Factors Influencing Voters and Political Participation in Thailand: Gender Perspective

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01 Rational
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03 Methodology
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Rational

Situation in Thailand

• Gender perspective
• National Election systems in Thailand
• National Election results (compare by gender)
1985 (2528) CEDAW

1997 (2540) Constitution

2007 (2550) Constitution

2015 (2558) Gender Equality Act

2017 (2560) Constitution

Law and Regulations related to gender equality
• Section 90.

Any political party which sends a candidate for election on a constituency basis shall have the right to send a candidate for election on a party list basis. In sending a candidate for election on a party list basis, each political party shall prepare one list of candidates, in which candidates for election of each political party shall not be the same as others’ and not be the same as the names of candidates for election on a constituency basis. Such list of candidates shall be submitted to the Election Commission prior to the end of the period for application for candidacy for election of Members of the House of Representatives on a constituency basis.

• In the preparation of a list of candidates under paragraph two, the members of the political party shall be allowed to participate in the deliberations, and **regard shall be had to the candidates for election from different regions and equality between men and women.**
National Election System in Thailand

National Election
July 3, 2011

2011
- 375 constituency seats
- 2 ballot papers
- 125 party list seats

National Election
March 24, 2019

2019
- 350 constituency seats
- 1 ballot paper
- 150 party list seats

Mix-member apportionment System

The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019
Voter Turnout in Thailand

Percentage of Voter turnout in Thailand

- 1953: 41.5%
- 1957: 57.5%
- 1960: 49.2%
- 1963: 43.9%
- 1966: 44.1%
- 1969: 47.2%
- 1972: 43.7%
- 1975: 39.0%
- 1978: 29.5%
- 1981: 24.3%
- 1984: 35.1%
- 1987: 32.5%
- 1990: 34.9%
- 1993: 27.0%
- 1996: 24.0%
- 1999: 61.4%
- 2002: 63.6%
- 2005: 61.6%
- 2008: 61.6%
- 2011: 62.4%
- 2014: 70.0%
- 2017: 72.6%
- 2020: 74.5%
- 2023: 75.0%
- 2026: 74.7%
Number of Voters in the 2019 election in Thailand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number of eligible voters</th>
<th>Eligible Voter turnout</th>
<th>%Voter turnout</th>
<th>%Voter turnout as share of eligible voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24,748,253</td>
<td>18,130,919</td>
<td>73.26</td>
<td>46.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26,758,769</td>
<td>10,629,262</td>
<td>77.09</td>
<td>53.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51,507,022</td>
<td>38,760,181</td>
<td>75.25</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The comparison number of candidate and number of member of parliament in the National election (March 24, 2019), by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Party-list system</th>
<th>Constituency system</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of candidates</td>
<td>No. of MP</td>
<td>%candidate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2,188</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>5.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,810</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>5.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bureekul, T., Gender Democracy: Strengthening gender equality in politics in Thailand, King Prajadhipok’s Institute. 2019
จำนวนผู้บริหารของภาครัฐ จำแนกตามเพศ

รัฐสภา Thai Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House of Representatives</th>
<th>สมาชิกวุฒิสภา senate</th>
<th>สมาชิกสภาผู้แทนราษฎร</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>หญิง female</td>
<td>ชาย male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.40</td>
<td>89.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15.80</td>
<td>84.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ที่มา: Thai Parliament รัฐสภา (2019)
Every human being has the right to participate in the decision-making process that impacts themselves, both women and men.

(Miranda, 2005)
“Political Participation”

Political participation is characterized by ‘those legal activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and or the actions they take’

(Verba et al., 1948, 46)
“Political Participation“

Political participation provides the opportunity for citizens to articulate their demands, to have control and to increase public pressure on the political elite

(Dalton, 2000)
“Political Participation“

1. **Conventional political participation** (involving the election)

2. **Unconventional political participation** (refers to the action which are not institutionalized, such as marching in protests and holding demonstrations)

   (Parry et al., 1992)
Gender equality

The equal treatment and equal opportunity between women and men with the goal being equality in terms of role and duty.

(Haskova, 2003)
To explore the gender differences in political behaviors, such as voting in the national election, and political participation in Thailand.

To study the important factors affecting voter’s decision making and the difference perspectives between pre and post election.
Methodology

Public Opinion survey on “National Election in Thailand”

Before election

National Election
July 3, 2011

After election (CSES, wave4)
Jun 1-15, 2011

Sample size
1,500

Before election

Feb.25 – Mar 15, 2019

After election (CSES, wave5)
Apr. 25 – May 31, 2019

Sample size
1,537

From multi-stage sampling from the eligible voters list in Thailand (18+ year old)
### World Value Survey (WVS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wave</th>
<th>World Value Survey</th>
<th>Period of data collection</th>
<th>Prime Minister</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2005-2006</td>
<td>June – July 2007</td>
<td>General Surayud Chulanont</td>
<td>1,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2010-2012</td>
<td>September – November 2013</td>
<td>Yingluck Shinawatra</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2017-2018</td>
<td>December 2017 - February 2018</td>
<td>General Prayuth Chan-Ocha</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Probability sampling
- Face to face interviews
Public Opinion survey on “National Election in Thailand”
The important factors influencing the voters’ intention to vote, by gender

### Important factors for voting on March 24, 2019 (pre-election)

- **Same of political ideology**
  - Overall: 4.4%
  - Male: 4.6%
  - Female: 4.2%

- **Name of candidates for Prime Minister**
  - Overall: 4.9%
  - Male: 5.1%
  - Female: 4.7%

- **Political leader of the candidates**
  - Overall: 6.9%
  - Male: 6.8%
  - Female: 7.0%

- **Political party of the candidates**
  - Overall: 9.5%
  - Male: 11.0%
  - Female: 8.2%

- **Reputation of candidates themselves**
  - Overall: 8.3%
  - Male: 8.1%
  - Female: 8.6%

- **Others**
  - Overall: 12.8%
  - Male: 13.2%
  - Female: 12.5%

- **Law enforcement**
  - Overall: 16.3%
  - Male: 17.0%
  - Female: 15.7%

- **Candidate’s political policies**
  - Overall: 36.9%
  - Male: 34.2%
  - Female: 39.1%

### Important factors for voting on March 24, 2019 (post-election)

- **Political party supporter**
  - Overall: .7%
  - Male: .6%
  - Female: .8%

- **Don’t like the opposite party**
  - Overall: .9%
  - Male: 1.0%
  - Female: .8%

- **Name of candidates in the party list**
  - Overall: 1.0%
  - Male: 1.0%
  - Female: 1.0%

- **Others**
  - Overall: 2.9%
  - Male: 2.6%
  - Female: 3.1%

- **Don’t like the previous party**
  - Overall: 4.2%
  - Male: 5.1%
  - Female: 3.4%

- **Name of candidates for PM**
  - Overall: 8.4%
  - Male: 9.3%
  - Female: 7.8%

- **Political party name**
  - Overall: 10.6%
  - Male: 9.9%
  - Female: 11.1%

- **Name of candidates**
  - Overall: 11.4%
  - Male: 10.3%
  - Female: 12.3%

- **Political party’s Performance**
  - Overall: 15.4%
  - Male: 14.6%
  - Female: 16.0%

- **Political party policy**
  - Overall: 44.7%
  - Male: 45.8%
  - Female: 43.8%
Perception of political party’s policies, by political parties and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pheu Thai</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palang Pracharath</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>48.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Forward</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhumjaithai</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai Liberal</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chartthaipattana</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action Coalition for Thailand</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Development</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pua Chat</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prachart</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thai Local Power</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Top five sources of information about election

1. Television: 52.0%
2. Campaigning activities: 24.7%
3. Internet/Social media: 22.7%
4. Community leader: 9.0%
5. Never received: 8.6%

Percentage of information and news about the election and candidates from males and females.
Changing in decision making to vote for the political party between the Constituency in 2011 and the 2019 election, by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Same party</th>
<th>Difference party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{Sig} = .876$
Changing in decision making to vote for the political party between the Constituency in 2011 and the 2019 election, by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Same party</th>
<th>Difference party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangkok</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sig = .001
On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Thailand?

* Percentage of very satisfied and fairly satisfied

Overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>89.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>51.51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>90.5%</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>88.3%</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sig. 2011 = .048, 2019 = .036
Conceptual framework

**Dependent Variables**
- important to live in a country that is governed democratically
- level of being democratically governed in country
- political interest
- independence in personal living
- satisfaction of household financial situation

**Control variables**
- being Bangkokians or provincial people
- household income
- educational level
- age

**Independent Variables**

**Conventional Political Participation**
- donating to a group or campaign
- contacting a government official
- encouraging others to take action about political issues
- encouraging others to vote

**Unconventional Political Participation**
- signing a petition
- joining in boycotts
- attending peaceful demonstration
- attending any other act of protest
**Factor Correlation**

Factors affecting the conventional political participation (CPP) in 2017

1. Life satisfaction (-)
2. Lower household income
3. Higher education level
4. Older

4 significant factors affecting CPP of men

No significant factor affecting CPP for women
## Factor Correlation

### Factors affecting the unconventional political participation (UPP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>- Lower education level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>- Political interest (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Non-Bangkokians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Higher household income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>- Political interest (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lower education level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>- No alternative in life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Life satisfaction (+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>- Not being democratically governed in country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Non Bangkokians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>- No significant factor affecting UPP for women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Session 15.4 Political Participation and Public Opinion

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Conclusion

• Political knowledge, political interest, and socio-economic status are the important factors affecting the unconventional and conventional political participation in both groups.

• After the political conflict and Thailand is under military rule, the perception and degree of participation change. For women, in 2017 survey result that conducted after almost 4 years of military government, women still play a little bit more conventional participation in politics than men. Whereas, there is no statistically different in participation in unconventional activities.
The barriers and difficulties faced

• Culture and Mindset
• Academic knowledge, paper, research work
• Experiences from advanced democratic countries
• Supports from policy makers
• Government officials’ understanding
Recommendations

- Political party policies educations
- Communication about elections by various medias and appropriate for gender and age groups
- Enabling environment that appropriate for election