

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

In the research, FTA WATCH is examined as a social movement organization seeking to make a political space where they can deliver alternative policy recommendations to influence changes in the formal policy governance. The literature review is focused on a series of social movement theories that this thesis uses as its theoretical framework. The selected theories provide definitions and the concepts of social movements, from its emergence, mobilization, strategies, to the impacts. It also explores the meanings and notion of political space.

The following is the outline of the literature review:

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2.1.1 Definition of social movement

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2.2 Resource mobilization Model

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2.1 Social Movement Theory

This section reviews the concepts related to social movements to provide the understanding of the theoretical orientations related to the definitions, actors, and types of social movements.

Social movement theory involves interrelated theoretical concepts in the field of social sciences that explains “why” and “how” social mobilization occurs, the forms of organization, as well as, their social, cultural, and political consequences. It is suggested that the study of a social movement at a given historical moment reflects the larger socio-historical contexts, the dominant sociological paradigms, and the biographies of scholars. (Buechler, 2000: 19)

Scholars in the field have developed a body of interrelated theoretical concepts from collective behavior, resource mobilization model, political process model, framing process, to new social movements.

2.1.1 Definitions of social movement

Doug McAdam and David A. Snow (1997) consider a social movement as an “agent of change” which acts as “a collectivity acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional channels for the purpose of promoting or resisting change in the group, society, or world order which it is a part.” It is suggested that the term, “collectivity,” is considered the unit of reference which comprises of “a group of interrelated persons acting in parallel but disconnected fashion.” (McAdam, 1997 : xxi) Their concept is derived from the five key elements of social movements: (1) collective or joint action; (2) change-oriented goals; (3) some degree of organization; (4) some degree of temporal continuity; (5) some extra-institutional collective action, or a mixture of extra-institutional and institutional activities. The extra-institutional collective action includes protesting on the streets, while institutional activities include political lobbying and petitioning. (McAdam, 1997b : xviii - xxi)

Charles Tilly’s polity model views social movements as ‘challengers’ who lack of routine access to decision-makers, compared to the to the ‘polity members.’ This model refers to the asymmetric relation between ‘polity members’ and ‘challengers’ in resource mobilization perspective. While, the ‘polity members’ have routine, low-cost access to powerful decision makers, the ‘challengers’ who have to

pay a high cost in order to gain an equivalent degree of influence. If the Once 'challengers' succeed, it is suggested that the group becomes polity members with routine access to decision making. (Tilly 1978; Oliver, 2003 : 6)

Some scholars, such as McCarty and Zald, refer social movements as "sentimental pools" or "a set of opinion or beliefs that represent preferences of change in society." McAdam and Snow argued that only opinions and beliefs cannot be used to define social movements, but they are the conditions for joint actions. (McCarty & Zald, 1977; McAdam, 1997 : xxi) Eyerman and Jamison set the criteria of social movements as impermanent and transient phenomena that articulate identifiable cognitive products or types of knowledge. They can be analyzed through the cycles of movement activities during latent and active periods. (1991 : 65)

From the above definitions, the different explanations are varied by scholars' analytical viewpoints in looking at the elements of social movement. It depends on whether they look at actors, the relationship of actors and the surrounding factors, or the preferences of social movements. In summary, it can be seen as a group of interrelated persons engaging in joint action outside of institutional channels with a set of preferences that represent the promotion or resistance of change in society. The relationship between social movements and those within the formal polity is asymmetric due to the degree of access to decision making. Unlike other types of organizations such as interest groups, social movements' positions are outside of the polity, while the interest groups are embedded in the mainstream political arena. William Gamson notes that the difference in position makes the two groups produce different set of strategies and tactics. (1990; McAdam and Snow, 1997 : xxi) Social movements use a combination of institutionalized and extra-institutional actions in pursuit to gain the bargaining power. Interest groups tend to use only institutionalized means such as lobbying and soliciting campaign contributions. The extra-institutional means are such as boycotts, blockades, encampments, and sit-ins. (McAdam and Snow, 1997 : xxi)

2.1.2 The actors within the movement's operation

Social movement organizations (SMOs) are the focal units that carry out social movement's actions. Buechler (2000) suggests SMOs are organizations that "identify their goals and implement their strategies in accordance the preferences of a social movement." From the resource mobilization view, he explains that the survival of SMOs depends on resource and followers. To sustain SMOs, the leaders are like entrepreneurs that need to mobilize a consistent flow of resource into the SMO."

McAdam and Snow (1997) suggest that there can be one or more SMOs connected to a movement. The organizations operate with the objectives to carry out concerns and grievances to their respective constituencies. In the operational view point, it involves a set of actors that can be divided into three main categories; protagonists, antagonists, and bystanders. (McAdam, 1997: xxii)

The term, "protagonists", refers to all groups of actors that are supportive of the movement and representing their interests through the movement. They include "adherents" or people who engage in the movement's activities at the core of the movements by participating in activities, sharing certain key values and objectives, and identifying themselves as part of the movement. "Conscience adherents" are the individuals who are supporting the movement without standing to benefit directly if movement objectives are obtained. (McCarty and Zald, 1977; McAdam, 1997: xxiii) "Constituencies" are individuals whom movement organizations claim that their interests are represented in the movement. They can be sympathizers, but may not be interested to contribute direct support. They are also called the "targets of mobilization" which social movements aim to increase their readiness to participate in collective action. (Gamson, 1975 : 15) "Beneficiaries" or "free riders" are those who benefit from public good, resulting from the movement's outcomes without having to contribute neither sympathetic support nor more tangible resources to the movement. The term "objective free-riders" is used to describe the people who agree with the goals of the movement, but they might not have heard of the movement. (Walsh, 1997 : 219)

The term, “antagonist” refers to actors that are in the oppositional stance with the movement’s adherents and constituents. In some cases, they can be individuals, groups, or institutions that movements target to change or to take action upon. They can be a city, state, national government, or a corporation. “Counter-movements” are those who perceive the movement’s interests as opposite or conflicting to their own. The objectives of counter-movements are to halt or neutralize the goals and the activities of the movement.

The term, “bystanders”, means those who are not interested in the objectives or outcomes of the movement at hand. But, bystanders’ interest can be activated through the media to either side with or oppose the movements’ actions.

2.2 Resource Mobilization (RM)

Resource mobilization (RM) model is a model of social movements developed from the early social movement theories such as mass society theory, pressure group model, and collective behavior model. The older theories look at the emergence of social movements as spontaneous and psychological response to the grievances generated by the rapid social change. (Jenkins, 1983 : 528) They assumed that movement actors were not rational and the participation in the movement was rare and temporary.

RM was developed because the early theories have some limitations in explaining the structural contexts and the factors of social movements’ emergence. (Pinto tang, 2005 : 35) The theories developed in the 1940s-50s such as collective behavior theory explain that movements in terms of riots, crowds, and mass hysteria. Later in the 1960s-1970s, the natures and consequences of political activism occurred in the US and Europe posed a broad impact on the social, political, and cultural settings. It led to the reorientation of the study on social movements. RM, the new theory does “put back in the issues of power, domination, conflict, inequality, and change at the center of the sociological theory to expand the scope of the study.” (Buechler, 2000 : 33)

By taking in the economic relationship approach, this theory suggests that social movements are carried out by rational actors who calculate the costs and benefits when potential benefits outweigh the anticipated cost. (McCarty and Zald, 1977; Buechler, 2000 : 35S) It views a social movement as a “rational, institutionally rooted, political change by groups that seek to hold an extension of politics by other means.” (Buechler, 2000 : 35) The theory considers that the critical factors of social movements are not only grievances, but also on the access and control over resources. The collective actors form movements to improve the status of the aggrieved group, as well as, to bring about changes that reduce the cost of mobilization. (Jenkins, 1983, : 532)

Mobilization is explained as “the process which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective action.” (Jenkins, 1983 : 532) The approach looks at the how the group uses their existing resources collectively as a “resource pool” in order to carry out early actions, as well as, how and at what extent outsiders contribute to the pool of resources. (Jenkins, 1983 : 533) The processes in mobilizing resources involve the questions of investment, recruitment, motivation, and participation. Anthony Oberschall explains that resource management processes include the ways people exchange, borrow, create, consume, transfer, reallocate, and lose resources. (Oberschall, 1973; Gamson, 1975 : 136-137) The types of resources are categorized in two categories includes “tangible” and “specialized” resources. The tangible resources include money, facilities, land, labor, and means of communication. The “specialized” or “intangible” ones include knowledge, organizational and legal skills, authority, social status, channels of connection, and personal initiative. (Freeman, 1979; Jenkins, 1983 : 533)

The theory also seeks to explain the “mobilizing structures” or the mechanisms which movements use to recruit their members and to form organizations. The key mechanisms are the “social movement organizations” (SMOs), a centralized structures with semi-autonomous or autonomous locals, and a “collective incentives” such as group solidarity, sets of collective commitment,

purposes, and preferences, developed by the group. (Jenkins, 1983 : 539) Kriesi Hanspeter (1996) defines SMOs as “crucial building blocks of mobilizing structures of a social movement.” He suggests that SMOs are different from formal organizations. First of all, they mobilize their constituency for collective action. Secondly, they pursue a political goal which is to acquire “collective good” from authorities.

Gamson (1975 : 91) explains the characteristics of the three types of social movement' groups are explained by as the followings:

1) Bureaucratic group possesses a written document, a constitution or a formal charter, that states both the purposes of the organization and its provisions of operation. It does not include a manifesto or a written document that states only the purposes. It maintains a formal list of members, from distinguishing members to sympathizers. The group possesses three or more level or ranks of internal division, such as officers or executive committees.

2) Centralized group means there is a dominant and single center of power within the organization which acts upon formal or informal approval of the center. It can be a personal leadership.

3) Decentralized group lacks of a single center of power as the power is diffused through the membership. There are chapters or divisions of the organization that maintain substantial autonomy and the freedom to decide and approve a collective action by the group as a whole. A coalition is categorized as a form of organization within this type. It comprises of the elements that make up the group as a whole, and maintain a separate identity and importance. It refers to contemporary SMOs that are comprised of multiple types of organizations, a multiple organizational model allows the coexistence of diverse types. It is suggested that the organizational structures of SMOs can also evolve as different organizational structures are effective for different tasks. (Zald & Ash, 1966, Jenkins, 1983 : 542)

RM theories can be used to analyze the ability of social movements, whose positions are outside formal polity, in pursuing their change-oriented goal by mobilizing resources and people.

2.3 New Social Movement (NSM)

The theory on new social movements (NSMs) was developed from movement scholars in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s in order to explain new movements that the earlier models of class conflict, resource mobilization, and political process did not fit to explain them. The theory sought to explain the emergence of social movements which is related to the context where movements emerge within.

On the emergence, it focuses on the interaction of movement and institutionalized politics by looking at the changes in the relations between institutional structure or informal power. NSMs are seen as resistance against state or bureaucratic system which tends to exclude the roles of people in political governance. NSMs aim to create the atmosphere of a democratic society and a sense of autonomy which would lead to the empowerment of civil society and to create political space for ordinary people to participate in politics. (Scott, 1991 : 10)

Alan Scott suggests two means for defining new social movements. The first characteristic is their loose organizational structure and, secondly, they have vested their interest in participatory democracy rather than output of the political system (Scot, 1990 : 153) In terms of working approaches, Buechler (2000 : 49) sees NSMs take actions in two approaches; political and cultural. The political approach sees that the society is in the state of advanced capitalism can lead to the formation of the emergence of social movements as the constituencies based on race, gender, nationality, sexual orientations or other characteristics. The second approach is the cultural perspective which views activism as “a defensive reaction to domination” and “an ideal-typical sensitizing device.” They create the “culture of resistance” which aims to mobilize resources, to raise awareness, or to create “new values” and “beliefs.”

In creating “new values”, Eyerman and Jamison consider social movements as “producers of knowledge” or “movement intellectuals.” The term, “movement intellectuals” are used to refer to individuals who “articulate the knowledge interests and cognitive identity of social movements.” (1991 : 94-5) They define knowledge as the “worldview assumptions” shared among the participants and “specific issues” that movements formulate as “new ideas” and “new identity”. In their view, social movements contribute the knowledge into the society through “the process which the new ideas are formulated and taken by the society.” (1991 : 3) Nevertheless, Eyerman and Jamison explain the distinction between “movement intellectuals” and “established intellectuals” as that “movement intellectuals” are those who carry out their tasks within a social movement while “established intellectuals” are formed within established social institutional contexts. (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991 : 98)

Chairat Charoensin-Olarn considers that NSMs’ contribution in creating “new discourse of politics” is one of the outstanding features of NSMs which is different from that of social movements in the past. (Falk, 1987; Chairat, 2002 : 9) NSMs’ “discourse” creates new agenda by bringing the notions of “politics” and “global community” closer to people’s daily-life. This approach brings people’s issues to the forefront of local and global politics. Proponents of this theory see that NSMs are not class-based, but issue-based movements as they are able to articulate issue-based problems; race, health, poverty, sexual orientation, and the drop of commodity price with the commonly-shared problems such as human rights, equal opportunity rights, and environment. The concept views the symbolic expression such as values and identities as more strategic tools than the structure of social movements. Alan Scott views that these features make NSMs different from older social movements which are concerned about seizing state power. (1990 : 22) It is said that NSMs view “politics” beyond the matters of state, state authority, government, and political parties, but issues relating to people’s livelihoods.

At the same time, NSMs call for state authority to take responsibility and accountability of state actions on its people. NSMs do not talk about what government should do, but what ‘humane governance’ should be. Therefore, NSMs focus on the

reform of the institutional governance and development approach, to change their directions towards the protection of human rights and equal opportunity of the people at large. The proponents of NSMs believe this type of reform could not be carried out by party politics because the main objective of party politics was to win election at national level, more than to tackle problems at the global scale. NSMs' agenda tends to lead to political, economic, and social reform in a global scale. For example, the "anti-globalization movement", appeared on the world stage since the late 1990s, aims to challenge the discourse of the neo-liberal system through the methods of street protests, disruptive actions, advocacy and lobbying. The movement has continued on in cities where global summits, groups of developed countries and economic institutions are organized to make decisions and rules that affect on the lives of people around the world. (Chairat Charoensin-Olarn, 2002 : 8)

In terms of tactics, Chairat Charoensin-Olarn notes that NSMs avoid using violent approach in the movement actions. Although some movements may take violent actions as part of their tactics, but such actions are not considered as their mission. It is stated that violent tactics may be used, when necessary, in order to challenge or to question the authority. Falk noted that in order to understand NSMs, one has to distinguish the movement's strategy from movement's tactics.

It is said that NSMs aim to provide space for the people in the governance, by seeing that people should be treated as humans, not only citizens under state control. (Rucht, 1998; Buechler, 2000 : 47) Such space can be led to "the new form of democracy" or "the radical and plural democracy" Charoensin-Olarn, 2002 : 12) However, Eyerman and Jamison points out that the space is not always static as movements "do not last forever, they come for a time, carve out movement space, and get eventually 'pulled' back into their society, as the space they create gets occupied by other social forces." (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991 : 65)

2.4 Strategies and Tactics

Strategy is referred to “the art and science of marshalling human and material resources and planning for action on multiple levels and on complex ‘terrain’ to reach articulated goals.” To articulated sets of strategy, it is suggested that one needs to consider the objectives, assessment of situations and resources, planning of operations, tactic innovation, and evaluation. “Tactics” refer to the techniques employed to achieve objectives. Tactics tend to be focused on details of action and engagement. Operations, in turn, are the coordinated activities that groups and organizations engage in to further the strategic plan. (Brauner & Knight, 2006 : 5)

Strategies and tactics of social movements are part of the concepts explained in political process model which offers an analytical framework on the dynamic interplay between social movements, other actors, and the domination regimes. It can be analyzed through a connection between political opportunities, framing and tactic innovation.

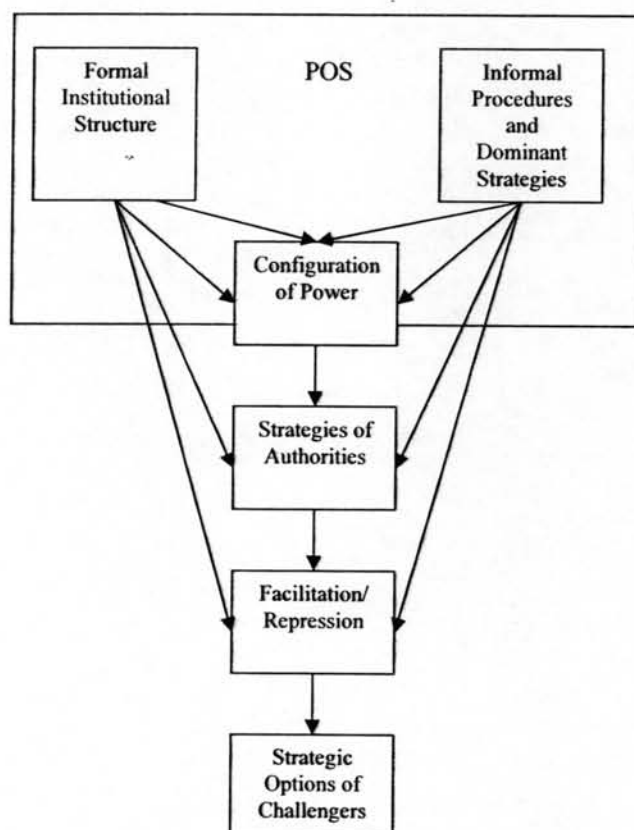
2.4.1 Political Opportunity Structure (POS)

Political opportunity structure (POS) is the systematic analysis of opportunities and strategies derived from specific political contexts. It is based on the assumption that a shift in political opportunities is derived from calculated challenges to the political structure. (McAdam, 1999 : 41) It maps the interaction between structural conflicts and their political potentials. POS sets the possibilities and limits for the developments of social movements in a country. It is an area of interest within the realm of political process model. The organizational development of NSMs can be analyzed through POS. (Kriesi, 1996 : 159)

POS is considered through the analysis of a set of three elements; the formal institutional structure which determines the strength of state, its informal procedures and strategies towards challengers, and the configuration of power in confronting with challengers. (Kreisi, 1996 : 160) Together, it can be seen as “country-specific mix of

strategies” which provides the settings for challengers to determine their strategies to mobilize collective actions and set strategies. (See figure 2.1)

Figure 2.1: Concept outline of general argument on POS (Kreisi ed al., 1997 : 53)



2.4.2 Tactical Innovation

Eyerman and Jamison suggested that to understand NSMs, one needs to look at strategy and tactics separately. Tactics of social movements are varied and used in different contexts. It is suggested that there are two types; institutionalized and non-institutionalized tactics.

Institutionalized tactics are considered as “proper” channels for conflict resolution as it plays along within the formal political system and leaves the polity

unchallenged. It is often viewed by elite as non-threatening actions of social movements. The activities include petitions, lobbying, and filing of complaints.

Non-institutionalized tactics poses challenges to elite groups, in two ways, by symbolically in rejecting the established institution and substantively in depriving elite groups of the use of their institutional power. Elite groups usually view the non-institutionalized actions as threats to their interests. (McAdam, 1999 : 57) These tactics include the use of disruptive and violent methods;

Disruptive methods include sit-in, protest, and actions that pose pressure to the authority. It is suggested that this method challenges the authority to enter the conflicting terrain. (Sumnuanyen, 2006 : 18)

Violent methods include the use of force that leads to destruction of properties. It also refers to the threat to use force by the groups to challenge the antagonists that if the group's demands are not met, they are ready to use force. (Sumnuanyen, 2006 : 18)

It is suggested that "the 'problem of powerless groups' in protest activity is to activate 'third parties' to enter the implicit or explicit bargaining arena in ways favorable to the protestors. This is one of the few ways in which they can 'create' bargaining resources." (Lipsky, 1968, Gamson, 1975: 140)

The cycle of protest is referred to "the appearance of new technologies of protest" that "spread from their point of origin to other areas and to other sectors of social protest." (Tarrow, 1983; McAdam, 1997: 248) It can also be described with the term, tactical innovation, the invention and the use of strategic options, derived from repertoire of protest activity, during the interplay of one actor against another and the actors with their environment. It depends on crucial decisions about priorities and sequences of actions during the process of frame alignment.

In the present, social movements in Thailand use both institutionalized and non-institutionalized tactics such as occupation, barricade, burning effigies, and street protests. Although, their activities are legitimate by laws, but they are often seen as illegitimate and illegal. It is partly because the state and the public view their action as intrusion of state properties. Also, the state and the public are not familiar with such actions. (Sumnuanyen, 2006 : 20)

The nature of the state structure determines the political opportunities. There are two dimensions of the formal institutional structure; “strength” and “exclusivity.” (Kreisi, 1997 : 52) It is suggested that, to understand the “strength” of formal polity is to examine whether it is strong or weak, in terms of the ability to impose outputs. The “exclusivity” of the state can be determined from state’s strategies, whether they are “exclusive” by being repressive, confrontative, polarizing. Or, they are “integrative” when they appear to be facilitative, cooperative, and assimilative. (Kreisi et al., 1992, Oliver 2003 : 6)

Charles Tilly offers a topography of four types of dominant regimes that deal with social movements with different degree of repression and facilitation (1978; della Porta, 1996 : 65)

1. Repressive regimes are referred to regimes that repress many groups and actions while facilitating a few.
2. Totalitarian regimes are referred to regimes that repress fewer groups and facilitate a wide range of actions.
3. Tolerant regimes are referred to regimes that accept a wide range of actions, but reduce the power of the stronger groups
4. Weak regimes are referred to the regimes that pose little repression or facilitation.

There are two styles of state's response to protests: "tough repressive" and "tolerant control" (della Porta, 1996 : 65)

Repressive actions are the creation of an unfavorable public image, disinformation, restricting movement's resources and facilities, de-recruitment of activists, destroy leaders, fueling internal conflicts, encouraging conflicts between groups, and sabotaging popular actions. (Marx, 1979; della Porta, 1996 : 65) Charles Tilly suggests an analysis on the dominant regimes

2.4.3 Framing Process

It is suggested that "framing concepts" to be treated with the concept of "ideology" (Oliver & Johnson, 2000; Oliver et al. 2003 : 13) and "discourse." (Ferree & Merrill, 2000; Oliver et al. 2003 : 13) Framing is used to conceptualize activities that SMOs and their adherents do to "produce and maintain the meaning" for their constituents, antagonists, and bystanders. (McAdam & Snow, 1997a : 232) (McAdam, 1997) From this perspective, SMOs are seen as "signifying agents" who bridge, produce, amplify, and extend their beliefs and values, in another term, "interpretative framework." This perspective is related to the symbolic inter-actionist perspective in sociologist which assumes that human behaviors are responsive to things in terms of their meanings or utilities. Human interpretative process is suggested to be the motivating factor for participants in engaging in social movements. Therefore, frames determine resources and opportunities.

Framing process theory is related to the political process theory. It involves SMOs to bridge, amplify, extend, and transform their discourse to resonate with the perception of audiences including media, elites, sympathetic allies, and potential recruits. Successful frames draw upon shared cultural understandings.

Scholars emphasize the importance of framing process, as it determines how individual interpret events and actions of social movements. It is suggested that "mobilization depends not only on the existence of structural strain, availability and

deployment of tangible resources, opening or closing of political opportunities, and cost-benefit calculations, but also on the way these variables are framed and the degree to which they resonate with targets of mobilization.” (Goffman, 1974; McAdam, 1997 : 249)

The factors that determine effectiveness are

- 1) The content or substance of preferred framing
- 2) The degree of resonance of the current life situation and experience of the potential constituents

Different efforts in the success of framing are

- 1) Variation in the degree of frame resonance:
- 2) configuration of framing hazards or “vulnerabilities”

The notion of cultures is regarded as highly important for movements to create frame resonance to the cultural meanings of the target of mobilization; adherents, constituents, and bystanders. “Cultures” are defined in two terms, the “realm of social life” and a “bounded body of beliefs and practices associated to an identifiable society or social group.” It is suggested that beliefs and social life are represented through signs and symbols. Signs and symbols can be read as identities and subjects of contention and re-interpretation. (Oliver et al., 2003 : 13) Movements actors have to try to capture their audience’ interests by signifying the movements’ “cultural meanings” in contesting with the “mainstream meanings.” (Oliver et al., 2003 : 12-13) In doing so, it is suggested that movements can produce culture by creating symbols and behavior of their member. Movements can also use tools for actions from cultures. (Oliver et al., 2003 : 14)

2.4.4 Media Relations

This is used to explain the dependent relationships between movements and media. The studies on social movements have viewed the mass media as one of the key sites of political contention in advanced capitalism. (cf. Hall et al, 1980; Fiske, 1989; Hackett, 1991; Ryan, 1991; Carroll, 1999 : 2)

It is suggested that movements use the media as a strategy to counter the hegemonic power for various purposes; 1) critique 2) disruption of dominant discourse, codes and identities, and 3) articulation of the alternatives. Gamson suggests that movements' major achievement is to move the issues "from the uncontested to the contested realm." (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993 : 119)

Gamson and Wolfsfeld offers a concept of "sensitizing framework" which views the dependency between movements and media are asymmetrical. It assumes that the media has large option for "making news" with their resources and mass communication network, while movements have fewer options to get their message to the wide public. Therefore, Gamson and Wolfsfeld have concluded that "movements need the media more than the media need them." (1993; Carroll, 1999 : 3) Through this perspective, movements need the media in order to 1) mobilize their constituencies, to validate their existence and values as important, and to enlarge the scope of conflict. (Carroll, 1999 : 3) Movements are concerned about the media as it gives 1) standing 2) preferred framing 3) sympathy from the public.

Movements generate drama, conflict, and action to capture the media coverage. It is suggested that medial coverage are the consequence of event's "intensity" and "media sensitivity." (Snyder & Kelly, 1977, Oliver et al : 9) In making the events intensive and media sensitive, Snyder and Kelly finds event size is the factor that events get coverage. It is suggested that "a demonstration with no media coverage at all is a non event." (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993 : 116)

Gamson and Wolfsfeld argue that to capture the media coverage, it takes two important sides; SMOs and journalists. SMOs have to be strong in organization, professionalism, strategic planning, and the division of labor among the actors in the making of news coverage. (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993 : 116) "Movement communicators" are particular movement intellectuals who represent the movement to and before public through the mass media. (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991, p. 101) Officials within the formal institutional structure are granted automatic standing in the media, unlike SMOs that have to try hard in gaining the access to get their message

across. Journalists play the central role in construction of meaning, choose story line, and select what to quote or emphasize. It is suggested that SMOs should dedicate their resources and efforts to meet the need of journalists by providing backgrounds, clear interviews, photo opportunities, and ready-to-use video footage. (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993 : 121) It is that SMOs can also gain standing in the media, by not having to be the message carriers, but through alliance and partners who can articulated the shared frames.

Movements' media relations can be considered, not only as strategies, as well contextual opportunities and constraints. Cultural distance between movements and media, such as different perceptions of journalists and bias positions of mainstream media, affect the meaning on the media coverage. It often occurs that movements are "unable to obtain desired standing, preferred framing, and misplaced sympathy." (Carroll, 1999 : 26) They reduce their dependency on mass media and shift away from the asymmetric relation with the media by using alternative media and making their movements "news worthy." Movements can seek for new and alternative channels of communication such as online alternative media, publications, as well as, to use their resources to produce movements' own websites and publications. Websites are the essential channels which movements can use at a low-cost as alternative outlet. It is suggested that the advantages of websites are that they are openly accessible and interactive communication networks. It is suggested that SMOs pursuing movements on economic or cultural justice can frame their discourse in resonant with the universal themes such as human rights issues. The movements then can become "newsworthy." (Carroll, 1999 : 28)

In conducting the research, it is necessary to carefully to choose the data sources. In the case of assessing protests' population, the problem "selection bias" can occur in the process of choosing reliable news sources on the number of participants. McCarty suggests that police's records or reports made by the authorities can be used to compare with that of the media reports. (McCarty et al., 1996, Oliver et al. : 9) However, Many and Oliver argue that all sources can be problematic, so the data

found must be cross-checked against each other. (Many and Oliver, 2001, Oliver et al. : 10)

2.5 Impact Assessment

The impacts of social movements are categorized in three areas: 1) internal impacts within organizations 2) external impacts 3) sensitizing impacts. The research will emphasize the focus on the external impacts of the movement on three notions; procedural, substantial, and structural impacts.

Pinto tang (2004) explains the three notions of the external impacts as the followings;

The 'procedural impacts' are referred to access to political and policy-making processes. They can be examined through the levels of participation, access to negotiation forums, proposition of knowledge on issues that are significant in decision making, and the levels of proposition being accepted and causing changes in policy decisions. On access, there are two areas of access; ad-hoc access and permanence access.

For 'substantial impacts', there are two kinds of responses; reactive and proactive. The reactive responses will be examined through reactions that the movement generates -that can modify the movement's development and impacts. The proactive responses can be analyzed from policy decisions made by formal polity that support the recommendations by social movements.

On the 'structural impacts', there are two aspects; institutional structures and alliance structures. The institutional structures can be analyzed through changes in the policy governance, government's political realignment, and revolutionary changes in political system. The alliance structures are changes in political order such as change of leadership and attitude change of political parties towards social movements'

recommendations. The change indicates the decrease of the space between social movements and formal political structure.

2.6 Implications

Recent studies on social movements have moved beyond looking at the outcomes of movements in terms of success or failure, but to focus on the consequences and implications of social movements that pose impact on regimes. Macro Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly argue that influencing changes in the policy is not enough to call it a success. They view that the success should be counted when the change in the policy is “translated into new collective benefits for beneficiary groups.” (1999: xv) It is suggested that the consequences can be looked in three aspects; incorporation, transformation, and democratization. (Guini, 1998, Oliver, 2003 : 6)

Incorporation refers to the case when the consequences lead movements or part of them to be absorbed into the polity, the existing institutional arrangements and procedures of society without altering the basic rules. It applies to the case when movements’ demands are integrated into movements’ policy or legislation without opening the polity.

The term, transformation, refers to the consequences that lead to fundamental or revolutionary changes in the social or political structures. It also applies to the case when movements can alter institutional change or power relation.

Democratization refers to the consequences of when states accept the mutual rights and obligations of the citizens, causing changes in the power relation between states and citizens.

2.7 Related research papers

There are research papers related to the study which, not only to be used as references to analyses, but the papers were the channels which FTA WATCH members participated in both directly and indirectly.

The first type is the research projects which have been conducted by members of FTA WATCH. "The Impact Free Trade Agreement in Thailand" conducted by Buntoon Srethasirote and Witoon Lianchamroon, supported by the Secretariat of the Parliament in 2005, focuses the analyses on two agreements; the agreement between Thailand and China on reducing tariff of vegetables and fruits (Early Harvest Program) and the Thailand-US FTA. It is significant, not only on the outcomes, but also on its notion of being a product of FTA WATCH members that used the institutionalized channel, such as the Parliament, to support and to accept their claims.

Another type is research papers conducted by researchers and students on the process of FTA establishments and negotiations. One is the research conducted by Jantajira Iammayura and Chatchai Chetsumon with the support of Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI) and Thailand Research Fund (TRF) on "The Check and Balanced Mechanisms on the Executive Power in FTA Negotiations" in 2006. This report looks at the problems in the governance of the FTA negotiation process and offers the possible legal adjustments in the arrangement to include mechanisms for people's participation in the process. It identifies the crucial problems which are the lacking of "basic economic and social data necessary for the negotiations, bad governance—the intransparency and the secrecy of the FTA process, and inadequate opportunities for the public and their representatives to cooperate with the administrators during the process. Overall, this problem can be called the anti-democracy of the FTA process."

This research is significant as during the research process, it involved FTA WATCH members to participate in the focus group seminar on September 5th, 2006. In the seminar, there were members of FTA negotiation teams which usually try to

counter-argue with FTA WATCH's claims. It is one of the academic forums that FTA WATCH used as a channel to counter-argue with the negotiation teams and TDRI.

Another one is "Public Relations of the Trade Negotiations Department for Thai Free Trade Area" by Aritaya Klandeema. Klandeema (2007.) It states that the problems of the policy governance on FTAs and the lack of clear explanations on FTAs from the government led to the emergence of local resistance. The research analyzes the government's public relations policy on FTAs by the Department of Trade Negotiations, Ministry of Commerce. The findings of this research can be used to identify the context and the counter-movements by the government on FTA WATCH.

2.8 Conclusion and theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of the thesis is derived from the concepts of social movement theory in the literature review. The review provides a set of theoretical perspectives in analyzing social movements from the concepts of emergence, organization, goals, approaches, and implications. It is to conceptualize how social movements operate in order to pursue their change-oriented goals within certain political contexts.

The area of operation and changes can be considered "political space." In this case, "political space" is a conceptual framework that helps explain the ways FTA WATCH creates impact or changes in the area of policy governance. To examine "political space", the thesis examines "channels" through which FTA WATCH acts to influence changes. "Changes" can also be seen through the elements and levels of changes that have been made by their actions. The term "making of political space" refers to the process by which social movements create and expand their influence into the realm of policy governance.

The review explores the ways collective actions and social movements make political space. It indicates that the "positions" where collective actions and social

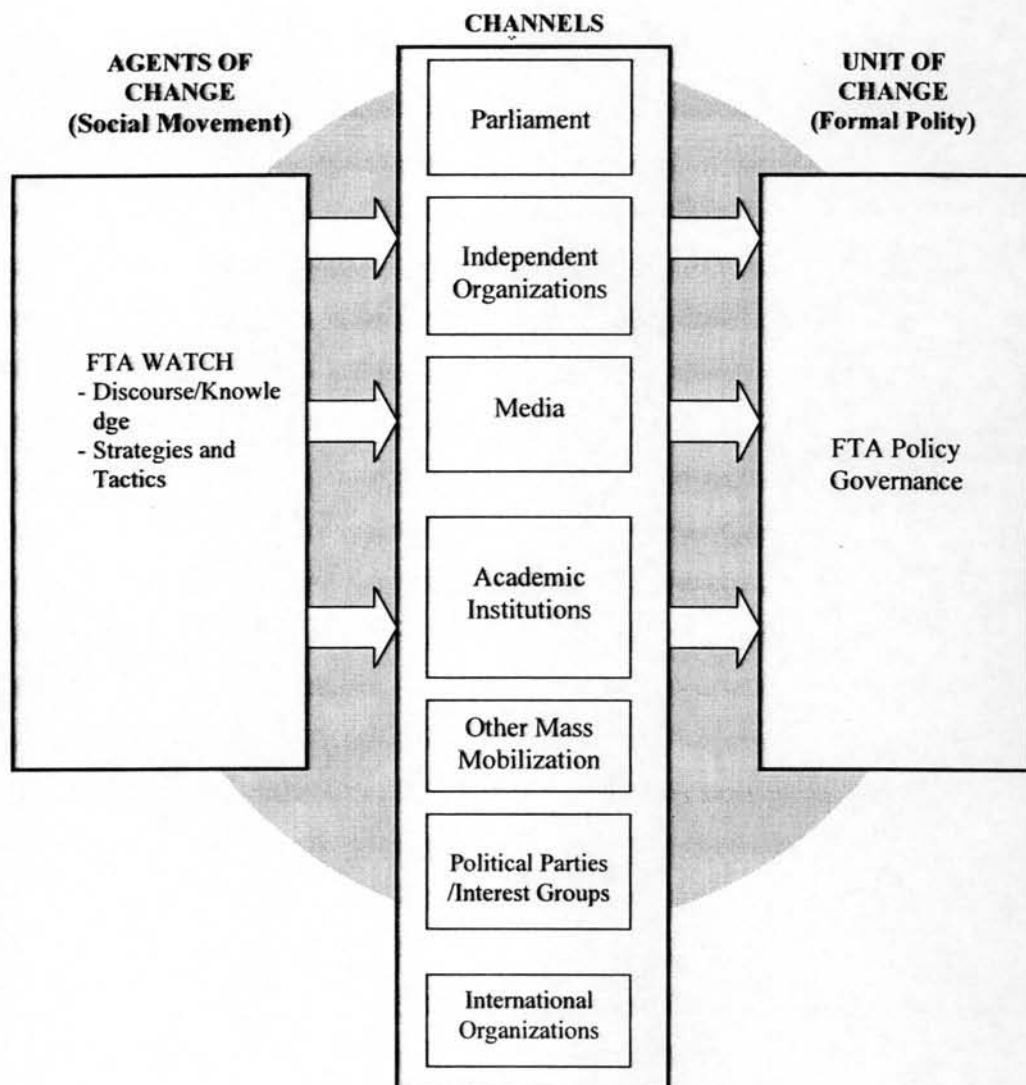
movement lie in the political context determine how they can insert its "power" onto formal polity. For instance, as interest groups operate within the realms of formal or institutional polity, they use methods such as lobbying, negotiating, and petitioning to convince for changes within the polity.

Where as, social movements operate from the realms outside of formal polity and tend to be in the asymmetric relation with formal polity. They make political space by gaining "access" over resources, making themselves "visible" in the society, and seeking "authority" to influence changes. From the resource mobilization perspective, social movements in the past or class-based movements seek to gain bargaining power by mobilizing resistance, organizing protests, and staging disruptive actions. Such social movements are formed by members who aim to improve political status, as well as, to gain control over resources. Contemporary or new social movements aim to make space for the rights and participation of people in institutional governance. They hold a set of shared discourse and promote changes in relation to the discourse. In other words, it is to make their set of discourse to be included in the policy process. This notion brings in the framing process into the methods of political space making. It links the new social movement theory which involves social construction of ideas with the resource mobilization and political process theories which look at organizational and political process factors.

FTA WATCH can be seen as a social movement organization as FTA WATCH is a loose network of interrelated persons which cognitively and collectively creates counter-hegemonic discourse and promotes changes in the policy governance on bilateral free trade agreements outside of institutional channels. It is necessary to use a combination of theoretical perspectives to analyze the political space created by FTA WATCH. New social movement model is used to analyze the characteristics and the approaches of FTA WATCH. In terms of strategies and tactics, resource mobilization model and political process model are used to explain how FTA WATCH seek for channels, mobilize resources, and utilize them to influence changes. The types of resources are examined such as human, knowledge, network, time, technology, and media alliance.

The framework (see figure 2.2) conceptualizes the relationship between FTA WATCH and its channels of power. FTA WATCH uses their discourse to insert influences through the channels to pursue changes in the policy governance.

Figure 2.2 : Interactions between FTA WATCH, alliance, and the formal polity



By using political process model, FTA WATCH's strategies and tactics are identified and analyzed through the models and concepts of political opportunity

structure, tactical innovation, and framing process. The media relation is emphasized as the media plays the major role as a space where FTA WATCH conveys their message to the public.

The thesis also looks at the media as a site of power and how the movement interacts with and uses the media as their strategy. It examines the roles of movement's media network, alternative media channels, and FTA WATCH's own media outlets on the movement. It also looks into FTA WATCH's framing of discourse which makes movement sound and influential to changes in public perspective.

The impact assessment is used to determine the outcomes and consequences of the movement. They are the results of how the movement makes use of their resources. The new social movement model can be used to examine the aim and implications of actions in terms of the empowerment of civil society, the creation of political space and the atmosphere of a democratic society.

The new social movement model can also be used to examine the emergence of FTA WATCH and the context where the movement is emerged within. To look at changes in the society or political order, it is necessary to understand the context as it determines the nature of the movement, the relationship and space between the movement and the other actors within the political order. The analysis of the movement's context and its emergence are focused in Chapter III.