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# A STUDY OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF LABOUR UNIONS IN THAI POLITICAL SYSTEM

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March, 1998



Danoo Leeyatikul

#### DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled, "A Study of Political Participation of Labour Unions in Thai Political System" is my own original work, carried out under the supervision of Dr. J.N. PANDTA, Professor, Department of Political Science, Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar.

I Further declare that no part of this work has been fully or partially submitted to any other University for any type of degree.

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#### CERTIFICATE

Certified that the work incorporated in thesis entitled "A Study of Political Participation of Labour Unions in Thai Political System" submitted by Mr. Danoo Leeyatikul comprised the results of independent and original investigations carried out by the candidate under my supervision. The material that has been obtained (and used) from other sources has been duly acknowledged in the thesis.

Place: Vallabh Vidyanagar

Date: 16-3-1994

(Prof.Dr.J.N. Pandya)

(Research Guide)

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Size of establishment			
	•	over one-fifth	over one half
		can nominate	can nominate
50 - 100	5	3	5
101 - 200	7	4	. <b>7</b> :
201 - 400	9	5	9
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In order that Employees' Committee could function effectively, the law requires that employers must seek permission from the Labour Court before committee member can be punished or dismissed from the job while trade union's committee is exempted. Concluded that Employee's Committee can be set up easily and be beneficial from such protection.

From the statistics for the year 1992, about 80 % of Employees' Committee were nominated by trade unions. It can be concluded that Employee's Committee can be set up and be beneficial to the workers when nominated by trade union. One can also conclude

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#### CHAPTER 1

#### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Condition and Importance of the Problem

While various countries in the third world including Thailand are developing themselves more industrially, an occupational group has originated and expanded itself which is the so-called labour group being employed in these industrial factories and become a huge interest group with certain influence. This occupational group is trying to paticipate regularly in politics within and out of the system. The status in being a big-scale group of this labourers creates good and bad results towards administrative system. That is to say that if the labourers participate in politics according to the criteria of the system, it will assist such political system to have more stability and justification. But if their participation does not rest on respecting the criteria of the system, it may create crisis by shaking such political system, i.e. crisis in Poland 1981, etc. Huntington, an American political scientist used to explain that the factor which helps the population to participate in politics more increasingly is the social and economic process which originates with a change to modern. The outcome of the change to modern which exists towards the political stability links with one another, that is, the relation between social mobilization and economic development, between social frustation and mobility opportunity in social status as well as between political

participation and political institutionalization. Huntington has explained about these relations in the form of equation as follows: (1)

"Social mobilization high = social frustration

Economic development low

Social frustration high = political participation

Mobilization opportunity low

<u>Political participation high</u> = political instability

Political institutionalization" low

Generally, the role and political influence of the labourers in each country may vary according to the characteristics of political systems, volumn of labourers and political culture in individual country as an important point. It will be seen that the society ruled by a continuous democratic system for sufficiently long period often has more than ten million labourers upward with political culture of liberalism, i.e. U.S.A. U.K. and Japan, the role and political influence of the labourers tend to be intensive and will participate in politics in every pattern.

In U.S.A. the labourers apart from having the role in calling the Government for enforcing law for protecting or promoting their standard of living and having the role to jointly vote for a party which has the policy to give them benefit, these labourers still get involved with such political party also. (2)

In U.K., the labourers have participated vastly in political role up to the scale that have established their own political party in

1900. At the beginning, it was called "Labourers Representation committee or L.R.C." and later in 1906 the name was changed to "Labour Party". The Labour Party which came from industrial sector was accepted by the public who formed or ruled many sessions of Government, such as, in 1923, 1929, 1945, 1964, 1966 and 1975, etc. (3)

Same applies to Japan, that is the labourers have participated vastly in politics, i.e., contributing fund to their party, compaigning deligently to gain votes both at national and Local levels, paticipating in central committee of the party, as well as participating for election in the name of the party, etc. The political parties which have received support from the labourers are Socialist Party, Communist Party and Democratic Social Party. The Socialist Party was supported by Union Labour under the jurisdiction of "SOHUE" Union Labour, specifically, the:Telephone-Telegraph" Union Labour and Power Authority Labour Union. Communist Party is another Party which is supported by many Labour Union Under big "DOMEI" Union Labour. (4)

It will be seen that the role in participating in politics of the labourers in the above countries are studied well but such study are not available in country like Thailand.

Political participation under the criteria of political administrative system, particularly, democratic system is good, When considering about the role in political participation of Thai labourers. It will be quite interesting to see that the Thai political system will keep changing frequently to and for between autocratic system and democratic system when the volume of labourers were about 3,200,000

persons (1976) the role in political participation of those labourers was interesting. (5)

Thai labourers began to concentrate together since 1940 by establishing, Vocational Union Labour Association of Thailand comprising of 75,000 members. The above Association has made a move to improve the status and welfare in many aspects of the mass labourers i.e. requesting the government to issue Labour Law, imposing an Act on working hours, labour strikes, concentrating labours group and on social security. In addition, a Labour Day was set for the frist time in Thailand in 1946. Later, on 8th November 1947, Field Marshal Por. Pibulsongkram caused a coup d'etat and appointed Mr. Kuang Apaiwong as temporary Prime Minister. At that time, 18 sawmill labourers had organized a strike throughout the country to protest against the absolute monarchy power. The result was that the labourers were imprisoned every where by the government to crush the Union movement. After that incidence, labourers' political role decreased tremendously untill in 1946, when a Political Act had been proclaimed, as a result, these labourers have established a party called "Labour Party" with following summarized policies, programmes or demands from the government of Thailand :-

A Labourers'law or Labour Law shall be issued,
Labourers may form Labour Union,
First of May Shall be Labour Day,
Protection and guaranteed measures towards well'fare of
labour from its employer shall be given,

Apart from the above demands, there were still some movements pressure the government to issue Labour Act and to give permission to establish a Labour Union. Finally, the Government under leadership of Field Marshal Por. Pibulsongkram agreed to issue Labour Act, 1956. In this act all provisions were made to improve Labour conditions by specifying the working hours, holidays, payment of overtime and such, This Act had an impact upon Labour Relations, due to its permission to form Union and its provision for negotiations and resolution of labour dispute etc. This law was later on cancelled when Field Marshal Sarit Dhanarat caused a coup de'etat in 1957. Leaders of the Labour Union were captured as a result the political role of these labourers were decreased greatly during the period of absolute monarchy government. The Labour Movement was reduced to zero during control of the State Power of a continuously long period upto after the 14th of October, 1973. Again the Labourers got the chance to reform their roles in administrative system that was changed from absolute monarchy system to a full democratic system. During this period, the labourers had often requested for their rights and often went on a strike that forced the Government to issue a Labour Relations Act, 1975. Again, on 6 October, 1976 there was an another coup. The roles of the labourers had again diminished until 1978 which was the year when the current constitution was drafted. Three labour leaders were appointed as Members of the Constitutional Assembly which was considered as an important role. Moreover, a group of labourers' union leaders had gathered to establish their own political party in 1981 called "Democratic Labour Party". (6)

From the above role in political participation of the Thai

labourers in the making of constitution it will be seen that from the macro point of view Thai labourers were politically alert, influential, effective and assertive in those days.

However, with regard to political participation of the Thai labourers, one cannot say definitely as to how multiple it was and what was the important factor that led to the political participation of the labourers. Therefore, this research is aimed at findinging answer to this question, by selecting the study specifically on Metropolitan Electricity Authority and its labourers as an important point. The reason why study is concentrated on the Metropolitan Electricity Authority and its labourers is that they used to make movement to fight for their benefits under the leadership of strong leaders. Therefore, the study of Metropolitan Authority after 14 October 1973 is of great importance to understand Labour Movement and its political role in Thailand.

For the observation of the Labour Movement in general both in private sector and in government enterprise after 14 october 1973 onwards uptil the present time, the study on Metropolitan Electricity Authority labourers ought to be useful in learning about the political behaviour of labourers in Thailand.

#### 1.2 Objectives of Study:

- 1. To study the level of the political participation of Thai labourers.
- 2. To study the factors affecting the political participation of Thai labourers.
- 3. To study the level of the political attitude of Thai labourers.

- 4. To study the factors affecting the political attitude of Thai labourers.
- 5. To compare the level of political participation of state enterprise labourers and private enterprise labourers.
- 6. To compare the political attitude of state enterprise labourers and private enterprise labourers.
- 7. To study the relationship between the political participation and political attitude of Thai labourers.

#### 1.3 Scope of the study

- 1. The population under study will be both who are members and non-members of an association, government enterprise staff including members and non-members of labour Union of private enterprise.
- 2. Size of sample group will depend on the member of government enterprise labourers both who are not members of government enterprise staff, including 1-2 private enterprise employees, by using average 10 % of the total population.
- 3. The political participation comprise of protests, community role, political parties, political information and voting in eletion.
- 4. The political attitude intends to study specifically about political efficacy and political trust.
- 5. The political participation of Thai labourers Unions: in state enterprise as well as enterprise intends to the Thai political System.

## 1.4 Variables of the study

Milbrath: 1965 considered that there are many factors affecting to the level of political participation, the present study, thus selected the variables of the study as follows: - (7)

## 1.4.1 Dependent Variables

- (1) Political Participation
  - protest
  - political parties
  - political information
  - voting in election
  - community roles
- (2) Political Attitudes
  - political efficacy
  - political trust

### 1.4.2 Independent Variable

- (1) sex
- (2) age
- (3) education
- (4) income

## 1.5 Hypothesis of study

- 1. There will be no significant difference between the political participation of Thai labourers unions in state enterprise and private enterprise belonging to different groups of sex, age, education and income.
- 2. There will be no significant difference between the political attitude of Thai labourers unions in state enterprise

and private enterprise belonging to different groups of sex, age, education, and income.

3. There will not be the significant relationship between the political participation and political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise.

## 1.6 Benefit Expected to be Desired

This research enables to understand about the level of behaviours in political participation of the labourers in big-scale state enterprise when compared with labour employees in private enterprise, and also to learn about their political activities in which labourers are interested and participated including political behaviours of the labourers in state enterprise and labour employees of private enterprise. All this knowledge may be applied for use in political science technology, particularly, those who are interested in the role of "group" in the development of Thai politics. In addition, it can be used as data for assessing potentiality of Thai labourers as to whether it can develop into a strong political party.

## 1.7 Brief Information about Thai Political System

The development of a democratic political system in Thailand has come a long way and it still has a long way to go. Althought it took over six decades of political change since the revolution of 1932, but for Thai democracy to become fully developed, it will take some more time for complete maturation. Thailand has moved from a monarchical state prior to 1932 to a bureaucratic state of the 30's through 70's

and following that to the period of halfway democracy in early 1980's. After the bureaucratic state, what one sees is a plutocratic state in which the businessmen have dominated the political scene, rather than a democratic state. What one would hope to see is evolution towards a democracy functioning out of interest for the people in general, rather than for a few wealthy and powerful individuals.

On examining the structures of the Thai democratic system, the area which needs serious attention can be identified as the need to allow a genuine local self government system to operate, in order for the people to rehearse their self government performance on the stage of local government. In the process, they could learn the art of government and administration, but more importantly, they could become increasingly politically conscious and responsible for their own affairs, lending to an increased confidence and a sense of political efficacy. This can be done, for instance, by raising the status of villages. They are aptly qualified to serve as the units in which a local self government at the grassroots can start.

But political or administrative decentralization alone will not be sufficient. What is also needed is economic decentralization. Economic activities and business dynamism will have to expand into the provincial and rural areas. This would bring about a better income and living standard for the people by deconcentrating the dynamism and vibrance of these activities found in Bangkok's metropolis and expanding it to the provinces, districts, tambols and villages. Indeed one might argue that Bangkok Metropolis is both a newly industrialized and a democratized unit unto itself. Bangkok could meet all the requirements of a newly industrialized country. In terms of democracy,

Bangkokians obviously vote according to the party system and it is a place where the two-party system seems to be working. If these features, economically and politically can be expanded to areas outside Bangkok blanketing the whole nation, the process of democratization and industrialization will gradually take hold of the entire nation.

If the above is the case, the level of political consciousness of the people will be elevated leading to the formation of strong political groups with effective pressure groups or interest groups, the great bulk of the masses would become democratically functional. They would know the art of self government and they would form pressure groups with strong bargaining power. Thus, the substructure and part of the intermediate structure would be completed in the structural jigsaw puzzle.

With the emergence of these two phenomena, the mass media would have to keep abreast of developments by upgrading its quality in order to meet the demands of a new market. It would have to improve its operational methods, the content of the news and features presented to the public, etc. Given the level of political consciousness and sophistication among the people, the media would only be able to neglect the new reality at its own peril.

Then would come an equally, if not more, inportant element which would serve both the superstructure and the intermediate structure, that is, the political parties. The political parties would have to be stremlined, by building up a strong organization with a strong ideological commitment. The screening process for members would have to be such that only people with suitable qualifications and moral standing would be given membership. Improvement in its operation

and professionalism would be required. The general election campaigns would need to be professional, devoid of unfair mudslinging and demagoguery. In that scenario, vote buying and rigging must be reduced to a minimum.

If all this were to take place, a commitment result would follow in the quality of members of the House of Representatives, the Cabinet and the public bureaucracy. Improvement of the overall system should logically come as a matter of course.

If such is the scenario, the system and its actors will naturally gain legitimacy. Acceptance of a civillian rule would become widespread which would serve to guarantee that the system would be left to proceed along its natural course.

Democracy is not a good system, as someone once said, but it is a system which works. In other words, it is a system with the least evil. Democracy in Thailand is now both a goal and an ideal. The Thai have no other alternative but to strive forward in order to make the system work. It is the only path for them to tread. (8)

## 1.8 Brief Information About Labour Union in Thailand

## 1.8.1 Private enterprise Employee Organization.

Labour union in Thailand known before as "Employees"

Association" was set up by The Announcement of the National Executive

Council No.103 in 1972. This was changed to "Trade Union" after

the 14 October's student uprising. At that time, the worker's movement

had pushed the Parliament to issue new law to protect the worker's

right to form association and to pursue collective bargaining. The law was separated from the Announcement of the National Executive Council and given the name as the Labour Relations Act of 1975 and was enforced on March 29,1975.

## (1) Type of Labour Organization and objectives

Labour organization within the private sector, according to the Labour Relations Act of 1975 consists of 4 types, i.e., trade union.labour federation, labour council and employee' committee

### Type of Union

- 1. House Union (Company union, enterprise union): is the trade union whose members must be employees in the same factory or working for the same employer.
- 2. Industrial Union: is the trade union whose members must be employees in the same description of work, irrespective of the mumber of employers.

Therefore, craft union (Occupational union) which is set up by workers doing the same type to work or general trade union which receives applicants with no restriction on the types of activity, occupation or enterprise cannot be set up according to the Thai law.

Trade Union can be set up by workers working for the same employer or the same type of enterprise. At least 10 workers are required for the registration of a Trade union.

Many Trade Unions located in the same industral area has come together as a group to assist one another. This takes the form of "Trade Union Group", the important ones at present are :-

- Omnoi Omyai Trade Union Zone Group.
- Prapadaeng Suksawat and Rajburana Trade Union
  Zone Group.
- Rangsit and nearby Trade Union Zone Group.
- Nawa Nakorn Trade Union Group.

### Labour Federation.

Federation can be set up by 2 or more trade unions in the same category. At present, there are altogether 19 Federations but less than 10 are active.

## The Objectives of labour organization in each category.

Trade unions and labour federations have three objectives

- Acquiring and protecting interest relating to condition of employment.
- 2. Promoting better relationship between employers and employees.
- Promoting better relationship among employees themselves.

Labour Council is labour organization at the national level protected by the law. A labour council must have at least 15 trade unions or federations to register. It has the following objectives.

- 1. To promote worker's education.
- 2. To promote labour relation.

## Employee's Committee

Employee's Committee can be set up in the factory if there are at least 50 workers. This Committee represents the workers and has advisory function between employers and employees.

Employers are required to hold meeting with the employees' committee atleast once in every 3 months or when more than half of the employees' committee or trade union demand for such meeting to be held to

- (1) oversee the welfare of workers
- (2) consult to set up working regulations that benefit both employers and employees.
- (3) examine the grievance of the employees.
- (4) seek compromise and prevent conflict in the workplace.

In factory where some employees are members of the trade union, such trade union has the right to nominate workers deemed suitable to become member of the Employees' Committee. If the trade union has members more than one fifth of all the workers in the factory, it can nominate over half the member of the worker's committee by one person so as to gain the majority of vote, If the trade union has over half of the workers as members, it has the right to nominate all members of the committee, as shown in the table below.

Table 1 Number of Employees Committee and size of Establishment

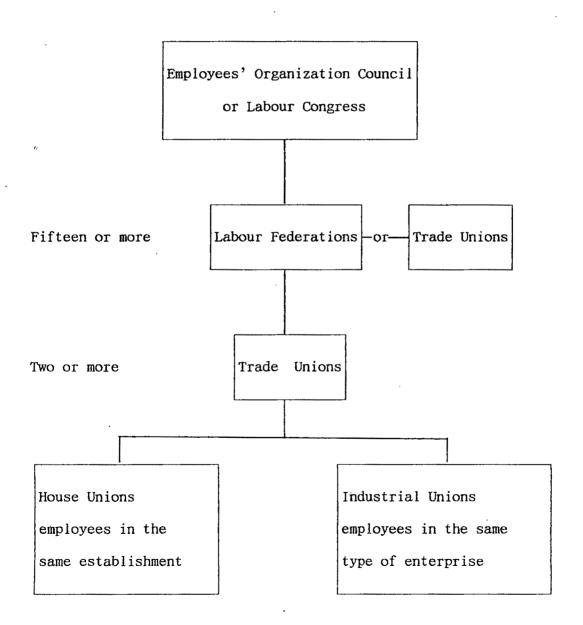
Size of establishment		In case where and members of	
	by law	·	
		over one-fifth can nominate	over one half can nominate
50 - 100	5	3	5 <sub>.</sub>
101 - 200	7	4	7
201 - 400	9	5	9
401 - 800	11	6	11
801 - 1,500	13	7	13
1,501 - 2,500	15	8	15
2,500 and over	17 - 21	9–11	17 - 21

In order that Employees' Committee could function effectively, the law requires that employers must seek permission from the Labour Court before committee member can be punished or dismissed from the job while trade union's committee is exempted. Concluded that Employee's Committee can be set up easily and be beneficial from such protection.

From the statistics for the year 1992, about 80 % of Employees' Committee were nominated by trade unions. It can be concluded that Employee's Committee can be set up and be beneficial to the workers when nominated by trade union. One can also conclude

that in the establishment where there is no trade union, employers will not give co-operation setting up Employees's Committee as such committee is protected by law. The lay-off or punishment of Employees's Committee needs permission from the labour court.

Employees' Organization Structure



#### (2) The Submission of Demand

- 1. The demand should be done in writing by either employer or employee to the other.
- 2. The demand is submitted by employees. Such demand must contain names and signatures of employees involved in the demands not less than 15 % of all the employees involved therein.
- 3. The demand is submitted by the trade union. The number of members must not be less than one-fifth of all employees as its members.
- 4. The demand should specify the number of persons to participate in the negotiation must not exceed 7 persons.
- 5. If the employees are numbers of many trade unions, representative of employees must be choosen by vote.
- 6. The demand is submitted by employer. He must specify the name of employer, board members, shareholders, partners or permanent employees of employers as participants in the negotiation, the number of which must not exceed 7 persons.
- 7. If an employer or employee appoints an advisor, he must satisfy the qualification set up by the labour department and obtain the necessary registration. The number of advisor must not exceed 2 persons.
- 8. After having received the demand, the party receiving it shall notify his name or representative to the party submitting the demand and begin the negotiation within 3 days.
- 9. During negotiation, while in the process or settlement, an employer can not terminate employment.

## (3) Settlement of Labour Disputes

- 1. On receiving the demand, negotiation should begin within 3 days. If employer and employees are able to agree on demand submitted, the agreement shall be made in writing and make public at the workplace for at least 30 days.
- 2. If there is no compromise, this means there is a labour dispute. The party which presented the demand shall notify the conciliator officer in writing within 24 hours.
- 3. Conciliation officer shall proceed to effect settlement between two sides within 5 days. If there is a compromise, the agreement should be made in written form.
- 4. If no agreement is reached, employer and employees may agree to appoint a labour disputes arbitrator or the employer may effect a lock-out or the employees go out on strike.
- 5. If no agreement is reached in vital establishment such as in public enterprise, the case must be forwarded to the Labour Relations Committee.
- 6. If no agreement is reached in ordinary establishment but has impact on the economy or security of the people, the Ministry of Labour can appoint the Labour Relations Committee to over rule the case.
- 7. Before lock-out or strike can be undertaken, an employer or employee must inform the conciliation officer and the party concerned within 24 hours.
- 8. If lock-out or strike could lead to adverse effect for the economy, the Labour Ministry can demand employers

or employees to return to work or ask the workers on strike to resume work or demand the Labour Relations Committee to over rule the labour dispute.

- 9. In case where the martial law or state of emergency has been proclaimed, the Minister can prohibit a lock-out by employer or strike by the workers.
- (4) Establishments which workers connot call on strike
  - 1. All State enterprises.
  - 2. Railway.
  - 3. Port.
  - 4. Telephone and telecommunication.
  - Production or distribution of energy or electricity for the public.
  - 6. Water works.
  - 7. Production or refinery of oil.
  - 8. Hospital or clinic.
  - 9. Private college and private school.
  - 10. Cooperative.
  - 11. Land, water, air transport and service linkage.
  - 12. Gasoline station.

The statistics on the structure of the labour force and employment of Thailand,1993,compiled by the Welfare and Protection Department found that there are about 8.9 million wage earners in and outside the agricultural sector compared to 210,000 number of organized workers or about 2.3 % of all workers

employed in the private sector.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1994, we have 887 trade unions registered with estimate 240,000 persons as membership. On the average, there are about 270 members for 1 trade union which is very small membered. In the Bangkok Metropolitan area, there are 308 trade unions and 579 are in the provinces.

The distribution of trade unions in the 33 provinces are as follows:

1. Bangkok	308	unions
2. Samut Prakan	304	unions
3. pathum Thani	125	unions
4. Samut Sakorn	41	unions
5. Chon buri	20	unions
6. Nonthaburi	18	unions
7. Phuket	8	unions
8. Sara Buri	8	unions
9. Nakhon Ratchasima	7	unions
10. Chachoengsao	7	unions
11. Phra Nakhon Si Ayuthaya	7	unions
12. Nakhon Pathon	5	unions
13. Khon Kaen	4	unions
14. Udon Thani	3	unions
15. Ang Thong	2	unions
16. Rayong	2	unions
17. Ratchaburi	2	unions

There are 16 provinces with only one trade union, i.e.

- 1. Phetchaburi
- 9. Sakon Nakhon
- 2. Phangnga
- 10. Ubon Ratchathani
- 3. Chaiyaphum
- 11. Nakhon Sawan
- 4. Surin
- 12. Buri Ram
- 5. Kalasin
- 13. Nakhon Phanom
- 6. Chiang Rai
- 14. Maha Sarakham
- 7. Ranong
- 15. Si Sa ket
- 8. Yasothon
- 16. Supanburi

There are estimated 140 trade unions with 114,000 membership affiliated to the labour federations, About 600 trade unions with 150,000 members affiliated to the labour council.

The bargaining power of each trade union, other than depending on the size of the establishment, the type of personnel management, work's education, unity of the group, other alliance groups, what is determinant is the proportion of members vis-a-vis all employees of the establishment. This kind of statistics has not been compiled by Federation, Labour Congress and Department of Labour Protection and Welfare of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

From the survey conducted by the Arom Pongpangan Foundation in 1990 on 238 trade unions in the private sector, there are 146 trade unions with membership of over 50 % of all employees (Table 2)

Table 2 Number of trade unions and the rate of unionization

Per cent of numbers to total workers	Private trade unions		
	Number	%	
1 - 10 %	4	1.68	
11 - 20 %	8	3.36	
21 - 30 %	24	10.08	
31 - 40 %	20	8.40	
41 - 50 %	36	15.13	
51 - 60 %	32	. 13.45	
61 - 70 %	41	17.23	
71 - 80 %	36	15.13	
81 - 90 %	22	9.24	
91 - 100 %	15	6.30	
Total	238	100.00	

Note Missing information for trade unions which do not give the whole number of workers in the establishment.

When examining the size of trade union in the private sector, in 1990, it is found that of the 240 trade unions under survey (From 529 trade unions), one can classify as follows:-

Number of member	Number of trade union
1 - 100 persons	54
101 - 200 persons	65
201 - 300 persons	26
301 - 500 persons	41
501 - 700 persons	7
701 - 900 persons	15
901 -1,000 persons	7
1,001 -2,000 persons	14
2,001 -3,000 persons	7
3,001 -4,000 persons	1 ·
4,001 -5,000 persons	<del>-</del>
5,001 -10,000 persons	2
10,000 persons and over	1

One can make of the certain observations on the Thai trade unions as follow:

1. Most of the trade union are the trade unions with members working in the same establishment. Trade unions with members from varions factories are very few such as the Iron and Metal workers' Union of Thailand, (With 2,500 members from 46 factories) are worker's Union of Thailand but they have very few members in the factory and proceed to negotiate establishment by etablishment. Such trade union has no bargaining power with employers in the same industrial establishment. The exception is the case of water transportation, where the trade union could

negotiate and arrive at the agreement on condition of employment with. The Employer's Association of Water Transportation. The Employer's Association of Maritime Navigation of Thailand and The Rice Exporters' Association.

2. Concerning newspaper or mass media, there is only one trade union, i.e., the Bangkok Post Newspaper Trade Union. The Union was set up in 1982 and is affiliated to the Paper and Printing Federation of Thailand.

In the past, some journalists have tried to set up union but without any success.

- 3. There are also many establishment with no trade unions. Among them are the department store, shopping center and restaurants which have mushroomed in Bangkok and other large cities in recent years. Not of talk or domestic house work, the attempt to form union is inexistence.
- 4. There are 2 establishments with rapid expansion but only a few trade unions such as private hospitals, there are only 2 unions i.e. the Paolo Memorial Hospital Trade Union and the Bangkok Chirstian Hospital Trade Union.

In private educational institute, there exists 3 trade unions, i.e., the Asian Institute of Technology Trade Union (1980), the Institute or International Education Trade Union (1982) and the Institute of Social Technology (1989).

- 5. In establishment with more than 1 union
  - 5.1 THE THAI DURABLE TEXTILE CO., LTD.

The Thai Durable Textile Workers Union (1980)
The Thai Durable Workers Union (1994)

5.2 THAI-ASAHI GLASS CO., LTD.

Thai Glass Labour Union (1985)

Thai Glass Officer Labour Union (1988)

5.3 THE THAI FARMERS BANK LTD.

Thai Farmers Bank Labour Union (1990)

Thai Farmers Bank Officer Labour Union (1991)

5.4 HOECHST CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD.

HOECHST Industrial Workers Union (1979)

HOECHST Thai Workers Union (1990)

5.5 KLONG CHAREON ELECTRONICS CO., LTD.

Klong Chareon Electronics Workers Union (1986)

Klong Chareon Workers Union (1986)

5.6 CHO U HUT BANGKOK CO., LTD.

Cho U Hut Worker Union (1992)

Cho U Hut Official Labour Union (1992)

5.7 LUCKYTEX (THAILAND) LTD.

Lucky 2 Textile Trade Union (1982)

Lucky 3 Textile Trade Union (1982)

Lucky Textile Trade Union (1986)

5.8 SUKDAR MAHARAJ CO., LTD.

Sukdar Bangjiekhan Factory Worker Union (1974)

Mea Klong Worker Union (1984)

Sukdar Bangjiekhan 2 Worker Union (1986)

6. Some trade unions give importance to the improvement of the welfare of the workers by setting up the saving cooperatives to promote security in the work. There are

Thai Bridgestone Labour's Union
Tire Worker's Union of Thailand
Thai Filament Textile Labour Union
Thai-Kurabo Labour Union
Thai Rayon Worker's Union
Indo Thai Worker's Union
Thai Asahi Glass Worker's Union
Thai Asahi Caustic Soda Chemical Workers Union
Ajirmotok Worker's Union of Thailand

The first labour council to set up credit union is the National Congress of Thai Labour (NCTL) Phanat Thailuent, the President of NCTL has set up credit union of the NCTL and it was registered from the Cooperative Department on 20 January 1994.

7. Trade unions also set up Center for child development before entering school to assist the families of the workers and children living around the factories such as.

Thai blanker and Textile Industry Labour.Bang Khen.Bangkok.

Lacky 3 Textile Trade Union.Samut Prakhan Province

Iron and Metal Workers' Union of Thailand,Samut Prakhan

Province

Nava Nakorn Labour Union Group, Pathum Thani Provinece

8. Some trade unions can be classified as strong as they can expand the membership, acquire new union leaders, possess financial capability to hire full-time worker for the union and capable of bargaining with the employer depending on outside

advisor for help. There are:-Teijin Ployester Worker Union. Serm suk Trade Union Bangkok Bank Trade Union. Thai Rayon Worker Union etc.

9. Trade unions affiliated to the labour federation and labour councils normally would under report the number of its members. The reason in that these unions have no capacity to pay the fee in accordance with the number of member registered or can not collect member's fees in sufficient amount.

Some trade unions also want to benefit by becoming members of the federation and labour councils in order to gain access to training and conference. They can also participate as committee members of the federations or labour councils or send candidate to be selected in the tri patite system or attend international conference.

10. At present, the policy of the government is to decentralize industries to the provincial region but there is no policy to encourage the setting up of trade union.

According to the survey, some trade unions have set up the Industrial Estate such as

- Nava Nakorn Industrial Estate , Pathum Thani Province
- Bang Poo Industrial Estate, samut Prakan Province
- Bang Plee New Town Industrial Estate, Samut Prakan
  Province
- Lat Krabang Industrial Estate, Bangkok
- Bangprokong Industrial Estate, Chachoengsao Province

## 1.8.2 State Enterprise Employees Organization

The State Enterprise Employees Relations Act, enforced on 19 April 1990, stated that public enterprise employees can set up employee's organization only in the form of association. They connot set up a trade union ,labour federation or council. The association cannot become member of a labour federation and council.

- (1) The Objectives of State Enterprise Employees Association.
- 1. Promote good relation between employees and management and among the employees themselves.
- 2. Assist employees in pursuing grievances concerning benefits.
- 3. Safeguard and protect benefits of employees.
  - (2) To set up State Enterprise Association
- 1. Such state enterprise has no state enterprise employees' association which is registered or under operation. The law requires that in each state enterprise only one association can be formed.
- 2. Persons who has the right to form an association must be employees in the same state enterprise, suijuris and Thai nationality.
- 3. In applying for the registration as an association, there must be atleast 10 employees as the founder and shall submitt to the registrar with drafted regulation of association, a name list and signatures of those intending to

become membership, not less than 10 % of the total number of employees.

- 4. Upon receiving the application for registration as an association, the registrar shall it on display in public at the workplace so as to inform all the employees.
- 5. An association shall have a membership of not less than 30 % of all employees of the state enterprise, the registrar concerned will then proceed on with the registration.
- (3) Organization on Labour relation in State Enterprise.

The law stipulates that the organization which consider the proposals and the grievence of employees or the state enterprise employees' association consisting of 2 organization, i.e.

- 1. Labour Relations Committee (LRC)
- 2. State Enterprise Labour Relation Committee (SLRC)
  - 3.1 Labour Relations Committee (LRC)

LRC is an organization set up in every public enterprise. Each public enterprise has one committee, organised at the first level to examine labour ralation in public enterprise.

Composition of the organization.

(1) Chairman-committee The LRC nominates chairman from public enterprise committee.

- (2) Representatives of the management about 3-7 persons, appionted from executive board of that state enterprise.
- (3) Representatives of the employees' association has the same number as representatives of the management. In case there is no association in that state enterprise. State enterprise shall appoint employees to the committee as respresentatives.

## **Function**

- (1) to provide consultation to LRC to improve on working regulation.
- (2) to consider the complaints of the employees or the association about benefits.
- (3) to consider the proposals of the association to impove empolyee's benefits.

Concerning the issue dealing with financial implications, LRC has no power to make decision but can provide proposal to the SLRC for prior approval.

If the association is not satisfied with the result of LRC on the Complaint or on the proposals regarding benefit that have no financial implications, it has the right to appeal to the State Enterprise Labor Relations Committee.

## State Enterprise Labour Relation Committee (SLRC)

SLRC is organization at the national level that manages labour relation in the state enterprises.

#### Composition.

It consists of 21 persons appointed by the Minister, with 4 parties.

- (1) Committee by the post accupied. There are 6 persons, i.e. Minister of Labour Ministry being the chairman, the Permanent Scretaries, Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Interior, Comptroller-General, the Director-General of the Department of Labour Protection and Welfare and the Chief of the State enterprise Labour Relation Committee as Secretary.
  - (2) 5 representatives from state enterprise management.
- (3) 5 representatives of the employees, the presidents of association shall choose the representatives and shall submit their names to the Minister for appointment.
  - (4) 5 persons as Experts in the Committee.

## Function

- (1) to determine the standards of the rightful benefits of the employees with regard to working days and hours, wages, salaries and welfare of the employees which must be forwarded to the cabinet to be approved.
- (2) to give suggestion about the decision made by the Labour Relations Committee about monetary benefits.
- (3) to give a ruling of the complaints of the employees in case of unjust lay-off or transfer to other post.
- (4) to give a ruling on the appeals of the State Enterprise Association concerning the dicision ruling made by LRC on issue that does not concern monetary benefits.

(5) to give a ruling on the appeals of the order of the registrar to be removal from the association committee association.

The State Enterprise Relations Confederation (SERC) (the old name is "State Enterprise Trade Unions Group") is the group formed by big trade unions in the state enterprise since 1979. After the coup d'Etat by National Peace Keeping Council (NPRC), trade unions is state enterprise are abolished. To preserve the power to bargain, the employees have set up the Public Enterprise Association and have changed the name to "State Enterprise Relations Confederation" in 1991.

In 1992, there are altogether 37 associations with 210,958 employees as members. On the average, each association has 5,700 persons as members out of 250,000 employees of state enterprise. About 84 % of employees in state enterprise are members of the association.

On July 1994, there are about 27 associations (from 40 associations altogether) who are members of the SERC.

SERC has 5 affiliates in the provincial regions, i.e.at Hat Yai, Lanpang, Nakhon Sawan, Nakhon Ratchasima and Chieng Mai.

The two labour councils are members of the ICFTU and get assistance in the funding of training, research and international conference.

At the and of 1992, a group of labour federations has proposed the restructuring of the Thai labour movement as follows:-

1. Trade unions in different occupations must be affiliated to the federations on the same live If industries.

- 2. Trade unions in different occupations must unite to back up the labour council, i.e. ,from trade union---> Federation---> federation---> labour council.
- 3. The problem of leadership should be acguired through formal voting from trade union--->federation---> committee member of the labour council.
  - 4. Arrange for worker's education and new labour movement.

    The advantages of the following struture, i.e.
- 1. Trade unions need not pay duplicated fees for the federation and labour councils.
- 2. Reduce coflict because every levels are involved in the scrutinize of the issue and leader is acceptable by society at large.
- 3. Decisions can be followed because of greater participation.
- 4. This kind of restructuring conform to universal practice with regard to trade union's movement.

In January 1993, a meeting was held between representatives from the TTUC and LCT and also with other labour federations to exchange view on the merger movement. The result of the meeting was that a committee composing of 15 members was set up to overset on the transition. The committee consists of 5 representatives from the labour council each and 5 from the federation group.

There were many attempts to unify the trade union's movement and some of the meeting was attended by the Public

Enterprise Relation Group. While the president of a labour council did not attend these meeting.

Thawee Tachatheerawat, the secretary of TTUC has revealed in the beginning of December 1993 that there is no way of hope that TTUC and LCT can merge in this year. But the idea is still there and have already declared this intention to the ICFTU where both councils are member. Before this, the two labour councils have come to agreement that same members of one council can be members of other council. In reality, the members of federations have already become members of the labour council i.e. 60 trade unions but 2 trade unions from the labour council have applied to be members to the federation. As for the agreement that committee of each labour council to become committee in other labour council, there were only 20 persons.

In 1993, the attempt by TTUC and LCT to merge was in the process, we have 2 other new labour councils being registered.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PRIVATE EMPLOYEES OF THAILAND (NPET) was registered on 11 February 1993 and

Confederation Thai Labour (CLT) registered on 29 October 1993. From 1994 on wards, the Drafting Committee on labour Laws. Which consists of representatives from labour councils, federation and labour NGOs have demanded the government to review the Labour Relation. Act concerning the number of trade unions and federations which could set up labour council. It gives recommendation to the government to limit the number of trade unions to not less than 15 to be changed to 100 trade unions or over 6 federation with trade unions as member over 100

to be able to set up labour council.

## 1.9 Important Labour Laws in Thailand

There are 8 important labour laws in Thailand.

- (1) The Employment Contract Law in The Civil and Commercial Code (A.D.1929) Article 575 to 586
- (2) The Anouncement of the National Excutive Council
  No.103 of 16 March (A.D.1972) and The Anouncement
  to Ministry of Interior Concerning Labour
  Protection.
- (3) The Labour Relations Act, (A.D.1975)
- (4) The Establishment of Labour Court and Labour Procedure Act, (A.D.1979)
- (5) The Employment Services and Job Seekers
  Protection Act. (A.D.1985)
- (6) The Social Security Act. (A.D.1990)
- (7) The State Enterprise Employee Relations Act.(A.D.1991)
- (8) The Workmen's Compensation Act. (A.D. 1994)

 $\begin{tabular}{llll} The & details & of & the Labour Laws mentioned above are \\ shown & below :- \end{tabular}$ 

(1) The Employment Contract Law in The Civil and Commercial Code is a civil law which defines the right and duty between employee and employer in the process of employment.

- (2) The Anouncement of the National Excutive Council No.103 of 16 March (1972) and The Anouncement of Ministry of Interior Concerning Labour Protection are fundamental laws which define minimum standard of working conditions, which governs the use of labour in the matter of wage, overtime payment, duration of work, resting hours, holidays, leave days, protection of women workers and child workers, compensation, dismissal and welfare concerning health and safety in workplace.
- (3) The Labour Relations Act. (1975) is the law which defines relation between employer and employee concerning the rights of association, submission of the demand, collective bargaining, and procedure to settlement of the labour diputes.
- (4) The Establishment of Labour Court and Labour Procedure Act. (1979).

The reason that this law is enacted is that the labour cases are of special nature different from criminal and civil case. Labour disputes between employer and employee can cause disruption to the economy. The employees normally are in disfavourable position vis-a-vis employers so it is essential that labour court must be set up. The judges who are representatives of employers association, trade unions and government all together make ruling of the case. In the court procedure, it is essential to seek compromise between employers and employees.

(5) The Employment Services and Job Seekers

Protection Act. (1985) is a law which sets protective measures

for job seekers and Thai workers who work outside the country. The law aims at controlling the employment agency so that there would be no cheating, abandonning of workers or not implementing the employment contract, also the fixing up of service fee and extra charge and set up funding to assist Thai workers in foreign countries.

provided for government, an employer and an employee (insured person) each shall contribute equally to the social security fund. The fund will be used to compensate workers in case of injuries or sickness in respect of non-occupational, or invalidity, death, confinement, old-age, family allowance and unemployment. In the first stage, the law is enforced in the case of sickness, death, invalidity and maternity.

At present. Social Security Fund covers enterprises with 10 or more than employees.

In December 1993, the fund covered 55,623 employers and 4.62 million employees.

(7) The State Enterprise Employee Relations Act. (1991).

This law separates state enterprise employees from the Labour Relations Act. (1975). It is viewed that state enterprise is a state undertaking for the benefit of the nation and the people. Many state enterprises are of public utilities. Therefore, the relation between employers and employees are encouraged to form associations and also the regulations are set different form that in the private sector, so employees are up for employees to submit proposal and grievances. The organization that make resolution to the dispute is different from that specified in the Labour Relations Act. (9)

(8) The Workmen's Compensation Act. (1994) is the law revised to protect workers in the matter of compensation and workmen's compensation fund. Contributions to the fund are made by employers only and to pay compensation workers in case of injury, disease, disability or death resulting from employment.

At present, Workmen's Compensation Fund covers enterprises with 10 or more employees.

In December 1993, the fund covered 34,772 employers and 3.36 million employees.

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## CHAPTER 2

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#### CHAPTER 2

## THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter is devoted to consider about theoretical orientation and review of selected literature. The purpose of this research is to study about the labour movement in Thailand and the political participation of Thai labourers.

## 2.1 Origin and Development of Labour Movement in Thailand

Thailand is primarily an agricultural country. The major labour supply comes from the family hearths. During the sowing and harvesting seasons farm labourers and farmers of the neighbourhood come together and work by turns for each other. Agricultural labour in Thailand constitutes about 70 % of the total labour force. Agricultural operations are seasonal and agricultural labourers are the lowest paid employees in Thailand.

According to Thailand Management Association the Thai government is geared to promote investment in industry, trade and commerce so as to increase industrial employment substantially. The fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan 1982-1986 gave the targets of raising standard of living and life expectancy to improve transpotation, to extend social services such as housing recreation to distant provinces and by the end of 1986 to transform Thailand into a newly industrialised country.

The Sixth National Economic and Social Development Plan 1987-1990, expects to support Thai farmers to improve their productivity and promote the private industry.

There is no record of the number of workers employed in industry but it is clear that labour was in great demand due to the increase in industrial activitives. As Thai citizens were not available for continuous labour due to the system of conscription, foreign immigrants especially from china were attracted for industrial employment.

Chinese immigrant workers formed their association in Thailand to protect their own members. These associations often indulged in unlawful menans such as gangsterism, extortion or intimidation. In-order to curb such illegal activities and immigrant associations, the Thai Government passed the Secret Seciety Act. in 1897. The Government was suspecious of the activities of these associations and in 1908 passed the Penal Code with provisions prohibiting strikes and other leftist activities, An amendment to the Penal Code in 1956 made labour activities even more difficult.

In 1932 when the political system changed in Thailand, some members of the Civil Government made an attempt for nationalisation of industries. This attempt was interpreted as anty socio-political and to counter such movement the Communist Act was passed in 1933. The consequence was made for the labour movement in Thailand. Until the Second World War, no new workers' organizations were formed in Thailand. After the Second World War, Thailand desired to be a member of the United Nations but feared that USSR would object to any such move as Thailand has stood against Communist policies and to overcome the opposition from USSR, Government passed the Abolition of Communist

Act in 1946. Trade Union activities began once again. The Thai Government also realised that the growth and development of industries was the only way to solve unemployment and also thought it proper to provide proper legal and administrative base to industries. The Labour Act 1956 was psssed. In the meanwhile the Government had made much headway in getting International Labour Organization assistance in channelising the labour administration. These activities certainly gave a fillup to labour movement. There were about 200 trade unions after the Labour Act 1956 was enacted. This was the first time that labour organizations were recognised and allowed to develop. These favourable atmosphere did not last long. In 1958, when the military took over the Government of Thailand, they abolished the Labour Act, many labour leaders were arrested and some were put to death. Trade Unions were banned. The situation continued till 1973, when the military Government handed over power to a Civil Government. The new Civilian Government enacted the Labour Relations Act, 1975, re-introduced most of the provisions of the Labour Act 1956. Once again Labour Unions sprung up and flourished. However, a survey of the Labour movement even in this democratic atmosphere, prevalent from 1973, does not draw an impressive picture and a note of optimum about its future. A Labour movement of over a hundred and twenty years, if history of such movement in other countries can be drawn lesson from should been healthy and strong and a repository of faith, have confidence and hope for the management, the labour, the Government and the Public. But it is not so.

A brief review of some other labour movements may help to draw the possible causes for this tardy growth of labour movement in Thailand.

# 2.2 The Thai Labour Organizations

# 2.2.1 The Definition of Labour Unions

According to the labour Relations Act of 1975, "Labour Union" is defined as an organization established by the employees with the objectives of protecting interest of labour relating to conditions of employment, and promoting better relationship between employers and employees and between the employees themselves. The Act has also defined conditions of employment as terms of employment or work, working days of hours, wages, welfare, termination of employment, or orther benefits of the employer or employee relating to employment or work.

According to the definition, labour union has limited scope of activities, namely it can acquire and protect its interest only as regards the conditions of employment; any other activities are not allowed. A labour union must have its regulation and have them registered with the Registrar. The regulations must contain at least name of the labour union, its objectives, rights and duties of its members, and its functions.

## 2.2.2 Registration of Labour Unions

Since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century Labour Organizations have been controlled by the Thai Government. Registration has always been compulsory for any labour organization or association. The same principles have been

introduced in the Labour Relations Act,1975. Registration of a labour union is compulsory under the Act. On the other side the Thai constitution provides guarantee to Thai citizens of freedom of association. Therefore workers can join a combination at any time, but it is not considered as a labour union unless registerred.

### 2.2.3 Types of Labour Union in Thailand

According to the Labour Relations Act, 1975 labour unions in Thailand are of two type: (a) in-house unions, and (b) industrial unions. This means members of a labour union shall consist of employees working under the same employer or working in the same category of business. General unions of craft-unions are not permitted. But the Act provides for the establishment of Labour Federation and Labour Congress. The Act provides that two or more labour unions where each union's members are employees of the same employer or are employed in the same description of business can jointly establish a Labour Federation. Also fifteen or more labour unions may establish a Congress of workers' Organizations. The Labour Federation and Labour Congress have the same right and duties as a labour union. It means that instead of providing for establishment of general unions or craft-unions, the Act provides for a Congress of Labour Organization in which functions of a labour union like submitting demands, collective bargaining calling for strikes may also carried out.

Statistics from Labour Department shows that there are two hundred and forty two labour unions and out of these labour unions fifteen Labour Federations and four Labour Congresses are

formed.

From a survey on labour demands in two industrial areas it was found that officers of Labour Federations and the Labour Congresses had a great influence on labour unions and participated in negotiations as advisers.

# 2.2.4 Recognition of Labour Unions

The Labour Relations Act, 1975 enacts that after registration a labour union shall be a juristic person.

Any labour union which has a membership of not less than one-fifth of the total employees can give a notification to demand for a redetermination or amendment of any agreement on the terms of employment. After having received the demand, the employer and the labour union shall begin the negotiations within three days from the date the demand is received. If the employer refuses to negotiate within the period of three days it shall be regarded that a labour dispute has occured. Then, the labour union shall notify the Conciliation officer in writing within twentyfour hours. When the Conciliation officer has been notified labour dispute, he shall proceed to effect settlement between the employer and the labour union within five days from the date of Conciliation Officer has notified. In case a settlement cannot be reached within the period of five days, both parties may agree to appoint a labour disputes arbitrator or the employer may effect a lock-out or the labour union may declare a strike.

According to these provisions an employer connot neglect to look into any demand submitted by the labour union.

Because negligence, may lead to strike, which would be a lawful strike. The Act also provides that the agreement relating to conditions of employment between an employer and a labour union shall be binding on every employee of the establishment if more than two-thirds of the total number of employees in the establishment are members of the labour union. In case the members of the labour union are less than two-thirds of the total employees then the agreement will be binding on its members only.

Apart from collective bargaining an employer is bound to recognise a works committee or employee's committee which was appointed by the labour union. In any establishment having fifty or more employees, the employees may establish an Employees' Committee.

# 2.3 Management of Labour Unions in Thailand

The Labour Relations Act, 1975 provides a concrete structure for the labour unions development. The act guarantees freedom of association, collective bargaining, lays down procedures for settlement of labour disputes and prohibits unfair labour practices. Prescriptions given by the Act are also practical for i.e. number of promoters for establishment of labour union is limited to ten, minimum membership is not required. The employer is bound to recognize a labour union in his establishment. On the other hand the labour officer especially the conciliators plays an important role in bringing about settlement of disputes.

Actual structure of labour unions is not strong. They are weak by structure, leadershipwise and financially. Though labour unions are in-house unions but full-time offices are not available, may be due to financial weakness. Therefore, activities are not continued, activities are carried out by voluntary staff, and as such full attention may not be paid to that work. Many unions' offices were located at the residences of some of its members or officers. Very few unions have their offices in the establishment, i.e., the employers have given a place in the firm for the unions' officers. It is difficult for the workers to contact their union offices. However, since the committee of the Union also consists of employees in the establishment, its members still can get in touch or ask for help from their Committee members.

2.3.1 <u>Leadership Weakness</u>: Unions' leaders are young and at an age which is really for work. Their education is not high except in the case of some leaders. However, the Labour Department as well as some International Labour Organization grant support for training courses.

The union leaders, however, should devote more time for union activities. The survey discussed above shows that unions in Thailand hardly have any activities except submitting demands after the term of agreement is completed. Such activities alone will create a negative feeling in the employer as well as the Government and the public. On the other side, its members do not have close relation with their union, since there is no

continuous activity and are not willing to play their membership fee, they feel that they gain nothing from the union.

2.3.2 <u>Financial Weakness</u>: Almost every union has the problem of collection of membership fee. Poor union finances reflect another aspect of union weakness such as welfare of members and education.

At present labour unions in Thailand act only as demanding agencies, since the main activities of unions are confined submitting demands. A few unions have other to activities such as co-operative shop, credit union, but not at the national level. On the other hand, the Government should cooperate with the employers or employees associations to promote the personnel function in the enterprises. Personnel officer should be a professional man with adequate training in personnel management. An effective personnel functioning will bring better understanding between employer and labour union and will reduce unfair labour practices. Development of a system, which brings together the labour unions and management with the support of Government in all respects including policy making, will guarantee healthy labour-manegement relations.

### 2.4 The International Labour Organization

While the labour problems-disputes between employers and employees became national problems the governments were interested. Therefore, after the establishment of league of Nations, the International Labour Organization (ILO) was also

founded under the direction of the Leaque of Nations. The preamble of the constitution of the ILO clearly expresses the purpose behind its foundation.

At the inception of the ILO, Thailand became one of its original members for purely political reasons. Thailand wanted to be recognised by the International Society as a civilized nation in order to amend the disadvantageous treaties with the western countries. Being a member of the ILO, it showed that Thailand was a country which gave importance to basic human rights and social justice.

The ILO has been interested in Thailand and the Thai Government has also responded to its approach, The ILO experts came to Thailand to observe and study the labour activities and conditions; and consulted the Thai Government about matters concerning labour administration. The relationship between the ILO and Thailand has become closer and is now well established. In 1951 the Thai Government requested the ILO to conduct a survey on labour conditions in Thailand. The report of the survey is the only formal and scientific information concerning labour conditions of that period which is available at present. After the survey ILO has granted assistance to Thailand for a number of times. According to the Survey, Thailand was rich in natural resources, but it was not fully developed owing to lack of skilled workers. Labour administration was weak, staff were inexperienced and lacking of training. The ILO assisted Thailand in various areas which were shown to be weak by the said survey such as provision of training and advice to Thai staff in labour administration in general and in specific areas like labour statistics and manpower planning. In the mean-time several vocational schools and training centres were established with the support of ILO in order to develop skilled workers. The first labour Act of Thailand was drafted with the assistance of ILO experts and enacted in 1956.

ILO Conventions and Recomemdations have great The influence on all Thai labour legislations, although only 11 Conventions of the ILO have been ratified by the Thai Government. Thailand has been asked as to whether more Conventions can be retified. But Thailand has its own problems of ratification of ILO Conventions. As Thailand is a developing Country, Social and Economic developments are granted the first priority in all respects. In such case flexibility of legislation is important. Ratification of the ILO Convertions will bind Thailand to certain obligations for which the Thai Government is not prepared. These problems are not the problems for Thailand only, but also for other Countries in South East Asia. Problems and difficulties of implementation were discussed in the Fourth Asian Pacific Regional Seminar. This is evident from the number of conventions ratified by each Country in ASEAN as shown below:

Indonesia ratifies 8 conventions

Malaysia ratifies 11 conventions

Phillippines ratifies 21 conventions

Singapore ratifies 21 conventions

Thailand ratifies 11 conventions

In respect of basic human rights and social justice, the ratification of ILO Conventions may create more serious problems for Thailand directly affecting the working class which ILO Conventions aim to protect. Details of the problems are discussed as follows:

2.4.1 Freedom of Association: The Labour Relations Act of 1975 has given Thai workers the right to form their own unions. But the Act is not applicable to Government administrators and policemen. In a situation as in Thailand where there are border conflicts and the constant threat of Communist infiltration the Government Officers must be ready to act in an emergency when needed like policemen and military people. Taking into account the security of the Nation to allow these officers to form unions for the purpose of acquiring and protecting their own benefits will be unreasonable. Therefore, Convention concerning freedom of association is not likely to be adopted by Thailand in the near future.

### 2.4.2 Protection for children and young person in Employment

Poverty is still a major problem in Thailand Children need to work for their living. Employment of children is unfavourable. Compulsory education ends with Primary School. This means by the age of 10-12 the majority of children are free from schools and enter the labour market. The majority of industries in Thailand are still small with less than 50 employees and are mostly within the family. Such firms do not mind having children for some kinds of work like clearners or

office-boys. If the Government would fix the minimum age of employment at 15 years following the ILO Conventions these children will not be able to get any job. Then, they will turn to independent jobs for example selling flowers or food in the streets. This will create another social problem which may be worst than child employment. Fixing a high minimum age for child employment following the ILO Convention is not the best way to protect children. Rather, closely following up and checking the conditions of work where children are employed may be more reasonable. However, the Government has prescribed types of work permitted for child employment services i.e. works in commerce and sports; newspaper delivery; collection or sale flowers, fruits, works which invole lifting carrying or pulling articles weighing not more than ten kilograms etc.

### 2.4.3 Protection for Women

In the last ten years, Thailand has to face high inflation and economic recession. Which has greatly affected the job market. In contrast to the number of new people entering the job market has increased. To provide twelve weeks of maternity leave for women workers as suggested by the ILO Conventions will drive women out of labour market. The Notification of the Ministry of interior on Labour protection fixes the maternity leave upto eight weeks only. On the unions side, demands for more maternity leave requesting to amend the said law has never been raised. However, on a tripartite national meeting the workers representatives requested the government to guarantee women workers employment after they

return from maternity leave. It means that women workers are satisfied with the amount of maternity leave, and are more interrested in grarantee of employment.

### 2.4.4 Minimum Wages

Minimum wages as suggested by the ILO convention should be enough for a worker and his family. Minimum wages fixed by the Minimum Wages committee in Thailand is enough for an individual employee to support himself. Higher minimum wages will create unemployment. As it has already been shown in the past experience that whenever the minimum wages have been adjusted there are complaints of workers being laid off.

If the wages are high, the employers may choose to use machines instead of hiring labourers. This will create more unemployment. Giving higher wage is the way to solve porblem at one end, but it will not be a permanent solution. The reai solution is the Economic development which promotes more jobs then the workers will have the power to negotiate with their employer which will help workers to raise their standard of living. However, the Thai Government has, through the Minimum wages committee studied and considered all the facts including cost of living, standard of living, price of goods and the prevalent economic and social situation of each location to meet the needs of an individual worker. Therefore, for the past ten years, minimum wages in Thailand have been adjusted almost every year.

The ILO standard is a model for Thai Legislation.

However, Thailand cannot ratify ILO Conventions in other matters

affecting the national security and economy. Therefore, Thailand has ratified only those conventions in which Thai labour laws have closely followed the principles of ILO conventions from the first labour laws upto the present. On February 27,1987, the Tripartite committee was set up to study the ILO standards and to make recommendations to the Government for notification and adoption of such standards. With improvement in the social, economic and political environment, it is possible that in the near future Thailand will be able to retify more ILO Conventions.

## 2.5 Problem in Labour Management

Major problem in Labour-management relations in Thailand is wages or other kinds of direct income like cost of living adjustment and bonus, Security of employment. Medical treatment, gratuity and other major labour demands. Benefits to dependents has not become a major problem.

The labour counciliators have played an important role in bringing employers and employees to a mutual agreement. The collective bargaining agreements are settled by the employers and the employees themselves without referring to judicial procedures. During five years of the survey there is only one case in which the Minister of Interior had excerised his power to end the labour dispute by referring the case to the Labour Relations Committee and ordered the employer to reemploy and asked the employees to go back to work. The case was widely criticised by both parties, employers and employees that such interference would distort the voluntary collective bargaining machinery.

# 2.6 Labour Management Relations in Thailand: conclusion

Thailand is an agriculture country. 73 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, fishing and allied occupations. The remaining 27 percent of the population by their occupations may be in handicraft manufacture trading service etc.

The Thai labour force includes immigrant labour from Cháina. These immigrant labour force was suspected as indulging in anti-national activities and to curb such activities several Legislations were passed. These steps affected labour movement in Thai land The Thai suffered labourers from the early conscription laws, frequent changes in the political system and the anti-labour attitudes of the Military Governments, coupled with repeal of the Labour Act 1956 stifled labour movement in Thailand. It was only after 1973 when the Popular Government took Over the Government and passed the Labour Relations Act 1975, that industrial democracy really dawned in Thailand, Yet, labour movement has not been on sound footing to secure and maintain labour interests. Forces counter to a healthy labour movement are unfavourable political situations, lack of public appeal, absence of Legislative Protection and multiunionism.

Labour Organizations cannot function effectively without a healthy structure, good financial status and good leadership. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century labour organizations have been controlled by the Thai Government. Registration of the Union with the prescribed authorities has always been compulsory. The same principles have been introduced in the Labour Relations Act, 1975. The Labour Relations Act, 1975

provides that any ten or more employees may make an application registration. This enables multiplicity of the trade unions paves way for inter-union revalries. In Thailand the Unions and either in-house Unions or industrial unions. Statistics from are labour Department shows that there are 242 unions and out the these Labour Unions, 15 Labour Federations and four labour congresses are formed. The law provides for recognition of labour unions for submission and settlement of demand and for collective bargaining. The law provides for prohibition of unfair labour practices. Leaders of the Unions are young and most of them are in the age group of 20-49 years. About 80 percent of the union qualifications in secondary to Post-graduate leaders have Examiantions. Financial status of the Labour Unions is not satisfactory.

The Unions are active in the first 1-3 years but most of the activities are temporary in nature e.g. submitting demands to employers and participating in the procedures of disdiplinary action. Very few Unions had permanent memberships.

A contented labour force contributes (faverably) for healthy labour management relations. Laws relating to labour welfare, wages and social securities may protect the workers against possible exploitation by their employers. The Notification of the Ministry of Interior on Labour Protection have issued extensive notifications prescribing labour standards in employment of adults, adolescents and children. Also it has fixed hours of work for women and maternity care. In details these welfare provisions can be compared to the provisions in the

indian factories Act. In short they are, related with health, safety, welfare, working hours, working days per week, overtime employment, leave, termination, sickness and so on. Notification also regulate wage payments. However, in terms of benefits these provisions lack both qualitatively and quantitatively when compared with the ILO standrads or of developing countries like India.

A field study in the prime industrial centres of Thailand revealed the nature of labour demand priority-wise, as under:

- 1. Salary adjustment with cost of living index
- 2. Bonus
- 3. Gratuity
- 4. Sickness and Medical benefits
- 5. Leave
- 6. Diligence award, and
- 7. Social needs.

Thailand has a minimum wage committee. This committee make proposals to the government and prescribes conditions for minimum wages. The demands are settled by the labour Unions and management representatives. In some cases the conciliation offices assist the parties to the dispute. Hardly any case goes to the Labour Department for final disposal.

In general, labour climate in Thailand has been quite satisfactory. Majority or labour disputes are settled by the employers and the employees themselves. There were not so many

strikes or lock-outs in the past.

The International Labour Organization has been of great assistance to Thailand for Setting labour standards, collecting labour statistics and for rendering technical and managerial assistance. Thailand is one of the few Asian Countries admitted to the International Labour Organization from its very inception. However, the first delegation from Thailand participating in the first International Labour Organization conference was not a full delegation. There were no labour representatives and there have been problems, frequently, in selecting labour members. Thailand as a member of the I.L.O. has obligation under the ILO constitution to ratify the ILO conventions or adopt the Recommendations, considering its internal socio-econimic conditions.

There are 159 conventions and 169 recommendations presented before the parliament of Thailand as on 1st May' 87 out of these conventions and Recommendations only 11 conventions and 10 Recommendations only were retified by Thailand.

Althrough Thailand has ratified only 11 conventions, other conventions have profoundly influenced the formulation labour legislations in Thailand.

Thailand has not declared an industrial policy where industries are classified in three sectors. (1) Public Sector (2) Private Sector and (3) Joint Sector or loan have substantial interest.

The internal growth of industrialization has not been substantial in Thailand. Almost all the Thai enterpreneurs are engaged in consumer products in small scale industries, owned and managed by family members with the assistance of marginal labour. Major industries

are established by multinationals or with Foreign Capital. In order to attract foreign capital it becomes necessary to keep the terms of employment and payments of wages at minimum level.

The average per capita income of a Thai citizen is 7732 Baht. Average income of an agricultural workers is 7113 Baht, while industrial income is 45,215 Baht, trading 70,339 and service 32,665 Baht. These industry and trade command substantially high position in terms of per capita income. As over 73 percent of Thai citizens have less than national per capita income, which in turn is 6-10 times lower than the income of people in industry and trade, public sympathy is not avilable to influence industries or Government in times of labour disputes. On such occasions, regulatory Legislations should have been helpful. But any further rise in the wage differential is bound to augment inflation. The Government's concern towards the gap between agricultural and industrial employees is also evident from the fact that very few I.L.O. conventions are ratified by the government. However, the Government has, to the extent the socio-economic conditions of Thailand permits followed many of the I.L.O. conventions in the enactment of Labour Legislations.

In the area of labour welfare and social security there is a scope to provide better conditions and better monetory benefits. In the law relating to registration of Trade Unions, amendment reguiring recognition of sole bargaining agent for encouraging collective bargaining is necessary. This will reduce chances of multiplicity of Unions and stregthen collective bargain, which in turn will help labour to improve its conditions through persuasion and co-operation.

### 2.7 Political Participation

# 2.7.1 Definitions of Political Participation

The term "political participation' has a broad meaning because it covers every kind of activity caused by the interaction of citizens and their political institutions within the state. Myron Weiner (1971), an American political scientist, conducted research on the definitions of political participation defined by other political scientists. He reported that the political participation possesses the Proportions of these characteristics: (1)

- (1) activities demanding from or supporting the ruling body.
- (2) attempts expected to fulfil when exercising influences upon the government missions or choosing a government leader.
- (3) legal actions regarded as "just" or "fair"
- (4) actions requiring representation
- (5) Feeling much too fed up to involve since the involvement would not make anything better.
- (6) Feeling enthusiastic to involve or becoming activists.
- (7) actions requiring persistent continuum, while might be institutionalised management, or actions occuring abruptly e.g. riots.
- (8) actions expected to choose political leaders or to affect public policies, or attempts to influence bureaucratic actions.
- (9) actions affecting politics in a national level.
- (10)a political act.

From those ten delefinitions, he concluded that political

participation can be defined as any voluntary actions which may be whether to not successful or organized, occurs whether occasionally or continuously or not, employs whether legal or illegal means or not, in other that they affect public policies, public policy administration and the choosing of political leaders in local or national administrations.

He also stressed that political paticipation must include 3 components i.e. action, voluntary, and choice, one of which is not missing.

Geraint Parry (1972) stated that political participation refers to taking part in any common political activities ranging from voting in election to becoming a policy settle and implementation. (2)

Norman H. Nie and Sidney Verba (1975) explaind the term" political participation" as legal public activities aiming, more or less, to influence the choice of government officials, or continuous actions of government authority. They emphasized that political participation possesses the following characteristics:(3)

- (1) activities of individual citizens who taking part in politics by career. This group of people includes government officials, political part, officials.
- (2) activities expected to influence the choice of the government or of government officials.
- (3) Taking part in administration by activities. However, political participation in Nie and Verba' viewpoint refers to only legal political activities.

Huntington and Dominguez believed that political

participation refers to activities or actions of the people who wish to have influence on government's decisions. Those activities or actions may possibly be legal or illegal, require power enforcement or not, be successful or unsuccessful, voluntary or involuntary including elections, political campaign participation, congregation to persuade or push the government, protest. (4)

Geoffvey K. Robert (1971) a British political scientist, defined political participation as individually voluntary political affairs including voting as a member and activities concerning political groups such as political party movement, interest groups, political institution, informal activies e.g. political discussion or going to a political event, political persuasion by officials or by members of political groups.(5)

conforms to those of Herbert McClosky Such attitudes (1968) belived that political participation is a voluntary activity done directly or indirectly by member of a community to choose a ruler of a country, to set public policies, to vote in elections, to get information, to discuss, to exchange ideas, to attend meetings, to donate money and or contact members of the House Representatives. The enthusiasm in political participation may be seen from the applying formally for a political party membership, the writing and making speeches, political campaign, the taking become party officials or state officials, excluding involuntary activities such as tax paying, military service and juridical service. (6)

Arthur W. Bromage (1950) stated that political participation possesses three major characteristics: (7)

- (1) Voting
- (2) Employing informal method of pressure and persuasion i.e. expressing ideas by talking or by writing, telephoning, sending telegrams, demonstrations and riots.
- (3) Formal actions i.e. using constitutional right such as initiative, referendum and recall.

Milbrath and Goel refers political participation to all the activities of individual citizens who want to have influence upon or to support the government and politics, concerning not only the existing regulations the people usually observe to affect political practice but also supportive and formal actions. (8)

Apart from the above definitions, Thai experts in potitical science have also defined the term. Charoon Suparp (1971) defined political participation as people's possible participation in policy setting, decision-making and in various government and political affairs or people's share in government such as, having influence on government and political expression of ideas.

Tipaporn Pimsoot (1978) stated that political participation means individual participation in activities affecting the government's policy decision. (9)

The participation of individuals directly affecting government's policy decision is called "autonomous participation and that indirectly affecting the government's policy decision is called mobilized participation.

Conclusively, political participation refers to all the people's activities aiming to support of influence the government

or politics. The actions or attempts may be whether legal or illegal, require power enforcement or not, be successful or unsuccessful. These activities may be in local or national levels.

## 2.7.2 Forms and Activities of Political Participation

Political experts have classified forms and activities of political participation into various categories such as Verba and Nie(1972)(10), Nie and Verba (1975)(11), Susan Welch (1975)(12).

Milbrath and Goel (1977)(13), and Huntington and Nelson (1976). This research will follow Milbrath's and Nie and Verba's principles since they are clearly and throughly analyzed.

Nie and Verba's Form and Activities of political participation.

Nie and Verba proposed four forms and activities of political participation as follows: (14)

### (1) Voting in Elections

Nie Thought that voting is a form of political participation that people can have influence on a leader since the leader needs to develop his policics in order to keep votes. These votes, however, are merely opinions indicating only slight admiration to the leader since voting can be shifted from one candidate to another. It does not indicate strongest favour. The results of elections have great influence on all the citizens because concentrated admiration and pressure turn to work as if they were powerful weapons used to control the government.

In addition, voting is different from other activities in that it requires slight initiation since people usually have chance vote in national, state and local elections.

## (2) Elections Campaign Activities

Nie's research indicated that people's participation in election campaign can increase influence on the results of election by seting a number of votes for a certain candidate. This kind of activity can influence the leader like voting in elections. The results of election campaigns lead to people's conflicts such acitivity is complicated and needs to perform before voting. The scope of this activity includes persuasion for voting, vigorous efforts for a political party, political congregation, monetary donations to a political party and political club membership.

# (3) Basic Communication

This form of political participation refers to a person's contact to the government or a government agency.

It is done on one's own by making his decision on the time, the target and the contents of participation. This type of political participation can expect plenty of gain because he can make his decision on what to discuss realizing possibilities under those environments. It slightly affects the government because it is a minority's activity. This kind of activity does not directly cause conflict and requires quite strong creative thinking. The scope of this form of activity covers a contact with local authorities concerning specific problems e.g. personal or family problems, a contact with special local authorities regarding social problems such as crimes or problems about administrations of local governments.

#### (4) Collaboration Activities.

form of political participation refers to group activities or organization activities expecting to influence the government's work regarding social and political problems. activity may occur at any time, by any group and about any problems. In addition, it may be mutual actions within an informal or formal organization. This form of political participation affects the government more than that of the third form because there are more participants. However, it requires some initiative actions and conflicts among the groups may occur. The scope of this activity covers working with others on local problems, forming groups to work for communities, working as a member of a community to solve community problems, accompanying others to contact local authorities both at and extraordinary levels contacting local authorities ordinary regarding social affairs at both ordinary and extra-ordinary levels.

Milbrath (1971) classified forms of political participation into 6 types: (15)

# (1) Elections:

Milbrath indicated that voting in an election is a form of political participation, which is separated from election campaign and activities concerning political parties. However, activities of patriotism such as flag salutation, tax-paying, law respect and support to the nation object, and wars, He also resorted that going to vote in elections is an action showing loyalty to the system rather than to showing one's desire for a political system. Therefore, it is much harder to believe that going to vote in elections can make a significant difference on political outcomes. He added that voters to vote due to their

responsibility as good citizens, social standards and a way of life of community members. In addition voting does not require intense communication and motivation like other political activities.

(2) Working as political party official and a campaign official

This form of political participation refers to participating in a political party during an election and voting. It covers roles in campaigns, monetary donations to a political party or a candidate, persuading the public to register for voting, participating in or supporting a political party, motivating others to vote for a favourite candidate or political party, becoming a candidate and working in cooperation with other groups to improve communities living standards. These activities of political participation are basic patterns of relationship between individuals and the state.

Milbrath's study revealed that there were few participants in this type of political participation, with only 15 percents in the United State. The reason why there are few participants is that these activities need the special interest. This type of activist is classified as gladiators.

# (3) Community Coordinators

This type of political participation includes social problem solving groups, working in cooperation with social working groups, enthusiastic members of organizations working in public offices and contacting the authorities concerning social problems. Community coordinators work mostly like political party

and party campaign officials since they are enthusiasts and committed to communities. The difference between these two groups is that community coordinators are less related to the party than the officials of the party.

### (4) Contacting the Authorities

The activities of this type includes contacting the authorities regarding taxes, schools, road construction and social stability etc. defending This type of political participation directly affects the person doing the activity himself. However. it is not considered true political participation. Verba and Nie considered this form of activity parochial participation.

# (5) Demonstrators

This activity covers demonstration or riots in order to force the state to correct some political issues, active protestation and informing the public of the government's immoral actions, paying attention to demonstration, participating in a demonstrating the group against the government, and denying unjust laws.

Milbrath's study indicated that white American felt that demonstration was a higher level of guilt than black Americans did. However, demonstrators did not feel guilty or non-patriotic at all. In addition, he found that there was a corelation between patriots and political participation in the form of demonstration among black Americans.

### (6) Information Reporters

This form of political participation as information

reporters included keeping political information, sending letters to support a leader's good performance, attending a political discussion, giving political information to neighbours in the community, paying attention to government affairs, and writing letters to newspaper editors. Each activity requires information exchange within the community. Individuals participating in this type of political activity mostly achieve high level of education. They have a lot of political information, and are interested in politics. They like to criticize the government more than political party officials or patriots but they do not prefer attending any demonstration activities.

Based on Milbrath and Nie's forms of political participation and activities of political participation can be divided into: (16)

- (1) <u>Protest</u> This activity covers a demonstration against officials, unjust actions, or a strike against the government's unjust actions, a demonstration against unjust laws.
- (2) <u>Community Roles</u> This activity ranges from working with others in the area, becoming a member of a problem-solving organization of community, contacting local officials to solve problems of the community and contacting officials at local or national levels regarding social problems.
- (3) <u>Political Parties</u> This kind of activity includes being a political party member, working for a political party, or a political group or a candidate, donating money to a political parties or a candidate, and becoming a candidate.
- (4) <u>Political Information</u> This activities covers persuading others to talk about politics, Listening to a politician's speech, or follow a politician's campaigns, attending political discussions in

various places, filing political news, writing letters about social and political affair to editors, writing articles on politics to be published in newspapers or magazines, writing letters to protest against or encourage political leaders.

### (5) Voting in Election:

This activity refers to voting in local or national elections.

The forms and activities mentioned above will be employed to make questions in the research.

# 2.7.3 Levels of Political Participation:

The classification of political participation can also be primarily divided into two types i.e.from slight involvement to strong involvement. However, this kind of classification, is not recognized as standard criterion since the importance of each activity may vary depending on the researcher as shown below:

Levels of People's Political Participation in Demonstratic Regime.

- 5 persons holding political positions (e.g. President or Prime Minister, member of Parliament, Governor elected by people, Mayor.
- 4 Candidates for the above positions (may be elected or not)
- 3 Helpers in political campaigns (distribute brochures, plan for elections)
- 2 Indirect participation (read, newspapers, watch television about politics, discuss political problems, wear buttons with political party
- 1 Voting in elections.
- 0 Renounce the right to vote, Unaware of politics.

The above information can be reclassified using another aspect as: (1). Follow political movement (2). Vote in elections (3). Persuade others to discuss political affairs (4). Persuade others to vote for any condidate (5). Support a political party or a candidate by posting campaign sheets, or reveal your support to the public. (6). Contact government officials to submit petition's or to express ideas. (7). Donate money to a political party or a candidate (8). Follow a candidate's political campaigns (9). Help a candidate in political campaigns (10). Become a party member working for a party permanently (11). Participate in planning for a political party (12). Raise funds for a political party (13). Become a candidate (14). Be a party official or elected

Another type of classification using campbell's pattern is as follows: (1). High (Voting or other forms of participation)

(2). Medium (Voting only) (3).Low (Ronounce the right to vote but may participate in other activities)

### 2.8 Poltical Attitude

#### 2.8.1 Political Efficacy:

Various political authorities employ diverse terms for the sense of political efficacy such as political congretence, civic competence or citizen efficacy etc. The sence of political efficacy have been defind differently. Campbell (1954) definded it as "The feeling that a person's political actions affect or can affect political process, and that political and social change is possible, in the sence that individual citizen has a role to bring about the change."Prewitt (1968) definded the sence of political efficacy as "The citizen's felling that human actions affect political events:

it is an individual's belief that his action can cause a social and political change, and can cause political figures to behave as desired. Ponsak Pongkhaew (1980) stated that the sence of political efficacy refers to the feeling of a member of a political system that one can achieve better living standards through politics or government, that politics or government is an instrument readily prepared to undertake the citizen's suggestions or desires. (17)(18)(19)

From the above definitions, it may be concluded that the sense of political efficacy refers to the citizen's confidence in human beings, that they can affect any parts of a political system if they desire to do so. However, the sense of political efficacy differs from civic obligation in the fact that a person with civic obligation may take part in politics without realizing that his actions possibly affect or is important to political decisions.

What affects individuals' sense of political efficacy is education, individual family experience and educational institution. Researches on a relationship between the sense of political efficacy and political participation insisted that individuals with a high level of the sense of political efficacy participate in politics more than those with a low level of the sense of political efficacy, especially, the political participation of gladiatorial activity such as contributions to a party campaigns, membership of a political group and sending letters to support or protest against political policies etc.

Milbrath found that there was a positive relationship between the sense of political efficacy and political participation. A change in the sense of political efficacy will affect political participation and vice versa. Dahl reported that political participation and the sense of political efficacy nurture and affect each other. (20)

#### 2.8.2 Political Trust:

Miller (1974) proposed that political trust is regarded as fundamentally affective on evaluation tendency. The political trust ranges from strong trust to strong political cynicism. Therefore, political cynicism refers to level of negative effect toward the government and the belief that the government does not function or create outputs as expected. Milbrath (1977) discribed political cynicism as a sense of no trust in the government or in political leaders, whereas Schwartz (1975) explained it as an individual's perception toward political power and/or the government as they do not act in accordance with prescriptive standards. (21)(22)(23)

Easton (1969) found that if a member of a political system withdraws his support like trust, confidence and favour from any part of political system no matter whether they are a political community, government system or political power. The withdrawal causes tension to the system and this affects the instability of that political system. (24)

From the above definitions, it may be concluded that political trust refers to fundamental tendency in political sense or perception individuals possess in a political system or part of it such as political activities or political power.

Individuals who strongly trust in political system tend to believe that government actions will help to improve everything, that politics is not all sordid, and that state officials work for the benefits of the majority. Contrary individuals with political

cynicism often think that politics is dirty that politicians are cheating, corruptive and exploitive.

In political science, the level of political trust plays an important role in political change. It is an evaluation of the opportunity, the severity of conflicts, and the social tension. When a moderate number of people have trust, they are likely to satisfy their desires. If the political system can adjust itself, there will be no severity. However, if the political system cannot adjust itself to the situation, the conflict may occur, and that will affect the political stability.

According to the studies of the relationship political trust and political participation as conducted by various political science authorities, individuals whose evaluation of a political system (in, negative will show a low level of interest in political participation. Milbrath proposed two reasons, why they expressed a low level of interest. Firstly, the individuals with a low level of political trust but with a high level of sense of political efficacy will take part in politics by means of protest. Secondly, the individuals with a low level of political trust and with a low level of sense of political efficacy tends to withdraw from a political system. Thirdly, the individual with a high level of political trust and with a high level of political efficacy will vigorously in politics, and finally, the individuals with a high level of political trust but with a low level of sense of political efficacy tend to support state activities. However, assumptions are not final or may not be regarded as absolute truths.

### 2.9 Factors Affecting Political Participation of Thai Labours

Several factors affect political participation of Thai labourers i.e. stimuli from environments, attitudes, beliefs and political personality, political status and social environments. The factors of social environments will be employed as a variable in this research. This factor consisting of sex, age, education and income determines economic status.

#### 2.9.1 Sex.

Milbrath (1977) found that men participate in political activities more than women. His finding confirmed to those of researchers conducted by various western social scientists e.g., Nie, Verba and Kim (1974), Olsen (1973) and Goe!  $(1975.)^{(24)}$  However, Lewis revealed that Argentine women took more part in politics than men. Milbrath also found that among lower status men's where as there was a slight difference in men's and women's rate of political participation among upper status. Campbell (1954) found that the cause of the difference was that men possessed a higher level of sense of political efficacy than women. That is, men sensed that they were more qualified to involve in political complexity than women. Milbrath reported that the rate of the difference in men's and women's political participation will decrease only when change caused by modernization takes place. Since women will be more educated, get higher income, become working women, and realize more for their own rights due to the extension of women's liberation movement. (25)

#### 2.9.2 Age

Several researchers stated that level of one's political participation increased steadily in direct proportion to the increasing age to the highest in middle age. It, then, gradually decreased in direct proportion to the increasing years after middle age (Verba and Nie, 1972). Nie, Verba and Kim, 1974, (Goel 1975). These studies indicates that age equally related to all kinds of political participation. (26)

Milbrath revealed that there appeared three kinds of interference in age and political participation, i.e. 1) unity of community, 2) free time for politics and 3) health. The unity of community gradually developed from marriage, work responsibility, and desire for marriage life. Similary, political participation started and gradually increased in proportion to age and finally to the highest level at 35 or 40 years of age.

The single youth tended to withdraw from the community and ignored the chance to take part in politics. In addition, the old, the disabled tended to pay less attention to political participation. However, most of the youth attended the activities of informal politics, e.g. protests, demonstrations, and riots. Milbrath explained that the youth and the jobless spent much of their free time, especially they would deny the community standards, steadily take revenge on the socio-economic system, and wish to reform the system to have chance to be in it. (27)

#### 2.9.3 Education

Milbrath found that the socio-economic variable used to explain political partical p

Foreign researchers revealed that individuals with higher educational achievement participated in politics more than those with lower educational achievement, (Civic Culture, Almond and Verba 1963), (Nie, Powell and Prewitt 1965), (Goel 1975). In addition, education is the most powerful factor that stimulates individuals from all social status, occupations, cultures and nationalities to participate in all forms of political activities except elections, which does not confirm to this, and will be described later. (28)

The reason why education strongly affects individuals' political participation in every culture is that the level of individuals' educational achievement is related to their social and psychological personality in the sense that the individuals with higher educational achievement tend to receive higher income, more information from mass media, more information about the government and politics, to be higher in professional status and to possess a higher level of sense of political efficacy.

Almond and Verba found that the behaviour of individuals with high educational achievement were as follows: (1) Be more worry of the government's influence on individuals than the persons with lower educational achievement. (2) Follow politics and pay more attention to campaign. (3) Receive more political information. (4) possess broader political views. (5) Be more likely to attend polical discussion. (6) Feel free to discuss about politics with the general public. (7) Feel that he can affect the government. (8) Be faithful to social environment in the sense that people are trustworthy and useful. (9) Tend to be vigorous members of organizations. (29)

Milbrath found that education greatly affected political participation behaviour especially in the following aspects: 1) political campaign activities, 2) Communities Roles and communication activities. In addition, education also had slight influence upon such a political activity as protest. Gary Marse (1967) and Caplan (1970) found that demonstrators tended to be better educated and to have more information than the general public. (30)

However, education does not affect individuals' voting. This to support the idea that the individual with higher educational achievement participate in elections less than those with lower educational achievement. According to Milbrath, the reason why these were fewer well educated voters than low-educated voters in some countries was that in those countries the individuals with a higher level of education did not possess more patriotism, system affections, political admiration and a feeling that elections are citizens' responsibility than the individual with a lower level of education. Several western researchers found that in India and Japan persons who has more information and knowledge tended to be more hostile to a system and less patriotic. Political sense, no matter it is positive or negative, is important because elections are an activity involving patriotism by people, which determines the loyalty to their system. Another reason was that people's paying slight attention to information cause and politicized roles to become ineffective although those people achieve a high level of education. For example, the results of the study on Mexican American in Nebraska, USA, showed that education very slightly correlated, in various dimensions, to political participation. This because educational process and other socialization

agents do not prepare the members in society to play roles in politics.

#### 2.9.4 Income

Several studies including that of Milbrath's revealed that individuals with higher income took part in political activities more often those with lower income. A study conducted in the south of the USA indicated that among black Americans income affected political participation more than did education or career.

obviously relates to different levels of political Income participation and has most influence upon activities requiring respects or monetary fund. In the USA Verba and Nie conducted their research on income and reported that income influenced activities concerning political communication, and those involving political parties more than activities of elections. Goel (1979) stated that in India, levels of income did not correlate positively or negatively to election activities but they affected political campaign activities. According to Milbrath, the reason why income is highly related to political participation was that the difference in income involved the difference in socio-economic status and attitude in the sense that the weather tend to achieve a higher level of education; to better react to various economic and political groups. These help to develop man's attitudes and beliefs which better facilitate political participation. Besides, in developing countries, only the rich can own radios, television sets. (31)

#### 2.10 Review of the Related Literature

In any research, the first task of the investigator is to study the past work done in the area in which the investigator proposes to take up research. So, it is essential for the investigator

to study the past and allied work done in the field with a view to developing an insight into the problem as well as finding out technique to be employed for a new study.

Keeping this in mind, the present investigator tried to procure the studies on political participation. The review of this literature consists of the studies of the studies working on 1982 to 1992.

Chaovana Pavakanon (1982) has studied about political conscienceness and political participation of benefit group in democratic system: research study specifically the case of Municipal area of Noan Soong Sub-District, Nakornratsima Province, has commented that: (35)

To take interest in politics is both right and duty of the people in the country to ensure for them a stable political system. It depends on many supportive factors i.e., history, background of that nation, socio-economic condition, level of study or education and the important one is knowledge, understanding and satisfaction of members including members'own obligation towards society and political system. The collective or total impact of all these factors is currently called "Political Culture."

Political culture is regarded as part of the total cultures in human society because it is culture relevant to politics which is the foundation of those societies. In order to learn about political culture of a country, one has to study about background history of that country, about custom, value, belief including attitudes or operational norms, etc.

An interest of sociologists in applying political culture for analyzing political system in the study of political science

behaviour has many guidelines. It depends on giving definitions of political culture which emphasizes on different principles about each person's personality, i.e., certain groups give weight in finding relation between political attitude and other aspects of attitude which are not political. Certain groups emphasize on socio-economic aspect, or mainly emphasize on learning psychology or about social training process. Certain groups will mainly emphasize about political aspect, etc.

An interest in studying political culture through various guidelines in political science has been normally criticised because of its inability to find a conclusion or an agreement. In addition such study has no precise criteria to solve the problem or to analyse specifically the mattro pattern of politics. Therefore, in leads the study in political science without having any theory which may result into a short, brief and sharp form of study. We should keep in mind that political scientists are not acquainted in 'estimating' or 'forecasting' future pattern of the whole political system in advance. That is why it becomes difficult for them to analyse political culture which is based on the psychological feeling of a person which is changing constantly. This is an important factor in limit ting the study of political culture of a country and the prediction of future pattern of its politics and macro level.

Political culture emphasizes on importance of the mind of behaviour in that aspect which mentions that political culture is a pattern of attitude, belief, emotional condition, feeling, obligation and understanding in politics of a persons which have been trained in

politics from various social organizations. These things will be indicators of the pattern of various political behaviour of a person which is a passage which leads to the show of or not showing of in politics in every aspect, whether it be a supportive feeling, a protest, or keep quiet towards political system. Therefore, it can be summarized that "political culture is an attitude, a belief, a feeling, a knowledge and understanding of political consciousness which members of the society has towards his own political system, i.e, He understands that what type of administration and organizations are prevalent in his country. What roles, rights and duties he has possessed in such political process. Whether he is satisfied or not with the existing political system. Therefore, political behaviour of a person will be dependent on political culture which he possesses. If we look to it on a larger perspective, it can be summarized that political culture is not always necessarily in a creative way towards political system. But a human being may possess quite opposite culture towards political system resulting into his behaviour of destroying it by using force or organising a revolution, a coup d'etat etc.

An interest in studying Political Culture through various guidelines in Political Science has been normaly criticised because of its inadility to find a conclusion or an agreement, In addition such study has no precise criteria to solve the problem or to analyse specifically the mattro pattern of politics. Therefore, it leads the study in political science without having any theory which may result into a short form to study. We should bare in mind that Political Scientists are not acquainted in estimating or forecasting future pattern of the whole Political System in advance. That is why it

which is based on the psychological feeling of a person which is changing constantly. This is an important factor in the study of political culture of a counting and the prediction of future Pattern of its Politics at macro level

For political consciousness, the people who understand and know how to think and how to analyse reasonably are aware and adhere to perform according to principle idealism of democratic and administration throughout the time. They are obligated with political system due to the feeling that they are the part and parcel of the politics of the system. So that they become interested in politics and feel the importance of participation in various political activities. By applying as the members of a political party or political group they use their right as an owner of the democratic power possessed by the people in a democracy. They go for voting on the political suggestions of a political party or other organizations working in private or public sector. They also behave contrary to others by demonstrating for their right or in protest against the misuse of power by the administration or the government.

Therefore, political consciousness and political participation are closely related, that is to say, this political consciousness will be a passage which leads to political participation. At the same time, political participation will reflect political consciousness, level of political development and democracy of each country.

So far as the case of Thailand is concerned, it is generally accepted that political development according to democratic system took place. Since the people's party had made a revolution and changed the administration on 24 June (1932). It changed the administration from Absolute Monarchy into democracy where king was a leader under constitution. The new administration which used democracy as the master-key for ruling the country had to meet with failure for major part. Because it was merely a change of hands to seize power from the old system in which the king was an absolute holder of power. Now the power had come to the hands of minority group of military leader and civilians group which called themselves "The People's Party."

However, holder of power next to "The people's Party" has increasingly tried to let the population come in as owner of democratic power according to principle of administration in democratic system. For example, arrangement was made to let the people vote and to give opportunity to the people to have the right to administer and rule the country. At the same time, it also allowed political party or political group to be formed to give opportunity to politicians who have the same opinion and principles. It has also allowed the political competition according to criteria or rule of democratic administration, in order to compete as government or try to balance the power of the government.

It is a pity that, trial to develop democracy has to meet with failure all along, because political change which occurred was not in accordance with the criteria or rule specified in the preliminary intention. That is why revolution, coup d'etat, a protest or demonstration, unrest by using force have occurred every now and then.

As regards the Assembly, it does stay long enough. But because of the revolution or coup d'etat, there is people could not get its full benefit. Finally, it can be said that democratic ruling of Thailand has to crawl throughout the past 50 years.

Therefore, when democracy of Thailand has to endure/crawl for as long as 50 years as mentioned above, local administration of Thailand has to be affected also, Because it has to stagger from many political changes for many years. They said crisis throughout time has damaged the right of participating in politics of the population in ruling the local areas, especially local administration in the pattern of Municipality. Whenever revolution or coup d'etat occurs at national level, Martial Law is proclaimed or regulations of revolutional party is proclaimed for use. Constitutions are cancelled. At the same time, there is a proclamation not to group together at national level in politics, therefore, election at national and local levels are cancelled automatically in a temporary manner.

The problem of political development as mentioned above, is the cause of failure of democratic administration in Thailand, Because the Thais still lack the knowledge, understanding and responsibility and awareness for their rights duties and group behaviour to balance the governmental power. The above mentioned political behaviour is the example of what the political scientists call "Lacking of Political Consciousness" which is the main cause of Thais People's inactive participation in the democratic process.

The undemocratic developments as described previously have badly affected the growth of democratic administration. At the same time, it has become easy for the big groups to get benefits, i.e. military group, civil officers'group or religious group, etc. Among them Thai Military group has got constant benefit by seizure of political power and administration of the country by revolution or coup d'etat throughout the period. Often they give reason that they have to interfere because the population lacks political consciousness. In addition, they argue that the country is in bad state and is overcome by foreigners, therefore, they have to seize the power in order to maintain stability and safety of the nation. Moreover, they still refer about developing the country, remedying corruption problem as well as remedying the failure in administering the country by civil government.

It is a fact that the problem regarding political aspect of Thailand as has been described above is the result of the failure of rulers and administrators of the country. It has erupted due to their unwillingness to sacrifice their personal interests in providing administration based on real democratic pattern during last 50 years.

Therefore in a developing country like Thailand it is very necessary to study "political consciousness." It is normally used as excuse in seizure of power or to justify the power obtained from revolution or coup d'etat by the military group who has administered Thailand as long as 50 years ever since first change in the administration up till today. Really speaking political consciousness

which has an impact on improvement of administration to correspond with social conditions and political culture of Thailand. Previously in one era there used to be technologists and politicians who tried to find out method for ruling in democratic pattern which was able to improve or to suit with social conditions and political culture of Thailand. People called it "Democracy in a Thai way" or even today, such effort has not been stopped by them which is known among the people as "Half Leave of Democracy." In addition, political consciousness is a passage towards showing different patterns of politics which will have an impact on political development of the country, both at national level and at local level finally.

# 2.11 Background and condition of the problem in research area:

The general belief concerning the way of living of the rural people is that they will be performing good things with high conscience accumulated for a very long time, because majority people in the rural areas are agriculturists who are obligated by customs and culture.

Agriculturists are poor people who are tightly controlled with the local area for a very long period due to the custom. Producing crop by the agriculturists is a way of life for their survival but it is not a business for earning profit. That is why agricultural society changes very slowly in various aspects.

Political role of agriculturists in rural area can be noticed as the base of the society and politics. They receive the influence from the society of rural people themselves, therefore,

there is lack of true co-ordination among them. It is difficult to mobilize manpower in rural areas into a group. If they can get into group, they will do it loosely. They are unable to form a strong group to push in politics for making a bargain with the government.

From consideration on condition of rural society of Thailand, it is found that 78 % of Thai Society are agriculturists. The development of agriculturist society from feudal society in the past wherein majority agriculturists had made their living in the land of the lords who in turn were given land by the king. Due to these characteristics, agriculturists have no independence. They have the duty to work in the fields for consumption or for making their own living in the families and for compensating to the landlords who have characteristics of general agriculturists society as mentioned above.

Although feudal society has faded away or there is democracy which enables the agriculturists to have more independence, the majority of them are poor because they have no capital. They, therefore, have to rent out the land for planting rich from the existing landlords. The more democratic ruling has to meet with failure which has an impact upon administration at different levels. The political roles of the rural people who are already experiencing problems, will have to continue experiencing more accumulated problems.

The real problem of this rural society is how to transform a largely feudal and agricultural society to modern society by democratic way?

One of the guidelines to remedy the above problem is to encourage the rural people to be aware of the problem. In other words to create political consciousness to use as passage for participating

in politics by the rural people, expecially by grouping them together to form a force to push in politics. So that the people will have bargaining power with the administrative side wherein this role will give them the capacity as benefit group or influential group in politics.

The importance of the role of benefit group or influential group in politics which they are expected to perform in democratic pattern is based on the principle or guideline that democracy is competitive system between various groups who try to seize political power in their favour.

- 2. In the group of people that have high level of political consciousness and have political participation, it was found that level of education and income have no influence in specifying change of attitude point.
- 3. Sex has influence in specifying difference of political consciousness and political participation, that is, in general men have higher political consciousness and political participation more than women.
- 4. People who have high level of political consciousness would naturally have higher trend to participate in politics, it was found that there is positive relation between political consciousness and political participation.
- 5. In conclusion, the study has found that benefit groups within Municipal area of Noan Soong Sub-District who have high political consciousness and high political participation are younger age group, have education and low income level as well as being male.

Warongrung Rujeepaisan (1984), has made research on "communication and alertness in politics: specific study on Head Soong Village, Head Nang Kaew Sub-District, Kabinburi District, Prachinburi Province and Agricultural Settlement village for War Veterans of Chiengrai, Tha Khao Pluck Sub District, Mae Chan District, Chiengrai Province." The objective is to study the habit in the use of communication in the rural area, alertness in politics of the people in the rural area, alertness in politics of the people in the rural areas as well as analytical study on relationship between communication and political alertness by considering about difference between level and characteristics of political participation of people in the rural areas where news information has been relayed at different levels and channels. (36)

Research method has been made up of field survey by studying 85 population people/respondents at Ban Head Soong, Kabinpuri District, Prachaburi Province, 70 War veterans at Mac Chan District, Chiengrai Province, Compilation of data is made by interviewing according to the Questionnaire which has been prepared. Statistical method is used for analyzing the data was calculating percentage of square. It is found that:

- 1. By average, population in the rural areas have rather low level of communication and low level of alertness in politics.
- 2. Population in the rural areas who have high level of communication have higher trend in political alertness than population who have lower level of communication.
- 3. Population who have higher education have higher trend in political alertness than those with lower education.

- 4. Male has higher trend in political alertness than female.
- 5. Population who are older have higher political alertness than younger people.
- 6. Population who have higher economic status have higher than those who have lower economic status.

Pongsri Boonsuwan (1988) studies about media exposure and political participation among Nakornsawan Teachers College students. (37)

Research has an aim to study an opening of political news from media and political participation of Nakornsawan Teachers College students. At the same time seek for relationship in opening political news from media as well as political participation by the students also.

It has been found that group of students who have excess to media have more exposure in high volume listen to news from television and newspapers than magazines. News which they likely to attend are mostly about political situation. Group of students who hardly opens media exposure will read magazines more than other medias. News that they are likely to look at most is news about people. In organization and political institute where students have high volume of political participation will encourage people to go for voting, at the highest rate, but will express opinion and discuss politics at minimum volume. Group of students who hardly participate in politics will by majority take/listen news of political leaders, but will hardly listen to political discussion.

Male and female students having media exposure similarly receive every item of news. Both sexes of students perform political

activity similarly except in one item that is different, that is, political meeting. Students at Diploma and B.A. Degrees open media exposure differently concerning government's performance and news on people, on organization and political institution. Students at Diploma and B.A. Degrees have similar political participation except on one activity which is different, that is voting. Students who offer major subjects like Sociology and Science receive media exposure similarly on every news item. Students who offer major subjects like Sociology and Science perform similar political activity except one item which is different, that is, working for society with other people.

Receiving political news from mass media and political participation has rather low relationship coefficient contingency has value between .564 to .875.

Manot Wetchapun (1888) studied about political participation of permanent civil officers: study in comparison with civil officers, police, military officers. (38)

The objective of the research is to study about knowledge and understanding in politics, roles and political participation including a belief or trust in politics of permanent civil officers, by studying, comparing in order to learn about the level and difference between civil officers, police, military officers.

The scope of the research is aimed at making a study comparing about level and difference of knowledge and understanding in politics, political participation and belief or political trust, from 200 persons from sample group who are civil officers under the jurisdiction of Ministry of Interior, police officers under Commander's Office of Central Investigation Unit as well as military officers

under the jurisdiction of Supreme Command.

The research study found that:

- 1. Level of knowledge and understanding of civil officers, police officers, military officers is at high level and have no significant difference in statistics, in the level of knowledge and understanding in politics between civil officers, politic officers, military officers.
- 2. Level of political participation of civil officers, police officers, military officers are at a low level and has no significant difference in statistics in the level of political participation between civil officers, police officers, military officers.

As for the roles or political activities are concerned, civil officers, police officers, military officers have low level of participation i.e., receiving political news, communication and taking roles in community.

3. Level of confidence or political trust of civil officers, police officers. military officers are at a high level and has significant difference in statistics in the level of confidence or political trust between civil officers, police officers, military officers, Police officers have level of confidence or political trust at the highest level and military officers have level of confidence and political trust at the lowest level, out of the 3 sample groups.

Charun Wongsawat (1989) studied about political participation of population in administering the local areas in sanitary pattern and compared between population in sanitary areas whose chairman comes from election and Chairman of the Board by position. (39)

This research has an objective to study about political consciousness and participation in politics by the benefit groups in Municipal area, Noan Soong Sub-District, by giving importance to variables which are influential towards political consciousness, i.e. age, level of education, income and sex. In addition, study will be made on roles and interests of benefit groups in participating in democratic system.

Sample groups used in research have been obtained from various benefit groups in Municipal area in Noan Soong Sub-District, i.e. agriculturists' group, employee group, merchants' group as well as occupational group altogether numbering 300 persons.

Questionnaire relevant to political consciousness comprised of knowledge and understanding in politics, political interest and political attitude as well as political participation in democratic system. Characteristics of the questions are right and wrong answers specifically the part used for measuring knowledge and understanding in politics. As for other parts, proportion is used to estimate the value. There are altogether 63 questions. As for analysis for data, computer is used for calculating statistical value.

Rusult of research may be concluded as follows:-

1. Various benefit groups within Municipal area in NoanSoong Sub-District has medium level but rather high political consciousness.

This research study has an aim to survey political participation behaviour of population in the sanitary areas in order to find out about relationship between variable of personal status, socio-economic condition, knowledge and political attitude and political participation which can be classified into 7 activity

groups, i.e. protest, community role, voting campaign and working for political parties, political news communication, voting in election, giving support, contact with officials. The tool is a questionnaire prepared by the researcher which comprised of personal data, questions for measuring political knowledge, political attitude survey form (Likert's pattern) and level of volume in political participation compared with random group of people in sanitary area where chairman of the Board of Sanitation came from election and by position of Patumthani province and Samutprakan province which were selected by systematic system, numbering 284 persons. The data submitted for comparing difference between groups used t-test and when finding intensive of relationship between variable, Chi-Square was used, as well as percentage in analyzing economic data.

Result of research study appeared as follows :-

- 1. There was no significant difference in statistics in political participation of population in sanitary areas for both patterns (study-cum-comparison). In addition, result of study was found that population in sanitary areas in both patterns have political participation on each activity in a medium and rather low level.
- 2. It was found that factor on sex, occupation, age, level of education, income and capacity as a group member or organization has an impact on political participation of population in sanitary areas towards political administration. As for factor on period of time, domicile/residence in the sanitary areas and factor on political attitude, feeling of political efficiency and political trust has no impact on political participation of the population. Sample

groups which have been studied has significance in statistics.

Pusak Kumpee (1992) studied on "Political communication and political participation of farmers: A case study of farmers in Moo Ban Good-na-karm, Chraoensilp Branch District, Sakon Nakorn province.' The objectives of research study are in 2 aspects: - (40)

- 1. In order to learn about pattern of political communication from mass media and personal media of farmers as to how much frequency they have and to study in comparison about influence of variable, i.e. age, sex, education, family's income, as to how much relationship with frequency in political communication they have.
- 2. In order to learn about what level of political participation they have and what characteristics of political participation pattern they have. In addition, study/comparison was made on influence of variables, i.e. age, sex, education, family's income, frequency of political communication, political news received through media exposure and personal communication, as to how much relationship with political participation they have.

As for sample group for this study research numbering 216 persons, they are farmers of Moo Ban Good Na-kam. Charoensilp District, Sakon Nakorn province wherein completion of data will use an interview by having questionnaire.

Statistics used in testing the assumption is t-test and test for finding relation between variables had to use t-test and Chi-Square, by using the difference which has significance in statistics at level 0.05.

# Summary result of the study was found that :-

- 1. Variable in sex has no relationship significantly in statistics with political communication.
- 2. Variable in age has no relationship significantly in statistics with political communication.
- 3. Variable in income has no relationship significantly in statistics with political communication.
- 4. Variable in level of education has no relationship significantly in statistics with political communication.
- 5. Farmers in the village receive political news from communicating between persons higher than opening media exposure significantly in statistics.
- 6. Variables in sex, age, income have no significance in statistics with political participation. As for level of education, it has relationship significantly in statistics with political participation. But since there are certain grid cells of the Table cross between variables and education and political participation, result of test cannot be confirmed.
- 7. Variable in political communication has significance in statistics with political participation.
- 8. Variable in receiving political news from media exposure and communication with persons have relationship significantly in statistics with political participation.
- 9. Variable in receiving political news from media exposure has no relationship significantly in statistics and characteristics of political participation by their own consciousness.

- 10. Variable in receiving political news from media exposure between persons has relationship significantly in statistics and characteristics of political participation by their own consciousness.
- 11. Variable in receiving political news from various channels (mass media and communicating between person) have relationship significantly in statistics and characteristics of political participation by their own consciousness.

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# CHAPTER 3

# METHOD AND PROCEDURE

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#### CHAPTER 3

# METHOD AND PROCEDURE

#### 3.1. METHOD

# 3.1.1 Technique selected for the study

According to the objectives, the present research is mainly interested in finding out the political participation and political attitude of Thai labourers. To fulfill the objectives of the study, the researcher decided to make use of survey method.

# 3.1.2 Tools and their characteristics

For the purpose of the study, the researcher desired to construct the tools in the form of questionnaire. There are three types of tools to be used for the study.

- (1) The questionnaire about the bio-data of the labourers
- (2) The questionnaire to measure the political participation of Thai labourers.
- (3) The questionnaire to measure the political attitude of Thai labourers.

# (1) The questionnaire about the bio-data of the labourers.

This questionnaire is the tool to enquire the primary data of the Thai labourers. It is concerned with the socio-economic

background of the labourers having their nature of work, sex, age education, and monthly income. The characteristics of questionnaire are totally a close-end questionnaire. There are five questions which the answers have to respond with the fact about themselves.

The sample of questionnaire is shown as in appendix 1.

# (2) The scale to measure the political participation of Thai labourers

In the present study, the scale to measure the political participation was constructed by the present researcher. This scale consisted of 30 items and 5 factors. These five factors are:

- Political protest 5 items
- Political parties 5 items
- Political information 5 items.
- Voting in election 5 items
- Community roles 10 items

The scale was designed to provide the labourers the opportunity to express their opinions about the political participation i.e. political protest (item 1-5), political parties (item 6-9, 27), political information (item 15-19), voting in election (item 10-14) and community roles (item 20-26,28-30)

There are five Rating scale (Likert scale) in each items.

They are "always" "often" "sometime" "seldom" "never". For the purpose of the study, the Thai version and English version was used. The sample of scale is shown in appendix 2.

# (3) The scale to measure the political attitude of Thai labourers

In the present study, the scale to measure the attitude towards politics of Thai labourers was constructed by the present researcher. This scale consisted of 20 items and designed to give the opportunity to express their opinions about the attitude of Thai labourers towards Thai politics which consisted of 2 factors: the political efficacy and the political trust. There are five Rating scale (Likert scale) in each item. They are "strongly agree" "agree" "no opinion" "disagree" "strongly disagree". There are no "right" or \ "wrong" response on the mark of the statements.

For the purpose of the present study, the Thai version and English version was used. The sample of scale is shown in appendix 3.

# 3.1.3 Reliability of the tools

The tools mention above were tested the reliability by using test-retest and split-half. The results of the tests are shown as below.

Table 3 The reliability of the tools

The Scale	Test-retest	Split-half
1. The scale to measure	0.90	0.86
political participation	of '	
Thai labourers	· ·	
2. The scale to measure	0.89	0.92
political attitude of Th	ai	
labourers		
i		

From table 3 indicates that the reliability is found between r = 0.86 - 0.92 which is very high. This led to say that the scale is highly reliable.

# 3.1.4 The validity of the tools

Validity is an important characteristic of the tool. The validity of the tool or the scale depends upon the efficientcy with which it measures that it attempts to measure. In other words it is also the accuracy with which the scale measures what it claims to measure. The present study, the researcher use the procedure of content validity for the scale to measure the political participation and political attitude. It is shown that the scale are constructed on logic and curricular validity, which is based on judgement. It can be used for collecting data with a confidence.

# 3.1.5 The discrimination of the tools

The "t" value is applied for the discrimination of the scale to measure political participation and political attitude. The researcher selected the 40 Thai labourers as the sample for the process of discrimination of the tools. Then he devided the sample into 3 groups, one is the highest group (25%) the secondary group is the middle group (50%) and the third group is the lowest (25%). The sample of highest group and the lowest group are selected to be the sample for analysing the discrimination of the tools. The item in scale which obtained the t-value from 2.00 onwards would be selected to be the desirable item and can be used for data collection. Table 4 and 5 are shown for the discrimination of the tools

Table 4 The Discrimination of the scale to measure the political participation of Thai labourers

item statements t 1. You took part in complaining about or protesting 3.48 against government officials' or politicians' corruption. 2. You took part in complaining about or protesting 4.26 against the consent of the government or politicians' to grant permission in the unjust rising of commodify prices. 3. You were on strikes to protest against the 3.98 government's decision to increase utility costs and tranpotation fares. 4. You were on a strike to ask for the rise of the 3.01 minimum wages from the government. 5. You were in a demonstration to protest against 4.17 an un just labour law. 6. You attended political congregation of a Thai 3.33 political party.

ite	m statements	t
7.	You attended meetings of labour unions to develop Thai labourers.	2.10
8.	You used to be a candidate for an administrator or a committee member of the Thai labour union.	2.38
9.	You were a member of a political party in Thailand.	2.87
10.	You took part in setting the conflicts between	3157
	employers and employees.	
11.	You voted in a local election.	4.21
12.	You contributed in a political campaign of a party	2.88
	or of a candidate for a member of the house of	
	representatives.	
13.	You voted in a general election.	5.34
14.	You voted in the election of administrators and	2.11
	comittee members of a labour union.	
15.	You attended a politician's conference or campaign	2.47
	speeches.	
16.	You listened to or watched political television	3.04
	programme.	
17.	You wrote articles letters to be printed in a	2.27
	newspaper or broadcast by radio or television.	
18.	You encouraged the people who devoted their labour	2.18
	or who were political leaders.	
19.	You talk about politics with friends or family	3.36
	members.	

_				
	ite	m statements	t	
	20.	You read about politics in newspaper and magazines.	2.30	-
	21.	you cooperated with the government officials in	2.09	
		suppresing prevalent crimes in your community.		
	22.	You cooperated with the government officials in	2.64	
		maintaining welfare and security in life and		
		property of the public.		
	23.	You cooperated with the government in solving the	2.11	
		problem of gabage and water pollution.		
	24.	You cooperated with the government in solving the	2.95	
		problem of narcotics.		
	25.	You cooperated with the government in solving the	3.08	
		problem of environmental pollution.		
	26.	You took in solving the social problems of	2.94	
		unequality.		
	27.	You rendered a service to the public or your	2.14	
		community.		
	28.	You obeyed the laws and social rules.	3.33	
	29.	You reserved the right and liberty within the law	3.65	
		as well as observed the rules of democracy.		
	30.	You were a good citizen and conducted yourself	2.81	
		honourably.		

Table 5 The discrimination of the scale to measure the political attitude of Thai labourers

item	statements	t
1	Political and social changes in the present are	2.37
	very common in a democratic regime.	· ·
2.	You are one of the persons who has influence on	3.21
	the government's decisions.	
3.	Thai labourers play important roles in national	2.88
	development.	
4.	It is everyone's reponsibility to be aware of	2.06
	government affairs and political activities.	
5.	Voting in a general election is one of the things	2.52
	you do to show your right of representation in	
	national administration.	•
6.	The decision made by the government conforms to	2.23
	the public judgement.	
7.	The government tries every way to develop the	3.17
	country.	
8.	Thai democeacy at present best suits Thais' way	2.78
	of life.	
9.	All That the government has done bring about better	2.64
	public welfare.	
10.	You recieve good service and advice when contacting	2.29
	government officials or political institutions.	

item	statements	t
11.	Only demonstrations or strikes cause political change.	3.13
12.	Politics is complicated and hard to understand.	2.71
13.	The conduct of the ministers or members of the	2.57
	house of representatives cannot be regarded as	
	a model.	
14.	The government sometimes conceals something from	3.11
	the public or even fool them.	
15.	We cannot trust or believe in politicians.	3.96
16.	Most government officials' job performance	2.72
	is not worth the tax-payers' money.	•
17.	Thai laws are not effectively enforced because	3.18
	the law breakers are not punished due to bribes,	
	intrigues or their gang.	
18.	Most of politicians are not honest and they often	2.46
	vie with one another.	
19.	Most of politicians use their power to seek for	2.23
	gain for themselves, relatives or friends.	
20.	People are not satisfied with the government's	3.51
	jobs completed in the past.	

### 3.2. PROCEDURE

#### 3.2.1 Selection of the sample

In the present study, the researcher intended to know the level of political participation of Thai labourers and the factors affecting political participation of Thai labourers in different variables i.e. sex, age, education and monthly income.

To make the study meaningful and the sample representative, the researcher had followed mainly the process of simple random sampling. It was first decided to select 443 labourers from 20 state enterprise and 557 Labourers from 20 private enterprise were selected for the purpose. Thus, the sample of 1,000 labourers was obtained for the present study. The detail of selected sample are shown in table below.

Table 6 Distribution of the total labourers by state enterprise and private enterprise by sex

Sex	r r	enterprise percentage	_	e enterprise percentage	Total
- + - +					
Male	301	67.95 %	297	53.32 %	598
Female	142	32.05 %	260	46.68 %	402
Total	443	44.30 %	557	55.70 %	1,000

Table 7 Distribution of the total labourers by state enterprise and private enterprise by age

Age		nterprise percentage	-	enterprise percentage	Total
20 - 30 years	188	42.44 %	199	35.73 %	387
31 - 40 years	119	26.86 %	145	26.03 %	264
41 - 50 years	69	15.58 %	107	19.21 %	176
51 - 60 years	67	15.12 %	106	19.03 %	173
Total	443	44.30 %	557	55.70 %	1,000

Table 8 Distribution of the total labourers by state enterprise and private enterprise by education

Education		nterprise percentage	private number	enterprise percentage	Total
Lower than primary	81	18.28 %	105	18.85 %	186
Primary education	41	9.26 %	. 74	13.28 %	115
Lower secondary	83	91.32 %	108	19.39 %	191
Higher secondary	93	20.99 %	115	20.65 %	208
Dipploma-Bachelor	145	32.73 %	155	27.83 %	300
Total	443	44.30 %	557	55.70 %	1,000

Table 9 Distribution of the total labourers by state enterprise and private enterprise by monthly income

monthly income	State enterprise		private	Total	
	number 1	percentage	number	percentage	
3,000-4,500 baht	89	20.09 %	117	21.00 %	206
4,501-6,000 baht	28	6.32 %	64	11.49 %	92
6,001-7,500 baht	63	14.22 %	90	16.16 %	153
7,501-9,000 baht	34	7.68 %	68	12.21 %	102
9,001 onwards	229	51.69 %	218	39.14 %	447
Total	443	44.30 %	557	55.70 %	1,000

#### 3.2.2 Administration of the tools

The work started with the printing all the tools into 1,000 sets. Then the researcher planned to designed the schedule for the data collection. Collecting data from labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise was a big task, without proper planning and designing the schedule, it would be expensive in term of money and time. To make the data collection feasible, he wrote the letters to the directors of the selected enterprises, fixed up the time and followed it accordingly.

#### 3.2.3 Scoring of the data

The procedure of scoring political participation and political attitude were same characteristics. For the procedure of

scoring the scales response of the labourers strict adherance was made to the scoring weightage for the items was assigned from 5 to 1 for positive items and from 1 to 5 for the negative items. The meaning of the score is shown as below.

Positive items on the scale to measure the political participation :

"Never" 
$$= 1$$

Negative items on the scale to measure the political participation:

"Always" = 
$$1$$
 "often" =  $2$ 

"Sometime" = 
$$3$$
 "Seldom" =  $4$ 

Positive items on the scale to measure the political attitude:

"Strongly disagree"= 1

Negative items on the scale to measure the political attitude:

"Strongly disagree"= 5

#### 3.2.4 Technique of analysis data

The researcher used the statistics: percentage, mean, standard deviation to analyse the level of the score on political participation and political attitude of Thai labourers. The t-test is also used for testing the difference between mean score of the sample not more than two groups. But for testing the difference of mean score

of sample more than two groups, the ANOVA was applied. The corelation was used to calculate for finding out the relationship between the political participation and the political attitude of Thai labourers.

# 3.2.5 Criteria of the Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers

The scale to measure the political participation of Thai labourers consisted of 5 factors i.e. political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles. Each factor of political participation consisted of 5 statements for the enquiring, except the community roles consisted of 10 statements. There are 5 rating scales in each item. Therefore, the labourers would be obtained highest mark not exceeding 150 and lowest mark not least than 30 and 5. It can be determined the criteria of the level of political participation of Thai labourers as below:

The level of Political Participation (Total)

The level of Political Participation (Political protest, political parties, political information and voting in election)

0- 5.00	marks	==	low
01-10.00	marks	****	rather low
01-15.00	marks	4000	medium
01-20.00	marks	***	rather high
01-25.00	marks	=	high

The level of Political Participation (Community roles)

0-10.00 marks = low

10.01-20.00 marks = rather low

20.01-30.00 marks = medium

30.01-40.00 marks = rather high

40.01-50.00 marks = high

The scale to measure the political attutude of Thai labourers consisted of 2 factors i.e. political efficacy, political trust. Each factor of political attitude consisted of 5 statements for the enquiring. There are 5 rating scales in each item. Therefore, the labourers would be obtained highest mark not exceeding 100 and lowest mark not least than 20 and 5. It can be determined the criteria of the level of political participation of Thai labourers as below:

The level of Political Attitude (Total)

0-20.00 marks = low
20.01-40.00 marks = rather low
40.01-60.00 marks = medium
60.01-80.00 marks = rather high
80.01-100.00 marks = high

The level of Political Attitude (political efficacy and political trust)

0-10.00	marks	=	low
10.01-20.00	marks	=	rather low
30.01-40.00	marks	=	medium
40.01-50.00	marks	=	rather high
50.01-60.00	marks	=	high

## REFERENCE

## CHAPTER 3

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- 2. Roberts, Geoffrey K. <u>A Dictionary of Political Analysis</u>. London: Longman, 1971.

# CHAPTER 4

## ANALYSIS OF DATA

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# Chapter 4 ANALYSIS OF DATA

# PART 1 THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THAI LABOURERS 1.1 The Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers (Total Scores)

Table 10 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation of Thai Labourers

N	$\overline{x}$	s.D.
1,000	17.08	3.72
1,000	16.89	3.92
1,000	16.93	3.98
1,000	17.19	3.62
1,000	35.49	7.38
1,000	103.58	21.19
	1,000 1,000 1,000 1,000	1,000 17.08 1,000 16.89 1,000 16.93 1,000 17.19 1,000 35.49

participation of 1,000 Thai labourers is 103.58 (S.D. = 21.19) which is in the rather high level. It is further seen that political participation can be classified into 5 factors. They are political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles. The mean score of political protest is 17.08 (S.D. = 3.72) whereas the mean scores of political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles are 16.89, 16.93, 17.19, 35.49 (S.D.= 3.92,3.98,3.62,7.38) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

Table 11 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation of Thai Labourers (Total Scores) by Sex, Age, Education and Monthly Income

				•
Political Participation	N	X	s.D.	
Sex				
Men Labourers	598	101.14	20.30	
Women Labourers	402	107.20	21.97	
Age				
20-30 years	387	104.45	21.33	
31-40 years	264	102.71	20.04	
41-50 years	176	100.37	22.67	•
51-60 years	173	106.23	20.72	·
Level of Education	F			
Lower than primary education	186	103.28	20.94	٠.
Primary Education	115	100.54	19.80	
Lower secondary education	191	106.29	20.00	
Upper secondary education	208	101.58	23.16	
Bachelor degree and upper	300	104.58	21.00	
Monthly Income	ı		.*	
3,000 - 4,500 baht	206	105.96	22.87	
4,501 - 6,000 baht	92	99.78	24.49	
6,001 - 7,500 baht	153	95.24	20.32	
7,501 - 9,000 baht	102	102.55	20.83	
More than 9,000 baht	447	106.35	19.14	
1				

From table 11, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation of 598 Thai men labourers is 101.14 (S.D. = 20.30) whereas the mean score on political participation of 402 Thai women labourers is 107.20 (S.D. = 21.97) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 104.45 (S.D.= 21.33) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 102.71, 100.37, 106.23 (S.D. = 20.04, 22.67, 20.72) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers belonging to lower than primary education group is 103.28 (S.D. = 20.94) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 100.54, 106.29, 101.58, 104.58 (S.D. = 19.80, 20.00, 23.16, 21.00) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 105.96 (S.D. = 22.87) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 99.78, 95.24, 102.55, 106.35 (S.D. = 24.49, 20.32, 20.83, 19.14) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 12 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation
(Political Protest) of Thai Labourers by Sex, Age,
Education and Monthly Income

Political Participation	N	$\frac{1}{x}$	S.D.	
Sex			•	
Men Labourers	598	17.63	3.88	
Women Labourers	402	16.86	3.59	•
Age				
20-30 years	387	17.96	3.73	
31-40 years	264	16.24	3.52	•
41-50 years	176	16.50	3.93	
51-60 years	. 173	17.49	3.71	
Level of Education				
Lower than primary education	186	17.10°	3.70	
Primary Education	115	16.58	3.59	
Lower secondary education	191	17.45	3.55	
Upper secondary education	208	16.78	3.85	
Bachelor degree and upper	300	17.23	3.77	
Monthly Income		•		
3,000 - 4,500 baht	206	17.47	4.01	
4,501 - 6,000 baht	92	16.43	3.98	
6,001 - 7,500 baht	153	15.64	3.83	
7,501 - 9,000 baht	102	16.65	3.63	
More than 9,000 baht	447	17.62	3.34	

From table 12, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (political protest) of 598 Thai men labourers is 17.63 (S.D. = 3.88) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of 402 Thai women labourers is 16.86 (S.D. = 3.59) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 17.96 (S.D.= 3.73) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.24, 16.50, 17.49 (S.D. = 3.52, 3.93, 3.71) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to lower than primary education group is 17.10 (S.D. = 3.70) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.58, 17.45, 16.78, 17.23 (S.D. = 3.59, 3.55, 3.85, 3.77) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 17.47 (S.D. = 4.01) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 16.43, 15.64, 16.65, 17.62 (S.D. = 3.98, 3.83, 3.63, 3.34) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 13 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation
(Political Parties) of Thai Labourers by Sex, Age,
Education and Monthly Income

Political Participation	N	· <del>x</del>	S.D.
Sex			
Men Labourers	598	17.46	4.07
Women Labourers	402	16.50	3.76
Age			
20-30 years	387	17.04	3.90
31-40 years	264	16.57	3.92
41-50 years	176	16.19	4.06
51-60 years	173	17.74	3.75
Level of Education			
Lower than primary education	186	16.97	3.95
Primary Education	115	16.30	3.78
Lower secondary education	191	17.48	3.50
Upper secondary education	208	16.51	4.26
Bachelor degree and upper	300	16.94	3.91
Monthly Income			
3,000 - 4,500 baht	206	17.26	4.37
4,501 - 6,000 baht	92	16.26	4.25
6,001 - 7,500 baht	153	15.58	3.92
7,501 - 9,000 baht	102	16.82	3.97
More than 9,000 baht	447	17.30	3.49

From table 13, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (political parties) of 598 Thai men labourers is 17.46 (S.D. = 4.07) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of 402 Thai women labourers is 16.50 (S.D. = 3.76) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 17.04 (S.D.= 3.90) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.57, 16.19, 17.74 (S.D. = 3.92, 4.06, 3.75,) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to lower than primary education group is 16.97 (S.D. = 3.95) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.30, 17.48, 16.51, 16.94 (S.D. = 3.78, 3.50, 4.26, 3.91) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 17.26 (S.D. = 4.37) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 16.26, 15.58, 16.82, 17.30 (S.D. = 4.25, 3.92, 3.97, 3.49) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 14 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation
(Political Information) of Thai Labourers by Sex, Age,
Education and Monthly Income

Political Participation	N	$\frac{1}{x}$	s.D.	
Sex	, ,		The second secon	<u></u>
Men Labourers	598	17.47	3.95	
Women Labourers	402	16.57	3.96	
Age		•		
20-30 years	387	17.10	4.02	
31-40 years	264	16.87	3.85	
41-50 years	176	16.24	4.21	
51-60 years	173	17.36	3.81	
Level of Education			,	
Lower than primary education	186	16.80	3.87	
Primary Education	115	16.57	3.62	
Lower secondary education	191	17.40	3.81	
Upper secondary education	208	16.50	4.38	
Bachelor degree and upper	300	17.16	3.98	
Monthly Income				
3,000 - 4,500 baht	206	17.07	4.26	
4,501 - 6,000 baht	92	16.22	4.31	
6,001 - 7,500 baht	153	15.42	4.07	
7,501 - 9,000 baht	102	16.87	3.87	
More than 9,000 baht	447	17.55	3.61	

From table 14, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (political information) of 598 Thai men labourers is 17.47 (S.D. = 3.95) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of 402 Thai women labourers is 16.57 (S.D. = 3.96) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 17.10 (S.D.= 4.02) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.87, 16.24, 17.36 (S.D. = 3.85, 4.21, 3.81) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to lower than primary education group is 16.80 (S.D. = 3.87) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.57, 17.40, 16.50, 17.16 (S.D. = 3.62, 3.81, 4.38, 3.98) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 17.07 (S.D. = 4.26) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e.4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 16.22, 15.42, 16.87, 17.55 (S.D. = 4.31, 4.07, 3.87, 3.61) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 15 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation
(Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers by Sex, Age,
Education and Monthly Income

Political Participation	N	x	S.D.
Sex			
Men Labourers	598	17.94	3.62
Women Labourers	402	16.68	3.53
Age			
20-30 years	387	17.85	3.57
31-40 years	264	16.59	3.39
41-50 years	176	16.67	3.98
51-60 years	173	17.54	3.65
Level of Education	,		
Lower than primary education	186	17.06	3.64
Primary Education	115	16.86	2.99
Lower secondary education	191	17.41	3.51
Upper secondary education	208	16.86	4.06
Bachelor degree and upper	300	17.38	3.50
Monthly Income		·	
3,000 - 4,500 baht	206	17.65	3.72
4,501 - 6,000 baht	92	16.68	4.24
6,001 - 7,500 baht	153	16.09	3.37
7,501 - 9,000 baht	102	17.03	3.52
More than 9,000 baht	447	17.50	3.46

From table 15, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of 598 Thai men labourers is 17.94 (S.D. = 3.62) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of 402 Thai women labourers is 16.68 (S.D. = 3.53) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 17.85 (S.D. = 3.57 whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.59, 16.67, 17.54 (S.D. = 3.39, 3.98, 3.65) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to lower than primary education group is 17.06 (S.D. = 3.64) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.86, 17.41, 16.86, 17.38 (S.D. = 2.99, 3.51, 4.06, 3.50) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 17.65 (S.D. = 3.72) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 16.68, 16.09, 17.03, 17.50 (S.D. = 4.24, 3.37, 3.52, 3.46) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 16 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation
(Community Roles) of Thai Labourers by Sex, Age,
Education and Monthly Income

Political Participation	N	X	S.D.
Sex			
Men Labourers	598	36.92	7.73
Women Labourers	402	34.52	6.97
Age			
20-30 years	387	35.73	7.61
31-40 years	264	35.22	6.81
41-50 years	176	34.47	7.78
51-60 years	173	36.40	7.18
Level of Education			
Lower than primary education	186	35.34	7.06
Primary Education	115	34.67	9.98
Lower secondary education	191	36.11	7.26
Upper secondary education	208	34.92	7.95
Bachelor degree and upper	300	35.88	7.36
Monthly Income			
3,000 - 4,500 baht	206	35.50	7.72
4,501 - 6,000 baht	92	35.18	8.66
6,001 - 7,500 baht	153	33.51	6.97
7,501 - 9,000 baht	102	35.18	7.21
More than 9,000 baht	447	35.38	6.80

From table 16, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (community roles) of 598 Thai men labourers is 36.92 (S.D. = 7.73) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of 402 Thai women labourers is 34.52 (S.D. = 6.97) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 35.73 (S.D.= 7.61) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 35.22, 34.47, 36.40 (S.D. = 6.81, 7.78, 7.18) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to lower than primary education group is 35.34 (S.D. = 7.06) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 34.67, 36.11, 34.92, 35.88 (S.D. = 9.98, 7.26, 7.95, 7.36) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 35.50 (S.D. = 7.72) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 35.18, 33.51, 35.18, 35.38 (S.D.= 8.66, 6.97, 7.21, 6.80) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

1.2 The Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers
in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise (Total Scores)

Table 17 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise

Political Participation	St	ate Ente	rprise	Priv	ate Ente	erprise
•	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	x	s.D.
Political Protest	443	17.19	3.65	557	16.99	3.77
Political Parties	443	17.01	3.80	557	16.79	4.01
Political Information	443	17.10	3.82	557	16.80	4.11
Voting in Election	443	17.35	3.39	557	17.07	3.79
Community Roles	443	35.69	7.05	557	35.32	7.63
Total	443	104.34	20.18	557	102.97	21.95

From table 17, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation of 443 Thai labourers in state enterprise is 104.34 (S.D. = 20.18) which is in the rather high level.

It is further seen that political participation can be classified into 5 factors. They are political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles. The mean score of political protest is 17.19 (S.D. = 3.65) whereas the mean score of political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles are 17.01,17.10,17.35,35.69

(S.D. = 3.80,3.82,3.39,7.05) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation of 557 Thai labourers in private enterprise is 102.97 (S.D. = 21.95) which is in rather high level.

It is further seen that political participation can be classified into 5 factors. They are political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles. The mean score of political protest is 16.99 (S.D. = 3.77) whereas the mean score of political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles are 16.79, 16.80, 17.07, 35.32 (S.D. = 4.01, 4.11, 3.79, 7.63) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

Table 18 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation
of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and Private
Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education and Monthly Income

Political Participation	Sta	te Enter	prise	Private Enterprise		
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.
Sex						
Men Labourers	301	108.78	19.06	297	106.33	23.40
Women Labourers	142	102.24	20.38	260	100.03	20.19
Age						
20-30 years	188	106.09	20.06	199	106.92	22.40
31-40 years	119	101.92	19.95	145	101.35	20.15
41-50 years	69	99.97	22.80	107	99.63	22.68
51-60 years	67	108.19	16.91	106	103.98	22.80
Level of Education						
Lower than primary education	n 81	104.34	20.18	105	100.96	21.11
Primary Education	41	106.28	20.46	74	98.81	21.19
Lower secondary education	83	103.66	16.81	108	105.67	20.06
Upper secondary education	93	107.10	20.02	115	102.65	23.57
Bachelor degree and upper	145	100.26	26.70	155	104.68	22.71
Monthly Income						
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	105.79	23.76	117	106.08	22.28
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	99.93	22.85	64	99.72	25.35
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	96.49	21.27	90	94.37	19.70
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	103.76	21.26	68	101.94	20.74
More than 9,000 baht	229	106.56	17.21	218	106.13	21.01

From table 18, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 108.78 (S.D. = 19.06) whereas the mean score on political participation of 142 Thai women labourers in state enterprise is 102.24 (S.D. = 20.38) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 106.33 (S.D. = 23.40) whereas the mean score on political participation of 260 Thai women labourers in private enterprise is 100.03 (S.D.= 20.19) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 106.09 (S.D. = 20.06) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 101.92,99.97,108.19 (S.D.= 19.95, 22.80, 16.91) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 106.92 (S.D. =22.40) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 101.35,99.63,103.98 (S.D. =20.15, 22.68,22.80) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 104.34 (S.D.=20.18) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary

education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 106.28, 103.66, 107.10, 100.26 (S.D. = 20.46,16.81,20.02,26.70) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 100.96 (S.D. = 21.11) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 98.81, 105.67, 102.65, 104.68 (S.D. = 21.19, 20.06, 23.57, 22.71) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level in every factors.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 105.79 (S.D. = 23.76) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 99.93, 96.49, 103.76, 106.56 (S.D. = 22.85, 21.27, 21.26, 17.21) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000 - 4,500 baht group of monthly income is 106.08 (S.D.= 22.28) whereas the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 99.72, 94.37, 101.94, 106.13 (S.D. = 25.35, 19.70, 20.74, 21.01) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

# 1.2.1 The Level of Political Participation (Political Protest) of Thai Labourers

Table 19 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation

(Political Protest) of Thai Labourers in State

Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education,

Monthly Income

Political Participation	Stat	te Enterp	prise	Private Enterprise			
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	
Sex			his crease it				
Men Labourers	301	17.76	3.47	297	17.58	4.07	
Women Labourers	142	16.92	3.71	260	16.80	3.48	
Age							
20-30 years	188	17.47	3.57	199	18.06	3.86	
31-40 years	119	16.76	3.66	145	16.08	3.41	
41-50 years	69	16.40	4.09	107	16.56	3.84	
51-60 years	67	18.00	3.16	106	17.26	4.00	
Level of Education							
Lower than primary education	81	17.54	3.54	105	16.76	3.81	
Primary Education	41	17.07	3.12	74	16.31	3.82	
Lower secondary education	83	17.57	3.64	108	17.35	3.50	
Upper secondary education	93	16.74	3.85	115	16.82	3.87	
Bachelor degree and upper	145	17.10	3.73	155	17.35	3.82	

Table 19 (Continued)

Political Participation	Sta	te Enter	prise	Priv	Private Enterprise		
	N	$\overline{X}$	s.D.	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	
Monthly Income							
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	17.49	4.26	117	17.45	3.82	
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	16.71	3.62	64	16.31	4.14	
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	15.40	4.03	90	15.81	3.70	
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	17.18	3.73	68	16.38	3.58	
More than 9,000 baht	229	17.63	3.11	218	17.62	3.57	

From table 19, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (political protest) of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 17.76 (S.D. = 3.47) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of 142 Thai women labourers in state enterprise is 16.92 (S.D. = 3.71). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 17.58 (S.D. = 4.07) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of 260 Thai women labourers in private enterprise is 16.80 (S.D.=3.48). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation(political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 17.47 (S.D. = 3.57) whereas the mean score on political

participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.76, 16.40, 18.00 (S.D. = 3.66, 4.09, 3.16) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 18.06 (S.D. = 3.86) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-45 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.08, 16.56, 17.26 (S.D. = 3.41, 3.84, 4.00) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 17.54 (S.D. = 3.54) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 17.07, 17.57, 16.74, 17.10 (S.D. = 3.12, 3.64, 3.85, 3.73) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 16.76 (S.D. = 3.81) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.31, 17.35, 16.82, 17.35 (S.D. = 3.82, 3.50, 3.87, 3.82) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000 - 4,500 baht group of monthly income is 17.49 (S.D. = 4.26) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 16.71, 15.40, 17.18, 17.63 (S.D. = 3.62, 4.03, 3.73, 3.11) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of medium level and rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht group of monthly income is 17.45 (S.D. = 3.82) whereas the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income i.e. 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht are 16.31, 15.81, 16.38, 17.62 (S.D.= 4.14, 3.70, 3.58, 3.57) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of medium level and rather high level.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political protest) of men labourers and women labourers in state and private enterprise will be tested for its significance by t-test.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state and private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, education and monthly income will be tested for its significance by ANOVA.

1.2.2 The Level of Political Participation (Political
Parties) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise
and Private Enterprise

Table 20 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation

(Political Parties) of Thai Labourers in State

Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education
and Monthly Income

Political Participation	Stat	e Enter	orise	Private Enterprise			
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	x	S.D.	
Sex		•					
Men Labourers	301	17.60	3.73	297	17.38	4.25	
Women Labourers	142	16.73	3.80	260.	16.27	-3.71	
Age							
20-30 years	188	17.42	3.71	199	17.67	4.04	
31-40 years	119	16.44	4.15	145	16.75	3.73	
41-50 years	69	16.38	3.93	107	15.56	4.16	
51-60 years	67	17.67	3.00	106	17.29	4.16	
Level of Education		,					
Lower than primary education	81	17.47	4.06	105	16.59	3.84	
Primary Education	41	17.12	3.12	74	15.85	4.04	
Lower secondary education	83	17.59	3.45	108	17.39	3.55	
Upper secondary education	93	16.25	4.31	115	16.73	4.23	
Bachelor degree and upper	145	16.87	3.62	155	16.99	4.18	

Table 20 (Continued)

Political Participation	Sta	ate Enter	prise	Private Enterprise		
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	s.D.	N	$\overline{x}$	S.D.
Monthly Income	-	authorities of the second of t	·			
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	17.19	4.41	117	17.32	4.36
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	16.21	4.17	64	16.28	4.32
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	15.79	4.25	90	15.43	3.68
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	16.73	4.01	68	16.87	3.98
More than 9,000 baht	229	17.41	3.24	218	17.19	3.74

From table 20, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (political parties) of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 17.60 (S.D. = 3.73) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of 142 Thai women labourers in state enterprise is 16.73 (S.D. = 3.80) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 17.38 (S.D.= 4.25) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of 260 Thai women labourers in private enterprise is 16.27 (S.D.= 3.71) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 17.42 (S.D.= 3.71) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.44, 16.38, 17.67 (S.D.= 4.15, 3.93, 3.00) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group is 17.67 (S.D. = 4.04) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.75, 15.56, 17.29 (S.D. = 3.73, 4.16, 4.16) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 17.47 (S.D. = 4.06) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 17.12, 17.59, 16.25,16.87 (S.D. = 3.12, 3.45, 4.31, 3.62) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 16.59 (S.D.= 3.84) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 15.85, 17.39, 16.73, 16.99 (S.D. = 4.04, 3.55, 4.23, 4.18) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political participation (political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 17.19 (S.D. = 4.41) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of 4,500-6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht 7,500-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of mouthly income are 16.21,15.79,16.73,17.41 (S.D. = 4.17,4.25,4.01,3.24) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000 -4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 17.32 (S.D. = 4.36) whereas the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of 4,500 -6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht 7,500-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of mouthly income are 16.28,15.43, 16.87, 17.19 (S.D. = 4.32, 3.68, 3.98, 3.74) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to to difference groups of sex will be tested for its significance by t-test. The difference between the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to difference groups of age, education and monthly income will be tested for its significance by ANOVA.

1.2.3 The Level of Political Participation (Political
Information) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise
and Private Enterprise

Table 21 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation

(Political Information) of Thai Labourers in State

Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education
and Monthly Income

Political Participation	Stat	e Enter	orise	Priv	ate Ente	erprise
	N	$\cdot$ $\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.
Sex				·		
Men Labourers	301	17.69	3.43	-297	17.35	4.21
Women Labourers	142	16:51	3.96	260	16.33	3.96
Age						
20-30 years	188	17.42	3.80	199	17.80	4.19
31-40 years	119	16.67	3.86	145	16.03	3.84
41-50 years	69	16.06	4.17	107	16.36	4.25
51-60 years	67	18.01	3.06	106	16.94	4.17
Level of Education				·		
Lower than primary education	81	17.46	3.58	105	16.28	4.02
Primary Education	41	16.93	2.99	74	16.38	3.93
Lower secondary education	83	17.59	3.93	108	17.26	3.71
Upper secondary education	93	16.15	4.31	115	16.78	4.43
Bachelor degree and upper	145	17.27	3.68	155	17.05	4.25

Table 21 (Continued)

Political Participation	Sta	State Enterprise			Private Enterprise		
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	
Monthly Income				-			
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	17.11	4.37	117	17.04	4.19	
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	16.28	4.07	64	16.19	4.45	
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	15.67	4.26	90	15.24	3.94	
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	16.91	3.70	- 68	16.85	3.98	
More than 9,000 baht	229	17.61	3.32	218	17.48	3.90	

From table 21, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (political information) of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 17.69 (S.D. = 3.43) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of 142 Thai women labourers in state enterprise is 16.51 (S.D. = 3.96) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 17.35 (S.D.= 4.21) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of 260 Thai women labourers in private enterprise is 16.33 (S.D.= 3.96) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 17.42 (S.D.= 3.80) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60

years groups of age are 16.67, 16.06, 18.01 (S.D. = 3.86, 4.17, 3.06) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group is 17.80 (S.D. = 4.19) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.03, 16.36, 16.94 (S.D.= 3.84, 4.25, 4.17) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 17.46 (S.D. = 3.58) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.93, 17.59, 16.15, 17.27 (S.D. = 2.99, 3.93, 4.31,3.68) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 16.28 (S.D.= 4.02) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.38, 17.26, 16.78, 17.05 (S.D. = 3.93, 3.71, 4.43, 4.25) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of

rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 17.11 (S.D. = 4.37) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of 4,500-6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht 7,500-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of mouthly income are 16.28, 15.67, 16.91, 17.61 (S.D. = 4.07, 4.26, 3.70, 3.32) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 17.04 (S.D.= 4.19) whereas the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of 4,500-6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht,7,500-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of mouthly income are 16.19, 15.24, 16.85, 17.48 (S.D. = 4.45, 3.94, 3.98, 3.90) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of men labourers and wemen labourers in state enterprise will be tested for its significance by t-test. The difference between the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state and private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, education and monthly income will be tested for its significance by ANOVA.

1.2.4 The Level of Political Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise

Table 22 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation

(Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers in State

Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education
and Monthly Income

Political Participation	State Enterprise			Private Enterprise		
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{x}$	S.D.
Sex						
Men Labourers	301	18.15	3.19	297	17.83	3.84
Women Labourers	142	16.97	3.42	260	16.40	3.62
Age						
20-30 years	188	18.63	3.33	199	18.03	3.77
31-40 years	119	16.05	3.24	145	16.18	3.51
41-50 years	69	16.77	4.00	107	16.61	3.98
51-60 years	67	17.67	3.04	106	17.45	4.00
Level of Education						
Lower than primary education	81	17.49	3.66	105	16.73	3.61
Primary Education	41	16.93	2.59	74	16.12	3.17
Lower secondary education	83	17.91	3.40	108	17.81	3.61
Upper secondary education	93	16.65	3.94	115	17.03	4.16
Bachelor degree and upper	145	17.50	2.97	155	17.26	3.94

Table 22 (Continued)

Political Participation	Sta	State Enterprise			Private Enterprise		
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{x}$	S.D.	
Monthly Income							
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	17.69	3.82	117	17.67	3.66	
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	16.68	3.88	64	16.69	4.42	
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	16.60	3.47	90	15.75	3.27	
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	17.73	3.43	68	16.93	3.59	
More than 9,000 baht	229	17.95	3.09	218	17.44	3.81	

From table 22, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 18.15 (S.D. = 3.19) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of 142 Thai women labourers in state enterprise is 16.97 (S.D. = 3.42) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 17.83 (S.D.= 3.84) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of 260 Thai women labourers in private enterprise is 16.40 (S.D.= 3.62) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 18.63 (S.D.= 3.33) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years group

of age are 16.05, 16.77, 17.67 (S.D. = 3.24, 4.00, 3.04) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group is 18.03 (S.D. = 3.77) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 16.18, 16.61, 17.45 (S.D.= 3.51, 3.98,4.00) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 17.49 (S.D. = 3.66) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.93, 17.91, 16.65, 17.50 (S.D. = 2.59, 3.40, 3.94, 2.97) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 16.73 (S.D.= 3.61) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 16.12, 17.81, 17.03, 17.26 (S.D. = 3.17, 3.61, 4.16, 3.94) respectively. The mean scores obtained the

level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000 -4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 17.69 (S.D. = 3.82) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of 4,501-6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of mouthly income are 16.68, 16.60, 17.73, 17.95 (S.D. = 3.88, 3.47, 3.43, 3.09) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 17.67 (S.D. = 3.66) whereas the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of mouthly income are 16.69, 15.75, 16.93, 17.44 (S.D. = 4.42, 3.27, 3.59, 3.81) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of sex will be tested for its significance by t-test. The difference between the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age, education and monthly income will be tested for its significance by ANOVA.

## 1.2.5 The Level of Political Participation (Community Roles) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise

Table 23 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Participation

(Community Roles) of Thai Labourers in State

Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education
and Monthly Income

Sex Men Labourers	N 301	37.58	S.D.	N	x	S.D.
Men Labourers		37.58	ć 07		-	
		37.58	c 07	l		
	4.40		6.8/	2 <del>9</del> 7	36.56	8.16
Women Labourers	142	34.80	6.97	260	34.24	6.97
Age				andie		
20-30 years	188	36.14	7.27	199	35.33	7.91
31-40 years	119	35.10	6.58	145	35.31	7.01
41-50 years	69	34.36	7.83	107	34.53	7.79
51-60 years	67	36.83	6.19	106	36.12	7.76
Level of Education						
Lower than primary education	n 81	36.32	6.85	105	34.59	7.16
Primary Education	41	35.61	6.14	74	34.15	7.40
Lower secondary education	83	36.43	7.26	108	35.86	7.29
Upper secondary education	93	34.46	7, 69	115	35.29	8.18
Bachelor degree and upper	145	35.72	6.84	155	36.02	7.83

Table 23 (Continued)

Political Participation	Sta	State Enterprise			Private Enterprise		
•	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{x}$	S.D.	
Monthly Income	:	and a deal of the deal					
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	36.37	8.07	117	36.60	7.48	
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	34.03	8.15	64	34.25	8.93	
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	33.06	7.01	90	32.12	6.95	
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	35.70	7.55	68	34.91	7.08	
More than 9,000 baht	229	36.35	6.24	218	36.40	7.36	

From table 23, it can be seen that the mean score on political participation (community roles) of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 37.58 (S.D. = 6.87) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of 142 Thai women labourers in state enterprise is 34.80 (S.D. = 6.97) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 36.56 (S.D.= 8.16) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of 260 Thai women labourers in private enterprise is 34.24 (S.D. = 6.97) which is in rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age is 36.14 (S.D.= 7.27) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years group of age are

age are 35.10,34.36,36.83 (S.D.= 6.58,7.83,6.19) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group is 35.33 (S.D. = 7.91) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years group of age are 35.31,34.53,36.12 (S.D. = 7.01, 7.79, 7.76) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 36.32 (S.D. = 6.85) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 35.61, 36.43, 34.46, 35.72 (S.D. = 6.14, 7.26, 7.69, 6.84) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community rroles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary group of education is 34.59 (S.D.= 7.16) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary education, bachelor degree and upper are 34.15,35.86,35.29,36.02 (S.D. = 7.40, 7.29,8.18,7.83) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 36.37 (S.D. = 8.07) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of 4,501-6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income are 34.03, 33.06, 35.70, 36.35 (S.D. = 8.15,7.01, 7.55,6.24) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht, group of monthly income is 36.60 (S.D. = 7.48) whereas the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of 4,501-6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income are 34.25, 32.12, 34.91,36.40 (S.D. = 8.93, 6.95, 7.08,7.36) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to difference groups of sex will be tested for its significance by t-test. The difference between the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to difference groups of age, education, monthly income will be tested for its significance by ANOVA.

PART 2 THE FACTORS AFFECTING ON THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THAI LABOURERS

- 2.1 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political
  Participation of Thai Labourers
- 2.1.1 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political
  Participation of Thai Labourers by Sex

Table 24 Significant of Difference Between Mean Scores for Political Participation of Thai Labourers by Sex

	VARIABLE	N	$\overline{X}$	S.D.	t
Political Par	ticipation (Total Score	es)			
Sex				•	
	Men Labourers	301	101.14	20.30	2.78 **
	Women Labourers	142	107.20	21.97	
Political Pro	test				
	Men Labourers	<b>3</b> 01	17.63	3.88	2.08 *
	Women Labourers	142	16.86	3.59	
Political Par	ties				
	Men Labourers	301	17.46	4.07	2.46 *
	Women Labourers	142	16.50	3.76	
Political Inf	ormation				
	Men Labourers	301	17.47	3.95	2.31 *
	Women Labourers	142	16.57	3.96	
Voting in Ele	ection				
	Men Labourers	297	17.94	3.62	3.50**
	Women Labourers	260	16.68	3.53	
e					

Table 24 (Continued

VARIABLE	N	$\overline{X}$	S.D.	t
Community Roles		•		
Men Labourers	301	36.92	7.73	3.24 *
Women Labourers	142	34.52	6.97	
0.05 = 1.96	0.0	1 = 2,58		

From table 24, the difference between the mean score on political participation of Thai men and women labourers testing by t-test indicates the t value = 2.78 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation of Thai men labourers have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation of women labourers. The finding thus refuses the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between mean scores on political participation (political protest) of Thai men and women labourers testing by t- test indicates the t value = 2.08 which is significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean scores on political participation

(political Protest) of Thai men labourers have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (political Protest) of women labourers. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political Parties) of Thai men and women labourers testing by t-test indicates the t value = 2.46 which is significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (political Parties) of Thai men labourers enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (political Parties) of women labourers. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai men and women labourers testing by t- test indicates the t value = 2.31 which is significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (political information) of Thai men labourers have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (political information) of women labourers. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai men and women labourers testing by t- test indicates the t value = 3.50 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with

confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai men labourers have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of women labourers. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai men and women labourers testing by t- test indicates the t value = 3.24 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai men labourers have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (community roles) of women labourers. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

## 2.1.2 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers by Age

Table 25 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation of Thai Labourers by Age

Sour	ce of Variance	e df	SS	MS	F .
1	Between Groups	s 3	3516.51	1172.17	2.62 *
7	Within Group	996	444923.41	446.71	
	Total	999	448439.92		

0.05 = 2.61 0.01 = 3.80

From table 25, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age is 2.62 Which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 26 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation of Thai Labourers by Age

Age	41-50 years	31-40 years	<b>20-30</b> years	51-60 years
Means	100.37	102.71	104.45	106.23
 		,		
100.37	_	2.34	4.08*	5.86**
102.71		-	1.74	3.52
104.45				1.78
106.23				- -
 - 10 mm - 10 m	100 mm			
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		2.91	3.47	3.81
q 0.99		3.82	4.33	4.62

From table 26, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 41-50 years group of age have smaller value of mean score on political participation than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years and 51-60 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 and 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 27 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Poltical Protest) of Thai
Labourers by Age

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	3	566.57	188.86	14.25 *
Within Group	996	13239.03	13.25	
Total	999	13805.60		

0.05 = 2.61 0.01 = 3.80

From table 27, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age is 14.25 Which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 28 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Protest) of Thai Labourers by Age

Age	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-60 years	20-30 years
Means	16.24	16.50	17.49	17.96
16.24	-	0.26	1.25**	1.72**
16.50		-	0.99**	1.46**
17.49			-	0.47
17.96				
F 0.05	·	2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		0.50	0.59	0.65
q 0.99	•	0.65	0.74	0.79

From table 28, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years group of age have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (political protest) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years and 51-60 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 29 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political Participation (Political Parties) of Thai Labourers by Age

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
•				
Between Groups	3	246.96	82.32	5.43**
Within Group	996	15078.04	15.14	
Total	999	15325.00		
	٠			

From table 29, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political Parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age is 5.43 Which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 30 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Parties) of Thai Labourers by Age

Age	<b>41-50</b> years	31-40 years	20-30 years	51-60 years
Means	<b>16.</b> 19	16.57	17.04	17.74
			AAAN, 10000A.1001	
16.19	-	0.38	0.85**	1.55**
16.57			0.47*	1.17**
17.04				0.70
17.74				<u>.</u> ·
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		0.53	0.63	0.69
q 0.99		0.69	0.78	0.84

From table 30, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 41-50 years and 31-40 years group of age have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (political parties) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years and 51-60 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 and 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 31 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Information) by Age

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F _
Between Groups	3	127.14	42.38	2.68*
Within Group	996	15714.50	15.78	
Total	999	15841.64	./	
		-		

From table 31, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age is 2.68 Which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 32 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Information) of Thai Labourers by Age

Age	41-50 years	31-40 years	20-30 years	<b>51-60</b> years
Means	16.24	16.87	17.10	17.36
	ANTONIO		TOWARD TOWARD	***************************************
16.24	****	0.63*	0.86**	1.12**
16.87		· 	0.23	0.49
17.10			-	0.26
17.36	•	•		-
			- angust sinisten - alike sellenside	
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		0.55	0.66	0.73
q 0.99		0.73	0.82	0.88
			*	

From table 32, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 41-50 years group of age have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (political information) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 31-40 years, 20-30 years and 51-60 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 and 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 33 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai
Labourers by Age

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	3	328.04	109.35	8.54 **
Within Group	996	12755.10	12.81	
Total	999	13083.14	•	

0.05 = 2.61 0.01 = 3.80

From table 33, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age is 8.54 Which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 34 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers by Age

Age	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-60 years	20-30 years
Means	<b>16.</b> 59	16.67	17.54	17.85
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
16.59		0.08	0.95	1.26*
16.67		-	0.87	1.18*
17.454			-	0.31
17.85				_
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		0.83	0.99	1.09
q 0.99		1.09	1.24	1.32

From table 34, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 20-30 years group of age have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (voting in election) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 30-40 years and 41-50 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 35 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Community Roles) of Thai

Labourers by Age

	gyag ya a da a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a	······································	**************************************	F
Between Groups	3	368.87	122.96	2.27
Within Group	996	54012.93	54.22	
Total	999	54381.80		

From table 35, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age is 2.27 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does not affect on the mean scores of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

## 2.1.3 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers by Level of Education

Table 36 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation Thai by level of Education

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	3618.77	904.69	2.02 N
Within Group	995	444821.14	447.06	
Total	999	448439.92		

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 36, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education is 2.02 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 37 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Protest) of Thai

Labourers by level of Education

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	4	79.01	19.75	1.43 NS
	Within Group	995	13726.59	13.79	21.0
	Total	999	13805.60		

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 37, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education is 1.43 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 38 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers by level of Education

 Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	136.39	34.10	2.23 NS
Within Group	995	15188.61	15.26	
Total	999	15325.00		•

0.05 = 2.38

0.01 = 3.34

From table 38, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education is 2.23 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 39 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Information) of Thai

Labourers by level of Education

. 4	115. <b>0</b> 1		
	220.02	28.75	1.82 NS
995	15726.64	15.81	
999	15841.64		
	999	999 15841.64	999 15841.64

From table 39, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education is 1.82 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 40 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai

Labourers by level of Education

Source of Variance	· df	SS	MS	F
•				
Between Groups	4	57.39	14.35	.1.10 NS
Within Group	995	13025.75	13.09	
Total	999	13083.14		
				•
	•			

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 40, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education is 1.10 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 41 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Community Roles) of Thai
Labourers by level of Education

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •				***************************************
Between Groups	4	267.24	66.81	1.22 NS
Within Group	995	54114.56	54.39	
Total	999	54381.80		,

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 41, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education is 1.22 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

## 2.1.4 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

Table 42 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation of Thai Labourers by Monthly
Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	16668.49	4167.12	9.60 **
Within Group	995	431771.42	433.94	
Total	999	448439.92		

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 42, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income is 9.60 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 43 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than	
	7,501	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000	
Means	95.24	99.78	102.55	105.96	106.35	
95.24		4.54*	7.31**	10.72**	11.11**	-
99.78			2.77	6.18*	6.57*	
102.55				3.41	3.80	
105.96				<b>-</b>	0.39	
F 0.05	TOTAL CONTRACTOR OF THE STATE O	2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86	-
F 0.01	-	3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60	
q 0.95		4.46	5.33	5.84	6.21	
q 0.99		5.86	6.63	7.08	7.41	
•						

From table 43, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 6,001-7,501 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean scores on political participation than that of the Thai labourers in every groups of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 and 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 44 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Protest) of Thai
Labourers by Monthly Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	538.28	134.57	10.09 **
Within Group	995	13267.31	13.33	
Total	999	13805.60		

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 44, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income is 10.09 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 45 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Protest) of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

	Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than
		7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
	Means	15.64	16.43	16.65	17.47	17.62
	15.64	-	0.79*	1.01*	1.83**	1.98**
	16.43		<del>-</del>	0.22	1.04*	1.19*
	16.65			****	0.82	0.97
	17.62		·.		. –	0.15
	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
	F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
-	q 0.95		0.77	0.93	1.02	1.08
	q 0.99		1.02	1.15	1.23	1.29
	•					

From table 45, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 6,000-7,501 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (political protest) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to every groups of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.05, 0.01 level.

Table 46 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers by Monthly Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	
	<del> </del>	!	-		
Between Groups	4	403.14	100.78	6.72	**
Within Group	995	14921.86	14.99		
Total	999	15325.00			

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 46, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income is 6.72 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 47 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Parties) of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than
	7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
Means	15.58	16.26	16.82	17.26	17.30
15.58	_	0.68	1.24**	1.68**	1.72**
16.26		. <u>-</u>	0.56	1.00	1.04
16.82			_	0.44	0.48
17.26				-	0.04
					- ,
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		0.83	0.99	1.09	1.16
q 0.99		1.09	1.24	1.32	1.38
		•			

From table 47, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 6,000-7,501 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (political parties) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 7,501-9,000 baht, 3,000-4,500 baht and more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.01 level.

Table 48 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Information) of Thai
Labourers by Monthly Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
-		4,4		
Between Groups	4	572.89	143.22	9.33 **
Within Group	995	15268.75	15.34	
Total	999	15841.64	•	

0.05 = 2.38

0.01 = 3.34

From table 48, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income is 9.33 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 49 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Information) of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than
	7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
Means	15.42	16.22	16.87	17.07	17.55
15.42	-	0.80	1.45**	1.65**	2.13**
16.22			0.65	0.85	1.33
16.87			-	0.20	0.68
17.07		·			0.48
7.0.05			0.04		
F 0.05	•	2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		0.83	0.99	1.09	1.16
q 0.99		1.09	1.24	1.32	1.38

From table 49, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 6,000-7,501 baht and 4,501-6,000 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (political information) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 7,501-9,000 baht, 3,000-4,500 baht and more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.01 level.

Table 50 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai

Labourers by Monthly Income

 Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	*****
Between Groups	4	297.06	72.26	5.77	**
Within Group	995	12786.07	12.85		
Total	999	13083.14			

0.05 = 2.38 0.01 = 3.34

From table 50, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income is 5.77 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 51 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to
ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation
(Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7.501-	more than	3,000-
	7,500	6,000	9,000	9,000	4,500
Means	16.09	16.68	17.03	17.50	17.65
16.09	- Alban	0.59	0.94	1.41**	1.56**
16.68			0.35	0.82	0.97
17.03			••••	0.47	0.62
17.50				_	0.15
	<del></del>	All Maries			
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		0.83	0.99	1.09	1.16
q 0.99		1.09	1.24	1.32	1.38

From table 51, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 6,000-7,501 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean scores on political participation (voting in election) than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht and more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.01 level.

Table 52 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Community Roles) of Thai
Labourers by Monthly Income

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	4	455.64	113.91	2.10 NS
	Within Group	995	53926.16	54.20	
	Total	999	54381.80		
_					

 $0.05 = 2.38 \quad 0.01$ 

0.01 = 3.34

From table 52, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income is 2.10 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does not affect on the mean scores of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

- 2.2. The Factors Affecting the Level of Political
  Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise
  and Private Enterprise
  - 2.2.1 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political
    Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise
    and Private Enterprise by Sex

Table 53 Significant of Difference Between Mean Scores for
Political Participation of Thai Labourers in State
Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Sex

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	VARIABLE	N	$\overline{X}$	S.D.	t .
Political Par	ticipation (Total Scor	res)			
- State Enter	prise				
	Men Labourers	301	108.78	19.06	3.22 **
	Women Labourers	142	102.24	20.38	
- Private Ent	erprise				
	Men Labourers	297	106.33	23.40	3.40**
	Women Labourers	260	100.03	20.19	
Political Pro	test				
- State Enter	prise				
	Men Labourers	301	17.76	3.47	2.27 *
	Women Labourers	142	16.92	3.71	
- Private Ent	erprise				
	Men Labourers	297	17.58	4.07	2.52*
	Women Labourers	260	16.80	3.48	

Table 53 (Continued)

	VARIABLE	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	t	
Political Pa	rties					
- State Ente	rprise					
•	Men Labourers	301	17.60	3.74	2.23 *	
	Women Labourers	142	16.73	3.80		
- Private En	terprise		•			
	Men Laboúrers	297	17.38	4.25	3.26**	
	Women Labourers	260	16.27	3.72		
Political In	formation					
- State Ente	rprise			•		
	Men Labourers	301	17.69	3.43	3.02**	
	Women Labourers	142	16.51	3.96		
- Private En	terprise					
	Men Labourers	297	17.35	4.21	2.91**	
	Women Labourers	260	16.33	3.96		
Voting in El	ection					
- State Ente	rprise					
	Men Labourers	301	18.15	3.19	3.57**	
	Women Labourers	142	16.97	3.42	•	
- Private En	terprise					
	Men Labourers	297	17.83	3.84	4.47**	
·	Women Labourers	260	16.40	3.62		

Table 53 (Continued)

N	. X	S.D.	t
301	37.58	6.87	3.91**
142	34.80	6.97	
297	36.56	8.16	3.62**
260	34.24	6.97	
	301 142 297	301 37.58 142 34.80 297 36.56	301 37.58 6.87 142 34.80 6.97 297 36.56 8.16

From table 53, the difference between the mean score on political participation of Thai men and women labourers in state enterprise testing by t- test indicates the t value = 3.22 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation of Thai men labourers in state enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation of women labourers in state enterprise. The finding thus refuses the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise testing by

t - test indicates the t value = 3.40 which is significant at 0.01. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean scores on political participation of men labourers in private enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation of women labourers in private enterprise. The finding thus refuses the null hypothesis No 1.

participation (political Protest) of Thai men and women labourers in state enterprise testing by t- test indicates the t value = 2.27 which is significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean scores on political participation (political Protest) of Thai men labourers in state enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (political Protest) of women labourers in state enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise testing by t - test indicates the t value = 2.52 which is significant at 0.05. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation

(political protest) of men labourers in private enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (political protest) of women labourers in private enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political Parties) of Thai men and women labourers in state enterprise testing by t-test indicates the t value = 2.23 which is significant at 0.05 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (political Parties) of Thai men labourers in state enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (political Parties) of women labourers in state enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (political parties) of Thailabourers in private enterprise testing by t - test indicates the t value = 3.26 which is significant at 0.01. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (political parties) of women men labourers in private enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (political parties) of men labourers in private enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean scores on political participation (political information) of Thai men and women labourers in state enterprise testing by t- test indicates the t value = 3.02 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean scores on political participation (political information) of Thai men labourers in state enterprise have greater value than that of the mean scores on political participation (political information) of women labourers in state enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean scores on political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise testing by t - test indicates the t value = 2.91 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (political information) of men labourers in private enterprise have greater value than the mean score on political participation (political information) of women labourers in private enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

The difference between the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state and private enterprise testing by t-test indicates the t value = 3.57 and 4.47 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of men labourers in private enterprise have greater value than that of the mean score on political participation (voting in election) of women labourers in state and private enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

difference between the mean score on political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state and private enterprise testing by t - test indicates the t value = 3.91 and 3.62 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean Hence, it can be concluded that the political participation (community roles) of men labourers have greater value than that of the private enterprise scores on political participation (community roles) of women labourers in state and private enterprise. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis No 1.

From the results, it can be concluded that there is significant difference between mean scores for political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise. The mean scores for political participation of men labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise have greater than the mean scortes for political participation of women labourers. The difference between mean scores of political participation of men and women labourers testing by t-test indicated the "t" value which significant at 0.01 level.

There is also shown the significant difference between mean scores for political participation (political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise. The mean scores for political participation (political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election, community roles) of men labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise have greater than the mean scortes for political participation (political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles of women labourers. The difference between mean scores of political participation (political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles) of men and women labourers testing by t-test indicated the "t" value which significant at 0.05 and 0.01 level.

## 2.2.2 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Age

Table 54 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation of Thai Labourers in State
Enterprise by Age

		- 10000			
•	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
4444					
	Between Groups	3	3586.19	1195.40	2.97 *
	Within Groups	439	176411.01	401.85	
	Total	442	179997.21		
	•				
		•			

0.05 = 2.62 0.01 = 3.83

From table 54, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 2.97 Which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 55 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

Age	41-50 years	<b>31-40</b> years	<b>20-30</b> years	<b>51-60</b> years
Means	99.97	101.92	106.09	108.19
99.97	-	1.95	6.12	8.22*
101.92	·	-	4.17	6.27
106.09			-	2.10
108.19				-
		-		
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		5.54	6.62	7.26
q 0.99	·	7.28	8.24	8.80
		•	* ************************************	

From table 55, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 51-60 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 41-50 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 56 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation of Thai Labourers in Private

Enterprise by Age

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
				70 70 10
Between Groups	3	4624.74	1541.58	3.23 *
Within Groups	553	263357.86	476.23	
Total	556	267982.60		

0.05 = 2.62 0.01 = 3.83

From table 56, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 3.23 Which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 57 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

Age	41-50 years	31-40 years	51-60 years	20-30 years
Means	99.63	101.35	103.98	106.92
•				d
99.63	-	1.72	4.35	7.29*
101.35		-	2.63	5.57
103.98				2.94
106.92				-
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		5.26	6.29	6.90
q 0.99		6.92	7.83	8.36
			·	

From table 57, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 41-50 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 58 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Protest) of Thai

Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
,					
	Between Groups	3	123.31	41.10	3.13 *
	Within Groups	439	5765.38	13.13	
	Total	442	5888.69		

0.05 = 2.62

0.01 = 3.83

From table 58, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 3.13 which is significant at 0.05 level.

Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (political prtotest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 59 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Protest) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

	Age	<b>41-50</b> years	31-40 years	20-30 years	<b>51-60</b> years	
	Means	16.40	16.76	17.47	18.00	
	16.40		0.36	1.07	1.60**	
	16.76		<b>-</b>	0.71	1.24	
	17.47			· <u>-</u>	0.53	
	18.00				-	
. 101000	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	
	F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	
	q 0.95		1.00	1.19	1.31	
•	q 0.99		1.31	1.48	1.58	

From table 59, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 51-60 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation (political protest) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 41-50 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 60 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Protest) of Thai

Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W					
	Between Groups	3	368.16	122.72	9.00 **
	Within Groups	553	7538.79	13.63	
·	Total	556	7906.95		

0.05 = 2.62 0.01 = 3.83

From table 60, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 9.00 which is significant at 0.01 level.

Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does a effect on the mean score of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 61 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Protest) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

	Age	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-60 years	20-30 years
	Means	16.08	16.56	17.26	18.06
N					·
	16.08	<del>-</del>	0.48	1.18*	1.98**
	16.56		-	0.70	1.50**
	17.26			-	0.80
				<b></b>	
•	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
	F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
	q 0.95		0.87	1.06	1.16
	q 0.99		1.16	1.32	1.41

From table 61, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years group of age have smaller value of mean score on political participation (political protest) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 51-60 years and 20-30 years group of age. The Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation (political protest) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 41-50 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.05, 0.01 level.

Table 62 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

A.v. 347	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	3	142.15	47.38	3.33
	Within Groups	439	6241.81	14.22	
	Total	442	6383.96		

From table 62, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 3.33 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does effect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 63 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Parties) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

Age	<b>41-50</b> years	31-40 years	20-30 years	51-60 years
Means	16.38	16.44	17.42	17.67
16.38		0.11	1.04	1.29*
16.44		-	0.98	1.23
17.42			-	0.25
17.67				. <del>-</del> .
 	MANUAL STATE OF THE STATE OF TH		and a constant of the constant	
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		0.96	1.16	1.27
q 0.99		1.27	1.44	1.54
•				

From table 63, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 51-60 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation (political parties) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 41-50 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 64 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

Between Groups	3	327.94	109.31	7.03**
ithin Groups	553	8601.06	15.55	
Total	556	8929.00		
	Vithin Groups Total	-	-	•

From table 64, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 7.03 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does effect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 65 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Parties) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

Age	41-50 years	31-40 years	51-60 years	20-30 years	
Means	15.56	16.75	17.29	17.67	
15.56	Manus	1.19*	1.73**	2.11**	
16.75	·	<del>-</del> ·	0.54	0.92	
17.29			_	0.38	
17.67					
		***************************************	ANNO ANNO ANNO ANNO ANNO ANNO ANNO ANNO		*****
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	٠
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	
q 0.95	-	0.94	1.12	1.23	
q 0.99		1.24	1.40	1.50	

From table 65, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 41-50 years group of age have smaller value of mean score on political participation (political parties) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 51-60 years and 20-30 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.05, 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 66 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Information) of Thai

Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	- 3	172.70	57.57	4.03**
Within Groups	439	6264.91	14.27	
Total	442	6437.63		

0.05 = 2.62 0.01 = 3.83

From table 66, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 4.03 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 67 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Information) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

1	Age	<b>41-50</b> years	<b>31-40</b> years	20-30 years	<b>51-60</b> years	
1	Means	16.06	16.67	17.42	18.01	
	16.06		0.61	1 264	1 05+4	
			0.61	1.36*	1.95**	
-	16.67		_	0.75	1.34	
:	17.42		4	<b>.</b>	0.59	
-	18.01		•		· <u>-</u> ,	
1	F 0.05	er - Addition of the Control of the	2.77	3.31	3.63	•
I	F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	
	0.95		1.05	1.26	1.38	
	q 0.99		1.38	1.56	1.67	

From table 67, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 41-50 years group of age have smaller value of mean score on political participation (political information) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years, 51-60 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 and 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 68 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Information) of Thai

Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

Source	of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
			· .		
Bet	ween Groups	3	302.31	100.77	6.14**
Wit	hin Groups	553	9079.97	16.41	
	Total	556	9382.28	•	

From table 68, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 6.14 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 69 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Political Information) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

Age	41-50 years	31-40 years	51-60 years	20-30 years
Means	16.03	16.36	16.94	17.80
	The state of the s	•		
16.30	_	0.06	0.64	1.50*
16.36			0.58	1.44*
16.94	<		****	0.86
17.80				-
***************************************	THE STATE OF THE S			
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		0.97	1.16	1.27
q 0.99		1.27	1.44	1.54

From table 69, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation (political information) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 41-50 years, and 31-40 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 70 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

 Source of Variance	đf	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	3	528.96	176.32	17.03 **
Within Groups	439	4545.50	10.35	
Total	442	5074.46		

0.05 = 2.62 0.01 = 3.83

From table 70, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 17.03 which is significant at 0.01 level.

Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 71 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

Age	31-40 years	<b>41-50</b> years	51-60 years	20-30 years	
Means	16.05	16.77	17.67	18.63	
16.05		0.72	1.62**	2.58**	
16.77			0.90	1.86**	
17.67			-	0.96	
18.63				<del>-</del> .	
				•	
F 0.05	. •	2.77	3.31	3.63	
F 0.01	•	3.64	4.12	4.40	
q 0.95		0.89	1.06	1.17	
q 0.99		1.17	1.32	1.41	

From table 71, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation (voting in election) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 41-50 years and 31-40 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 72 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai

Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

331.15 110.38 7.97 ** 658.26 13.85
658.26 13.85
989.41
989.41

From table 72, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 7.97 which is significant at 0.01 level.

Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 2.

Table 73 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

Age	31-40 years	41-50 years	51-60 years	20-30 years	
Means	16.18	16.61	17.45	18.03	
 				A SECULIAR DE LA CONTRACTOR DE LA CONTRA	<del>71,</del>
16.18	-	0.43	1.27	1.85**	
16.61		-	0.84	1.42	
17.45			<del></del>	0.58	•
18.03		•		_	
				-	
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	
q 0.95		0.89	1.06	1.17	
q 0.99		1.17	1.32	1.41	
				•	

From table 73, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years group of age have greater value of mean score on political participation (voting in election) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 74 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Community Roles) of Thai

Labourers in State Enterprise by Age

S	ource of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	; <b>3</b>	289.58	96.53	1.95 NS
	Within Groups	439	21691.05	49.41	
	Total	442	21980.63		
			·		
-	0.05 =	2.62	0.01 = 3	00	THE PARTY OF THE P

From table 74, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 1.95 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does not affect on the mean scores of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 75 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Community roles ) of Thai

Labourers in Private Enterprise by Age

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	3	134.64	44.88	0.77 NS
-	Within Group	553	32233.19	49.41	
	Total	556	32367.83		

0.05 = 2.62 0.01 = 3.83

From table 75, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age is 0.77 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of age, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

2.2.3 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political
Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise
and Private Enterprise by Level of Education

Table 76 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation of Thai Labourers in State
Enterprise by level of Education

Between Groups 4 2508.28 627.07 1.55 Within Groups 438 177488.93 405.22 Total 442 179997.21				df	SS	MS	<b>F</b> .
Within Groups 438 177488.93 405.22						•	
- -	405.22	Between Grou	ıps	4	2508.28	627.07	1.55 N
Total 442 179997.21		Within Grou	ups	438	177488.93	405.22	
		Total		442	179997.21		

From table 76, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.55 Which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 77 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation of Thai Labourers in Private

Enterprise by level of education

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	2957.78	739.44	1.54 NS
Within Groups	552	265024.81	480.12	
Total	556	267982.60		

 $0.05 = 2.39 \qquad 0.01 = 3.36$ 

From table 77, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.54 Which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 78 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Protest) of Thai

Labourers in State Enterprise by level of

Education

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	. 4	42.17	10.54	0.79 NS
Within Groups	438	5846.52	13.35	
Total	442	5888.69		
0.05 =	2.39	0.01 = 3.	36	

From table 78, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 0.79 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 79 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Protest) of Thai
Labourers in Private Enterprise by level
of Education

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
*				•	-
•	Between Groups	4	77.07	19.27	1.36 NS
	Within Groups	552	7829.88	14.18	
	Total	556	7906.95		

From table 97, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.36 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 80 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise by level of
Education

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	. 4	102.25	25.56	1.78 NS
Within Groups	438	6281.71	14.34	
Total	442	6383.96	•	

From table 108, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.78 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 81 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers in Private Enterprise by Level
of Education

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
٠	Between Groups	4	114.94	28.73	1.80 NS
	Within Groups	552	8814.06	15.97	1100 110
	Total	556	8929.00		

From table 109, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.80 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not effect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

0.05 = 2.39

0.01 = 3.36

Table 82 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Information) of
Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by level
of Education

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	4	119.82	29.95	2.08 NS
	Within Groups	438	6317.81	14.42	
•	Total	442.	6437.63		

From table 82, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 2.08 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean scores of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 83 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Information) of
Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by level
of Education

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
				With date when
Between Groups	4	73.55	18.39	1.09 NS
Within Groups	552	9308.73	16.86	
Total	556	9382.28		
 0.05 =	2,39	0.01 = 3.	26	

 $0.05 = 2.39 \qquad 0.01 = 3.36$ 

From table 83, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.09 which is not significant. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 84 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise by level of
Education

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
·	V-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11-11			
Between Groups	4	83.79	20.95	1.84 NS
Within Groups	438	4990.67	11.39	•
Total	442	5074.46		

From table 84, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.84 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

0.05 = 2.39

0.01 = 3.36

Table 85 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai
Labourers in Private Enterprise by level
of Education

 Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	18.42	4.06	0.32 NS
Within Groups	552	7970.99	14.44	
 Total	556	7989.41		

From table 85, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 0.32 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 86 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Community Roles) of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise by level of
Education

Between Groups	4	218.75	54.69	1.10 NS
Within Group	438	21761.88	49.68	
Total	442	21980.63		

From table 86, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.10 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 87 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Community Roles) of Labourers

in Private Enterprise by level of Education

Source of	Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between	n Groups	4	266.31	66.58	1.14 NS
Within	Groups	552	32101.52	58.15	
То	tal	556	32367.83		
,					
			,		

From table 87, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education is 1.14 which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean score of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

## 2.2.4 The Factors Affecting the Level of Political Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise by Monthly Income

Table 88 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation of Thai Labourers in State
Enterprise by Monthly income

Source of Variance	df	· SS	MS	F
			•	
Between Groups	4	5750.09	1437.52	3.61 **
Within Groups	438	174247.12	397.82	
Total	442	179997.21		····

0.05 = 2.39 0.01 = 3.36

From table 88, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 3.61 Which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 89 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly Income

	Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than
		7,501	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
	Means	96.49	99.93	103.76	105.79	106.56
***	96.49		3.44	7.27	9.30	10.07*
	99.93			3.83	5.86	6.63
	103.76				2.03	2.80
	105.79	•			-	0.77
	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
	F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
	q 0.95		7.20	8.61	9.44	10.04
	q 0.99		9.46	10.71	11.44	11.96

From table 89, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income have greater value of mean score on political participation than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,501 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 90 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation of Thai Labourers in Private
Enterprise by Monthly Income

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
*	Between Groups	4	10726.71	2681.68	5.75 **
•	Within Groups	552	257255.89	466.04	
	Total	556	267982.60		
**************************************					
	0.05 =	2.39	0.01 = 3	.36	

From table 90, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 5.75 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 91 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to
ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Participation
of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly Income

			1.1		
Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than
	7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
Means	94.37	99.72	101.94	106.08	106.13
94.37		5.35	7.57*	11.71**	11.76**
99.72	. !	_	2.22	6.36	6.41
101.94			-	4.14	4.19
106.08		•			0.05
	1				
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95	t 1	5.98	7.15	7.84	8.34
q 0.99	•	7.86	8.90	9.50	9.93
			**************************************		

From table 91, the following relationship between the mean scores of political participation of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to more than 6,001-7,501 group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 7,501-9,000 baht, 3,000-4,500 baht and more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.05, 0.01, 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 92 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Protest) of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly
Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	
Between Groups	4	261.26	65.31	5.08	**
Within Groups	438	5627.43	12.85		
Total	442	5888.69		-	,

From table 92, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 5.08 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 93 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Political Protest) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly Income

	Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than	
		7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000	
	Means	15.40	16.71	17.18	17.49	17.63	
	15.40	1 _	1.31	1.78	2.09	2.23*	
	16.71	1 \$ -r	~-	0.47	0.78	0.92	
•	17.18			<del>-</del>	0.31	0.45	
	17.49		•	•	—	0.14	
	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86	
	F 0.01	·	3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60	
	q 0.95	ı	1.33	1.59	1.74	1.85	
	q 0.99		1.75	1.98	2.11	2.21	
		*					

From table 93, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (political protest) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income have greater value of mean score on political participation (political protest) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,501 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 94 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Protest) of Thai
Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly
Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups Within Groups	4 552 ·	290.97 7615.99	72.74 13.80	5.27 **
Total .	556	7906.95		

From table 94, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 5.27 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does effect on the mean score of political participation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 95 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Political Protest) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly Income

	Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000- m	ore than	
		7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000	
٠	Means	15.81	16.31	16.38	17.45	17.62	
	15.81	_	0.50	0.57	1.64**	1.81**	
	16.31			0.07	1.14	1.31	
	16.38			-	1.07	1.24	
	17.45					0.17	•
	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86	
	F 0.01	·	3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60	,
	q 0.95		1.02	1.22	1.34	1.43	
	q 0.99	·	1.35	1.52	1.63	1.70	

From table 95, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (political protest) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,501 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation (political protest) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,501 baht, more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 96 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly
Income

Source of Varia	nce df	SS	MS	F	r
Datas an Con		150 15	20. 20.	2.60	
Within Gro	oups 4 oups 438	6230.82	14.22	2.69	*
Total	442	6383.96			

From table 96, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 2.69 which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does effect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 97 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Political Parties) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly Income

6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000- m	ore than
7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
15.79	16.21	16.73	17.19	17.41
_	0.42	0.94	1.40	1.62*
	_	0.52	0.98	1.20
		-	0.46	0.68
			<del>-</del> .	0.22
	2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
	3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
	1.10	1.32	1.45	1.54
	1.46	1.65	1.76	1.84
	7,500	7,500 6,000 15.79 16.21  - 0.42  - 2.77 3.64 1.10	7,500 6,000 9,000 15.79 16.21 16.73  - 0.42 0.94  - 0.52  -  2.77 3.31 3.64 4.12 1.10 1.32	15.79     16.21     16.73     17.19       -     0.42     0.94     1.40       -     0.52     0.98       -     0.46       -     -       2.77     3.31     3.63       3.64     4.12     4.40       1.10     1.32     1.45

From table 97, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (political parties) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income have greater value of mean score on political participation (political parties) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,501 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 98 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Political Parties) of Thai
Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly
Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	249.57	62.39	3.97 **
Within Groups	552	8679.43	15.72	
Total	556	8929.00		
	······································	•		
0.05 =	2.39	0.01 = 3.	36	

From table 98, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 3.97 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does effect on the mean score of political participation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 99 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Political Parties) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501- more than		3,000-
	7,500	6,000	9,000	9,000	4,500
Means	15.43	16.28	16.87	17.19	17.32
15.43	<u>-</u>	0.85	1.44*	1.76**	1.89**
16.28		-	0.59	0.91	1.04
16.87			· <del>-</del>	0.32	0.45
 17.19			·	***	0.13
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		1.11	1.32	1.45	1.54
q 0.99		1.46	1.65	1.76	1.84

From table 99, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (political parties) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,000-7,501 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation (political parties) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht and 3,000-4,501 years group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.01 and 0.05 level.

Table 100 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Information) of Thai

Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly

Income

S	ource of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	4	210.12	52.53	3.69**
. •	Within Groups	438	6227.51	14.22	
	Total	442	6437.63		
	· .				

From table 100, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in State enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 3.69 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 101 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Political Information) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly Income

	Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000- m	ore than
		7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
	Means	15.67	16.28	16.91	17.11	17.61
	15.67	<del></del>	0.61	1.24	1.44	1.94*
	16.28			0.63	0.83	1.33
	16.91			· <u>-</u>	0.20	0.70
	17.11			٠.		0,50
- Tablan	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
	F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
	q 0.95		1.38	1.65	1.81	1.93
	q 0.99		1.82	2.06	2.20	2.30
		•				

From table 101, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to more than 9,000 baht group of monthly income have greater value of mean score on political participation (political information) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,501 baht group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pair mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level.

Table 102 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Political Information) of Thai

Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly

Income

ddi waxa -	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F .
	r .				
	Between Groups	4	350.16	87.54	5.35**
•	Within Groups	438	9032.11	16.36	
-	Total	442	9382.28	•	
	0.05 =	2 30	0.01 = 3.	26	

From table 102, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 5.35 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 103 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Political Information) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than	
	7,500	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000	
Means	15.24	16.19	16.85	17.04	17.48	
15.24	and	0.95	1.61	1.80**	2.24**	-
16.19		_	0.66	0.85	1.29	
16.85			<del>-</del>	0.19	0.63	•
17.04					,0.44	
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86	-
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60	
q 0.95		1.11	1.32	1.45	1.54	
q 0.99		1.46	1.65	1.76	1.84	

From table 103, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (political information) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,500 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation (political information) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,501 baht and more than 9,000 baht years group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.01 level.

Table 104 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai

Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly

Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	116.01	29.00	2.56 *
Within Groups	438	4958.45	11.32	•
Total	442	5074.46		

From table 104, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 2.56 which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 105 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	3,000-	7,501-	more than
	7,500	6,000	4,500	9,000	9,000
Means	16.60	16.68	17.69	17.73	17.95
16.60		0.08	1.09	1.13	1.35*
16.68	; ;	-	1.01	1.05	1.27
17.73				0.04	0.26
17.95				-	0.22
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		0.97	1.16	1.27	1.35
q 0.99		1.27	1.44	1.54	1.61
	2				

From table 105, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,500 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation (voting in electiom) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to more than 9,000 baht years group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.01 level.

Table 106 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Participation (Voting in Election) of Thai
Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly
Income

•	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
	Between Groups	4	239.02	59.75	4.25 **
	Within Groups	552	7750.39	14.04	
	Total	556	7989.41		· .
	0.05 =	2.39	0.01 = 3	.36	

From table 106, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 4.25 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean score of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 107 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Voting in Election) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly Income

	Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	more than	3,000
		7,500	6,000	9,000	9,000	4,500
	Means	15.75	16.69	16.93	17.44	17.67
•			0.04	1 10	4 (0)	1.0044
	15.75	***	0.94	1.18	1.69**	1.92**
	16.69		<u> </u>	0.24	0.75	0.98
	16.93			-	0.51	0.74
	17.44				. <b>-</b>	0.23
				g R v v R d	y a hypotheric	
å	F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
	F 0.01 -		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
	q 0.95		1.02	1.22	1.34	1.43
	q 0.99		1.35	1.52	1.63	1.70

From table 107, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (voting in election) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,500 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation (voting in election) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,501 baht and more than 9,000 baht years group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.01 level.

Table 108 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Community roles) of Thai

Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly

Income

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
,					
•	Between Groups	4	652.05	163.01	3.35 *
	Within Group	438	21328.58	48.69	
	Total	442	21980.63		

From table 108, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 3.35 which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 109 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to
ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political Paticipation
(Community Roles) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501- m	ore than	3,000-
	7,500	6,000	9,000	9,000	4,500
Means	33.06	34.03	35.70	36.35	36.37
33.06		0.97	2.64 *	3.29*	3.31*
34.03	<del>-</del>	U. 37	1.67	2.32	2.34
35.70			1.07	0.65	0.67
36.35				-	0.02
		·			
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		2.10	2.51	2.76	2.93
q 0.99		2.77	3.13	3.34	3.50
					•

From table 109, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (political information) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,500 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation (community roles) than that of the Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,501 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht and more than 9,000 baht years group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.05 level.

Table 110 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Participation (Community Roles) of Thai

Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly

Income

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	4	1452.11	363.03	6 <b>.4</b> 8
Within Group	552	30915.72	56.01	
Total	556	32367.83	•	
e e			•	

0.05 = 2.39 0.01 = 3.36

From table 110, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income is 6.48 which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that income variable does affect on the mean scores of political participation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 111 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to ANOVA for the different pairs of mean scores of Political Paticipation (Community Roles) of Thai Labourers in Private Enterprise by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	more than	3,000
	7,500	6,000	9,000	9,000	4,500
Means	32.12	34.25	34.91	36.40	36.60
		M · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
32.12	-	2.13	2.79	4.28**	4.48**
34.25		-	0.66	2.15	2.35
34.19		•	_	1.49	1.69
36.40				<del>-</del> .	0.20
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		2.08	2.48	2.72	2.89
q 0.99		2.73	3.09	3.30	3.45
					•

From table 111, the following relationship between the mean score of political paticipation (community roles) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 6,001-7,500 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean score on political participation (community roles) than that of the Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,501 baht and more than 9,000 baht years group of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above are significant at 0.01 level.

# PART 3 THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THAI LABOURERS 3.1 The level of political attitude (total) of Thai labourers

Table 112 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Attitudes of Thai Labourers

Political Attitudes	N	X	S.D.
Political Efficacy	1,000	33.97	7.30
Political Trust	1,000	34.13	7.30
Total	1,000	68.09	14.24

From table 112, it can be seen that the mean score on political attitudes of 1,000 Thai labourers is 68.09 (S.D. = 14.24).

It is further seen that political attitudes can be classified into 2 factors. They are political efficacy and polical trust. The mean score of political efficacy is 33.97 (S.D. = 7.30) whereas the mean score of political trust is 34.13 (S.D. = 7.30). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 113 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Attitudes of Thai
Labourers in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise

Political Attitudes	Sta	te Ente	rprise	Pri	Private Enterpris		
	N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{x}$	S.D.	
Political Attitude (Total Scores)	443	68.65	13.59	557	67.65	14.73	
Political Efficacy	443	34.20	7.12	557	33.78	7.45	
Political Trust	443	34.45	6.88	557	33.87	7.62	

From table 113, it can be seen that the mean score on political attitudes of 443 Thai labourers in state enterprise is 68.65 (S.D. = 13.59)

It is further seen that political attitudes can be classified into 2 factors. They are political efficacy and polical trust. The mean score of political efficacy is 34.20 (S.D. = 7.12) whereas the mean score of political trust is 34.45 (S.D. = 6.88). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of 557 Thai labourers in private enterprise is 67.65 (S.D. = 14.73)

It further seen that political attitudes can be classified into 2 factors. They are political efficacy and polical trust. The mean score of political efficacy is 33.78 (S.D. = 7.45) whereas the mean score of political trust is 33.87 (S.D. = 7.62). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 114 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Attitudes

of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and Private

Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education and Monthly Income

Sta	te Ente	rprise	Priv	ate Ente	erprise
N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	N	$\overline{X}$	S.D.
				- wastern - wastern	;
301	67.44	13.87	297	65.79	13.65
142	71.20	12.65	260	69.77	15.62
		,			
188	69.95	13.31	199	67.56	14.91
119	66.82	13.77	145	68.04	13.51
69	65.61	15.38	107	66.09	15.32
67	71.36	11.12	67	68.86	15.46
on81	69.96	13.91	105	66.37	14.31
41	68.05	11.02	74	64.66	14.13
83	70.66	13.11	108	69.81	13.34
93	65.79	15.50	115	67.36	15.82
145	68.76	12.86	155	68.65	15.24
89	69.41	16.01	117	69.49	15.24
28	65.89	14.98	64	65.47	16.69
63	63.43	14.78	90	62.24	13.31
34	68.06	14.00	68	67.03	14.11
229	70.21	11.55	218	69.73	14.04
	301 142 188 119 69 67 on81 41 83 93 145	N X  301 67.44 142 71.20  188 69.95 119 66.82 69 65.61 67 71.36  on81 69.96 41 68.05 83 70.66 93 65.79 145 68.76  89 69.41 28 65.89 63 63.43 34 68.06	301 67.44 13.87 142 71.20 12.65 188 69.95 13.31 119 66.82 13.77 69 65.61 15.38 67 71.36 11.12 on81 69.96 13.91 41 68.05 11.02 83 70.66 13.11 93 65.79 15.50 145 68.76 12.86 89 69.41 16.01 28 65.89 14.98 63 63.43 14.78 34 68.06 14.00	N	N       X       S.D.       N       X         301       67.44       13.87       297       65.79         142       71.20       12.65       260       69.77         188       69.95       13.31       199       67.56         119       66.82       13.77       145       68.04         69       65.61       15.38       107       66.09         67       71.36       11.12       67       68.86         con81       69.96       13.91       105       66.37         41       68.05       11.02       74       64.66         83       70.66       13.11       108       69.81         93       65.79       15.50       115       67.36         145       68.76       12.86       155       68.65         89       69.41       16.01       117       69.49         28       65.89       14.98       64       65.47         63       63.43       14.78       90       62.24         34       68.06       14.00       68       67.03

From table 114, it be can been that the mean score on political attitudes of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 67.44 (S.D. =13.87) whereas the mean score on political attitude of 142 Thai women labourers is 71.20 (S.D.=12.65). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 65.79 (S.D. = 13.65) whereas the mean score on political attitude of 260 Thai women labourers is 69.77 (S.D.=15.62). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years is 69.95 (S.D. = 13.31) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 66.82, 65.61, 71.36 (S.D. = 13.77, 15.38, 11.12) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years is 67.56 (S.D. =14.91) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 60.04, 66.09, 68.86 (S.D. = 13.51, 15.32, 15.46) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 69.96 (S.D. = 13.91) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary, bachelor degree and upper are 68.05, 70.66,65.79,68.76 (S.D. = 11.02,13.11,15.50,12.86)

respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 66.37 (S.D. =14.31) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary, bachelor degree and upper are 64.66, 69.81, 67.36, 68.65 (S.D. = 14.13, 13.34, 15.82, 15.24) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht is 69.41 (S.D. = 16.01) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501 - 9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht are 65.89, 63.43, 68.06, 70.21 (S.D.= 14.98,14.78,14.00,11.55) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht is 69.49 (S.D. =15.24) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501 - 9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht are 65.47, 62.24, 67.03,69.73 (S.D.=16.69,13.31,14.11,14.04) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

## 3.2 THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THAI LABOURERS IN STATE ENTERPRISE AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Table 115 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Attitudes

(Political Trust) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and

Private Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education and Monthly Income

Political Attitudes	Sta	te Ente	rprise	Priva	ite Enter	rprise
·	N	$\overline{X}$ .	S.D.	N	$\overline{X}$	S.D.
Sex Men Labourers	301	35.37	6.87	297	34.59	8.04
Women Labourers	142	33.65	7.19	260	33.07	6.82
Age			•			
20-30 years	188	34.89	6.88	199	33.73	7.55
31-40 years	119	33.10	7.53	145	33.83	6.80
41-50 years	69	32.78	7.75	107	33.12	7.70
51-61 years	67	35.67	5.84	67	34.46	7.88
Education						
Lower than primary educati	on81	35.01	7.25	105	33.35	7.28
Primary education	41	34.19	5.98	74	32.16	7.65
Lower secondary education	83	35.16	6.69	108	34.74	6.73
Upper secondary education	93	32.99	7.89	115	33.55	7.78
Bachelor degree and upper	145	33.98	7.03	155	34.34	7.62
Monthly Income			,			
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	34.68	8.44	117	34.77	7.90
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	32.93	7.46	64	32.59	8.22
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	31.19	7.92	90	31.24	6.94
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	33.91	7.58	68	33.25	7.30
More than 9,000 baht	229	35.04	5.94	218	34.81	6.94

From table 115, it can be seen that the mean score on political attitudes (political trust) of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 35.37 (S.D. = 6.87) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political trust) of 142 Thai women labourers is 33.65 (S.D.=7.19). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political trust) of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 34.59 (S.D. = 8.04) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political trust) of 260 Thai women labourers is 33.07 (S.D. = 6.82). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political trust) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years is 34.89 (S.D. = 6.88) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 33.10, 32.78, 35.67 (S.D. = 7.53, 7.75, 5.84) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political trust) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years is 32.73 (S.D. = 7.55) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political trust) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 33.83, 33.12, 34.46 (S.D. = 6.80, 7.70, 7.88) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political Trust) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 35.01 (S.D. = 7.25) whereas the mean score on

political attitude (political trust) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary, bachelor degree and upper are 34.19, 35.16, 32.99, 33.98 (S.D.= 5.98, 6.69, 7.89, 7.03) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political trust) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 33.35 (S.D. = 7.28) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political trust) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary, bachelor degree and upper are 32.16, 34.74, 35.55, 34.34 (S.D. = 7.65,6.73,7.78,7.62) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political trust) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000 - 4,500 baht is 34.68 (S.D. = 8.44) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501 - 9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht are 32.93, 31.19, 33.91, 35.04 (S.D.= 7.46, 7.92, 7.58, 5.94) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political trust) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000-4,500 baht is 34.77 (S.D. = 7.90) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 4,501-6,000 baht,6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht are 32.59, 31.24, 33.25, 34.81 (S.D. = 8.22, 6.94, 7.30, 6.94) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

Table 116 Mean and Standard Deviation for Political Attitudes

(Political Efficacy) of Thai Labourers in State Enterprise and

Private Enterprise by Sex, Age, Education and Monthly Income

			Tr. N. 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 11	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Political Attitudes	Sta	te Ente	rprise	Priva	ate Ente	rprise
·	N	$\overline{X}$	S.D.	N	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
Sex	<del></del>					
Men Labourers	301	35.84	6.29	297	35.18	7.83
Women Labourers	142	33.79	7.06	. 260	32.72	7.24
Age						
20-30 years	188	35.06	6.86	199	33.83	7.66
31-40 years	119	33.72	6.67	145	34.21	7.06
41-50 years	69	32.83	7.92	107	32.97	8.00
51-61 years	67	35.69	5.76	67	34.39	7.89
Education						
Lower than primary educati	on81	34.95	6.98	105	33.02	7.38
Primary education	41	33.85	5.33	74	32.50	6.84
Lower secondary education	83	35.51	6.91	108	35.07	6.98
Upper secondary education	93	32.81	7.99	115	33.81	8.34
Bachelor degree and upper	145	34.78	7.03	155	34.31	7.90
Monthly Income						
3,000 - 4,500 baht	89	34.73	7.89	117	34.72	7.55
4,501 - 6,000 baht	28	32.96	7.81	64	32.87	8.68
6,001 - 7,500 baht	63	32.24	7.34	90	31.00	6.84
7,501 - 9,000 baht	34	34.15	6.73	68	33.78	7.18
More than 9,000 baht	229	35.17	6.09	218	34.92	7.48

From table 116, it can be seen that the mean score on political attitudes (political efficacy) of 301 Thai men labourers in state enterprise is 35.84 (S.D. = 6.29) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political efficacy) of 142 Thai women labourers is 33.79 (S.D. = 7.06). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political efficacy) of 297 Thai men labourers in private enterprise is 35.18 (S.D. = 7.83) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political efficacy) of 260 Thai women labourers is 32.72 (S.D. = 7.24). The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 20-30 years is 35.06 (S.D.= 6.86) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 33.72, 32.83, 35.69 (S.D. = 6.67, 7.92, 5.76) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political Efficacy) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 20-30 years is 33.83 (S.D.=7.66) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 31-40 years, 41-50 years, 51-60 years groups of age are 34.21, 32.97, 34.39 (S.D. = 7.06, 8.00,7.89) repectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 34.95 (S.D. = 6.98) whereas the mean score on

political attitude (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary, bachelor degree and upper are 33.85, 35.51, 32.81, 34.78 (S.D. = 5.33, 6.91, 7.99, 6.30) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to lower than primary education group is 33.02 (S.D. = 7.38) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to groups of primary education, lower secondary education, upper secondary, bachelor degree and upper are 32.50, 35.07, 33.81, 34.31 (S.D. = 6.84,6.98,8.34,7.90) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 3,000 - 4,500 baht is 34.73 (S.D. = 7.89) whereas the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001 -7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht are 32.96, 32.24, 34.15, 35.17 (S.D. = 7.81, 7.34, 6.73, 6.09) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

The mean score on political attitudes (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in private enterprise belonging to 3,000 - 4,500 baht is 34.72 (S.D. = 7.55) whereas the mean score on political attitude (political efficacy) of Thai labourers in state enterprise belonging to 4,501-6,000 baht, 6,001-7,500 baht, 7,501-9,000 baht, more than 9,000 baht are 32.87 31.00, 33.78, 34.92 (S.D.= 8.68, 6.84, 7.18, 7.48) respectively. The mean scores obtained the level of rather high level.

### PART 4 THE FACTORS AFFECTING ON THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THAI LABOURERS

Table 117 Significant of Difference Between Mean Scores for Political Attitude of Thai Labourers by Sex

VARIABLE	N	$\overline{x}$	S.D.	t
POLITICAL ATTITUDE (Total Scores)		3,000		***************************************
Men Labourers	598	70.28	14.64	4.02 **
Women Labourers	402	66.62	13.78	
		\$ · · ·		
0.05 = 1.96	0.0	1 = 2.58		

From table 117, the difference between the mean score on political attitude of Thai men and women labourers testing by t-test indicates the t value = 4.02 which is significant at 0.01 level. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is not due to chance and both the groups have not equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political attitude of Thai men labourers have greater value than that of the mean score on political attitude of women labourers. The finding thus refuses the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 118 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Attitude of Thai Labourers by Age

 Garage of Wasings	a.e.	CC.	MC	
Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	3	1611.53	537.18	2.66 *
Within Groups	996	200968.00	201.77	
Total	999	202579.54		

0.05 = 3.00 0.01 = 4.62

From table 118, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age is 2.66 Which is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, it can be concluded that age variable does affect on the mean score of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 119 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to

ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political

Attitude of Thai Labourers by Age

Age	41-50 years	31-40 years	20-30 years	51-60 years
Means	65.90	67.49	68.72	69.83
	- April - Apri			
65.90	-	1.59	2.82	3.93*
67.49		-	1.23	2.34
17.45		÷.	· <u>-</u>	1.11
17.85				<del>-</del>
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63
F 0.01		3.64	4.12	4.40
q 0.95		2.60	3.11	3.41
q 0.99		3.42	3.87	4.14

From table 119, the following relationship between the mean scores of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of age can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 51-60 years group of age have greater value of mean scores on political attitude than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 41-50 years group of age. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

Table 120 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political
Attitude of Thai Labourers by Education

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
:	Between Groups	4	1647.32	486.83	2.41 NS
	Within Group	995	200632.21	201.64	
	Total	999	202579.54		
•	•	•			

From table 120, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education is 2.41 Which is not significance. Hence, it can be concluded that education variable does not affect on the mean scores of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of education, which accepted the null hypothesis No 1.

Table 121 Summary of Results of ANOVA for Political

Attitude of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

	Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
4444				***************************************	
:	Between Groups	4	6989.72	1747.43	8.89**
	Within Groups	996	195589.81	196.57	
	Total	999	202579.54		
				·	

From table 121, it reveals that the F ratio on ANOVA of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income is 8.89 Which is significant at 0.01 level. Hence, it can be concluded that monthly income variable does affect on the mean score of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income, which refused the null hypothesis No 1.

For finding out the pairs having significant difference, the Newman Keuls Method (the Studentized Range Statistic Test (q)) was applied. The summary is given in next table.

Table 122 Summary of Studentized Range Statistics Test (q) Applied to

ANOVA for the Different Pairs of Mean Scores of Political

Attitude of Thai Labourers by Monthly Income

Income	6,001-	4,501-	7,501-	3,000-	more than
	7,501	6,000	9,000	4,500	9,000
Means	62.73	65.60	67.37	69.46	69.98
62.73		2.87**	4.64**	6.73**	7.25**
65.60		_	1.77	3.86**	4.38**
67.37				2.09*	2.61**
69.46					0.52
		- The War Market			-1
F 0.05		2.77	3.31	3.63	3.86
F 0.01-		3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60
q 0.95		1.55	1.85	2.03	2.16
q 0.99	•	2.04	2.31	2.46	2.58

From table 122, the following relationship between the mean scores of political attitude of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of monthly income can be derived. It reveals that the Thai labourers belonging to 6,001-7,501 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean scores on political attitude than that of the Thai labourers in every groups of monthly income. The Thai labourers belonging to 4,501-6,001 baht and 7,5001-9,000 baht group of monthly income have smaller value of mean scores on political attitude than that of the Thai labourers belonging to 3,000-4,501 baht and more than 9,000 baht groups of monthly income. The difference between mean scores of the pairs mentioned above is significant at 0.05 and 0.01 level. The finding thus refused the null hypothesis.

PART 5 THE COMPARISON OF THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF STATE ENTERPRISE LABOURERS AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE LABOURERS

Table 123 Significant of Difference Between Mean Scores

for Political Attitude of Thai labourers

in State Enterprise and Private Enterprise

N	$\overline{\mathbf{x}}$	S.D.	t
443	68.65	13.59	1.11 NS
557	67.65	14.73	
	443	443 68.65	443 68.65 13.59

0.05 = 1.96 0.01 = 2.58

From table 123, the difference between the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise testing by t- test indicates the t value = 1.11 which is not significant. Therefore, it can be inferred with confidence that the mean difference is due to chance and both the groups have equal level of mean scores. Hence, it can be concluded that the mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise have equal value with that of the mean score on political attitude attitude of labourers in private enterprise. The finding thus refuses the null hypothesis No 2.

### PART 6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THAI LABOURERS

Table 124 The Relationship Between Political Participation and Political Attitude of Thai Labourers

	The relationship	r·	
Political	participation — Political attitude	by Sex	0.77**
political	Participation - political attitude	by Age	0.76**
Political	participation - Political attitude	by Education	0.69**
political	Participation - political attitude	by income	0.65**
political	Participation - Political attitude	(total)	0.68**

Table 124, indicates that political participation and political attitude are positively correlated. The correlation are 0.77,0.76,0.69 0.65 and 0.68 respectively.

Hence, it is concluded that the relationship between political participation and political attitude is closely and highly significance. As such the null hypothesis is rejected.

### CHAPTER 5

#### REVIEW, MAJOR FINDINGS, DISCUSSION

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#### Chapter 5

#### REVIEW, MAJOR FINDING AND DISSCUSSION

#### 5.1 REVIEW

#### 5.1.1 Objectives

In this study, the researcher aims to study the objectives as follow:-

- 1. To study the level of political participation of Thai Labourers.
- 2. To study the factors affecting the political participation of Thai labourers.
- 3. To study the level of political attitude of Thai labourers.
- 4. To study the factors affecting the political attitude of Thai labourers.
- 5. To compare the behaviour of political participation of state enterprise labourers and private enterprise labourers.
- 6. To compare the political attitude of state enterprise labourers and private enterprise labourers.
- 7. To study the relationship between the political participation and political attitude of Thai labourers.

#### 5.1.2 Variables of the study

- 5.1.2.1 Dependent Variables
- 1) Political Participation
- protest
- community roles
- political parties
- political information
- voting in election

#### 2) Political Attitude

- political efficacy
- political trust

#### 5.1.2.2 Independent Variables

- 1) Sex
- 2) Age
- 3) Education
- 4) Income

#### 5.1.3 Tools to be used

For the purpose of the study, the researcher used three types of tools:-

- 1. The questionnaire about the bio-data of the labourers.
- 2. The scale to measure the political participation of Thai labourers.
- 3. The scale to measure the political attitude of Thai labourers.

#### 5.1.4 Sample

In the present study, the researcher intended to know the level of the political participation of Thai labourers and political attitude of Thai labourers in different variables. To make the study meaningful and the sample representative, the researcher followed mainly the process of simple random sampling. There are 443 labourers from 20 state enterprise and 557 labourers from 20 private enterprise were selected for the purpose. Thus, the sample of 1,000 labourers was obtained for the present study.

#### 5.2 MAJOR FINDINGS

#### 5.2.1 The level of political participation of Thai labourers

The level of political participation (total) is in the rather high level. Thai labourers are mostly found participating in community roles, voting in election, political protest, political information and political parties. It can be further noted in detail that the behaviour of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise on political participation are in the same direction. That is they are interested simmilary in community roles, voting in election, political protest, political information and political parties.

The level of political participation of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of variables i.e. sex, age, level of education and monthly income are in rather high level.

The level of political participation (political protest) of
Thai labourers belonging to different groups of variables i.e. sex,
age, level of education and monthly income are in rather high level.

The level of political participation (political parties) of
Thai labourers belonging to different groups of variables i.e. sex,
age, level of education and monthly income are in rather high level.

The level of political participation (political information) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of variables i.e. sex, age, level of education and monthly income are in rather high level.

The level of political participation (voting in election) of Thai labourers belonging to different groups of variables i.e. sex, age, level of education and monthly income are in rather high level.

The level of political participation (community roles) of
Thai labourers belonging to different groups of variables i.e. sex,
age, level of education and monthly income are in rather high level.

Thai labourers in private enterprise and state enterprise have the same level of political attitude of Thai labourers in entire samples.

### 5.2.2 The factors affecting on the level of political participation of Thai labourers

It is indicated that Sex, Age, and monthly Income play an important role on political participation of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise (total scores and in different components i.e. political protest, political parties, political information, voting in election and community roles).

#### 5.2.3 The level of political attitude of Thai labourers

The level of political attitude of Thai labourers is in the rather high level. Thai labourers in private enterprise and state enterprise have the same level of political attitude of Thai labourers in entire samples.

### 5.2.4 The factors affecting on the level of political Attitude of Thai labourers

It is found that sex, age and monthly income play an important roles on political attitude of Thai labourers.

# 5.2.5 The comparison of the political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise

There is no significant between mean score on political attitude of Thai labourers in state enterprise and private enterprise

### 5.2.6 The relationship between the political participation and political attitude of Thai labourers

Political participation and political attitude are positively correlated. It is found that the relationship between political participation and political attitude is closely and highly significance.

#### 5.3 DISCUSSION

5.3.1 It has been found that majority of Thai labourers participate in politics at a rather high rate. They are interested in community roles, voting in election more than the political information, political parties. The reasons for such behaviours can be cited as follow:-

As has already been mentioned that majority of Thai labourers participate in politics at a rather high rate and in participating in politics Thai labourers are most interested in community roles. Second to it was a voting in election, political protest, political information, as well as having relevancy with political parties accordingly wherein these events ought to come from the following reasons:-

The first reason ought to be due to economic constraint, that is, labourer's occupation is the occupation that gives low remuneration and although how hard they have to devote their heart and soul into it, it does not make them rich. It can be said that it is hard life and they have to always be alert towards their own living conditions wherein this characteristics is an important constraint in political participation, specifically, participating in activities which one has to sacrifice time and take interest continuously, i.e. having relationship with political party and communicating in political information, etc. wherein these 2 patterns of activity apart from having to have sufficient

spare time, one has to have good financial background because these activities can be carried on only an account of having good supportive fund. Under this high cost of living condition contribution towards participation in the said activities is difficult to perform, therefore, it is necessary that these labourers cannot afford to be interested in participating in the 2 patterns of activities as they ought to be which has made the total marks of political participation of general Thai labourers be at lower level. The reason why Thai labourers take most interest in community roles and voting in election is because these activities are easy to participate, consume little time and result can be seen within a short period. In addition, voting in election is the activity which we can expect something in return from the person whom we have selected. As regards participating in a protest which Thai labourers are interested in as a third importance, it will be seen that it is activity which one can have hope in a short period too. In participating in this protest, if it is successful, they will have an improved living, the only thing is that there is risk hidden in it. Therefore, in participating in this pattern, less interest is received than election. It will be seen that constraint in economic status has in political participation of Thai labourers. important role

The Second aspect ought to come from influence of political culture, that is, history of Thai political administration which was absolute monarchy for hundreds of years ought to have played very important part in creating acquaintance with the administration and Thai people had to accept the power. From the study of Manoon Siriwan (1977) it was found that Thai citizen still has political culture

of autocratic power ought to exist in Thai labourers also, because labourers are part of total Thai citizen, therefore, it cannot avoid from influence of political culture on autocratic type wherein base of this type of culture stops it from political participation greatly, specifically political participation which has to depend on voluntary feeling more than remuneration.

Third aspact ought to come from political environment factor. It will be seen that since there was a chance in administration in 1932 onwards administration of Thailand was in dictatorship system and democratic system throughout the period. Political institution in democratic system, specifically constitution General Assembly and political parties have been threatened and thrown out on many occasions. This event is still a clear image of Thai politics and administration up till to-day which is disgusting for those who like democratic system. The Thai labourers participate in politics at rather high level ought to have come from this cause.

Therefore, if we were to develop political participation of Thai labourers to a higher one and in the right way, the thing which we should do most is to assist in raising living condition of the labourers and create atmosphere of political participation to become a real democratic one and we may expect performance of government (under democratic administration) in an earnest way.

5.3.2. As has been mentioned in the finding of the study, that factor in sex, age, and monthly income have relation with the political participation of Thai labourers wherein such characteristics may be classified in as follows:-

- 1. Male labourers participate in politics more than female labourers.
- 2. Youngest and oldest labourers participate in politics more than middled age labourers.
- 3. Lowest and highest income labourers participate in politics more than medium level of income labourers.

From the research study overseas, it was found that factor in sex, age, education and monthly income has influence in political participation as follows:-

Sex Factor For research of Milbrath (1971) and many Western technologists, it was found that in general males will participate in politics more than females. In addition, it was found that in lower status people, males will participate in politics much more than females. Proportion of difference in political participation will reduce when society has become madernized. Women have more knowledge and income. They go out and work in the movement regarding women's rights.

Age Factor From document research and field research.

Milbrath (1971) has found that political participation of people will increase according to age and will reach the highest in middle age. From that it will reduce according to increase in age. In addition, it was found that young men and women who are still unmarried will be interested in participating in non-systematic politics, i.e, a protest, demonstration and riot more than participating within the system.

Education Factor Almond and Verba (1966) have found that education is important factor of moulding process in order that one would learn regulation of political society. It makes people know more

about politics and have high confidence in their own political roles. Highly educated people normally have higher interest in politics and participate more in politics than lesser educated people. In addition, from Milbrath's study, it was found that education is the factor that has the highest power in encouraging people to participate in politics.

Income Factor Milbrath (1971) and many Western technologists found out that those who earn more income will participate in politics more than those who have lesser income and because income has great relationship with political participation, because difference in income level has relationship with difference of socio-economic status as well as attitude that is, those who have financial firmness will have more inter-action with various economic and political groups, therefore, they have developed attitude and various beliefs which is supportive to more political participation.

It will be seen that result of research relevant to factor in sex, age and income concrened to political participation of Thai labourers correspond with result of research of Western technologists which may be considered in individual factor, as follows:-

Sex Factor The reason why male and female labourers have significant difference in participating in politics is because society within the group of labourers give honour and inportance to female labourers not similarly to that of male labourers, and not give enough opportunity to female labourers to join in activities of the group in full. The results of this study has shown that female labourers should

take part in politics more than this. Because now female labourers have knowledge ability in being able to read and write and are able to understand problem and condition of society well similarly to that of male labourers. This is because both work in the same environment and have inter-action toward one another throughout the time, there is, therefore, socialization all the time. In addition, the fact that society in the group give opportunity to women to participate in full, it is to encourage female labourers to participate and learn more. The next aspect is that when female labourers have their own income, measuring the level of political be more self-confident, wherein efficiency of both sexes, it was found that it is very close to one another. The last aspect will be seen that, in the present time, social environment has developed greatly, people in many groups are alert in the rights and equality in sex greatly. Many organizations were established for the above purpose in many groups, i.e. "women group" in educational institutions, "women volunteer group" for social activities, i.e. "housewives" "volunteer group" "women group" for voluntary maintenance of kingdom as well as "female Thai farmers' group" Atmosphere of environment in the above characteristics ought to have a part in encouraging and accelerating female labourers participate more in politics.

The fact that female labourers are always alert in politics similar to that of male labourers, ought to be supported and promoted, because apart from being good to administration in democratic system, it is also to use national resource to the most beneficial one, If we support and promote group of people in society to have this

characteristics, it can be believed that within the near future Thai society will certainly be able to evolve rapidly in every aspect, because the number of Thai women is half of the total population of the country. If there is development and bring the total existing potentiality for use in full, it will surely be highest benefit to the country.

Age Factors An increase in age has helped people to learn and understand various things more increasingly and helped a person to learn and understand various things widely and rapidly also.

Income Factor The reason why rate of political participation of Thai labourers change according to level of income is because level of income of Thai labourers is different, that is, in general income of labourers is between Baht 3,000-9,000. If compared with national level society from poor people up to millionaired, it will be seen that there is little difference of income. But for the labourers, the range between baht 3,000-9,000 is more difference. From the study, it was found that labourers who have low and high income has a trend to participate in political more than labourers with medium income. It can be said that the Thai labourers belonging to lowest and highest groups of monthly income paticipate in politics more than medium group of monthly income.

5.3.3. Political participation of labourers as mentioned above is to consider about relationship between total marks of every pattern of political participation and factor in sex, age, income, which if considered in details about relationship between participation in

each pattern and factor in sex, age, monthly income, the result will be as follows:-

#### A Protest

In participating in politics in the pattern of a protest which means a demonstration in procession against incorrect performance of the officials, delaying the work or striking in order to protest against incorrect performance of the government and a get together to fight against unjustifiable law of labourers, it appeared that factor in sex, age and income has result in participating in the protest.

This characteristics may be due to the fact that participating in the protest by Thai labourers originated from being pursuaded by Thai Union Labour as an important point, because protest activity is the activity of a crowd, which, if there is no pursuasion, it will not happen and another important proof which can be seen clearly is that female labourers, middled age labourers and medium income labourers participate lesser than other members.

#### Community Roles

In participation in community role which means that getting together to solve social problem, performing work together with the group which are working in relevancy with society, being members, who are alert, in the organization which has a role relevant to other public activities as well as contacting the government regarding social problem of labourers, it appears that factor in sex, age and monthly income has result toward having a role in community.

with "grouping together" and characteristics of activities, that is, grouping together of labourers in order to establish Union Labour originates from relationship and seeing joint benifit of the group and characteristics of activities. such as, having community role, is the activity which relates with the well - being of the whole which is carried out through relationship and cooperation of members in that community. Therefore, those who are members of Union Labour have characteristics which is supportive to having community role by nature. When the organization is established, it is to increase such characteristics to a clearer one. That is grouping together has enlarged benefit and various relevancies with environment and increasing more participation.

As for the cause which made factor in sex, age and income of labourers have result in participating in community role it must be due to influence of the present period. That is to say, Thai society always teaches that arranging the environment to a better one is not only the duty of the government and officials. It is the duty of common people also. This is the present time that the labourers have to sacrifice their time and money for their society.

#### Political Parties

In having relevancy with political party of labourers which means being member of the Party. In working for the Party or political group or candidate for election, helping to make propaganda for political party or candidate for election by pasting posters or making

verbal support, participating in political meeting of political party or candidate for election, contribute money to political party or candidate and to apply for election, it appeared that factor in sex, age, income has influence with political party as mentioned above. In general, labourers relate very little with political party. The above event may be due to the fact that labourers feel that political party cannot respond to the things that they want, because condition of Thai political party is a mere small centre of power which has little role toward policy and in remedying national problem. Another aspect is that labourers did not receive interest about problem and the well-being by the political party. That is why there is no linkage between political party and labourers. In addition, it may be due to uncertainty in political stability of democratic administration of Thailand which made the existence of political party become uncertain too. Labourers,

what has been mentioned above, another part may be due to influence of political culture of Thailand. That is, general Thai people do not take interest in political parties. It will be seen that in each election of Representatives, the people give very little importance to policy and role of political party. Majority of the people consider about the candidate as an important point.

However, if in the future democratic system shall have more stability and political parties shall have higher roles and political influence, they shall create interest and piety from labourers and participation of labourers shall increase according to benefit of the change in political party.

#### Political Information

participating in politics by labourers in the pattern of political information which means pursuading other people to converse about politics, listening to politician's speech, participating in political discussion in various places, maintaining political information, writing the letter to editor on social and political problems, writing about political information for publication in various magazines and writing supportive or protest letter about political leader, etc. The factors that are influencial toward participation in political information of labourers are factor in sex, age, and income.

The reason why factor in sex has more influence in communicating in political information of labourers are due to the fact that male labourers are generally eager about environment and events in society more than female labourers. This behaviour is not a driving force from other factors, because by nature general males are interested in political information more than females in every society.

As regards factors in age and it was found that, if one has older age, it will assist in having more experience and it also change the nature of behaviour on the society. At the same time one who has higher income can find more ways of communicating information. It may help in communicating information in his own community. It will extent interest to a wider one to national level society.

#### Election

In participation of voting in election by labourers which means election of Representatives and election of the Board of Union Labour of Thailand, it appeared that factor which are influential to

participation in electing by labourers are factors in sex, age, and monthly income.

The fact that factor in sex, age and income have influence towards participation in election of labourers, ought to be due to the above 3 factors which have made labourers conscious in the duty of population and are conscious in the norms of society and method of maintaining life in the capacity of good member of the community more increasingly. That is, when the age has increased, it will make such labourers get more entangled with their community and country, and the fact that they earn more income will make them have good feeling towards the society and are ready to perform according to the norms of society in the capacity of a good member. This will make them feel entangled with the community and increase consciouness in the capacity of good citizens more increasingly.

As regards factor in sex which has result in participating in the election by labourers, it ought to be considered that factor in sex has influence to consciousness in duty of population. That is, whether it be male or female, they are able to be conscious about duty of the population just as well, and factor in sex has impact in moulding or encouraging the person to be conscious in duty of population and norm of society in any way.

As regards factor in income which has influence in participating in the election of labourers. In fact that one who have sufficient spare time and have good financial background because these activities can be carried on only an account of having good supportive fund.

#### 5.3.4 Political Attitude

Political attitude herein means political efficacy and political trust which may be divided for discussion as follows:-

Political Efficacy is the attitude that he himself understands and is capable of having influence toward politics, administration and it is the factor that has great relationship with political participation. That is, the person whom we believe that he has capability to change in politics has trend to participate in politics more than those who think that they have no political efficacy. Robert Dahl (1961) commented that political efficacy enables people to participate in politics and political participation create confidence in political efficacy increasingly.

As has been mentioned in the finding of the study that in general, labourers have rather high level of political efficacy and political efficacy of labourers has relationship with factor in sex, age, income, supported by statistics.

From research on political efficacy overseas, it was found that political efficacy is the ability to perform which creates an impact on decision making in political process. In being able to control mechanism in political system, it may be the result from direct political experience of such person, i.e. political party which that person supports to win the election, meeting with politicians and is able to suggest on some aspect to such politicians as well as the fact that political system gives earnest opportunity for people to participate, etc. When compared with Thai society, it will be seen that there are many factors that Thai society is not supportive to learning and experience which is beneficial to

increase / heighten political efficacy, such as, history of administration and politics which used to be an absolute monarchy continuously for hundreds of years. The administration which was run by absolute monarchy system has moulded (socialization) the population to become in different towards politics and have accepted political culture in autocratic pattern which is difficult to change easily, both in the administrative circle and in general people. change in administration in 1932 was to transfer power from the King to government officials only, but that power did not go to the people. Because the group of official system or organization is the only group which can control and protect the administrative power. General people who lacks experience had low knowledge, strong group behaviour and shortage of political resources. When official system handed over power to administer, chaos has arisen in the Assembly. There was inefficiency in running the government inability to maintain administrative power at the time of when coup d'etat. Owing to the reason mentioned above. Thai administration, therefore, was autocratic system and democratic system up till the present time. If we count the time, it will be seen that autocratic system was in power much longer than democratic system. The long discontinuation of democratic system sends an impact to the necessary development of democratic system greatly, specifically, the political parties, that is, political parties are unable to grow because they are destroyed every time when there is coup d'etat. Therefore, when there is a change in constitution in order to allow democratic administration (no matter which time), political parties are unable to give political knowledge to the people and are not a path for the

people to have political participation widely, because political parties have small size and have the characteristics of primary get together although it is an old political party. The fact that the political parties have such characteristics, it enables power of the state and the people suffers from lack of important linkage. The people, therefore, are left far away from the administrative power. That is why they are unable to have any power or influence to take up a role in political process and control mechanism of the state.

#### Political Trust

Political trust has basic orientations in affective aspect or evaluative aspect. Direction of political trust begins from highest political trust up to highest political cynicism. Cynicism means level of attitude in negative effect toward government and the belief that governments did not perform their duties or did not create output as expected by those persons. Level of political trust is the important indicator of political change. It is to measure and evaluate opportunity, the strongness of conflict and stress in society.

From the study, political trust in general of labourers is at rather high level.

As regards factor in education which has not influence in participating in the election of labourers. It may be due to the fact education should made people knowledge and have understanding of their own duty towards society and the country more increasingly. But the result of this study has shown that labourers who have high education

participate in politics no difference from labourers with low education, it ought to be kept in mind that labourers with high education has high political alienation. This is because of the past political system and administrative system of Thailand which were uncertain. That is, changes from dictatorship system to democratic system and back to dictatorship system and democratic system, time and again, have created this situation is which we can not expect anything from participation in political system. Owing to this reason, the labourers who have high education are not eager to participate in politics as it ought to be. The proportion for participating in politics between labourers who have high education and labourers who have low education is not difference.

#### 5.3.5. Political Participation and Political Attitude

Result of study of technologists like Verba and Nie was found that those who have high political attitude will participate in politics more than those who have low political attitude. If one thing changes it will result in this time was found that, in general, political participation of labourers has very closely relationship with political attitude.

5.3.6. As regards supporting the labourers to participate in politics in an enthusiastic way it may be done with the following methods:-

First Aspect There ought to be supportive fund for Union
Labour and promote the Union Labour to prepare activities widely,
because in the present time, the Union Labour is an important unit which

deputizes in pursuading labourers to participate in politics greatly. In supporting and promoting the Union Labour to be able to carry out many activities continuously is good in being able to help the Union Labour to mobilize labourers to participate in politics more increasingly.

Second Aspect Political parties and various Working Units both in governmental and private sector ought to co-operate together in giving knowledge and developing the thoughts and belief of the labourers to correspond with the administration of democratic system more than in the present time. This is in order to give basic knowledge, thoughts and belief of the labourers relevant to politics and administration in democratic system to a broader and clearer one. In increasing knowledge to the labourers, it will give the labourers direction in participating in politics in a clear way and will not easily be deceived by other powerful group in using as a political tool.

Third Aspect The government and governmental working Unit ought to create belief to the labourers that participating in politics in democratic system is correct and there is no danger whatsoever. In addition, the government ought to try to make labourers understand clearly that in being slave in the mind of political doctrine which is enemy to liberty and human rights has bad result to labourers and the country. This is in order to create good understanding and reducing bias.

Fourth Aspect The government and various Working Units ought to remedy national economic problem rapidly in order to point

out efficiency of political system and benefit in administering in democratic system. This is in order to create confidence and piety in political system to the labourers more increasingly.

Fifth Aspect The government and government Working Unit ought to be fast in remedying problem of the country regularly both in politics, socio-economy and military aspect. This is in order to create good image to administration in democratic system and to reduce importance of administration in autocratic system from memories of the labourers and general people as quickly as possible.

As regards the increase in political efficacy and political trust of labourers in order that they could participate in politics in an order way with high efficiency, it ought to be done through the following methods:-

- 1) Giving Data Information Government Working Units and employers ought to feed in data information on political movement, socio economy to the labourers regularly according to the fact, in order to increase knowledge and confidence in participating in politics in a systematic way more increasingly.
- 2) Giving Social Welfare The government and employers ought to co-operate in giving social welfare to the labourers more increasingly, i.e. residence, medical fee, children's education fee, etc. in order that the labourers would have self-confidence and piety towards administrative and political system more increasingly.
- 3. Training The Government and employers ought to cooperate in giving training both in performance of work and in politics regularly. This is in order to develop the general quality of labourers to a better one which will send a result in creating feeling of

political efficacy and political trust more increasingly.

- 4) Promoting Status The Government and private sector Working Unit ought to co-operate in promoting status of labourers to a better one, both in socio-ecnomy and in politics in order that the labourers would be proud and would have good feeling toward the administrative system more in creasingly
- 5) Additional Study In order to enlighten the burden of the Government and the employers and so as to promote the labourers to have the chance of promoting themselves more increasingly, they should be given additional study to the labourers widely as well.

By promoting the labourers to participate in politics in an orderly manner with high rate of participation, through various methods, and in increasing political efficacy and political trust as mentioned above, this ought to result in attaining success in administering in democratic system of Thailand more increasingly.

#### Noticeable point obtained from research study

In making a research study on characteristics of political participation by labourers of Thailand as has been suggested above, it oppeared that 2 interesting aspects have been found:-

1. In relevancy with suggestion guideline used for study, that is, this research has found that in bringing suggestion guideline of Western technologists for use as a frame in making research study without applying it to correspond with condition of Thai society which has many aspects of specific characteristics (i.e. value, attitude, belief, custom, tradition and political and economic condition, etc.)

has made "factor which results in political participation" of port

Authority of Thailand labourers have live limited scope and does not

cover as it should be.

#### 2. In relevancy with method used in studying.

In making this study on characteristics in political participation by Thai labourers, it emphasized on making quantitative study only, that is why result of study in certain part is not clear as it should be, i.e. the state of being unable to indicate clearly why, factor in sex, age, education, income has no result in political participation of Electricity Authority labourers, etc. Which if we intregate the method in quantitative and quality to gether, it will help the result of this study to be much more complete.

From the above two aspects of notice, it ought to be a guideline in improving method of research study relevant to political participation of various groups of people in Thai society, which, if political scientists are earnest in applying and improving study method to a more complete and clearer one regularly, it will assist the study of political science in Thailand to be beneficial to society.

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APPENDICES

#### Respondents, Personal Information

Directions: Please provide your personal information by checking the following.

- 1. Type of organization you work for
  - O State enterprise
  - O Private enterprise
- 2. Sex
- O Male
- O Female
- 3. Age
- O 20-30 years
- O 31-40 years
- O 41-50 years
- O 51-60 years
- 4. Education Achievement
  - O Lower than primary education
  - O Primary education
  - O Lower secondary education
  - O Higher secondary education
  - O Bachelor degree and upper
- 5. Monthly income
  - O 3,000-4,500 bahts
  - O 4,501-6,000 bahts
  - O 6,001-7,500 bahts
  - O 7,501-9,000 bahts
  - O More than 9,000 bahts

# The scale to measure the political participation of Thai labourers

The purpose of this scale is to survey your political participation. Please read it carefully and then mark each statement in the right margin according to whether how often you do or do not do it. Please mark every one, depending how you behave in each case.

Always = You always do it

Often = You often do it

Sometimes = You sometimes do it

Seldom = You seldom do it

Never = You never do it

This questionnaire consists of 30 items.

item		level of opinion						
	statements	Always often some- seldom						
				time				
	How often did you do the							
	following							
1.	You took part in complaining		,					
	about or protesting against		:					
	government officials' or							
	politicians' corruption		• • • • • •	• • • • • •	i • • • • • • •	• • • • • •		

item	statements		le	opinio	opinion		
			often	some-	seldom	never	
2.	You took part in complaining about or protesting against the						
	consent of the government or politicians' to grant permission	:					
3.	in the unjust rising of  commodify prices  You were on strikes to protest	. • • • • • • •	• • • • • •	    	_		
J.	against the government's  decision to increase utility						
4.	costs and tranportation fares You were on a strike to ask for		 			 	
5.	the rise of the minimum wages  from the government  You were in demonstration to		 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	    		   	
J •	protest against an unjust labour	•••••					
6.	You attended political congregation of a Thai political						
7.	you attended meeting of labour	 		1			
	union to develop Thai labourers.	· • • • • • •	• • • • •	• • • • •	• • • • • •	• • • • •	

item		level of opinion				
	statements	Always	often	some- time	seldom	never
8.	You used to be a candidate for an administrator or a committee					,
9.	member of the Yhai labour union  You were a member of a political party in Thailand	l I		 	_	· • • • • •
10.	You took part in setting the conflicts between employers and					-
11. 12.	You voted in a local election You contributed in a political campaign of a party or of a	24	•			
13.	candidate for a member of the house of representatives  You voted in a general election					
14.	You voted in the election of administrators and committee members of a labour union					
15.	You attended a politician's conference or campaign speeches.					• • • • •
16.	You listened to or watched political television programmes.		• • • • •			••••

item	statements	level of opinion				
	Statements	Always	often	some-	seldom	never
17.	You wrote articles letters to be printed in a newspaper or broadcast by radio or television.					
18.	You encouraged the people who devoted their labour or who were political leaders					
19.	You talk about politics with friends or family members	-				
20.	You read about politics in					
	newspaper and magazines	: , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	! • • • • • • •	! • • • • • • • •	! • • • • • • • • •	i • • • • • • •
21.	You co-operated with the government officials in suppressing prevalent crimes in your community					
22.	You Co-operated with the government officials in maintaining welfare and security					
23.	in life and property of the public You co-operated with the government in solving the problem of gabage and water pollution	n				

item	statements	level of opinion				
	Statements	Always	often	some-	seldom	never
				time		
24.	You co-operated with the			٠.		
	government in solving the	·				
	problems of narcotics		l • • • • • •	! • • • • • •		
25.	You co-operated with the					
	government in solving the problem	ns 				
	of environmental pollution			• • • • • •		
26.	You took in solving the social					·
	problems of unequality					• • • • •
27.	You rendered a service to the					
	public or your community		! • • • • • • •	• • • • •	   • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
28.	You obeyed the laws and social					
	rules	• • • • • • •	• • • • •		! • • • • • • • • • • • •	
29.	You reserved the right and					
	liberty within the law as well as	5				
	observed the rules of democracy.			: • • • • • • • • • •	1 • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	•
30.	You were a good citizen and					
	conducted yourself nonourably					

The scale to measure the political attitude of Thai Labourers

The purpose of this scale is to survey your political attitude. Please read it carefully and then mark each statement in the right margin according to whether how often you do or do not do it. Please mark every one, depending how you feel in each case.

Strongly agree = You agree strongly with the statement

agree = You moderately agree with the statement

No opinion = You have no opinion about the statement

Disagree = You moderately disagree with the statement

Strongly disagree = You disagree strongly with the statement

This scale consists of 20 items.

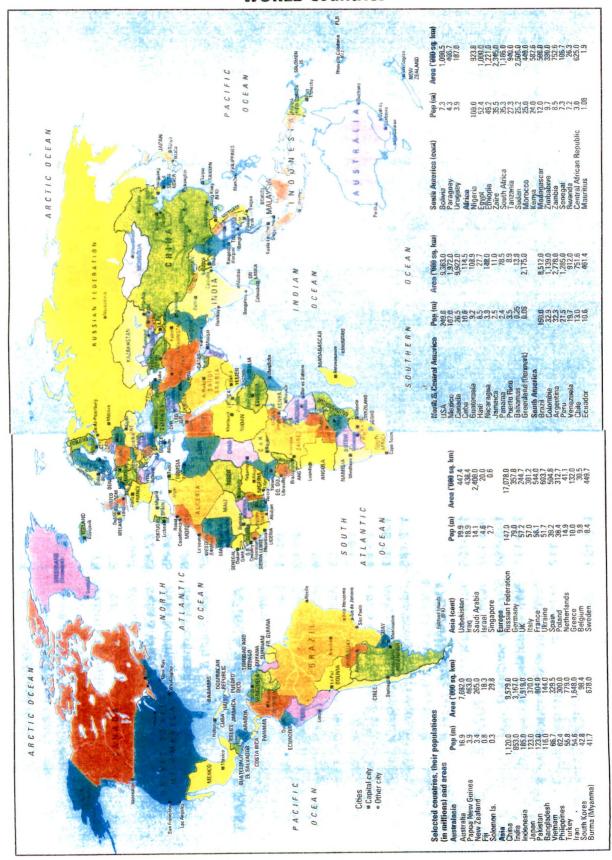
item	statements	level of opinion					
		Strongly	Agree	No	Dis	Strongly	
		Agree		opinion	nAgree 	disagree	
	How much do you agree or						
;	disagree to the following						
	Statements ?	٠					
1.	Political ans social change						
	in the present time are						
	very common in a democratic				•		
	regime				• • • • • •	' 	

item	statements	level of opinion					
	Statements	Strongly	Agree	•	Dis nAgree	Strongly disagree	
2.	You are one of the persons who has influence on the						
	government's decisions			· · · · · · · · ·			
- 3.	Thai labourers play important roles in national			-	•		
	development	! • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		• • • • • •		!	
4.	It is everyone,s	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			_		
	responsibility to be aware						
and the second	of governmental affairs and					į	
	political activities	 • • • • • • • • •		! • • • • • • •	! • • • • •,• ·		
5.	Voting in a general		·				
	election is one of the				-		
	things you do to show your						
	right of representation in						
	national administration	! • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • •	! • • • • • • •	! • • • • • • •	l • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
6.	The decision made by the						
	government conforms to the						
	public judement	• • • • • • • •			• • • • • •	• • • • • • • •	
7.	The government tries in						
	every way to develop the						
	country	• • • • • • • • •	• • • • •		1 • • • • • •		

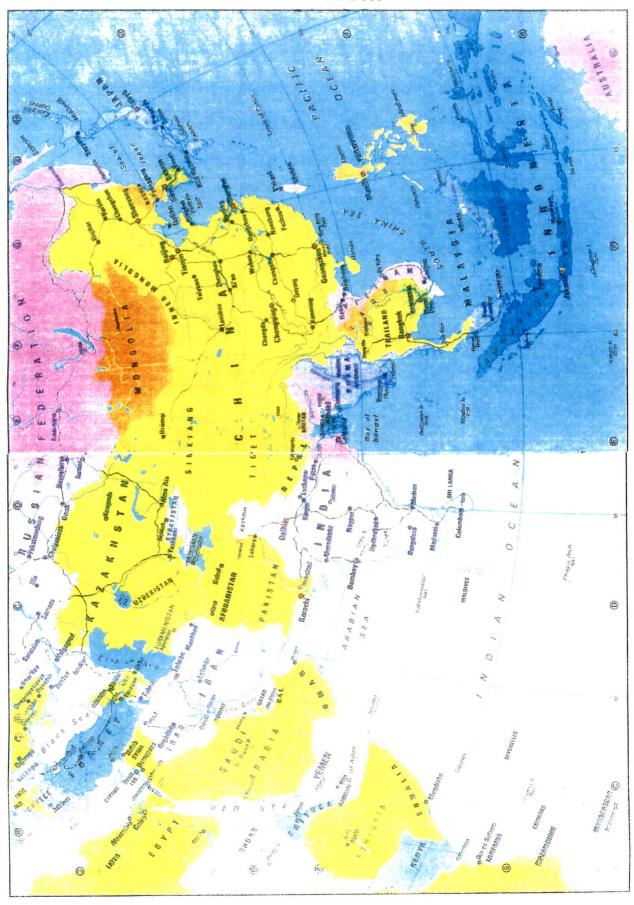
item		level of opinion					
:	statements	Strongly Agree	Agree		Dis nAgree	Strongly disagree	
8.	Thai democracy at present					·	
	best suits thais' way of li	fe	! • • • • • •	• • • • • •	• • • • •	! • • • • • • • • • • •	
9.	All that the government has					ı	
- ;	done is to bring about					. *	
	better public welfare		! • • • • • • • •	l. • • • • • • •	! • • • • • •	! • • • • • • • • •	
10-	You recieve good service				-		
	and advice when contacting	•	-	٠	-		
	government officials or	· ·					
	political institution	• • • • • • • •	! • • • • • •		• • • • •		
11.	Only demonstration or				-		
	strikes cause political						
	change	! • • • • • • • • • •	l • • • • • •			! • • • • • • • • •	
12.	Politics is complicated						
	and hard to understand	: • • • • • • • • • •	· • • • • •	! • • • • • • •	• • • • • •	! • • • • • • • • •	
13.	The conduct of the minister:	S	-				
	or members of the house of						
	representatives cannot be						
	regarded as a model		1 • • • • • •				
14.	The government sometimes						
	conceals something from the						
	public or even fool them		! • • • • • •	! • • • • • • •	• • • • • •		
		• •	Gr-₹			•	

item		level of opinion				
	statements	Strongly	Agree	No .	Dis	Strongly
		Agree		opinio	nAgree 	disagree
15.	We cannot trust or believe		,		·	
	in politicians	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	· • • • • • · •	· • • • • • • • • ·	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	· • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
16.	Most government officials'					
	job performance is not worth	h				
-	the tax-payers, money	• • • • • • • • •	! • • • • • • •	· • • • • • •	1 • • • • • •	
17.	Thai laws are not		•			
	effectively enforced because	e -		-	-	-
	the law breakers are not					
	punished due to bribes,					
	intrigues or their gang	! • • • • • • • • • •	 	! • • • • • • •		! • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
18.	Most of politicians are not					
	honest	l • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	! · • • • • •		i • • • • • •	l 
19.	Most of politicians use the	ir				
	power to seek for gain for					
	themselves, relatives, friend	l d		! 	l • • • • • •	
20.	People are not satisfied					
	with the government's					
	jobs completed in the past.		 			<u> </u>

## **WORLD** Countries



## ASIA SOUTH



## BURMA, THAILAND, INDO-CHINA, MALAYSIA & SINGAPORE

