

They said we were brain washed: How Thai students learn democratic values under the limited socialization of democratic values. The case study of the Thai student mob in 2020

Abstract

This article aims to understand the conditions that drive high school students in Thailand to protest the government in 2020 even though they are socialized with limited democracy under Thai educational system. It uses qualitative research methods through documentary research and in-depth interviews with 70 high school students and 31 social-study teachers who were sampling from 24 schools that were involved in political movement in 2020. This article uses content analysis along with discourse analysis and uses structuration theory to explain the findings. The study found that students can understand democratic values despite not being in a democratic environment. This is because political socialization has limitations in dominating the thought and behavior of the students, meanwhile students can consider and judge what they should do under the limited socio-political structure. However, students cannot understand democratic values by evolution but by incidents that attack their former thoughts which later leads to self-study of democratic values. The study found that democratic values learning would occur when 3 conditions come together 1) Changing of external structure 2) Enlightening of thought 3) An explanation that can relate between the current situation and value of what the students hold in a way that could benefit them. However, the political values of the student can be back and forth like a cycle between enlightenment and compliance as the result of double learning due to the clash of ideas and practice of individual under constrain of the structure.

Keyword: Political socialization, Politics of the internet, Structuration theory, Democracy-- Study and teaching, High school students--Political activity, Public meetings

Introduction

The political activism of many secondary school students during 2020 has been a huge surprise to people in Thai society. Since, in the education system of Thailand, the students are always taught that “Politics is not for children”. This concept is similar to the concept introduced for years in the song ‘10 Duties of Children’ composed by Cha-um Panjapan, a well-known novelist, which has been publicized till people in society perceive that student has 10 duties just as mentioned in the song which focuses on behaving obedient. The concept that ‘politics is not for children’ is stressed again through the textbook on civic education. For instance, in the textbook on civic education written by Kramon Thongthammachart, Drong Thundee and Drong Thammarak (2015, p. 62) stated that “ Students are obliged to study and strictly follow the rules and regulations of the school. Respect and obey the teachers.”

For this reason, the Thai education system is set up in such a way that students must spend most of their time studying both in the classroom and cram school. This affects the student to have less opportunity to learn and experience other forms of political participation besides the election. Even now, textbook under The Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (A.D. 2008), there will be more content on global democratic values mentioned more than in the past such as human rights, liberties and political participation. (Narumon Nimnuan, 2016, p. 46-55) However, democratic values are limited mention the details and give few examples to enhance the understanding about democratic value of the students.

For instance, even in textbook on civic education of Aimphan press co.ltd states about rights and liberties as the important aspects of democratic governance but it does not give further explanation nor give examples of how to express the rights and liberties properly. (Yurarat Panyura et al., 2015, p. 24) It only states that civil liberties are important and are enshrined in the constitution in several sections.

Democratic values studying through textbooks under The Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551, hence, cannot claim that it could enhance Thai students recognize the importance of democratic values and their potential in political participation until later leading to political movements. According to political socialization theory children are taught to believe and follow from an early age to reduce unpredictable behavior and then most children would think and behave just as the way they have been taught. (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, pp. 11-13) The process

of political socialization in childhood shall significantly affect the tendency of political attitudes and behaviors when they are adult. (Herbert, 1959, pp. 11-13)

Even later, political socialization analysts would give more space to analyze further dynamics of political socialization on children but the essence of thought is still the same, revolves around the belief that a child's political attitudes and values can be developed in the family and through education system. (Beck & Jennings, 1982, pp. 94-108.; Jennings, Stoker & Bowers, 2009, pp. 782-799) Political culture is one of the theories which give explanation similar to political socialization theory since it believes that people in society would have political thought and behavior in accordance with social beliefs and culture. (Almond & Verba, 1963, pp. 3-42) Thai scholars who study Thai political culture point out that people in Thai society have a 'Subject' political culture like (Prai Fah), since most of them have an authoritarian culture and do not deny the power of prestige which makes most of Thai people accept inequality under the description of destiny according to Buddhist beliefs. (Thinapan Nakata, 1977, pp. 1-29; Likit Thiravekin, 1986, p. 28)

As such, under the education system of Thailand which gives a limited description of democratic values and focuses on learning more than political participation under the explanation that politics is not for children, students are expected to have very few democratic attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, under Thailand's education system, Thai student would have less opportunity to be promoted democratic values much till lead to political movements later. Under these beliefs of explanation, we will never be able to explain why so many students came out for political movement in 2020 if they were taught very limited democracy and live in subject culture society from the childhood. As well as this generation of children is growing up during economic prosperity and the development of technology which greatly facilitated their lives, hence, it is almost impossible for a child to be interested in the country's problems and come out for political movement. Associate Professor Dr. Paungthong Pawakapan, gave an interview to Matichon Weekly on the issue about the political power of youth in driving society that *"Most of the new generation in Thai society are not interested in politics. We were in the political crisis from 2006, and political upheaval was slowly change. It's only been a couple of years that we have seen the phenomenon of being politically activist in the new generation. The student movement never happened at all for over years."* (Matichon Weekly, 2019, online) As such, the

political movement of many students during 2020 was seen as a result of students being brainwashed into “hating the nation”. Assoc. Dr. Anon Sakworawit, point out that the events of the youth movement in 2020 should be concerend about since that movement was the result of a ‘nation hatred movement’ that incites alienation towards their home country that has been embedded in Thailand for a long time. (Online Manager, 2021, Online) While Dr. Warong Dechkijvikrom similarly stated that alienation is inciting and brainwashing the new generation to hate their own nation. (Nation Online, 2020, online)

However, considering the interviews of the students who came out of the political movement from various news channels, it can be seen that students are able to explain and justify their political movements in connection with democratic values. For example, the ‘Kiam Udom group against dictatorship’ which is the first group who came out of the political movement against the government give the interview that *“We came out today because we just want to have the space to show our opinion. We don’t have any power but the voices, but now our voices were also taken away. We came to call out for equality which is the basis of democracy, and it is the process of being democratic. We hope that our voices will be loud enough for those in power in every institution of society. realizing who the real owner of sovereignty”*. (Prachatai, 2020, online) While, a 21-year-old male student from Rajamangala University of Technology Phra Nakhon indicates the reason why he decided to call out that he never hates the country and just want the country to be better. *“No one hates the country. We just want our country to be better. If we hate the nation, we will not pay taxes to be the salaries of those authorities.”* (BBC Thai, 2020, online)

While the student from Chulalongkorn University gave an opinion about the political movement of high school students at the seminar on Thailand Youth Movement and Political Direction In Search of A Common Future held on August 26, 2020 that *“Thai people grow up under the education system that do not support people to think nor analyze. But now we are living in an information age where we can easily access and share information with anyone from everywhere. We can keep in touch, connect, and come out together without leaving no one behind us. And the most important thing is that no one is behind us.”* (Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS) Thailand, 2020, online)

From the above interviews, it shows understanding of the students toward politics and political participation in democratic system beyond an election. They did not mention their political movement without any democratic explanation. They can link their political movement to democratic values and structural problems very well. For this reason, the political movement of the students cannot be reduced to mere sedition. This situation needs to be extended to cover various factors that cause students to learn political values in a different way than the way the state manipulates them, which leads them to do political movement later. This is because from the interviews it shows that the students themselves have analytical abilities to do political learning differently from what they have been socialized by the state. This is aligned with the concept of political socialization theory in the later period which pays more attention to the dynamics of political learning of the students. For instance, Westholm A. (1999, pp. 525-551) points out that Political socialization is not a two-way learning between children and parents, but there are other factors involved. Therefore, children may change their views differently from their parents when they grow up. Wolak J. (2009, pp. 573-583) pointed out in the same direction that parents' political communication is imperfect hence children's thoughts and behavior may be developed differ from those of their parents depends on environmental factors and learners' personality.

This article aims to do comprehension the phenomenon of political movement among large number of students in 2020 by expanding the perspective of political learning beyond political socialization to cover an ability to think of the students. This article hence brings the Structuration theory to be the framework to analyze the way in which students can perceive and behave differently from what they have been taught by the state beyond the formal political socialization theory since it hopes to better understand political phenomena with dynamic. (Giddens, 1984, pp. 81, 281–354; Stones & Tangsupvattana, 2012, pp. 217-238.; Anusorn Limmanee, 1999, p. 161-170)

Research methodology

This research article uses a qualitative method consisting of various method of study which include 1) Documentary research and related documents such as The Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (A.D. 2008), textbooks and learning materials. 2) In-depth interview the target groups which include students who came out for political mobilization in 2020 and the teachers

teaching civic education. The students are used snowball sampling while civic education's teachers are used the purposive sampling to covers the teachers the age level of 25-39 to represent the Generation XY group and the age level of 40-60 to represent the generation of baby boomers. The Interviews are conducted through the online system like Zoom application or Google meet etc. which aims to respect their privacy since interviewees can turn off their cameras during the interview if they wish. The data obtained will be presented in an overview under a pseudonym in order to comply with the ethical regulations of human research.

This research article was analyzed and synthesized from documentary, textbook, research, and the interviews of 70 students, divided into 17 leader students - 3 male 12 female and 2 non-binaries - and 53 students who participated in political movement – 25 male 23 female and 5 non-binaries. Along with the interviews of 31 civic education teacher, 13 male 15 female and 3 non-binaries. There are 14 teachers aged 25-39 and 17 teachers aged 40-60. The findings are as follows.

Political socialization of Thai state

The finding found that although many democratic values are mentioned and contained in textbooks under the Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (A.D. 2008), but many limitations remained. The first constraint is the amount of democratic content in textbooks. The finding shows that the content about democratic values will appear in the course on civics education which is only 1 of 5 subtitle of social studies. Moreover, in civic education textbook does not specifically address democratic values but it is mixed with many topics, including society, culture, law, and the provisions of the King under the constitution. So, democratic values such as rights liberty and political participation is one of many topics mentioned in civic education textbooks. Moreover, it doesn't go into much detail and doesn't give many examples.

The second constraint is the way to link contents to present the story in textbook which may lead to misunderstanding about democratic regime. The finding found that textbooks have inclination to present that universal democracy and constitutional monarchy are indistinguishable regimes. Indeed, the constitutional monarchy has some different cultural remark which affect

constitutional monarchy different function in each country. (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2022, p. 83-86) For example, textbook published by Aimphan Press Co.,LTD describes the riots that arisen in October 1973 and 1976 including Black May 1992 are the struggle of the ideological groups which lead to constitutional monarchy at the present. (Yurarat Panyura et al., 2015, p. 127) Even infact, in those events there were the suppression from conservative against the groups of people who participate to call out democracy. This way to present the history of Thai politics, hence, may cause the learners to miss important details which would lead them have misunderstanding about political regime of Thai politics. Those kinds of explanations are blurring the clash of different ideas and political dynamic of Thai politics which cause wrong analysis and wrong direction of public policy which include civic education that encourage limited democratic values to the learners.

The third constraint is the number of hours to study democratic values in civic education course, since civic education under the Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (A.D. 2008) must share the credit (6 credits) and learning hours (240 hours) with 3 other subjects; Religion, Economics and Geography through all 3 years. It means, civic education has average learning around 20 hours over 3 years or only around 6-7 hours per year. Moreover, in practice there are other assignments to the teachers that affect further less learning hours to the students.

The fourth constraint is the goal of the curriculum aims to stimulate responsibility and patriotism of the students rather than encourage their democratic values to recognize rights liberty equality and political participation. As the goal of the Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551 (A.D. 2008) clearly states the main purpose of civic education is to *“Make students understand and act as good citizens by carrying Thai traditions and culture in order to live together harmoniously in Thai society. As well as understanding Thai political system and having faith on constitutional monarchy.”* (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 16) The main goal of civic education of Core Curriculum 2008 has been repeated in the desirable characteristics of Thai student that there are 8 qualified characteristics which include 1) Patriotism and having faith on the nation, religion, and the monarchy 2) Honesty 3) Discipline 4) Eager to learn 5) Self-sufficiency 6) hard-working 7) Having Thainess and 8) Public mind. (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 7) Therefore, although there are rights, freedom and political participation are mentioned in civic education textbooks,

but they still focus on being a good moral citizen who ready to cooperate with the state and sacrifice some of their own benefit for the benefit of the public.

It clearly shows that the mentioned democratic values in civic education textbook is inadequate to promote the sense of democracy to Thai students since it has many limitations on restricted content, less explanation and learning hours. And the most important thing is that the goal of Thai civic education is not to create democratic but nationalist citizens. Because of this reason, most civic education teachers, then, prefer to promote volunteer activity to meet civic education assessment, which is even good event, but it is not an activity which could promote student the democratic values.

The limitations of political socialization theory

From the finding of democratic values in textbook above, it is clear that there are limitations in promoting student the democratic values through civic education textbook since the focus of textbook and Thai education system is to promote nationalist citizen. nevertheless, the large political movements of high student in Thailand in 2020 against the government is one evidence that an ability of students to learn democratic values even they are socialized under undemocratic education system. This situation leads to the question whether political socialization of Thai state still work?

The study found that political socialization of Thai state can do their function up until now even in the digital era where students have opportunities to access to various source of information which some sources provide the contradictory contents against the content presented in textbook endorsed by Thai government. From interviewing, it shows that most students did not feel interested in politics before the youth movement in 2020. They do not know how to express themselves in order to protect their rights and freedoms, even about hairstyles and school uniforms since they never knew nor thought before that dressing is the right of the body until the Bad Student introduced this idea.

For example, a student who came out for the mob said that she was not interested in politics before and never even understood what freedom and liberty according to democracy really is. That is why she did not know how to protect his freedom and liberty in accordance with democratic values. *“At that time, I did not think much about student uniforms. I can accept*

anything. I just follow the rules even if I don't want to". (Maprang, interview, 11 July 2021) While, another student said in the same direction that he recognizes what the rights really is after there was the movement of Free Youth especially the movement of Bad Student who attempts to point out that students have the right on their body to freely dress and have their own hair cut. "I used to feel before that having student hairstyle does not matter to me. I follow the rule, so I was never forced to have student's hair cut, there were only my friends who were forced by the teachers. It is not right, what did they mess with our heads. These nonsense things keep accumulating day by day until one day we are forced to prostrate on the floor to the teachers longer than before without any proper explanation that drives us to feel angry. Combined with the pandemic of Covid 19 which the government cannot improperly handle. All that situations make us feel uneasy with the government and do not want to follow the nonsense practices in school anymore." (QP, interview, 28 July 2021)

The interviews above show that most students, including the leader of student's group never thought of the student haircut and student uniform as the problem on rights and freedom before until the movement of Free Youth and Bad Student in 2020. Although they felt dissatisfied, there were only few students came out to criticize the student haircut before the semester on social media which most of criticism often disappear in hour. It shows that political socialization of Thai state is successful in some extent since they can frame thought and behaviors of Thai students to be in the way that the State desires. However, even the students follow the rules, but it doesn't always mean that they agree with the state. Most of the students stated that they had to comply with the rules because those rules contained penalties and they do not want to have any problems with the state, hence it is the wisest way to decide to follow the rules. It shows that an endeavor of the state to do political socialization on the students still has some limitation since the state cannot completely dominate people's thought.

Indeed, the theory of political socialization itself has some theoretical limitations such as it gives too little emphasis on the relationship between individual and political structure in political socialization. (Dinas, 2014, pp. 827-852; Neundorf et al., 2016, pp. 921-949) Erik Amna, Mats Ekstrom, Margaret Kerr and Hakan Stattin (2009, pp. 27-40) indicate that there were 8 limitations on the theory of political socialization which include 1) It pays too less attention on

youth capability to choose over their action. 2) It overlooks the context in everyday life that will affect political learning. 3) It is regardless of the ever-changing context. 4) It applies the narrow concept of political participation to measure. 5) It lacks long-term studies on political socialization. 6) It lack of study on relationship between various variables related to political socialization. 7) It does not give value to individual specific experiences on political socialization. and 8) It lack of new theoretical explanations on political socialization.

In this regard, political socialization of Thai state which try to embade nationalism into the students still has some limitations both in theory and in practice. The finding found that there are at least 4 limitations which might lead the students to have thought and behaviour differently from what they have been socialized by the state.

First, the finding shows that Thai state too much believes in the influence of the structure in doing political socialization over individual. This can be seen from an endeavor of Thai state to establish the learning standards, indicators, and the structure of the content in textbook in order to force the teacher to teach in the same direction and can be measured efficiency of the curriculum.

Even though later there is the student's movements came out to criticize the curriculum and state performance, Thai state still chooses to deal with the criticism with inflexible policies by issuing "12 core values" for Thai students to emphasize the characteristics of good citizens in accordance with Thainess and setting the indicators to measure the result. (The Ministry of Education, the Office of the Basic Education Commission, 2557) This shows that Thai state quite ignore an ability of individual to think in the different way even they are living under the political structure that has some constrains. Those actions of Thai state, hence, make them cannot effectively handle the dissent, change and movement of the people.

Second, the finding shows that Thai state has less awareness on differences of thought withing group. Thai state has a lot of confidence that teachers could completely deliver knowledge and political values in accordance with what is contained in the textbook since they had designed the indicators to recheck the teachers' performance. In fact, knowledge transferring

in practice may not always be consistent with textbooks. The study indicates that although Thai state attempts to establish political socialization framework for teachers to be in the same direction, however teachers may distribute knowledge differently from the objectives of the state depending on teacher's comprehension, ideology, and ability of conducting which is unequal. In addition, teachers themselves are not all homogeneous. Although the teachers are made to be "models" for the students. But not all teachers want to play that role. Especially young teachers aged between 25-39 years old. This group of teachers tend to believe that they are just "ordinary people" who are 'imperfect' and cannot be role models for anyone. Moreover, most of the teachers in this group have critical minds and try to teach their students critical thinking even criticize on 'the 12 core values' of Thai state. One teacher who teaches social studies gives an interview that he shall twist the content from textbook when teaching the 12 core values and encourage his students to think analytically by not affecting indicators of the curriculum. (Social teacher, interviewing 30 June 2022) the different comprehension and ability of the teachers might lead to the differences in knowledge transferring of the teachers which may lead the students to have thought and behavior unlike core values of the state. The teacher, hence, is one of the factors that affect students to think and perform differently from core values they have been socialized by the state.

Third, the findings found that Thai state underestimate many factors surrounding the political structure that may affect thought and behavior of the people to be unlike core values of Thai state. Especially the advent of Internet technology which is advanced every single day. This is one of the factors enhancing political participation of the people since the state cannot control the data anymore and people can access a great amount of information which might be different from what they have learnt since they were young. Through the internet, people can post, share and show their like or dislike various contents online which may inspire other people to think and act in the same way, for instance question against the government and come out for political movements. (McNair, 2011, pp.1-67; Hong, Y. & Lin, T. 2017, pp. 50-70) The result of this research also indicates in the same direction that the students who came out for political movements in 2020 was resulted from accessing to various information online which give different

explanations from core value of the state. Some students get different information while they are assigned to do study reports, while some students access to contrary information against the state by themselves after the political movement of young people which lead them to become interested in politics through search engine of google.

Fourth, the findings found that one of limitations in political socialization of Thai state is the inflexible and too nationalism content which is focus on duties and responsibility and not much open the space for people's political participation. This is because the goal in civic education of Thailand is aimed to create citizen to be the good moral citizen rather than to be the active participatory citizen. However, the giving reason of Thai state in promoting moral citizen - that Western culture is inconsistent with good culture of Thailand since it focuses on consumerism which contrary to sufficiency economy (Yurarat Panyura et al., 2015, p. 117; Thawat Tantophas and others, 2015, p. 77) - is not enough to make people accept and follow those values because it quite contrasts to reality of the world where nowadays greatly emphasizes freedom and political participation of the people. Core values of the state which strongly emphasize on nationalism until there is no space for descriptions that keep up with the world would undermine faith of the citizen against the state. When core values of the state do not keep up with changes, it would lead people to feel doubt, dissatisfied and might begin to learn democratic values by themselves which may be different from what they are socialized by the state. The dissatisfaction would accumulate over time, the thought would crystallize and be ready to explode on the right time.

These four limitations indicate that even though the process of political socialization may be seen as using cultural power to dominate thought and behavior of the people for peace and order or govern without using force. (Steven L., 1974, pp.108-151) But in reality, there is no power without resistance. (Faubion, 1994, pp. 326-348; Ernesto & Chantal, 2001, pp.1-193; Watcharapol Phuttaraksa, 2541, น. 12-15)

The case of students' movements in 2020 against the government could confirm the statement above that with every control, there will always be resistance. Therefore, even if

students are trained to obey but over time if that training is not flexible enough to cope with change, then doubt and question would emerge which would lead to the challenges against the state in various ways such as the questioning, not believing, not listening, challenging, even denying core values of the state.

Democratic value learning of Thai student under the limited democratic political socialization by Thai state

The study above shows that even if the students have been taught limited democracy, they still can learn democratic values which may lead them to do political movement later since political socialization of Thai state has limitations. However, democratic value learning of students is a complex process. It cannot jump to the conclusion that what is the specific variable that leads the student to learn different political values from what they are socialized by the state. The result indicates that variables such as a set of knowledge, family, teachers, friends, and Internet media all are not the factors that directly affect students' learning of democratic values. Many students with Red-shirt families were introduced to freedom and political participation by their family when they were young, such as sending them the link of red shirt scholars but most of them ignored the link until the advent of the movement of Free Youth and Bad Student in 2020 that leads them to try to find that link and access the information by themselves again later. As same as the teacher, despite they try to disseminate their students the democratic values, but it doesn't make the students interested in politics so much compared to the student's interest in 2020 after Free Youth mobilization.

The study suggests that Students will never learn what democratic values without self-learning. This is because even if there are some people or some situation explaining how bad politics right now is and why it is important for the students to call out for change, but if students are not aware of its importance and do not have any interest in beginning self-study on democratic values, democratic values learning of the student, hence, cannot happen.

The results indicated that democratic values learning of Thai students is complicated and could be divided into 5 phases, consisting of 1) attention phase, 2) learning phase, 3) awakening phase, 4) expression phase, and 5) crystallization phase.

The attention phase is the most important phase as it is the beginning of democratic values self-study of the students. However, the starting point for each student in political interest is varied. The finding shows that the political movement of Free Youth and Bad Student in 2020 are the situations that stimulate students to want to do self-study on democratic political values. The political movements in 2020 could enable students to start learning democratic values by themselves because they could stimulate student's interest in politics. This is because knowledge about rights on body is a new explanation that most of students had never heard before, so when the Bad Student came out to announce that students have the rights on their body to dress and have what the haircut they want according to democratic values. That sort of explanation makes students feel interested in politics and leads them begins to study democratic values rights and freedom through the case of rights on body which they are stake holder in this case.

When students become interested in politics, it would lead them to the second phase, the learning phase. In this phase, the student will begin to seek information from new sources beyond textbooks on issues they are interested in. Because of this, the students would have the opportunity to experience a new set of explanations, in which some information is different from the description that they used to studied before. Various source of information the students might get from the learning phase would make the students realize that there are many sets of different descriptions for the same event or issue depends on the focus and point of view. During this time, students would begin to connect their past experiences with the found new set of explanations. If new explanation allow the students to be one of the stake holders who would benefit from democratic action, it would further motivate students to be interested to learn democratic values by themselves which would lead them to have political engagement later.

The third phase is the awakening phase as a result of obtaining different information for the same event which make them awaken from data monopoly by the state and have far more

understanding on the circumstances in many aspects. Because of this, it makes students realize their potential to protect the rights and freedoms of their own and others. In this process, the learners will become more aware and curious about the system that they got used to before. This is an important moment for students to learn political values differently from what they have been socialized through education system.

The awakening phase, hence, would arouse the students to be ready to take part in politics in the fourth phase or expression phase. At this stage, the students would have some certain behaviors in order to show the public that they have political awareness. However, there are various kinds of political expressions besides political movements. The finding shows that some students prefer to only make fun of politics or criticize the government in classroom with teachers and friends. Politics that students like to joke about, such as about the coup, about the postponement of general elections for several times, and the deputy prime minister's number of band-name watches. While some students prefer to express their opinion about politics through social media, some students prefer to only donate to political movement group, and some students prefer to come out to do political movement by themselves. Political action in this phase of the students is another important moment for students to learn democratic values from reality.

Finally, the crystallization phase, in this phase the students will learn from practice what they can or can't do in reality compares to ideology. They will finally know that there are some limitations of ideology in practice and then what should they do in the future. The finding indicates that there are at least 3 types of student's behavior after crystallizing their thoughts learning from reality. The first type is the group of students who still came out for political movement in various ways. The second type is the group of students who have retreated from politics. The third type is the group of students who have learnt that each political ideology has both good point and weak point, hence it is better for them catch on each political ideology's weakpoint and decide wisely to express themselves appropriately with the political opportunity to protect the rights and liberties in accordance with democratic values.

Conclusion

From the findings above it can be concluded that even under the limited political socialization on democratic values by Thai state, most students still can realize what democratic values really is and recognize the importance of rights and liberties they should have as the students. However democratic values learning of Thai students is complicated, and it will never happen without self-learning. There are 5 stages of students' self-learning on democratic values which include 1) attention phase, 2) learning phase, 3) awakening phase, 4) expression phase, and 5) crystallization phase. The study found that democratic values learning would occur when 3 conditions come together 1) Changing of external structure 2) Enlightening of thought 3) An explanation that can relate between the current situation and value of what the students hold in a way that could benefit them. And the most difficult process is the first phase because without paying any attention to politics, it is hard for the students to do self-learning on politics and understand democratic values. It cannot deny that most of the students' interest came after the movement of political movement of Free Youth and Bad Student who came out with the explanations about the right over student's body by linking with hairstyle and student's uniform which is an issue that students are interested in. However, even though students are interested in learning democratic values by themselves, it does not always mean that they would always come out for political movements. Moreover, the political values of the student can be back and forth like a cycle between enlightenment and compliance as the result of double learning due to the clash of ideas and practice of individual under constrain of the structure. Therefore, it cannot easily be concluded that the political movement of many student groups against the government in 2020 is the result of brainwashing by some anti-state group. The political movement of the students cannot be reduced to mere sedition since they can give explanations on their political movement to democratic values and structural problems very well.

Bibliography

- Almond G. A. & Verba S. (1965). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Boston : Little & Brown.
- Amna E., Ekstrom M., Kerr M. & Stattin H. (2009). Political socialization and human agency: The development of civic engagement from adolescence to adulthood. *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 111(1),27-40.
- BBC Thai. (2563). Student protests: The new generation reveals the reasons for protesting against the Prayuth government. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-51716774>
- Beck, P.A., & Jennings, M.K. (1982). Pathways to Participation. *American Political Science Review*, 76(1), 94-108.
- Castells M. (1998). *The rise of the network society*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Dawson R. E. & Prewitt K. (1969). *Political Socialization*. USA: Little, Brown and Company. pp. 11-13.
- Dinas, E. (2014). Why does the apple fall far from the tree? How early political socialization prompts parent-child dissimilarity. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(4), 827-852.
- Faubion J. D. (1994). *Power: essential works of Foucault 1954-1984 Vol.3*. London: Penguin Books.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press. P.81.

- Herbert, H.H. (1959). "Political socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior" in Richard E. Dawson & Kenneth Prewitt. **Political Socialization**. (USA: Little, Brown and Company, 1969). p.11-13.
- Hong, Y. and Lin, T. (2017). The Impacts of Political Socialization on People's Online and Offline Political Participation—Taking the Youth of Singapore as an Example. *Advances in Journalism and Communication*, 5, 50-70.
- Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS) Thailand. (2020). *Thailand's Youth Movement and Political Directions In Search of A Common Future* Wednesday, 26th August 2020. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/ISISThailand/videos/747334535832336/?extid=jHO3Mh4XyWFquzC0>
- Jennings, M. K., Stoker, L., & Bowers, J. (2009). Politics Across Generations: Family Transmission Reexamined. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(3): p.782–799
- Kramon Thongthammachart, Drong Thundee and Drong Thammarak (2015). Social study: Citizenship, Culture and and Social living. Textbook. Bangkok: Wattana Panich Publishing. p. 62.
- McNair, Brian. (2011). *An introduction to political communication*. (5th edition). London: Routledge. pp.1-67.
- Ministry of Education. (2008). The Basic Education Core Curriculum B.E. 2551. Bangkok: Printing House of the Agricultural Cooperatives Association of Thailand.
- Naruemon Nimnuan. (2559). Politics in Thai secondary education during the year 1960-2008. Thesis, Master degree, Faculty of Political Science, Thammasat University

Nation Online. (2563). Dr. Warong points out that "national hatred" is stirring up the new generation of children. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3d2a_O7PdAc

Neundorf A., Niemi R., Smets K. (2016). The Compensation Effect of Civic Education on Political Engagement: How Civics Classes Make Up for Missing Parental Socialization. *Political Behavior*, 38, 921-949.

Steven L. (1974). *Power a radical view*. London: Macmillan press.

Stones R. & Tangsupvattana A. (2012). Social theory, current affairs, and Thailand's political turmoil: Seeing beyond reds vs. yellow. *Journal of Political Power*, 5(2), 217-238.

Thinapan Nakata. (1977). Thai Political culture and socialization. In *Thai Political Culture and Socialization, from the Review of Thai Social Science : A Collection of Articles by Thai Scholars* (pp.1-29). Bangkok: The Social Science Association of Thailand.

Westholm, A. (1999). The Perceptual Pathway: Tracing the Mechanisms of Political Value Transfer across Generations. *Political Psychology*, 20(3), 525-551.

Wolak J. (2009). Explaining change in party identification in adolescence. *Electoral Studies*, 28(4), 573-583.

Yurarat Panyura et al. (2015). Social study: Citizenship, Culture and and Social living. Textbook. Bangkok: Aimphan Publishing. p. 24.