

Research on Social Criticism of Trade Union Organizations in Vietnam

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ABSTRACT

Social criticism is an issue that demonstrates the democratic nature of state governance. Policies issued with the participation of many subjects will become effective state management tools, expressing both the will of the state and the aspirations of the people. Among the many subjects participating in social criticism, trade unions are a common subject, with the nature of representative organizations of workers and established in countries. In Vietnam, trade unions are defined as socio-political organizations, established and operating in parallel with central and local government levels; at the same time, trade unions are established and operate in each agency and organization in the political system in Vietnam. This study addresses the issue of social criticism of trade unions through the content of participating in policy criticism at the local level in direct and indirect forms; contributing to ensuring the quality of policies issued by localities. Based on the theoretical framework developed, the author surveyed the opinions of 200 leaders of grassroots trade union organizations in localities of 3 provinces representing 3 regions of Vietnam, including: Hung Yen Province (North), Quang Ngai Province (Central), Tay Ninh Province (South). The research and survey results show that the role of trade union organizations in policy criticism contributes to ensuring the quality of policies issued by localities; participation in policy criticism is mainly in an indirect form and needs to be strengthened more than direct participation in criticism. From the research conclusion, the author discusses appropriate solutions to promote the policy criticism role of trade union organizations in Vietnam.

Keywords: Trade union organization, Social criticism, Policy criticism, Vietnam

INTRODUCTION

The political system of Vietnam is designed to include the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations and a number of other specific organizations prescribed by law. The operating mechanism of the political system is stipulated in the Constitution (VNA, 2013): The Communist Party of Vietnam leads the state and the whole society; the Socialist Republic of Vietnam manages society by law and policy instruments; the Vietnam Fatherland Front, socio-political organizations and other organizations participate in state management through the mechanism of contributing opinions and criticizing policies.

In that system, the trade union is an institution defined by law (VNA, 2024) as a socio-political organization, a member of the political system; an organization representing workers (workers, cadres, civil servants, public employees, etc.); together with state agencies, economic organizations, and social organizations, it cares for and protects the legitimate and legal rights and interests of workers; participates in state management, socio-economic management; supervises and provides social criticism; participates in inspection, supervision, and monitoring of the activities of state agencies, organizations, units, and enterprises on issues related to the rights and obligations of workers; propagates and mobilizes workers to study to improve their qualifications and professional skills, comply with the law, and participate in emulation movements, build and protect the Fatherland. Trade unions are established and operate in parallel with central and local government levels (provincial and communal levels); At

the same time, trade unions are established and operate in every agency and organization in the political system in Vietnam.

The functions and tasks of trade unions are defined to include many of the above contents, but within the scope of this study, the author refers to the function of social criticism, specifically criticism of policies of local government agencies. The criticism of policies of trade unions is carried out in direct and indirect forms; contributing to ensuring the quality of policies issued by localities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social criticism is an indispensable activity in the modern social governance system, helping to ensure the quality of promulgated policies - the content of promulgated policies fully reflects the interests of relevant parties. In the context of current socio-economic development, social criticism has become an important tool to ensure transparency, democracy and efficiency in the process of policy making and implementation. There are many different views on social criticism of trade union organizations, reflecting the diversity in understanding as well as methods of implementing this activity.

According to Huong, P.T. (2013), social criticism of trade unions is part of the social supervision function, helping to detect inadequacies in policies and laws (policies, laws and management documents... hereinafter referred to as policies), and at the same time creating pressure to force relevant parties to comply with commitments on workers' rights. Sharing this view, but with a more detailed explanation, Nga, H.T. (2019) believes that social criticism of trade unions should focus on inspection, examination and supervision of the policy implementation process at agencies, organizations and enterprises. With this approach, Huong, P.T. (2013) and Nga, H.T. (2019) identify social criticism of trade unions as a power supervision mechanism, in which trade unions play the role of an organization to supervise policy implementation to ensure that workers' interests are not violated.

From another perspective, many studies consider trade union social criticism as an important tool in promoting democracy and social dialogue. According to Freeman, R.B. et al. (1984), trade unions not only protect their rights but also act as a bridge to help workers participate in the policy-making process, thereby ensuring democracy in labor relations. Similarly, Wilkinson, A. et al. (2010) asserted that trade union social criticism is more effective when carried out in an environment with clear dialogue and policy participation mechanisms. In the practice of state management in Vietnam, managers also emphasize the role of trade union social criticism, that social criticism contributes to promoting workers' participation in the policy process through dialogue and consultation with management agencies (SCVNA, 2017).

The fundamental and consistent goal of social criticism carried out by trade unions is to improve the quality of policies on the basis of protecting workers' rights and enhancing democracy in social governance. In the short term, social criticism plays an important role in promptly protecting the legitimate and legal rights and interests of workers, especially when facing shortcomings or weaknesses in labor relations. However, the true stature of social criticism is only fully promoted when it aims at the long-term goal, which is to contribute to building a policy system that accurately reflects practical needs, ensuring continuous policy feedback and limiting the risk of forming unfounded regulations that destabilize the labor market.

Thus, in the most general way of expression, social criticism by trade union organizations aims to ensure the quality of promulgated policies, specifically helping to detect policy shortcomings; create pressure for policy compliance for relevant parties; monitor the policy implementation process; ensure democracy, protect workers' rights; bridge to help workers participate in the policy process... In the aspect of local state management, when promulgated policies have the active participation of many relevant subjects (participating in policy development; proactively proposing policies), in which trade union organizations play a key role, the policy content will address the needs and aspirations of the majority and be feasible when implemented, the quality of the policy is affirmed and that policy becomes an effective management tool. At this time, the role of the government as the policy-making subject and the role of the trade union as the policy-reviewing subject are also affirmed, all aimed at ensuring the quality of policies issued by localities.

From the above explanations, at the same time inheriting and developing many research perspectives on social criticism, the author builds the scale "Quality of local policy" (QLP) in terms of the social criticism target of trade union organizations, implying the following contents: Local policies are issued with the participation of trade unions, ensuring legal safety and practical implementation (QLP1); Local policies are issued appropriately, ensuring the common rights and interests of workers (QLP2); Many local policies are issued based on proposals from trade unions, meeting the needs of workers (QLP3).

In essence, social criticism carried out by trade unions is a form of criticism with a specific subject. The subject of criticism here is not an individual or a spontaneous interest group, but a political-social organization with public legal status, recognized by law, representing workers. Collective representation creates legitimacy and special weight in the trade union's critical voice. Unlike forms of policy feedback from individuals, small groups or

civil society organizations that do not have official legal representative status, social criticism by trade unions is the voice of the collective of workers transformed into critical arguments based on practical investigation, synthesis from the grassroots and responsibility before the law. In Vietnam, current law (SCVNA et al., 2017; VNA, 2024) stipulates that social criticism of trade union organizations is carried out through direct criticism mechanisms (criticism conferences; direct dialogue conferences) and indirect criticism mechanisms (written criticism; criticism through the media).

Direct Criticism Mechanism

The review conference chaired by the trade union is organized upon request of the Vietnam Fatherland Front Committee at the same level, or on the basis of proactively implementing the review functions and tasks of the trade union organization. The agency/locality in charge of policy development must send a responsible person to represent its organization to attend the review conference organized by the reviewer or to participate in the dialogue at the request of the reviewer, which is the trade union organization. Attending the review conference chaired by the trade union include representatives of relevant agencies and experts and scientists knowledgeable in the content area of the draft policy document.

Direct dialogue conferences chaired by trade unions are organized with the participation of many parties, including policy makers, workers, and trade unions; they can be organized annually and at necessary and appropriate times to address policy needs from workers. This is a form of social criticism with an open and in-depth dialogue nature, clearly demonstrating the proactive, creative and critical role of trade unions in the policy-making process. This form needs to be promoted in both content and implementation process to enhance transparency, feasibility and democracy in policy-making. For trade unions, this is not only an effective channel of criticism but also a tool to institutionalize the representation and protection rights of trade unions in the practice of state and social management.

Organizing criticism conferences and direct dialogue conferences demonstrates democracy, openness and rationality in the process of criticism; contributing to clearly demonstrating the position, responsibility and policy voice of trade unions in the process of building policies related to workers. This is a vivid manifestation of the democratic mechanism in social governance, where trade unions are not only representatives of interests but also a responsible, professional and influential critic in the policy-making process. However, to promote that democracy, the mechanism for receiving and responding to policy comments needs to be seriously implemented by the policy-making entity, to always maintain appropriate policies and encourage active participation in the policy process from trade unions and workers. With that meaning, the author builds the scale "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM) as a theoretical framework for this study, implying the contents showing the necessity and significance of direct criticism: Criticism conferences are held when each local policy is developed and issued (DCM1); Direct dialogue conferences are held annually, mobilizing the active participation of workers in the local policy process (DCM2); Localities receive and respond to policy comments through a direct criticism mechanism in a full and responsible manner, building trust with workers through appropriate policies (DCM3).

Indirect Criticism Mechanism

Trade unions can formalize their contributions, provide scientific analysis, strong arguments and specific proposals for draft policy documents. Criticism in writing helps unions not only express their views clearly and systematically, but also create a legal basis for agencies/localities to review and adjust policy content before promulgation. Trade union rebuttal documents are official and can become important reference documents for government agencies, helping them have a more comprehensive view when making policy decisions. In addition, presenting views in written form also helps unions demonstrate responsibility, objectivity and scientific nature in the rebuttal process, increasing persuasiveness to authorities and public opinion.

Trade unions can and have the right to use newspapers, television, social networks and other media platforms to convey opinions, views and recommendations on policies related to workers' rights. This form helps trade unions spread their voices of criticism widely in public opinion, creating positive public pressure and indirectly encouraging competent authorities to adjust and improve policies. This is a flexible form, suitable for the context of digital society and the trend of information democratization in current political and social life.

Written criticism and criticism through the media are both official and demonstrate democracy, openness and rationality in the criticism process. In the context of today's digital society, the press and digital media platforms not only play the role of disseminating information but also serve as an indirect but effective tool for policy participation, contributing to the formation of public opinion and increasing pressure for constructive criticism. Therefore, there needs to be flexibility in the indirect criticism mechanism, combining written criticism and criticism through the media to clearly demonstrate the position, responsibility and policy voice of the trade union organization in the process of building policies and laws related to workers. To promote the effectiveness of criticism, the mechanism for receiving and responding to policy comments needs to be seriously and publicly

implemented by the policy-making entity so that the content of the promulgated policy is the crystallization of collective intelligence, reflecting the wishes of the majority of workers. With that meaning, the author builds the scale "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) as a theoretical framework for this study, implying the following contents: Written criticism is implemented when each local policy is developed and issued (ICM1); The combination of written criticism and media criticism is regularly implemented or applied to most local policies (ICM2); Localities receive and respond to policy comments through an indirect criticism mechanism in a serious and public manner, reflecting the wishes of the majority of workers (ICM3).

Through the overview study, the issue of social criticism of trade unions is affirmed to play an important role in ensuring transparency, democracy and efficiency in the process of policy making and implementation; as part of the social supervision function, helping to detect policy shortcomings, and at the same time creating pressure to force relevant parties to comply with commitments on workers' rights. Social criticism of trade unions in Vietnam is regulated by law through direct criticism mechanisms (criticism conferences; direct dialogue conferences) and indirect criticism mechanisms (written criticism; criticism through the media); the significance/value of social criticism of trade unions in the local policy process is affirmed to aim at improving the quality of policies on the basis of protecting workers' rights and enhancing democracy in social governance; as a factor that has a direct influence, ensuring the quality of policies issued by localities. With the above explanation, this study hypothesizes: *The direct criticism mechanism (criticism conference; direct dialogue conference) [H1], the indirect criticism mechanism (written criticism; criticism through media) [H2] are deployed appropriately, have a direct impact on the quality of local policies.*

Based on the inheritance and development of the results of many previous studies, the author designed a theoretical research model consisting of 3 scales and 9 observation variables. These observation variables were designed into a survey form with 9 corresponding questions and measured by a 5-level Likert scale: 1 - Strongly disagree; 2 - Disagree; 3 - No opinion; 4 - Agree; 5 - Strongly agree (Table 1, Figure 1).

Table 1. Theoretical framework

No	Scales	Encode	Rating levels				
			1	2	3	4	5
I	Direct criticism mechanism	DCM					
1	Criticism conferences are held when each local policy is developed and issued	DCM1					
2	Direct dialogue conferences are held annually, mobilizing the active participation of workers in the local policy process	DCM2					
3	Localities receive and respond to policy comments through a direct criticism mechanism in a full and responsible manner, building trust with workers through appropriate policies	DCM3					
II	Indirect criticism mechanism	ICM					
4	Written criticism is implemented when each local policy is developed and issued	ICM1					
5	The combination of written criticism and media criticism is regularly implemented or applied to most local policies	ICM2					
6	Localities receive and respond to policy comments through an indirect criticism mechanism in a serious and public manner, reflecting the wishes of the majority of workers	ICM3					
III	Quality of local policy	QLP					
7	Local policies are issued with the participation of trade unions, ensuring legal safety and practical implementation	QLP1					
8	Local policies are issued appropriately, ensuring the common rights and interests of workers	QLP2					
9	Many local policies are issued based on proposals from trade unions, meeting the needs of workers	QLP3					

Source: Compiled by the author through the review

Research Model

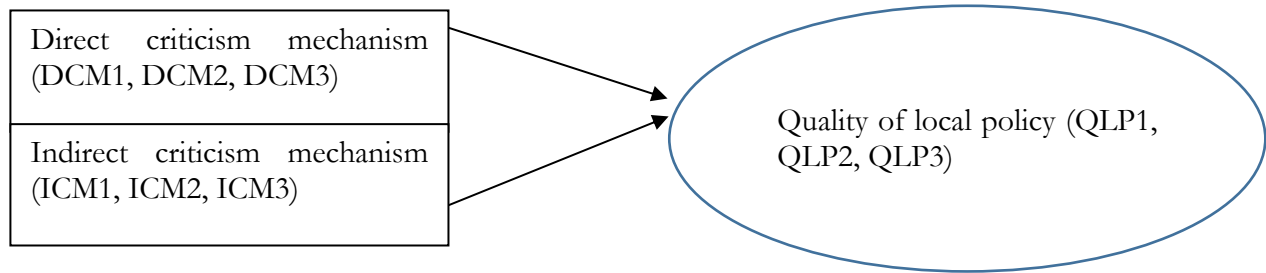


Figure 1. Research model

RESEARCH METHODS

The author uses a combination of qualitative research (collecting and analyzing secondary documents to build a theoretical model) and quantitative research (surveying, collecting and analyzing primary data to test the theoretical model). In quantitative research, according to Hair, J.F. et al. (2009), the minimum sample size required is $N = m \cdot 5$ (in which, m is the number of observed variables). Applied in this study, the model includes 03 scales, 9 observed variables, so the minimum sample size required to conduct the survey is $N = 9 \cdot 5 = 45$.

In fact, the author conducted an official survey with a sample size of $N = 200$ ($N > 45$) of local grassroots trade union leaders in 3 provinces representing 3 regions of Vietnam, including: Hung Yen Province (North), Quang Ngai Province (Central), Tay Ninh Province (South). The survey was conducted selectively to collect information from respondents with 4 years or more of management experience in trade union organizations. The distribution of survey forms was conducted on the basis of preliminary interviews and the consent of respondents; the results obtained 200/200 valid responses, achieving a valid response rate of 100%.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the survey data with a sample size of $N = 200$ union leaders collected, the author tested the reliability of the scales and observed variables in the theoretical model. In quantitative research, according to Hair, J.F. et al. (2009), the scales are reliable when meeting the standard condition Cronbach's alpha > 0.6 ; the observed variables are reliable when meeting the standard condition Corrected Item-Total Correlation > 0.3 . The test results show that all 3 scales and 9 observed variables in the theoretical model are reliable (Table 2).

Table 2. Statistical results and testing results of the scale

Scales	Observed variables	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation	Cronbach ' Alpha	Corrected Item-Total Correlation
1. Direct criticism mechanism (DCM)	DCM1	200	1	5	3.94	.701	.722	DCM1 = .489
	DCM2	200	1	5	3.87	.639		DCM2 = .507
	DCM3	200	1	5	3.88	.724		DCM3 = .323
2. Indirect criticism mechanism (ICM)	ICM1	200	1	5	4.15	.669	.685	ICM1 = .502
	ICM2	200	1	5	3.92	.711		ICM2 = .425
	ICM3	200	1	5	3.90	.674		ICM3 = .491
3. Quality of local policy (QLP)	QLP1	200	1	5	4.05	.684	.794	QLP1 = .518
	QLP2	200	1	5	4.01	.710		QLP2 = .486
	QLP3	200	1	5	3.95	.674		QLP3 = .507
Valid N (listwise)		200						

Source: Author's survey results

The statistical data in Table 2 shows that the observations of the scales "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM), "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM), "Quality of local policy" (QLP) are rated at an average level of Mean ≥ 3.87 , all of which are statistically significant according to the Likert scale (1-5). This shows that the opinions of union leaders contribute to proving that: Local policies issued with the participation of unions ensure legal

security, guarantee the rights and common interests of workers; Unions are mobilized to participate and promote positivity in policy criticism through a number of forms such as criticism conferences, direct dialogue conferences, written criticism, criticism through the media, contributing to the policy making of the wishes of the majority of workers and creating trust with workers.

In specific aspects, only the observed variable ICM1 has the highest value with Mean (ICM1) = 4.15, showing that most of the trade union organizations' criticism of local policies is carried out in written form. The remaining observed values of the two scales "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM), "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) are assessed at a low level: Mean (DCM1) = 3.94, Mean (DCM2) = 3.87, Mean (DCM3) = 3.88 and Mean (ICM2) = 3.92, Mean (ICM3) = 3.90, showing that the opinions of trade union leaders affirm that policy criticism is limited in the form of criticism conferences, direct dialogue conferences, and media; At the same time, local accountability/response to receiving policy criticism from trade union organizations has not been promoted, even at a very limited level. The limited diversity of forms of criticism and the lack of accountability/response mechanism for receiving policy criticism will be a factor that directly affects the promotion of active participation of workers in the local policy process.

The author's research and survey results contribute to reflecting the reality in Vietnam on the criticism of trade union organizations on policies issued by localities, similar to the comments and assessments of a number of recent studies. According to Tu, T.T.C. (2024), social criticism activities still lack clear and specific regulations on the mechanism for receiving and responding to opinions and sanctions for not receiving social criticism; the mechanism for receiving and responding greatly affects the effectiveness of social criticism. If there is no mechanism for receiving and responding, it will discourage participants in criticism; if the reception and response are not serious or formal, it will also seriously affect the effectiveness of social criticism activities; the lack of specific regulations on the responsibilities of the subjects receiving criticism also causes the omission or delay in handling recommendations from the criticism organizations. MOJ (2025) assessed that social supervision and criticism activities still lack initiative and flexibility in the form of criticism; lack of autonomy in the organization and operation of organizations participating in social supervision and criticism; have not created a truly effective mechanism to bind the responsibility of state agencies in receiving and responding to opinions of individuals and organizations, leading to the participation of subjects in giving opinions on policies and laws often not being very effective.

The scales and observed variables have standard reliability test values, which are the basis for further analysis. The author conducts exploratory factor analysis with Varimax rotation to preliminarily assess the unidimensionality, convergent value, and discriminant value of the scales to have more basis for drawing research conclusions about the suitability of the proposed theoretical research model (Table 3 and Table 4).

Table 3. Total Variance Explained

KMO and Bartlett's Test		
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.764
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1698.474
	df	36
	Sig.	.000

Total Variance Explained									
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.806	42.290	42.290	3.806	42.290	42.290	2.641	29.339	29.339
2	2.690	29.883	72.174	2.690	29.883	72.174	2.582	28.685	58.024
3	1.215	13.500	85.674	1.215	13.500	85.674	2.488	27.650	85.674
4	.372	4.131	89.805						
5	.330	3.672	93.477						
6	.230	2.551	96.028						
7	.174	1.934	97.962						
8	.116	1.286	99.248						
9	.068	.752	100.000						
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.									

Source: Author's survey results

Table 4. Rotated Component Matrix

Rotated Component Matrix ^a				
Scales	Observed variables	Component		
		1	2	3
1. Direct criticism mechanism (DCM)	DCM1	.726		
	DCM2	.724		
	DCM3	.828		
2. Indirect criticism mechanism (ICM)	ICM1		.855	
	ICM2		.863	
	ICM3		.830	
3. Quality of local policy (QLP)	QLP1			.714
	QLP2			.841
	QLP3			.751
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.				
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.				
a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.				

Source: *Author's survey results*

In terms of theory, exploratory factor analysis was performed in accordance with the data set shown through the values: $0.5 \leq \text{KMO} \leq 1$; Bartlett test with observation significance level Sig. < 0.05 ; Eigenvalue ≥ 1 ; Total Variance Explained $\geq 50\%$; Factor Loading ≥ 0.5 (Hair, J.F. et al., 2009). Data in Table 3 and Table 4 show that:

- $\text{KMO} = 0.764 > 0.5$, confirming that exploratory factor analysis is appropriate for the data set; Bartlett's test has an observed significance level of Sig. = $0.000 < 0.05$, showing that the observed variables have a linear correlation with the representative factor. Total variance extracted with Cumulative % = $85.674\% > 50\%$ (Table 3), showing that 85.674% of the variation of the representative factors is explained by the observed variables; all observed variables have Factor Loading > 0.5 (Table 4), showing that the observed variables have good statistical significance. The theoretical research model initially proposed is consistent with the survey research practice.

- The observed variables were extracted into 03 factors corresponding to 03 initial factors with Eigenvalues > 1 (Table 3), continuing to confirm the suitability of the initial research model. And the initial research model was kept intact, including: 02 independent variables "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM), "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) and 01 dependent variable "Quality of local policy" (QLP) with a total of 9 observed variables with good statistical significance, which can perform multivariate linear regression analysis to examine the relationship of the scales in the model. The results of the regression analysis are shown in Table 5, which is the basis for the author to draw research conclusions.

Table 5. Multivariate regression results

Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.014	.234		11.342	.000
	Direct criticism mechanism (DCM)	.452	.293	.439	9.196	.000
	Indirect criticism mechanism (ICM)	.496	.311	.475	8.457	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Quality of local policy (QLP) R ² : 0.762; Durbin-Watson: 2.101						

Source: *Author's survey results*

The data in Table 5 shows that:

+ $R^2 = 0.762$, confirming that the scales "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM), "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) explain 76.2% of the variation in the scale "Quality of local policy" (QLP); $\text{VIF} = 1.838$ and $\text{VIF} = 1.894$ ($1 < \text{VIF} < 2$), showing that the regression model does not have multicollinearity; Durbin-Watson = 2.008 ($1 < d < 3$), showing that the regression model does not have autocorrelation, confirming that the scales "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM), "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) are independent and have the same impact on the scale "Quality of local policy" (QLP), confirming the suitability of the theoretical research model with the survey data set.

+ The regression coefficients of the two independent variables "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM), "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) are both statistically significant Sig. = 0.000 (Sig. < 0.05) and have positive values: B (DCM) = 0.452 and B (ICM) = 0.496, confirming the positive relationship between the two independent variables "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM), "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) and 01 dependent variable "Quality of local policy" (QLP); hypotheses H1, H2 are accepted; the initial research model continues to be confirmed to be appropriate. The multivariate regression model of this study is: $QLP = 1.014 + 0.452 \cdot DCM + 0.496 \cdot ICM$. The degree of correlation between the independent and dependent variables in decreasing order is: "Indirect criticism mechanism" (ICM) and "Direct criticism mechanism" (DCM).

From the above results of testing, analysis and evaluation, the research conclusion that the author is interested in is:

(1) Local policies issued with the participation of trade unions ensure legal security, guarantee the rights and common interests of workers; Trade unions are mobilized to participate and promote positivity in policy criticism through a number of forms such as criticism conferences, direct dialogue conferences, written criticism, and criticism through the media, contributing to the policy making of the wishes of the majority of workers and creating trust with workers.

(2) Policy criticism is limited in the form of criticism conferences, direct dialogue conferences, and media; at the same time, local accountability/response for receiving policy criticism from trade union organizations has not been promoted, even at a very limited level. The limited diversity of forms of criticism and the lack of accountability/response mechanism for receiving policy criticism will be factors that directly affect the promotion of active participation of workers in the local policy process.

And from the conclusion of that research, the author discusses policy solutions to promote the proactive and positive policy criticism of trade union organizations in Vietnam, which are:

- Firstly, it is necessary to adjust the law with specific provisions on the mechanism to ensure the implementation of the obligations of agencies/localities in responding to the criticism of trade union organizations. Because the current legal system does not have specific provisions on the time limit, acceptance criteria and accountability mechanism from agencies/localities that develop policies. And if there are no specific provisions on this content, the right to criticize trade union organizations' policies will only be of principle, not have enough practical weight, and will be easily overlooked in the process of building and promulgating local policies.

- Second, trade union organizations need to develop action plans to implement policy criticism functions more proactively and flexibly. Because current laws stipulate many forms of policy criticism, such as criticism conferences, direct dialogue conferences, written criticism, and criticism through the media. The problem is that trade union organizations need to proactively combine policy criticism in a flexible form, not just focusing on the current form of written criticism.

In the context of today's digital society, the press and digital media platforms not only play a role in disseminating information but also serve as an indirect but effective tool for policy participation, contributing to the formation of public opinion and increasing constructive criticism. Therefore, there needs to be flexibility in the policy criticism mechanism, and increased criticism through the media to clearly demonstrate the position, responsibility and policy voice of trade unions in the process of formulating policies and laws related to workers.

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