

A Discourse Study of Community Justice Policy Implementation under the Policy Mottos “Justice for All, All for Justice” and “Justice to All, All to Justice”

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In this article, we analyse community justice policy discourse under the mottos “Justice for All, All for Justice” (JFA) and “Justice to All, All to Justice” (JTA) by using a narrative policy framework to decentre the relationship between community justice administrative models and policy implementation styles. This is carried out through qualitative analysis from a group of executives and scholarly experts, as well as practitioners on their use of discourses. The results show that the narrative form; “people access to justice” apparently linked to the “JTA” which is related to top-down approach, while “JFA” is related to bottom-up approach through narrative form “administrative justice to people”. The discourse practice of the former was seen as politicians’ propaganda to cultivate justice perception to the people at a local level. On the other hand, the latter was perceived as a strategic approach emphasised on perception of government officials. However, based on a top-down approach, narrating community justice policy implementation is considered as counterpoint to the administrative model which is in conflict with the policy’s goal.

Key words: *Community justice, policy implementation, policy motto.*

Introduction

Community justice is an alternative and innovative tool to supplement the mainstream criminal justice system, in order to balance people-to-government sided of power by promoting non-government and community participation to improve and enhance the efficiency of the main justice system. In a general sense, it is about “practicing justice” which can be explained through a variety of meanings, scopes, and purposes (Tongyai, 2019). There are many camps for community justice and all of them are concrete and considered as a good approach. However, Eric Lane of Hofstra University Law School questions this approach as he views community justice as “rallying cry”, which is a tool for governmental control over minorities (Berman & Fox, 2001). Community based problems cannot be effectively resolved by the governmental structure, therefore to set up a one-fit-all model of community justice policy which is controlled by central government results in scepticism. A lesson could be learnt from North Liverpool, as an evaluation of its community justice centre, which was operated by only government management had to close down after 8 years of operation (Murray & Blagg, 2018).

As for Thailand, the performance evaluation of community justice that is based on a single criteria despite different contexts and needs of each community is also not effective, and, therefore, did not reflect the current status of community justice policy (kongyearn, Wisuthisak & Na Pompetch, 2019).

The studies of community justice can be traced back to when it was initially found in the 2005 Report on 113th Anniversary of Ministry of Justice (Chaiyapong, Ittihanasuphavitch & Yindee, 2018). However, they have been repetitively increasing effectiveness of administration, appropriate models, and strengthening people’s participation, without an amazing theme relating to policy research. This research aims to study the theme through the policy motto “Justice for All, All for Justice” hereafter JFA, which was first initiated in 2005 under the Prime Minister Taksin Chinawatra’s Administration. Later in 2015, “Justice to All, All to Justice” hereafter JTA, was created under the Prime Minister General Prayut Chan-o-cha’s Administration. These policy mottos have been used as strategies to provide justice by degree of participation, and also as a means of discourse for cohesive recall and to remember easily (Hodges, 2014). However, the literature on implementation processes neglected the role of and relationship between discourse and policy implementation (Ciccina & Lombardo, 2019). The question raised here is: How would decentering community justice policy help us to see the relationship between the community justice administrative models – which is related to top-down/bottom-up perspectives - and community justice policy implementation?

This paper aims to examine and analyse the characters and plots in narrative form of community justice policy discourse in Thailand; to compare and contrast the meaning of community justice policy under the Ministry of Justice’s mottos; and to study the perspectives

of community justice discourses through the policy implementation actors and its relationship to community justice administrative model.

Literature Review

Community Justice

The concept of “community justice” has existed since the 18th century. From that time, community justice has various names such as “private justice” and “restorative community justice” and their meanings are varied. Alternatively, Lotaisong (2009) discovered that community justice might be viewed as a political strategy or motto to appease the community.

In practice, community justice has been translated differently in different contexts. In the United States, community justice is a sub-topic of economic development in community justice which is related to public safety and negative justice. In the United Kingdom, the mandate of community justice considers not only the offender but also the victim, the community and relationships, as well as connections to social justice within political and economic contexts (Bazemore & Schiff, 2001). In Indonesia, social justice falls under the concept of access to justice of disadvantaged groups, and the public service distribution and assistance (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2007). In Lao people’s democratic republic community justice plays the role of restorative conflict management and improving the community’s capacity for mediation and dispute resolution using partnership model (Phonok & Sukolrattanaetee, 2018).

In Thailand, there are many key actors playing roles in implementing this policy including the provincial justice administrative office, community justice coordination centre, and community justice centre at the sub-district level. The provincial justice administrative office plays the coordination role between central government and the community justice centre. It is internal structure of office of permanent secretary consists of 3 units; 1) General administration unit, 2) Policy and strategy unit, 3) Public service unit, by order of the Ministry of Justice, Office of Justice dated January 19, 2007. The provincial justice administrative office is under the supervision of justice volunteers and the provincial justice promotion unit, office of policy and strategy, according to MOJ in 2010. On January 27, 2014, it was restructured to have 3 units; 1) General administrative unit, 2) Justice and legal affairs unit, 3) Justice system development and promotion unit. On November, 22, 2011, it was under the supervision of the Bureau of Justice Administration Development and Promotion, and later, on December 24, 2013 its name was changed to the Division of Community Justice Development under the administration of Office of Permanent Secretary (Nuansiri, 2015). From a survey conducted at the end of 2018 provincial justice administration has been categorised according to its size as follows: 1) 5 extra-large (XL) including 4 pilot project sites, and 1 original system, 2) 19 large (L) including 9 pilot project sites, and 10 original system, 3) medium (M) including 6 pilot project sites, and

33 original system, 4) 18 small (S) including 18 original systems (P. Tinnachartarrak, personal communication, March 7, 2018).

With increasing amounts of research on public participation, there is still an imbalance of knowledge because of limited understanding on the government's side (Busbong, 2017; Songklean, 2018). In 2001, Berman et al. reported the discussion at a Washington, D.C., conference in 2000 that it is not possible to leave communities to decide on issues for themselves, therefore, this study aims to fulfil the knowledge on the public side by focusing on government officials' perspectives.

Research on Discourse and Policy Implementation

The role of language in policy implementation can be traced back to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) who said "...But what is it that is being implemented? A policy, naturally. There must be something out there prior to implementation; otherwise there would be nothing to move toward in the process of implementation. A verb like "implement" must have an object like "policy" (p,xiii). Now, with increasing the role of mottos in policy implementation, Paoin (2018) presents a lesson learned in e-government policy implementation in the Republic of Singapore which changed an approach from top to bottom known as "Government to You", to the approach that emphasises the relationship between the state and citizen called "Government with you". Songklin (2018) also argues that discourses play a major role in policy studies which is not limited to formulation but also the implementation stage. Ciccina et al. (2019) suggest that discourses should be considered as a transversal factor connecting actors and institutions engaged in policy implementation.

By discourse, a well-defined policy text could prevent a problem of high degrees of textualism that emphasises codification rather than implementation. This helps avoid problems of structuring in the policy arena which could separate cognitive gaps between designers and implementers (Lejano & Park, 2015). Sriram & Dhirathiti (2017) study the discourse of decentralisation in Thailand's public policy, which reflects the way the policy is described in script as entirely opposite to the practice of decentralisation. Furthermore, Musheno & Maynard-Moody (2015) also showed the contrast of what is said and what is done is different as shown by government officials who, based on policy in the service of "justice," say they treat everyone the same, but in practice there is always discrimination.

Additional to a criminalistics point of view, this research contributes greatly to laying theoretical framework in public policy discourse study, by analysing community justice discourse to decentre the dominant voice or set of constructive legitimate story of policy. This helps to improve theoretical policy analysis and the practice of policy not only in justice affairs but also public policy in general (Miller, 2019).

Conceptual Framework

In this research, a broad conceptual framework has been defined as a guideline for the study. The framework applied is a narrative policy analysis framework to study policy narrative under the community justice administration, making senses of JFA, and JTA discourse as restructuring alternative stories, and the relationship of community justice policy implementation and administrative model (Rhodes, 2018). The conceptual framework is as follows:

Figure 1. Research Conceptual Framework

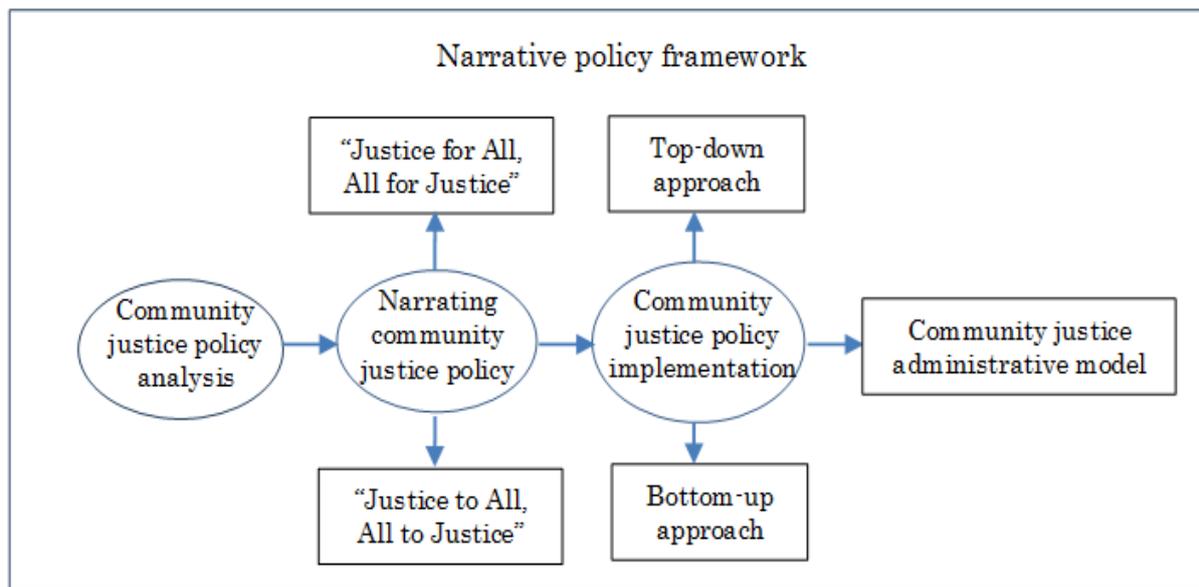


Figure 1 sets out the conceptual framework for this research which aims to analyse, describe, and define community justice policy elements and to tell stories with characters and plots of community justice policy, by storywriting in specific contexts. The research then recovers the meaning of community justice policy discourse from the perspectives of implementers in order to compare and contrast policy beliefs, strategies and discourse practice within the grand narrative. Subsequently, the relationship of top-down/bottom-up perspectives to community justice administrative frameworks has been analysed to explore the policy dilemma in operating policy.

Research Methodology

The research methodology is a discourse study of community justice policy implementation under the policy mottos JFA and JTA and is based on a narrative policy framework to describe narrative forms. This includes characters and plots of community justice policy that shape the meaning of JFA and JTA from an implementers' point of view, using top-down/bottom-up

approaches in policy implementation through community justice administrative framework. The researcher took a qualitative approach comprising of various research methods. A literature review was conducted taking into account policy documents, government publications, and newspaper clippings related to community justice discourse. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were also used as data collection methods.

For this study, the populations were those involved in community justice policy implementation during both JFA and JTA periods. Research participants included a group of three executives from the civil sector who are responsible for implementing community justice policy, scholarly experts whose publications are related to community justice discourse, and six practitioners who deliver outputs from community justice policy and are affected by policy implementation.

In-depth interviews were conducted with three key informants who are; governmental executives and scholarly experts. In-depth interviews and focus group discussion were conducted with six practitioners responsible for policy implementation. Content analysis was conducted, using the keyword “justice” to open up linguistic patterns related to a participatory notion. Other keywords – “access to justice of people” and “administrative justice to people” appeared and were used in a later stage. Analysis of data based on narrative analysis was carried out to analyse, interpret, and make sense of the key informants’ perspectives on community justice to decentering community justice policy – that constitutes the meaning of actions and practices on policy implementation reflecting through top-down/bottom-up implementing characteristics. Subsequently, these recovering characters and plots related to the community justice administrative framework and policy dilemmas were explored.

Findings

Community Justice: A Pilot Project

Narratively, the stories of community justice policy could be divided into 3 phases. The first phase can be traced back 1986, when the Department of Probation under Ministry of Justice brought the public sector to join the network for preventing and suppression of drug abuse problems. They did this by strengthening capacity of community members to monitor drug abuses and sales in their communities. Subsequently, the Ministry of Justice, hereafter MOJ, issued an order No.351/2004 dated 10 August 2004 to appoint a working group to develop the community justice network- which was responsible for preventing and controlling crimes, resolving conflicts, and conducting social reintegration process for released offenders. The Department of Probation selected 8 pilot provinces, namely Bangkok, Nonthaburi, PathumThani, Chachoengsao, NakhonRatchasima, Ubonratchathani, Chiang Mai and Phuket to carry out this initiative. Later in the fiscal year 2006 MOJ issued an order No.618/2005 dated December 23, 2005 establishing the provincial justice office development committee - linking

community and governmental administration to ensure that the people have access to the justice system in a timely and effective manner, and the community justice network – to cooperate with the official justice system to monitor crimes and promote justice within communities. An order No.1/2006 on January 27, 2006 executed the development of a justice network comprising 3 characteristics which include 1) a network and a community centre established in each province 2) a community justice network developed in pilot provinces under the project and 3) community justice work integrated in provincial administrative system. The development of a community justice system was then initiated in 39 communities in 17 pilot provinces, including Bangkok, Pathumthani, Ratchaburi, Rayong, Chachoengsao, Chiang Mai, Nan, Lamphun, Phitsanulok, Kamphaengphet, KhonKaen, Chaiyaphum, Surin, Mahasarakham, Prachuap KhiriKhan, Surat Thani, and Trang. Most of the information about community justice in the first phase was extracted from documents where the “Justice for All, All for Justice” policy motto stood out. Only one interviewed practitioner provided perspective on this (KPP, interview, May 3, 2018).

Community justice work in this phase did not have permanent offices but operated through an informal network of people and community. In summary, a community justice operation can be categorised into 2 forms: the first one was established by the Department of Probation with the aim to address specifically drug abuse problems, and the second was established by MOJ under the “Justice for All, All for Justice” policy motto - with wider coverage of responsibility including facilitating people’s access to justice and providing legal advice.

Community Justice as Justice Station

The policy motto for the second phase is also “Justice for All, All for Justice” which is similar to the first phase. However the plot of community justice policy in the second phase has much change, as shown in Table 1. Community justice in the second phase is a response to the problem faced by the justice community’s operation in the first phase, which is emphasised by its own volunteer system. The first phase community justice model was loose without clear goals or scope of works. It also relies on individuals’ interests and capacity. These gaps make the model unsustainable when responsible persons were transferred. For this reason, Pol.Gen.Pricha Promnok, then Minister of Justice, restructured the operation of community justice to strengthen people’s participation in the justice system in practice. Therefore, “Justice Station”, which aimed at saving lives and property, as well as preventing and deterring crimes by having community members monitor and take care of themselves, was established. On 20 April 2011, during phase 1 of the project (pilot project) justice stations were opened in 4 locations in Bangkok including Taling Chan, Dusit, Dindaeng, and Don Muang. It was later established in 16 additional locations in the province of Phitsanulok, KhonKaen, Nakhon Ratchasima, UbonRatchathani, Chacheoengsao, SamutSakhon, Rayong, Surat Thani, Phang Nga, Chiang Mai, Phrae, Tak, Saraburi, Phetchaburi, Phuket and Chiang Rai. With the

Department of Special Investigation as the coordinating centre for justice station. On 24 October 2012, “Justice Station” was renamed “justice coordination centre” and “justice volunteer guardian” was called “justice volunteer”. However, after the change in government, the previously established structures including justice station, justice coordination centre, and justice volunteer guardians were dissolved. In this phase, there is still a limited number of documents for the analysis. Some of them are considered as policy misdirection (KPP, interview, May 3, 2018).

Reinventing a Pilot Community Justice

Community justice in the third phase is closer to the first phase than the second – as reflected through the similar pilot community justice storyline as shown in Table 1. The Minister of Justice, Gen.Paiboon Kumchaya, established a policy to use the justice system as a tool to reduce disparity among people throughout the country and to ensure that people can access justice conveniently, in a timely manner and economically. In this phase, community justice networks play an important role in supporting provincial justice administration as similar to the previous phase. However, the third phase was considered as a golden age of the community justice centre because the policy required setting up new structures to support the work – including a district community justice centre and the community of justice centre’s 76 provinces, except Bangkok and Pattaya city, and at the MOJ. At least one person per village or community were assigned as community volunteers who collaborate with relevant government agencies and civil society organisations. In this phase, there was a wide use of slogans such as “Justice of the people, by the people and for the people” to advocate community justice policy.

Table 1: Summary of the characteristic of community justice policy in three phases

Characteristic	First phase (Before 2009)	Second phase (2009-2012)	Third phase (2015 onward)
Discourse	“Justice for All, All for Justice”	“Justice for All, All for Justice”	“Justice to All, All to Justice”
Narrative form	Administrative justice to people	Administrative justice to people	People access to justice
Storyline	Community justice centre (pilot)	Justice station	Community justice centre (pilot)
Plot	Cooperation with people	Extend the role of central government departments	Cooperation to local authority

Community justice policy analysis revealed that the discourse “Justice for All, All for Justice” (JFA) was dominant in the first and second phase but “Justice to All, All to Justice” (JTA) was dominant in the third phase. For these discourses, there are two narrative forms which are:

“administrative justice to people” apparently linked with JFA and “people access to justice” frequently used by JTA. To make sense of community justice policy implementation, there are three storylines and plots. The community justice centres (pilot) in the first and third phase is differently classified by the plot. JFA during the first phase relied on cooperation with people, therefore, effectiveness of a community justice centre depended on local leaders. Conversely, JFA during the third phase was re-designed to fill the gap that emerged in the first phase by putting roles and responsibilities on local authorities. However, justice station’s storyline is rather short as it aimed to extend the roles of central departments on implementing community justice policy more than in the previous phases.

Decentering The Meaning of Thailand’s Community Justice Policy

The much less common view of community justice policy could be making sense in honour to the value of implementers’ meanings of both JFA and JTA together. Because there is a link by narrative form between “JFA” through the word “administrative justice to people” and “JTA” through the word “people access to justice” which are used interchangeably in everyday practice, therefore, JFA cannot be separated from JTA. The difference is that, in the case of JFA, participants give meanings of “Justice for All” and “All for Justice” separately, while it was not the case for JTA.

“Justice for All, All for Justice”

The study showed fragmented views on the discourse by one of the executive groups which divided “Justice for All” from “All for Justice”. For “Justice for All”, it means that all people access justice equally through a justice system built by the people themselves. This view makes it sound more accomplished than “All for Justice” (PRS, interview, June 11, 2018). The opinion of minority of practitioners was in line with the perception of scholarly experts – that JFA has been subjected to providing services without discrimination, therefore it cannot be separated from JTA. The difference of practitioners’ and scholarly experts on this is that the practitioners’ view focused on people who access justice, while the scholarly expert’s view emphasised the role of state in providing service to the people.

The second group of meaning is that JFA implies government authorities must attend at village or community level to talk to the people and ensure that they understand roles and responsibilities of the government agencies, so that they know how to seek help and access to the justice system available in their locality when needed. The second group of meaning is rather similar to the first group. The only difference is that, instead of focusing on the active role of the people to coordinate, the people were seen as mere beneficiaries of the justice system. It is obvious that from a practitioner perspective, JFA is not looked at as an academic principle, but the statement “help them to help themselves” has been practiced. Practitioners

view is if the State does not open the door first, there is no way for people to access justice” (PTC interview, 25 May, 2018).

The third group of meaning, which is the major perspective, looked at “Justice for All” as a mechanism facilitating people to access justice hosted by Ministry of Justice. The mechanism is an integration of both the perspectives of people focused and state focused as shown under Narrative Strategy in Table 2. This study also found that policy belief varied with degrees of receiving justice and access to justice in the meaning of JFA. Among five policy beliefs, the practitioners’ perspective in narrative strategy “to provide justice to target population” of policy belief, “all people access justice equally through the justice system built by the people themselves” has the highest degree of public participation (focus group, June 18, 2018).

Besides access to justice, the fourth group of minority meaning considered that participation for “Justice for All” does not exist. Not only because the Ministry of Justice did not actively lead the process, but also because it only announced the policy that was pushed by politicians. The motto “All for Justice” therefore was only stated, but not actioned. Generally speaking, JFA may not actually be implemented, but only exists as a motto and a delusion of success. This is because there is no clear guideline for scope, meaning, and standard operation which is different from community to community. In addition, practitioners also believed that JFA is a motto used by MOJ to help officials be familiar with the concept of people’s participation, and not to implement the concept (PRS interview, June 11, 2018; SKY interview, May 11, 2018).

Table 2: Summary of narrative strategy and policy belief for “Justice for All, All for Justice”

“Justice for All, All for Justice”	Narrative strategy	Policy belief
Practitioner	Provide justice to target population	All people access justice equally through the justice system built by the people themselves
	Government bring justice to people	Government sector must provide knowledge to transfer and bring services to the village level
	People is focused to reach justice	To help people reach justice and by the Ministry of Justice
Executive	Government is focused to reach justice	Agency must go to the villagers to provide information about the role, mission, and how to ask for help or access the service in their locality in order to make people reach justice
Scholarly expert	Government is focused to link network	Providing services without discrimination

“Justice to All, All to Justice”

For JTA, the practitioners consider that it is important for government agencies to understand what is required to serve the people and what policies are available to guide the government services. From this perspective, the village is considered the smallest unit of the community to receive services from the state. Even though the meaning is not different but JFA looks at justice from the government’s perspective, while, on the other hand, JTA looks at justice from the people’s perspective who are beneficiaries of service (SPR, interview, June 28, 2018).

The scholarly expert viewed JTA differently. JTA is seen as a result of 20-year national strategy and civil state policy. In term of discourse, when comparing narrative strategy with policy belief, both JFA and JTA were seen to be similar –in the way that the state intervened in the sphere of public. The difference, however, is in policy practice. JTA emphasised the role of state to do justice while JFA focused on the roles of people to do justice to respond to the need of people (JEN, interview, May 30, 2018).

From the perspective of practitioners, JTA during the period of Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha Administration focused on the roles of state in order to bring justice to the people. Some executives and practitioners viewed that JTA has a broader implication than field work, as it is about raising awareness, creating good understanding, and building unity among communities’ members through public relations. One of the executives views public relations benefit both of government and public. However, the study reflects viewpoints of both executives and practitioners who strongly disagree upon using public relations as it is not cost-effective as the saying: “sow with the hand, and not with the whole sack, fire in the straw and then gone” (PRS interview, June 11, 2018).

To sum up, JFA and JTA were interpreted to have similar meaning on decentering community justice policy and complied with grand narratives of either people receiving justice or people reaching to justice, which is often used interchangeably. It is apparent that narrative strategy of executives and scholarly expert in both discourses is government focused. On the contrary, the narrative strategy of practitioners mainly focus on people reaching to justice. However, government focused narratives could be founded in JTA as bringing justice to people.

Table 3: Summary of narrative strategy and policy belief for “Justice to All, All to Justice”

“Justice to All, All to Justice”	Narrative strategy	Policy belief
Practitioner	People in focused to reach justice	Government agency understand what to service people
	Government in focused	Bring justice to people
Executive	Government in focused on reaching out to target population to provide justice	Agency must go to the villagers to make the understanding the role, mission, asking for help or using the service in the area in order to make people reach justice.
Scholarly expert	government in focused	The state intervenes to the sphere of public for civil state policy

Although the perspectives on JTA and JFA are different in target populations – that JTA is people focused and JFA is state focused, there was no difference in the meaning of JTA and JFA. The latter, however, was not effectively implemented as aimed. In term of implementation, JTA focused on public relation to achieve people’s recognition of politicians at policy level and civil servants at implementation level. Therefore, JTA does not only being benefit people, but also the government.

Narrative Analysis of Community Justice Policy Implementation

One of the objectives of this study is to relate top-down/bottom-up policy implementation approaches in Thailand’s community justice administration model. Analysing the two discourses relating to the implementation perspective, JFA, by wording emphasised on people and implemented through bottom-up implementation approach. JTA, by wording emphasised on government’s action and through top-down approach. Another important difference between the two discourses is that the storyline of JFA is to establish a pilot community justice centre which roles and responsibilities fully fell upon local communities. On the other hand, the plot of justice centre reflected that it implemented through top-down approach because it expanded the roles and scopes of work of government’s authorities – which was viewed as contradicting to community justice policy. The storyline of JTA is to establish a pilot community justice centre operated by the government, which is considered top-down, therefore different from JFA. However, when decentring the community justice policy the executive and the scholarly expert was aware of the discourse, meaning there was more than the practitioners not viewing the JTA and JFA as discourses, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Summary of narrative analysis of community justice policy implementation

Group	Top-down	Bottom-up	Discourse
Practitioner	✓✓	✓✓	✓
Executive	✓✓		✓
Scholarly expert	✓		✓
Non-government	✓		

✓✓ = The narrative analysis more complies to implementation than ✓

When implementing community justice policy, as indicated in Table 5, there was no clear perception of JFA except that it is a result of justice reform to emphasise the role of local communities in strengthening the official justice system. On the contrary, JTA is a result of taking the policy towards a process-oriented approach by emphasising the role of government agencies to fill the gap of the discourse implemented during the previous phase, as well as to extend the scope beyond criminal justice. In addition, JTA was transformed into a project to bring justice into communities, according to the view of executives. This view prioritised people’s access to justice rather than bringing justice to people, by enhancing knowledge and understanding of the people, and this would help their access to justice. Based on this perspective people’s access to justice is similar to JFA which was introduced in an early stage.

Table 5: Comparison of main characteristic of “Justice for All, All for Justice” and “Justice to All, All to Justice”

Main characteristic	Justice for All, All for Justice”	“Justice to All, All to Justice”
Background	Ambiguity	Ambiguity
Implementing style	Bottom-up	Top-down
Administrative framework	Partnership model	Mobilisation model
Narrative form	Administrative justice provided to people	People access to justice
Focus	Goal focused	Process focused

Results from the analysis reflect that the community justice centre (pilot) is the storyline of this policy. What is interesting is that the word “pilot” is still being used almost 10 years since it was piloted. The word “community justice centres” might be used in both Phase 1 and 3 but they have different meanings. In the former pilot project, local communities as key actors, while the latter project is government focused. Subsequently, during the implementation of the third phase of JFA, government officials put more efforts into promoting their positions and formal structure than during the previous phase. Therefore, JTA and JFA reflecting different wording in community justice policy during each phase could not be clearly distinguished by implementing such discourse.

Conclusion

Community justice policy in Thailand containing justice for All (JFA) discourse started in 2004, with the aim to impress the concept onto government officials' perception. On the contrary, the JTA discourse initiated in 2015 was a tactic used by politicians to cultivate the concept of justice into people's perception. The analysis in this study revealed that there are three phases of this policy according to the storyline, with the function of linking the two discourses – Justice for All, All for Justice (JFA) VS. Justice to All, All to Justice (JTA) Although JFA and JTA are different in discourse, narrative form and storyline, the policy implementation of both has always been done from a pilot of community justice center – which continues to transfer JFA discourse through different periods. Therefore, even in the period of JTA implementation, JFA discourse still exists.

In decentering community justice policy, the policy belief reflected two narrative strategies; government focused and people focused approaches to provide and access justice. The narrative form; “administrative justice to people” apparently linked with JFA, while “people access to justice” is a reflection of JTA discourse – which was considered by research participants as politicians' propaganda without genuine participation. Despite the difference in narrative forms, JTA and JFA were considered to have a similar meaning. Both mean people participation to do justice, to reach justice by people, and administrative justice service at the local level. The least reflected meaning of discourse that guided the implementation has been hidden when the policies were implemented, and the difference from what was reflected in the grand narrative was only revealed through a decentering process. Finally, to consider community justice policy implementation, the top-down approach is more often used than that of others, which is non-conforming with the goal to promote partnership as a desirable model in community justice administrative frameworks.

Discussion

Top-down/Bottom-up approach has been widely used as models to study public policy thoroughly in linguistics. Fairclough (2011) exemplified the word top-down to technologisation of discourse and bottom-up for everyday practice of ordinary people. Galarneau (2016) conducted research using a narrative method and has come up with seven stories of community justice in U.S. health policy to assess the degree of community involvements. In this study, the meaning of discourses of Justice for All (JFA) and Justice to All (JTA) and the uses of narrative form have been taken as the essential discursive agent to implementing community justice policy. There are both government focused and people focused approaches to provide and to access justice, the narrative strategy is focused on government in the perspectives of executives and a scholarly expert. While, for a practitioner, because of their role to co-ordinate between local and central levels, the narrative strategy

focused both on the government and the people. Therefore, it is not mistaken to say that there is existence of necessary illusion of community justice (Lothaisong, 2009). Thus, it could be said, from this study, that the closer the practice is to central level, the more it is subjected to discourse.

The practice of discourse in policy implementation, if overused, can create confusion and lead to ineffective practice that results in excessive codification and structuring called textualism. This phenomenon can happen especially in top-down approaches (Lejano et al., 2015; Roengtham, 2017). These notions are conformed to this study because JTA is more subjected to text than JFA, and JTA supplement JFA in providing a clear guidance to implement community justice policy.

As a result, community justice policy implementation is considered as counterpoint to administrative framework by the more the policy progressed, instead of become more inclining of a partnership model. The more it has moved towards a mobilisation model that focused on the role of government rather than people's participation which is different from what was found in Burikul et al. (2019), Chaiyapong et al. (2018), Murray et al. (2018) studies.

This research confirms the importance of studying discourse of policy implementation because, nowadays, new discourses continue to be created. For example, Justice Minister, Mr. Somsak Thepsuthin, has created a policy motto, "Proactive justice, Happiness for All". Therefore, study of discourses shall be done through decentering analysis, the meaning, the hidden dimensions, the interpretation in practice, the effect of policy would be helpful for effective policy implementation. However, the majority of policy studies applied study techniques at macro level and conducted quantitative research; narrative policy analysis can be a crucial framework to close the gap of traditional approaches in policy studies. By nature, pure narrative analysis is usually applied by researchers to conduct studies at micro level in qualitative field work, but is not used in public policy study. In addition, the theme people participation has now become a trend of public policy study. Therefore, an assumption that government officials are usually the one who hold authority and dominate public participation is common. This assumption relates to the relationships between people and authorities is not the only fact. There are other realities to look up including interacting between civil servants. Applying a narrative policy framework to study micro (individual) level, meso level to study groups of individuals to understand strategies and policy outcomes, and macro (institution) level or linking meso and macro levels of analysis (Ney, 2014) to study grand narratives, is therefore very useful for comprehensive policy study (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth & Radaelli, 2017).



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