

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the discussion and the conclusion on the ways in which FTA WATCH can make political space. It is to answer the objectives of the thesis and to prove the hypothesis that FTA WATCH can make political space under oppressive circumstances through the use of knowledge, network channels, and a combination of strategies to influence changes in FTA policy governance. It is based on the outcome of the process which social FTA WATCH has created and expanded their influence into the realm of policy governance. It also brings the issues of movement's outcomes such as impacts, opportunities and constraints, as well as, the implications of the movement into the discussion.

5.1 The contextual setting

From the finding, FTA WATCH is embedded within the context which of the global political and economic phenomenon which is shifting from multilateralism to bilateralism, from negotiations in WTO to nation-to-nation negotiations. In recent years, the new generation of bilateral FTAs appears to be more comprehensive than the multilateral agreements in the WTO. It appears that neo-liberal agenda has been adopted into the new generation of FTAs in the form of rule-based agreements which promote the market-led economy, elimination of taxes, tariffs and barriers, free trade, as well as, reduction of regulations of labor markets, financial markets, and the environment. FTAs have become the tools which developed countries use to engage with developing countries, in the name of fostering of political and economic relations. But, the forceful agenda is to further protect the benefits of developed countries. Developing countries are willing to be bound with FTAs with the aim to gain access into big markets in developed countries and investment in their domestic grounds.

From the finding, there is a pattern of asymmetric institutional arrangement between developed and developing countries in terms of legal

framework and the negotiation manner, unlike developing countries such as the US and Australia that have the legal arrangement for bilateral agreements. There are check-and-balance process of notifying the legislative polity of agreement modalities prior to entering negotiations, conducting public hearing, and seeking endorsement from the legislative polity. However, such framework requires a high level of confidentiality in negotiation process. For developing countries which often do not have such legal framework to govern the FTA process, the secretive and confidential manners shut down the political space of both state and the people in developing countries. It can be seen from the contextual situation that without such laws the opportunities of representatives in the legislative polity and the public at large are limited in accessing the information regarding the agreements.

Thailand is one of the developing countries that are facing the dilemma. As the Thai governments did in the past four years, they engaged in a number of FTAs with world economic powers in pursuit of its export-oriented strategy without having specific law to specify the authority and process of FTA policy governance. The governments put the priority in securing the interests of some sectors in the society, but tend to pay less concern on the needs and vulnerabilities of the sectors that face adverse impacts from FTAs such as farmers and small business. In consequences, the policy governance lacks of transparency, accountability, and adequate preparation.

The characteristics of the political polity also affect the way the government carries the policy. There are two governments involve in the periods of FTA proliferation. From 2003 to September 2006, Thaksin Shinawatra led an authoritarian government that was able to extend executive power to the legislative and the bureaucratic polity. The Thaksin government's was first to set the FTA policy goes on without check-and-balance process. Its control over the legislative polity, independent organizations under 1997 Constitution, the media and NGOs have changed the implication of people's politics from the political reform movement in 1990s with its populist policy.

The government claimed that the cost of non-participation was crucial to the economic recovery and development. But, it does not do enough to prepare or to inform the affected sectors in Thailand in advance. The lack of preparation shows in the lack of coordination between government agencies and the setting up of inter-governmental mechanism and negotiation teams by countries after several negotiations began. The immediate results of FTAs are the loss of the farmers in the Northern part of Thailand and the dairy farmers.

From October 2006, Prime Minister Surayud Chulanont led the interim government is highly influenced by bureaucratic polity. As a military-appointed government, it needs to gain acceptance from the international community. With the appointment of Nitya Pibulsonggram, the former head negotiator of TUFTA as the foreign minister, it sends a positive signal to the FTA partners that the government is aware of FTAs. The government signed JTEPA in acceleration manner. Although it organized a forum which claimed to be a "public hearing" and sent the information about JTEPA to the NLA's discussion, these actions were not conducted in the adequate way by presenting the content and the impact assessment of JTEPA. The process before the signing was also driven by the occasion of the commemoration of 120th year of Thailand and Japan's diplomatic relations in April 2007.

By looking at both governments, there is a pattern of exclusion of people's participation in the policy governance. Although the two governments are different in many ways, the influence from the bureaucratic polity has been apparent on FTA policy governance.

5.2 Organizational structure and alliance

From the finding in Chapter III and Chapter IV, FTA WATCH's has created the type of movement which contains the organizational structure acting as a mobilizing structure in the resource mobilization perspective. But, its characteristics are corresponding to the characteristics of a new social movement which has loose organizational structure and interest in participatory democracy. (Scot, 1990 : 153)

FTA WATCH's organizational structure is a loose-network coalition of individuals and members of various organizations. The coalition takes decentralized and multiple-organizational form which caters the coexistence of organizations of diverse types and issues of interests. Each member organization and individual still maintains their identity and interests. Each member holds multiple roles inside and outside the coalition. From the finding in Chapter IV, this relationship is effective for the operation which requires multiple tasks and channels. When the movement needs to take collective action, the members contribute their efforts in different roles to the movement. For example, during the 6th round of TUFTA negotiation, the members strategically utilized their resources to monitor and to pressure the negotiation, as well as, to mobilize public and media attention at the same time. Such concerted actions led to positive impacts to the movement in preventing the negotiation from making progress and gaining opportunities and visibility.

From the resource mobilization perspective, the members pool and utilize their resources such as human, knowledge, budget, and technology for the operation. Human resource or FTA WATCH members are the most important elements. They are socially-oriented academics and activists who have strong capacity in their knowledge, experiences, positions, and network. By working under the name of FTA WATCH, they have contributed personal initiatives and bridged the knowledge, experience in organizational and legal skills, authority, social status, and channels of connection. In the planning process, the members usually meet and discuss on targets of change, resources, division of labor and assessment of situations. After that, the members started to relay information among the networks especially the grass-root groups.

The members who have background and experience in social activism are campaigners, strategists, and lobbyists. They have experience in scrutinizing government officials in corruption case through legal action. Those from the field of academics: the members are researchers are experienced in conducting policy study, formulating arguments and

articulating policy recommendations. They have gained access to information through channels of cooperation in research projects.

Their personal and political connections are important assets to the movement. They have contributed to the access to information, actions, and bargaining power. Those who have positions in institutionalized polity such as the Senate Committees, NHRC, NESAC, and NLA are able to push for check-and-balance actions to the government.

In terms of the budget for their operation, the use of budget is pooled from the member organizations and from the institutionalized polity which they are part of. Through connections of the members, they have raised budget for book publication and organizing seminars. By using the information communication technology such as the internet, website and equipments for photographs, video and audio recording, the movement is able to reach out to the public widely.

The discourse is the collective good which is crucial for FTA WATCH to act as “an ideal-typical sensitizing device” from the new social movement perspective. The discourse is used as the courses of action of the movement. The set of key discourse that FTA WATCH uses throughout the operation are on the illegitimacy of the FTA policy governance and the violation of national sovereignty. The discourse on IPR, health, agriculture, environment, and investment, are used in the operation against FTAs which cover the issues. They are used the operation that requires detailed and in-depth analyses in the issues such as mobilizing policy makers, issue-based networks, and legislative polity, as well as, conducting capacity building activities and research. The discourse on food security is used in mobilizing grassroots organizations in the farming and environment sector and the public.

5.3 The Operation

To pursue its objectives, FTA WATCH members uses a combination of strategies and tactics from institutional and non-institutional methods.

Firstly, FTA WATCH has bridged the knowledge and constructed the discourse. It is important to note that the set of discourse has also been developed from the knowledge and experience which FTA WATCH members accumulated from involving in other social movements. The finding shows that FTA WATCH members “carry on the project of older movements in a vital respect” as Alan Scott characterize the task of new social movements. (1990: 155) In the name of FTA WATCH, they link the discourse with the arguments on FTAs.

FTA WATCH looks at the problem from the legal approach. It views the policy process lack of legitimacy as it violates the notions of “good governance” and “political reform” of the 1997 Constitution, the upheld supreme law of the state. The 1997 Constitution is known as the “People’s Constitution.” It is the result of the political reform movement emerged from the early nineties among the intellectuals, civil society, and the people in Thailand. The 1997 Constitution contains the three important notions that were supposed to guarantee the state of “good governance.” Firstly, it includes the extension of rights and freedom, as well as, the right of political participation. Secondly, it regards state accountability which established a set of check-and-balance mechanisms to the state power. The mechanisms are the independent organizations such as the constitutional court, the administration court, the parliamentary ombudsman, and an independent Audit Bureau. FTA WATCH translates the discourse into actions by engaging with the organizations under this Constitution to insert the check-and-balance pressure to the policy.

Also, the discourse of applying FTAs to the Section 224, paragraph 2 in the 1997 Constitution was drawn from the Constitutional Court ruling in 2000 for the case of Thailand’s commitment to the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD). The Court has ruled that CBD would affect the “jurisdiction of the state” therefore the government needed to seek the approval of the Parliament. FTA WATCH members have been part of the social movement which fought for changes in Plant Variety Protection Act

B.E. 2542 to disregard the UPOV model, but to accept the Convention on Biodiversity, Bio-safety Protocol, and International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources (ITPGR). They have the evidence and experience in using the Section 224, paragraph two before.

For the discourse on “national sovereignty” and “food security”, it is important to note that this discourse is not originally created by FTA WATCH itself, but by the developmental NGO movement in Thailand which has been through phases of development since 1980s. As FTA WATCH members and allies, such as NGO-COD, BIOTHAI, and organizations such as Project Strategy on tropical Resource Base and NHCR led by Professor Saneh Chamarik, are part of the movement, FTA WATCH carries on the values of “national sovereignty” and “food security” in terms of community rights and rights to biological resource base.

The term “food security” is related to “food sovereignty” originally used by the Via Campesina, an international coalition of over 100 organizations, advocating family-farm-based sustainable agriculture. Food sovereignty focuses on the formulation of “trade policies and practices that serve the rights of peoples to safe, healthy and ecologically sustainable production.” (Via Campesina, et al.; Rosset, 2003, p.1) FTA WATCH members also joins Via Campesina along with the global anti-globalization movement by calling for the exclusion of food and agriculture from trade agreements in WTO, NAFTA, FTAA, and other regional and bilateral agreements. However, Peter Rosset, a scholar and activist in rural development, stated that “food sovereignty goes beyond the concept of ‘food security’” as food sovereignty concerns about “where food comes from or how it is produced.” (Rosset, 2003 :1)

Secondly, FTA WATCH uses the discourse to convince and mobilize networks and connections in institutional and non-institutional channels, as well as, the media. The channels are the resource which FTA WATCH uses to influence changes and foster further connections. With the shared concern with FTAs, FTA WATCH has made linkage between the progressive force

which existed within the institutional polity such as the Parliament, the NHRC, NESAC, NLA, and CDC, with the non-institutional channel such as international and local NGOs, academics and researchers, and the grassroots network. They try to maneuver all the channels to put pressure and to propose for changes.

Thirdly, FTA WATCH used different tactics through devised the tactical innovation through the process of assessing the situations, adapting from the members past experience and devising creative adaptation of lessons learned from other movements. From the finding, the period of intensification occurred when the signing of FTAs was about to take place. FTA WATCH uses various tactics and channels to insert pressure to the policy makers, as well as, to mobilize public attention. It is when the disruptive actions take place which involve protests and mass mobilization. The operation used mostly none-violent methods, but used aggression at some degree in the case of the 6th round of TUFTA by pushing the fences in front of the negotiation venue. Some of the tactics are adapted from the members' experience in participating in other protests. The grassroots groups are vital to FTA WATCH's movement, not only that they make up the quantitative turn-out, but also qualitative participation. To gather people in large number, FTA WATCH members seek consultation and participation of grass-root groups who have the experiences and skills to manage mass mobilization.

After the protest in Chiangmai in 2006, the FTA WATCH has been visible as the organization that successfully mobilized the strength of the people's sector which was silenced during Thaksin's government in the past four years. Ji Giles Ungpakorn, an academic and social movement scholar, views that it has proved that "the people's movement is not weak as some people are saying." (Ungpakorn, 2006: 311) Prapart Pintoptang, another social movement scholar, views that the protest as the result of accumulated experiences and tactical innovation of movement actors. He observes that "the society has started to open more space for the movement, especially the media space." However, Prapart Pintoptang notes that one of the factors influence the space to be opened was because the government at that time was oppressive to

the media, as well as, the government was losing credibility. It was at the time when the weekly public forum “Muang Thai Rai Sapda” was gaining popularity to in openly swaying public sentiment against Thaksin Shinawatra. (“Mob FTA Palang Mai Pak Prachachon” [Mob against FTA gives people's power the new rise], 2006)

There are some new tactics that are devised in response to the government's strategy and immediate situations. For example, as the JTEPA's negotiation team has put much effort in counteracting FTA WATCH's movement by means of public relation, FTA WATCH knew that the JTEPA's office would be responding to the media's attention on the issue related to JTEPA. They worked with PNN, the alternative media in their extended network, to ask question which was able to give them affirmation in written form from the JTEPA's office that JTEPA contains the provision about hazardous waste.

In summary, FTA WATCH have taken institutional and non-institutional actions such as

Institutional actions:

- 1) Propose policy recommendations
- 2) Send petitions to responsible organizations
- 3) Take legal actions
- 4) Use check-and-balance mechanisms
- 5) Formulate model for policy reform
- 6) Gain media attention

Non-institutional actions:

- 1) Monitor the issues
- 2) Organize forums and seminars
- 3) Mobilize network and allies
- 4) Use alternative media
- 5) Organize protests

in the policy, but the outcomes and implications that get translated into new collective benefits. (Oliver, 2003 : 6)

The implications of the outcomes of FTA WATCH's movement can be seen as changes in terms of transformation and democratization. These terms are used by Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly to refer to the case when movements can alter institutional change and when states accept the mutual rights of the citizens, causing changes in the power relation between states and citizens.

From the finding, it is apparent that FTA WATCH's demands throughout the movement is to change the policy governance on FTAs, from a closed-door policy process carried out by institutionalized polity to a public policy that includes the roles of people in the policy governance. But, even the progressive 1997 Constitution cannot guarantee the rights of people and the Parliament to participate in the policy process. The authority still lies in the hands of policy makers, elected representatives, business interests groups, and negotiators.

FTA WATCH has to maneuver available means and resources in order to pressure for changes and to make the political space. The changes that have been made can be seen that FTA WATCH has translated the discourse of people's participation into practice from outside and partially inside the progressive part of the polity. FTA WATCH has raised public awareness that it is the rights of the people to know, to be informed, to give consent to the government's policy, and to monitor the policy. It has shown the authority and the negotiating partners that people cannot accept illegitimate use of power and of how the people want the policy governance to be. The authority to make decision is exclusively preserved as the task of technicians like trade negotiators has to be changed.

They put the discourse on people's participation in practice. Their operation implies the notion of participatory democracy which emphasizes the broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political

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- 5) Organize protests

6) Stage campaign activities

5.4 Impacts and outcomes

5.4.1 Internal impacts

From the research, it can be said that the impact within the coalition is mainly the strength and development of the movement in terms of knowledge, movement techniques, and relationship among the members which contributes to the strength of the coalition and individuals within the coalition.

Firstly, the movement has facilitated cross-sectoral learning on issues related to FTAs among the coalition members. By sharing of experiences and engaging in actions together, the members have learned about others grievances. The organizations that used to work on single and specialized issues have gained a comprehensive knowledge about the implications of FTAs and the other issues related to FTAs. As some members gained access to information, they shared and analyzed the information. It has contributed to the internal empowering.

Secondly, the members have gained more bargaining power than if they chose to work individually based on issues of their specialization. The alliance building has given the members a working platform which facilitates collective capacity building, mobilization, and tactical innovation. The movement itself is considered as an innovation of the members. It has achieved the bargaining power by the gaining of access, visibility, and authority. The external impacts or changes in the policy governance have been made due to the maneuvering of members' contributions.

In terms of visibility, FTA WATCH has become known as the opposition to the FTA policy. Whenever there is an issue related to FTAs, reporters and journalists turn to FTA WATCH for responses. They have gained the attention as resource persons and cover their counter argument with the one from policy makers.

FTA WATCH's website is another window which the movement has been using in communication and public outreach. It is the capacity building effort of the group to enable people who have opinions on the policy to exercise their rights by taking polls. It stimulates the democratic practice and participation in public policy process. It also contributes to international campaigns and advocacy by linking with bilaterals.org and other movements against FTAs. The website has a strong hold in the interplay between formal and informal knowledge institutions, civil society and technocrat culture. It is the site to publish recommendations and arguments.

Thirdly, the coalition has tied a stronger connection and relationship between the members and the allies than before. Among the members, there are some researchers, NGOs, and grass-root organizations which did not work closely together. But through their collective actions, they have formed a strong alliance which can mobilize resources and connections through diverse channels, from politicians, media, and grass-root organizations. The members have used their knowledge to gain acceptance of the institutionalized polity and built the relationship with likeminded people in the institutionalized polity.

5.4.2 External impacts

1) Procedural impact

This type of impact can be measured by the access gained by the movement in terms of access to political and policy-making processes, levels of participation, and access to negotiation forums. As one of the problems of FTA policy is the lack of transparency and people's participation, FTA WATCH needs to gain access to political and policy-making process, as well as, to information used in the decision making process. Such information includes country positions, facts, feasibility studies, impact assessments, drafts

and texts of agreements. Once they gain access to the more in-depth information, the more they can further speculate and analyze the situations and impacts of FTAs. FTA WATCH seeks for such access in many levels through these following methods and channels.

Firstly, by negotiating with policy makers, FTA WATCH can gain access to information. They have convinced some officials who understand the issues and problems well to be their allies and resources to provide them with information concerning the confidential issues in FTAs. Secondly, by engaging government officials to participate in research projects, FTA WATCH has gained the information and cooperation from others. From GSEI research, FTA WATCH can gain access on the Environment Chapter of TUFTA and access to the negotiation venue during the 6th Round of TUFTA negotiations. In some meetings and seminars organized by the two projects, government officials who are not directly involved with FTA policy or negotiations had an opportunities to express their concerns on the lack of coordination within the bureaucratic polity. Many of the officials are frustrated with the secretive manner and acceleration of FTA negotiations. Through such projects, FTA WATCH has gained increased participation of academics and other like-minded groups. Thirdly, FTA WATCH negotiated with JTEPA negotiation team to give them the opportunity to view the JTEPA text before they would commit to participate in the public forum organized by JTEPA negotiation team. However, these types of access considered as ad-hoc access to the policy governance.

2) Substantial impacts

This type of impacts can be measured by two responses to the movement's operation; proactive and reactive responses. They can be seen as the opportunities and constraints which set more conditions to the movement's operation.

The proactive responses can be analyzed from policy decisions made by formal polity that support the recommendations by social movements.

Firstly, one response can be seen from the Thai government's proposal to the US on IPR issues which relay the discourse and recommendations made by FTA WATCH. It was Thailand's position to propose areas of IPR protection in 1) geographical indication 2) traditional knowledge 3) facilitation for Thai SMEs 4) co-ownership and benefit sharing. But, the US refused to negotiate on the proposal by saying that the US team did not have experts on the proposed issues.

Secondly, FTA WATCH's discourse on JTEPA's provisions regarding hazardous waste and patenting of micro-organism were accepted by the government. Though, the JTEPA Office stood firm that there would not be any changes in the concluded text. But, FTA WATCH's consistent and multi-level advocacy has pressured some alterations. The Cabinet decided to instruct JTEPA team to negotiate with the Japanese counterpart to make reservation on the two areas of concern; provisions on hazardous waste and patenting of micro-organism.

Thirdly, it was able to disrupt and delay the process of TUFTA after the protest which disrupted the negotiations. The protests on the 4th Round of TUFTA could disrupt the process and negotiate with the authority. The protest of the 6th Round of TUFTA negotiations led to a disruption and a delay of the negotiation. However, the suspension of the 6th Round of TUFTA negotiations until today has not been the result of the movement only, but other factors contributed to it.

The reactive responses include the government's attempts to increase the counter-movements to FTA WATCH such as intensive public relations on the positive sides of FTAs. The government and pro-FTA agencies use the internet to publish counter arguments to FTA WATCH's discourse. The Department of Trade Negotiation (DTN), Ministry of Commerce, has to update their websites regularly to improve the transparency of their annual plans, research findings, and meeting outcomes. The website of JTEPA negotiation team features arguments directed to the discourse of FTA

WATCH and the allies. Also, a number of independent and government-sponsored research institutes have put up their reports and findings on the internet, following the popularity of FTA WATCH.org.

3) Structural impacts

The major impact is on the change in the legal framework of the policy governance. This type of change required a combination of strategic actions such as proposing recommendations to the policy, lobbying and using political relationships, as well as, taking part in the Constitution writing process.

By participating in the drafting process of the 2007 Constitution, the movement has created a change in the institutional structure by constituting a new rule for the state to engage with international agreements. The changes amended in the draft constitution were based on the movement's discourse. The attempt to change the provisions in the draft Constitution has literally caused institutional change in FTA policy governance. Government officials had to hesitate over how to proceed with JTEPA and other negotiations. However, the authority chose to proceed and started the implementation. But, the attempt has set an example to the institutionalized polity, both at the international and national level, of what is the desirable legal model and the level of participation that people want to have.

Section 190 in the 2007 Constitution has absorbed FTA WATCH's discourse into the content. It covers any "agreements with other countries" that affect "a sovereign right, or any jurisdictional area of the Kingdom." Such an agreement "requires the enactment of an Act for its implementation" which indicates the amendment of the law to govern agreements. It also sets the criteria for the law as "a law shall be enacted on the procedures of the conclusion of a treaty having extensive impacts on the country's economic and social stability, or having significant bindings on trade or investment, including actions to make corrections or help the individuals affected by the observance of such a treaty with consideration of fairness between those benefiting from the observance of the treaty and those affected by it, and of people."

The Section gives the authority to elected representatives to approve such agreements that have “extensive impacts on the country's economic and social stability, or has significant bindings on trade, investment, or national budget, must be approved by the National Assembly.” It also sets a time frame by stating that “approval of the National Assembly shall be made within sixty days as from the day such a treaty is received.”

On the impact assessment and transparency, it states that “prior to the conclusion of a treaty with other countries or international organizations under paragraph two, the Council of Ministers shall publicize relevant information, make arrangement for a public hearing on the matter, and provide clarification of such a treaty to the National Assembly, in which the Council of Ministers is required to propose the negotiation framework to the National Assembly for approval.” Moreover, it indicates that the government has to make the issue transparent to the public at the early stage by stating “before expressing its intent for any bindings, shall provide access to the details of the treaty to the public.”

On compensation and accountability of government to the affected sector, it states “the Council of Ministers shall take actions to make corrections or help the affected individuals in a timely, suitable, and fair manner.” Finally, it specifies that the Constitutional Court is the agency that has the final decision, if problems occur in terms of dispute in the interpretation of the Section.

5.5 Implications of the Study

As this thesis looks at “political space” in terms of the area of operation and changes, the notion of “changes” determine the implication the movement’s outcomes. Macro Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly suggest that one should look beyond movement’s impacts in terms of changes

in the policy, but the outcomes and implications that get translated into new collective benefits. (2003 : 6)

The implications of the outcomes of FTA WATCH's movement can be seen as changes in terms of transformation and democratization. These terms are used by Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly to refer to the case when movements can alter institutional change and when states accept the mutual rights of the citizens, causing changes in the power relation between states and citizens.

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They put the discourse on people's participation in practice. Their operation implies the notion of participatory democracy which emphasizes the broad participation of constituents in the direction and operation of political

systems. Participatory democracy strives to create opportunities for all members in the society to make meaningful contributions to decision-making, and seeks to broaden the range of people who have access to such opportunities. (U-wanno & Tawilwadee, 2007 : 14)

5.6 Conclusion

Through its operation, FTA WATCH has made issues of FTA policy a debatable issue in the society. The FTA WATCH has raised public awareness of FTAs that FTAs involve comprehensive issues beyond trade. It has shown that there are demands for changes in the policy governance and there are other options which the government can take besides accepting the patterned framework imposed by FTA partners. They have created the challenging discourse to the institutionalized discourse lacks of in-depth social impact assessment.

During the time of oppressive regimes, democratic environment cannot be carried out by traditional representative democracies in the Parliament, but through the people outside the polity. The traditional governance tends to limit citizen participation, leaving actual governance to policy makers. However, FTA WATCH has proven that they are the ones who understand the problems.

The results and implications of FTAs have shown that Thailand needs to have structural adjustment costs which include preparedness of resources and infrastructure such as human, knowledge, plans, policy implementation, and budget before it can draw benefits from further liberalization.

5.7 Recommendations

For the researchers who are interested in further study of FTA WATCH and its movement, there are any interesting aspects to look at.

Firstly, there are parallel movements carried out by FTA WATCH members such as anti-privatization and pro-compulsory licensing movements. It would be interesting to see how these movements have contributed to anti-FTA movement. Or, how FTA WATCH's movement is related and contributing to the movements.

Secondly, it will be useful to examine how Section 190 of the 2007 Constitution which is the result of the movement has set a new framework for the policy. As there are pressures and attempts to change the framework of this Section, it is interesting to see how this Section will set a new context for government, FTA partners, and FTA WATCH to counteract each other.

Thirdly, as this thesis provides a broad-range analysis of FTA WATCH's operation, research projects which can extract lesson learned or a movement's model will be useful for the movement actors and people who engage in other social movements to learn from FTA WATCH.