personal communication, June 18, 2015).

In terms of the administration factor, Wichai Nasuwannoo (personal communication, March 9, 2015) commented that there must be the discussion, meeting, and opinion exchanging continuously. In the village level, the committee must discuss together. The committee's background should be varied and came from the village. Apart from the forum for the committee's discussion, the administration should also be weighted, especially two parts of the administration system including the financial status or accounting and the fund budget management. As the major activity of the village fund was the financial service, there could be further problems if the accounting system is not efficient in both accounting and the financial report. The members might be distrusting and disapprove of the administration. Secondly, the budget allocation for the community welfare could be differentiated in two types; the fund with full expenditure for the member's welfare which could led to the excessive type of budget management, while the other type of fund might only save the money and spent nothing. Therefore, the fund's budget management should be balanced.

In terms of financial management, most loan would require guarantor (the third person to guarantee), so that the loan would always be responsible by someone. But in the saving group of the village fund, the funeral fund could be the virtual guarantee. By collecting some amount of money from the members into the funeral support fund, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015)

suggested that there would be another amount of central cash which would guarantee that there would be some amount of money to pay the debt if the member denies to pay their debt. When such member die, the village fund would deduct the debt and pay the rest to the relative of the deceased. This could be another mechanism in building the financial guarantee of the village fund, in case there might be any problem.

Moreover, there should be the management of the fund to develop in other dimension apart from the fund itself. The budget should be spent for the public benefit and link to the environment and various resource. This could be the factor which would link the fund to the community and develop the community's success instead of being the stand-alone fund which provide only the loan service. Moreover, the village fund must learn to work together with the honesty group or other existing saving group in the village or the area during the administration process. In the future, these group might join together into the holding group, that they could be the community's financial institution. And there must be the law to support the management as a whole (Thienchai Na Nakorn, personal communication, March 9, 2015). For this issue, Jantana Benchasup (personal communication, March 9, 2015) agreed that some fund might be settled but closed, or refused to learn nor coordinate or connect to the external funds or organization. This was a waste of opportunity, as the community development work would be constantly changing and new knowledge would usually occur. And learning to work together with other organization could led to the network of larger group, which could be beneficial while the administration experience could be further exchanged and learned.

4.2.2.6 Participation

Participation is an important principle of democracy and the process which led to the accountability and check and balance mechanism. The fund's committee and executive must be responsible for the public society and the villagers, by allowing the chance to participate in the self-checking internally and externally. The balance of power between the villagers, committee, and the government organization was crucial, as Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) explained that the financial management in the local level was the major issue, as the village fund could be driven in many ways, which the villagers must decide by

themselves. If the villagers are allowed to participate in the decision, the fund's work would flow smoothly, as the failed funds were mostly the result from the decision by the executive only (Boonhome Inthong, personal communication, June 18, 2015). The policy of village fund was thus all about the participation and consensus. Thus, it would be hard for the fund which lack the good governance to be successful.

Apart from the villagers' participation, the sense of belonging was also another important principle, as the fund belong to the people. The villagers should be aware that the money belong to them and should not be taken away by anyone. Thus, the concept which allow the villagers to administer and check by themselves would enable the fund's sustainability. It would also become the factor of success for the fund, as if the villagers view the money as the government's money or politician's money, their sense of conscience and responsibility might disappear.

4.2.2.7 The National Politics and Policy

The Village and Urban Community fund was the policy issue which the benefit allocation in terms of cash was significant. Therefore, the policy implementation towards the practice might led to the sectarianism. There might be various groups emerged, or there could be the political feeling about the populist policy. These were the external factors that led to the village fund's problems, such as the conflict or the benefit of the particular group. Santi Uthaipan (personal communication, July 20, 2015) commented that initially many people thought that this policy belongs to Thaksin Shinawatra. Although it might be the result of the political benefit during the campaign period, but when the policy became the project implementation towards the people, the process must follow the practice which would not be to political but rather focus on the people's benefit. Or else, if the policy respond to the excessive politics, it could be unsuccessful at the end and could not be sustainable. Nevertheless, Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015) viewed that the village fund was already above the political issue, as it was supported from all the political party in charge throughout all the political change, for they all aware of its importance as the mechanism to approach the people.

The fact that the village fund could still exist, no matter which political party was in power, might be the confirmation in some level that the national executive's policy could drive the village fund to continue. If the policy drive from the government become weaker, the fund stimulation could not occur, and the village fund would not be able to circulate at its full potential. But if the sign is strong, with the increasing activities, the village fund would be able to circulate more. For example, the capital injection could increase the village fund's activity. Therefore, the central policy could affect the village fund's activity in the process of implementation.

In terms of the politics, Paramet Ariyadech (personal communication, March 16, 2015), the officer of the Village and Urban Community Fund Office, commented that initially there was the misunderstanding that this was the political policy, or the response to the political objectives. But afterwards, the villagers learnt that this policy was not about the politics, but rather the benefit of everyone. The village fund's money does not belong to any political party or politician, but came from everyone's tax which the government allocated for every village. Therefore, when the villagers were aware of this project's non-political objective, they could be more persuaded to make this project better.

However, in some area, the village fund policy was used as the political instrument at the local level, such as the election of the district administration organization's president, the subdistrict headmen, or the village headmen, might motivate the villagers to vote by using the number and success of the village fund. Actually, this policy was not related to the local politics, as the village fund must follow the fund's regulation. But it could not be denied that the local politician tried to influence the village fund policy and turn it into their campaign instrument, that the villagers' attitude about this project might be incorrect.

4.2.2.8 The Assessment Process

Apart from the legislation and the village fund's regulation which were the important part of the process to prevent the fund's damage, the social sanction in following and informal assessment was also another effective measure. For example, when the loaner did not pay back the debt, one might be called in for negotiation first,

and when the debt was left unpaid, the name of the loaner might be announced. However, there must be some assistance and considering the reason why it could not be paid, as there might be the way to assist in some case, by discussing the regulation or condition of the particular village. The village fund which allow the short term loan in the low financial amount, the cash flow would be fast and there would not be too much problem, while in some village which allow the one-year loan that could be paid and loan again would face more problems (Suwit Khunkitti, personal communication, March 17, 2015). This was consistent to the opinion of Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015), who insisted that the process of the village fund would require its member to be the “observing eye and ear”. Although the fund committee would already monitor the fund, but the members must also assist in the assessment and the proper expenditure.

The fund’s regulation was ready to be flexed for the member in some level, as each fund’s regulation would be drafted by the village according to the true nature of the people in the area, its cultural dimension, income and expense, and the income which would support the member and the fund’s proper coexistence.

Apart from allowing its members to assess the fund’s operation, the network of village fund in each level also works as the instrument for assessment and evaluation of the fund. It would be the gathering of people in the area, private organization, and other organizations who drove this policy. The mechanism of the public sector would include the network in the provincial, district, and sub-district levels, who would evaluate the efficiency and assess the fund’s. Initially, the Village and Urban Community Fund Office provide the education institutes, especially the Rajabhat University to be the evaluator. However, as the education institute’s main mission is the education, they could not always evaluate or take care of the fund (Santi Uthaipan, personal communication, July 20, 2015). Therefore, it was necessary for the fund to depend on itself and build the network which would be the instrument of learning, communication, and the assessment in the future.

Moreover, in terms of the network which would be the additional facilitator in the assessment and evaluation process, it should not end at the level of total internal network, as the network would be the operator itself and might not be able to conduct the deep analysis or the policy analysis. Nevertheless, the fund network still could not act as the serious assistance to the Village and Urban

Community Fund Office nowadays (Manoon Sornkerd, personal communication, July 9, 2015). Moreover, there was no coordination with the related persons in terms of the fund assessment or the policy coordination.

As the factors of each area were different, but due to the policy which must be standardized throughout the country, hence the design of the suitable administrative system which is neither too strict nor too loose would be important. The village fund must design the administration system which does not have to be the same format of evaluation or assessment throughout the country, but it should be the account which all members can mutually understand, accept, and assess openly, transparently, and simply explain to the outsider.

4.2.2.9 Development of Saving Discipline, Responsibility, and Conscience

Another key factor of success was the development of saving discipline. It was not inapplicable for the government to provide the money for the people's easy access according to the policy's objective, but the saving discipline among the villagers and the fund members should also be developed. Poldej Pinprateep (personal communication, June 18, 2015) explained that it was obvious that during the later operation, the member does not necessary to save but they can still loan at the designated financial amount. On the other hand, in order to develop the strong community, the villagers must have the saving discipline and the honesty in their responsibility of the loan, whether the loan might come from the fund or other capital resources. Moreover, they should have the discipline in spending, as an individual would be truly strong when they learn to depend on themselves. Therefore, the conscience of self-dependent must come first. While the village fund would serve as one of the community organization, which differs from the community organization such as the honesty group or the villagers' saving group, that the honesty saving group would depend on themselves with the villagers' money, while the village fund might cause the villagers to stop learning to depend on themselves and only anticipate for the state's assistance or the policy from the authority. In order to strengthen the community, the village and urban community fund must be reformed, as it is gigantic asset of the country which the government invested over 100 billion baht to support the economy from one side. However, although the village fund might initiate the

learning process, but its format could not yet reach the desired quality, as it did not develop the conscience of the citizen who do things for the public and cherish the public assets, which they must protect from someone to exploit for personal benefit. This is the conscience development which the village fund has not yet reach. Currently, whenever any problem occurs, such as loss debt or corruption by the committee, they still depend on the solution from the government department or other organization. This reflected their consciousness which only wait for the service. Although the village fund policy has been operating over a decade, but the villagers' conscience did not develop enough to protect and strengthen their community. According to the five philosophy of the village fund, the first important one was the development of the local community's conscience, that they could depend on themselves and be able to self-develop. For this issue, Santi Uthaipan (personal communication, July 20, 2015) commented that Thai society is the patronage system, which the community members would wait for the help from other people without trying to help themselves. Therefore, the most essential thing would be to develop the conscience first, then to develop the understanding of supporting those with disadvantages and the poor. In all level of society, there would be the poor. Even at the grassroots level, there would be the poor people of the grassroots level who need the support from the society. Thirdly, the community must be made into the center of learning which led to the community's strengthening. Fourthly, there should be the connection of the mutual learning among the community, government, private sector, and the civil sector. Finally, the power should be distributed to the local, and the fundamental democracy should be developed. These philosophies were not only the words of virtue for the village fund, but it must be actually practice and the tangible process must be developed according to the fund's objectives and philosophy. Then the fund would be successful as targeted.

4.2.2.10 Social Capital Factor

The change and consequences of the economy and society led to the change in the traditional relationship in the community. The way of life in the traditional agricultural society and the rural society where the consumerism behavior could not be found was destroyed. People expected and waited for the help through the state's policy rather than attempting to depend on themselves. And they only

thought about the gain and loss from joining the project, that the community members became more obviously segregated according to their income or debt. That finally, the villagers in the local community who used to bond with each other as if they were family had lost their respect towards each other and depend on each other according to the income status and the political influence.

The process of using the social capital for the village fund administration was the system which based on the collective experiences and the virtuous culture which unite the community members' close relationship, led to the coordination and support based on the clan relationship and the respect for the elders. Although the swift current of change currently weakens some of the social capital, such as the clan relationship and the mode of production in the traditional community, that people depend more on the technology and new innovation. It also affected the village fund's survival, as it depends on the capital current from both inside and outside the community (Prailin Prutnork, 2012). Therefore, the social capital in the community would be the important standing point to developed, in driving the activities to progress according to the change of the current social trend.

The social capital originated from the social interaction between the network, through the norm of trust and supports. Moreover, the social capital might be the instrument to reduce conflict and led to the peaceful means in the village fund administration. Such collective social capital could be found among the neighbors, volunteers, and the participation by everyone. It should be obvious that the social capital should be counted as the relationship network between persons, which could be valuable at the individual level when aiming to solve the economic problem in the household and community based on the benefit which created the social network. Moreover, the social capital was also the system of thought and values, or the social culture based on trust and the mutual frame of norm that led to the coordination and problem solving, regardless of the economic problems (Putnam, 1994).

According to the study by Sutapa Amornvivat and Kiatipong Ariyapratya (2006), about the social capital factor towards the village fund's sustainability, it was found that there was the relationship between the social capital at the household level and the village level. The social capital played a role in the enhancing of the village fund's sustainability. However, it might also led to the slow payment of debt in some case. It could be pointed out from this research that if the

fund was administered by the village without any external support, it might not be enough to lead to the fund's sustainability in the area. Therefore, the state and the private sector should persuade the community to understand the benefit of using the social capital in the village fund's administration. And people should understand their rights which could be exercised in the community development. The community members should be persuaded to be public-minded or volunteering-minded, that they become brave and selfless towards the public. Meanwhile, the village fund administration with the support of social capital in the administration process would result in the smooth and sustainable work, as it would be based on trust, moral principle, and the clan relationship that they could work in response to the true needs of the community. It could be obvious that the social capital contributes to the success of village fund policy implementation and the fund's sustainability.

In conclusion, the key factors of success of the village fund consisted of multiple dimensions other than the financial dimension, as the need and condition of each area varied. In some cases, the amount of cash flow was small, but they were happy and able to administer themselves well, that their members were satisfied. This should be counted as the fund's success already, while other funds might need to be operated in other forms which they deem successful (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). Therefore, other dimensions of success apart from the financial management success, such as the participation, should be considered important as well. The participation in each fund was beneficial for the community strengthening. If the fund was rich but did not spend their capital for any benefit or welfare, and did not help those with disadvantages in the community, such a fund would not be valuable for its community at all. Meanwhile, the fund should provide continuous activities, that the process would be accepted. Therefore, the economic dimension in terms of the circulated cash, remaining cash, and expenditure would be measurable for its success. On the other hand, the social dimension, the administration dimension, the participation, acceptance, and the process of beneficial activities in parallel should also be considered as the village fund's successful operation in each dimension. When the multi-dimension factors of success are considered together, it would be found that each fund is unique in its ability to operate in each dimension. The fund might not be successful in all dimensions, but the

development of the success evaluation dimensions in these issue would motivate the village funds to develop themselves in their own dimension and further study from the success of other area.

4.2.3 Problem and Obstruction in the Policy Implementation

4.2.3.1 Politics and the State's Domination

The Village and Urban Community Fund was the top-down policy. In one side, the villagers thought that it was the money from the politics and the state. Thus, being the top-down policy might be its own weakness (Pridi Chotechuang, personal communication, June 16, 2015), as the villagers only wait to receive. Although the people would be benefited from the capital access, but they would be weakening at the end as they still wait to depend on the supporting budget from the politics and the care from the government. Moreover, the existing saving group such as the honesty saving group in the area would be largely affected, while their power to strengthen the community would become weaker.

4.2.3.2 The Bureaucratic Mechanism

The past implementation of the village fund policy has been under the National Office of Village and Urban Community fund. But due to the fact that it was the macroeconomic policy which must be implemented on the base of people throughout the country, the implementation through the single central organization was difficult, as the new organization still lack the resource in many ways including the mechanism to implement the policy, and the personal who would be the important instrument of policy implementation. Although initially, the village fund policy tried to escape the politics and need no involvement from the bureaucratic mechanism, but the step of policy implementation must still depend on the government organization, such as the provincial developer, the Community Development department, to help monitoring. Moreover, the National Office of Village and Urban Community fund might still lack the experience in terms of implementation in the civil sector.

In terms of the bureaucratic system dependency, Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015) pointed out the weakness of the bureaucratic system that it was stuck in the policy framework, order, and regulation, as the government staffs at the low rank were afraid of the regulations and their

supervisors. Although some regulations obstruct the project implementation, but they not encourage to suggest the solution. Moreover, their positions were usually discontinuous. When the person was changed, the policy also changed. Thus, there would be no progress in the project from the previous person. Santi Uthaipan (personal communication, July 20, 2015) commented that the bureaucratic system such as the community development or the Ministry of Social Development might be specialized in the community, but their attitude was usually stuck in the partisan system, that did not open to the different system of work in other form nor attempt to learn from the diversity. The development thus stopped or progressed slowly. Therefore, the state must attend to formulate the policy towards the community by the body of knowledge, and allow the people or villagers to propel it themselves. And the government should not act for the villagers nor consider that the villagers could not be able to do it. Meanwhile, Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015) saw that the participation of many organization as the joint committee of the village fund was an important factor. The secretary or sub-committee of the National Village and Community Fund office in the provincial level and district level were the important personnel mechanism who would drive the work of the village fund. For if the fund was left to face the problem alone without the supporting mechanism from the government, it would only accelerate the fund's failure.

4.2.3.3 National Politics

The village fund policy was driven by the politics, which depend on those in power of managing the country, on how they would like the policy to be the instrument for any issue. Hence, Pridi Chotechuang (personal communication, June 16, 2015) viewed that this policy must attempt not to be the political base, for if another political party became the government, this policy might be interfered or canceled anytime according to the change in the national politics. According to Suwit Khunkitti's view, the policy could have progressed during the past 16 years was due to the fact that it was restrained from the politics. Thus, "stepping above the politics" would be the important thing which elapse the policy from the political polarization. The village fund policy should belong to the people, and "the national politics might be involved in some degree but should never dictate the policy". The national politics could support the fund's progress without domination, then the village fund would be

beneficial for the people in the area. It could become the forum for mutual operation, such as the fund committee meeting or the fund activities might have consisted of both the villagers from the yellow shirt and the red shirt camp to organize the activity mutually. However, it was not a forum for the red or yellow politicians, but rather the civil society's forum in working together. And this would be the stepping over the politics in the area of diversity (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). On the other hand, there was also the opinion that it would be inevitably for the politics to be involved with this policy, as the policy involvement would be undeniable. However, there should be the distance between the politics and the operation of the village fund. This was consistent to Boonhome Inthong (personal communication, June 18, 2015), that through its content, the village fund and the politics would could not be separated as it was the political policy. But the failure of most funds would be the result from the political sector of both the national level and the local level. On the contrary, the villagers or the village fund committees were usually the one who approach the politicians.

From the cultural dimension perspective, Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015) commented that people in the south were insistent and hard to trust people, while the people in the northeast usually follow the leader very well. Therefore, most leaders of the northeast were politicians. And the politicians usually work for the politics more than the villagers. Thus, it would be complicated to separate this policy from the politics, as the villagers were naturally declined towards the patronage from the politicians who could grant their wish in some level. Meanwhile, Anek Nakabutr (personal communication, July 6, 2015) commented that the village fund's weakness was the error in the administration mechanism. Firstly, the paradigm of the policy changed towards the political development. The policy objectives became the political mechanism as the instrument to boost the economy, not mainly aiming at the people. Secondly, the personnel of the related organizations were mostly politicians and bureaucrats who serve the national politicians, such as the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, Community Organization Development Institute, Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives, Member of Parliament, and the village leaders.

4.2.3.4 The Executive of the Village Fund Office

The executives of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office was an important person for the policy implementation, as the persons who would designate the vision and framework in the driving of all organizations throughout the country under the administration of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office. Supot Arevart (personal communication, July 21, 2015) commented that the executives of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office did not work qualitatively, but rather exploit the village fund as the political instrument. Although the policy objectives and methods were compatible, but the procedure and the administration method were not yet crystallized. And the important thing is that the executive must pay attention and follow the policy process all the time. Moreover, the organization administration must follow the target designated by the executives. However, each executive had their own agenda and there were many types of them. The former executives of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office usually drove this policy politically that it became the government's instrument. Therefore, the factor of success for this project would be the "leader", who would be important from the village fund level to the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office. The executive of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office should understand the principle, philosophy, and the method of the village fund, then create the actual benefit for the organization and the people. Moreover, the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office should not accept the missions which were too varied for their capabilities, such as the SML or other projects. Furthermore, the field mechanism or the way to approach the area by the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office must be more ready for these missions.

Currently, the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office must also responsible for the foundation of the financial institution, while the Community Development Department was working on the community financial management center, the policy became redundant. And in some case, the activity of the village fund was dominated by the community banking system, which should not meant to be, as the village fund was the juristic person and the community financial institution was only the activity of the juristic person. Therefore, the village fund's

accounts were separated into the account of the village fund and the account of the community financial institution. (First account, second account, and other account) The fund's strength in the same area was lost, as it could be found in each village that there were many fund types. In average, each village would have at least 7.5 funds, including the village fund, the production fund, the housewife's fund, the water usage fund, the mother of the land fund, the professional group fund, the agriculture fund, the funeral supporting fund, the feminist action fund, the SML, the breastmilk group, etc. Although the diversity was advantageous, but it should be able to exist harmoniously, while nowadays each fund would not desire to be involved with each other.

4.2.3.5 The Public Participation

The public participation was an international principle which received attention from most countries as well as the Thai society, in order to develop the politics towards the participatory democratic system. According to the principle of good governance, the state must allow the people and the involve persons from all sector to be informed, think, and decide mutually, in order to be transparent and increase the quality of the state's decision (Ministry of Public Health, 2006). The Kingdom of Thailand's constitution since 1997 focused on the government administration in the transparent, honest, and open-access method, that the people could participate in the formulation of public policy, political decision, as well as the assessment or the exercise of the state's power in all level. Therefore, the good policy would lead to the implementation and operation in the area which allow the villagers' participation, that they would feel the sense of ownership. Moreover, in the social dimension, there were still the outsiders who could not access the capital source, although it was the right entitled to them. As these group of people would be the society's problem in the future, the state should assist them approach the fairness. Nowadays, the village fund only focus on its financial target, but they should not overlook their capability to develop the fair access to the various rights, which could help other group of people in the society.

4.2.3.6 Leadership/Fund Committee

There could be various factors contributing to the problems and obstruction of the village fund policy, as each area would have different factors,

including the factor of the president and the fund committee or the factor of the villagers. If the problems came from the committee, they might need the education. Or if they were corrupted, the cause, the system, or the personal character of the committee should be considered. These issues should be learnt from and careful if there was any failure (Jantana Benchasup, personal communication, March 9, 2015). The rural area usually lacks the personnel with enough education and skill to administer the fund. Nevertheless, the issue of saving was not too hard and therefore not necessarily required the person of high caliber, as the villagers had the system of life which they could act and manage themselves. Meanwhile, urban people with high education might come up with more ways to exploit the fund for their personal benefit than the rural people (Wichai Nasuwannoo, personal communication, March 9, 2015). Therefore, the saving was normal for the village, but if it became the policy which must be supported throughout the country, there would be risk in the policy implementation. Thus, the policy must also accept the risk to be success or failed, for not all area would be similarly ready while the state must implement the policy everywhere, although some villagers might not want this project. Therefore, the government must find the way to persuade the villagers to see the benefit from such project.

In terms of the leader and the committee of the village fund, Satit Ouanduangdee (personal communication, March 16, 2015) commented that the factor which usually become the obstruction would be mostly about the people, especially the leader or the head of the fund committee who lack responsibility and honesty. There might be just a few of them, but it was still an important factor in the policy implementation, for the leader would be the element which could led the fund in each area to succeed. Moreover, the fund committee would be an important factor in some area, such as the remote area with the limitation in human resources. For example, the community of mountain people in the north was limited by the personnel issues, especially the person who could learn about the policy. There might only be just the village headmen or the District Administration Organization who could communicate or study these process. The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office's regulation already tried to allow these people to stay in the committee position longer if the village assembly agreed. Hence, this mechanism could filter the suitable person

to stay with the fund. And if the committee stayed until the two-year term is over without any progress in work, the villagers would not re-elect them. But if they work well, the villagers would re-elect them. Therefore, the fund's regulation already provide opportunity to filter the suitable person to work for the community. And the factor of the leader and the village fund committee became crucial for the fund's success or failure.

4.2.3.7 Fund Administration

According to the former evaluation, it was found that there were both the external and internal factor in the fund administration which led to problem or obstruction. The problems usually resulted from the internal factor, especially the community's lack of readiness in administration and understanding by the community member (Santi Uthaipan, personal communication, July 20, 2015). Furthermore, there were the interfere by the external factors, such as the bureaucratic department or the politicians who dominate the fund's operation. But most of the issues were the results from the internal factors including the ignorance, inability to do the accounting, the lack of financial management system, the lack of risk management, and the lack of conscience development in the community, etc., which can be managed or improved.

1) Being the Juristic Person

According to the National Village and Urban Community Fund Act, 2004 (section 5), the village fund or urban community fund would be entitled to the rights, duties, and responsibilities as any person would be. In other words, the village funds are the juristic person according to the law. In this issue, Paramet Ariyadech (personal communication, March 16, 2015) further explained that although the National Village and Urban Community Fund Act designated the funds' status as the juristic person, so that both organizations could be developed in parallel under the supervision by the central organization who would link the activities and perhaps the increased money in the future. Initially, during the draft of this act in 2004, the government was trying to find the way to strengthen the village fund and thought that being the juristic person would assist. In fact, there were many funds which were not ready to be registered as the juristic person (Manoon Sornkerd, personal communication, July 9, 2015). Therefore, when any damage happened to the fund, the legal process of suing became complicated. Moreover, the juristic status of the village

fund still lacks the development of form according to the objective in many dimension as well as the legal status authorization. There was the lack of regulation or plan for the fund to develop or expand securely and continuously.

2) In the Level of Village Fund

For the issue of fund administration, this problem had not receive enough attention in the analysis of problem from the fund administration system in each area. Nevertheless, the indicator of problem should be considered, on which criteria was applied to evaluated. For example, the loss debt would require one type of indicator, while the management problem would require another.

The problem of the fund also includes the increasing collective capital, which would make it harder to administer the fund. As the capital was collected more while the need to loan in the community decreased, the fund's source of income or the interest would be reduced. When there was no source of income from the loan while there was the expense in the community welfare, public health, and funerals, the fund's problem in administration should be the concern. Especially when the village fund must be developed into the community financial institution or the community bank in the future, the issue of saving/deposit must also be considered. Nevertheless, the deposit and loan can be administered by the fund in their own way. In some case, the loaner from the community bank must first become the member of the saving group or the honesty group, or could provide the evidence that the minimum saving of 200 baht for the honesty group was possible. Here is where the filtration process as a part of the fund administration must be found. From the perspective of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office's executive, Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015) commented that the obstruction and limitation of the fund was that there were many responsibilities for the fund, which in some case it might seems the fund could not progress at the maximum potential. Due to the fact that the members of the village and urban community funds throughout the country consisted of over 10 million people, it could be counted as the united of those with disadvantages who would like to solve their problem of life-sustenance. Therefore, the fund became the organization who receive the burden in solving their collective problems. And as there were many fund members with various need, the government must continuously and seriously support

the policy, so that it could be beneficial for the people and became the mechanism which could be driven in the area.

3) In the Level of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office

As for the overall image of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office's work, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) explained that its problem was the inactive operation which lack enough follow up and evaluation in every step, in order to consider the problems and solve them in time.

(1) The structure of management committee and the organization executive

In terms of the administration of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, Poldej Pinprateep (personal communication, June 18, 2015) commented that there were two types of obstruction in the policy implementation, including the people and the system. As for the people, or the director, the management committee, and the officers in all level, they should adjust themselves in order to understand the problem, obstruction, and the cause factors of their weakness and find the new way by inviting the third party organization to analyze the problem from the external view. Thus, the administration process of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office should be adjusted by rethinking, retooling, and re-trending, in order to develop the new instrument of administration.

The system of the management board or the committee of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office should be restructured. In the past, there might only be the management board, but the evaluation committee or the external organization assessment mechanism should be developed, as the example of the Thai Health Promotion Foundation, which the organization was designed with the twice board system. The management board and the evaluation board would work independently with the equal dignity.

As the village fund policy would not progress or develop if the office who implement the policy depend on the political policy, therefore, every policy with the new organization which was founded as the mechanism of policy

implementation would require the major assessment that would result in the reformation in every 10 years. The new idea, innovation, and personnel should also be recruited through the process which allow the skillful people to compete. The system should also allow the external people to take turn in the administration in order to develop new opportunity for the organization. The executive must have the professional management skill and the experience in the organization management, which would require the application of knowledge and experience in the suitable way for the organization in order to create new outcome.

(2) Budget

As the village and urban community fund was the major project at the national level, the administration received by its national office was not adequate (Suwit Khunkitti, personal communication, March 17, 2015). The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office lack the public relation budget, that the successful fund could not be shown to the society. This made it seems like there was not many successful model, which could inspire the people, although these lesson of success would be beneficial for the village fund in other area and the whole country.

(3) Integration between the organizations and the network allies

As for the participation from the state organizations, private organizations, and the civil sector in the form of network allies, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) and Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015) all agreed that the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office had not sufficient human resource to monitor the villages fund all over the country, therefore the government's policy support was necessary to create the "network allies" which allow every organization to participate in the supervision of the fund. The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office might be the central coordinator, but the crucial allies such as the state's financial institution and the Ministry of Interior's organization were needed to participate in order for the fund to progress. If the government did not support the policy implementation with the network allies, other organization would not pay attention to the policy operation, which would result in slow operation. Thus, the government

must have the explicit policy to drive and support the fund continuously, then could there be the process to strengthen the fund.

Therefore, the village fund's mission is still left in many other dimension. The government must understand and support actively by signaling to the allies or the related organization to participate and push the village fund's work, in order to drive the fund further. In this issue, Jantana Benchasup (personal communication, March 9, 2015) agreed that the work of the village fund still lack the integration between organizations, as the government's policy did not encourage the coordination with other department such as the Ministry of Social Development or the private development organization. On the other hand, the major organization which encourage the integration among the organizations was the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office. However, there was no clear measure or framework of supporting the coordination with other organization apart from using the network allies of the office itself. Nevertheless, in the area where there had never been any mutual administration, the major organization still lack the clear path to support the strength from the integration between the local organizations, such as the coordination with the Community Development Department which already has the staff in the sub-district and provincial level, or the Community Organization Development Institute which is the organization that support the community strengthen. And there was also the council of the community organization supported by the act. These important issues needed to be analyze about other existing organizations who have the capability to support the village fund operation for the better administration.

4.2.3.8 Money Which did not Circulate or Solve the Poverty Problem

An important part of the poverty problem would be the debt problem. When the villagers received the loan from the fund, some of them might spent it on their career in order to develop their wealth and well-being, while many of them spent the money for luxurious things. The reason might be that the villagers "lack the wisdom on how to spend money" (Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto, personal communication, Febuary 27, 2015). The state or the mainly responsible organization should educate the villagers on the financial discipline. However, it seems like the government gave the instrument to the people without giving instruction. So "the village fund provided the capital without wisdom", which led to the endless problem of debt. This is where

the villagers would need guidance. Moreover, although the objective of the village fund was to circulate the money in the grassroots level, but the money in the fund did not actually circulate, as the villagers loan it to pay the interest of the informal fund or fund in other system. This was consistent to the report of the follow-up and evaluation of the project under the strategic plan “Strengthen Thai (Village and Urban Community Fund)”, by the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, which the evaluation of debt payment and outstanding debt from the study of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office together with the financial institute, organizations, and education institute during 2004-2006 as table 4.1

Table 4.1 Report of Follow-Up and Evaluation of the Project Under “Strengthen Thai” Action Plan (Village and Urban Community Fund Project)

Organizations	2004		2005		2006		2010 (*)	
	Paid	Outstanding	Paid	Outstanding	Paid	Outstanding	Paid	Outstanding
1. Village Fund Office	95.26	4.74	92.85	7.15	88.26	11.74	77.30	22.70
2. TDRI			94.00	6.00				

Source: State Audit Office of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2010.

According to the above evaluation, it was found that the people who loan from the National Village and Urban Community Fund tended to be able to pay their debt less, from 95.26% in 2004, to 92.85% and 88.26% in 2005 and 2006, respectively. And according to the study of the Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board by Excellent Business Management Co., Ltd. in 2010, it was found that the ability to pay the debt was only 77.3%. Nevertheless, the differences in the evaluation of debt payment and outstanding debt by each organization might be the result from the different sample size which led to the different evaluation result. Therefore, the data comparison could show the overall trend of debt payment and outstanding debt, but could not accurately represent the result of the project (The Parliamentary Budget Office, 2015). This was consistent to the study by Bawornpan Atchakul and Varavan Chanduaywit (2007), about the impact evaluation of the village fund. It was found that the loan from the fund might

led to the decrease of poverty ratio, especially the poverty in the consumption expenditure, during the initial period. But in the long term, it could not be concluded that the loan from the fund was the part of solution for poverty problem. Furthermore, the loan of the village fund in each year could reduce the poverty in the particular year, especially the poverty in the expenditure. The way that the state injected over 70,000 million baht in the economy system within less than a year did stimulate the consumption and the macro economy of the country. Therefore, the cash circulation might also be beneficial for people who did not receive the loan. And it was pointed out that the taking the loan or not taking the loan was not related to the average income nor expense of the rural household. The household who loan from the fund did not spend it in the business which would generate enough income. And the fact that the massive amount of money was injected into the economic system might increase the income and consumption of the household who took the loan during the initial period, but they might have to take the further loan from other source to pay back to the fund and reduce their consumption when the debt was due. This evaluation of the village fund reflected the expectation that the small-scale loan project could help the poor people to escape poverty was difficult to be fulfilled.

The cause of the problem was the expenditure in the activity which could not generate sustainable income. As the lack of capital source was only one of the many reasons of poverty, the true reason and the characteristic of the poverty problems are much more complex and dynamic than just the lack of financial opportunity. Therefore, poverty could not be solved successfully by one project. The solution for poverty should also incorporate the assistance in other dimension as well.

Meanwhile, the village fund guru, Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015) commented that this project was beneficial to only 30% of the poor people, as the money was not circulated. The loan for the poor increased the poverty as it did not solve the poverty, and the loan came with the interest while the villagers did not have the wisdom or capacity to develop themselves in order to escape the debt and poverty. From personal experience, Ampon Duangpan analyzed that most villagers were diligent but did not recognize to save or manage the money. They would spend most of the income. Therefore, the process which should sustainably solve the poverty would be the encouragement of savings.

As for the outstanding debt, it was under the condition of time which could solve the problem by itself. The problem of debt which did not decrease as the villagers' loan from one source to pay the debt at the other source still existed. However, the solution must consider many methods such as lengthen the loan period. According to the condition of the fund, the debt must be returned within 1 year. This rule might need some flexible adjustment, or the fund's current term of loan must be changed. But the problem is that the villagers had too much debt from many sectors, that their income was not enough to pay the debt, and it would be hard to solve the problem as the debt became complex. Thus, it was obvious that the debt from the informal source was the major obstruction for the fund administration. When the villagers loan and could not pay back on time as they took the loan from many places, they would not have enough money for the expense. Therefore, the role of the fund should be more than just providing the loan and monitor the payback on time, but the fund should also help the villagers to solve the problem in order to be sustainable. For example, the village fund Pak Kret Ruam Jai II had the career training project for the member or anyone interested, as the people were in debt as they only had the same income but spent their future income already. Thus, the career development and training according to their interest and ability would increase their income. Apart from the career development, it also encouraged savings for the villagers which had numerous benefits. If the villager need to take more loan, those with savings would be approved easily for the fund committee would consider at their saving base first. Moreover, when the villagers were in the financial trouble, they could withdraw the money. This would be the good training of financial discipline for the villagers, and they would realize the future benefit too.

4.3 Policy Development

According to the study of the village and urban community fund policy implementation, including the factor of success and failure, it was found that the policy implementation process was related to many causes and conditions. In fact, it could be found in the public policy implementation that the tangible adjustment or the operation was still the important problem that led to the inefficiency and

ineffectiveness in the public service providing or the policy implementation. Especially when it was conducted under the context and the administrative condition with complexity and structural problem of the Thai political context and bureaucratic administration.

4.3.1 The Future Model Development

In terms of the fund model development process in the future, the issue which need to be considered first would be “the sustainability”. As there were the turnover of the fund committee all the time in the past, the development would be hard in some case. For example, in the area which already developed into the community financial institution and became the financial center of the village, when the management committee was changed and could not be cumulative, the financial institution returned into just the village fund. This issue could reflect the fund development which depended on the “person” mainly (Sawat Yookongdee, personal communication, March 16, 2015). Therefore, the future development must involve the sustainability in the operation, such as the monopoly of the fund’s success to the individual, that when the committee was change, the fund could not continue to develop. Therefore, the scheme for the fund to become sustainable from its own system should be found, including the training system or the internal operation system that could assist the fund to exist according to its own standard and system.

In terms of the village fund model’s further development, Supot Arevart (personal communication, July 21, 2015) pointed out that the village fund should classify itself according to the fact. There should be the study that under the context of the law, what can the fund take action. Another issue should be the development according to the fund’s community context, or the need of the community, without following the external society trend. The important thing was that the fund should not alienate itself from the actual society / community context, but should be able to exist independently. And after the mutual consideration of the form and activity, then the concept and the scope of operation should be designated, such as developing other related activity that could benefit the village fund, which does not necessarily to be in the same format throughout the country. But the activity must actually be beneficial in the community context. Moreover, there should be the suitable process with the

government organization supporting the fund directly. These mechanisms should be upgraded not only in Thailand but also expand towards other country with the similar type of mechanism. And the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office should become the member of the international organization, attend the meeting, exchange, present, or research the best practice case academically, in order to exchange with other country with the micro finance system throughout the world and also do the public relation of the Thai village fund to be known more. This paradigm should be strongly considered, as the fund development trend would grow in the future.

Furthermore, Boonhome Inthong (personal communication, June 18, 2015) also suggested the model of development such as the example of the convenient store business, like 7-11 or Family Mart, which when the member buy the products sold by the fund or the institute, the member would receive the dividend at the end of the budget year and receive the welfare in some way. The financial institution and the store of the fund might provide the utility payment service. This example could be found in Chiangrai, where the store and the financial institution was successfully incorporated in one building. The store was located on the ground floor, while the second floor was the office of the financial institution. Another case was the urban community fund which allocate the temple's land for the merchants from other province to rent at the affordable price. This could reflect the fund's vision in the opportunity to develop the activity, which was not difficult to do but require the participation from the villagers in the decision-making.

The village fund should develop into the center of the village activities, whether the economic activity which could sustain the villager's life. It might not have to be in the form of money for investment, but could also be in the form of barter trading of the necessary items for daily life, which the chicken farmer could trade the egg with the rice farmer without money (Paramet Ariyadech, personal communication, March 16, 2015). And the fund could be further developed into the community center, as the fund already have the capital, which does not only mean the financial capital but also the knowledge or kindness capital which could be the center of the village, as if it was a collective well of the village. The well does not have to be a big dam, as long as it could provide enough water for each household. Nevertheless, the villagers

must learn to use the water for the clear and systematic goal. There should be the body of knowledge about the administration for the villagers. This would be the concept of the village fund which would encourage the villager to understand themselves and able to self-administer under the capital they have, for the better quality of life and the holistic community development process.

4.3.1.1 Development Towards the Community Financial Institution

The raise from the village fund towards the community bank would be significant, as there would be many forms of development such as the community bank in the village level, sub-district level, or district level. There was also other form of the social enterprise. The village fund could become the social enterprise and find the business partner and network in order to develop their capacity and body of knowledge.

Nevertheless, what the fund still lack the development was connecting the social capital group or the various saving groups, such as the honesty saving group. The village fund did not connect to other village fund groups and the other former group. Although there might be some union in some case, but generally the stronger group would try to avoid the involvement with other fund, including the village fund, as they viewed it as the loss and complication (Thienchai Na Nakorn, personal communication, March 9, 2015). Nevertheless, the important issue of the form development, from the fund towards the community bank, could have some impact. What could happen is that if the people are aware of the community bank's importance, some money would be transferred from the commercial bank to the community bank and could affect the commercial bank. However, the community bank would be able to provide better for the community's need, as it is located in the area and money in the area could be used to develop its own community. The emergence of the community bank was thus significant in this way.

The future trend of the village fund, when it is strong and the financial management system is suitable, the villagers could deposit their savings at the fund instead of the commercial bank for the high benefit and the confidence in the community financial institution management. But the fund's administration must be standardized, with some support from the government sector. The fund could progress into the financial institution according to its readiness. Therefore, the concept of the village fund, which encourage the community to manage their own capital totally

through the official financial center of the fund, would be success to reduce the external capital dependency.

In terms of the financial institution model, Pridi Chotechuang (personal communication, June 16, 2015) proposed the model of “Village Fund Financial Institution Foundation”, which was not only the single institution development but also connect to other financial institution in the system, such as 1) connection to the Government Savings Bank or the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperation who specialized in the bank for people, 2) connection to the private development organizations, such as the capability development foundation, alternative organization, various cooperative organization, etc., and 3) connection in the provincial level, which might be in the form of the village fund provincial network association. The structure of the association would be similar to the triangle, with the base of the village fund network, the club in the form of association, and the top of the provincial level would be the foundation. When the foundation become bigger, it could connect to the major bank, with the assistance of the local university in the career development as shown in the image below.

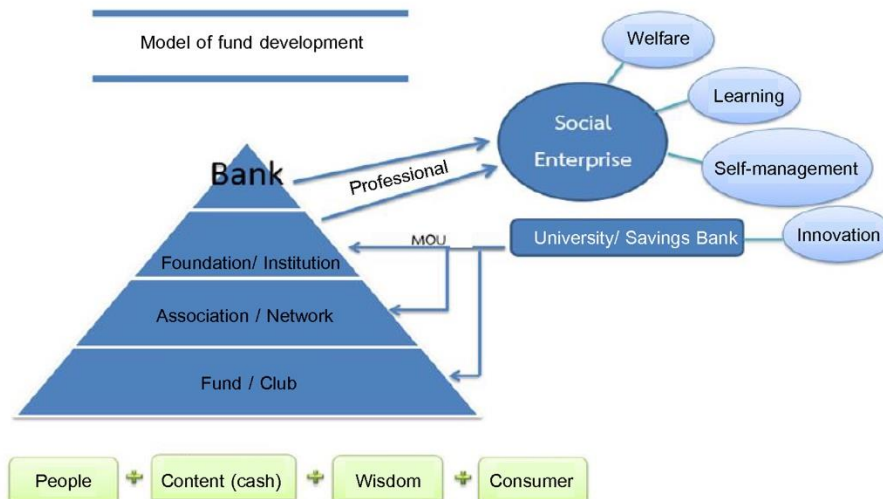


Figure 4.2 Model of Fund Development

According to the study, it was found that the position of the village fund encouraged the development towards the model of “Community Financial

Institution”, or the “instrument to provide the community welfare”, which could be operated simultaneously. The village fund could be emphasis as the village and community’s economic center, or the instrument to boost the village economy, as the village had the mechanism, the leader, the process of financial management, and the various sources of capital for a while already. Therefore, the fund could be the mechanism to attend the village and community’s economy, which should cover the savings, investment, and welfare. The existence of the village fund would led to the process of savings, investment, and welfare development. Natee Klibthong (personal communication, March 16, 2015), the director of the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, pointed out the example that the village fund is like the water glass of each village. The weak or strong village should have the way to connect to each other through one large bucket, which could refill the glass of water or receive the overflow water from another glass as needed. Thus, the importance of the sub-district fund should be obvious, so that the village funds from all villages and other groups, such as the honesty group or the existing saving groups, could coordinate for their sub-district. The overall operation would be called the community financial institution, or the activity which is co-developed by many funds or financial groups, in order to develop the community financial institution, and driven through the village fund act so that the villagers could have more source of money to depend on. While the model of the village fund would be the stand-alone organization, the community financial institution would be the network of operation. It would be the center which circulate the mutual assistance. Some of the village funds’ member might not have reliability in the village fund committee, but they would have more reliance if the committee came from many villages and become stronger, that they might deposit their money with the community financial institution with the central committee, which seems more trustworthy and secured. Therefore, the “community financial institution” would be another option for the village and community’s members to select under the village fund’s regulation.

In order to develop the village fund as the core of the community financial institution, the National Village and Urban Community Fund designed three models; 1) mutual activities between the village funds, 2) between the single village fund and other financial institution, and 3) between multiple funds and financial

institutions. However, these types of operation must be supported by law and regulation under the village fund act, so that the operation would be continuous. The strong village fund and the community financial institution could develop activities with more variety. And there should be at least one community financial institution for each sub-district, who would coordinate and strengthen the village fund to the other level.

Nevertheless, when the fund would develop towards the direction of the community financial institution in the future, such development would need the supporting mechanism including 1) the supporting act which approve its financial institution status. Most villagers were unconvinced to operate due to the lack of legal knowledge about the financial institution. 2) There must be the administration system or program, which would be the duty of the National Village and Urban Community Fund office to provide the standard system (Boonhome Inthong, personal communication, June 18, 2015). Therefore, the fund still need the body of legal knowledge, as most of the administration was still in the initial period. The fund already had the supervision from the bank. What was missing was the law which would support and drive the fund administration system.

Meanwhile, Suwit Khunkitti (personal communication, March 17, 2015) explained that

The village fund was already developed in some level. Previously it used to be developed into the community financial institution called the “village bank”. However, the Bank of Thailand at the time disagreed with using the work “bank” as it would fall under the financial institution law. Therefore, the name was changed into the “Village and Urban Community Institution” in order to avoid the consequence from using the word “Bank”. It also received the assistance from the commercial bank in terms of instrument, equipment, administration system, and the formal structure of management.

Nevertheless, the next step would be the development towards the actual financial institution, which Suwit Khunkitti explained that the target would be similar to the Netherland’s labor bank, or the Bank originated from the union of the

cooperative. Thus, the future community financial institution must be adjusted for the flexibility according to the villagers's need, with the network to connect the system of village fund together.

The future development of the village fund should also be in the same model of being the community financial institution, by unite with other saving groups within the area. In order to be the community financial institution, the management to generate profit would be important. Nevertheless, if the development direction would be towards the concept of bank or financial institution similar to a bank, there might be the image of commercial bank which must be the deposit and loan. If the development direction is in this way, the bank would grow strong but the member would be weak. The community financial institution would be strong while the villagers become weak (Poldej Pinprateep, personal communication, June 18, 2015). On the other hand, if the development direction turns towards the community welfare, with the deposit, savings, and loan, and using the organization's profit to strengthen its own members' readiness to sustain life, the fund would become "the network of the community welfare fund", which could be possible if the village funds were ready to integrate with other funds within the sub-district. It would become the community welfare network fund with both the activities of welfare provision and loan, although it might not be the financial institution in the framework of commercial bank, but it would be the "financial institution for the community welfare".

Nevertheless, the transformation from the fund towards the community financial institution would not be easy, as there would be the condition and limitations according to the law. And currently, there were many laws involve in the financial transactions, including the money laundering law, terrorist prevention law, public service law, and guarantor law. Therefore, if the villagers lack the legal understanding, their transaction would not be correct and they would risk being sued afterwards, according to the legal framework of the financial institution.

4.3.1.2 Welfare Development of the People Sector

In terms of the village fund development towards the mechanism of providing the welfare for people sector, the strong village fund system could allocate their profit into the community welfare. It was good that the civil sector could care for themselves without waiting for the state's assistance. If they only wait for the welfare

from the government sector, it would be the burden for the government and there would be the political commitment on the assumption (Jantana Benchasup, personal communication, March 9, 2015). Therefore, the people should initiate it by themselves, and they could manage the fund to grow, become sustainable and independent as much as possible. Moreover, if the fund is developed into the community bank, being the capital source would not be the only important thing, but it should also cover the welfare in all dimensions possible. This could be done by studying the example of the various saving groups in terms of welfare allocation, and studying the authority of the village fund to see if the scope of activity could enhance the community foundation to grow in some way. The possible welfares would include many dimensions, such as the health, the elderly, the education, etc. Previously the government sector tried to improve in the concept of welfare, with the community welfare act to support, which should be the pilot model. It would not be necessary for all area to use the same model, but the model should express the perspective of management towards such welfare. The welfare types could also be different, as the need of each area differs. Furthermore, there should be the consideration of 1) the redundancy with the existing welfare, or involvement with the rights in the various health insurance systems provided by the Ministry of Public Health, and 2) the generalization of the study from one area with other area, which should not happen, as the paradigm of each fund differs. However, the effective management system should be studied as the model of good practice that could be applied with other area.

When the existing fund in the community become strong, whether the village fund or the savings fund of the people, they should connect to the large community's system as the instrument for the area development. Instead of only focusing on the savings and loan, the funds must be integrated together into the central fund, with the village fund as a part of it. The profit should be allocated towards the village or sub-district's central fund and lead to the development in various dimension, that the fund could exist even without any external support (Wichai Nasuwannoo, personal communication, March 9, 2015). Therefore, the fund could survive with the self-management by its own fund. Moreover, there should be the welfare network, as the existing village fund should be part of the connection or the nation's welfare fund.

In terms of human resource development through the welfare and fund, Mokusak Yodkaew (personal communication, June 30, 2015) explained the vision of Kru Chob Yodkaew, about the experience of the savings group which existed for a long time that if the fund lack the welfare, it would be hard to expand. Therefore, the paradigm must shift towards the development of human resources and welfare simultaneously. For example, the Kru Chob Yodkaew fund had the welfare fund to reduce expense, so that people would learn to reduce expense and increase their saving. It would also be the human resource development, which corresponded to the concept of Social Safety Net, which the government does not only bring the cash for people, but people must also learn to help each other and those with difficulties in their community/ society. Therefore, community welfare should be the way for the society to help in the horizontal dimension, rather than to wait for the vertical dimension from the government.

Nevertheless, there were many comments that the social welfare provision should be considered carefully. Poowanida Kunpalin (personal communication, March 24, 2015) gave another perspective that if the village fund attempt to provide the community welfare, its objective would be changed, as they were different idea. Whenever it seems to be the welfare, there would be the direct and indirect distribution of money. And no one would want to distribute personal money. Therefore, the welfare should be the government's duty to take care and enhance the people's wellbeing. On the contrary, the village fund belongs to the people, and the villagers should spend it to develop their own profit. For this issue, Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto (personal communication, February 27, 2015) pointed out that the development towards the community welfare with the fund's money is possible. However, it would not be enough finally, as the welfare is the big issue which require large amount of money while it should be distributed equally. The burden of medical welfare would be very loaded, and this has not yet included other necessary welfare for the life sustenance. Ampon Duangpan (personal communication, June 30, 2015) also agreed that the welfare should happen afterwards, but there must be the savings first, so that the fund would have the financial management as their strength, then the profit could be allocated into the

welfare. The savings should definitely not be used for the welfare, as the fund would be loss and progress backward.

Anyway, the welfare should happen according to the villager's readiness and the community's need. When the fund become profitable, the dividend could be partly shared to the villagers, partly spent as the fund management expenditure, and partly allocated into the village welfare. This should initiate according to the need of each village, professional group, and the consensus between the committee and the villagers (Suwit Khunkitti, personal communication, March 17, 2015), as there were many types of welfare such as medical expense, living expense, funeral expense. The villagers could manage it themselves without any dictation from the state or any central organization. If the government tried to influence the system, the villager's administration would be damaged. Therefore, the concept of the village fund was the community's responsibility. This was an important concept which allow the fund to exist until now.

4.3.2 Body of Knowledge Development

In terms of the village fund body of knowledge development, the fund should be interdisciplinary in developing the community. But nowadays there were still the segregation between the fund administration and various body of knowledge. Thus, the research and development was needed. The local university could conduct the research to discover the suitable model for the strong and independent community. The fund should be the experimental space or the developmental model, as well as the learning space according to the various forms and characteristic of the area. The research of model according to the area's identity could help developing the committee and the villagers' capability through the education in each subject, development of the communication channel, and encourage the village guru as the trainer of people who could allay the community's problem.

In terms of the administration process, the education of self-management would be crucial. There should be the clear benchmark of the final objective, whether it would be financial-center or human-center. If the human-center model was needed, there should be further development in the welfare, training, education, and support for the community's self-management. In terms of the education process which would

develop the body of knowledge, there must be the pilot project as the practice-based learning center, which the various body of knowledge of the village fund would require the actual practice. Therefore, the villagers must see and learn from the actual experience, while the government should only provide information. They should not be evaluated according to the standard grade of success from the government, as the villagers lack the knowledge of evaluation and the assessment criteria, and they could not participate. Therefore, the evaluation criteria should be designated through the people's participation.

Each village fund required the body of knowledge in order to be strong, sustainable, and able to develop in the future. The important body of knowledge would involve the financial management, law, regulations, and administration. The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office as the main organization of this policy should emphasis the body of knowledge for the fund (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). And the curriculum should be tailored for each village fund, especially the legal knowledge which would be the shield to prevent conflict, and the administration knowledge which would help the fund to progress. The body of knowledge should be considered as the foundation of the strong and sustainable fund. On the other hand, the fund could have the unique option of administration according to the village/community context. The fund could develop by the standard provision from the state, such as the legal system to approve its status, accounting system, and budgeting system. When the fund become standardized in a level, the further development could be done by the fund without any control from the government, so that the people could feel the sense of ownership from being able to manage by themselves.

Nevertheless, there were the additional notions that the development of learning network towards development would persuade the villagers to think about self-development, self-planning, and their own direction of self-development under the new direction of the social reformation. The uniqueness of the village fund was that its mechanism existed in all area. Therefore, it could led to the social change throughout the country, from the grassroots community who ignited the change. But the community must be allowed to participate in the self-designation, self-management, self-development, and the various processes such as the citizen

assembly and civil sector assessment council. This would be the mechanism of the civil sector who would exercise their power through these process. Especially in the learning process, the important thing is that there must be the forum for the people and local organization to discuss the community development perspective in the area, which would make the village fund meaningful as a part of the change which could exist. This was consistent to Paramet Ariyadech (personal communication, March 16, 2015) 's agenda, which the villagers should be allowed to apply their wisdom and adjust to the local area. There were many dimensions to this development, but the most important one which allow the villagers to live sustainably and happily in their own community, without struggling to move away.

4.3.3 Further Administration of the Village and Urban Community Fund

When the village fund lacks the strength, it became the community's burden in some area. Thus, the new measurement which does not only persuade people to loan from the fund, but also develop their conscience on self-dependence and self-management in the long term. In some area where the existing saving group or other fund already, the villagers could access the capital easily. On the contrary, it would increase the opportunity and channel for the villagers to be in debt as well (Jantana Benchasup, personal communication, March 9, 2015). Therefore, the existing village fund or saving group must consider the system of debt management for the villagers, such as building the network with other external organization to solve the problem of debt. There could be the survey of those who are in debt in the whole sub-district, and link those with problem to solve it together with the organization. This would be another form of the government's database gathering through the village fund's mechanism to monitor the dimension of people's debt, instead of monitoring by the government system only.

The village fund reformation should adjust their direction, as the village fund should be the community and village's instrument in strengthen its members. The most important strength of the members would be the self-dependence, discipline, and savings. A good way of self-dependence would be the saving and owning their own budget of saving and loan. Thus, the direction which used to depend on the government only must be reversed towards the "self-dependency with the systematic

savings”. So that in one point when the government discontinue injecting the budget to the fund, it could still exist by itself and grow steadily. In fact, most of the strong village fund came from the area where the strong saving groups already existed (Poldej Pinprateep, personal communication, June 18, 2015). Therefore, the administration which should be adjusted in the future would include the following.

1) Reform the policy direction, concept, and management towards the qualitative strength development, as well as urgently focus on the individual fund’s strength development

2) Reform the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, that their administration system would not be in the bureaucratic form. Initially, the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office was the public organization and afterwards it was controlled by the act. Therefore, with the condition and context of the organization, it should be the semi-government organization and should proceed the model of the civil sector organization more, while try to avoid depending on the politics (Poldej Pinprateep, personal communication, June 18, 2015). The position of the Village Fund office executive would be highly important for the direction of the office and the village funds throughout the country. The top executive should be the external person who came in to manage the fund towards the direction of the policy. Moreover, there should be the system of executive evaluation, by adjusting the office’s structure into the dual-board system. The boards would include the management board and evaluation board which would be independent from each other.

3) The fund evaluation by the network through the provincial, district, and sub-district network, by designating the evaluation sample method, strength assessment, and quality assessment with the scientific instrument. There should be the development of data gathering instrument, indicator, and evaluation criteria, then gather the data from the representative sample.

In conclusion, the village fund office should adjust their operation qualitatively, with scientific evaluation using the specifically developed instrument, which focus on the fund’s capability development as the main mission.

For this issue, Paramet Ariyadech (personal communication, March 16, 2015) explained the overall image of the fund administration as the big umbrella, with the

national village fund office at the core of the umbrella. This office would have the major role in the development of structure or the mechanism of the central organization in the administration, with the sub-core of the village fund in each area. Therefore, the role of both parts would need coordination in the forms of organization to organization, or the village fund office and the village fund in each village. The central organization's important duty is the supervision of the sub-fund and develop various instrument to facilitate the administration which would involve more complexity and many other dimensions in the future.

4.3.3.1 Targeting

Injecting the capital in the system accomplished by the former governments to solve the poverty at the local community level might not be the effective solution, for money might not be the solution of poverty. On the other hand, it brought the new problem for the villagers (Wichai Nasuwannoo, personal communication, March 9, 2015). Thus, there should be the new targeting that "money would only be the instrument but not the goal". If the money is only the instrument, the policy process would not end at the money distribution towards the area, but it would trace how the money solve the poverty problem according to the planned procedure, that it could sustainably solve the poverty problem and lead to the self-dependence in the future. This policy is the instrument which encourage the villagers to know how to manage, and it could assist the villagers to solve the problem of people in the local community, resulting in the strong and sustainable local community. Therefore, the policy would need "a clearer target than just the money". Manoon Sornkerd (personal communication, July 9, 2015), pointed out that there should be the clear reflection of village fund policy's objective and enhance what has been missing. For example, the fund network should be reflected and revived, for it would be beneficial as the important joint in the policy implementation.

The village fund's important role was its mechanism which could drive the community, as it was "concise and effective" for the villagers. Firstly, the villagers could consider and decide for themselves according to their own paradigm. They could administer under their own needs (Boonhome Inthong, personal communication, June 18, 2015). It was obvious that although Thailand had been through many political changes when the country leader was changed numerous time.

Other policies might be canceled or became obsolete, but the village fund policy could exist over 16 years. Thus, the village fund was effective for people and could still be the beneficial mechanism for the country development.

4.3.3.2 Developing Income-Generating Activity

The village fund's development in order to sustain itself without the injected money in the future would be imperative, as there would be no government who could allocate the money in the system all the time. Also, the process of injecting money could not happen every year. Thus, the fund must depend on itself by developing the "income-generating activity", in order to circulate the fund budget. Today, strengthen the fund would not only involve injecting money, but also the development of activities which could generate income, such as provide training for the villagers to produce quality products and market them. The fund could allocate some budget to build a store and utilize the profit to invest more. This would help sustain the villagers without depending on the government's injected budget. For example, there was the idea of constructing the electricity plant for the village fund, so that it could sell the electricity for people in the area and circulate the money within the fund (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). This idea reflected that the fund should be able to depend on themselves and invest by themselves. The investment should strengthen the villager's income and cash flow. Nevertheless, the fund must face the risk, as there were still the problems in terms of marketing, product and value development. Here is where the National Village and Urban Community Fund office and the government sector could help reducing the risk by primary support the fund to invest in the activity suitable to the area's context, that it could generate value form various activities including the development of body of knowledge, network, marketing, primary support, and cumulating with the commercial bank. This would be the important factor for the fund to progress.

The future trend of the village fund, after 16 years of being the approachable source of capital for people, the next step would be "the development towards productivity" from the process at this point (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). And the framework should be supported by the government, through the supporting budget for the cumulative policy implementation.

4.3.3.3 Operation Assessment

The system of evaluation and assessment of the village fund was an important system, as this policy mainly involved the financial management. Boonhome Inthong (personal communication, June 18, 2015) disagreed with the National Village and Community Fund office which attempt to develop the authorized account auditor to audit each village fund's account, as it would require large amount of budget for each year. Inthong proposed that a server should be installed throughout the country, and develop data program system for each fund to apply. The main server would equip at the National Village and Community Fund office, so that the central account auditor could audit all funds. While Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto (personal communication, February 27, 2015) commented on the overall perspective of the assessment, that there should be the system to assess the administration between the government sector and the community. And the "partnership" between the community and state, which the assessment could be done from both parties, should be encouraged.

4.3.4 Network Development

The direction which the village fund should head towards in the future, apart from being self-dependence, the village fund also links to other groups such as the honesty group or the saving group, while also try to develop the connection between network in terms of capital (Thienchai Na Nakorn, personal communication, March 9, 2015). The village fund should not be a stand-alone organization, as such existence would cover the work only in each village, but there should be the network of mutual operation for the village fund, that the word "community financial institution" originated. If more than 70,000 communities financial institution emerged (one institution per sub-district) with the connecting data network, mutual designation of interest rate or any other operation, trading of goods, and mutual operation among the institutions, the network process of the village fund would be developed.

The network could help driving the overall image of being the community financial institution in the future. In one side, the fund operation would grow naturally, but on the other side there would be the intermediary which connect and work together. If a particular fund expands too fast, the central unit could provide a

warning. And each village fund could send the representative to be the part of central committee of the sub-district or community financial institution, in order to monitor the overall direction and exchange their learning. Then the fund would not grow without direction, but they would mutually trained each other in the sub-district, district, provincial, and regional network and could become Thailand's people bank from such network coordination.

The fund network development would require time and true coordination from the people and villagers. This process requires the learning, union, that the strong process would emerge by themselves, that the mutual operation network would be the core in driving the village funds towards the same direction (Natee Klibthong, personal communication, March 16, 2015). On the other hand, the government must support the network for coordination as the network development would assist the fund governance process to be progressive. The National Village and Urban Community fund office thus has the duty to provide support and training for all of the funds, and encourage the network development by maximizing the benefit of the network process for the fund.

As for the bureaucratic sector, they did not get involve much with the fund, apart from some involvement according to the order as the sub-committee of support at the district level, which the district headmen would be the presidents, and the sub-committee at the provincial level, which the provincial governor would be the president according to the village fund act, in order to assist in the support and monitoring. However, from Boonhome Inthong (personal communication, June 18, 2015)'s experience, he thought that the bureaucratic sector would not get involve with the fund when there was no necessity, but they would only assign the network to govern. Therefore, the important mechanic was the network, which should have the juristic person's authorization. If the fund deprived of politics, the network should be allowed to authorize the operation. However, "the current network only had the duties without any authority". Therefore, the National Village and Urban Community fund office should enact the regulation with the legal support, so that the village fund network would become the juristic person. In some province, the network was already strong enough to raise money for the office building construction, such as in

Chiangrai, where the village fund network was strong and able to buy the land and construct its operation office.

Nevertheless, when the network become a juristic person, it would also benefit the fund's operation as the network could support monitoring process. In the future, there should be the network in all level from sub-district, district, province, and four regions. Therefore, some future operation could be operated with more flexibility by the network, rather than the central organization. But due to the network condition from the civil sector, it lack the supporting law from the government sector. Thus, the network must receive the authority to assist with the operation or assessment, and become the juristic person similar to the village fund. The National Village and Urban Community fund office should deconstruct the network again and provide supporting budget for its operation as well.

Apart from developing the network in order to assist the village fund's monitoring in the future, the village fund should also develop the horizontal coordination with the network of the private sector or any other non-profit organization, such as the Pid Thong Lang Phra Foundation foundation and other foundation for development, which have the capability in public and seek the source of knowledge further from financial management. These organizations should be allowed as the partner who provide support from the policy level to the fund level in each area, so that the village fund could developed in other various qualitative dimensions, not only quantitative.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND SUGGESTIONS

The study of policy agenda setting process, policy implementation, and the policy development framework of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy could be concluded, and discussed as following.

5.1 Conclusion

5.1.1 Agenda Setting and Policy Formulation

The process of agenda setting and policy formulation according to Kingdon's concept could be analyzed as 3 independent streams, which became the origin of the policy process for the Village and Urban Community Fund policy, when the problem stream, political stream, and policy stream converged together.

The problem stream, which was the important stream that led to the policy formation, was that the society aware of the poverty problem which always existed in the Thai society. Furthermore, prior to this policy, the villagers lack the source of loan, and people could hardly access the source of capital especially in the community/village level. Previously, there was no direct policy which could develop the economic opportunity for people in the village level to easily access the source of capital. Therefore, the Village and Urban Community Fund policy was an attempt to create the capital "in the system", so that people could access the loan with low interest rate. Also, the economic crisis in 1997 affected the overall economic sector of the country. From the research, it was found that although the 1997 economic crisis did not directly influence the policy formulation of the village fund policy, but it was the factor which pointed out the necessity to boost the country's grassroots economy at the time.

As for the policy stream, it reflected the objective of economic boost in order to generate cash flow in the system. It was the concept of grassroots-based economy,

which was designed to boost the economy by the multiplier effect through the mechanism of the village fund. The policy's objective was to inject the capital to the grassroots level in order to increase the circulation in the economy system, as it was the only way to boost the economy from small amount of money and could increase the capital in the economic system. Apart from the economic objective, there was also the objective in the social dimension. The village fund policy thus also attempted to strengthen the people, as its major goal was to construct the local development in terms of the community economy. But there were the benefits for the social sector such as the emergence of the strong organization network and the network from mutual learning. It also reflected many social dimensions, such as the union of the community, learning about budget management, and learning about democracy, etc. This mechanism was thus an instrument to develop learning process for people in the community. This could be the important essence apart from the politics and economics.

Moreover, during the policy formulation, this policy was influenced by the former government's policy which aim to tackle poverty. Previously, the Community Development Department, Ministry of Interior, had implemented the policy to solve poverty problem for a long period, including the "community capital", which involved many organizations including the Community Organization Development Institute, cooperation's, or the related ministry in the specific timeframe. There was also the knowledge base from the villagers' saving group. And prior to the village fund policy, villagers in some area united into the success self-development community in many areas. Thus, it could be obvious that prior to the village fund, the politicians or policy makers realized the success from the various groups and anticipated that it should be encouraged into the "overall policy for the whole country", which studied from the successful fund model, including the fund which received support from the previous government, the civil sector's fund which could strengthen itself, or the fund of the private development organization, and applied into the political party's policy before pushing into the tangible policy. This was consistent to what Kingdon called policy primeval soup, or when the various ideas or policies were stirred by the policy maker who aim to the target and objective of successfully pushing the policy.

Lastly, there was the political stream. Although the structure of the 1997 constitution was the secondary factor which did not directly affect the agenda setting and policy formulation of the village fund, but it was broadly influential during the period of political parties founding, and it was also the important framework which dictate the political structure at the time, especially for the Thai Rak Thai party, which was the first political party founded under the 1997 constitution and proposed the new set of policies directed towards people. The next related issue was the general election in 1998, which was an important political stream that push the Village and Urban Community Fund towards the agenda of policy window. This was consistent to Kingdon's concept, that the policy window could be opened from the change of administration. During the period of administration change, the rules and agenda would be changed under the new leader, which the Thai Rak Thai party used the Village and Urban Community Fund policy as a part of the policy set that received wide attention from people during their campaign. The Thai Rak Thai' strategic policy was influenced from the policy concept of the various groups of political base, especially the cumulative in the political policy from the existing policy and the development of political policy under the representation of "new idea, new action", which was their campaign strategy to attract the voters. Thus, the policy was targeted towards all groups and classes, and became one of the factor for Thai Rak Thai's victory in that election. It was also an important origin of the policy formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund.

According to the three streams of factor, it was obvious that the policy window could open when the three streams converged, that the policy formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund could entered the agenda and emerged.

5.1.2 Policy Implementation

The policy formulation of Village and Urban Community Fund was the urgent measure of the government which received attention from people all over the country at the time, as it was the first policy which allowed people to administer their own financial community independently, which should be counted as a form of government's power distribution. The Village and Urban Community Fund was one of the government's public policy, which must be implemented throughout the

country. And the government had the institutional constraints in the policy implementation. Hence, the organization responsible for the implementation must adjust the policy in order to be possible under those constraints. There were elements and factors in the policy implementation as following.

5.1.2.1 Preparation for Policy Implementation

As the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy was the direct policy which involve the simultaneous implementation throughout the country, it was necessary to prepare the community to be strong. Planning of community development became important, as the initial problem of policy implementation was the government's rush in pushing the policy. While the preparation of training to develop the village committee or the fund executives was needed, but the rush in policy implementation partly led to some errors. The interesting issue of policy implementation was the operation without the bureaucratic department and avoiding other organization to be involved, especially the prevention of the bureaucratic sector to implement the policy directly. However, the tangible policy implementation required the effective organization to responsible for the operation. Thus, the committee of National Village and Urban Community fund were assigned to implement the policy, by responsible for the policy and planning in the set up and administration of the village and urban community fund. There was the royal decree to set up the National Village and Urban Community fund (public organization) in 2011, and the National Village and Urban Community fund Office was founded according to the National Village and Urban Community Fund Act, 2004, which designated the founding of the government's organization as the juristic person, not the government department nor the state enterprise, in order to manage and administer the village fund policy. Another related law and regulation, which was the first regulation of the Prime Minister's Office Regarding the Committee of National Village and Urban Community Fund, 2011, granted the authority and duty in policy making, planning, and administration of the Village and Urban Community fund, so that the urgent policy implementation could be done swiftly and effectively. This was consistent to the government's policy which announced to the parliament. The regulation of the Prime Minister's office was used for a while, then there was the engrossment, and the enactment of the Village and Urban Community Fund Act,

2004. As for the administration for the systematic policy implementation, the policy evaluation was an essential thing to execute, in order to present the effective solution. Therefore, when the village fund policy was implemented already, the village funds were evaluated by the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, who supported the financial auditing, such as the accounting system and the assessment of the fund operation periodically. Lastly, in the part of learning process, the fund must study from the success of other area, and they should apply the success towards self-development, in order to top-up and learn about the solution for the problem resulted from both internal and external factors.

Nevertheless, during the process of Village and Urban Community Fund policy implementation, there were two different groups of opinion. One was the political sector who wanted to rush the policy implementation as fast as possible, so that it could cover as much area as campaigned prior to the election. Meanwhile, the community development sector wanted to strengthen the community prior to the government' grant of money, or else it could destroy the community's strength. This was consistent to the critique by Chatchawan Thongdeelerd (2004), who commented the village fund during the Thai Rak Thai government that the village fund project had a good initiation, as there was the thought and study from the village gurus. But at the end the political method was used to manage the system and focus on the quantitative aspect for the campaign, while many villages was not ready yet. Therefore, the preparation process lack sustainability. For the policy would be sustainable only if it truly originated from the villagers' need. Finally, the village fund only became the political voter base. The government should understand the context and culture of the community, but they rushed to accomplish the policy in order to gain the votes without the carefulness.

5.1.2.2 Key Factor of Success in Policy Implementation

1) Leader. In order for the fund to success, it would depend on the president and committee's strength and attention in the activity to progress the project. Therefore, human resource was the most important factor of the fund. And the most important person of the project would be the president and fund committee, who must be the leader, understand the objectives, and could operate the fund. The experiences of the leader and the fund committee would also be the significant

mechanism towards the funds' success. The president and committee should progress previous experience in the union or various forms of administration. Thus, the experiences of the president, committee, and the fund' members was an essential condition for the fund's success.

2) Innovation and Body of Knowledge. As the village fund existed for over 16 years already, there were the innovation in the knowledge communication, system of work, human resource development, and democracy integrated through the socialization process as the way of community's life. Nevertheless, in order for the fund to become sustainable, it must not stop and stay the same. Therefore, the innovation development should arise from the analysis of the fund area's context, and then the model for cumulative development could be found. The possible role for the fund under the village fund act would be the development of the new funds' activities. This could stimulate the village fund to succeed through the social change, that the capital spending must be developed for more productivity and develop the activity which could be the center of village's activity. Apart from the financial activities, the village fund should construct the body of knowledge in the form of learning resource or the school of collective knowledge. It should also be the instrument to persuade the villagers to think about self-development with the encouragement from the government.

3) Financial Management. Currently, the savings groups started to confront the practical problem of excessive savings, especially the problem of investment. When the excessive cash increased, the financial management became problematic, that the village fund must analyze the model of investment in various forms on the basis of risk consideration which must be studied in detail by the fund. For example, it could study from the administration of the micro financial institution from foreign country, such as Indonesia. The study by Hartungi (2007) about the factor of success in managing the micro-finance institution of the developing country pointed out that the factor contributed to the success of Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) was the learning to adapt according to the environmental change. Moreover, the BRI had the interesting administration option for the grassroots community.

One example was the case when the customer could not pay the debt, the institution would allow the loaner to work instead of paying the compensation. This could help the fund to become sustainable. Moreover, the staffs would receive training in the administration. The operation was systematic, simple, transparent, with the strict internal control that the financial process can be tracked. There was also the good management of financial risk. These factors could also led to the success of the micro-finance institution in other developing country.

4) Characteristic of the Area/Environment/Economy. There were various factors contributing to the fund's success depending on different condition, such as small area, urbanized community with advance economy, administration could be easier when the villagers or most members knew each other. Therefore, the fund's factor of success might not be comparable among all funds throughout the country. And in the different area context, there would be the different need according to the various resource base. Thus, the administration should base on the different requirement of each area, and should adjust to suit the context of the society, economy, and resource of the community where the fund located.

5) Administration. The village fund must learn to coordinate with the other saving group existed in the village. In the future, these groups could unite into the major fund in order to develop into the community financial institution. Therefore, the local-level financial management would be the big issue, as the village fund can be driven in many other form. But the villagers must be allowed to participate in the decision, so that the fund could operate smoothly.

6) National Politics and Policies. In some case, the village fund policy was exploited as the political tool in the local level, such as the election policy of the sub-district administration organization mayor, sub-district headmen, and the village headmen, by using the number and the success of the village fund as the motivation for the villagers to vote for them. Actually, the policy was implemented according to fund's regulation. But it could be denied that some local politicians attempted to influence the village fund, so that they could apply as the campaign instrument, resulted in the incorrect attitude of the villagers towards this project.

7) Auditing Process. The clear law and regulations of the village fund was the important process to prevent the fund's damage. Moreover, using the social sanction as the follow-up and informal auditing was another effective measurement, that the member could audit the fund operation. Another instrument which could be enhance the efficiency in the fund auditing and evaluation was the village fund network in different levels.

8) Development of Saving Discipline, Responsibility, and Conscience. The development of self-dependent conscience was important for the policy implementation. According to the study by Kornkanok Noinaem (2014), it was found that the member's financial discipline and their participation was related to the strength of the community financial institution. Therefore, the village fund policy should encourage the villager's better financial discipline, moral, and good conscience for everyone. Although it was abstract and fundamental, but the saving discipline, moral, and conscience were arduous to developed. Thus, it was necessary that the government sector and civil sector to encourage these consciences for the sustainability. Then the village fund could be the instrument for the local to develop their capacity of self-improvement.

9) Social Capital. The social capital had an important role to enhance the village fund's sustainability. The government sector and the private sector should encourage the community to perceive and understand the benefit of using the social capital in the village fund administration, so that the people understand their entitled rights from participating in the community development. The community members should be persuaded to be public-minded, brave, and able to dedicate for the public. The administration of village fund with the enhancement from the social capital would result into the sustainability and smooth operation.

5.1.2.3 Problem and Obstruction of Policy Implementation

1) The Politics and the Domination by the Government Sector. The Village and Urban Community fund policy was the top-down policy, which seems like the money from the political and governmental sector in the villager's attitude. This could be the policy weakness. Although it would be beneficial source of capital for the villager to approach, but if the fund lacks the self-development and depend on the political support money and the government's care, it would become

weak at the end. Furthermore, although the bureaucratic mechanism in the policy implementation might be specialized in the community matter, but when their attitude adhered excessively to the policy framework, rules, and regulations, it could also obstruct the policy implementation. And the village fund must attempt to avoid being the political base, as it could be canceled according to the change in the national politics.

2) Public Participation. The implementation and operation of a prosperous policy should allow the villagers to feel the sense of ownership and able to participate equally. It was obvious that in the successful funds, their members would participate in the operation procedures from the election of committee, drafting the regulations, approving the regulations which would be mutually practiced by all members, as well as organizing the various activities. The participation of members led to the stronger community financial institution which exist in the sustainable way. This was consistent to Orathai Kokpon and Chatara Wikitiyodom (2012: 13), who mentioned the benefit of the people's participation. The participation could lead to the consensus from all the stakeholders, resulting in the justification in decision. The plan and project could be implemented easier, and the people would feel the sense of ownership and eager to help with the practical assistance.

3) Leadership/Fund Committee. The majorities of rural people lacked the person with enough qualification to administer the fund. Thus, the factor which often obstruct or led the project to the failure usually was about the human resource, when the leader or the head of committee lack responsibility and honesty. Although there were not so many cases, but it was an important policy factor, as the leader was the element which could lead the fund in the area to success. Furthermore, the fund committee was also an important factor in some area, such as the remote area where there was the limitation of people who could learn about the policy, and there might only be just the village headmen and the mayor of the sub-district administrative organization who could communicate or learn about the procedures.

4) Fund Administration. The previous evaluation shown that there were both the external and internal factors in the fund administration. Most problems were the results of the internal factors, especially the community's lack of readiness to administer, in both the level of the fund office and the village fund, in

terms of the executive committee structure, operation budget, and the community member's understanding. Furthermore, there were the external factors which interfere the administration, such as the dictation from the bureaucratic department or the politicians in the fund administration, and the lack of integration among the organizations and network allies. Nevertheless, the mentioned issues related to the administration could be improved.

5) Non-circulate Money/ Could not Solve the Poverty. The majorities of villagers still lack the wisdom to spend money. Previously, the village fund provide capital but did not equip them with knowledge. This led to the problem of recurring debt problem. Many informants in this research commented that this project was only beneficial to few of the poor, as money "did not circulated". The loan for the poor only increased poverty burden for this group of people, as it did not solve the poverty. This was consistent to the study by Siripan Nogsuan Sawasdee (2013), that when consider in the policy level, it could be found that the overall society and the elite did not understand the way of life in the community among debt, scarcity, and the lack of opportunity to manage their own life without the dictation from the government organization. This was also obviously reflected in the people's attitude towards the village and urban community fund project. Under the condition of scarcity, the input of capital source for loaning as the village fund project could respond to the people's need. On the contrary, under the condition of debt, the input of loan source would mean the increase of easily-approach debt resource for the people. Furthermore, the poorest household had the financial fragility, as they had the high ratio of debt per income, or the debt burden around 38% of their monthly income. As for the channel of loan, they mostly loan from the village fund or the specific financial institution, such as the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperation, as they could not approach the loan from the commercial banks. The poor's loan led to the higher debt than their ability to pay the debt. Thus, the government sector must be careful and disciplined in the loan approval for the poor. (Kobsak Phutrakul & Anak Serichetpong, 2005). The government or the main responsible organization should educate the villagers to be able to manage their finance. This was agreed by the former Prime Minister, Abhisit Vejjajiva, who warned that the injection of budget into the village fund must be done carefully, as

there could be the case when people loan from the informal source to pay for their debt with the village fund, in order to renew their right to loan. This could affect the household debt which was already high (VoiceTV, 2015). Thus, the government must have the mechanism to ensure that the loan would be spent to increase income, not the useless expenditure.

5.1.3 Model for the Policy Development in the Future

5.1.3.1 Development of the future model. The village fund should classify itself according to the actuality, by study what it could do under the legal context. Moreover, the fund should be developed according to its community context, that it would not have to depend on the external source. The village fund should be developed into the village's activity center, including the economic factor which could sustain the villager's life or the social activity which could strengthen the community.

1) Development Towards the Community Financial Institution

Raising status from the village fund into the community bank would be significant, as the transformation from the village fund to the community bank in the sub-district or district level could be accomplished in many forms including the social enterprise, or find the business partner or network in order to develop the capability and body of knowledge. The village fund should be the economic center of the village and community. It should be the instrument to boost the village's economy, as the village fund already had the mechanism, committee, financial management procedures, and the various source of capital. Therefore, the village fund could be the mechanism to monitor the village and community's economy, which should include the savings, investment, and welfare. Then the village fund could be able to initiate the process of saving, investment, and welfare development.

2) Civil Sector Welfare Development

The system of the strong village fund would be able to allocate the profit into the community welfare. The civil sector could positively empathize each other without depending on the state, as the demand of welfare from the government would lead to the government's burden and the political commitment on

the assumption that it would not be enough no matter how much was given. Thus, people could initiate it and administer the fund to grow and top up until it could be sustainable and depend on itself. However, the welfare should occur according to the villagers' readiness and the community's need.

5.1.3.2 Body of Knowledge Development. There should be the "learning network" for further development, by encouraging the villagers to consider about self-development, designating the direction for self-development in the new direction under the social reformation. For even if the government would inject money enough to match the debt amount required by the villagers, but there could be no guarantee that people could develop their well-being when the people still lack knowledge and capacity to develop themselves even if the money was available. Therefore, the development according to the project's objective could not succeed (Kriengsak Chareonwongsak, 2006, pp. 30-31). Nevertheless, the village fund was unique that its mechanism existed in all area. Thus, it could be the mechanism contributing to the social change throughout the country, from the grassroots community where the change initiated. But there must be the community's participation in the designation, management, and develop themselves while participating in all the procedures happen.

5.1.3.3 Future Administration of the Village and Urban Community Fund. The reformation of the village fund should adjust its direction towards the community and village's instrument to strengthen the member. The most important member strength would be the self-dependence, discipline, and saving behavior. Thus, the direction must be reversed, from the previous development depending on the government only towards the self-dependence with the systematic savings. The strength must be developed and target in each individual fund. Meanwhile the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office should also be reformed by restructure the operation model to follow the civil sector organization and avoid too much dependence on the politics. Therefore, the position of the village fund office executive would be important for the administrative direction of the village fund office and the village funds throughout the country. The top executive should have the vision which could lead to the policy success in the desired dimension. There should also be the executive evaluation system, by restructure the village fund office into the

dual-board system, including the management board and evaluation board which were independent from each other. Finally, the fund evaluation should be done through the network at the provincial, district, and sub-district level, using mainly the evaluation instrument developed particularly to develop the funds' capability.

5.1.4 Targeting

Injecting money in the system as done by the former governments to solve the poverty at the local community level might not be the truly effective solution, as money might not be the solution for the poverty problem. However, it could lead to the new problem for the villagers. The policy process should not end at the money distribution towards the area, but must also ensure that the money would solve the poverty according to the designed method, that could solve poverty in the sustainable way and led to the self-dependency. This policy should be the instrument to encourage the villagers to administer and solve the problem from people in the local community. Then the villagers can develop the truly strong local community. Therefore, this policy need the clear target. However, the village fund policy already had a good target as the concise and effective measure for the villagers. The village fund was the policy which directly responded to the people's need of capital for loan, and could be beneficial for the country's development.

5.1.5 Activity Development to Generate Income

The village fund's ability to further sustain itself without the injected budget is important, as no government of any country would be able to input the budget through the policy at all time. Therefore, the fund must depend on itself through the activity which could generate income, so that the fund's budget could circulate. The activities may include training the villagers to produce quality product, training about the marketing, allocating the budget to build a store and bring back the profit to develop the fund. These activities encourage the villagers to depend on themselves without the need for additional budget from the government. The investment at this point must strengthen the villagers, so they could have income and cash flow. Nevertheless, the fund must face various risks, which would be the duty of the village fund office and the state to reduce the risk by primary support for the fund to conduct the suitable

activity according to the area's context. This would be the important factor which drive the fund forward.

5.1.6 Operation Assessment

The system of evaluation and auditing the village fund is important, as the policy mainly involve the financial management. The fund should apply the modern technology by install the same system of server for every village fund throughout the country, which the central account auditor would audit the account of every funds. There should also be the system to monitor the administration between the government and the community and encouraging the "partnership" between the community and the government, that the assessment can conduct in both ways.

5.2 Discussion

The former governments attempted to solve the poverty problem continuously, and the village fund policy was one of the policies to tackle poverty problem and boost the macro economy at the grassroots level. The vilaage fund policy reflected the model of Thailand economic development at the time after the 1997 economic crisis. This was consistent to Kingdon's concept of problem stream, or the stream that originate when the group of people in society share the anxiety from some change or consequences, which led to the mutual perception and feeling of the public. The problem stream could emerge from the problems at the micro level which accumulate into the crisis. Due to the problem base of poverty and inequality, the government's attempt to solve poverty problem, and the awareness of the 1997 economic crisis which affected the people in both the top and grassroots level, the political leaders, parties, and the stakeholders could perceive the problem stream. And together with the people's awareness and perception of the problem directly related to their daily life, it became an important opportunity that push the Village and Urban Community Fund policy to enter the political agenda.

As for the policy stream which led to the formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy, there was the background idea of the policy stream which served as the base of the policy formulation. This was consistent to Kingdon's

framework which compared the policy stream as the policy primeval soup, that at one time the idea would settle in the bottom of the pot, awaiting for the facilitator to stir and pick up. The issue was also agreed by Rangsan Thanaphonphan (2001), who commented that the political market was the public exchange market where the political services were traded between the citizens who hold the right to vote and the politicians as well as the political parties who wish to acquire the power. The political services were the service of well-being reflected in the form of policy. Therefore, the political market was the market where the politicians or the policy producer would present their policy in exchange for the people's vote. When elected, the politicians or the policy entrepreneur must deliver the policy to the customer, or the people. On the other hand, the former government's policy to tackle poverty was based on the knowledge of the villagers' saving group and the knowledge base from the private development organization. These were the background idea behind the Village and Urban Community Fund policy, which served as the policy reference for the group of policy entrepreneurs who were directly and indirectly influenced the village fund policy to enter the agenda. It could be considered that the policy stream would obviously appear when the politicians take the various idea and the problem issues and apply for the government administration and raising the problem issue as the proposal for the next election (Kingdon, 1995). Furthermore, this policy was interesting in terms of its combination of the policy connotation to boost the grassroots economy of the country while strengthen the society simultaneously.

The political stream was the stream of change inside the political system and bureaucratic system, such as the change of the country's bureaucratic administration, election, political attitude, and the general mood of the public at the time. The mentioned examples could affect other streams at the same time. It was obvious that the way which Thai Rak Thai party attempted to develop the policy strategy to fight during their election campaign, through the policy set which attract the grassroots and rural population who were the majorities of the citizen, was the political stream which highly affected the policy agenda setting of the Village and Urban Community Fund policy. Furthermore, the formation which Thai Rak Thai party gathered the political base with other political groups or stakeholders was the important opportunity or channel that the policy entrepreneurs could clearly play their role in the political

stream. Moreover, there was the extension of this policy from the existing political party, which led the policy entrepreneurs to decide on raising this policy towards the political stream, so that it could construct the voter base for the interest groups and political parties in the same time. Furthermore, the political stream could obviously demonstrate the role of the related persons with the policy agenda setting, who were those with the decision authority in the government. The role of these groups were highly important to the decision of policy implementation, and it could reflect that the policy supporters waited for the time to solve the problem or raise the proposal through the political event towards the policy making (Kingdon, 1995).

Thus, it could be concluded that the political factor was an immensely essential part of the policy formulation and cancelation. The shared political factor and the economic direction factor of the Village and Urban Community Fund was an important part which converged the multiple streams and finally pushed the policy agenda towards the opening of policy window.

From the analysis of the success and obstruction in the Village and Urban Community Fund policy implementation, it was found that there were some mutual factors which contributed to the success and obstruction of the policy implementation. The first important factor contributing to the success and failure of the policy implementation was about the human resource, especially the president and the committee of the village fund, who were highly important as the policy implementation could progress when the operator followed the plan and the project objectives. The fund leaders were the front-line implementers in this policy implementation, and they were also the important mechanism in the policy implementation. Thus, the leader or the fund president must obtain the knowledge and wise vision in administration. Moreover, the fund committee must be able to dedicate themselves for the public, in order for the fund to be the mechanism to assist the villagers in their neighborhood. The villagers must be able to trust and have confidence in the president and the fund committee as the leader. These were the factors contributing to success in operation. Meanwhile, part of the fund's failure resulted from the leader who lack good administration system, the intention to operate the fund towards success, the honesty, and the systematic planning. The president and the fund committee must obtain the knowledge and ability to administer the fund,

especially in terms of capital system management, planning, and the regulations related to their duty, as well as the administration skill such as coordination and communication. When the policy was adjusted, the village fund committee must be able to adjust themselves according to the new policy management. The members of the village fund must be responsible to pay their debt, and the fund committee should service the fund member willingly, so that the village fund policy implementation could succeed. Thus, the government's support should focus on the human resource development, especially the president and the fund committee. The state should also focus their support to strengthen and develop the capability of the fund leaders and the fund committee at the area level.

Next, in terms of the national politics, the village fund policy was initiated from the politics before it progressed towards the implementation, so it was unavoidable for the politics to play some role with the village fund, either the national politics or the local politician. It was obvious that the politics had the role to support the policy implementation. Nevertheless, although the initial objective of this policy was to avoid the politics or the domination from the national politics and bureaucratic system, through the direct route practice of the specialized organization, which was the National Village and Urban Community Fund Office, but the political influence could still affect the policy implementation by support or obstruct it. Meanwhile, if the important organization or person including the influence group, the interest group, politicians, or high-level bureaucrats, did not provide their political, capital, and financial support or oppose the policy, the policy implementation could be ineffective. Nevertheless, this policy received the support and budget continuously from many government, as there was the capital injected into the system. However, if there was too much domination from the state, the politics could be the obstruction for the fund development towards the strong and sustainable fund from the villagers' capability. So it could be concluded that the national politics was the mutual factor which could affect the success or failure of policy implementation.

To implement the policy successfully, the organization must have the suitable management procedure and resource allocation as well as operate continuously. The success or failure of the implementation depended on the skill of the organization in the administration. The problem in the policy implementation would increase if the

responsible organization lack the skill to proceed the policy according to the objective. The fund administration could have many or few problems depending on many factors which directly affected the progress of operation which could respond to the policy's requirement. This was consistent to the theory of Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981), who said that the policy could succeed when there is enough financial support, human resource or the operation team enough for the amount of responsibility. The lack of enough budget and human resource would be the obstruction for the policy implementation. Thus, the availability of budget, human resource, material and equipment, as well as the information system to support the village fund operation could help the policy implementation to progress continuously and efficiently.

Furthermore, the organization responsible for the policy implementation must coordinate from policy to the practice and operation, activities, procedures, and should receive support from other organization in the area. As Katz and Kahn (1978) said that the process of policy implementation to reach the objective must concern the organization or agency responsible for the implementation. Therefore, it depends on the ability of the major responsible organization (the national village fund office) and the sub-organization (the village fund in the area), whether they could clearly transform the policy into the practical framework or project/activities according to the policy objectives. Thus, the capability of fund system administration and the financial management of the fund, including the skill in planning, capital system management, and communication would be the major factors contributing to the effective fund administration. Other managerial factors also included the organization structure, budget, and coordination with the related organization, all of which affected the village fund policy implementation. So it was obvious that the organization responsible for the implementation, either the national or local organization, was the factor which highly affected the outcome of the village fund administration.

The people's participation was another important factor which could contribute to the success or failure of policy implementation. The implementation must have allowed the people to participate in the operation and assessment of the staff's operation, for it would lead to the transparency in the policy implementation. The operation would be under the controlled and assessment, especially when the

village fund involved the loan and financial management, so it should be transparent. This was consistent to the idea of Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), who proposed that the policy implementation is not limited to the government officers only, but people should also be considered as the environment of the system which wait for the policy delivery, who would stimulate and receive the result of the government officers' operation. Therefore, all process should be opened for people to know and participate in the assessment and administration according to the policy objective.

Apart from the mutual factor which could contribute for success or become the obstruction in the policy implementation, there were other factors which could affect the success of policy implementation in some way, which were the effective system of auditing and evaluation of the fund, and the development of body of knowledge and innovation of the village fund. When the people or fund members regularly participated in the follow-up and evaluation of the fund operation, they would be clearly informed on the operation result, whether there was any problem or obstruction. Without the monitoring and evaluation by the people, there could be the damage towards the fund or project. Thus, the system of monitoring and assessment of the village fund should be counted as another factor contributing to the success of implementation, as it would be another form of system control apart from the governance from the state. In addition, the village fund must have the self-dependent process of learning, innovation and body of knowledge development, and encouragement of creativity and capability. This was consistent to the study by Houghton et al. (2014), which found that the important asset of the village committee was the local knowledge resulted from the experiment of each practical model, in order for the fund develop towards the financial institution which integrated with the various local organizations. Therefore, another factor of success would be the people's education in self-dependence, body of knowledge and innovation development, in order to develop the profit and self-dependence of the community, the strength in conducting the activities, and the better overall economic status of the village and community.

Besides, there was the issue of developing the saving discipline, responsibility, and conscience. The villagers should have the discipline of saving and the honesty to responsible for their loan, whether from the fund or any other source of capital.

Although the village fund was unique in allowing the people to approach the capital easily, but part of the villagers took the loan in order to pay their informal debt, while part of them were influenced by the consumerism and materialism society, that they spent the money to purchase objects rather than to invest according to the objective of the loan. The village fund then affected the existing saving system of the community and weaken it, as the people turned towards the village fund where they could take the loan without the savings (Kriengsak Chareonwongsak, 2006). This was the reason why the village fund policy could not reach the government's objective, which was the result of the lack of planning, conscience, and discipline in spending. And finally, it became the new burden for the villagers who took the loan from the village fund. Therefore, the fund members must have the discipline in spending, as an individual would be truly strong when one learns to depend on oneself. Thus, the conscience of self-dependent would be mostly significant. But the village fund might lead the villagers to stop learning to depend on themselves and demand the assistance from the government or the policy of the authority.

On the other hand, the obstruction of the village fund policy implementation was the administration process of the fund, from the level of the national village fund office and the village fund, which still lack the integration among organizations and the network allies. There was the large gap of integrating the operation among organizations, network, private sector, social sector, and the government organizations in Thailand, as the importance of networking in the operation was overlooked. There was also the attitude which viewed the network as the cause of complexity and burden for the organizations. On the contrary, the integration among organization and network allies would develop the relationship with all organizations, so that they could participate and advise the fund to adjust the paradigm and operation coordination. There would be the learning, conflict management, and the integration between community and the various segments. So when the organization responsible for the policy implementation lack the integration with other segment, it became the obstruction and affect the policy implementation both directly and indirectly.

In conclusion, the problems related to policy implementation were undeniably related to the various factors which contributed to the success or failure of the policy. Therefore, it was crucial to understand the concept and policy process, as well as the

administrative structure and the changing context in the government administration which no longer involve only the government organization. In the policy implementation and policy analysis, it must be understood that they are the dynamic process which related to the interaction between factors or various contexts.

5.3 Research Suggestion

5.3.1 Suggestion to Improve the Operation

5.3.1.1 Community Level

1) The civil sector should be aware of the importance to unite in order to strengthen and depend on themselves. The existing wisdom should be used cumulatively and bring the social capital in the area to enhance the village fund. Due to the variety of context, the development of fund policy would require the process of applying the strategy or suggestion in the policy adjustment which is area-specific, with the particular strategy resulted from the paradigm and the community context.

2) The village fund should encourage its members to increase their income from other source apart from the loan from the fund. Therefore, the fund committee must designate the model to unite and develop the part-time job to generate income for the members. In addition, the related local organization such as the sub-district administration organization should also encourage career development for the villagers in the community.

5.3.1.2 Government Organization Level

1) The government organization could be the support and enhancement of the village fund operation in many dimension, including the monitoring, coordination in the area development, and network development in various issues, especially the local administration organization who could participate in the development and building capability to the village fund's mechanism. For further success in the development, the government must support the coordination, develop the network to support the better process of fund monitoring, and encourage the network operation so that its legal status become explicit and able to participate in the auditing and support of the fund operation, which would be more complex in the future.

2) The Village and Urban Community Fund Office should designate the accounting system and operation assessment system for the village funds throughout the country, using the online database which can be audited by the central organization, in response to the government's policy of Thailand 4.0, which would be beneficial in the database development for the country's economy. Then the actual financial status of the village fund, the outstanding debt, and the account auditing system of the fund could be informed swiftly and transparently, under the same standard and database.

3) The Village and Urban Community Fund Office should designate the model and clear measurement to solve the problem of outstanding debt and the missing cash from the account of the village fund, as some village fund had the high amount of outstanding debt which became the non-performing loan (NPL). The trend would be more severe and expanding, if the problem could not be clearly managing and solved, it could led to the community economy problem as a result from the increasing household debt. And, the village fund would lose its liquidity.

4) There should be the adjustment of the village fund's administration to be sustainable in the long term, by adjusting the related law and regulations, such as the regulation about raising the status of the village fund towards the community financial institution, criteria and selection process of the village fund committee, the regulation related to the loan and guarantee contract, and development of the welfare criteria in the more systematical way, etc.

5.3.2 In the Policy Level

1) There should be the encouragement of power distribution by developing the systematic institutional mechanism of the community, through the various funds in the area, in order to strengthen the sustainable development.

2) Support the raise of village fund towards the mechanism of being the community economic center while develop the villagers' quality of life.

3) Support the capability development of the village fund network, in order to enhance the mechanism, which drive the village fund continuously, so that the relationship can be mutually connected according to the community context.

4) The organization related to the policy formulation should support the study of best practice model from the successful village fund, from both inside and outside of the country, in order to gain the body of knowledge which could be the model that can be applied to solve the problem in other villages. Hence there must be the research and development of the applicable model which is suitable to the area context, or the experimental area, or the prototype of learning space of various forms.

5.3.3 Suggestion for Further Study

1) Study the relationship between the village fund which affected the quality of life in various way, such as the debt problem, well-being, and self-management, in order to fund the cause and designate the solution and supporting measurement in various ways.

2) Study the model of community's institutional mechanism in the structural development of the local organization with the bottom-up approach. The study could be comparative in multi area, so that the development, model, and various way could be applied for further development.

3) Additional study in the part of public policy process cumulative from this research, in order to expand the result towards countermeasure and adjustment according to the problem, with the evaluation and adjustment of public policy through the government's encouragement of various forms.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ammar Siamwalla, Somchai Jitsuchan, & Poon Sinwong. (2008). *Guidelines for poverty solution: Liberal or populist welfare state*. Bangkok: Thailand Development Research Institute.
- Amorn Raksasat. (1979). *Policy development* (3rd ed.). Bangkok: National Institute of Development Administration. (In Thai)
- Anantho, S. (2001). *Changing telecommunications policies to promote access to education in Thailand*. Ohio: Ohio University.
- Anderson, J. E. (2003). *Public policymaking: An introduction* (p. 9). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Anek Laothamthath. (2013). *Two democracies in Thailand: Political and economy reform for the democracy* (6th ed.). Bangkok: Matichon. (In Thai)
- Anek Nakabutr. (2000). *Social capital and civil society in Thailand*. Bangkok: 21 Century. (In Thai)
- Baker, R. F., Micheals, R. M., & Prestons, E. S. (1975). *Public policy development: linking the technical and political processes*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Baldersheim, H., Are V., & Morten, Ø. (2011). *The rise of the networking region: The challenges of regional collaboration in a globalized world*. Burlington. VT: Ashgate.
- Baum, L. (2011). *Specializing the courts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Bryan, D. J. (1993). *Agendas and instability in American politics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Bryan, D. J. (2002). *Policy dynamics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Jones, B. D. (1991). Agenda dynamics and policy subsystems. *The Journal of Politics*. 53(4), 1044.
- Baumgartner, F. R., & Jones, B. D. (2002). *Policy dynamics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Baumgartner, F. R., Berry, J. M., Hojnacki, M., Leech, B. L., & Kimball, D. C. (2009). *Lobbying and policy change: Who wins, who loses, and why*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bawonpun ashakul, & Worawan Chandoevmit. (2007). Impact assessment of village funds to poverty. *Annual Seminar on How to Solve Poverty: Competition, Distribution, or Welfare*. Thailand Development Research Institute. (In Thai)
- Bendor, J., Moe, T. M., & Shotts, K. W. (2001). Recycling the garbage can: An assessment of the research program. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1), 169-190.
- Bennett, L., Janet, L. S., & Patricia, A. W. (2006). *Where are poor people life: Transforming public housing communities*. New York, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Berry, J. M. (1997). *The interest group society* (3rd ed.). New York: Longman.
- Birdsall, N., & Haggard, S. (2000). After the crisis: The social contract and the middle class in East Asia. In *When markets fail: Social policy and economic reform* (pp. 58-96). Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Birkland, T. A. (2006). Agenda setting in public policy. In *Handbook of public policy analysis* (p.44). London: Routledge.
- Boscarino, J. E. (2009). Surfing for problems: Advocacy group strategy in U.S. forestry policy. *Policy Studies Journal*, 37(3), 415-434.
- Brunner, S. (2008). Understanding policy change: Multiple streams and emissions trading in Germany. *Global Environmental Change*, 18, 501-507.
- Bukhoree Yeema. (2004). *Populist policy with economic power: a study of The political economy of the Thai Rak Thai party's election success* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Bundgaard, U., & Vrangbæk, K. (2007). Reform by coincidence? Explaining the policy process of structural reform in Denmark. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(4), 491-520.
- Burns, P. F. (2006). *Electoral politics is not enough: Racial and ethnic minorities and urban politics*. Albany: University of New York Press.
- Burstein, P. (1991). Policy domains: Organizarion, culture and policy outcomes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17, 327-350.

- The Cabinet Statement of Government Policy. (2002). *Government policy statement of the Cabinet Secretary Thaksin Shinawatra Prime Minister*. Retrieved from http://www.cabinet.thaigov.go.th/acrobat/yingluck_report2_04.pdf (In Thai)
- Carlsson, L., & Sandström, A. (2008). Network governance of the commons. *International Journal of the Commons*, 2(1), 33-54.
- Carter, R. G., James, M. S., & Charles, M. R. (2004). Setting a course congressional foreign policy entrepreneurs in post-world war II U.S. foreign policy. *International Studies Perspectives*, 5(3), 278-299.
- Cavelty, M. D. (2008). *Cyber-security and threat politics: U.S. efforts to secure the information age*. New York: Routledge.
- Chai-Anan Samudavanija. (2003). National strategy in globalization. In *Annual report*. Nonthaburi: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. (In Thai)
- Chaipong Samnieng. (2003). *Thaksin Shinawatra politics: Creating an eating democratic era?* Retrieved from <http://www.siamintelligence.com/thai-politics-in-thaksin-shinawatra-era> (In Thai)
- Chaiyasit Anuchitworawong. (2007). *Village fund advantages and adjustments for credit to the poor*. Retrieved from <http://www.thaioctober.com> (In Thai)
- Chak Phanchuphet. (2009). *Political science* (6th ed.). Bangkok: Mind. (In Thai)
- Chaloie Sangusah. (2001). *Development and implementation of village and urban fund policies* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Chatchawan Thongdeelerd. (2004). *Local knowledge: Knowledge management to social management*. Bangkok: Community Organization Institute (Public Organization). (In Thai)
- Chen, Z. (2011). Is the policy window open for high-speed rail in the United States: A perspective from the multiple streams model of policymaking?. *Academic Law Reviews*, 38, 115-145.
- Chomlada Jantarasaka. (2003). *Factors affecting the success of the implementation of village and urban fund policies: A case study of villages receiving the standard of management level 1 (AAA) in Phrom Buri, Singburi*. (Unpublished term paper). National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok. (In Thai)

- Christopher, M., Sabatier, P. A., & Kelly, M. (2009). Themes and variations: Taking stock of the advocacy coalition framework. *Policy Studies Journal*, 37(1), 121-140.
- Clark, B. T. (2004). Agenda setting and issue dynamics dam breaching on the lower snake river. *Society & Natural Resources*, 17(7), 599-609.
- Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI.). (2004). *Community finance organization, self-help community development fund*. Bangkok: Community Organizations Development Institute. (In Thai)
- Crow, D. A. (2010). Policy entrepreneurs, issue experts, and water rights policy Change in Colorado. *Review of Policy Research*, 27(3), 299-315.
- Dahl, R. A. (1970). *Who governs? democracy and power in an American city* (15th ed.). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Daniels, S., & Martin, J. (1995). *Civil juries and the politics of reform*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.
- Dawei, L., Kensuke, Y., & Hisashi, Y. (2017). Understanding the motivations behind the Myanmar-China energy pipeline: Multiple streams and energy politics in China. *Energy Policy*, 107(10), 403-412.
- Dluhy, M. J., & Lind, R. M. (1981). *New strategic perspectives on social policy*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Dror, Y. (1968). *Public policy-making re-examined*. San Francisco: Chandler.
- Eccleston, R. (2007). *Taxing reforms: The politics of the consumption tax in Japan, the United States, Canada and Australia*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Eggers, W. D., & O'Leary, J. (2009). *If we can put a man on the moon: Getting big things done in government*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School.
- Ellina, C. A. (2003). *Promoting women's rights: The politics of gender in the European Union*. New York, NY: Taylor and Francis Books.
- Ellington, S. (2001). The rise of battlefield private contractors: An analysis of military policy. *Public Integrity*, 13(2), 131-148.
- Exworthy, M., & Powell, M. (2004). Big windows and little windows: Implementation in the 'congested state'. *Public Administration*, 82(2), 263-281.

- Farley, J., Baker, D., Batker, D., Koliba, C., Matteson, R., Mills, R., & Pittman, J. (2007). Opening the policy window for ecological economics: Katrina as a focusing event. *Ecological Economics*, 63(2-3), 344-354.
- Galligan, A. M., & Burgess, C. N. (2005). Moving rivers, shifting streams: Perspectives on the existence of a policy window. *Arts Education Policy Review*, 107(2), 3-11.
- Gates, T. G. (2010). The problem, policy, and political streams of the employment non-discrimination act of 2009: Implications for social work practice. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 22(3), 354-369.
- Gusmano, M. K., Sparer, M. S., Brown, L. D., Rowe, C., & Gray, B. (2002). The evolving role and care management approaches of safety-net Medicaid managed care plans. *Journal Urban Health*, 79(4), 60-160.
- Hargrove, E. C. (1975). *The missing link: the study of the implementation of social policy*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.
- Hartungi, R. (2007). Understanding the success factors of micro-finance institution in a developing country. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 34(6), 388-401.
- Haughton, J., Khandker, S. R., & Rukumnuaykit, P. (2014). Microcredit on a large scale: Appraising the Thailand village fund. *Asian Economic Journal*, 28(4), 363-388.
- Henry. (2004). *Toward democratic decentralization: Proaches to promoting good governance*. Retrieved from <http://www.rti.org/pubs/towards-demo-decen.pdf>
- Hill, M., & Hueo, P. (2002). *Implementing public policy*. London: Sage.
- Hinckley, B. (1981). *Congressional elections*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Hobbs, S., Ricketts T. C., Dodds, J., & Milio, N. (2004). Analysis of interest group influence on federal school meals regulations 1992-1996. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*, 36(2), 90-98.
- Hula, K. W. (1999). *Lobbying together: Interest group coalitions in legislative politics*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

- Hyshka, E. (2009). Turning failure into success: What does the case of western Australia tell us about Canadian cannabis policy making?. *Policy Studies*, 30(5), 513-531.
- Jarus Suwanwela. (2006). *On the path of higher education*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University. (In Thai)
- Jordan, A., Wurzel, R. K., & Zito, A. (2005). The rise of 'new' policy instruments in comparative perspective: has governance eclipsed government?. *Political studies*, 53(3), 477-496.
- Kaboski, J. P., & Townsend, R. M. (2005). Policies and impact: An analysis of village-level microfinance institutions. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 3(1), 1-50
- Kaboski, J. P., & Townsend, R. M. (2009). *The impacts of credit on village economies*. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1395348> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1395348>
- Kamieniecki, S. (2006). Corporate America and environmental policy: How often does business get its way?. In *Stanford law and politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Karlin, B. E., & Humphreys, K. (2007). Improving medicare coverage of psychological services for older Americans. *American Psychologist*, 62(7), 637-649.
- Kasian Techapira. (2004). *Bush and Thaksin*. Bangkok: Torchlight Printing Project. (In Thai)
- Katz, D., & Kahn, R. L. (1978). Organizations and the system concept. *Classics of organization theory*, Retrieved from <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a139796.pdf>
- Kerr, D. H. (1976). *Educational policy: Analysis, structure and justification*. New York: David McKay.
- Khattiya Kannasut. (1983). *Social policy: Concepts and case studies*. Bangkok: Odian Store. (In Thai)
- Khayesi, M., & Amekudzi, A. (2011). Kingdon's multiple streams model and automobile dependence reversal path: The case of Curitiba, Brazil, 1880-2000. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 19(6), 1547-1552.

- Kingdon, J. W. (1995). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper Collins.
- Kingdon, J. W. (2010). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Longman.
- Kirchhoff, C. J., Lemos, M. C., & Dessai, S. (2013). Actionable knowledge for environmental decision making: broadening the usability of climate science. *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 3, 393-414.
- Kisby, B. (2007). Analysing policy networks: Towards an ideational approach. *Policy Studies*, 28(1), 71-90.
- Kitisak Sirimangkla. (2003). *Participation of the village fund committee in implementing the village and urban community policy: A case of Ang-thong province* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Kla Thongkhao. (2005). *Applying policies and plans to action: Concepts, theories, and approaches*. Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat University. (In Thai)
- Kobsak Phutrakul., & Anak Serichetpong. (2005). *The survival of the Thai social system: A renaissance of sustainability*. Retrieved from <https://www.bot.or.th/MonetaryPolicy/ArticleAndResearch/Pages/Symposium.aspx>. (In Thai)
- Koppenjan, J. F. M., & Klij, E. H. (2004). *Managing uncertainties in networks: A network approach to problem solving and decision making*. London: Routledge.
- Kornkanok Noinaem. (2014). The relationship between financial discipline and the participation of members of financial institutions Pak Kret Ruamjai 2, Nonthaburi. *Veridian E-Journal*, 40(2), 121-137. (In Thai)
- Kosit Punpiamrat. (1990). *Thailand development: Concept and direction*. Bangkok: Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. (In Thai)
- Kraft, M. E., & Scott, R. F. (2006). *Public policy politics, analysis and alternative*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Kirchhoff, D., McCarthy, D., Crandall, D. D., McDowell, L., & Whitelaw, G. (2016). A policy window opens: strategic environmental assessment in York Region, Ontario, Canada. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 12(3), 336-345.

- Kriengsak Chareonwongsak. (2006). *Talk to Thaksin before collapse*. Bangkok: Success Media. (In Thai)
- Kubiak, S. P., Sobeck, J., & Rose, I. (2005). It's not a gap, It's a gulf. *Best Practices in Mental Health*, 1(2), 19-33.
- Laird, F. N. (2008). Learning contested lessons: Participation equity and electric utility regulation. *Review of Policy Research*, 25(5), 429-448.
- Larkin, J. P. (2013). Public choice theory and overcriminalization. *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 36(2), 715-793.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1956). The political science of science: An inquiry into the possible reconciliation of mastery and freedom. *American Political Science Review*, 50(4), 961-979.
- Levine, B. J. (2009). *The art of lobbying: Building trust and selling policy*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Lieberman, J. M. (2002). Three streams and four policy entrepreneurs converge: A policy window opens. *Education & Urban Society*, 34(4), 438-450.
- Liu, D., Yamaguchi, K., & Yoshikawa, H. (2017). Understanding the motivations behind the Myanmar-China energy pipeline: Multiple streams and energy politics in China. *Energy Policy*, 107, 403-412.
- Liu, X., Eric, L., Arnold, V., & Kenneth, V. (2010). Understanding local policymaking: Policy elites' perceptions of local agenda setting and alternative policy selection. *Policy Studies Journal*, 38(1), 69-91.
- Longman, K., McCarthy, D., Crandall, D., McDowell, L., & Whitelaw, G. (2010). A policy window opens: Strategic environmental assessment in York Region, Ontario, Canada. *Journal of Environmental Assessment Policy and Management*, 12(3), 333-354.
- MacDonagh-Dumler, J. (2000). *Toxic substances and federal water policy: Application of kingdon's model of agenda change to the great lakes water quality agreement of 1972*. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/304609112?accountid=44809>
- Manager Daily. (2007, April 28). *The village fund has passed the criteria of the juristic person*, 11-12. Retrieved from <https://mgronline.com/local/detail/9500000075147> (In Thai)

- Manop Janthes. (2011). *Policy development model: A case study of Rajabhat institute. Journal of Rajabhat Phetchaburi University, 10*, 35-43. (In Thai)
- Marsh, D., & Martin, S. (2000). Understanding policy networks: Towards a dialectical approach. *Political Studies, 48*, 4-21.
- Marshall, N. (1995). Policy communities, issue networks and the formulation of Australian higher education policy. *Higher Education, 30*(3), 273-293.
- Mayuree Anumanratchathon. (2004). *Public policy, process and analysis*. Chiang Mai: Kanuengnit. (In Thai)
- Mayuree Anumanratchathon. (2008). *Public policy*. Bangkok: Tumkamol. (In Thai)
- Mazmanian, D. A., & Sabatier, P. A. (1989). *Implementation and public policy*. Lanham: University Press of American.
- Menkhoff, L., & Rungruxsirivorn, O. (2011). Do village funds improve access to finance? evidence from Thailand. *World Development, 39*(1), 110-122.
- Mintrom, M., & Norman, P. (2009). Policy entrepreneurship and policy change. *Policy Studies Journal, 37*(4), 649-667.
- Ministry of Public Health. (2006). *Public participation*. Bangkok: Ministry of Public Health. (In Thai)
- Mitchell, D. B. (Ed). (2012). *Public policy and political agendas: The public sector in an era of economic distress*. Champaign, IL: Cornell University Press.
- Mitchell, J. (2001). *The moral panic about raves: Newspaper transmission and legislation* (Master's thesis). Humboldt State University, Humboldt.
- Moya, S. D. (1998). Growth management in Maricopa county, 1988-1992: An application of Kingdon's agenda setting model. *The Social Science Journal, 35*(4), 525-542.
- Mucciaroni, G. (1992). The garbage can model & the study of policy making: A critique. *Polity, 24*(3), 459-482.
- Nation weekend. (2001a, April 23-29). *The cold war of Thai Rak Thai with big and small faction, wait for the battle*, 14. Retrieved from http://libdcms.nida.ac.th/ejournalpni0/pni01/NATW/NATW_009_460_2544/NATW_009_460_P028-030.pdf (In Thai)

- Nation weekend. (2001b, March 4). *Facing 'village fund' strategies to overcome poverty*, 28-29. Retrieved from <http://library1.nida.ac.th:80/ejourns/earticlebib.asp?name=NATW&bib=225616> (In Thai)
- Nation weekend. (2001c, May14-20). *Village funds start with participation at the beginning, beware! ending the politicians*, 24-25. Retrieved from <http://library1.nida.ac.th:80/ejourns/earticlebib.asp?name=NATW&bib=232043> (In Thai)
- National Village and Urban Community Fund Office. (2008). *Summary of project performance of village and urban fund performance management*. Retrieved from http://www.villagefund.or.th/uploads/document/document_5b28829550a76.pdf
- National Statistical Office of Thailand. (2014). *Data from household economic survey*. Retrieved from <http://www.nso.go.th/sites/2014en/Pages/survey/Social/Household/The-2017-Household-Socio-Economic-Survey.aspx> (In Thai)
- The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office. (2009). *Account book for village and urban funds*. Bangkok: National Village and Urban Community Fund Office. (In Thai)
- The National Village and Urban Community Fund Office. (2015). *Structure of the village and urban community fund*. Retrieved from www.villagefund.or.th. (In Thai)
- Nattha Wininaiyapark. (2011). *Public policy and Interdisciplinary approach*. Bangkok: National Institute of Development Administration. (In Thai)
- Ness, E. C. (2009). *Merit aid and the politics of education*. New York: Taylor & Francis Books.
- Nithi Eawsriwong. (1998). *Strong community and Thai social capital*. Bangkok: Social Fund Office. (In Thai)
- Nithi Eawsriwong. (2000). *Poor people with state policies make it to be the poor*. Bangkok: Ruankaew Publishing House. (In Thai)
- Noppadol Udomwisawakul. (2005). *Agenda setting and public policy: A case study of agricultural and food standards policy in Thailand* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. (In Thai)

- Noppharat Wongwithayaphanit. (2007). *The formation of a single-party government in Thai politics: A case study of Thai Rak Thai party* (Unpublished master's thesis). Thammasat University, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Noranit Setabutr. (2000). *Democratic politics and development strategies* (3rd ed.). Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat University. (In Thai)
- Oborn, E., Michael, B., & Mark, E. (2011). Policy entrepreneurship in the development of public sector strategy: The case of London health reform. *Public Administration*, 89(2), 325-344.
- Ockey, J. (2004). *Making democracy: Leadership, class, gender, and political participation in Thailand*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. (2002). *Economic development plan*. Bangkok: Office of the National Economic and National Economic and Social Development. (In Thai)
- Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. (2013). *Poverty analysis report in Thailand in 2013*. Retrieved from http://www.nesdb.go.th/ewt_w3c/ewt_dl_link.php?nid=2668 (In Thai)
- Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board. (2014). *Report on the analysis of poverty and inequality in Thailand*. Bangkok: B.C. Press (In Thai)
- Office of the Non-formal and Informal Education. (1994). *Guidelines for the development of non-formal education*. Bangkok: Non-Formal Education Department. (In Thai)
- Orathai Kokpon and Chatara Wikitiyodom. (2012). *Analysis of the draft law related to public participation in administration of local government organizations*. Bangkok: King Prajadhipok's Institute. (In Thai)
- Paiboon Wattanasiritham. (1999). *Strong community, social capital of Thailand*. Bangkok: Social Security Office, Government Savings Bank. (In Thai)
- Pakpoom Pusakunsataporn. (2014). Comparative study of project management of village and urban fund projects in Samutprakarn province. *Songklanakarinn Journal of Social Science and Humanities*, 25, 73-84. (In Thai)
- The Parliamentary Budget Office. (2015). *Village and urban community fund*. Retrieved from <http://dl.parliament.go.th/handle/lirt/444769> (In Thai)

- Paul, A. S., & Hank, C. J. (2006). The advocacy coalition framework: An assessment. In P. A. Sabatier (Ed.), *Theories of the policy process*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Poldej Pinprateep. (2006). *Civil society movement in the western world*. Retrieved from www.rakbankerg.com. (In Thai)
- Pollack, L. M., Woods, W. J., Binson, D., Wohlfeiler, D., Stall, R. D., & Catania, J. A. (2003). Public policy regulating private and public space in gay bathhouses. *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes (1999)*, 32(4), 417-423.
- Policy Statement of the Government of Thaksin Shinawatra's cabinet*. (2002). Retrieved from http://www.mof.go.th/social/mof_newgov_policy.htm (In Thai)
- Poulter, B., Rebecca, L. F., Mark, M. B., Benjamin, P. H., Michael, K. O., Samuel, H. P., Enrique, R., Stanley, R. R., & John, C. W. (2009). Sea-level rise research and dialogue in North Carolina: Creating windows for policy change. *Ocean and Coastal Management*, 52(3-4), 147-153.
- Prachachart Turakij. (2015). *Pak Kret Ruamjai 2 urban community fund to raise capital from 1 million to 158 million*. Retrieved from https://www.prachachat.net/news_detail.php (In Thai)
- Prailin Prutnork. (2012). Village fund: Social capital as a process of moving Non Sang village fund. *Veridian E-Journal*, 5(3), 126-148.
- Pralle, S. B. (2009). Agenda-setting and climate change. *Environmental Politics*, 18(5), 781-799.
- Prasarn Marukpitak. (1998). *Problems and obstacles of community development: Citizens, government officials, and government leaders*. Bangkok: Odean Store. (In Thai)
- Prasongchai Setthasuravich. (2015). *Kingdon's model of agenda setting of rail transit system in Thailand: A case study of Thailand high speed rail project* (Unpublished master's thesis). Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Prawet Wasi. (1997). *The economy of self-reliance: Strength from lower base*. Bangkok: Moh-chao-Ban. (In Thai)

- Preecha Sarathee. (2003). *People satisfaction on the community development fund project: A case study of Ubon Ratchathani province* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Pressman, J., & Wildavsky, A. (1973). *Implementation: How great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland, Berkeley*. University of California Press.
- Pudsadee Thiptad. (2010). Economic crisis 1997-1995: The choice and survival of Thai architects academic. *Academic Journal of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University Chulalongkorn University*, 59, 1-12. (In Thai)
- Pump, B. (2011). Beyond metaphors new research on agendas in the policy process. *Policy Studies Journal*, 39(1), 1-12.
- Putnam, R. (1994). *Social capital: Measurement and consequences*. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.178.6284&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Rangsan Thanaphonphan. (2001). Thaksin government with responsibility to the people. *Daily Manager*. Retrieved from <http://econ.tu.ac.th/archan/rangsun> (In Thai)
- Rangsan Thanaphonphan. (2003). *Constitutional economics: Abstracts of the constitution of the kingdom of Thailand 1997*. Bangkok: Matichon with Research Support Project. (In Thai)
- Rangsan Thanaphonphan. (2008). *When 'Rangsang' come back to writing the Thaksinomics ending*. Retrieved from https://www.prachachat.net/news_detail.php?newsid=7180.
- Rapaport, O., Levi-Faur, D., & Miodownik, D. (2009). The Puzzle of the Diffusion of Central-Bank Independence Reforms: Insights from an Agent-Based Simulation. *Policy Studies Journal*, 37(4), 695-716.
- Rex, J., & David, J. (2009). Window of opportunity? internet gambling in Canada. *Canadian Public Policy*, 35(1), 121-137.
- Ricci, D. M. (1993). *The transformation of American politics: The new Washington and the rise of think tanks*. Binghamton: Yale University Press.
- Ridde, V. (2009). Policy implementation in an African state: An extension of Kingdon's multiple-streams approach. *Public Administration*, 87(4), 938-954.

- Roberts, N. C., & Paula, J. K. (1991). Policy entrepreneurs: Their activity structure and function in the policy process. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 1(2), 147-175.
- Robinson, S. E., & Eller, W. S. (2010). Participation in policy streams: Testing the separation of problems and solutions in subnational policy systems. *Policy Studies Journal*, 38(2), 199-216.
- Rondinelli, D., Nellis, J., & Cheema, G. (1983). Decentralization in developing countries: A review of recent experience. *Working Paper 581, World Bank Staff*, Washington, DC.
- Roung Kaewdang. (1995). *Reengineering Thai bureaucratic system*. Bangkok: Matichon. (In Thai)
- Royal Society of Thailand. (2003). *Dictionary of the royal academy*. Retrieved from www.royin.go.th/dictionary (In Thai)
- Ruangwit Ketsuwan. (2007). *Public policy* (pp. 125-134). Bangkok: Bophit. (In Thai)
- Ruangwit Ketsuwan et al. (2007). *Impact of village funds on the economy, society and politics to the people of Thailand*. Bangkok: Printing office The Secretariat of the Senate. (In Thai)
- Ryan, K. E., & Shepard, L. A. (2008). *The future of test-based educational accountability*. New York: Routledge.
- Sabatier, P. A. (1987). Knowledge, policy-oriented learning, and policy change: An advocacy coalition framework. *Knowledge*, 8(4), 649-692.
- Sabatier, P. A. (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy sciences*, 21(2-3), 129-168.
- Sabatier, P. A. (1999). The advocacy coalition framework: An assessment. In P. A. Sabatier. (Ed.), *Theories of the policy process*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Sabatier, P. A., & Mazmanian, D. A. (Eds.). (1981). *Effective policy implementation*. New York: Free Press.
- Sakaraporn Thirasirikul. (2006). *Thailand's land reform policy formulation process: A study on the land reform law for agriculture* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Saneh Chamrik. (2002). *Research for local and social processes*. Bangkok: Research papers for local research, The Thailand Research Fund. (In Thai)

- Saneh Chamrik et al. (2000). *The brain of the poor book of knowledge* (Vol. 5). Bangkok: Institute of Political Development. (In Thai)
- Santi Rangsiruji. (2003). *The opinion of the concerned official toward the village and community development fund: A case study in Ang-Thong province* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Sardell, A., & Johnson, K. (1998). The politics of EPSDT policy in the 1990s: Policy entrepreneurs, political streams, and children's health benefits. *The Milbank Quarterly*, 76(2), 175-205.
- Satian Luengaram. (1981). *Policy formulation and the process of planning*. Bangkok: Ramkhamhaeng University. (In Thai)
- Schwartz, R., & Johnson, T. (2010). Problems, policies and politics: A comparative case study of contraband tobacco from the 1990s to the present in the Canadian context. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 31(3), 342-354.
- Seksan Prasertkul. (2002). *The role of public politics in developing a local regime*. Bangkok: Health Promotion Office (NESDB). (In Thai)
- Siam News Archives*. (2002). Retrieved from <http://www.siamarchives.com/node/20132> (In Thai)
- Sidney, M. S., Fischer, F., & Miller, G. J. (2007). *Handbook of public policy analysis theory, politics, and methods*. New York: CRC Press.
- Silvis, T. L. H. (2001). *The low-income housing tax credit: A case study of policy learning, coalition building, and paradigm expansion*. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/docview/304724217?accountid=44809>
- Siam News Archives*. (2002). *The project of hospital and clinical network setup in Bangkok*. Bangkok: SiamBan. (In Thai)
- Siripan Nogsuan Sawasdee. (2013). *Impact of village and urban funds policy and village and community empowerment projects (SML): An analysis of state and local power relations in political view*. Bangkok: National Research Council of Thailand. (In Thai)
- Siriporn Yodkamolsat. (2001). *Political economy: Social welfare of villager concept, policies, practices*. Bangkok: Edison Press Products. (In Thai)

- Smith Goshin, L., & Woods Byrne, M. (2009). Converging streams of opportunity for prison nursery programs in the United States. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 48*(4), 271-295.
- Smith, M. J. (1991). From policy community to issue network: Salmonella in eggs and the new politics of food. *Public Administration, 69*(2), 235-255.
- Sombat Thamrongthanyawong. (2006). *Public policy: Concept, analysis and process*. 14th ed. Bangkok: Sema Dhama. (In Thai)
- Somboon Homanek. (2003). *Factors affecting satisfaction of village fund operations Tambon Mabpai, Chonburi province*. Chonburi: Burapha University. (In Thai)
- Somchai Pakapaswiwat. (1999). *Thai economic and political development*. Bangkok: Lighthouse Printing Project. (In Thai)
- Sompan Techa-Atik. (1997). *NGOs E-Sarn: Alternatives of changing power*. Bangkok: Pimdee. (In Thai)
- Soroka, S. (1999). Policy agenda-setting theory revisited: A critique of Howlett on downs, Baumgartner and Jones, and Kingdon. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique, 32*(4), 763-772.
- Sukhothai Thammathirat University. (1996). *Principles and guidance system in educational institutions* (2nd ed.). Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat University. (In Thai)
- Supachai Yawaprapas. (2009). *Public policy* (8th ed.). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press. (In Thai)
- Supachai Yawaprapas, & Piyakorn Wangmahaporn. (2009). *Public policy in Thailand: Origins, development and status of science*. Bangkok: Gold. (In Thai)
- Surasit Wachirakajorn. (2006). *Introduction to public policy*. Bangkok: Thanesoun. (In Thai)
- Sutapa Amornvivat, & Kiatipong Ariyapruchya. (2006). *Social capital contribution to the sustainability of the village fund*. Retrieved from <https://tdri.or.th/2013/04/d2006009> (In Thai)
- Thailand Development Research Institute. (2003). *Poverty situation in Thailand*. Retrieved from www.info.tdri.or.th/privacy. (In Thai)

- Thammarak Karnpisit. (2003). *Strategic creative initiatives for country development*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press. (In Thai)
- Travis, R., & Zahariadis, N. (2002). A multiple streams model of US. foreign aid policy. *Policy Studies Journal*, 30(4), 495-514.
- Umaporn Kromtongsuk. (2003). *The satisfaction of village development fund members on village and community development fund policy: A case study of Anghong Province* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- United Nations Development Programme. (2006). *What is poverty? Concepts and measures*. Retrieved from www.ipc-undp.org/pub/IPCPovertyInFocus9.pdf
- Van Meter, D. S., & Van Horn, C. E. (1975). The policy implementation process: A conceptual framework. *Administration & Society*, 6(4), 445-488.
- VoiceTV.co. (2015). *Abhisit Vejjajiva remind budget of the village fund, suggest to lay the foundation of the economy*. Retrieved from <https://www.voicetv.co.th/read/257322>
- Walgrave, S., & Varone, F. (2008). Punctuated equilibrium and agenda-setting: Bringing parties back in: Policy change after the dutroux crisis in Belgium. *Governance*, 21(3), 365-395.
- Walker, L. D., & Waterman, R. W. (2010). Gubernatorial elections and attitudes toward the police: State elections as focusing events. *Electoral Studies*, 29(1), 117-127.
- Wamsley, G. L. (1992). Refounding public administration. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 11(1), 147-153.
- Warinthron Witayaworapoom. (2006). *Evaluation of effectiveness community housing and urban fund project: A case study of community pilot project in Suan Luang district* (pp. 65-73). Bangkok: National Institute of Development Administration. (In Thai)
- Weerawut Makasiranon. (1998). *Leadership development*. Bangkok: Expert Net. (In Thai)
- Weiner, E. (1976). Assessing national urban transportation policy alternative. *Transportation Research*, 10(3), 159-178.

- Wichai Turongpun. (2005). *Evaluation of the village and urban funds policy and options for optimizing the fund management*. Bangkok: National Institute of Development Administration. (In Thai)
- Williams, A. L. (2010). *IDEA Part C referrals, determination of eligibility, and services recommended for infants and toddlers affected by illegal substances: A policy implementation study* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Maryland, Washington.
- Williams, W. (1971). *Social policy research and analysis: The experience in the federal social agencies*. New York: American Elsevier.
- Woods, M. (2005). Rural geography: Processes. In *Responses and experiences in rural restructuring*. London: Sage.
- Woods, W. J., Binson, D., Pollack, L. M., Wohlfeiler, D., Stall, R. D., & Catania, J. A. (2003). Public policy regulating private and public space in gay bathhouses. *Journal of acquired immune deficiency syndromes (1999)*, 32(4), 417-423.
- Woradech Chantarasorn. (1996). Policy implementation: Models and values. In *Instructional documents PA.740 policy implementation* (pp. 297-316). Bangkok: National Institute of Development Administration. (In Thai)
- Woradech Chantarasorn. (2005). *Theory of public policy implementation*. Bangkok: Thai Researchers Association. (In Thai)
- Yingyod Srijaroon. (2002). *Evaluation of village and urban community fund project: A case study in Ubon Ratchathani province* (Unpublished master's thesis). National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok. (In Thai)
- Young, T. V., Shepley, T. V., & Song, M. (2010). Understanding agenda setting in state educational policy: An application of Kingdon's multiple streams model to the formation of state reading policy. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 18(15), 1-23.
- Zafonte, M., & Sabatier, P. (1998). Shared beliefs and imposed interdependencies as determinants of ally networks in overlapping subsystems. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 10(4), 473-505.
- Zahariadis, N. (1999). Ambiguity, time, and multiple streams. In P. A. Sabatier (Ed.) *Theories of the policy process* (pp.73-93.) Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- Zahardiadis, N. (2003). *Ambiguity and choice in public policy: Political decision making in modern democracies*. Georgetown: UP.
- Zahariadis, N. (2007). The multiple streams framework: Structure, limitations, prospects. In P. Sabatier (Ed.), *Theories of the policy process* (2nd ed., pp. 65-92). Sabatier. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Zahariadis, N., & Allen, C. S. (1995). Ideas, networks, and policy streams: Privatization in Britain and Germany. *Review of Policy Research*, 14(1-2), 71-98.
- Zhu, X. (2008). Strategy of Chinese policy entrepreneurs in the third sector: Challenges of technical infeasibility. *Policy Sciences*, 41(4), 315-334.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LIST OF THE INTERVIEW

LIST OF KEY INFORMANT

1. Phra Ajarn Subin Paneeto, Assistant to the Abbot of Wat Phai Lom and Founder of the Trad Honesty Savings (Sajja Sasomsap)
2. Mr. Thienchai Na Nakorn, Former Deputy Secretary-General Office of the Political Development Council
3. Ms. Jantana Benchasup, Head of Development and Evaluation Bureau Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI.)
4. Mr. Wichai Nasuwannoo, Head of Support Bureau, Community Organizations Community Development Institute (CODI.)
5. Assoc Prof. Natee Klibthong, Director of the Village and Urban Community Fund Office
6. Mr. Sowat Yookongdee, Network Supervisor of Village and Urban Community Fund Office.
7. Mr. Satit Ouanduangdee, Head of Village and Urban Community Fund Office, Branch 8, Ubon Ratchathani
8. Mr. Paramet Ariyadech, Head of Village and Community Fund Office Branch 2, Chiang Mai
9. Mr. Boonhome Inthong, Manager of Pakkret RuamJai Community Bank 2, Nonthaburi
10. Mr. Suwit Khunkitti, Former Chairman of the Village and Urban Community Fund Committee and Former Deputy Prime Minister in Government of Thaksin Shinawatra
11. Dr. Poowanida Kunpalin, Former Member of the House of Representatives (People Power Party) and Former Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Secretary to the Minister Ministry of Finance
12. Mr. Mokusak Yodkaew, Secretary of the Welfare Association of the People's Republic of Songkhla and Secretary of Teachers Chob-Pranee Yodkaew Foundation

13. Mr. Ampon Duangpan, Founder of Savings Group Klong Piao Songkla and Former Member of the Village and Urban Fund committee
14. Dr. Poldej Pinprateep, M.D., Secretary General of the National Health Commission and Secretary General of the Local Community Development Institute
15. Dr. Pridi Chotechuang, Former Director of Community Empowerment Center Department of Community Development, Ministry of the Interior
16. Mr. Manoon Sornkerd, Former Commissioner, Department of Community Development responsibility of the Village Fund.
17. Mr. Santi Uthaipan, Former Director of Village and Urban Community Fund Office
18. Mr. Supot Arevart, Former Managing Director, Small and Medium Enterprise Development Bank of Thailand (SME Bank)
19. Mr. Anek Nakabutr, Former Director of the Social Investment Fund (SIF) and Former Consultant of Minister of Social Development and Human Security

APPENDIX B
QUESTION OUTLINE OF THE INTERVIEW

QUESTION OUTLINE OF THE INTERVIEW

What was your opinion towards the policy formulation of the Village and Urban Community Fund, regarding the below topics?

1. Problem Stream

- 1) What was the reason for this policy's formulation?
- 2) What was the actual important reason? What was the background?
- 3) What was the political context or social problem at the time?

2. Policy Stream

- 1) Prior to this project, what was the existing practice include? (such as the saving group for production)
- 2) Any previous policy about the savings welfare, or the savings related policy, or the welfare in the career?

3. Political Stream

- 1) What was the reason for the policy formulation of the village fund policy in 2011? For example, the feeling or mood of the public, the activism by various groups, or the political change, ec.

4. Policy implementation

- 1) After this policy emerged, what was your involvement?
- 2) What was the operation result?
- 3) Is there any supporting factor contributing to the policy implementation's success? For example, people and leader, body of knowledge and innovation, administration and financial management, area characteristics and the economic environment, the people's participation, the politics and policy in the national level, the assessment process, the responsibility and conscience in savings, and the social capital factor, etc.

5. Policy Development

- 1) What will be the trend of this policy in the future?
- 2) How to solve the problem of outstanding debt of the fund?

- 3) What will be the direction to solve the problem?
- 4) What should be the model of other community welfares (apart from this project) and the direction?

6. Do you have any suggestion, idea, or other future policy to solve the people's economic problem, poverty, and strengthen the community in the long term? How?

.....
.....
.....

7. Other opinion related to the Village and Urban Community Fund Policy

.....
.....
.....

BIOGRAPHY

NAME	Ms. Jitsupa Kitipadoong
ACADEMIC BACKGROUND	Bachelor of Political Science in Government (Second Class Honour), Chulalongkorn University Master of Arts in European Studies (International Program), Chulalongkorn University
PRESENT POSITION	Lecturer, Innovative Learning Center Srinakharinwirot University, Bangkok, Thailand.
ACADEMIC WORK	The study of the social consequences from the ASEAN Community National Institute of Development Administration May-November, 2014. (Research Assistant)