

PUBLIC GOVERNANCE IN GLOBALIZATION TOWARDS THE FORMULATION
OF POLICIES AND STRATEGIES DEVELOPMENT IN THAILAND *

การบริหารกิจการสาธารณะในโลกยุคโลกาภิวัตน์สู่การก่อตัวของนโยบายและกลยุทธ์
ในการพัฒนาประเทศไทย

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Abstract

Globalization was the cause of changes in politics, economy and society and also it caused the changing in the public governance, which made the designation of public policy in each country to adapt itself, in order to establish a mechanism for national administration and development. Currently, it became both of national and large-scale international issues with various dimensions. However public governance was an actor both within and out of the state that played an important role in managing the problems which led to the public policies making, including policy formulation, policy implementation to comply with the current globalization affecting each country. The methodology was included documents and case study analysis. The issues and options of public policy in the global context were revealed. By applying the framework of the global change, public administration and policy making process. Thailand will be a target of application. Thailand is a medium-sized country that would like to go out from middle income trap. Thailand has to acclimatize to the current global changing in order to overcome the income trap and able to design strategies and public policies in various aspects to develop the various aspects in order to get rid of the problem successfully. Thailand must develop itself to become a developed country as fast as possible.

Keywords: Public Governance; Globalization; Policy Formulation; Strategies

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บทคัดย่อ

ด้วยกระแสโลกาภิวัตน์ได้สร้างการเปลี่ยนแปลงทั้งในด้านการเมือง เศรษฐกิจและสังคม จนก่อให้เกิดความเปลี่ยนแปลงในการจัดการปกครองสาธารณะ ซึ่งทำให้การกำหนดนโยบายสาธารณะในแต่ละประเทศมีการปรับตัว เพื่อที่จะสามารถสร้างกลไกในการบริหารและพัฒนาประเทศได้ ซึ่งในปัจจุบันมีทั้งปัญหาภายในชาติ และปัญหาข้ามชาติที่มีขนาดใหญ่ ที่มีความหลากหลายมิติ และมีตัวแสดงในการปกครองสาธารณะที่สำคัญทั้งในรัฐและนอกรัฐ มีบทบาทสำคัญเพื่อจัดการปัญหา นำไปสู่การสร้างนโยบายสาธารณะ ทั้งการกำหนดนโยบาย การนำนโยบาย การปฏิบัติ ให้สอดคล้องกับกระแสจากโลกาภิวัตน์เข้ามามีผลกระทบในแต่ละประเทศ โดยใช้วิธีการศึกษาด้วยการวิเคราะห์ เอกสาร แลกรณีศึกษา เพื่อแสดงปัญหาและทางเลือกของนโยบายสาธารณะในบริบทโลกได้ โดยนำกรอบแนวคิดกระแสการเปลี่ยนแปลงต่อโลกดังกล่าวมาประยุกต์ปรับใช้ประเทศไทยในการบริหารกิจการสาธารณะและการสร้างนโยบาย ที่ปัจจุบันต้องการจะหลุดพ้นกับดักรายได้ปานกลาง ซึ่งจำเป็นต้องมีการปรับตัวต่อกระแสการเปลี่ยนแปลงในโลกอย่างเท่าทัน เพื่อที่จะสามารถออกแบบกลยุทธ์และนโยบายสาธารณะในด้านต่างๆ มาพัฒนาชาติในด้านต่างๆ เพื่อให้สามารถจัดปัญหาดังกล่าวประเทศไทยต้องพัฒนาตนเองให้กลายเป็นประเทศพัฒนาให้เร็วที่สุดที่จะสำเร็จได้

คำสำคัญ: การบริหารกิจการสาธารณะ; โลกาภิวัตน์; การก่อตัวนโยบาย; กลยุทธ์

Introduction

In the era of globalization has been a shift from the agricultural revolution to the communication age. According to Alvin Toffler (2016), there are more complicated conditions for administration of the country, such as sending lobbyists to work in the political system for policy making, providing economic benefits for their corporations. As a result, unstable states tend to implement certain policies as corporations and high-power multinational corporations required, such as exploitation and suppression of domestic wages, granting concessions to corporations and Multinational Corporations (MNCs) to seize the opportunities to use state natural resources, or promoting investment in various fields, so that many parties are concerned that there is no power to intervene the power of corporations and MNCs. However, Noam Chomsky (2017) viewed that we could control corporations and MNCs by using political institutions in

democracy as a mechanism to control them. If we looking back in the era of market system formation in the 17th century, nation states still have democratic mechanisms that governs the market with various rules and laws but if nation state institutions began to be deprived of the right to control the market, the market system would be free and transformed into wild capitalism, which is anarchist and there is no mechanism to control it. As wild capitalism is out of the framework of a nation state and step into the periphery of world economy without law and democracy, wild capitalism would gain more power. Wild capitalism prefers its existence in autocracy to democracy. Therefore, wild capitalism would try to destroy democracy of a nation state, in order to allow capitalism to flow into the global economy freely. Such approach begins with the first step, "privatization", which states that the market system could perform better than the government, which strengthen the private sector and reduce the power of government and citizens. The second step is "commercialization" that transforms citizens into mere producers and consumers. The third step is "infantilization" to change consumers' consciousness into the state of being an infant again. The final step is "totalization" by the power of the market system, to destroy the diversity and democracy from various sectors by creating a unique identity instead, which cause reduced sovereignty due to external intervention and obligation, and the acceptance of external interference from the government (MacMillan, 2006).

The neo-liberalism according to the concept of Naomi Klein (Democracy Now, 2008) has focused on deregulation and refuse the intervention of the state into market mechanisms in order to create a perfect ideal market. However, the Hamburger crisis caused the neo-liberalism to give way to Keynesian liberalism, which requires the intervention of the state into market. It could be seen that the US leader like George Bush used state tax money to help private businesses which were in trouble, regardless of how much its effects against social security system for a large number of people, or pushing debt burden from private sector to the public sphere, which would cause class war in the end. Such

actions cause inequality and injustice in many aspects, so that they cause a current against globalization of capitalism, including the call for “Global Justice Movement”, or the globalization which creates justice for society in all sectors. Various movements are different in strategy and tactics, for example, the reformists aim to reform world-class economic institutions such as the WTO and the IMF in order to become verifiable and social-responsible, while the anarchists focus on creating new social institutions from foundations or democracy with grassroots participation, including the establishment of an organization without command lines. Under that group, the concept is still separated into many aspects, such as anarchist-socialist, that focuses on the interdependence between the state and capital, or eco-anarchist that views that globalization of capitalism would lead to the deterioration of the natural environments, etc. In addition, the current of globalization is also caused "global civil society" that consists of diverse groups of people and non-government organizations (NGOs) with different social and political goals, such as environmental issues, human rights, women rights and ethnic issues. On the other hand, globalization has caused the current of localization, which viewed that the locality has its own right to protect itself. Therefore, local resources should be used by local people to produce goods and services for local allocation. For that reason, there are both state actors and non-state actors want to have their roles or take part in public policy process, both in the state and global context, in order to push forward or regulate public policies not to be beneficial to a particular group.

The Development of Public Governance and Policy and the Emergence of Policy Window in Global Context

In order to understand public governance, policy and the emergence of policy window, we must understand the foundation of the global public administration process. Therefore, the current policy process is showing an opportunity for both state actors and non-state actors, such as NGOs, trading business sectors, foundations, think-tanks, local organizations,

researchers and scholars, etc., to continuously take part in policy process (Farazmand, 1999). Therefore, the development of public policy process in global context arises alongside the issues which are occurring and changing dynamically. This leads to the need to have public policy in each aspect that can be implemented at both the state level and the global context concretely by bringing it into the development of the public policy process in the global context, which could be divided into 6 characteristics as follows:

1. The occurred risk that has become a major problem, because they are related at the world level, such as the problem of using shared resources due to the effects of globalization in the last five decades, which made many countries depend on each other. Therefore, in order to solve the problems with policy proceed with efficiency, it requires cooperation and coordination between states to solve those problems (Joann Chirico, 2014).

2. International policy cooperation has been implemented in many sectors. The sectors that cooperate in international policy might be non-state actors, as it could be seen from the example of the supporting towards international rights, equality and standards, which has been developed based on public opinions and economic driving force, for example, companies and consumers in Western countries their requires the guarantee that child workers or the well-being of workers in the industrial economy would be appropriately controlled. Therefore, such policy cooperation becomes not relevant to traditional international relationship or limited to the state framework (Swank, 2003).

3. The normative theories of global governance has been changed and developed rapidly due to the modern process of determining public policy during the first decade of the 21st century, which arose from the interaction between institutions and political systems. In addition, states that are actors on the global stage such as India, China, and Russia have different thoughts, and they questioned against the role of policy maker, World Order and Global Management of the United States (Sklair, 2002).

4. Policy making has changed from national level to group level or regional level, for example, the European Union tested how to integrate national policy by allowing members of all 27 countries to participate in proposal of important issues, and also participation in the process of public policy making in every step. This could be considered as an important change that will bring about the implementation of public policy in the global context in concrete ways in member countries (George, 2007). The another case is development of regional economic policy integration in North America, South America, Asia-Pacific. Such development occurred in response to globalization. It is also an instance of efforts to change the public policy process to better fit the global context.

5. Transition from a single-pole to a multi-pole rule affected concepts on public policy in the 1980s-1990s, which had been dominated by countries with industrial progress, but in the future, there will be many regional groups formed, centered in Europe, America, China, India and South America. These regional groups will have different innovation and development in public policy, both in terms of contents and formats (Greider & William, 2004) . Therefore, public policy making of some groups in regional level might have a major impact on public policy in both the state and global context.

6. Innovation in global governance in this decade, efforts have been made to manage global risks and challenges. There are more efforts to solve problems or limitations of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. There are also business actors such as companies, associations, organizations, and international chambers of commerce who created international working mechanisms in order to solve various problems, and NGOs also have cooperated to each other on issues regarding to the development process, in order to access social problems via a network of stakeholder groups in various issues.

Modern public administration and policy making have progressed beyond the past, in which the state has played an important role as an actor in the public policy process. Nowadays, the policy process has diverse

non-state actors to take part in and have their roles in the policy process. However, these diverse actors do not have equal roles or power in public policy process, but they have interaction in the form of interdependence to from governance network, which is a network that have clear relationships between the interdependent actors, but at the same time their roles are autonomous, to say, actors consist of public sector, private sector, semipublic sector. Each actor need to be dependent on potentials and resources of other actors, for example, as political actors viewed that public policy issues they wanted to push forward needed cooperation roles from other sectors, they expressed their willingness to allocate their resources and potentials and allow other actors to make use of them together. Actors from each sector are operationally autonomous through the interaction between the actors, progressing through negotiation, to say, to acquire mutual agreement via talking, which have "bargain" as a component, about the allocation of resources together of each party in order to achieve maximum results, and "deliberation" of the goal of the network to yield production of public purpose, that is, the functioning of the network reflects goals of public benefits in various dimensions, such as visions, values, plans, policies, and regulations which must be aimed at creating benefits for general public.

The Origin of the Policy Window from the Global Change Stream

From changes in the global trend and development of public affairs administration and policy, the "Streams and window" Model could be used as an analysis model. A model developed by John W. Kingdon (2010) who studied the formation of policies or policy issues and the policy making process in the field of public health and transportation during 1976-1979. From this study, it was observed that there were 3 independent streams that were the source of "Policy process".

First stream: Problems Stream. This stream focuses(past tense?) on the public interest and interest of policymakers in specific social issues in a

particular issue, by giving definition of that issue after that problem had been picked up to make a policy to find solutions towards that. However, it was observed that in order to know that which issue we would like to pay attention, there were many ways, many processes, many steps, and one of those processes was social data tracking. In general, issues that are defined tend to be defined in terms of values that may be conservative or liberal, for example, public transportation or mass transportation for the disabled ones is "transportation problem" or "problem on civil rights".

Second stream: Political Stream. This stream is one which government or political party determines an issues with list of issues that should be resolved. These issues or problems are formulated as a result of interaction of important factors, such as emotions or feelings of people in the nation, power and influence, interest groups, movements or changes of government, for example, the resignation of political personnel, change of Prime Minister. These result in policy changes, such as changing the policy of President Trump of the United States In the case of leaving TPP and so on.

For those involved in the formation of such problem, Kingdon (2010) called them "Visible Clusters". It means those who were involved in the formation of problems, those with a high political position such as Government or Presidential Advisor, member of Congress, the media, interest groups, political parties, etc. In general, the agreed issues is often caused by the negotiations between the participants above.

Third Stream: Policy Stream. This stream is about setting decision agenda or specifying alternatives for decision making, which is chosen by decision maker. Kingdon (2010) called the group or party involved in determining or choosing alternatives making as "Hidden Cluster". It means ones who are involved in determining or choosing alternatives for decision making, which are often behind the scene, such as public administrators, scholars, researchers, consultants, the Budget Bureau, and various interest groups etc.

In conclusion, Kingdon (2010) viewed that when 3 streams mentioned above meet, it would be the origin of public policy. He called the opportunity or situation in which all 3 streams meet as the "windows". Situation that would make "Windows Policy" open includes government changes or regime change, parliamentary change and/or changes in emotions of people in the nation. In emergence process of "public policy", entering agenda setting through the three streams which are independent: problem stream, political stream and policy stream, with the support of policy entrepreneurs, which leads to accepting agenda setting before going to the so-called "Decision Agenda" (Larkin, 2012).

Thailand's Policies and strategies Making in the Global Context

Under unstable situation of the world, Thailand must make policies for a strong foundation for national development, by setting policies and strategies that effecting to the national development and the progress of the country. The development policy and strategy as follows:

Thailand should accelerate to make proactive policy, to give opportunities to be able to expand economic capacity and new markets, which is in line with the kingdon's policy (2010) window concept, by providing opportunities to create new policies, such as creating Thailand 4.0 policy is a tool for countries, and also negotiation of free trade agreements with new trading countries to expand the market. Nowadays, Thai government is negotiating trade agreements with many countries in many stages, including bilateral and multilateral trade agreements between Thailand-Pakistan, Thailand-Turkey, Thailand-Sri Lanka, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and preparing to revive trade negotiations with the European Union (EU) which has been disrupted since 2014 for political reasons, and also preparing to enter into Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement of Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). By joining CPTPP, exporters will be able to access Canada and Mexico markets, which Thailand does not have free trade agreements with, and accelerate the development of investment environments to attract foreign investment,

especially expanding or relocating production bases . Follow the concept of Greider and William (2004) in establishing a policy of relying on new markets in the region. According to a study by AMRO (2019), ASEAN is a top choice for US and Europe companies which are considering to move their production bases out of China to avoid the effects of trade war. However, Thailand still has competitors from neighboring countries, especially Vietnam, which has an advantage over Thailand on tax privileges and an extensive network of free trade agreements. Now Vietnam is receiving GSP (Generalized System of Preferences) from the United States as a member of CPTPP, and it is about to reach an agreement on Free trade with the European Union (EVFTA) by 2019. However, Thailand still ranks better than Vietnam in the report “Ease of Doing Business” by the World Bank (2019), with Thailand ranked 27th and Vietnam ranked 69th out of 190 countries. The strength of Thailand is on electricity usage request and starting a business, but Thailand has weaknesses in terms of enforcement of agreements, property registration and acquiring loans, towards which the policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon, 2010) both visible policy entrepreneurs as Prim ministers , ministers and invisible policy entrepreneurs like government officials , Think Tank should have measures to accelerate improvement. Aside from the development of business procedures and proceeding infrastructure project, the improvement of investment regulations and technology development are important points to enhance the investment environment. Currently, Thai government has measures to promote investment in 10 target industries, which is the industry group of the future, such as intelligent electronics, agriculture and biotechnology, robotics and digitals etc. (Jones & Pimdee, 2017).

1.1 Model for the development of Thailand into a developed country

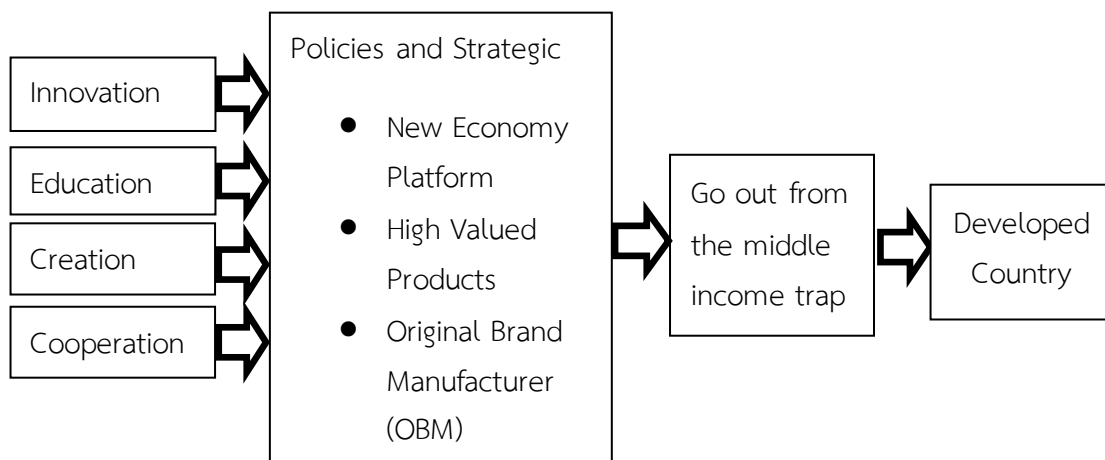


Figure 1 Model for the development of Thailand into a developed country

By Creating the new development platform, Thailand has a Thailand 4.0 policy, which is in line with the concepts of Robert Gilpin (2003) and Noam Chomsky (2017) , which the government should set up policies for managing and controlling stakeholder. By policy vision of Thai government try to push forward Thailand to overcome the middle income trap, to solve the problem of income inequality, and to solve unsustainable development, which has been a long-standing trend with the format of “drive economy through innovation” via policy entrepreneurs (kingdon,2010) both government sector and education institutions, and cooperation from foreign agencies. For the past to the present Thailand is still stuck within an inefficient and ineffective production structure, using a lot of labor and resources but have little outcome. Therefore, it is necessary to change into the structure with high efficiency and effectiveness. Thailand must change the concept of economic structure from agriculture-and-industry-driven on contract manufacturing or OEM into the country which possess its own product or OBM, by focusing on investments in research and study, using high-technology industry to drive the country with technology,

creativity, and introduce innovation via foreign policy and cooperation strategies for transferring high technology to switch from producing commodities to high-valued products, for example, cooperation between Thailand and Taiwan. Thailand is developing Thailand 4.0 policy, while Taiwan is pushing forward New Southbound policy, so both countries work together to develop industries in robotics, aerospace, submarines, medical devices, electronics, computer and mobile phone parts, digital economy, medicine and green energy technology. Such cooperation will help and drive the economic development of Thailand.

In addition, Development in the education sector, the state should have its role and duty in the development system. When technology and innovation are involved, higher education is often considered first . It should begin from the change in policy stream (Kingdon, 2010) to emphasize the importance of design of educational curriculum from primary school to graduated school (Master-Doctorate), and also vocational education in order to create human resources with mind set in development and research, creative thinking from their childhood. There must be a human development plan which is designed to be consistent at all levels and fields, such as promotion in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) like developed countries such as the United States, Japan, and through international cooperation frameworks such as scholarships for Thailand 4.0 policy from the Taiwanese government in order to continuously develop people and become a network of joint development in global context.

Conclusion

In public policy making, it could be seen that there are many factors involved: trends of change in various aspects that occurred both within the country and all over the world. In making of public policy, we must pay attention and consider the above factors, and analyze its consequences, because public policy would affect most people in society. Thus, those involved in public policy making should design policies in accordance with

political and social environments in each country, by allowing stakeholders to participate in setting targets of production of public goods and services. Thailand, as one of the developing countries, needs to apply the concepts from public policy making, national development strategy, as a tool for decision making in order to solve administrative problems in every aspect, and to be aware of the structure and political institutions of democracy as an influential factor to public policy making. It would help policy making become clearer, more systematic and more concrete, and the important thing is, resulting in a public policy that is truly consistent with the needs of people.

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