



Croatian
International
Relations
Review

CIRR

XXVIII (90) 2022,
169-192

DOI 10.2478/
CIRR-2022-0084

UDC 327 (4-6
EU:73:55)

Public Policy Advocacy from Below: A Comparative Study of the People's Movement for a Just Society and the Thai Labour Solidarity Committee

Chanakan Phundeamvong

*Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities,
Mahidol University, Thailand*

Email: jakanp19@gmail.com

Chokchai Suttawet

*Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities,
Mahidol University, Thailand*

Email: csuttawet@gmail.com

Abstract

Key words:

Public policy,
policy advocacy,
people's
participation,
people's
movement, the
labor movement.

To create effective and relevant public policies relevant to today's social challenges, citizens must be involved. Even though most policies originate from the government or are referred to as top-down policies, public policies may be the creation of the people's or private business sectors. The People's Movement for a Just Society (P-Move) and the Thai Labor Solidarity Committee (TLSC), the two movements that advocate for just public policy in Thailand, are described as examples of bottom-up policy. The study used a qualitative research technique and analyzed data from primary documents, secondary documents, and fieldwork research using an interpretive process. This fieldwork research comprised non-participant observation of the activities of both movements, two focus group discussions with a total of 18 participants, and in-depth interviews with 51 main informants. In addition, the researchers used theoretical models of public policy to explain how advocacy for public policy emerged from below. The data were analyzed using the content analysis technique focused on describing and understanding the occurrences that happened. The study discovered that P-Move has been supporting public policy from below since 2011, which has been created based on issues with the production of land and natural resources. Similarly, to this, TLSC has been promoting public policy that is the result of labor issues since 2001. Both movements have taken part in the public policy process and advocated for public policies based on their demands and issues. Both groups have, to a certain extent, been able to influence state policy and its execution. Still, the labor movement has been more effective than the people's movement in securing tangible outcomes from its advocacy for policy. According to this study, the government should change its paradigm to support and promote public policy that stems from the labor movement, the civil rights movement, and other social organizations, as these policies are advantageous to the government and society at large. This would provide problems with pertinent answers that matched the requirements of the populace.

Introduction

Since state power determines state policy, previous mainstream studies of public policy have usually emphasized the state's use of power in this role, understanding public policy as the development of state policy in the public interest. As a result, according to [Dye \(2013\)](#), this scholarship has strongly emphasized researching and examining what the state and its decision-making processes decide to do or not do. Following this idea, public policy studies strongly emphasize researching and examining the state, experts, and state institutions that determine and evaluate public policy. This strategy, though, has drawbacks and has come under fire for relying on the centralized control of political institutions, state power, and political processes in a representative system, also known as an official system with vertical, top-down relations and chains of command for the distribution of orders. Because state policy is not something that happens naturally but rather is a result of the state and members of society in each era who are

connected to the systems of politics and governance, culture, and economy, which are always changing, these studies of public policy tend to be rigid and unable to address the constantly changing social dynamics. The researchers discovered two movements that have played a consistent and obvious role in advocating for public policy through a preliminary survey of the Thai people's sector and people's movements that have agency or are active citizens. These movements can be studied comparatively to shed light on their role in advocating for public policy from below. These organizations are the Thai Labor Solidarity Committee and the People's Movement for a Just Society (P-Move) (TLSC). Since their inception, each of these movements has played a consistent role in promoting public policy. The authors performed this study to compare and contrast the public policy processes, models, and the subjects on which P-Move and TLSC fought for public policy.

The researchers contend that comparing the two movements' advocacy for public policy is more advantageous to policy science than focusing on only one movement. This is because comparing the public policy advocacy of the two movements, P-Move and TLSC, results in bottom-up coverage in public policy studies, which is a crucial dynamic in Thai society where both organizations have played significant roles in acting as actors and advocating for public policy. This is consistent with the viewpoint of the new public service group, which has suggested that the management of state affairs has a close relationship with political theory. They contend that public administration should not only be concerned with issues relating to the official/bureaucratic system, such as the issue of maintaining neutrality or emphasizing efficiency but should instead place importance on political issues, particularly social equality, and social justice.

Literature Review

Theoretical Concepts about People's Participation in the Development of Participatory Public Policy

In the 1990s, a new generation of academics started writing articles advocating for establishing a public policy studies program aligned with participatory democratic governance. [Fischer \(2003\)](#) and [Fischer \(2009\)](#) is one author who viewed postmodern public policy formulation as participation in defining people's problems. This participation can produce both new and interpretive knowledge, which is impossible through research using empirical methods that reject the role of interpretation. Both postmodernism and the ability to acquire first-hand knowledge of local environments place value on people's varied viewpoints, which are crucial for producing social expertise and having an attitude of acceptance toward dialectic knowledge, in which participants or stakeholders participate in the process of producing interpretive knowledge. As a result, it is regarded as a key aspect of postmodern research because it aims to illuminate stakeholder participation that will help correct the flaws and

limitations of reasoning based on the bipolar division of the factual world and the world of values rather than just seeking one dimension of knowledge from experts or government officials as per the empiricist school (Fischer, 2003).

Participatory public policy analysis, according to Laird (1993), is a strategy for developing the politics of policy-making because it broadens the conversation to include questions about who we are, what we want, and how we can get it instead of letting a small number of conflicting interest groups focus only on the specifics of the issue. The idea of participatory analysis creates space for a broader range of policy actions, including problem definition and framing. Hardin et al. (2003) referred to a body of knowledge concerning modern policy science that includes an essential element, namely the use of "good governance" concepts, to ensure true public engagement. By emphasizing new politics in a networked society and deliberative policy analysis, the study of public policy necessitates concepts and methodologies to investigate policy from below. The authors of this study focus on both movements, which have engaged in the public policy process, using a novel public policy studies methodology in light of the review mentioned above.

People's Participation in Public Policy

To get society, the community, and the state to acknowledge the issues that have arisen, Camilla M. Stivers has argued that being an active citizen entails reflecting on the state and the various problems that have occurred and opening up new perspectives related to racism and gender 1990. According to Considine (1994), people's engagement is the foundation of all policy formation and execution. People's involvement contributes to developing a logical deliberation that generates and communicates knowledge of moral principles and demonstrates how policies affect individual and group needs and impacts. If so, participation will be the means through which social capital, legitimacy, cooperation, and innovation are created.

Theoretical Models of Public Policy Advocacy

The researchers apply the following theoretical models of public policy to serve as the theoretical framework in their study and analysis of the public policy advocacy of the Thai people's movement and labor movement:

1. Public Policy Process Model

According to Dye (2013), the political activity of creating public policy can be summed up as having six major stages, shown below. 1) Problem identification is the process of identifying issues with public policy through the expression of needs by people and groups who want the government to act to address the issues. 2) Setting the agenda refers to determining the

topics for extensive discussion in the public and media to develop a strategy for making public policy decisions. 3) Policy formation is the process by which different interested parties, including government working groups, the House of Representatives, and think tanks, generate policy recommendations. 4) The choice of the House, government, and courts to promulgate public policy as law, as well as the pursuit of support for that policy and the declaration of policy, are examples of policy legitimation. 5) Policy implementation is the action by state officials or agencies to levy taxes, enact rules, and take other steps to make policies effective in practice. It also includes managing budgets, collecting taxes, and creating work schedules to assist and facilitate implementing policies. 6) Policy evaluation reviews policy outcomes by public officials, outside consultants, the media, and social groups. It comprises compiling a report on the assessment to assess the policy's effectiveness and make recommendations for its improvement, modification, or reform.

2. Interest Group Model

The group determines public policy with the most sway. This group's sway is influenced by a variety of factors, including the number of members, the size of the group, the group's wealth or financial resources, the group's strength of leadership, the group's access to or proximity to the policy maker, and the group's cohesion. There are various ways to advocate for policies, including 1) direct means like lobbying, evaluating popularity, aiding in election campaigns, etc.; and 2) indirect ones such as applying pressure, employing those who can vote as lobbyists, forming coalitions, etc. Therefore, advocacy by various organizations that seek to negotiate for the greatest advantage can always result in changes in public policy. Maximizing power often makes it possible to negotiate for the most benefit. Government is the party that does deals and strikes a balance between interests, and policy typically shifts in favor of the group with more clout (Dye, 2013).

3. Multiple Streams Theory/Policy Window

The influence of three streams—the problem stream, the political stream, and the policy stream—leads to entry onto the policy agenda and the process of making policy decisions, according to Kingdon et al. (1984)'s multiple streams theory and policy window. Policy entrepreneurs or their advocates can promote topics they are interested in by dedicating resources of time or other forces. If the three streams converge due to their conditions and activities, they can put these issues on the policy agenda. Alternatively, it might be due to a situation that causes a policy window to open in society, leading to a decision to change policies or make a decision. The problem stream is the flow that results from a variety of people in society being concerned and aware of the change, or it results from some influence that develops over time from an interest in a problem that has been brought up in the media, which raises awareness and a sense of commonality among the public. The accumulation of little issues into a

crisis may be the source of the problem stream. The political stream is the flow that results from changes within the political system or bureaucracy, such as shifts in governmental leadership or the dominant party in parliament, elections, popular referendums, political attitudes, or the overall emotional state of the electorate at any given time. The political stream may also simultaneously affect other streams. When the political stream and the problem stream are considered simultaneously, it becomes clear that both streams significantly impact promoting a policy agenda to open a policy window before engaging in the political system's decision-making process. The policy stream is the stream that develops after the political stream, and the problem stream has advanced a specific policy agenda up until it is possible to set a decision-making schedule or specify the specifics of alternatives for use in decision-making before issuing a concrete policy, like passing a law or regulation to solve a problem. When there are sufficient numbers of policy entrepreneurs, the public recognizes the problem, and success occurs. [Kingdon et al. \(1984\)](#) Kingdon believes these three streams are independent of the others and are always in motion.

4. Advocacy Coalition Framework

According to [Sabatier et al. \(1993\)](#) conceptual framework, developing or deciding on public policy involves complexity, making it impossible to employ any method reliably. Instead, it depends on various complicated circumstances and variables of numerous individuals who band together to form advocacy coalitions. When it comes to making choices or changing policies, the advocacy coalition approach is useful. Resources, knowledge, skills, and competence in agenda advocacy strategies or policy concerns are all important factors in the design and success of the public policy. These parties participate in and engage in dialogue at all stages of the policy-making process.

Theoretical Research Framework

The researchers apply the public policy process model, interest group model, multiple streams theory/policy window, and advocacy coalition framework to examine and understand the public policy advocacy of P-Move and TLSC. The rationale behind their actions is that, according to their theory, a coordinated application of the public policy theoretical models enables an analysis of the overall public policy advocacy of both movements, which in turn produces findings that succinctly and fully address the study's objectives, as shown in the diagram of the theoretical research framework on the following page.

Relevant Literature

There have been significant studies on networks, public interest organizations, people's organizations, civil society, and the labor movement's lobbying for public policy over the past 25 years.

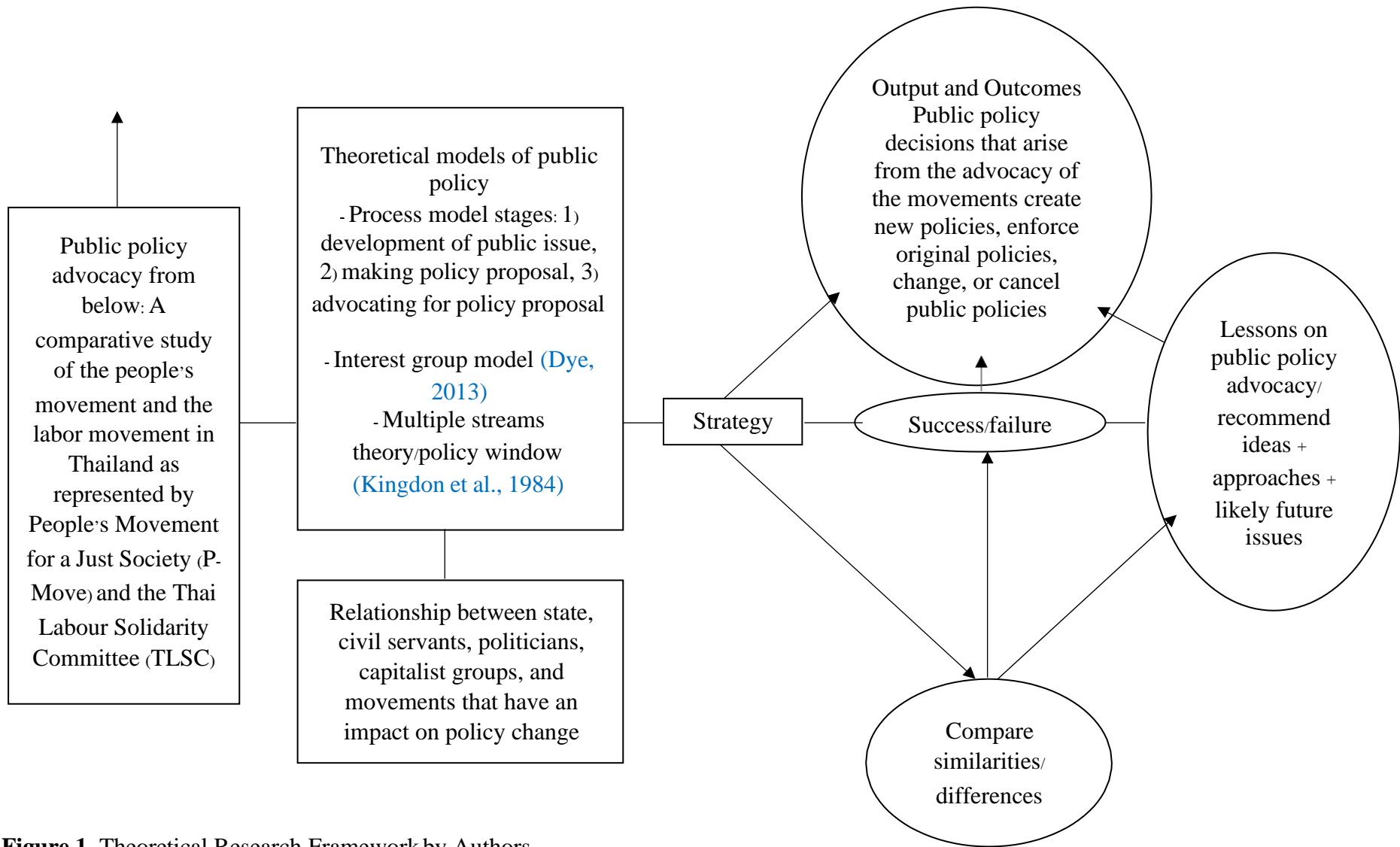


Figure 1. Theoretical Research Framework by Authors

Generally, it can be inferred from a review of the pertinent literature that previous research has concentrated on managing labor or people's movement organizations. Case studies such as the Assembly of the Poor (Chuinsiri, 1998; Howharn, 2009; Nualpian, 2000; Pintobtang, 1998; Siangdung, 2007; Sirisai, 2002) and the Land Rights Movement in Northern and North Eastern Thailand were chosen for this research. Four Regions Slum Network: (Ativanichayapong, 2001; Kraiyoonwong, 2002; Mansamak, 2014; Mitprasat, 2002; Phundeamvong, 2016; Samnuanyen, 2006; Siriutane, 2001).

These earlier studies also sought to shed light on the power dynamics and connections between the state and the movement under investigation. One can see that all previous studies from the literature review lack in-depth research on public policy that originates from grassroots campaigning by the labor movement and the people's movement. A comparison of the labor movement and the people's movement is another thing that previous research has lacked. This study undertaken by the researchers fills in the gaps of prior studies. It opens a new space in comparative studies of policy science focused on comparative public policy that emerges from advocacy from the bottom of the people's and labor movements.

Research Methodology

Methods of Study

This study focused on the interpretive analysis of qualitative data gathered from various documents and applying pertinent ideas. Primary documents and secondary documents are the two categories into which the documentary data sources employed in the study fall. Additionally, fieldwork research was carried out, which involved conducting in-depth interviews with 51 pertinent subjects from both movements who were activists, professors, or other individuals who could provide comprehensive knowledge on the movements that were the focus of the data gathering. The fieldwork research also included keeping track of the progress in problem-solving for the investigated organizations and the state sector by attending monthly meetings and negotiating meetings without participating and taking notes. Additionally, two focus group talks with 18 participants were held, one with significant individuals relevant to and/or in TLSC and the other with a group of people relevant to and/or in P-Move.

Research Questions

How do the two movements conduct public policy advocacy in the following stages: 1) development of public issues, 2) formulation of policy proposals, 3) advocacy for policy proposals so they are promulgated by the government or state agencies, and what are their public policy models?

Research Results

Background of the movements and their public policy advocacy work: issues, goals, strategies, and advocacy processes

People's Movement for a Just Society (P-Move) (2011-2019)

The main confrontation in Thai society at the time, between the yellow and red shirts, was the background against which P-Move was founded. P-Move was developed due to the study and analysis of numerous networks that had risen to pressure the government into settling issues about land rights and natural resources. They concurred that a people's movement needed to be established to make room for the poor movement to mobilize. This movement would be linked to issues relating to land and the poor's rights to resources, rights, freedoms, democracy, and social justice. It would be a social force that pressures the government to address issues. The Northern Peasants Federation, the Southern Peasants Federation, the Banthat Mountain Range Land Reform Network, the Isan Land Reform Network, the Community Network for Social and Political Reform, and the Four Regions Slum Network were among the significant networks that banded together to advocate in the name of P-Move.

P-Move is put up as a loose network of individuals. It is not particularly formally institutionalized, nor does it have a structure that has been methodically arranged. The primary responsibilities of P-Move include advocating for the policy or on agenda items requiring follow-up with each government to resolve concerns for its constituents, advocating for policy, and offering comments on evolving political, economic, and social issues. Being a loose network, P-Move looks for things its members have in common and reserves differences. This occasionally has an impact on the advocacy of policies, situational assessments, and the intelligibility of policy advocacy. P-Move has annual assemblies to elect board members and regular meetings to decide on activities.

Thai Labour Solidarity Committee (TLSC) (2001-2019)

The labor movement in Thailand saw the development of a central Coordinating Committee of Workers' Union Groups and Labor Federations on Education (COWE) in 1986 before the establishment of TLSC in 2001. At the worker union groupings and labor federations level, this committee witnessed the unionization of about 20 labor organizations. To improve collaborative educational work and expand into other labor activities outside of education, at the time, these labor union groups and labor federations came up with and put into practice the idea that labor organizations at the level of the federation, as well as union group, should open up widely, without limiting membership by the type of industry or specifying private sector or public sector. It was recommended that organizations at the labor federation level work together to upgrade labor

organizations at the labor council level so that they switch from using labor unions as their organizing base to using labor federations. By doing this, the labor organizations at the national level would be stronger than if they had originally used labor unions as their organizing base. With the help of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), implementation of both of these points—creating education jointly by labor union groups and labor federations and expanding into improving the organizational design of labor unions, federations, and councils so that they work well together—proceeded for several years, starting in 1986. [Suttawet \(1984-1989\)](#).

All these elements came from within the Thai labor movement. They impacted the growth and establishment of TLSC, founded in 2001 at a time when the Thai labor movement was in a precarious position. Labor unions at the national level were split up into groups competing for advantages in tripartite organizations, etc. They were not cohesive in their efforts, so the government did not pay attention to the employees' demands. It was a situation where there was a lack of a powerful organization that could mobilize and campaign continuously to address the issues facing workers.

Furthermore, several industries went bankrupt due to Thailand's 1997 economic crisis. Numerous factories were closed, and many employees were fired. As a result, particularly in the Thai textile industry, multiple labor unions had to be disbanded concurrently with the companies closing. Many employees lost their jobs or, if they didn't, were forced to work in the unorganized sector. In the same way that the 1997 Constitution was intended to change Thai politics by establishing a very powerful presidency, this phenomenon caused labor unions and the Thai labor movement to lose their bargaining leverage. The political bargaining power of workers afterward declined in a way that had never been seen before as a result of the Thai Rak Thai Party winning elections and being able to absorb other political parties until it became the political party with an absolute majority.

As a result, leaders of labor organizations from various industries decided to collaborate closely to increase their strength and effectiveness in their efforts to address workers' issues. This was yet another factor outside of the labor movement that encouraged the creation of the TLSC, which resulted from the unionization of labor councils, labor federations, industrial area labor union groups, a labor federation of state-owned enterprises, a network of unorganized workers, and non-governmental organizations that focused on labor. The State Enterprise Workers' Relations Confederation, ten labor federations, six labor union groups, one workers' coordination center, and nine non-governmental organizations were among the TLSC's 29 member organizations at the time it was founded. There were also two labor councils, the Labour Congress of Thailand and the Thai Trade Union Congress, and the State Enterprise Workers' Relations Confederation. Although TLSC's organizational structure resembles a network, it is more formal than P-Move. It holds monthly meetings, has organizational bylaws, and elects an executive

committee once a year. Additionally, TLSC analyzes its operations and activities yearly and routinely assesses its work outcomes.

Public Policy Advocacy of The Movements/Critical Discussion

The public policy advocacy process of both movements proceeded in summary according to the following stages: 1) developing public issues, 2) formulating policy proposals, 3) advocating for the policy proposals to be promulgated by the government or state agencies, 4) following up to get policy enforcement, and 5) monitoring and evaluating the results of policy implementation. A critical discussion follows below.

People's Movement for a Just Society (P-Move)

The concentration of land holdings was brought on by four errors in state policy and land management—namely, the policy to develop land as a commodity, the policy to allow the productive use of state land, the policy to increase the area of conservation forest and promote economic forests, and improper state land management—led to P-Move developing issues about the problem of land conflicts. P-Move consequently ran a campaign in favor of an equitable allocation of land ownership. Each P-Move constituent network is made up of individuals who have long been impacted by issues relating to land and natural resources. The movement developed the idea to push for a resolution to the conflicts over production land by proposing the principle of community rights to manage land and resources in the form of joint community land titles for the people.

This idea was based on the problems affecting the people's network, over which they have struggled and demanded a resolution from the government. Since the land ownership system had previously only been divided into two systems, certified state-owned and certified privately owned land, community land title was considered a novel invention. The execution of pilot projects in several locations to establish community sovereignty and collaborative community administration in the form of community land titles was a significant move made by P-Move. At the same time, P-Move promoted a systematic proposal for establishing laws governing communal land title, a land bank, the imposition of a progressive land tax, and the reform of the court system for the poor involved in property dispute cases. The following succinct description of public policy advocacy is given:

1) Developing Public Issues

P-Move created public concerns based on issues that its constituent people's networks directly encountered, such as land rights, being prosecuted in criminal or civil proceedings by government agents or capitalists, being detained and imprisoned, and having some leaders slain or vanish. With the cooperation of a network of academics, NGO workers,

and journalists, P-Move developed public issues. P-Move then elevated the issues to the level of public awareness by holding public forums to increase awareness and support among members of society.

2) Formulating Policy Proposals

The Thai Land Reform Network (TLRN), a P-Move forerunner that includes a significant portion of its members, methodically developed policy ideas before the organization of P-Move. On July 3, 2009, in Government House, it presented ideas for how to share land ownership in Thai society to the Steering Committee to Solve the Problems of the Thai Land Reform Network, which the government had established. Community land title deeds, a progressive land tax, and a land bank fund were all suggested ideas by TLRN. With the help of a network of academics with experience researching inequality and the concentration of land holdings in Thai society, TLRN had access to crucial data that it used to support these suggestions. With the assistance of the first and second National Reform Councils, P-Move and its network of supporters later transformed these policy recommendations into four draft legislations. The graphic below provides a summary of P-policy Move's recommendations.

Based on the research concepts, the researchers can summarize the public policy models that illustrate P-Move's policy advocacy and participation in the policy process in the [figure](#) below.

Thai Labour Solidarity Committee (TLSC)

Like a national-level labor council, TLSC is an organized labor movement. However, TLSC has decided to broaden the organization's scope beyond the confines of labor relations law because it believes that having official organization status and registration may restrict its growth and prevent it from becoming a labor movement that plays a part in improving society. Furthermore, according to TLSC, the labor movement should be a social movement that pushes for social advancement and improvement rather than merely being focused on advancing labor relations. The crucial policy advocacy of TLSC may be summed up and discussed as follows:

- Promoting fair pay, wherein the government should define the starting salary as adequate income to maintain oneself and another two family members following ILO principles. This minimum wage must be the same across the nation. The government should also establish a salary system and raise wages annually.
- Campaigning for the government to ratify Convention No. 87 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and Convention No. 98 on the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining.

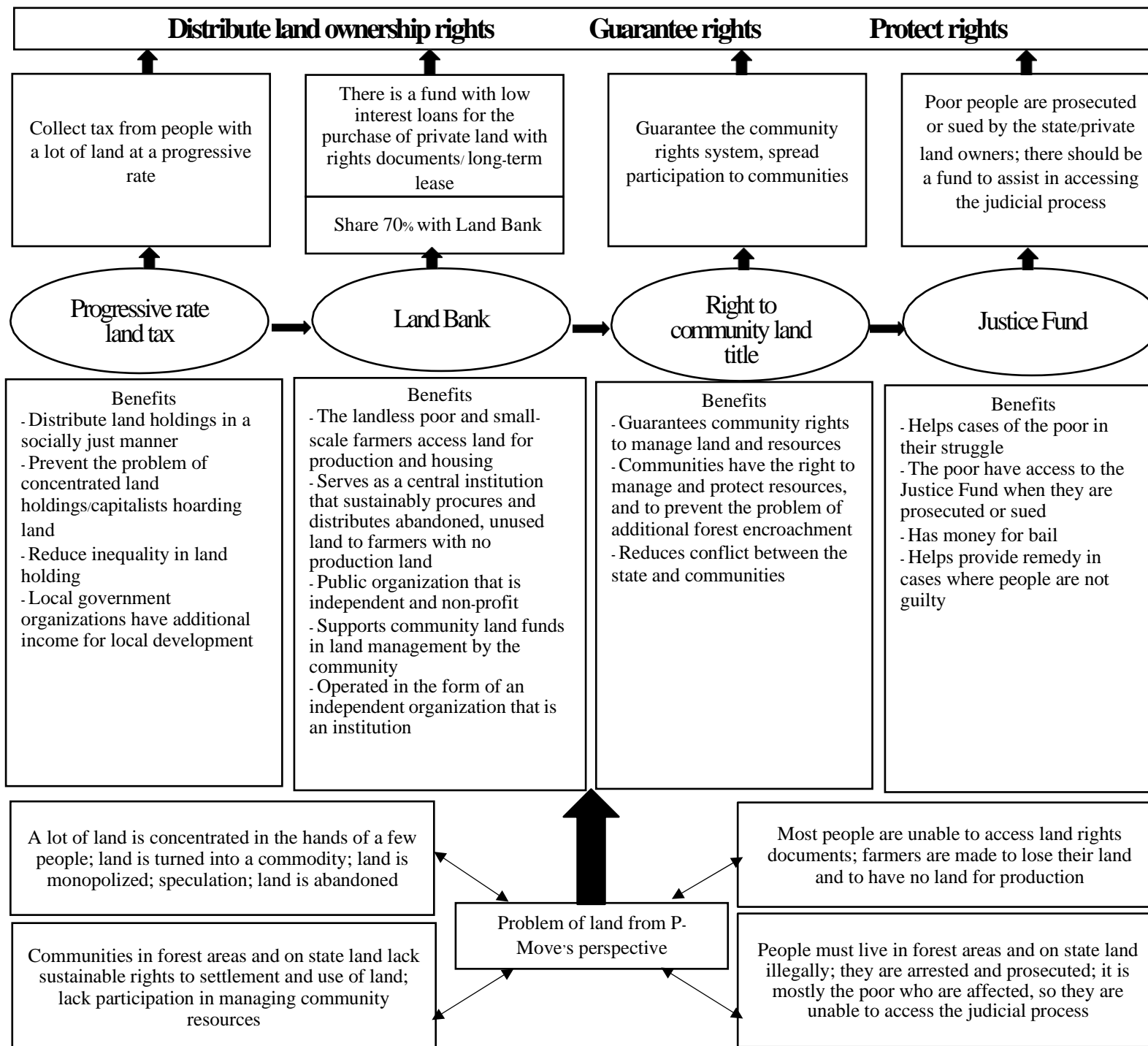


Figure 2. P-Move's Policy Proposals by Authors

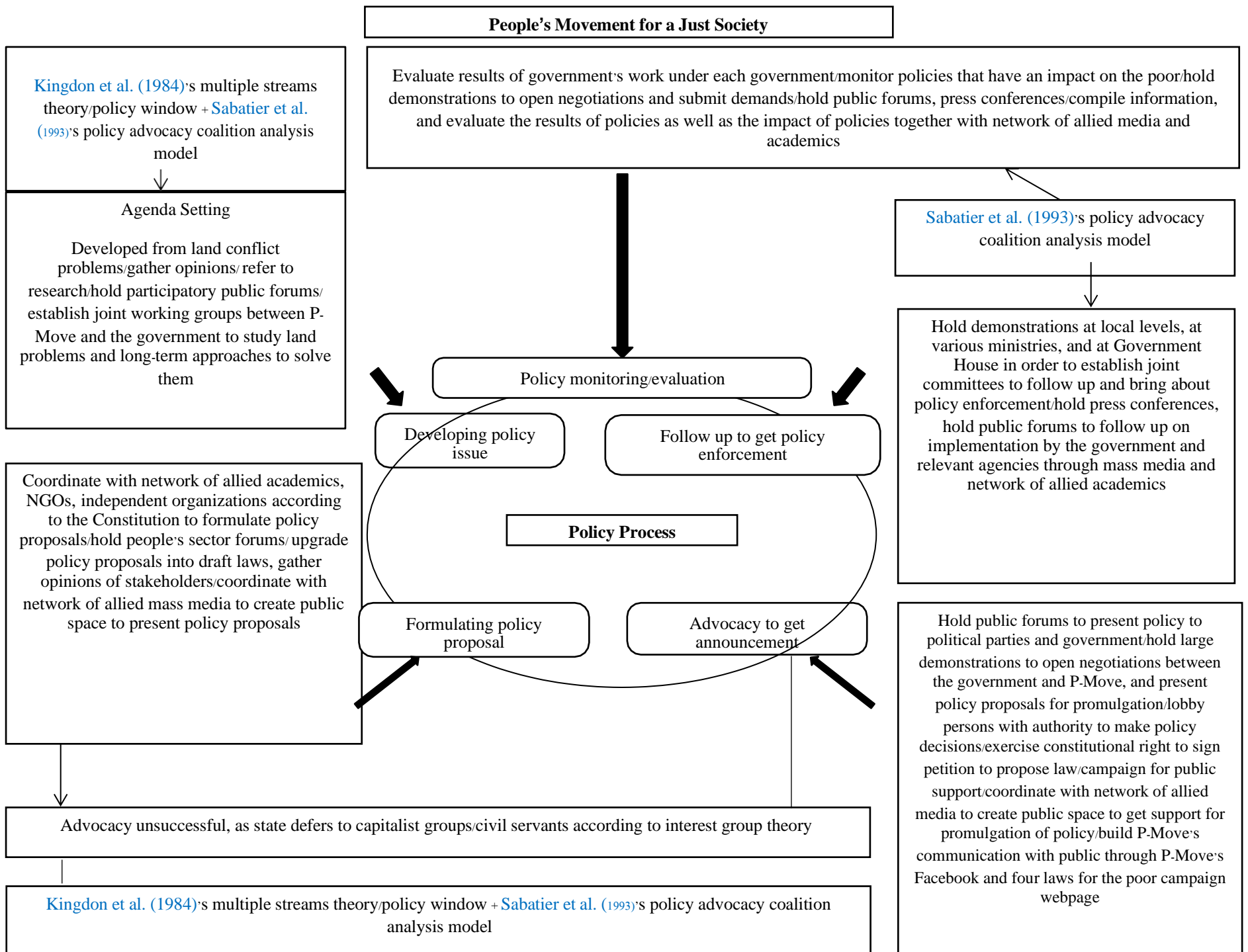


Figure 3. Summarizes and Conveys the Results of P-move Public Policy Advocacy According to Public Policy Theoretical Models by Authors

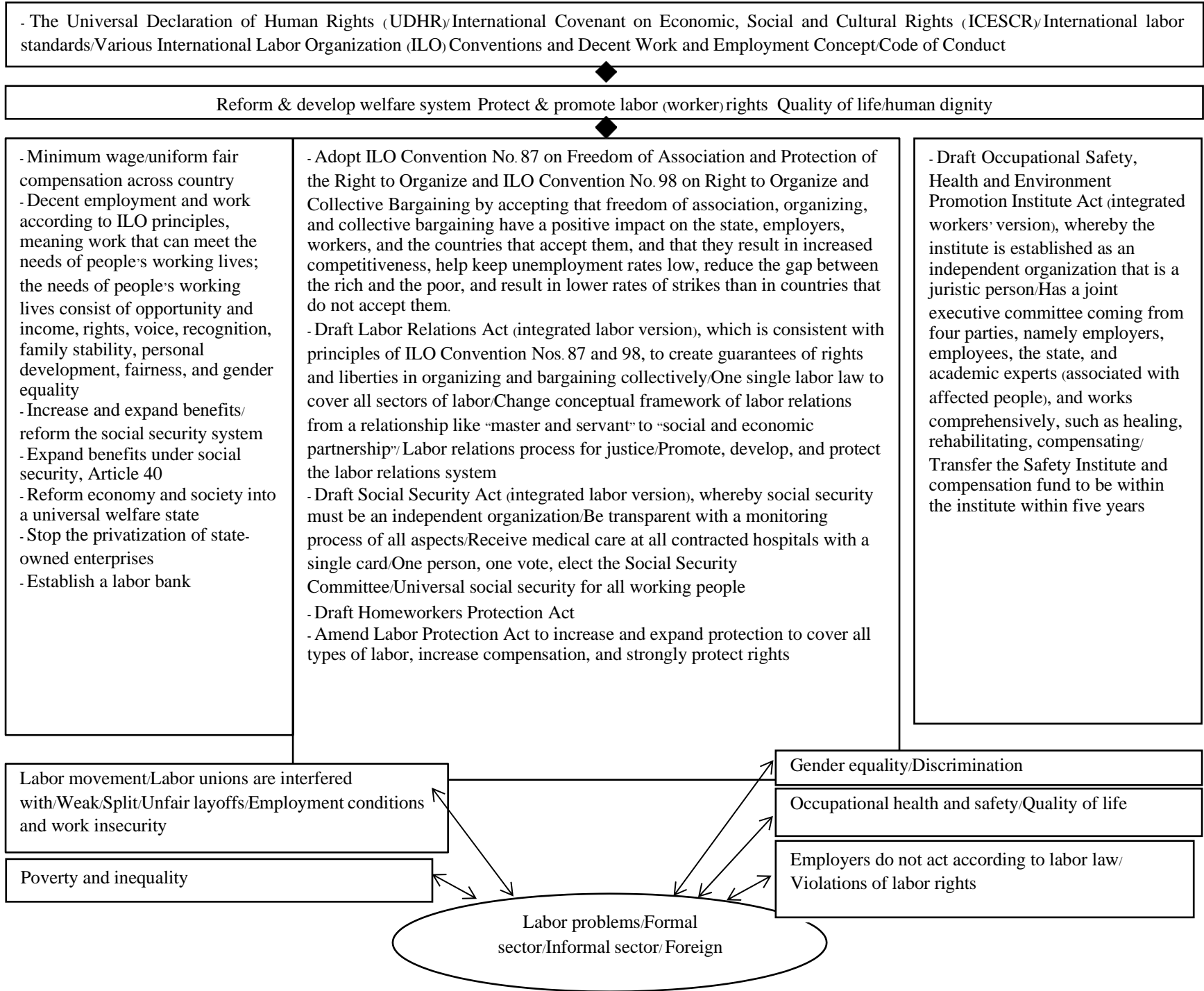


Figure 4. Summary of Policy Proposals for which TLSC Advocated by Authors

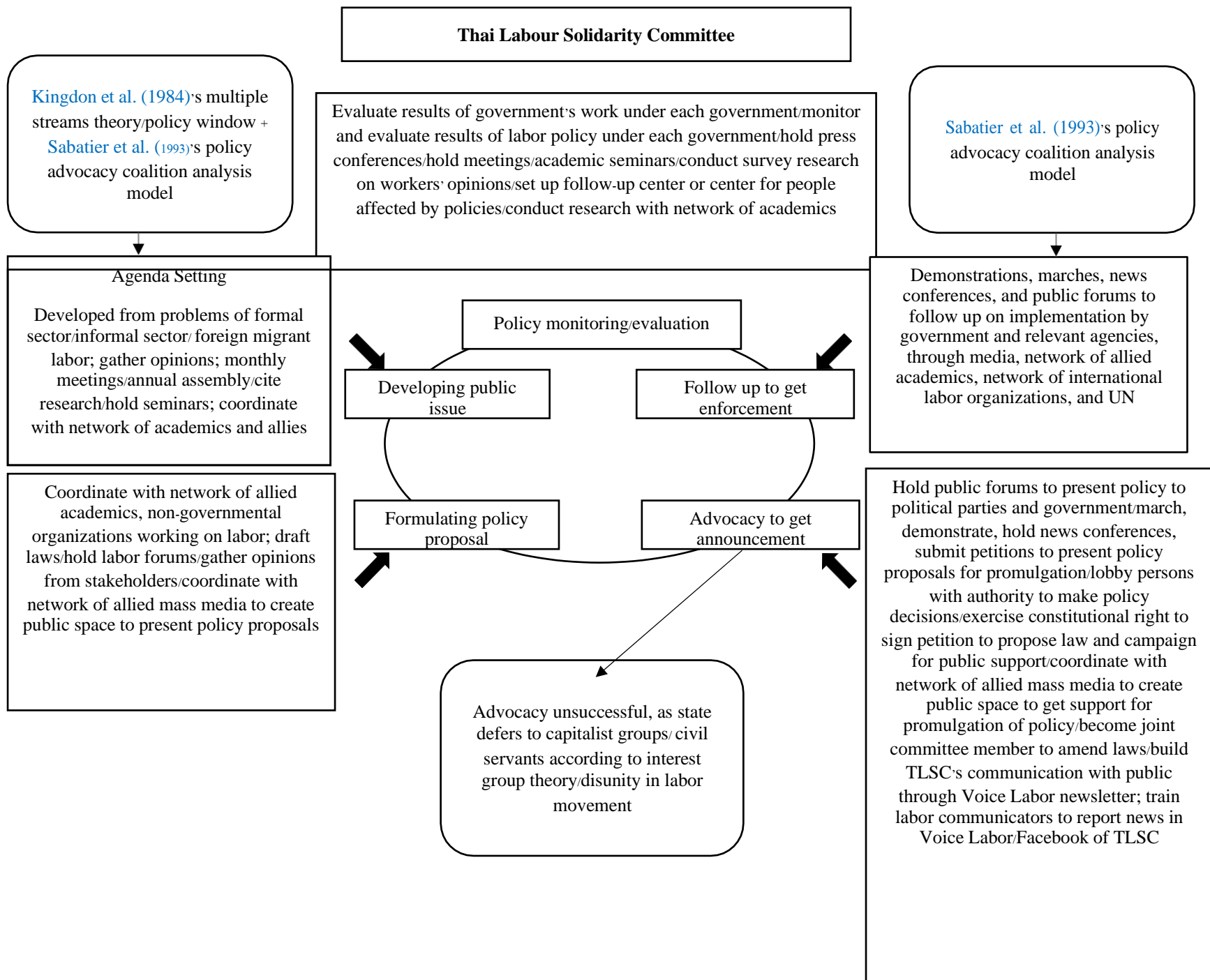


Figure 5. Summarizes and Conveys the Results of TLSC's Public Policy Advocacy According to Public Policy Theoretical Models by Authors

- Promoting social security reform and boosting benefits for all workers, including those in the official and informal sectors, as well as migrant workers from other countries.

- Promoting the rights and parity of men and women in the workplace.
- Promotion of formal sector, informal sector, and immigrant worker rights based on non-discrimination, human rights, and dignity principles.

- Support for a safe workplace due to the tragic fire at the Kader Toy Factory in Nakhon Pathom Province on May 10, 1993, which killed 188 workers and injured 469; as well as sick workers in the textile and apparel industries who contracted pneumonia from cotton dust while working in weaving and spinning factories; and workers who experienced occupational health issues due to pollution in industrial factories.

- Promoting the expansion of social security benefits under Article 40 of the Social Security Act to safeguard workers in the unorganized sector better.
- Resistance to state-owned enterprise privatization.

The Occupational Safety, Health, and Environment Promotion Institute Act (integrated version), the Labor Relations Act, the Promotion, Development, and Protection of Homeworkers Act (informal sector labor network), and the Social Security Act were among the draft laws of the labor movement that the TLSC later upgraded into final versions. The graph below provides an overview of the policy recommendations that TLSC supported.

Based on the research concepts, the researchers can summarize the public policy models that illustrate TLSC's policy advocacy and participation in the policy process in the figure above.

Discussion and Summary

Comparative Discussion According to The Theoretical Framework of Research

The researchers discovered that both movements' lobbying for public policy was congruent with the conceptions of people's participation in the creation of participatory public policy put out by Fischer (2003), Fischer (2009), Laird (1993), and Hardin et al. (2003). Stivers (1990) defined the term "active citizen" as one who reflects on the state and the various issues that have occurred and offer fresh perspectives on issues like racism and gender to have society, the community, and the state recognize them, both movements were found to have significantly increased participants' collective consciousness of active citizenship. To improve social conditions, an active citizen should also examine policy, its issuance, its implementation, and the activities of the state. Active citizens owe it to one another to justify and reply to the government and society to create policies that will benefit the populace.

The state must be conscious of the importance it places on people's engagement, just as citizens must be highly cognizant of that value (Stivers, 1990). According to Considine (1994), people's engagement is the foundation of all policy formation and execution. People's involvement contributes to developing a logical deliberation that generates and communicates knowledge of moral principles and demonstrates how policies affect individual and group needs and impacts. If true, participation will be the means through which social capital, legitimacy, cooperation, and social innovation are all created.

Additionally, by combining three theoretical models of the policy process—Kingdon et al. (1984)'s multiple streams theory and policy window, Sabatier et al. (1993)'s advocacy coalition framework, and the interest group model—one may explain the bottom-up policy advocacy of both movements in public policy (Dye, 2013). However the labor movement (TLSC) provided more tangible outcomes than P-Move, as shown in the comparative details in the table below.

Conclusion

P-Move and TLSC are comparable in that both have pushed for public policy on difficulties that each movement has encountered from below, specifically land and labor challenges. Both movements have taken part in all phases of the public policy process, including 1) creating public issues, 2) formulating policy proposals, 3) arguing for the government or state agencies to adopt the policy proposals, 4) following up to ensure policy enforcement, and 5) monitoring and evaluating the outcomes of policy implementation. This leads to an analysis based on public policy models, specifically (Sabatier et al., 1993)'s advocacy coalition framework and Kingdon et al. (1984)'s multiple streams theory/policy window.

The abovementioned explanation highlights how the two movements' approaches to promoting public policy are comparable. Both movements worked with partners to promote the creation of a problem stream, raising society's awareness of issues such as land inequality, social injustice, labor issues, labor rights violations, and the standard of living for labor. Additionally, both movements actively and persistently pushed for establishing a political stream through coalitions of friends to open the door for a policy window and pave the way for a policy agenda. The policy stream is the stream that emerges after the problem stream, and the political stream advances the policy agenda until a decision-making agenda can be organized or alternative details can be specified for use in decision-making before the concrete promulgation of the policy. Furthermore, both movements systematically developed policy proposals to create the policy stream.

P-Move	TLSC
<u>Public policy model</u> Policy process model Participated in advocacy in all five stages of the policy process.	<u>Public policy model</u> Policy process model Participated in advocacy in all five stages of the policy process.
Multiple streams theory/policy window (Kingdon et al., 1984) Policy advocacy on community land title and the land bank resulted in both making it onto the policy agenda and opening up a policy window since the period of the Abhisit Vejjajiva government and actual implementation. Analysis using this theoretical framework follows below.	Multiple streams theory/policy window (Kingdon et al., 1984) Advocacy on the draft Occupational Safety, Health, and Environment Promotion Institute Act
<i>- Problem stream</i> The problems of inequality in land, resources, and income are long-standing in Thailand and have intensified.	<i>- Problem stream</i> Thai society is aware of the problem of the lack of occupational safety from the tragic Kader Toy Factory fire and the health problem for workers who fall ill from working in various factories. Moreover, this law exists in many countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Japan.
<i>- Political stream</i> The researchers observed that the government at that time emerged amid political conditions of disunity. Some groups opposed the government, and groups that supported it came from the ideological conflict between red and yellow shirts. Applying the political opportunity framework to the analysis, one can see that a government did not have strong leadership or was not a strong state. Furthermore, it was a period in which there had just been a transition to a new government, as a political faction in the old government had broken off and provided support, enabling the new government to be formed. Consequently, the policy agenda was accepted as proposed by the organized social movement and viewed as coming from poor people experiencing problems. In collecting data later, the researchers found that the implementation of community land title was an effort by the government to gain popularity through creating results for the poor farmers' network and was probably also an effort to correct past mistakes about the sor. por. kor 4-01 policy.	<i>- Political stream</i> The political stream led to an opening of the policy window three times. First, under the government of Gen. Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, a bill was drafted with the participation of the labor movement, but when political changes occurred, the bill was suspended. Second, under the government of Thaksin Shinawatra, the Ministry of Labor's draft version of the law was combined with a version drafted by the people's sector, with a joint committee appointed to consider a new merging of the two versions of the draft law. However, these efforts stumbled due to political changes. The third time was under the government of Abhisit Vejjajiva when the movement submitted labor's version of the draft law to parliament and had representatives serve on the special committee to consider amending the draft law jointly. A resolution was passed to accept the draft Occupational Safety, Health, and Environment Act, which came into force on July 16, 2011. The Act contained a provision for establishing the Occupational Safety, Health, and Environment Promotion Institute in Chapter 7, Article 52, which would happen through a royal decree. The establishment of this institute may, to a certain degree, be considered a success in advocacy for policy to protect labor.

<p><i>- Policy stream</i></p> <p>Policy proposals were made systematically regarding community land titles and the land bank. Moreover, advocacy and mobilization took place continuously by policy entrepreneurs, namely the Thai Land Reform Network and its allied network of academics, non-governmental organizations, and mass media. In addition, efforts were made to influence and build connections with (i.e., to lobby) a policy decision-maker, who had an important role in pushing for the policy agenda, declaring the policy, and enforcing it.</p>	<p><i>- Policy stream</i></p> <p>The labor movement systematically presented policy and participated many times in proposing the content of the draft law with the Ministry of Labor to prepare for the opportunity to create a policy agenda and open a policy window.</p>
<p>Advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier et al., 1993)</p> <p>Some actors comprised an advocacy coalition, namely a network of allied academics, non-governmental organizations, and mass media, who had ongoing relationships and were linked together in advocating for the formulation of policy, its promulgation, and enforcement, as well as jointly monitoring and evaluating the policy that they had proposed and advocated for under each of the successive governments.</p>	<p>Advocacy coalition framework (Sabatier et al., 1993)</p> <p>There was coordination with an advocacy coalition, which included a network of allied academics, non-governmental organizations, mass media, as well as members of parliament from various political parties, who had ongoing relationships and were linked together in advocating for the formulation of policy, its promulgation, and enforcement, as well as jointly monitoring and evaluating the policy that they had proposed and advocated for under each of the successive governments.</p>
<p>Interest group model</p> <p>The government tended to skew its policies more in the direction of interest groups led by capitalists, the business sector, the upper class, and the military on the policy of the progressive land tax proposed by the people's movement.</p>	<p>Interest group model</p> <p>Governments from the past up until now have not valued labor and have been inclined toward capitalists and civil servants, who do not want to endorse International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention Nos. 87 and 98, accept labor's version of the draft Social Security Act or stop the policy to privatize state-owned enterprises.</p>

According to the researchers, both groups have been somewhat successful in creating problem streams such that society is aware of the issues with labor and land inequality. Additionally, by forming advocacy coalitions connected to the governments' interests, vulnerabilities, and strengths at the time, both groups established political streams. However, as it achieved more tangible outcomes consistent with its policy advocacy goals, the labor movement was better equipped to accomplish its objectives than the people's movement. However, as explained following the interest group model, it was discovered that governments in each period tended to listen to capitalists and civil employees more than to the voices of the two movements (Dye, 2013).

Recommendations

To government

The following are the suggestions made by the researchers:

- 1) Social, economic, political, and cultural issues have gotten more complicated to the point where the state can no longer manage them using the old paradigm and approach or come up with policies on its own. Because such policies are advantageous to both the government and society, the government should change its paradigm to promote and support public policy that results from the policy advocacy of the labor movement, the people's movement, and other social organizations. This would provide problems with pertinent answers that matched the requirements of the populace.
- 2) The government should adopt the concepts and methods used by the new public services, which give values or ideologies—especially democratic ideals—more weight than productivity or efficiency. The democratic, civic, and public interest ideals are the cornerstones of the new public services strategy. Government should therefore uphold democratic principles and ideals. It should be transparent and receptive to the issues facing the populace. Additionally, it should play the role of a facilitator in formulating or promoting public policy that is motivated by the needs of the populace, adhering to the idea that people are sovereign citizens with rights and authority and that they are the owners of both the government and a variety of public services.
- 3) At all levels and in all public policy processes, there should be the creation and promotion of mechanisms for participation in policy between the state, the labor movement, and the people's movement.

To the people's movement/labor movement

The following are the suggestions made by the researchers:

1) To raise the level of the people's movement and the labor movement so that they develop public policy issues that cover and connect with more groups of people in society, the people's movement, and the labor movement should devise and propose policies that open up more space for the common problems of people in society. As a result, public policies would be developed that would encourage larger and more meaningful participation in determining public policy and growing social movements that would result in fundamental transformation in politics, economy, and culture.

2) The labor and people's movements should uphold democratic principles and develop participatory procedures. To upgrade them qualitatively and quantitatively into open social movements, their policy advocacy should allow more youth, progressive public employees, and younger mass media professionals to join both organizations. They should also establish and promote participation in management and advocacy. To strengthen democratic principles and promote democratic and participatory procedures, there should also be a mechanism for constructive mutual monitoring and cooperative research and development initiatives. These are the key factors in the labor and people's movements that will make them powerful and progressive.

For Future Research

There should be comparative studies of the people's movement and the labor movement in other countries too, or comparative studies of these movements abroad with their counterparts in Thailand about public policy advocacy from below.

Acknowledgment

This research was supported by Thailand Science Research and Innovation (TSRI) through the Royal Golden Jubilee (RGJ) Ph.D. Program (Ph.D./0141/2558).

References

- Ativanichayapong, N. (2001). *Trade unions and the workers' collective action in Thailand: an articulation of social movement unionism and economic unionism, 1972-2002*: Chulalongkorn University
- Chuinsiri, N. (1998). Public policy and problem-solving of interest groups: A case study of the Assembly of the Poor [Unpublished master's thesis]. Chulalongkorn University.
- Considine, M. (1994). *Public policy: A critical approach*: Macmillan Education Australia
- Dye, T. R. (2013). *Understanding public policy*: Pearson. Retrieved from https://repository.vnu.edu.vn/handle/VNU_123/89996
- Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing public policy: Discursive politics and*

- deliberative practices*: Oxford University Press
- Fischer, F. (2009). *Democracy and expertise: Reorienting policy inquiry*: OUP Oxford.
- Hardin, R., Pateman, C., Weingast, B., & Elkin, S. (2003). *Deliberative policy analysis: understanding governance in the network society*: Cambridge University Press.
- Howharn, Y. (2009). Civil politics and the development of democracy in Thailand: A case study of the Poor People's Federation [Unpublished master's thesis]. Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University.
- Kingdon, J. W., & Stano, E. (1984). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (Vol. 45): Little, Brown Boston. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/b601/985c67970ba87d79fabf6160ca91b1933003.pdf>
- Kraiyoongwong, S., Rakyutidharm, A., Boonchai, K. (2002). The movement of the northern farmers network to protect community rights to manage natural resources and preserve ethnic identity. In P. Phongpaichit & P. Khatiyos (Eds.), *Ways of life, means of struggle: Contemporary popular movements*. Silkworm Books., 241-291.
- Laird, F. N. (1993). Participatory analysis, democracy, and technological decision making. *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 18(3), 341-361. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/016224399301800305>
- Mansamak, D. (2014). The Thai labour movement during the political crises *Journal of Politics and Governance*, 5(1), 68-88. Retrieved from <http://copag.msu.ac.th/journal/filesjournal/5-1/190120171249045.pdf>
- Mitprasat, M. (2002). The slum dwellers' movement in Thailand. In P. Phongpaichit & P. Khatiyos (Eds.), *Ways of life, means of struggle: Contemporary popular movements*. Silkworm Books. 354-406.
- Nualpian, P. (2000). Thai peasant movement's political participation: A case study of Assembly of the Poor [Unpublished master's thesis]. Ramkhamhaeng University.
- Phundeamvong, C. (2016). Four Regions Slum Network's process and participation in public policy advocacy on housing. *Journal of Social Research*, 39(1), 73-108. Retrieved from <http://www.cusri.chula.ac.th/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/journal-59-01-03.pdf>
- Pintobtang, P. (1998). Politics on the streets: 99 days of the Assembly of the Poor and a history of protest demonstration in Thai society. Research and Innovation Institute, Krirk University.
- Sabatier, P. A., & Jenkins-Smith, H. C. (1993). *Policy change and learning: An advocacy coalition approach*: Westview press. Retrieved from <https://www.amazon.com/Policy-Change-Learning-Coalition-Theoretical/dp/0813316499>
- Samnuanyen, K. (2006). Dynamics of social movement tactics: The case of the land rights movement in Lamphun province [Unpublished master's thesis]. Chulalongkorn University.

- Siangdung, E. (2007). The impacts of the poor and the powerless movements in Thai society from 1988-2006 [Unpublished master's thesis]. Thammasat University.
- Sirisai, S. (2002). On the path to villagers becoming civil society: From the small scale farmers' assembly of Isan to the assembly of the poor. In A. Puangsamlee & K. Archavanitkul (Eds.), Thai civil society: The making of Thai citizens. Civil Society Research and Development Project, Mahidol University.
- Siriutane, Y. (2001). The political mobilization of northeastern farmers: A case study of the farmer foundation of Thailand [Unpublished master's thesis]. Khon Khean University.
- Stivers, C. (1990). Active citizenship and public administration. In G. L. Wamsley (Ed.), Refounding public administration. Sage Publications. 246-273.
- Suttawet, C. (1984-1989). A founder and former secretary of The Coordinating Committee of Workers' Union Groups and Labour Federations on Education: COWE). (1984-1989). A personal notebook on work and learning of mine between 1984-1989, dates of notes: December 22 1986 - December 28 1989.