

ความสำเร็จและความล้มเหลวของการรวมกลุ่มวิสาหกิจชุมชน : กรณีศึกษากลุ่มสิ่งทอพื้นบ้าน ตำบลศรีดอนชัย อำเภอเชียงของ จังหวัดเชียงราย

ณัฐริธา หอพิบูลสุข^{1*} และ ปรีชา อุบโยคิน²

บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ 2 ประการ คือ ประการที่ 1 วิเคราะห์สถานการณ์วิสาหกิจชุมชนด้านสิ่งทอพื้นบ้าน ตำบลศรีดอนชัย อำเภอเชียงของ จังหวัดเชียงราย ประการที่ 2 วิเคราะห์ปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อความสำเร็จและความล้มเหลวของการรวมกลุ่มวิสาหกิจชุมชน โดยใช้การวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพ เครื่องมือที่ใช้ในการศึกษาเป็นแบบสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึก เพื่อศึกษากลุ่มตัวอย่างที่เป็นกลุ่มวิสาหกิจชุมชนในหมู่บ้านไทลื้อ 3 หมู่บ้าน ในตำบลศรีดอนชัย อำเภอเชียงของ จังหวัดเชียงราย ได้แก่ หมู่ 12, 14 และ 15 โดยใช้การสัมภาษณ์ผู้ให้ข้อมูลจำนวน 28 คน ได้แก่ประธานกลุ่ม สมาชิกกลุ่ม ผู้มีส่วนได้ส่วนเสียกับกลุ่ม เช่นหน่วยงานราชการ เครือข่ายของกลุ่ม และลูกค้า ผลการศึกษาตามวัตถุประสงค์ประการที่ 1 พบว่ากลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ไทลื้อในตำบลศรีดอนชัยอพยพโยกย้ายหนีความขัดแย้งระหว่างประเทศจีนจากแคว้นสิบสองปันนา ลงมายังประเทศไทย เมื่อกว่า 100 ปีมาแล้ว การทอผ้าในบริเวณนี้มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปตามสภาพแวดล้อมทางเศรษฐกิจ และสังคม จากการที่ต่างคนต่างทอเพื่อใช้ ต่อมาเป็นการทอเพื่อขาย จึงมีการรวมตัวกันเป็นกลุ่ม กลุ่มวิสาหกิจชุมชนผ้าทอไทลื้อ หมู่ 14 ตำบลศรีดอนชัยมีการรวมตัวกันเองก่อนที่รัฐบาลจะเข้ามาช่วยเหลือสนับสนุนตามโครงการหนึ่งตำบลหนึ่งผลิตภัณฑ์ ส่วนหมู่ 12 และ 15 เกิดขึ้นหลังจากมีเงินช่วยเหลือของโครงการดังกล่าว สำหรับผลการศึกษาตามวัตถุประสงค์ ประการที่ 2 พบว่าสิ่งที่ทำให้กลุ่มบางกลุ่มประสบความสำเร็จและบางกลุ่มล้มเหลวล้มเลิกกิจการเกิดจากระบบการออมทรัพย์ ความแตกต่างหลากหลายของอายุและชาติพันธุ์ของผู้เข้าร่วมกลุ่มซึ่ง มีผลต่อการส่งผ่านความรู้ ความสามารถของผู้นำกลุ่ม ทักษะของสมาชิก มุมมองของสมาชิกในการทอผ้าว่าเป็นงานประจำหรืองานเสริม มีการสร้างวัฒนธรรมองค์การที่อิงกับค่านิยมตามหลักพุทธศาสนาซึ่งนำมาสู่ความพอเพียง และสร้างแรงยึดเหนี่ยวร่วมกันในกลุ่ม ซึ่งความแตกต่างที่กล่าวมาเหล่านี้ถือเป็นปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อความสำเร็จหรือการคงอยู่ได้เป็นเวลานานของกลุ่ม หรือความล้มเหลวล้มเลิกกิจการ

คำสำคัญ: การรวมกลุ่มวิสาหกิจชุมชน, ปัจจัยแห่งความสำเร็จ, ผ้าทอลายน้ำไหลไทลื้อ

¹ นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก สาขาสังคมศาสตร์ สำนักวิชาศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยแม่ฟ้าหลวง

² รองศาสตราจารย์ สำนักวิชาศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยแม่ฟ้าหลวง

* ผู้นิพนธ์ประสานงาน โทร. 08-1456-4765 อีเมล: nattiraya@hotmail.com



Success and Failure of Community-Based Enterprises: A Case Study on Weaving Groups, Sridonchai Subdistrict, Chiangkhong District, Chiangrai Province

Nattira Horpibulsuk^{1*} and Preecha Upayokin²

Abstract

This research has two objectives. Objective No.1: To analyze the situation of community-based enterprises (CEs) of textile weaving in Sridonchai Subdistrict, Chiangkhong District, Chiangrai Province. Objective No.2: To analyze the factors affecting the success and failure of CEs. Research was conducted by using qualitative research method. Research was designed by using case studies of 3 CEs in Village Nos. 12, 14 & 15 in Sridonchai Subdistrict, Chiangkhong District, Chiangrai Province. Empirical data was collected by using in-depth interview with 28 key informants i.e. group leaders, members, and stakeholders (government organizations, group networks and customers). The research findings from Objective No.1 was that some of Tai Lue's descendants migrated from Sipsongpanna in the southern part of China to settle down in Sridonchai Sudistrict more than 100 years ago due to political conflicts in China. From the period of settlement until present, the situation of Tai Lue's CEs has been quite dynamic having changed from weaving for family supply to weaving products for sale. Some CEs were indigenous which were formed by local individuals while others were set up supported by the government under the One Tambon One Product scheme. The research findings for Objective No. 2 revealed many factors affecting the success or failure as follows: The research findings for Objective No.2 reveals the factors affecting the success or failure of the groups as follows: savings system, differences in age and ethnicity of the group participants affect the transmission of knowledge, leadership capabilities, members' skills, members' view whether textile weaving is routine or supplementary work; presence of an organizational culture based on Buddhist values which leads to sufficiency and creation of bond in the group. These differences are factors that affect the long-term success or survival of the group or failure to abolish the business.

Keywords: Community-Based Enterprises (CEs), Success and Failure Factors, Tai Lue Tapestry Weaving

¹ Doctoral student of Doctoral Degree of Philosophy in Social Science, School of Liberal Arts, Mae Fah Luang University

² Associate Professor, School of Liberal Arts, Mae Fah Luang University

* Corresponding Author Tel. 08-1456-4765 e-mail: nattiraya@hotmail.com



1. Introduction

Community-based enterprises (CEs); home-based industries that produce local cultural products in Thai villages have existed in the Thai society for a long period of time. [1] Recently, the CEs development is the leading strategy in revitalizing the local economy in Thailand. Since the economic crisis occurred in Thailand in 1997, the CEs have played a major role in the economic development. The strategy of the CEs development is the coordination among different key institutions i.e. the government, the private sectors and the communities. The forms of help are focused mainly on facilities and financial services. The communities are grouped as the network to accept the help. One important strategy for the existence of the CEs is One Tambon (sub-district) One Product (OTOP) scheme which creates a significant change in the government's role. The government organizations that support the OTOP scheme are, e.g. (1) Department of International Trade Promotion, Ministry of Commerce, which aims to support the CEs in exporting as a key idea of the OTOP scheme. However, the number of CEs that received OTOP star assessment decreased as the declination of villages' products quality. Regarding to this, the government's exporting objective was discontinued. (2) Department of Agricultural Promotion, Ministry of Agriculture, was involved in developing CEs after the government reviewed the problems in the realistic term and found out that some of products could not reach 3 stars and could not even export. So, the need for developing the CEs turned to the local marketing and provided some financial supports i.e. no tax payment for some least developed CEs. In order to do this, the CEs had to register with the program and

named their enterprises as "Small and Micro CEs: SMCEs". [2] Many CEs were registered with the program where some of them got higher than 3 stars. Recently, the number of registration is higher than before. These situations are in contradiction to the initial objective of the SMCEs program, which aimed for self-supporting and reduction of the number of registration to the program. As such, this can be considered as a sign of unsuccessful CEs program in Thailand. As far as the situation is concerned, the CEs in northern Thailand is highlighted. Northern Thailand has abundant resources and is rich in culture. Unfortunately, the number of registration to the SMCEs program to obtain government support is quite high. There is also less number of cultural products included for OTOP star assessment in northern Thailand compared to that in the northeastern region. The comparison between the numbers of the CEs that registered for the 3-5 OTOP stars between the 2 regions showed that the four big provinces with the highest registration number of products of more than 1,500 products to access the 3-5 OTOP stars are from the northeastern provinces; Khonkhen, Buriram, Udon Thani and Kalasin respectively. [3] While Chiangrai, the one and the only province from the northern region, is entitled as the 5th runner up having less than 1,000 products to access the 3-5 OTOP stars.

It is quite interesting to note that the product that supports the 5 provinces mentioned above to gain OTOP stars assessment is traditional textile weaving. Recently, the number of OTOP star assessment of weaving products in Chiangrai province declined. Majority of the CEs are registered for the SMCEs program to gain help from the government. It turns out to be a research problem as to "Why some of the CEs

of cotton weaving products in Chiangrai can survive in the competitive market, while some were out of business. This research focused on Chiangkhong District where majority of cotton weaving CEs is situated. The weaving technique in Chiangkhong District belongs to the ethnic minority group called Tai Lue. Tai Lue women inherited the tapestry weaving technique so-called “Num Lai or Floating” from their ancestors. Tai Lue people migrated from south China in early 19th century after the political problem and settled down in Sridonchai Subdistrict, Chiang khong District for more than 100 years. [4]

2. The objectives

2.1 To analyze the situation of the CEs that produce weaving textile products in Sridonchai Subdistrict, Chiangkhong District, Chiangrai Province.

2.2 To analyze the factors that affected the success and failure of the CEs in Sridonchai Subdistrict, Chiangkhong District, Chiangrai Province.

3. The Methodology

This research utilizes a qualitative inductive approach on the case study. Three cases: Village Nos.12, 14 & 15 of Sridonchai Subdistrict Chiangkhong District, Chiangrai Province, are studied. In-depth interview was applied in collecting data. Key informants consisted of 28 people, i.e. leaders of weaving CEs, members of each enterprise, government officers, customers and key stakeholders. The analysis is conducted by using the content analysis and constant comparison by manual coding. For reliability, interview questions are reviewed by the experts and some pilot tests are conducted with the Tai Lue descendants who study at Mae Fah Luang University as this research is on in-depth

interview with the Tai Lue ethnic minority. Regarding differences of culture and language of the Tai Lue, each question needs to be clarified for mutual understanding. The validity of this research can be seen in 2 parts; (1) the interview questions that derived from reviewing various literatures, (2) the Key informants were asked with the same set of questions.

4. Area of the study

This research was conducted in Sridonchai Subdistrict, Chiangkhong District, Chiangrai Province by using the case study of 3 CEs that produce the Tai Lue textile as follows: 1. Sridonchai women weaving group of Srimongkol Village (Village No.14), 2. Srichaimongkol Village weaving group (Village No.12) and 3. New Sridonchai Village weaving group (Village No.15). Actually, the Tai Lue people live in Sridonchai area called Sridonchai Village (Village No.7). Another 3 Tai Lue villages (12, 14 and 15) were then split due to the density of the population as per the following picture:



Picture 1 Four Tai Lue villages at Sridonchai
(Researcher own picture)

5. Research results

5.1 The socio-cultural context.

The socio-cultural context of the 3 cases study is nearly similar. However, some distinctive own scenarios that affect to the existence of business are also clarified.

5.1.1. The history of Tai Lue ethnic minority group in Sridonchai Subdistrict.

This research applies the retrospective viewpoint to understand the history that reflects to the recent situation. Tai Lue ethnic minority group in Sridonchai Subdistrict migrated from Sibsongpanna territory in south China to northern part of Thailand twice. The first migration occurred in 18th century. Tai Lue from the left side of Mekong River came and settled down in Chiangmai and Nan Provinces. The second migration happened in 1912, after China turned into the republic. They moved to Sridonchai Subdistrict in Chiangrai Province. Tai lue of Sridonchai has a unique cultural background. They came from Oui town which is in the east side of Mekong River. They are quite different from another Tai Lue who migrated from the left side of the river. Even, Tai Lue of both side of the river believe in Buddhism as well as ghost, the guardian ghost of each town is different. Oui town was famous for salt production. Those who found important salt pits would be respected and then became guardian ghosts. The different guardian and value of each town help enhancing a commitment in each group. The alignment of both the Buddhism and local guardians created community's values of Tai Lue in Sridonchai area. The value was also strengthened by network of interpersonal relations between each person. The relationship came from the clan, the neighborhood, and the Buddhism's duty. There were 5 main clans in Sibsongpanna to Sridonchai area. The 5 clans are called Tai Huan. They are Tai Huan Nai, Tai Huan Numtuan, Tai Huan Numhuay, Tai Huan Khang, Tai Huan Kao-Kham. Each clan was settled down in different area in Sridonchai and each clan has its own rule and regulations to take care of its own descendants.

It is interesting that each clan prevented the marriage among the same family and provided the social division of labor as each clan had its own duty to both society and its living. Those who settled down near Mekong River earned their living by fishing. Those who lived in upper land were farmers. Recently, the border of each clan is blurred and overlapped. They stay with each other and become neighborhood system called "Q ta mong". They help each other in any activity and ceremony i.e. farming and wedding. In addition, Tai Lue in this area is influenced by Buddhism. For example, they contributed to complete a cloth for a monk within one night during Krathin festival (Chula Krathin).

5.1.2 Weaving skill.

Tai Lue at Sridonchai inherited the Num Lai weaving (a tapestry weaving technique) from mother.



Picture 2 Tai Lue at Sridonchai's weaving [5]

Tai Lue woman spent their free time after farming to weave for the family. In many occasions; for example, marriage ceremony and welcome new born baby. Furthermore, sometimes the textile can generate family's income by selling it to a middleman. The textile was usually sold very cheap because of middleman's bargaining power. This created a conflict among the weavers. So, there was an



initiative from the local to establish weaving groups for income generated as a whole.

An establishment of the weaving groups is varied. It can be divided into 2 forms: (1) the indigenous self-development of village such as Village No.14 and (2) the government supporting network such as Weaving Village Nos.12 & 15.

Firstly, an indigenous self-development woman group of Village No.14 was established in 1989. This group got highly supported from an initiative of Queen Sirikit which led to an interest in and the demand of the weaving sarong among government Officers. Therefore, the local people were grouped together to establish the CE to make and sell its clothes. The main objective was to empower a weaver in negotiating with the middleman. At the beginning, Sridonchai women weaving had only 12 members. The management style tended to be loose. All members were rotated to work in every production process; starting from cotton picking up to dyeing. The leader served as a mentor and the marketer. After 2 years of self-establishment, the CE gained a support from the local government in terms of money to buy land to build an office. Many Tai Lue women from 4 Tai Lue villages then joined the group. They thought that this group had potential as this group had demand for textile products. Numbers of members increased to 250 people. The structure of the group had changed to a division of labor based on specialization. Furthermore, the group changed its strategy from “to make”; the utilization of natural yarn and natural dye to “to buy” strategy by order of cotton yarn from others.

The flexibility with the market is a key existence of the group. Recently, this group still functions by focusing on the local market. The

main group of customer is the government officers in Chiangkhong district who have to wear Tai Lue cloth on Friday. In addition, this group has a niche market that different from many self-own businesses in the same area. That is, this group helps the local temple for Chula Krathin ceremony. The reputation for its skillful and benevolence mind helps getting a job for weaving demonstration at the ceremony in many temples. This is a new source of income generator recently. For the sake of religious, this activity is enhancing group members’ esteem for their role of a good Buddhism.

Secondly, the government supporting group; Weaving Village Nos.12 & 15 were formed in 2001 under the OTOP scheme. Each village required to select its distinctive product that represented their local wisdom. For Sridonchai sub-district, majority of population is Tai Lue’s descendants so their main product is Tai Lue tapestry weaving. The villagers then agreed to establish a weaving group. Each group received only 8,000 baht as the government incentive, while, building and other infrastructures were not provided. Unfortunately, Weaving Village Nos. 12 & 15 were adjourned after establishing for 4 years.

5.2 Factors that affect the success and failures of weaving enterprises.

From the interview and analysis by using content analysis found that the following factors; leadership capacities, external network relations, fianace and savings system, group center, knowledge transferring and members’ view whether textile weaving is routine or supplementary work, had impacted on success or failure of CEs. It was also found that Village No.14 gained positive result for all factors, while those factors had impacted on the other two as following tables;



Table 1 Leadership Capacities

Leader	Sub factors	Village No.12	Village No.14	Village No.15
Demography	Clan	Tai Lue from Tai Huan Nai Clan (The leader clan).	Tai Lue from Tai Huan Klang.	Tai Lue from Tai Huan Num Huay.
	Age	Early 30 when group was formed.	Early 40 when group was formed.	Mid 30 when group was formed.
	Gender	Female	Female	Female
Education		High School	Grade 6	HVQ in Home Economy
Skills	accounting	Some skill	Skillful	Semi skill
	weave	Some skill	Skillful	Semi skill
	pattern	None	Skillful	Semi skill
	saw	None	Skillful	Semi skill
Experience in Business		Former staff at restaurant	Owner of grocery shop	Former staff in company
Ability and Personality	relation with local Gov.	none	Local Gov. committee	None
	control over staff	1. No charisma as younger than the members. 2. All members prefer farming rather than weaving.	1. Connect with local authority 2. Train for dress making in the group.	Less treasury and facilities to support the group.

Table 2 External Network Relations

External Network Relations	Sub factors	Village No.12	Village No.14	Village No.15
Reciprocal network with...	Local authority	Some	Strength tie	None
	Other groups or networks	Her mother is the member of Weaving Village No 14	Another network that producing weaving product in another style.	None as stay in BKK for a long time.

Table 3 Financ and Savings System

Finance	Village No.12	Village No.14	Village No.15
Debt.	debt problems because the government supported them for only 8,000 Baht. However, Gov. provided the place for building group center.	Minor debt for 200,000 Baht from buying the land. Group solved it by sharing its debt to its member. That is, each of the 250 members of the group was responsible for the whole debt so that the debt was paid rapidly.	High debt problems because the government supported them for only 8,000 Baht. The group had to find the place to build group center and facilities by itself.
Bookkeeping style	duplicate from Village No. 14 without trial and error.	developed over time from the household accounting to cost accounting.	Household accounting so the data did not reflect their actual financial problem.
Group saving	Had a saving's duration for 4 years. After that group members agreed with an allocation of the saving. Without saving, these groups ran out of business.	Group saving started since 1990. Now, this group has 3.5 million baht. This group had no policy for returning all saving, only saving and loan interests provided. The saving program is continuing.	Same problem as Village No. 12



Table 4 Group Center

Village No.12	Village No.14	Village No.15
This group had a group's center provided by the municipality located inside the municipality office. However, the group members felt not involve in the group. They rarely came to work.	This group has a group's center where many members come to work, to talk and do any activity together. The group center is an evidence of members' involvement.	This group formed group center at leader's house. But the leader cannot afford for the expenses.

Table 5 Knowledge Transferring

Village No.12	Village No.14	Village No.15
Members were free to each other. They can decide whether to weave or to do the farming. It led to the misunderstanding and reduction of group productivity.	Weaving Village No.14 comprises of seniors in the village who have a high weaving skill. They serve as a community trainer. Furthermore, some skillful weavers are hired by other shops to weave for them. Therefore, they gain additional experience to transfer to other in the group. However, the additional works can be done if the group consents. This leads to mutual understanding and trust. This is the flexible division of labor which provides the knowledge transfer to all community.	Same problem as Village No. 12

Table 6 Members' view whether textile weaving is routine or supplementary work

Village No.12	Village No.14	Village No.15
They can weave whenever they want. Majority of the member of Village No.12 tended to work at farm as they perceived it as full-time job rather than weaving. It led to group's insecurity.	At Village No. 14 members are not seriously for the profit gained because members view their work just as a part-time. They have a work and life balance.	Same problem as Village No. 12.

From the analysis found that even every groups view it as supplementary work, though they perform and behave differently.

6. Analysis and Further Comments

6.1 An analysis for Objective No.1 found that the situation of Weaving Village No.14 is comprehended with the well-studied form of small enterprises entitled "Industrial District in Italy" [5]. This model is a socio-territorial entity in which history and organization are bounded. The business structure includes almost all small locally owned enterprises. [6] The industrial district is a phenomenon of a successful CEs until now by the following characteristics; (1) "A flexible specialization": a flexible duty of craft-skilled artisans, (2) A unit of small firm links as a network rather than a single firm which coordination between each small enterprise was governed by trust, co-operation and reciprocal, and (3) A support of a knowledge transfer process. The situation of Weaving Village No.14 goes along with the characteristic above. Furthermore, Tai Lue's CEs at Sridonchai sub district has unique character of Thai CEs which identified by the



following scholars. Firstly, it was identified as independently developed enterprise that has an indigenous network of local [7]. Secondly, there is a government involvement model (the OTOP). The concept of Thai OTOP scheme was inspired by the Japanese OVOP which focused on self-resilience. Weaving Village No.14 represented the above characteristics well. However, many community based enterprises cannot reach to the sustainability level, for examples, Weaving Village Nos.12 & 15. Even, these gained government support in terms of funding and training, the financial support which provide only one time when the groups established, it is insufficient to run the groups. As such, the villagers who lack of experience often fell. Furthermore, the training from government does not in according with their needs.

6.2 An analysis for Objective No. 2 found that the empirical data is associated with "The Conceptual Framework for Describing the Phenomenal of New Venture Creation". [8] Four factors in the framework match with factors found from research. That are as follows; (1) Contextual factor, it can be divided into (1.1) Individual and (1.2) organizational factors, it is found that the leadership, the members' perception and the group's center are grouping here. (2) Environmental factor, it is found that the external network relation is included. (3) Process factor, it is found that the financial factors are found in this category. (4) Business opportunity's factor, it is found that knowledge transfer is a variable factor in this category. As the knowledge transfer inside the firm will lead to the learning outcome of firm. [9] Learning outcomes of firms can be divided into 2 types; (1) Explorative learning outcome which is an innovation that found by firm. (2) Exploitative learning outcome which is an

adaptation from others. [10] For Weaving Village No.14, it can be considered as an enterprise with an explorative learning outcome. Their product developments came from trial and error and self-initiation. This group has a unique niche market and the distinctive weaving technique. On the other hand, the other two groups tended to have an exploitative learning outcome because it repeated the traditional weaving style. For the management style, Weaving Village Nos.12 & 15 copied the best practice from other enterprise which has different situation and background. They cannot apply that practice to their group. All of these lead to the success and failure of the cases study.

7. Recommendation

The research on the CEs can be further conducted in the future in the following areas;

7.1 Expand the scope of the investigation to the other local crafts in Thailand.

7.2 Create the model of successful CEs that can be applied universally.

7.3 Concern on the area-based study on the ethnic minority enterprises that have a unique characteristic.

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