

Consistency with Public Policy Principles of Thailand's 2018-2037 National Strategy Formulation Process

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Abstract

This research purposes, 1) To study the situation of Thailand's 2018- 2037 national strategy formulation process. 2) To analyze the conformity of the public policy principles of Thailand's 2018-2037 national strategy formulation process. 3) To propose characteristics consistent with public policy principles for Thailand's 2018- 2037 national strategy formulation process. It is a qualitative research based on public policy principles using secondary documents and information on Thailand's 2018- 2037 national strategy formulation process. It found that 1) the formulation of the national strategy of Thailand has a legal status and enforceability from the submission of a draft law to the legislature for consideration. The National Strategy Committee advised the Cabinet to formulate the National Strategy 2018-2037, which has a period of 20 years. 2) The law stipulates that government policies must be consistent with the national strategy, characterized as the output and outcome of public institutions that are consistent with the Institutional model of public policy principles. Moreover, it is in line with the Elite model which values the needs of the elite in formulating. While national strategy must vary according to the time and context of each society's interpretation. 3) The formulation of national strategies should be consistent with the Group model that focuses on the participation of groups and people to create equilibrium. The key success of a national strategy is the flexibility with social context that should be consistent with the Group model based on the legal state and liberal democracy.

Keywords: Consistency, Public Policy Principles, National Strategy Formulation Process

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Introduction

Thailand announced the National Economic and Social Development Plan since 1961 but faced political instability. This led to the preparation of the National Strategy 2018-2037 to be used continuously for 20 years. Although the preparation of the national strategy is carried out by the principles of public policy and planning, with situational assessment and factor analysis to determine the goals and directions of national development. But it still looks like the executive branch or the cabinet is the main agency in making it in line with the principles of public policy according to the Elite model instead of the duty of all sectors involved and the participation of the people which is consistent with the principles of public policy based on the Group model. In this regard, the conceptual basis for formulating a national strategy comes from the setting of development goals in the formulation of basic state policies in the constitution. However, because the compulsory condition of the provisions in the Fundamental State Policy Guidelines under the Constitution is not clear, therefore, the formulation of the national strategy requires a change in the enforceability of the provisions on the Fundamental State Policy Guidelines. By the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560, a law on the preparation of national strategies must be established and promulgated. This makes the national strategy have a clearer legal force. For this reason, the enactment and enforcement of the national strategy law have an impact on the legal system. Which is the use of legislative sovereignty through the enactment of the law which has to be enforced by law (Legality). Failure to comply with the national strategy will result in a violation of the law. But because setting goals for national development should be the duty of the cabinet, which exercises executive sovereignty through the actions of government, by deciding to formulate and implement public policies using public administration and budget mechanisms. This should not be a legal compulsion that if not followed would be an offence. Whereas the implementation of control and examination of government policy decisions should be a political review through the principle of legitimacy by organizations that can control and monitor, such as parliament, independent organizations, and civil society. (Wamsley, 1990) A key factor in the persistence and success of the national strategy legislation is flexibility and the implementation of the National Strategy Committee by the principles of public policy based on the legal state and liberal democracy. Because the national strategy is characterized by variations in the period and context of each society in which it is interpreted. Although the National Strategy is required to be reviewed every five

years. But if the implementation of the national strategy and serious damage occurs, there is no provision to consider the agency responsible for the damage action resulting. This paper is important because it presents an alternative way to improve the national strategy that focuses on the group process model in policymaking. Although the formulation of national strategies can be explained by the concepts of the institutional model and the elite model.

Research Purposes

1. To study the situation of Thailand's 2018-2037 national strategy formulation process.
2. To analyze the conformity of the public policy principles of Thailand's 2018-2037 national strategy formulation process.
3. To propose characteristics consistent with public policy principles for Thailand's 2018-2037 national strategy formulation process.

Conceptual Framework

Thailand's compliance with public policy principles in the process of formulating the 2018-2037 National Strategy can be considered from related concepts and theories, such as principles of public policy according to the will of the state, principles of public policy formulation, and principles of transforming public policy into strategy formulation.

1. Principles of public policy according to the will of the state

The formulation of the national strategy arises from the need to set goals for the achievement of the objectives or will of the state in a time when it was converted from public policy guidelines and laws to drive to achieve such goals through various forms of government action. (Bormanant, 2017) The will of the state in each era arises from the social context, philosophy and ideology as well as the worldview of each era. That is to say, in the Classical and Middle Ages, the will of the state was stabilized to support the monarchy and religious institutions. In the modern era, the will of the state is dynamic and adapts to the changing times through the expression of the people's will. Therefore, the sovereignty concept belongs to the people, leading to continuous dynamics by having the legal system, the administrative system and the legislative system.

2. Principles of public policy formulation

Public policy principles can be considered concretized through models. There are many models of public policy formulation, but the important bases leading to further development as other models for considering public policy formulation such as the Institutional model,

Elite model, and Group model. (1) Institutional model, public policy is an institution's output that, when implemented, becomes an outcome. (2) Elite model, public policy is the needs and values of the elite. Because most people tend to ignore the activities of the country. This gives leaders the ability to disclose or conceal information and information as they want. Where the leadership has a high political role and very little direct influence from the masses. (3) Group model, public policy is the equilibrium of the struggle between groups, by setting rules and enforcing agreements or as a result of compromise and balancing such public policies. (Dye, 2005) The consideration of public policy formulation models is not entirely comparative for deciding which public policy model is best. This is because each model focuses on different dimensions of public policymaking.

3. Principles of transforming public policy into strategy formulation

The National Strategy Formulation Conceptual Framework is a collection of important issues, concepts or theories that are considered to be used in formulating a national strategy by eliminating unnecessary matters and ideas. To be clear and specific it is reasonable and feasible. Where strategy is a competitive advantage that must be changed or adapted to the environment or context of the competitive battle to consider all other actors, both myself and opponents, as well as those who are still neutral to create power or beams of power, seek advantage or make the opponent at a disadvantage. The strategy is driven by benefits, if there is no benefit, there is no need to formulate a strategy in that regard. (Bryson, 2004) The strategy may be influenced by Passion, Ambition, Aspiration, Value or Belief, etc. It is necessary to take into account the connection with each other or integration between events, processes, people and things together, which is fundamentally the Causality or the relationship between cause and effect. However, strategic predictions can be wrong. Where the power that each side creates or seeks must always be compared between opponents or competitors. The strategy's goal setting requires both a primary goal, a secondary goal, and a progression goal for each phase of the implementation.

Research Methodology

Research pattern: Qualitative research based on public policy principles using secondary documents and information on Thailand's 2018-2037 national strategy formulation process.

Population and sample: The population used in this research was Secondary documents related to Thailand's 2018-2037 national strategy formulation process and public policy principles, such as laws, regulations, orders, documents, books, and articles.

Research tools: The research tools were data recording forms to record information collected from secondary documents.

Data collection: In the selection of relevant documents, consisting of 1) Authenticity is a document that comes from a reliable source. It must be accurate, complete and consistent with the context of the situation. 2) Credibility is a document that is free from errors and misinformation. 3) Representativeness is a document that can show details instead of type documents. The same details can be representative of the sample population and 4) Meaning is a document that can be easily understood, clear, and consistent with the objectives and implications of the research.

Data analysis: Content Analysis from secondary documents and information on the process of formulating the National Strategy 2018-2037 of Thailand by the principles of public policy

Research Results

1. Situation of Thailand's 2018-2037 National Strategy Formulation Process

In the situation of the process of preparing the national strategy for 2018-2037 in Thailand, there are important problems. The process is not fully integrated and the structure is unclear. The management of the national strategy and the body of knowledge is not systematic. The public administration system is inconsistent and is not conducive to integrated management. Lack of confidence from the international community and Thai society in the commitment of leaders and national interest groups to support changes in the national strategy. As well as corruption and unreasonable use of populist policies. The aforementioned important problems resulted in the process of formulating the national strategy not covering all important national issues, ambiguous lack of clarity and completeness in oneself lack of credibility and there are errors. It emerged from the designation that national strategy takes precedence over public policy. By the principles of public policy, public policy is more important than strategy because strategy, which is a method, must be consistent with public policy, which is the goal of the running country. Strategies have the status of a detailed

guideline and action plan to meet the long-term or collective goals of public policy. (Gerston, 1997) Not that strategy is a long-term plan in itself. Because public policy is an overarching upper-level goal that is closer to the long-term nature of the substance and the achievement of state objectives than the strategy. In addition, public policy under the body of knowledge in policy science covers the administration of all state missions. It can show the relationship between national strategy and superior or public policy and subordinate to strategy or tactic is policy - strategy – a tactic, there will be a logical harmony between them.

2. Consistency with the Public Policy Principles of Thailand's 2018-2037 National Strategy Formulation Process

The preparation of a national strategy enacted by the provisions of the constitution to be implemented may have difficulties in assessing whether it can be implemented or not. This is because, if assessing the condition of legal enforcement, it cannot be said in what manner the role of the legal interpretation scope should be established. However, strategy as a body of knowledge as a science does not have a theory that has sufficient weight to serve as a framework for managing the country. While public policy knowledge has a stronger theory and empirical reality to support it. Because the strategy in science or discipline for the country's administration has not developed the body of knowledge that is strategic science by itself. It looks like predictable idea speculation that the results of the analysis should be applied but not guaranteed that it will work. Whereas knowledge of strategic warfare, for example, in Sun Tzu's "Book of War" and Carl von Clausewitz's "On War", is not sufficient knowledge of management for developing the country (Development Administration). Because it emphasizes war tactics, the contents of the country's development management that are mentioned may not be enough. Therefore, it should be considered more based on the public policy model of policy science. As well as applying concepts and strategic management techniques of business organizations from the works of scholars such as Alfred D. Chandler, Henry Mintzberg and Michael E. Porter, among others, it is more focused on how to achieve goals than considering the goals that should be achieved under a democracy through participation of the people. (Frederickson & Smith, 2003) However, the national strategy is not necessarily long-term, but it is considered a very important matter. But there

is often a belief that the strategy must be a long-term plan, for example at least 20 years. Thus, making important strategies that require less time are not national. Despite a very important strategy, if it can be completed in a short time or before the specified time, it will still be a very important strategy.

3. Proposing the characteristics of conformity with public policy principles for Thailand's 2018-2037 National Strategy Formulation Process

Democracy gives people the opportunity to influence public policy. If any country has a high democracy, the people will play an important role in the policy-making process to meet the needs of the people. (Udomwisawakul, 2017) This is in line with the principles of public policy based on the Group model. This will allow the person who nominates the people to be elected to run the country must present a public policy that understands the needs of the people. Where public policy and strategic plans are interrelated and are characterized by consensus in principle, public policy is not merely a manifestation of the intent of a government to do or not do. (Dye, 2005) Implementation can also be realized, possibly with a strategic plan that can be a converter of public policy to formulate action. Although a long-term national strategy has been formulated according to the National Strategy Preparation Act B.E. 2560, government agencies have had their strategic plans for a long time. It is a short-term strategic plan, i.e. not more than 5 years. Determining a strategy to be difficult to improve is a long-term national strategy that must go through the administrative structure and consider revisions of many committees, including the National Strategy Preparation Committee. The National Strategy Committee, the Cabinet, the House of Representatives and the Senate are the result of the democratic political control of the government's policy to rule the country under the national strategy. This shows that the national strategy is so difficult to change that it is inconsistent with the country's long-term, easily changeable situation. Whereas the promulgation of the National Strategy in democratic countries which have been promulgated is a concrete set of goals and methods reflecting new and particularly significant action. Under the policies of the country's administration in various areas of the government, it is not the designation of the national strategy as the centre of the framework of the country's administration and greater than the policies of the state and the government. (Kraft & Furlong, 2003) In this regard, the guidelines for the administration of Thailand, if considering the Constitution B.E. 2540 and B.E. 2550 as well as B.E. 2560, it

turns out that the Constitution B.E. 2540 and B.E. 2550 appear to guide the country's administration in the part of "The basic policy of the state". It provides flexibility for governments to formulate policies without a framework forcing government policies to be governed by the national strategy. The basic policy of the state is the goal of managing the country that may not have all dimensions of the quality of life of the people in the future. This is an opportunity for political parties or people to propose or for the government to formulate policies on matters that do not exist in the future. While Constitution B.E. 2560 attaches great importance to the national strategy to cover all goals in the country's administration by eliminating the word "basic", leaving only "State policy guidelines" as appeared under Chapter 6.

Discuss the Results

1. Situation of Thailand's 2018-2037 National Strategy Formulation Process

The situation of process of formulating the national strategy in Thailand has significant problems in the aspect of the process that is not complete and not fully integrated, lack of clear structure, lack of integrated systems, lack of confidence from stakeholders to support changes in the national strategy, and including corruption and unreasonable use of populist policies. In this regard, with the direction to be a democratic system in which the people own sovereignty, the government policy must be an incentive and there must be people's awareness in participating in the development of the country through the democratic process. It emphasizes the subject matter of targeted public policy and presents a separate strategy to support those public policies. The application of knowledge in the preparation of business strategic plans to be used in the administration of the country by preparing the national strategy that will be the master of the country's administration that will prevail over government policies by forcing it may be over the claim and risk inconsistent with democracy which may have the nature of dictatorship. (Lindblom, 1995) Because the acquisition and administration of public policy in a democratic system already exist in the knowledge of public policy or policy science. This is a master knowledge with detailed and can be linked from policy development to presentation in campaigning, elections, forming a government policy promulgation, implementation of policies through a system of government programs

and mechanisms, assessment and policy improvement, and checking the use of state power. This is a process in a democratic system that is more suitable than the process of making a strategy by the government alone. Therefore, the integration of strategic activities in line with the process of making and implementing government policies will lead to a democratic fit.

2. Consistency with Public Policy Principles of Thailand's 2018-2037 National Strategy Formulation Process

The government by the cabinet, which exercises executive sovereignty through the Act of Government, can set public policies and implement mechanisms for the administration of state affairs through administrative acts for the establishment of public services according to government policies. (Bormanant, 2017) Where a strategy is a tool for planning, even if successful in military combat and able to answer business competition. But when considered in the framework of national administration, it must also be considered by the principles of public policy under policy science. Especially in democratic countries, the national strategy must support the government's policies in the administration of the country, which are announced to the parliament and the people. In addition, the National Strategy Preparation Act, B.E. 2560 (2017), Article 7 (2) “...analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and limitations. Including the risks of the country to prepare the country for changes...” which is to determine the situation to analyze the national strategy by the SWOT model. It may be too specific to apply one specific analytical model to the law. Because the formulation of a strategic plan can use many other analytical models or concepts, including the public policy model framework. Whereas the process of formulating a strategy should be carried out under the process of formulating or developing public policies by the principles of public policy under policy science. Therefore, only strategic dimensions should not be considered in the public policy process for democratic governance. The process of creating a national strategy that is good and appropriate to the context will make the national strategy an output of the process of covering important national issues be clear and specific completely reasonable and the right strategy. However, the formulation of the national strategy according to the National Strategy Preparation Act B.E. 2560 should not neglect the importance of the policy guidelines of the state as stipulated in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560

(2017). *The Constitution B.E. 2560 Chapter 6 Guidelines on State Policies, Article 64 is “Provisions in this Chapter are guidelines for the State to enact laws and formulate policies in the administration of the State affairs” whereas Article 65 is “The State should establish a national strategy as a goal for sustainable national development. by the principles of good governance to serve as a framework for the preparation of various plans to be consistent and integrated to create a common driving force towards such goals...”*. That is to say, Article 65 defines a national strategy as a goal without requiring it to be in line with state policy. While Article 64 already prescribes that State policy guidelines shall be used as a guideline for enacting laws and formulating policies in the administration of state affairs. That is, Article 65 defines a national strategy as a goal for national development, but does not define it as a state policy under Article 64. In addition to the National Strategy Preparation Act B.E. 2560, it specifies that government policies, the National Economic and Social Development Plan and national security policy including the preparation of annual expenditure budgets must be in line with the National Strategy 2018-2037 and determined in terms of the integration of all aspects of the National Strategy Center into the National Master Plan without referring to the state policy under the constitution. Therefore, it shows that the national strategy does not focus on the essence to meet the basic needs of the people under the constitution and that the national strategy should be prepared by the policy of the state. There is a link between the National Strategy Preparation Act B.E. 2560 and national reforms in Chapter 16 of the Constitution by supporting the National Reform Plans and Procedures Act B.E. 2560. Each aspect of the reform plan must be consistent with the National Strategic Master Plan. This is to put a separate national strategy above the state policy in connection with the country's reform. But it is not linked to the state policy in the constitution, which is the goal that should be achieved for the people in the long term. Therefore, it shows that the state policy is not integrated with country reform and national strategy together. It may be conflicts or paradoxes among themselves in the concept of the mission of national administration and may pass on these conflicts to the future. In this regard, Thailand's process of formulating the 2018-2037 National Strategy, which is a strategy with a period of 20 years, can have legal status and enforceability by proposing a draft law

to the legislature for consideration by the Strategy Committee. It stipulates that the government's policies must be consistent with the national strategy. Thus, such a national strategy is characterized as an institutional output that, when implemented, becomes an outcome, formally defined and driven by state institutions, consistent with the Institutional model of public policy principle. By bringing the interests and activities of different groups of people to government institutions, state institutions will determine, implement and enforce it. Only government institutions or organizations have the legitimacy to punish violators. It is also in line with the Elite model which values the values of the elite in formulating strategies according to their needs, where the leadership has a high political role and very little direct influence from the masses. This gives leaders the ability to disclose or conceal information and information as they want. Although bureaucrat officers do not have decision-making powers on public policy issues, they do play a role in initiating or recommending particularly technical policies in which full-time officials have expertise. Therefore, the Elite model has a major weakness in ignoring the importance of direct participation in the public policy process. (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984) This is inconsistent with the Constitution, B.E. 2560, Article 65 *“...In this regard, such law must contain provisions relating to participation and public hearings from all sectors thoroughly ...”* Conditions must vary according to the period and context of each society in which it is interpreted. Therefore, a Group model-based public policy must be considered that prioritizes the balance of struggle between groups. It regards public policymaking as a matter of struggle and influence between different interest groups. As a result, public policymaking is underway to deal with conflicts between those groups, which can be achieved by setting up rules for competing among the interest groups and the enforcement of rules or the consequences of compromise and balancing in the form of such public policies.

3. Proposing the characteristics of conformity with public policy principles for Thailand's 2018-2037 National Strategy Formulation Process

The persistence and success of the National Strategy lie in the flexibility of the National Strategy and the actions of the National Strategy Committee which should be consistent with the principles of public policy based on the legal state and liberal democracy. The process of formulating a national strategy should be considered by the principles of public policy to

ensure that the national strategy is linked to the participation of the people to achieve balance in the struggle between interest groups and the people according to the Group model. It reflects more people's needs in setting the goals of national administration with a strategy as a means to achieve that goal. (Mintzberg & Quinn, 1996) The guidelines for developing the process of making a national strategy should consider the development of processes, structures and management systems by; providing a complete and comprehensive process systematically, establishing a primary educational institution for knowledge, management and creating professional personnel specialised in the preparation of national strategies, improve the government management system for an integrated national strategy, build a network of cooperation between government agencies and all sectors, build confidence in the implementation of the national strategy, prevent and eliminate corruption and establish review mechanisms to prevent unreasonable of populist policies. Whereas the formulation of the national strategy should be consistent with and support the public policy or government policy that comes from the needs of the people. Because only the national strategy is set to prevail to direct the government's policy with the expectation that the country has clear and continuity goals leading to the determination of the national strategy to be the highest and neutral (non-partisan with politics) that may not be true and unattainable. This may also cause political parties and elected governments that reflect the people's needs to be weak and incapable of long-term policy. Therefore, the process of people's participation in obtaining public policies or government policies that will lead to the formulation of national strategies is important in a democratic system. It must not be merely a public hearing or for people to participate in the assembly, just to comply with the law. Whereas a democracy that can encourage people's participation should be argumentative (Deliberative democracy). So decisions in the public policy process are in the power of the people, together with those who have the power or knowledge in formulating the national strategy. This increases the democratization of the public policy process to make decisions to achieve government policies according to the people's needs and by the principles of human rights, which values each equal human being in voting. Whereas appropriate national development administration should enable the national strategy to be flexible and have status under the government policies. The law on national strategy should be adjusted to the level of a "Decree" so that the powers of the cabinet can be easily promulgated or changed, and replace the dependence on the planning system from the central bureaucracy

authority. In this regard, any government in a democratic regime proclaiming policies or acting inconsistent with the national strategy must be regarded as breaking the law of national strategy preparation and will be judged by the Election Commission, Senators, the National Anti-Corruption Commission and the Constitutional Court to take legal action from the next offence. It should be reviewed because a government that follows a democratic public policy process can be considered an act of the will of the people, which is characterized as an act of government that should be primarily responsible to the people. To prove that the policies adopted by the government are contrary to the national strategy outlined in the National Strategy Law may be an attempt to bring the national strategy to power over the will of the people. It is also inconsistent with the principles of public policy that public policy should be a goal with a national strategy as a means of success. The formulation of a national strategy by the National Strategy Committee, which values its desired goals, is consistent with an Elite model that does not represent the needs of public participation. Moreover, the 2018-2037 National Strategy has a period of 20 years, but conditions must vary according to the time and context of each society. This forced the needs of the people, reflected in the form of government policies, to be in line with the needs of the elites. It is inconsistent with the democratic regime where people should participate in setting the goals of the country. (Barber, 2003) Therefore, it should be considered to formulate strategies that should be governed by the public policy with Group model-based. The emphasis is on acquiring a balance of struggle between groups that influence each other as different interest groups, which prioritize how to deal with conflicts between them by defining rules for the competition between relevant interest groups, including the people who have come together to propose their own needs into the process and to enforce the compromise agreements that create a balance in the form of public policy and national strategy. Therefore, the formulation of national strategies should be in line with the Group model of public policy principles that place importance on the participation of groups and people to create a common equilibrium. Because the key factor success of the National Strategy is the flexibility and execution of the National Strategy Committee which should be consistent with the public policy principles based on the legal state and liberal democracy.

Body of Knowledge

In democratic countries, government policy that reflects people's needs is more important than national strategy because public policy principles under policy science have

a more systematic and comprehensive body of knowledge than strategy. The government policy is the goal and the national strategy is the method. But when formulating the National Strategy 2018-2037 with a period of 20 years by the National Strategy Preparation Act B.E. 2560 and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2560 (2017) put national strategy above government policy even though government policy originates from democratic processes by-elections that express the needs of the people. The process of formulating the national strategy is not rooted in state policy under the Constitution B.E. 2560, whereby the people as the owners of sovereignty in a democratic system is an important basis for ensuring that public policy must come from the approval of the people. Therefore, the constitution and related laws should be amended to give state policies and government policies the status of regulating the national strategy. However, the fact that the Constitution B.E. 2560, only stipulates that the national strategy has a law to support it, it may adjust the legal level so that the national strategy is at the level of a “Decree” under the supervision of the Cabinet, which is sufficient for the administration of the country to can be integrated. Therefore, strategic concepts, which are the knowledge gained from warfare and organizational strategic analysis, should not be placed above the principles of public policy under policy science and take the national strategy that should be specific to be upgraded to a long-term master plan under the supervision of the National Strategy Committee that has overlapping powers with the government. Putting the national strategy above government policy may be against the political will of the people through the government that comes from participatory democratic processes until the public policy is achieved as a result of an equilibrium of struggle that reflects the need between interest groups and people to run the country. It is consistent with the Group model of public policy principle, which is a model that is consistent with the liberal democratic regime where people's participation is the essence. That is, as it turns out, government policy must be governed by the national strategy directed by the National Strategy Board, guided by the values or needs of the appointed elites. It is consistent with the principle of public policy based on the Elite model that is consistent with the regime which may reduce the level of liberal democracy.

Guide lines for developing the process of making a national strategy that are consistent with the principles of public policy based on the legal state and liberal democracy and appropriate

to the context of Thailand are as follows: (1) knowledge and methods for formulating national strategies to create strategists at all levels and in all fields of science, defining a standard model in the formulation of an integrated national strategy and education to build confidence and credibility in the national strategy, and hearing opinions from all sectors (2) process, structure, management system and integration by defining the structure integrated management system to be clear in a comprehensive system and contributing to the management of the agency, integration from conceptual framework at the management level and practice by creating a network of cooperation (3) participation and strategic communication to build confidence in Thai society and the world in the process of national strategy, increasing participation to gain recognition and support from all parties as well as clarify the common interests and benefits that people in each sector will receive.

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