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Democracy Index in Thailand: Monitoring the Pulse of Thai Democracy 2023

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Preface of the King Prajadhipok's Institute

The book "Democracy Index in Thailand: Monitoring the Pulse of Thai Democracy 2023" is a reflection of the democratic situation in Thailand from 2017 to 2023. This study considered another important study of the King Prajadhipok's Institute to reflect various public opinions on the level of democracy, including respect for rights, freedoms, and duties, the rule of law, political participation, social capital, trust in state organizations, support for democracy, anti-corruption, and other related factors.

King Prajadhipok's Institute appreciates the support from the National Statistical Office in the collection of the data, contributing to this study for the relevant knowledge to the development of democracy in Thailand.

King Prajadhipok's Institute

Preface

This study "Democracy Index in Thailand: Monitoring the Pulse of Thai Democracy 2023" was carried out under the project "Study and Development of Citizenship Indicators and Decentralization of Democratic Development in Thailand" by the Research and Development Office, King Prajadhipok's Institute. The main objective is to reflect the level of Thai democracy in 2023 by comparing the results of studies between 2017 and 2023 and presenting factors affecting people's political participation. The study method consisted of interviews with 33,420 people, aged 18 years and over. The study was conducted between 6 June and 10 July 2023.

The research team would like to express our appreciation to not only The National Statistical Office for conducting the survey of the public opinion but also all the participants for providing the relevant information.

Executive Summary

The King Prajadhipok's Institute conducted a study to reflect the democratic level in Thailand in 2023. This index can be applied to monitoring and studying trends of the democracy in Thailand between 2017 and 2023.

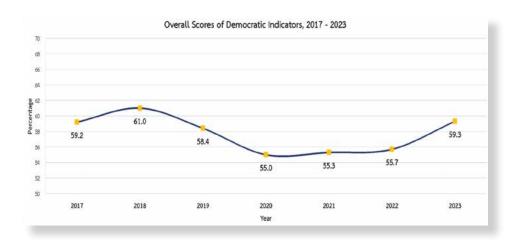
To measure the democratic level in Thailand, the democratic process and the results of democracy must be analyzed as important indicators of principles that drive administration and the exercise of good governance. The principles of administration and good governance, the democratic process, the results of democracy.

In terms of good governance and administration, respect for rights, freedoms, and duties under the rule of law are shown by dedicate for public benefits, pay tax, everyone should have equality rights, accept the different opinions, basic rights should be protected rights, have the freedom to access the information. The rule of law focuses on access to the correct and appropriate access to justice, equal enforcement of the law, and trust in the legal system. The democratic process addresses political participation including elections and participation in both conventional and unconventional political activities. While the social

capital depends on people having membership in various groups and trusting in each other, including the National Assembly, the government sector, independent organizations, government officials, the army, the police, local government organizations and the courts. Anti-corruption means seeking to prevent corruption in state operations.

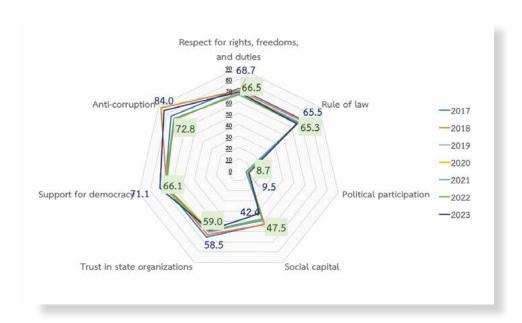
This democracy survey acquired data from 33,420 voters of all ages starting from 18 years, selected through a random sample. Data collection was undertaken between 6 June and 10 July 2023. The results of the study are shown as comparisons of various from 2017 - 2023 to reflect trends in democracy.

The overall democratization score for the study's seven indicators, consisting of respect for rights, freedoms, duties, the rule of law, political participation, social capital, trust in state organizations or government institutes, support for democracy, and anti-corruption, was 59.3 out of 100 in 2023 or at a moderate level of democracy, and the highest score was seen in 2018.



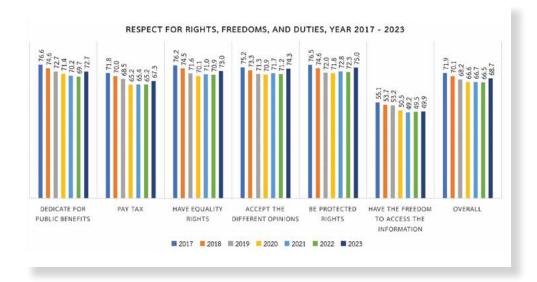
The questionnaire responses revealed a high score in anti-corruption with a score of 84.0, followed by support for democracy with a score of 71.1, respect for rights, freedoms, and duties with a score of 68.7, and adherence to the rule of law with a score of 65.5. Moderate scores were seen in trust in government institutes with a score of 58.5, and social capital with a score of 42.4. A very low score was evident in political participation with a score of 9.5.

The evaluation results over the past seven years showed that the overall score was highest in 2018. However, in 2019, the democracy assessment score dropped to 58.4 and continued to decline in 2020. From 2021 - 2023, the trend improved with an increase to 59.3 in 2023. The detailed results are as follow.



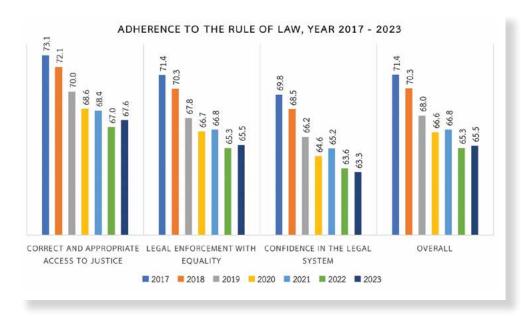
1) Respect for rights, freedoms, and duties

included dedicate time for public benefits, pay tax, everyone should have equality rights, accept the different opinions, basic rights should be protected rights, have the freedom to access the information. The overall result in 2023 obtained from the questionnaire revealed a high level, with a score of 68.7. It was found that the protection of rights had the highest score of 75.0, followed by accepting different opinions with a score of 74.3, having equal rights with a score of 73.0, dedicate for public benefits with a score of 72.7, and paying taxes with a score of 67.3. The lowest score was in freedom of access to information with a score of 49.9. When comparing the results between 2017 and 2023, the overall score ranged from a low of 66.5 in 2022 to 68.7 in 2023. An increase of the score was caused by protection of rights, accepting different of opinions, equality, dedication time for public benefits, pay tax, and freedom of information access.

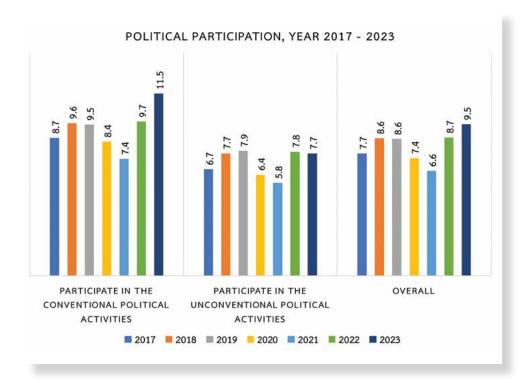


2) The indicator of adherence to the rule of law

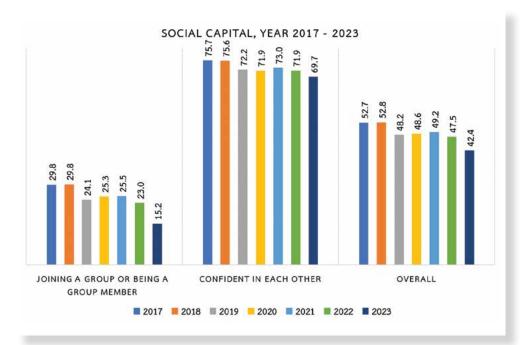
included the dimensions access to correct and appropriate justice, equal enforcement of the law, and trust in the legal system. The overall picture in 2023 was a high level score of 65.5, representing a slight increase from 2022. In particular, that high level was based on a score of 57.6 for access to a correct and appropriate justice process, followed by 65.5 for equal enforcement of the law, and 63.3 for trust in the legal system. From 2017 to 2020 the overall score on this indicator decreased gradually from 71.4 in 2017 to 66.6 points in 2020. Despite a slight increase in 2021, the score decreased further until 2023. The score in confidence in the legal system decreased while others slightly increased.



3) Political participation in conventional political activities included: contacting (1) government officials or legal representatives at all levels, (2) high-ranking officials, (3) community leaders, (4) influential leaders or with prestige, and (5) the press. Unconventional political activities consisted of: (1) collaboration for solutions, (2) writing letters of complaints, (3) protests, and (4) violence for political ends. Political participation was at a very low level, or at 9.5 points, with an increase of approximately 0.2 points from 2022. It was also found that both conventional and unconventional participation in politics increased, and the higher was in conventional participation.

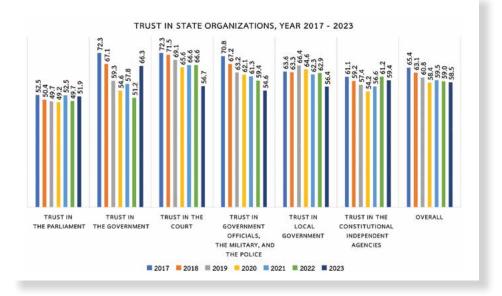


4) Social capital included group integration or membership in a trusted group, which could including relatives, neighbors, and others with whom the respondent associates. The study found that in 2023 the score for social capital overall was at a medium level, with a score of 42.4. Group integration or group membership had a score of 15.2 while confidence in community had a score of 69.7. Between 2017 and 2023, the overall social capital score started at 52.7 but dropped to approximately 48 for 2019 and 2020, then after a small, brief recovery continued to decline from 2022. The trends in the group membership and confidence in community components were similar, though the latter started at a much higher level and remained relatively high despite its decline.



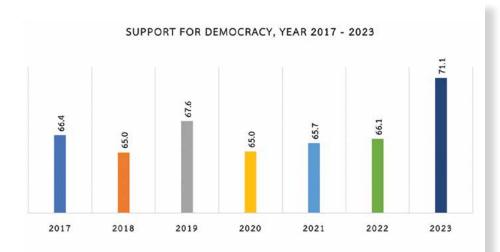
5) Trust in state organizations consisted of trust in the parliament, the government, the courts, government officers, the army, and the police, local government organizations, and independent organizations under the constitution. The overall score for 2023 was at a moderate level with 58.5. The highest-scoring dimension was trust in the government with the score of 66.3, followed by trust in independent organizations under the constitution with a score of 59.4, trust in the courts with a score of 56.7, trust in local government organizations with a score of 56.4, and trust in government officials, the military, and the police with a score of 54.6, while the least trust was in the parliament with a score of 51.9.

Comparing between the years 2022 and 2023, trust in the government increased by 15.1, followed by trust in the

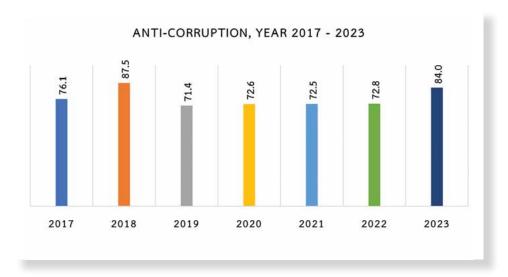


parliament by 2.2. There were decreases in trust in independent organizations under the constitution. by 1.8, in government officials, the military, and the police. by a score of 4.8, in local government organizations. by 6.5, and in the courts. by 9.9.

6) Support for democracy included refusing to accept other forms of governance, namely coup government, single-party majoritarian government, military government, and other forms of government instituted through the abolition of the electoral and parliamentary system. The overall result for 2023 was at a high level with a score of 71.1. When considering the period from 2017 to 2023, support for democracy fluctuated in the range of 65 to 67.7 for most of the period until the sudden jump to 71.1 in 2023.



7) In terms of anti-corruption, the overall result was at a high level in 2023 with a score of 84.0, which was an increase by more than 10 from 2022. From 2017 to 2023, the result started from a score of 76.1 and reached 87.5 in 2018. However, objection to corruption decreased to a score of 71.4 in 2019, or the lowest score in five years. Towards the end of the study, objections to corruption reached their highest in the period of seven years.



In addition, the analysis of political participation in 2023 involved political news as the most important variable driving people to participate in politics. This factor continued after 2021. In 2021 itself, most people who participated in politics occasionally followed the news. The factors of respect for rights, freedoms, and duties, trust in the Prime Minister, trust in community including relatives, neighbors, and those with whom they communicated, positively influenced the level of people's participation in politics.

In addition, the analysis of political participation in 2023 was a continuation of a phenomenon that started in 2021. In 2021 itself, most people who participated in politics occasionally followed the news. The factors of respect for rights, freedoms, and duties, trust in the prime minister, and trust in community including relatives, neighbors, and those with whom respondents communicated positively influenced the level of people's participation in politics.

Certain demographic factors were highly and positively related to the level of people's political participation. Those who lived outside a municipality had a higher level of political participation than those who lived in the area of a municipality. Those with higher education were more politically involved. In terms of gender, through the three-year period of the study, more men than women participated in politics.

Moreover, to enhance political participation, it is crucial to provide citizens with thorough and equitable access to important information according to the context to cater to all groups based on gender, age, and specific needs of diverse populations.

The government should establish platforms or channels that enable citizens to express their ideas on politics, society, and other issues. These avenues would allow communities to communicate their opinions and needs to those in power and policymakers, all while exercising their rights within the framework of social rules.

Another factor affecting political participation is social growth, encompassing the distinctive social relationship, group membership,

and confidence in community. When people gather to do interesting activities and gain social acceptance, such social capital should be promoted by the government. Human capital involves building not only knowledge but also social responsibility to harmonize and strengthen society.

In addition, building confidence state organizations is important to promote democracy. The Thai government and all government agencies should operate under the principles of good governance to raise the quality of public services. People should be able to access public services equally for a better life quality. From the results of the study, people with good quality of life and living conditions were more interested in politics. In addition, the public services should operate under the principles of good governance, which public confidence in the legal system is fostered with equal protection under the law for all citizens.

The government and state organizations should promote media literacy in both formal and non-formal education in order to help citizens become immune to distorted information. Additionally, prioritizing citizenship education in families, schools, communities, and extending to the national level is essential to cultivate awareness of rights, liberties, and civic responsibilities among citizens. Fostering active citizens is key to political participation for the development of democracy in Thailand.

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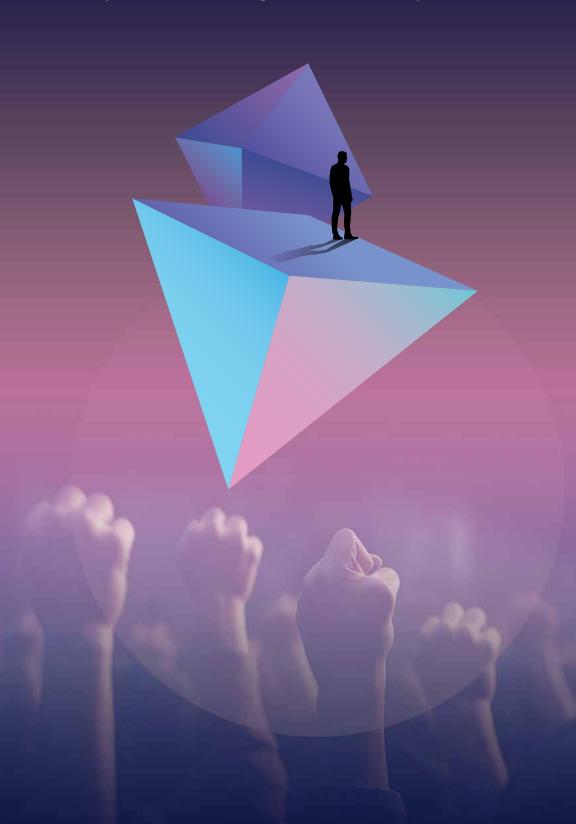
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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Among various forms of governance in the world, democracy is one of the most popular today. Aristotle said, "Democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people." The government should allow the people to participate in decision-making, and political representatives are elected in a timely manner with fairness and liberty, the most characteristic of democracy. Currently, there are approximately 167 countries under democracy around the world, including Europe, North America, and Asia, and many of them are members of the United Nations (UN).

However, the democratic practice in each country may vary and contain political issues such as violations of the rights and liberty related to government actions. Moreover, people with different ideas may lead to conflicts and division. The study of the ASEAN Barometer Survey involves surveying the public opinion on the most important characteristics of democracy from 2001 to 2022.

In 2001, democracy under the global understanding meant the support for liberty in general by allowing political expressions and emphasizing equality. In 2006, political equality was mainly considered. In 2010, the focus was on political norms and processes under the principles of good governance. In 2020, the government should provide basic services for the people while reinforcing political expressions, elections, and political practices without corruption (Asian Barometer Survey, 2019; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2022). The results of the study in Thailand in 2001 revealed that democracy, in the view of Thai people, mainly included liberty in political expression and the establishment of associations. In 2006, political equality and freedom were emphasized. However, in 2010, democracy became a matter of political satisfaction, employment, and reduction of the social gap (Asian Barometer Survey, 2019). In 2022, democracy was seen as the means leading to a better life and necessities: food, clothing, and housing. The government was expected to create employment opportunities for all citizens to close the gap between the rich and the poor according to the rule of law while the courts protect the people from the government's inappropriate exercise of power. (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2024)

In addition, the studies related to the evaluation of democracy by various agencies, such as the Economist Intelligence Units and the Freedom House, suggested many aspects of evaluation criteria and target groups.

In 2023, the results of the survey conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit through a comprehensive study worldwide revealed a Democracy Index survey from 167 countries with four types of democratic governance: full democracy, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes, and

authoritarian regimes.¹ The 2023 rank showed 35.3% under authoritarian governance, 29.9% under flawed democratic governance, 20.4% under hybrid regimes, and 14.4% under full democratic governance. Further details can be found in Table 1.1 and Figure 1.1.

Table 1.1: Types of Democratic Regimes in the world by the Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018 - 2023.

Type of re	gime	Full Democracy	Flawed Democracy	Hybrid	Autho- ritarian
Score (s)	8.01 - 10	6.01 - 8.0	4.01 - 6.0	0 - 4 .0
	2018	20	55	39	53
	2019	22	54	37	54
Numbers	2020	23	52	35	57
of .	2021	21	53	34	59
Countries	2022	24	48	36	59
	2023	24	50	34	59
	2018	12	32.9	23.4	31.7
	2019	13.2	32.3	22.2	32.2
Percentage	2020	13.8	31.1	21	34.1
of Country	2021	12.6	31.7	20.4	35.3
Country	2022	14.4	28.7	21.6	35.3
	2023	14.4	29.9	20.4	35.3

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2023a;

King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2024

Types of democratic governance were obtained from questionnaires comparing democracy in 167 countries around the world with 5 categories of questions: electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, democratic political culture, civil liberties.

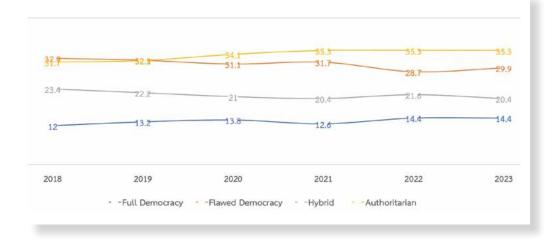
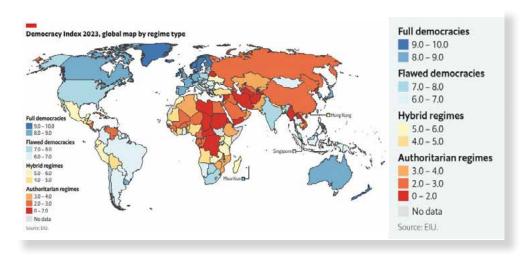


Figure 1.1: Percentage of Democratic Regimes in the World, 2018 - 2023.

The results of the evaluation of the type of democratic regime changed between 2022 and 2023. Full democracy became flawed democracy in Chile; flawed democracy became full democracy in Greece; hybrid regimes became flawed democracy in Paraguay and Papua New Guinea; and flawed democracy became a hybrid regime in Pakistan. (The Economist Intelligence, 2023b). The details are shown in Figure 1.2, with a projection for four types of democratic regimes worldwide.

Year 2023



Year 2022

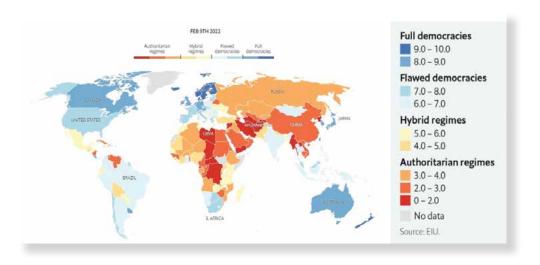


Figure 1.2: Types of Democratic Regimes in the World, 2022 - 2023 Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2023b

Table 1.2: The Comparative Index Evaluation of ASEAN Countries by the Economist Intelligence Unit, 2017 – 2023

Country	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Remarks
Malaysia	6.54	6.88	7.16	7.19	7.24	7.30	7.29	V
Timor-Leste	7.19	7.19	7.19	7.06	7.06	7.06	7.06	=
Indonesia	6.39	6.39	6.48	6.3	6.71	6.73	6.66	•
Philippines	6.71	6.71	6.64	6.56	6.62	6.71	6.53	•
Singapore	6.32	6.38	6.02	6.03	6.23	6.67	6.35	V
Thai	4.63	4.63	6.32	6.04	6.04	6.22	6.23	
Vietnam	3.08	3.08	3.08	2.94	2.94	3.18	3.05	V
Cambodia	3.63	3.59	3.53	3.1	2.9	2.73	2.62	•
Laos	2.37	2.37	2.14	1.77	1.77	1.77	1.71	•
Myanmar	3.83	3.83	3.55	3.04	1.02	0.74	0.85	
world	5.52	5.49	5.46	5.55	5.52	5.29	5.23	V

*Note: Comparison of scores between 2022 and 2023

Among the ASEAN countries, Malaysia received a lower score when compared with those countries in 2022, despite its highest score of 7.29 in 2023 on the Comparative Index Evaluation. While Timor-Leste's score was relatively stable, the scores from Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos slightly decreased. The countries with higher scores consisted of Thailand and Myanmar.

In addition, The Freedom House, a private organization that aims to promote democracy, rights and liberty, assessed the level of freedom around the world and presented the scale of political rights with a full score of 40 points and civil liberties with a full score of 60 points, or a total of 100 points. In addition, there are three levels of freedom: free, partly free, and not free (The Freedom House, 2023a)

Table 1.3: The Results of the Freedom Assessment in Thailand by the Freedom House, 2017 - 2023.

Year	Freedom	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Status
2017	32	7	25	Not free
2018	31	6	25	Not free
2019	30	5	25	Not free
2020	32	6	26	Partly free
2021	30	5	25	Not free
2022	29	5	24	Not free
2023	30	6	24	Not free

From 2017 to 2019, Thailand was considered not free, especially in the political rights. In 2020, the result was slightly better, considered partly free. The score for civil liberties increased slightly. From 2021 to 2023, Thailand returned to not free again with a total score of 30 out of 100. (The Freedom House, 2023b; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2023)

In addition, The Freedom House also assessed freedom on the net through obstacles to access with a total score of 25, limits on content with a total score of 35, violations of user rights with a total score of 40, or a total of 100 points. '0' represented the least freedom and '10' represented the most freedom. (The Freedom House, 2023b; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2024)

Table 1.4: The Results of the Freedom Assessment on Internet Access in Thailand by the Freedom House, 2017 – 2023

Year	Freedom on the Net	Obstacles to Access	Limits on Content	Violations of User Rights	Status
2017	33	15	11	7	Not free
2018	35	16	11	8	Not free
2019	35	16	11	8	Not free
2020	35	16	12	7	Not free
2021	36	16	13	7	Not free
2022	39	16	14	9	Not free
2023	39	16	14	9	Not free

The change in democracy from the perspective of many foreign agencies was drawn from both social and political context based on the study period. However, the democracy indicators developed in this study were designed to suit the context of Thailand, which were undergoing a political transition. Therefore, the Research and Development Office

and The King Prajadhipok's Institute studied the democratic context in Thailand from 2017 to 2023 to analyze the trend and level of democracy to seek development of Thai democracy.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The study and survey of knowledge on democracy indicators for Thailand contains the following objectives:

- 1) To design the proper democratic indicators for the social and political context of Thailand
 - 2) To assess the level of democracy in Thailand
- 3) To study the trend of democracy in Thailand from 2017 and 2023.

1.3 Period of Data Collection

1st time: 24 April - 15 May 2017

2nd time: 2 – 20 April 2018

3rd time: 1 - 30 April 2019

4th time: 1 - 5 May 2020

5th time: 1 - 19 April 2021

6th time: 1 - 15 April 2022

7th time: 6 June - 10 July 2023



Chapter 2:

Research Methodologies

Chapter 2 consists of sampling method, data collection tool, methods of data collection, guidelines for presenting the survey results, the score criteria, and the interpretation of the results. The details are as follows:

<u>Regions</u>	EA Samples	People Aged 18 and above
Bangkok	70	1,500
Central	875	10,500
North	595	7,140
Northeast	700	8,400
South	490	5,880
Total	<u>2.730</u>	33,420

2.1 Sampling Method

2.1.1 Sampling Plan

The survey used stratified three-stage sampling and specified Enumeration Area (EA) as the first sample unit, private households with members aged 18 years old and above as the second sample unit, and members aged 18 years old and above as of the third sample unit.

1) Stratum Arrangement

Bangkok and 76 provinces were designated as strata, or a total of 77 strata.

2) Sampling Size

The sampling size for each stratum was analyzed with the deviation of less than 10% at a confidence level of 95% along with other relevant resources. 420 respondents per province with the age of 18 years and above were selected, besides 1,500 respondents from Bangkok. A total of 33,420 people nationwide were classified by region as follows:

2.1.2 Selecting Sample Units Method

First stage sampling

Determine each EA is the first stage independently, using the probability sampling of the number of households.

• Second stage sampling

Select independently 15 households with members aged 18 years and above in each EA, using systematic sampling.

• Third stage sampling

Select randomly the individuals aged 18 years old and above in each household for interview.

According to the framework of the study, the respondents were the person aged 18 years old and above and lived in private households, excluding the person in the labor camp, and the institutional households, such as prisons, military camps, hotels, temples, and dormitories.

2.2 Data Collection Method

Questionnaires were used in the survey, consisting of five sections: 1) personal information, 2) level of confidence in the work of public agencies, 3) social capital, 4) opinions on politics and governance, rights and freedoms, the rule of law, access to justice, and 5) opinions or experiences on corruption.

2.3 Methods of data collection

Tablets are the tools to collect data from the questionnaire and interview of the members aged 18 and above, classified by genders, ages, and educational levels, between 6 June and 10 July 2023.

2.4 Guidelines for presenting the survey results

Part 1: Present the results of the survey at the national and regional levels.

The results were revealed in the form of percentage, mean, and other relevant charts to display the analysis of the opinions and level of satisfaction among the people derived from each question in the interviews.

According to Likert's scales, the measuring scales, the opinion criteria, and the degree of satisfaction among the population are defined as follows:

1. Criteria for Level of Public Satisfaction (the total score of 4)

Mean	Level of Satisfaction
3.50 – 4.00	Very satisfied
2.50 - 3.49	Somewhat satisfied
1.50 - 2.49	Somewhat dissatisfied
1.00 - 1.49	Very dissatisfied

2. Criteria for Level of Trust (the total score of 4)

Mean	Level of Trust
3.50 – 4.00	Trust completely
2.50 – 3.49	Trust somewhat
1.50 – 2.49	Do not trust very much
1.00 – 1.49	Do not trust at all

Part 2: Present the result from analyzing the key indicators and sub-indicators of the Democracy index.

The results were revealed in the form of percentages, and other relevant charts. The analysis evaluated the level of democracy across both main indicators and sub-indicators, following the formula detailed in Appendix 1.

The level of democracy was assessed based on a full score of 100, presented in percentage from the analysis of the respondents' characteristics at provincial, regional, and national levels. The survey results were weighted according to the distribution of total respondents, and statistical analysis was applied to interpretation.

3. Criteria of the Level of Democracy (the total score of 100)

Score	Level of Democracy
80.21 – 100.00	Very High
61.41 - 80.20	High
40.61 - 60.40	Moderate
20.81 – 40.60	Low
1.00 – 20.80	Very Low

Chapter 3

Democracy Indicators in the Context of Thai Society

This chapter discussed each democracy indicator as follows:

3.1. Democracy Indicators

In a survey of democratic indicators, the Democracy Indicators were developed during the study in 2018. The research team compiled and selected indicators globally used in surveys of democratic values, ensuring comprehensive coverage of key operating principles. These principles are divided into three main parts: 1) principles of management and good governance with respect for rights, freedoms, duties, and adhered the rule of law; 2) the democratic process consists of political participation and social capital; and 3) the outcome of democracy covers trust in state organizations, support for democracy, and anti-corruption. The details are presented in the following figure.



Figure 3.1: Democracy Indicators in Thai Society

The details are as follows:

3.1.1 Respect for rights, freedoms, and duties

The principle of respecting the respect for rights, freedoms, and duties is fundamental to democracy. Rights are defined as benefits or powers recognized and protected by law to prevent infringement, with mechanisms to enforce these rights in case of violations (Del Dickson, 2014). The concept of guaranteeing the rights and liberty originated from the western world, where different segments of society demanded the rights and liberty, particularly the rights of persons (Banjerd Singhaneti, 2004), categorized into natural and absolute rights. Natural rights are inherent at birth, not to be violated or taken away. Absolute rights are granted by a state or country according to its laws under each form of government (Del Dickson, 2014). Moreover, rights contain equal

votes (Etzioni-Halevy, 1997), freedom of expression, participation in decision-making within a group or society equally, and comprehensive access to public services (Beetham, 2012).

Freedom of expression means people can receive thorough information equally and express them freely (Etzioni - Halevy, 1997). Sufficient freedom, regardless of its form, must be free from intervention by other agencies or individuals to hinder what has been decided (Larry Diamond, 2000) based on the law and appropriate to the social context (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2020; 2021; 2022; 2024). In addition, civic responsibility means adhering to social rules, such as the duty of citizens to pay taxes.

For Thailand, the rights of the people were first specified in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2475, such as Section 12.

"...persons are equal before the law by birth despite any appointment or any other way to create any privileges at all."

Section 14: "...A person shall have complete freedom of body, residence, property, speech, writing, advertising, education and training, open meetings, association, occupation..." according to the current constitution (The Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, B.E. 2560) on the right, liberty, and civic responsibility, including Section 3 regarding the rights and liberty of the Thai people, such as equality, personal rights and liberty, and rights in the judicial process, as well as section 4 regarding the duties of Thai people with other additional rights linked to the mechanisms of state duties.

A literature review includes knowledge on democratic indicators of the right, liberty, and duties in the context of Thailand, divided into five categories dedicate time for public benefits, pay tax, everyone should have equality rights, accept the different opinions, basic rights should be protected rights, have the freedom to access the information (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2020; 2021; 2022; 2024).

3.1.2 The Rule of Law

Adherence to the rule of law is crucial for democratic governance as it ensures that the legal framework regulates and verifies the actions of democratic governance. The operation of governance must comply with the law, which serves as a social standard for the public sector (Dickson, 2014; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2024). In general, the rule of law involves well-defined, clear laws and an efficient, transparent justice system (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2020; 2021; 2022; 2024). The indicators of the rule of law include principles on power separation, principles for protecting the right and liberty, principles on legality in the judicial and administrative branches, principles on legality of content, principles on judicial independence, the principle of "no punishment without law," and the principle of the supremacy of the Constitution (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2003; 2024). According to A.V. Dicey's view, the rule of law can be explained in three aspects: 1. prohibition for the administration to punish any individual without the law but adhering to legal processes and being determined by the courts to prevent arbitrary actions by the administration; 2. all subjection to the law regardless of social status, and 3) general law determination or fundamental rights derived from court orders except for unconventional constitutional orders (Charan Kosananan, 2007, quoted in King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2020; 2021; 2022; 2024).

3.1.3 Social Capital

Social capital as part of social equality means social inclusion, entailing being a member of any organization or group in the community, having access to social services and resources in equality (Beck et al., 1998, quoted in King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2020; 2021; 2022; 2024), involving in social interactions and relationships among all individuals and their social networks (Adler and Kwon, 2002; Flap and De Graaf, 1986; Coleman, 1988; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024), including relatives, neighbors, and acquaintances, to strengthen confidence in society (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024).

3.1.4 Trust in state organizations

Trust in state organizations as part of social quality is linked to the people's expectations and the efficiency of the agencies or institutions. If any government agencies can generate effective and efficient results, public confidence will be increased. Conversely, if they fail to do so, public confidence will be diminished. (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024)

There are additional social and demographic considerations, such as the development level of society. There is greater trust in government agencies when the level of development is higher. However, because of the erratic state of the economy, people will have less trust in government institutions. (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024).

3.1.5 Support for democracy

In this study, support for democracy refers to the extent to which the respondents believe in democracy as the most suitable governance (Thawilwadee Bureekul and Ratchawadee Sangmahamad, 2014; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024) while rejecting other forms of governance such as the abolition of the parliamentary system, the establishment of a single political party, military rule, and governance by individuals who abolish the electoral and parliamentary system.

3.1.6 Anti-Corruption

The term "corruption" refers to the violation of public interest for personal gain (Rogow and Lasswell, 1977), the misuse of acquired power for personal benefit (Transparency International, 2000), or the use of state power to benefit oneself and one's associates (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2014; 2021; 2022; 2024). According to Del Dickson (2014), corruption in a democracy tends to have less severe negative impacts compared to corruption in systems with absolute power. Democracy

contains mechanisms for checking and balancing state powers, protecting freedom to express opinions, and promoting greater government transparency. Corruption can take many forms in society, and certain acts of corruption may be perceived as trivial or normalized. However, attitudes can undermine the stability of a country. In fact, refraining from prosecuting dishonest individuals or failing to oppose corruption reflects acceptance of the misconduct.

3.1.7 Political participation

Political participation in politics is crucial in democracy. Moreover, it is also considered a key principle of good governance, enshrined in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2017. For example, Section 133(3) stipulates the rights for the submission of law by the people, and Section 77 addresses political participation in the law development, administration, and decision-making processes of local government organizations. Political participation must include raising awareness of individual rights, providing knowledge and understanding to citizens to build their confidence in the political decision-making process, and developing independent communication channels such as digital platforms to enhance public engagement (Hollie Russon Gilman, 2016; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2020). Furthermore, political participation should be inclusive, covering all areas, levels, genders, and ages to accurately reflect the needs and perspectives of all groups in society (Galstyan, 2019; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024).

Political participation is divided into two types: 1) Conventional Participation, which is rather formal and common. Moreover, the authorities prevent the public from an access to information with inappropriate exercise of power and ignore well-being of the people; and 2) Unconventional Participation, which is informal against the rules of society or the law such as protests and violence (Thawilwadee Bureekul and Ratchawadee Sangmahamad, 2014; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024)

Political participation is strong and voluntary to impact policy makers. Some may succeed and others may not. Political participation aims to pressure the government to responses to the people's needs. Participation processes may involve legal or illegal conducts such as voting in elections, donating money to support the process, becoming a member of a political party, contacting government officials, organizing protests, voluntarily signing the petition, buying political items, or even committing protest suicide (Uhlaner, 2001; Chuleewan Termphon, 2018; Deth, 2016; King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024)

Political participation also addresses attitudes as a foundation to motivate the public participation in politics and the means of dealing with pleasant or unpleasant attitudes toward society based on subjective feelings, thoughts, and experiences in the context. (King Prajadhipok's Institute, 2021; 2022; 2024). The evaluation of attitudes was divided into two directions: positive and negative feelings with varied degrees of intensity (Haddock & Maio, 2008).

The study of political behaviors shows individual attitudes and values in the positive and negative direction while building confidence in the process (Saad & Salman, 2013; Magni, 2015). The study also found that anger and dissatisfaction with society may result in being less interested in politics, opposing the political party, and ignoring voting in elections (Kiss & Hobolt, 2012).

Confidence in the government institutions, including politicians and the government, is related to the degree of political participation (Hooghe & Marien, 2012; Saad & Salman, 2013), as seen in online expression for politics and voting (Suh, Yee & Chang, 2013). Individual capacity to perceive and understand politics is varied (Hooghe & Marien, 2012), so other factors influencing attitudes and individual behaviors toward politics are confidence in the government institutions and social networks involving intimation among a group of friends, conversations about politics, and overcoming difficult times together (Lazer, Rubineau & Neblo, 2009).

Corruption in politics impacts political participation. Political participation, such as volunteering for political activities, displaying political symbols, and making financial contributions to political parties, will decline if the public believes that corruption in politics exists (Richardson, 2012).

Demographic characteristics also affect political participation. Men are found to be more likely to participate in politics than women (Výrost & Bozogáňová, 2019). In Thailand, the percentage of women in the Parliament is only 16.6%, compared to the global average of 26.5% in 2023. (Inter Parliament Union, 2023). Women are more likely to involve

in voting in elections and private participation than men. Men are more likely to participate in direct contact and collective action than women (Coffé, H. and Bolzendahl, C., 2010). Education affects the level of political participation in terms of capacity for political communication and awareness of political news (Výrost & Bozogáňová, 2019). According to the study, which focused on women who lived in rural areas, they were less politically involved than those who had access to a proper education system (Dim & Asomah, 2019). Ages were also related to political participation, where older people were more likely to be politically involved (Bourne, Pryce, Davis, Francis & Coleman, 2017; Sikanya Yumuang and Natthapat Yumuang, 2019).

3.2 Study Framework

The study on factors of political participation comprised the calculation of question scores on political participation, both conventional political participation such as contacting political leaders or community leaders and unconventional political participation such as protesting and committing violence for political gain. A literature review involved all related variables as follows:

Demographic factors

- Gender
- Age
- Education level
- Income per month
- Residence in urban & rural
- Level of respect for rights, freedoms, and duties
- Level of trust in the Prime Minister
- Level of confident in each other
- Follow political news

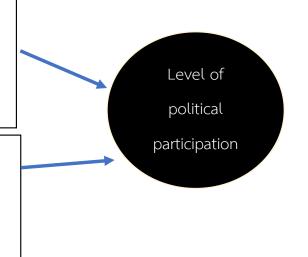


Figure 3.2: Study Framework on Factors of Political Participation by the Public.



Chapter 4 Results of Public Opinion Survey in 2023

This chapter presents the results from the public opinion survey with a total of five indicators: 1) general information of the respondents; 2) opinions on respect for rights, freedoms, and duties; 3) opinions on the rule of law; 4) opinions on support for democracy; 5) opinions on political participation; 6) opinions on social capital; 7) trust in state organizations; and 8) opinions on anti-corruption. The details are as follows:

4.1 General Information

4.1.1 Basic Social and Economic Characteristics

Gender and age

The study contained men and women at 48.9% and 51.1%, respectively. As shown in Table 4.1, the percentages of age were as follows: 18–29 years old at 14.5%, 30–39 years old at 17.5%, 40–49 years old at 21.8%, 50-59 years old at 22.7%, and 60 years old at 23.5%.

				Region		
Demographic Characteristics of Society and Economy	Over- all	Bang- kok	Central (Except Bang- kok)	North	North- east	South
➤ Gender	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	48.9	49.2	48.9	48.8	48.6	49.6
Female	51.1	50.8	51.1	51.2	51.4	50.4
➤ Age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
18 - 29 year	14.5	16.9	14.5	12.8	14.1	14.5
30 - 39 year	17.5	18.8	19.2	15.5	15.7	18.1
40 - 49 year	21.8	20.5	22.8	20.2	22.1	22.0
50 - 59 year	22.7	20.4	21.5	24.3	25.0	22.1
60 – 75 year	19.4	19.6	18.4	22.7	18.9	18.3
More than 75 years	4.1	3.8	3.6	4.5	4.2	5.0

Table 4.1: Percentage of Gender and Age by Region

Education

The respondents' educational backgrounds range from 1.9% to 21.6%; they attended elementary school (36.7%), junior high school (17.7%), high school or obtained a vocational certificate (21.6%), an associate's degree or higher vocational certificate (7.4%), a bachelor's degree (13.5%), and a postgraduate degree (1.2%).

Occupation

The respondents have different occupations as follows: unemployment at 3.1%, students at 3.9%, pensioners at 2.1%,

housewives at 12.1%, farmers at 20.8%, freelancers at 0.7%, small shop owners at 12.7%, laborers at 11.6%, office staff of private companies at 20.1%, government employees/ state enterprise employees/ officials at 5.6%, medium-sized \business owners at 6.1%, and others at 1.2%.

• Monthly income

The respondents have different levels of monthly incomes as follows: no income at 7.6%, less than 3,001 baht at 6.0%, 3,001-5,000 baht at 10.2%, 5,001-7,000 baht at 11.8%, 7,001-10,000 baht at 18.0%, 10,001-15,000 baht at 21.8%, 15,001-20,000 baht at 12.9%, 20,001-25,000 baht at 5.7%, 25,001-50, 000 baht at 5.0%, and more than 50,000 baht at 1.0%.

Marital status

The respondents have different marital status as follows: single at 24.8%, married couples at 49.1%, separated couples at 3.3%, divorced couples at 3.5%, widowed and widower at 9.3%, and unmarried couples at 10%.

Religion

The respondents have different religions as follows: Buddhists at 94.3%, Muslims at 4.7%, and Christians at 0.9%.

Language

The respondents use different Thai dialects and foreign languages as follows: a central Thai dialect at 53.1%, a northern Thai dialect at 7.1%, a northeastern Thai dialect at 26.0%, a southern Thai dialect at 10.1%, Yawi and Malay at 2.0%, Chinese at 0.1%, hill tribe languages at 1.1%, and others (Burmese, Khmer, English, etc.) at 0.5%.

Table 4.2: Percentage on Education and Occupation by Region

Demographic				Region		
Characteristics of Society and Economy	Over- all	Bang- kok	Central (Except Bangkok)	North	North- east	South
▷ Education	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No schooling	1.9	1.0	1.2	5.3	0.8	2.4
Primary School	36.7	24.2	33.1	41.8	44.4	37.6
Middle School	17.7	17.6	19.0	15.6	18.2	16.1
High School/ Basic Vocational Certificate	21.6	23.6	22.2	19.3	21.3	20.9
Advanced Diploma, High Vocational Certificate, or Certificate of Technical Vocation	7.4	9.5	8.8	5.8	5.5	7.8
Bachelor's degree	13.5	21.5	14.6	11.1	9.1	14.1
Higher than a bachelor's degree	1.2	2.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	1.1

Note: 1/ The unemployed referred to those who are unemployed,

Demographic				Region		
Characteristics of Society and Economy	Over- all	Bang- kok	Central (Except Bangkok)	North	North- east	South
○ Occupation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Unemployment ^{/1}	3.1	2.1	3.1	4.3	3.2	2.6
Students	3.9	4.5	3.3	3.6	4.4	4.0
Pensioners	2.1	3.1	2.1	2.1	1.8	2.0
Housewives	12.1	12.0	13.4	12.4	10.0	12.7
Farmers	20.8	0.3	10.3	28.4	36.1	28.8
Freelancers	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.5	0.3
Small-Business Owners	12.7	14.3	13.8	12.9	10.2	12.6
General Workers	11.6	8.7	11.4	14.1	12.8	10.0
Office Workers	20.1	38.9	28.9	9.6	8.7	13.8
Personnel of Public Agencies or Enterprises	5.6	4.3	4.3	6.0	7.7	5.6
NGOs		0.1	0.1			0.1
Medium-Business Owner	6.1	7.0	7.2	5.4	4.3	6.6
Large-Business Owner		-	0.1		-	0.1
Others	1.2	4.0	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.8

looking for work, and dependents, etc. with a value less than 0.05.

Table 4.3: Percentage on Income, Marital Status, Religion, and Language by Region

				Region		
Demographic Characteristics of Society and Economy	Overall	Bang- kok	Central (Except Bang- kok)	North	North- east	South
> Average Monthly	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
income						
No Income	7.6	19.5	5.4	6.7	4.2	8.1
Less than 3,001 baht	6.0	0.8	6.3	8.8	7.1	4.8
3,001 - 5,000 baht	10.2	1.3	7.3	14.8	17.1	7.3
5,001 - 7,000 baht	11.8	3.0	7.4	17.8	18.3	12.0
7,001 - 10,000 baht	18.0	9.8	15.1	20.3	23.2	20.6
10,001 - 15,000 baht	21.8	25.6	26.2	17.1	16.1	23.7
15,001 - 20,000 baht	12.9	18.5	17.5	7.0	7.5	13.7
20,001 - 25,000 baht	5.7	9.5	7.9	3.5	2.9	4.7
More than 25,000 baht	5.0	9.7	5.9	3.4	3.0	3.9
▶ Marital Status	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single and never married	24.8	35.4	26.5	21.0	21.4	20.5
Married and living together	49.1	32.4	43.6	53.6	58.0	57.1
Used to be married and separated	3.3	4.5	3.7	2.7	3.0	2.7
Divorced	3.5	3.5	3.8	3.6	3.7	2.5
Widower or Widow	9.3	7.6	8.8	12.0	9.2	9.3

				Region		
Demographic Characteristics of Society and Economy	Overall	Bang- kok	Central (Except Bang- kok)	North	North- east	South
Living together but not married	10.0	16.6	13.6	7.1	4.7	7.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Buddhism	94.3	94.5	98.2	96.2	99.6	72.3
Christian	0.9	0.5	0.5	3.4	0.2	0.2
Islam	4.7	4.9	1.2	0.2	0.2	27.3
No religions	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2		0.2
▶ Languages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Central	53.1	86.7	90.7	48.0	12.4	10.2
Northern	7.1	1.2	0.6	41.2	0.4	0.1
Northeastern	26.0	10.3	7.9	3.8	84.8	1.0
Southern	10.1	1.4	0.5	0.2	0.4	73.4
Yawi and Thai Malays	2.0	0.3	0.1	-	0.1	15.0
Chinese	0.1	-	0.1			0.2
Hill Tribes	1.1	-		6.5		0.1
Others (Burmese, Cambodian, English, Vietnamese)	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.9	

Note: ... with a value less than 0.05.

4.2 Opinions on Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and Duties

The results of the public opinion survey regarding respect for rights, freedoms, and duties revealed that 82.0% of the total respondents somewhat agreed to strongly agreed with being open to different opinions among co-workers (strongly agreed at 27.0% and somewhat agreed at 55.0%) and 63.3% of the total respondents agreed with obstructing the public from accessing important information by the government at the lowest proportion (strongly agree at 14.5% and somewhat agreed at 48.8%).

Table 4.4: Percentage on Respect for the Right, Freedoms, and Duties

	Score of Opinion					
Indicators	Total	Highly Agree	Agree	Not Really Agree	Not Agree	Not Sure
Respect for Rights, Fro	eedoms	, and Du	ties			
 People dedicate personal time to public benefits whenever possible. 	100.0	27.0	55.0	10.7	2.9	4.4

		:	Score of	Opinion		
Indicators	Total	Highly Agree	Agree	Not Really Agree	Not Agree	Not Sure
 The basic rights and freedoms of people are pro- tected. 	100.0	29.0	52.9 .9	11.4	2.2	4.5
 A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him. 	100.0	22.0 79	57.3	14.2	2.5	4.0
 Rich and poor people are treated equally by the government. 	100.0	29.8	44.5 .3	17.1	5.0	3.6
 People are willing to pay taxes. 	100.0	17.2		21.1	5.4	5.4
 The government withholds impor- tant information from the public. 	100.0	14.5	48.8	19.7	7.1	9.9

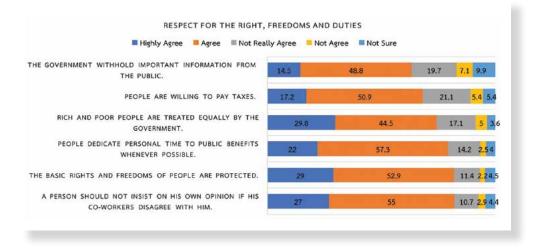


Figure 4.1: Percentage on Respect for the Right, Freedoms, and Duties

4.3 Opinions on Adherence to the Rule of Law

70.6% of the total respondents somewhat agreed to strongly agreed with access to the appropriate justice process and equal compensation in cases of misconduct. The proportion was the highest (strongly agreed at 19.1% and somewhat agreed at 51.5%). 61.6% revealed confidence in the legal system with equality and efficiency with the smallest proportion (strongly agreed at 13.6% and somewhat agreed at 48.0%).

 Table 4.5: Percentage on Adherence to the Rule of Law

	Score of Opinion					
Indicator	Total	Highly Agree	Agree	Not Really Agree	Not Agree	Not Sure
Rule of Law						
Citizens can access the correct and appropriate justice and receive fair compensation in case of mismanagement.	100.0	<u>_</u>	51.5	17.9	3.6	7.9
The process of criminal justice and the system of legal punishment implement equality.	100.0	_	48.7	21.7	5.1	7.6
People trust in the legal system to effectively and equally adjudicate.	100.0	13.6	48.0	24.4	6.0	8.0

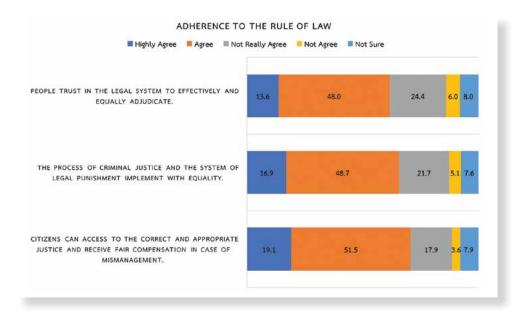


Figure 4.2: Respondent Percentage on Adherence to the Rule of Law

4.4 Opinions on Social Capital

Social capital is part of social quality divided into four aspects: social and economic security, social inclusion, social cohesion, and social empowerment. Social capital under the larger framework of social cohesion consists of membership in groups, clubs, and associations with confidence among members, relatives, neighbors, and other associates/acquaintances.

4.4.1 Membership in Groups, Clubs, and Associations

15.2% of the total respondents are members of groups, clubs,

and associations (farmers, housewives, and volunteers, etc.). 84.8% of the total respondents are not members of any groups.

Table 4.6: Percentage on Membership in Groups, Clubs and Associations

Being a member of a group, club, and association	Percentage
Total	100.0
Yes	15.2
Group, Club, and Association ^{1/} :	
Farmers	60.0
Housewives	15.7
Volunteers	12.2
 Teachers and Parents 	10.5
Former student Association	7.1
● Economy	5.5
 Recreation 	3.6
Sport	1.8
Environmental Conservation	1.8
Cultural Conservation	1.6
• Religion	0.4
Political Group	0.1
Political Party	
No	84.8

Note: 1/ Allowing more than 1 answer

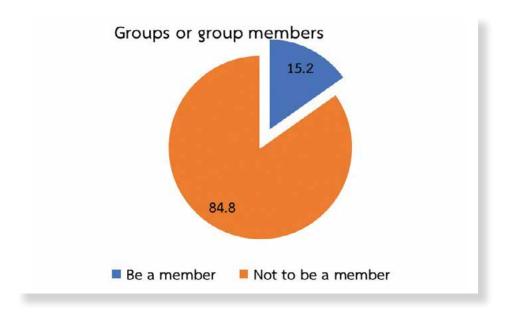


Figure 4.3: Percentage on Membership in Groups, Clubs, and Associations

4.4.2 Confident in each other

Relatives

89.8% were somewhat confident or very confident in their relatives (somewhat confident at 57.7% and very confident at 32.1%). 6.8% were not very confident. 1.4% were not confident. 2.0% had no opinion.

Neighbors

68.3% were somewhat confident or very confident in their neighbors (somewhat confident at 59.0% and very confident at 9.3%). 23.6% were not very confident. 4.1% were not confident. 4.0% had no opinion.

Others/ Acquaintances

62.7% were somewhat confident or very confident in other associates (somewhat confident at 56.2% and very confident at 6.5%). 26.8% were not quite confident. 5.8% were not confident. 4.7% had no comment.

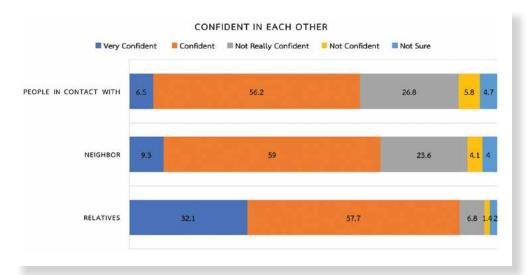


Figure 4.4: Percentage on Confidence in each other

4.5 Trust in state organizations

Trust in the government agencies was divided based on six working groups: the Parliament (members of the House of Representatives and senators), the government (the Prime Minister and the government), the courts, government officials, the army, the police, local government organizations, and independent organizations under the Constitution. The results of the study are as follows:

4.5.1 Trust in the Parliament

Trust in the work of the Parliament covered all members of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The results of the study revealed that 37.3% of the total respondents expressed confidence in the members of the House of Representatives (strongly trust at 3.5% and somewhat trust at 33.8%), while 48.7% of them showed distrust in the members of the House of Representatives (do not trust at all at 34.7% and somewhat distrust at 14.0%). 13.0% of them had no opinion, and 1.0% had no knowledge of the members of the matter.

Trust in the work of the Senate was less than that of members of the House of Representatives. 51.3% distrust (do not trust at all at 30.3% and somewhat distrust at 21.0%), compared to 31.7% who had trust (strongly trust at 3.5% and somewhat trust at 28.2%). In addition, 2.4% had no knowledge of the matter, and 14.6% had no opinion.

Table 4.7: Percentage of Trust in the Parliament

	Level of trust						
Individuals / Commissions / Institutions / Agencies	Total	strong- ly trust	Some- what trust	Some- what dis- trust	Do not trust at all	No com- ment	Don't know
Member of Parliament	100.0	3.5	33.8 7.3	34.7	14.0	13.0	1.0
Senator	100.0	3.5	28.2	30.3	21.0	14.6	2.4

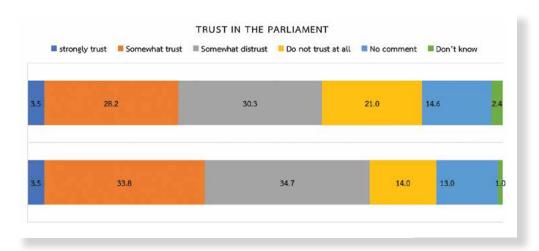


Figure 4.5: Percentage of Trust in the Parliament

4.5.2 Trust in the Government

In terms of trust in the Prime Minister (General Prayut Chan-o-cha), there were 39.5% of the total respondents with trust (strongly trust at 5.8% and somewhat trust at 33.7%), and there were 50.6% of them without trust (do not trust at all at 32.6% and somewhat distrust 18.0%). 9.7% of them had no comment and 0.2% of them had no knowledge of the matter.

In terms of trust in the government/the cabinet, 36.1% of the total respondents had trust (strongly trust at 3.9% and somewhat trust at 32.2%), while 52.7% of them distrusted (do not trust at all at 35.3% and somewhat distrust at 14.7%). 10.6% had no opinion, and 0.6% had no knowledge of the matter.

Table 4.8: Percentage of	Trust in the Government

Individuals / Commissions / Institutions / Agencies	Level of trust						
	Total	strong- ly trust	Some- what trust	Some- what dis- trust	Do not trust at all	No com- ment	Don't know
Prime Minister (General Prayut Chan-ocha)	100.0	5.039	23.7 0.5	32.6	18.0	9.7	0.2
The Government / cabinet	100.0	3.5	32.2 5.1	35.3	17.4	10.6	0.6

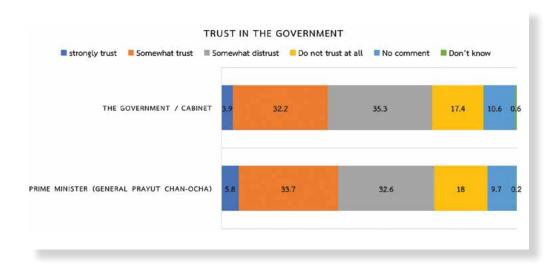


Figure 4.6: Percentage of Trust in the Government

4.5.3 Trust in the Courts

In terms of trust in the courts, including the administrative courts, the constitutional courts, and the courts of justice, the public has the most trust in the work of the courts of justice at 73.6% (strongly trust at 22.9% and somewhat trust at 50.7%). 13.9% of them distrust (do not trust at all at 10.2% and somewhat distrust at 3.7%). 10.1% had no comment, and 2.4% had no knowledge of the matter.

In terms of trust in the administrative courts, 70.5% had trust in the administrative courts (strongly trust 20.8% and somewhat trust at 49.7%). 14.5% distrust (do not trust at all at 10.7% and somewhat distrust at 3.8%). 11.5 had no comment, and 3.5% had no knowledge of the matter.

In terms of trust in the constitutional courts, 69.4% had trust in the constitutional courts (strongly trust at 21.0% and somewhat trust at 16.2%) and distrust in the constitutional courts (do not trust at all at 11.4% and somewhat distrust at 4.8%). 11.3% had no opinion, and 3.1% had no knowledge of the matter.

Table 4.9: Percentage of Trust in the Courts

Individu- als / Com- missions / Institutions / Agencies	Level of trust							
	Total	strong- ly trust	Some- what trust	Some- what dis- trust	Do not trust at all	No com- ment	Don't know	
Court of Justice	100.0	22.9	50.7	10.2	3.7	10.1	2.4	
Constitutional Court	100.0	21	48.4	11.4	4.8	11.3	3.1	
Administra- tive Court	100.0	20.8	49.7	10.7	3.8	11.5	3.5	

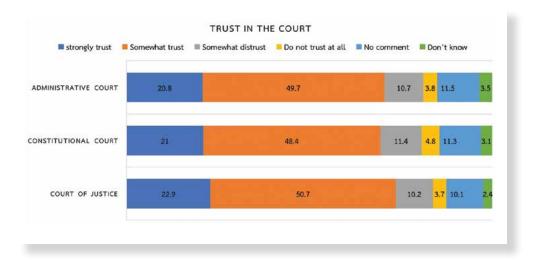


Figure 4.7: Percentage of Trust in the Courts

4.5.4 Trust in Government Officials, the Army, and the Police.

In terms of trust in government officials, 69.0% had trust (strongly trust at 9.2% and somewhat trust at 59.8%). 16.9% distrust (do not trust at all at 13.6% and somewhat distrust at 3.3%). 11.9% had no opinion, and 2.2% had no knowledge of the matter.

In terms of trust in the army, 55.6% had trust in the army (strongly trust at 8.8% and somewhat trust at 46.8%). 33.6% distrust (do not trust at all at 23.0% and somewhat distrust at 10.6%). 10.5% had no opinion, and 0.3% had no knowledge of the matter.

In terms of trust in the police, 49.8% had trust in the police (strongly trust at 6.9% and somewhat trust at 42.9%). 41.1% distrust (do not trust at all at 28.9% and somewhat distrust at 12.2%). 8.9% had no opinion, and 0.2% had no knowledge of the matter.

Table 4.10: Percentage of Trust in Government Officials, the Army, and the Police

Individuals /		Level of trust						
Commissions / Institutions / Agencies	Total	strongly trust	Some- what trust	Some- what dis- trust	Do not trust at all	No com- ment	Don't know	
Civil servants	100.0	9.2	59.8 	13.6	3.3	11.9	2.2	
Soldier	100.0	8.8	9.0 46.8 5.6	23.0	10.6	10.5	0.3	
Police	100.0	6.9	42.9 9.8	28.9	12.2	8.9	0.2	

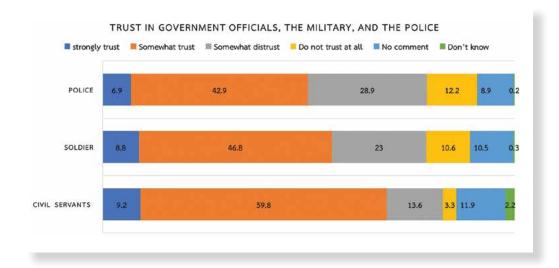


Figure 4.8: Percentage of Trust in Government Officials, the Army, and the Police

4.5.5 Trust in Local Government Organizations

In terms of local government organizations, the involved agencies were the Provincial Administrative Organization, Municipality, Subdistrict Administrative Organization, Bangkok, Pattaya City, and District Office. 68.2% had trust in local government organizations (strongly trust at 9.2% and somewhat trust at 59.8%). 16.9% distrust in the local government organizations (do not trust at all at 13.6% and somewhat distrust at 3.3%). 11.9% had no opinion, and 2.2% had no knowledge of the matter.

64.6% had trust local council members (strongly trust at 9.8% and somewhat trust at 54.8%). 22.6% distrust local council members (do not trust at all at 18.1% and somewhat distrust at 4.5%). 11.7% had no comment and 1.1% had no knowledge of the matter.

Table 4.11 Percentage of Trust in the local government organizations

			Leve	el of trus	t		
Individuals / Commissions / Institutions / Agencies	Total	strongly trust	Some- what trust	Some- what dis- trust	Do not trust at all	No com- ment	Don't know
Local Administra- tive Organizations (PAO / Municipal- ity / SAO / District Office)	100.0	9.2	59.8 .o	13.6	3.3	11.9	2.2
Local council members (PAO / Municipality / SAO / District Office)	100.0	11.0	57.2 .2	15.4	4.2	11.2	1.0

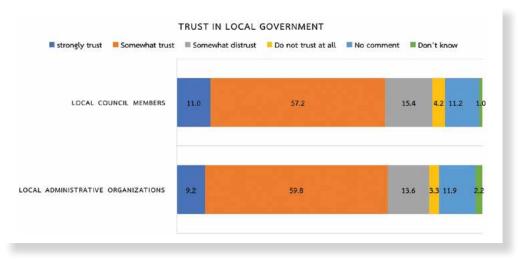


Figure 4.9 Percentage of trust in the local government organizations (Provincial Administrative Organization/ Municipality/ Subdistrict Administrative Organization/ Bangkok/ Pattaya City/ District Office) and Local Council Members

4.5.6 Trust in Independent Organizations under the Constitution

In this study, the independent organizations under the Constitution consisted of the Ombudsman, National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC), State Audit Commission, The National Human Rights Commission, and the Election Commission. Confidence in Ombudsman was at the highest or 60.6%, followed by in the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) at 56.9% and the National Audit Commission at 52.6%, the National Human Rights Commission at 50.5%, and the Election Commission at 46.7%.

Table 4.12 Percentage of Trust in Independent Organizations under the Constitution

		Level of trust						
Individuals / Commissions / Institutions / Agencies	Total	strong- ly trust	Some- what trust	Some- what dis- trust	Do not trust at all	No com- ment	Don't know	
Ombudsman	100.0	15.2	45.4	9.3	3.2	15.4	11.5	
Election Commission	100.0	9.2	37.5	24.5	15.3	11.2	2.3	
National Anti-Corruption Commission	100.0	11.5	45.4	16.4	7	13.2	6.5	
State Audit Commission	100.0	10.2	42.4	12	4.5	15.9	15	
National Human Rights Commission	100.0	9.2	41.3	12.1	4.5	16.8	16.1	

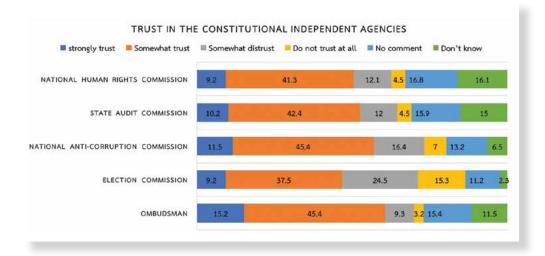


Figure 4.10 Percentage of Trust in Independent Organizations under the Constitution

4.6 Opinions of Support for Democracy

65.1% of the total respondents somewhat agreed to strongly agreed that politics and governance seemed to be rather complicated, with the highest proportion (strongly agreed at 19.0% and somewhat agreed at 46.1%). 17.4% agreed that the military should take over the country with the smallest proportion (strongly agreed at 3.0% and somewhat agreed at 14.4%).

Table 4.13 Percentage of Support for Democracy

		Le	evel of a	agreeme	ent	
Support of democracy	Total	Strong- ly Agree	Agree	Dis- agree	Strong- ly dis- agree	Can't choose
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.	100.0	19.0		16.1	9.5	9.3
Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office.	100.0	5.3 25	<u>2</u> 0.2	26.4	37.3	10.8
We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things.	100.0	5.7	.8	22.8	44.0	10.4
We should get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.	100.0	3.3	14.4	25.4	45.4	11.5
The army (military) should come in to govern the country.	100.0	3.0	14.4 .4	27.8	43.3	11.5

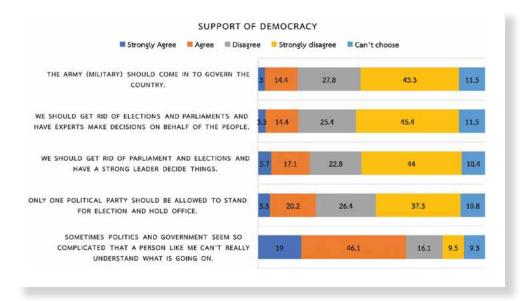


Figure 4.11 Percentage of Support for Democracy

4.7 Opinions of Anti-Corruption

The statement "corruption in the government is necessary under a certain circumstance to achieve a specific goal" was agreed at 15.6% (highly agreed at 2.0% and somewhat agreed at 13.6%). 72.6% disagreed with the statement. 11.8% had no opinion on this matter.

Table 4.14 Percentage of Opinions on the statement "Sometimes corruption in government is necessary to accomplish goals".

Opinions on the Statement: "Sometimes corruption in government is necessary to accomplish goals".	Percentage
Total	100.0
Strongly Agree	2.0
Agree	13.6
Disagree	$ \begin{array}{c} 23.1 \\ 49.5 \end{array} $
Strongly disagree	J 49.5
Can't choose	11.8

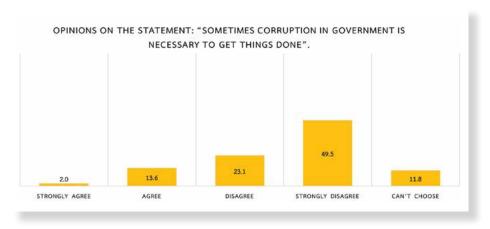


Figure 4.12 Percentage of Opinions on the statement "Sometimes corruption in government is necessary to get things done".

4.8 Opinions of Political Participation

Conventional political participation involves reporting family issues to high-ranking officials, government officials, community leaders, influential leaders, and the media. Unconventional political participation in politics involves joining a group to solve local issues, writing a letter of complaint, participating in protests or opposition demonstrations, and exercising force or violence to achieve political objectives. The results of the study are as follows:

4.8.1 Behavioral Political Participation

4.8.1.1 Conventional Political Participation

In terms of political participation for the issues of family, residential areas, or disagreement with government officials and government policies, 28.7% have contacted community leaders such as Head of Village Group and Village Headmen with the highest proportion (more than once at 20.6% and once at 8.1%). 3.5% have contacted the media with the smallest proportion (more than once at 0.7% and 1 time at 2.8%)

Table 4.15 Percentage of Conventional Political Participation

	Level of Frequency					
Activities	Total	More Than once	Once	Never, but pos- sibly if need- ed	Never, and un- likely to hap- pen	No com- ment
In contact with Community Leaders such as Village Leader and Village Headman	100.0	20.6	8.1	46.5	17.5	7.3
In contact with government officials or legal representatives at all levels	100.0	5.8	6.4	50.0	28.9	8.9
In contact with high- ranking officials such as Governor and Director	100.0	1.5	3.4	37.0	47.4	10.7
In contact with the local influencer and local intelligence aside from government officials	100.0	0.83	3.0	47.4	38.5	10.3
In contact with the media.	100.0	0.73	2.8	49.5	36.5	10.5

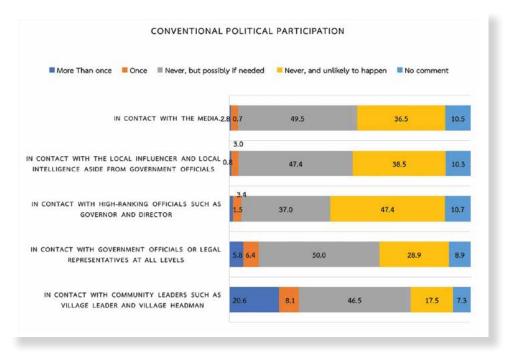


Figure 4.13 Percentage of Conventional Political Participation.

4.8.1.2 Unconventional Political Participation

All the respondents have participated in political activities once or more than once. 18.1% of respondents collaborated to find a solution to a local issue that had the largest proportion (more than once at 11.9% and once at 6.2%). 2.8% have exercised force or violence for political purposes with the smallest proportion (more than one time at 0.5% and one time at 2.8%)

Table 4.16 Percentage of Unconventional Political Participation

	Level of Frequency					
Activities	Total	More Than Once	Once	Ne- ver, but possi- bly if need- ed	Never, and un- likely to hap- pen	No com- ment
Got together with others face-to-face to try to resolve local problems.	100.0	11.9	6.2	48.1	24.9	8.9
Signed an online petition	100.0	2.9	3.7	34.3	48.5	10.6
Collaborating with others to write a letter of complaint	100.0	1.0	2.9 9	50.7	36.7	8.7
Attended a demonstration or protest march	100.0	0.8	2.6	32.2	55.7	8.7
Taken an action or done something for a political cause that put you in a risk of getting injured.	100.0	0.5	2.3	20.7	67.9	8.6

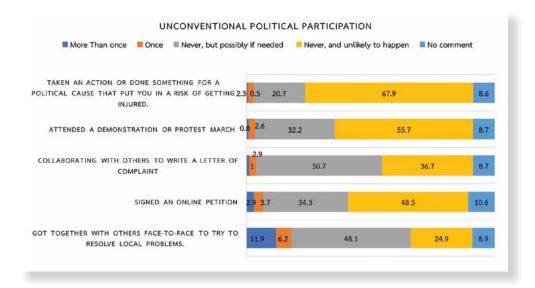


Figure 4.14 Percentage of Unconventional Political Participation

4.9 Analysis of Factors for Political Participation

This section presents a comparison of the multiple regression analysis model's examination of political participation factors between 2021 and 2023. The relation between the factors and political participation was analyzed in terms of respect for the rights, freedom, and duties, trust in the Prime Minister, confidence in each other, following political news, and demographic characteristics including gender, age, education, monthly income, and living in a rural or urban area. The following are the study's findings:

Table 4.17 Analysis for Factors of Political Participation

Factors	2023	2022	2021
Level of respect for rights, freedoms, and duties	0.017***	0.087***	0.065***
Level of trust in the Prime Minister	0.049***	0.029***	0.027***
Level of trust in each other	0.096***	0.047***	0.025***
Follow political news	0.891***	0.659***	-0.096***
Gender (Reference variable: Femal	e)		
Male	0.676***	0.669***	1.021***
Group of age	0.837***	0.498***	0.544***
Education level	0.921***	1.067***	0.289***
Income per month	0.187***	0.208***	0.182***
Residence in urban & rural (Refere	nce variable	: Rural)	
Urban	-1.071***	-2.505	-2.806
Constant variables	-2.399	-4.677	-2.402

Note: *statistically significant at a confidence level of 0.10, ** statistically significant at a confidence level of 0.05,*** statistically significant at the confidence level of 0.01.

According to Table 4.17, which includes data from all three study years, political interests factors related to respect for rights, freedoms, and duties, confidence in each other, trust in the prime minister, following political news, and demographics including gender, age, education, and monthly income all demonstrated statistical significance at the 0.05 level. The analysis of the factors is shown in each model as follows:

In 2023, model 1 increases political participation included interests in political news where people followed political news more often and increased political participation with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05 with constant variables. The factors of both confidence in each other and trust in the Prime Minister represented positive effects on the level of political participation. Higher confidence increased the level of political participation for respect for rights, freedom, and duties with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05 with constant variables.

In terms of demographic factors between living inside or outside the municipal area, people living outside the municipality are more likely to participate in politics than the other with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05 with constant variables. The education factors revealed that those with higher education had more political participation with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05 with constant variables. The age factors were divided into three groups: 18 - 39 years old, 40 - 59 years old, and 60 - 75 years old. Those aged 18 - 39 years had the lowest political participation with statistical significance at the confidence

level of .05, followed by those aged 60 - 75 years. Those aged 40 - 59 years had the highest political participation with constant variables. Men had more political participation than women with statistical significance at the confidence level of 0.05 with constant variables. The income factors suggested that those with higher income had more political participation with constant variables.

In 2022, model 2 increases political participation involved higher interests in political news with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05 with constant variables. Respect for rights, liberty, and civic responsibility increased with political participation with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05 with constant variables. Confidence factors in the community and confidence in the Prime Minister had a positive effect on the level of political participation.

The demographic factors between living inside and outside the municipal area represented that those living outside the municipality were more likely to participate in politics than the other with statistical significance at the confidence level .05 with constant variables. The education factors revealed that those with higher education had more political participation with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05 with constant variables. Men had higher political participation than women, with statistical significance at the confidence level of 0.05 with constant variables. The age factors were divided into three groups: 18 - 39 years old, 40 - 59 years old, and 60 - 75 years old. Those aged 18 - 39 years had the lowest political participation with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05, followed by those aged

60 - 75 years. Those aged 40 - 59 years had the highest political participation with constant variables. Those with higher incomes had more political participation with constant variables.

With constant variables and statistical significance at the .05 confidence level, model 3 increases political involvement in 2021 included interest in political news. Political participation was positively correlated with greater respect for individual liberties, rights, and civic responsibility, with a statistically significant relationship at the .05 confidence level with constant variables. The degree of political participation increased with people's confidence in the Prime Minister and the community.

The demographic factors suggested that those living inside the municipal area were more likely to participate in politics than the others, with statistical significance at the confidence level .05 with constant variables. Men were found to have higher political participation than women, with statistical significance at the confidence level of 0.05 with constant variables. The age factors were divided into three groups: 18 - 39 years old, 40 - 59 years old, and 60 - 75 years old. Those aged 18 - 39 years had the lowest political participation with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05, followed by those aged 60 - 75 years. Those aged 40 - 59 years had the highest political participation with constant variables. The education factors suggested that those with higher education had more political participation with statistical significance at the confidence level of .05. with constant variables. Those with higher incomes had higher political participation with constant variables.

The variables associated with political engagement were consistently examined between 2021 and 2023, with the exception of interest in political news. In 2021, those with political participation were less interested in the political news. However, in 2022 - 2023, this factor shifted to include greater interest in political news and increased political participation.

The standard regression coefficient (Beta) indicates that the location of residence had a very high positive influence on political participation, indicating that people who lived outside of the municipal area had more political participation. Moreover, those with higher education had more political participation. The results of the gender factor were also consistent, where men had higher political participation than women in all three years of the study. The lowest influence on political participation was found in confidence in the community in 2021 and in the Prime Minister in 2022, and respect for rights, liberty, and civic responsibility in 2023. The results are summarized and shown in the following figures.

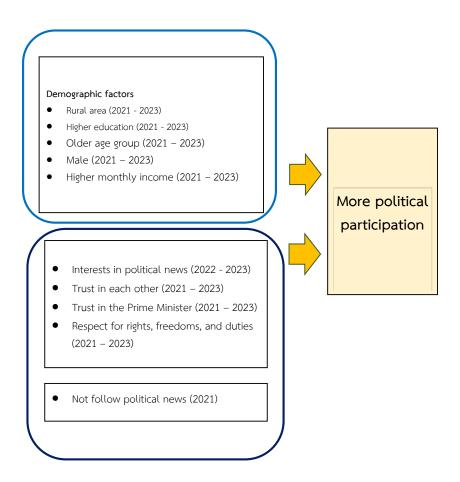


Figure 4.15 Factors of Political Participation

The overall results were derived from the public opinion survey with related democratic indicators of political participation. The next section will reveal the results of both main indicators and sub-indicators in comparison of 2017 - 2023, classified by region.



Chapter 5 Comparative Results of Democracy Indicators, 2017 - 2023

The comparative results of seven democracy indicators between 2017 and 2023 are to comprehend the level of democracy in the context of Thailand. The details are as follows:

5.1 Overall Assessment Results of Democratic Indicators

The results are shown in the full score of 100. In 2023, the level of democracy was at a score of 59.3, or at a moderate level of democracy. In 2018, the highest level of democracy was at a score of 61.0, followed by a gradual decrease to a score of 55.0 in 2020 and a slight increase in the following 2 years. The seven democratic indicators are respect for the right, freedom and duties, adherence to the rule of law, political participation, social capital, trust in state organizations, support for democracy, and anti-corruption. The comparative results of the democracy indicators between 2017 and 2023 are as follows:

Table 5.1 Overall Assessment Results of 7 Democratic Indicators, 2017 – 2023

Democratic Indicators	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Anti-Corruption	76.1	87.5	71.4	72.5	72.5	72.8	84.0
Adherence of the Rule of Law	71.4	70.3	68	66.6	66.8	65.3	65.5
Respect for Rights, Freedoms, Duties	71.9	70.1	68.2	66.6	66.7	66.5	68.7
Support of Democracy	66.4	65	67.6	65.0	65.7	66.1	71.1
Trust in state organizations	65.4	63.1	60.8	58.4	59.5	59.0	58.5
Social Capital	52.7	52.8	48.2	48.6	49.2	47.5	42.4
Public Participation	7.7	8.7	8.6	7.4	6.6	8.7	9.5
Total	59.2	61.0	58.4	55.0	55.3	55.7	59.3

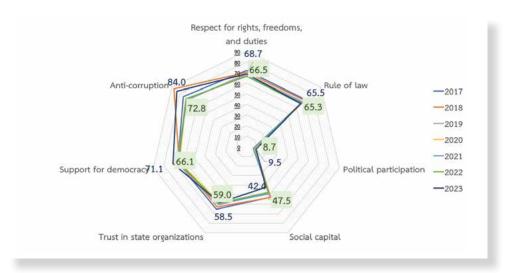


Figure 5.1 Overall Assessment Results of 7 Democratic Indicators

The data presented in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 indicates that there were seven main indicators in 2023: anti-corruption, political participation, social capital, trust in state organizations, respect for the right, freedom, and duties, and adherence to the law. Among these indicators, the indicator with the highest score was anti-corruption, with a score of 84.0. The other indicators that had following scores were support for democracy (71.1), respect for the right, freedom, and duties (68.7), and adherence to the rule of law (65.5). The factors with a moderate score were social capital (42.4) and trust in relevant agencies (58.5). Political participation had the lowest score of any category, with a score of 9.5.

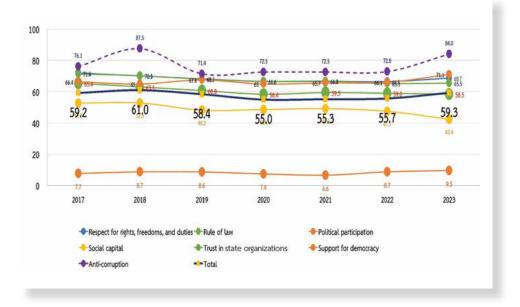


Figure 5.2 Overall Scores of Seven Democratic Indicators

The overall scores of democracy indicators in Thailand in 2021 were at a moderate level, or at a score of 59.3. In comparison, in the past seven years, the democracy assessment in 2018 revealed the highest score, and the anti-corruption indicator contained a higher score by 10 when compared with the result in 2017. Later, the score of the democracy indicators dropped to 58.4 and declined continuously in 2020. Between 2021 and 2023, there was a rise to 59.3 in 2023.

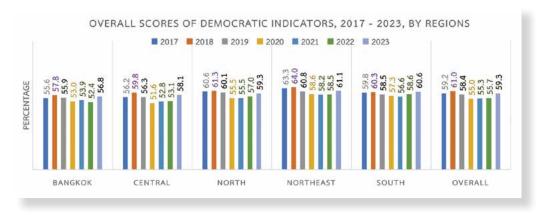


Figure 5.3: Scores of Democratic Indicators from 2017 – 2023 by Region

The overall result in 2023 was different with statistical significance. By region, Thailand was considered to have a moderate level of democracy, with details as follows: Northeast at 61.1, South at 60.6, North at a score of 59.3, Central at a score of 58.1, and Bangkok at 56.8.

The comparative results by region from 2017 to 2023 revealed an increase in every region. From 2017 to 2018, there were higher scores in every region. From 2018 to 2020, the scores gradually decreased until 2021 and increased in the last three years.

5.2 Democratic Indicators

5.2.1 Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and Duties

The main indicators are respect for rights, freedoms, and duties (R Code),

Code	Semi-Indicators
R1	Dedicate time for public benefits
R2	Pay tax
R3	Have equality rights
R4	Accept the different opinions
R5	Be protected rights
R6	Have the freedom to access the information

The indicator for respect for the rights, freedoms, and duties revealed a high level with a score of 68.7 in 2023. The sub-indicators also suggested a high level of democracy where the rights were protected at a score of 75.0, followed by acceptance of opinions at a score of 74.3, equality at a score of 73.0, dedication time for public benefits at a score of 72.7, and tax payment at a score of 67.3. The sub-indicator with the lowest score, or at a score of 49.9, was freedom of access to information.

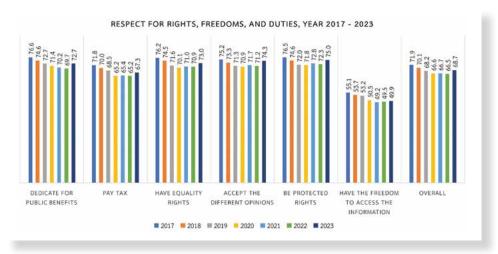


Figure 5.4 Results of Democratic Indicators on Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and Duties

Between 2017 and 2023, the overall score increased from 66.5 in 2022 to 68.7 in 2023. The scores of the sub-indicators increased, including protection of rights, acceptance of opinions, equality, dedication time for public benefits, tax payment, and freedom of access to information.

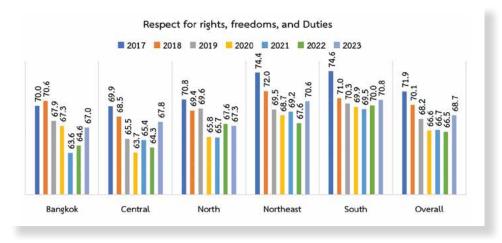


Figure 5.5 Results of Democratic Indicators on Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and Duties by Region

In terms of respect for rights, freedoms, and duties by region, South contained the highest score in 2023 at 70.8, followed by Northeast at a score of 70.6, Central at 67.8, North at a score of 67.3, and Bangkok at a score of 67.0. In addition, between 2017 and 2023, the scores in 2020 – 2021 were relatively low and then gradually higher until the most recent year.

5.2.2 Results of Democratic Indicators on Adherence to the Rule of Law

The main indicators on adherence to the rule of law (Code L)

Code	Sub-indicators
L1	Correct and Appropriate Access to Justice
L2	Legal Enforcement with equality
L3	Confidence in the legal system

The overall indicator of adherence to the rule of law in 2023 was at a high level with a score of 65.5. The sub-indicators also suggested a high level of democracy on access to the correct and appropriate justice process with a score of 67.6, enforcement of the law in equality at a score of 65.5, and confidence in the legal system at a score of 63.3.

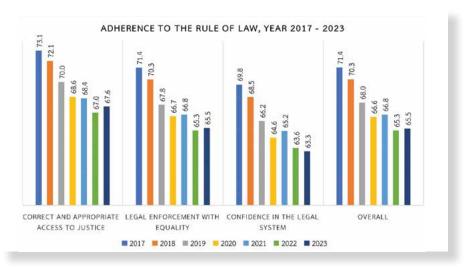


Figure 5.6 Results of Democratic Indicators on Adherence to the Rule of Law

From 2017 to 2020, the scores continuously decreased. In 2017, the result started from a score of 71.4 and gradually decreased to 66.6 in 2020. The scores slightly increased in 2021 and continually decreased until 2023. In addition, the score of the sub- indicator on confidence in the legal system decreased while the others slightly increased.

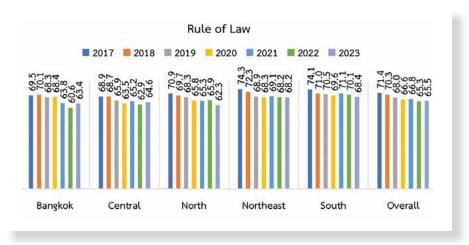


Figure 5.7 Results of Democratic Indicators on Adherence to the Rule of Law by Region

The results of the democratic indicators on adherence to the rule of law by region revealed that South contained the highest score in 2023 at a score of 68.4, followed Northeast at a score of 68.2, Central at a score of 64.6, Bangkok at a score of 63.4, and North at a score of 62.3.

In addition, between 2017 and 2023, North, Bangkok, and the South had decreased scores while the others had increased scores. Northeast had relatively stable score. Northeast score was comparatively constant.

5.2.3 Results of Democratic Indicators on Political Participation

Main indicators on political participation (Code P)

Code	Sub-indicators
P2	Conventional Political Activities
P3	Unconventional Political Activities

Political participation was divided into conventional and unconventional political participation. The former consisted of contacting: 1) government officials or legal representatives at all levels; 2) high-level officials such as governors and Director-General; 3) community leaders such as Head of Village Group and Village Headmen; 4) influential and local leaders besides government officials; and 5) the media. The latter consisted of working as a group: 1) to solve local problems; 2) to write letters of complaint; 3) to attend protests or demonstrations; and 4) to exercise violence for political ends.

In 2017, behavioral political participation was considered for score calculation and comparison. Conventional and unconventional political participation were at a very low level, or a score of 9.5. The scores of the sub-indicators increased and the conventional scores were always higher.

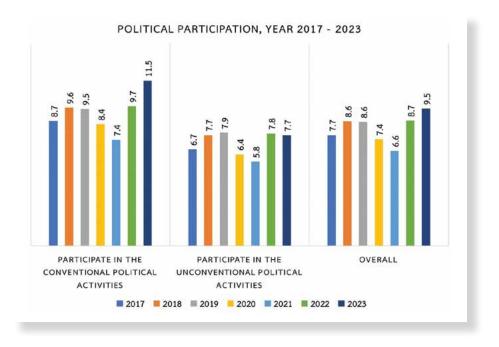


Figure 5.8 Results of Democratic Indicators on Political Participation

By region, Northeast revealed the highest political participation at a score of 11.6, followed by Southern at a score of 11.4, Northern at a score of 10.1, Central region at a score of 7.8, and Bangkok at a score of 6.9.

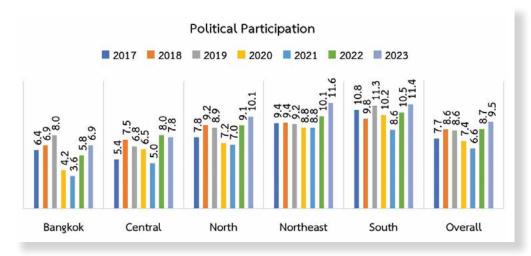


Figure 5.9 Results of Democratic Indicators on Political Participation by Region

Political participation by region represented an increase in 2023. Overall, South and Northeast contained the highest scores. On the other hand, Bangkok's score was the lowest, followed by Central. In addition, in 2021, the scores were the lowest in every region.

5.2.4 Results of Democratic Indicators on Social Capital

The sub-indicators included working in a group and confidence in community.

Code	Sub-Indicators
S1	Joining a group or being a group member
S2	Confidence in each other

Social capital is comprised of group membership, social harmony, good social quality, and confidence in each other, relatives, neighbors, and other associates. The study's overall results indicated that the score of social capital was at a medium level, or 42.4. The sub-indicators on group membership contained a score of 15.2, while the sub-indicator on confidence in community contained a score of 69.7.

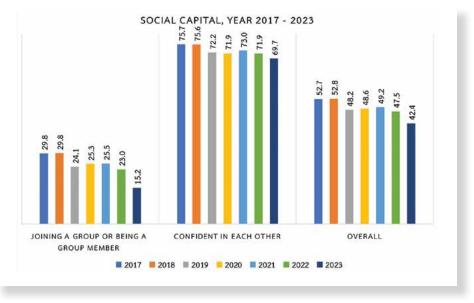


Figure 5.10 Results of Democratic Indicators on Social Capital

The overall scores from 2017 to 2023 revealed social capital with a range of 52 in the first two years. In the second two years, the score dropped to approximately 48 and decreased steadily until 2023, consistent with the sub-indicators of group membership in 2023 with a score of 15.2. However, the sub-indicator of confidence in community was found at a high level and continuously decreased.

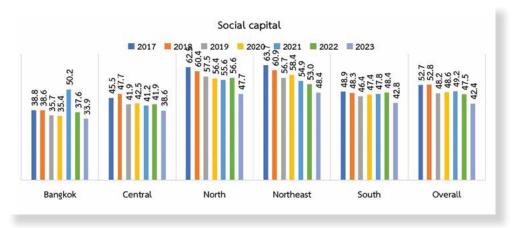


Figure 5.11 Results of Democratic Indicators on Social Capital by Region

The overall indicators of social capital by region revealed Northeast with the highest score, or at a score of 48.4, followed by the North at a score of 47.7, South at a score of 42.8, Central at a score of 38.6, and Bangkok at a score of 33.9. The scores of social capitals from 2017 to 2023 continuously decreased in every region.

5.2.5 Results of Democratic Indicators on Trust in state organizations

The main indicators included trust in state organizations (Code T)

Code	Sub-Indicator
T1	Trust in the Parliament
T2	Trust in the Government
Т3	Trust in the Court
T4	Trust in Government Officials, the Military, and the Police

Code	Sub-Indicator
T5	Trust in the Local Government Organizations
Т6	Trust in the Constitutional Independent Organizations

The indicators of trust in state organizations consisted of trust in the parliament, trust in the government, trust in the courts, trust in government officials, the army, the police, trust in local government organizations, and trust in independent organizations under the Constitution. Overall, the scores were at a moderate level, or at a score of 58.5. The sub-indicators showed the highest trust in the government, at a score of 66.3, followed by trust in independent organizations based the Constitution at a score of 59.4, trust in the courts at a score of 56.7, trust in local government organizations at a score of 56.4, and trust in government officials, the army, the police at a score of 54.6. The lowest trust was in the parliament at a score of 51.9.

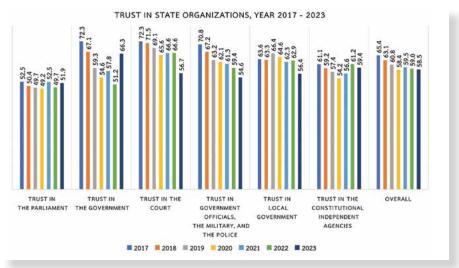


Figure 5.12: Results of Democratic Indicators on Trust in state organizations

When the scores in trust in government institutions between 2022 and 2023 were compared, there were not only the increased scores of trust in the government (T2) by 15.1 and trust in the Parliament (T1) by 2.2 but also the decreased scores of trust in independent organizations under the Constitution (T6) by 1.8, trust in government officials / the army / the police (T4) by 4.8, trust in local government organizations (T5) by 6.5, and trust in the courts (T3) by 9.9.

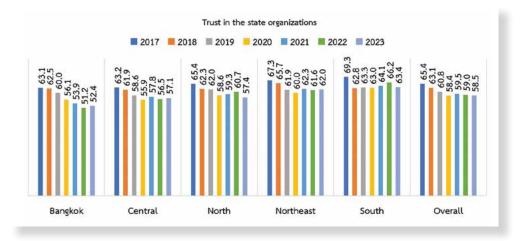


Figure 5.13 Results of Democratic Indicators on Trust in state organizations by Region

South had the highest trust in government institutions at a score of 63.4, followed by Northeast at a score of 62.0, North at a score of 57.4, Central at a score of 57.1, and Bangkok at a score of 52.4. The scores increased almost every region by a score of approximately 1-2 except for North and South with a slight decreased.

5.2.6 Results of Democratic Indicators on Support for Democracy

The main indicator included support for democracy (SP Code)

Code	Sub-indicator
SP	Support of Democracy

Overall, the score of support for democracy was at 71.1, which was considered at high level. However, the scores of supports for democracy fluctuated between 2017 and 2023. The score decreased approximately two scores in 2018 to reach 65.0. While, the score increased approximately two scores to reach 65.0 in 2019 and increased to reach 71.1 in the latest year.

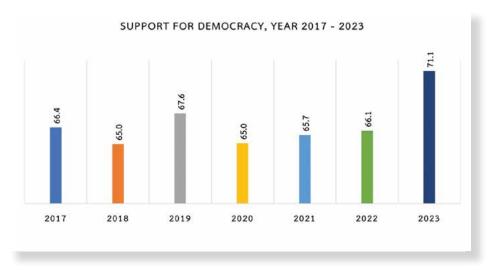


Figure 5.14 Results of Democratic Indicators on Support for Democracy

Among the following statements: 'We should abolish the parliamentary system and elections to find a strong leader to run the country,' 'It is acceptable to have only one political party in elections to run the country,' 'The army should rule the country,' and 'We should abolish the parliamentary and electoral systems and have specialists to make decisions on behalf of the people,' the result represented that the idea of the army ruling the country received the least support, followed by the notion of having only one political party in elections, having specialists run the country without elections, and having a strong leader run the country without elections."

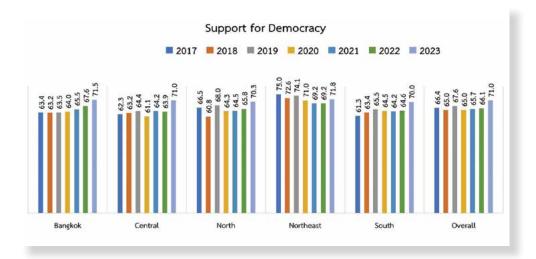


Figure 5.15 Results of Democratic Indicators on Support for Democracy by Region

By region, Northeast's score was the highest in support for democracy at a score of 71.8, followed by Bangkok at a score of 71.5, Central at a score of 71.0, North at a score of 70.3, and South at a score of 70.0. Bangkok's score increased in support for democracy from a score of 63.4 in 2017 to a score of 71.5 in 2023. South's score increased in 2018, remained instant, and increased in the last two years. North's score was relatively high and decreased until 2022. Central's score decreased the most in 2020, increased in 2021, decreased slightly in 2022, and increased to a score of 71.0 in 2023.

5.2.7 Results of Democratic Indicators on Anti-Corruption

The main indicator on anti-corruption (Code A)

Code	Sub-indicator
Α	Anti-corruption

It was at a high level at a score of 84.0, with an increase of more than a score of 10 from 2022. From 2017 to the most recent year, a score of 76.1 increased to a score of 87.5 in 2018, with an increase of more than a score of 10. The score of anti-corruption dropped to a score of 71.4 in 2019, or the lowest score in the past five years. However, at the end of the study, the scores of anti-corruptions increased the most in seven years.



Figure 5.16 Results of Democratic Indicators on Anti-Corruption

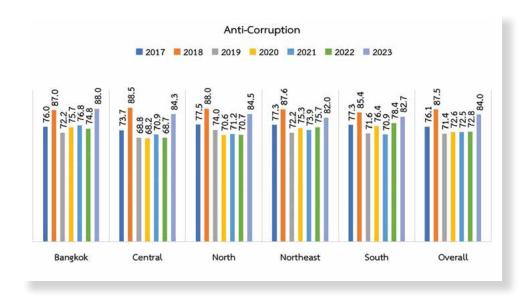


Figure 5.17 Results of Democratic Indicators on Anti-Corruption by Region

By region, in 2023, Bangkok's score was the highest for anti-corruption at a score of 88.0, followed by North's score of 84.5, Central's score of 84.3, South's score of 82.7, and Northeast's score of 82.0. By region, there was an increase for anti-corruption, especially in Central, Bangkok, and North, at approximately a score of 10.

5.3 Summary of Study Results

The results of the democratic indicators in Thai society were at a moderate level. In 2023, Thailand's democracy had a score of 59.3, or at a moderate level. In 2018, the result was the highest at a score of 61.0 and gradually decreased to a score of 55.0 in 2020. A slight increase occurred in the following two years. By region, with statistical significance, the scores were different, with the highest score in the Northeast.

The indicator for respect for the rights, freedoms, and duties was at a high level at a score of 68.7. The sub-indicator with the lowest score was freedom for access to information at a moderate score of 49.9 and at a score of 50 in 2021. Other sub- indicators contained a score of 60 - 80. Bangkok had the lowest score in 2021, but continually increased after 2021. On the other hand, Northeast and South continuously contained the highest scores for this indicator.

The indicator of adherence to the rule of law was slightly higher, like the sub- indicator of enforcement of the law in equality and correct and appropriate access to the justice process. Confidence in the legal system had a slightly lower score. South had the highest score on

adherence to the rule of law, followed by Northeast. On the other hand, North had the lowest score.

Social capital included group membership and confidence in each other. The results of the study revealed the highest score in confidence in each other, like relatives, neighbors, and associates. From 2017 to 2023, the score of social capital decreased. The sub-indicator for confidence in community decreased, and that for group membership greatly decreased. By region, Northeast had the highest score of social capital, followed by North.

The indicator of trust in state organizations consisted of confidence in the Parliament, the government, the courts, government officials, the army, the police, local government organizations, and independent organizations under the Constitution. Overall, the score was at a moderate level, with a score of 58.5. The sub-indicator with the highest score was trust in the government at a score of 66.3, followed by trust in independent organizations under the Constitution at a score of 59.4, trust in the courts at a score of 56.7, trust in local government organizations at a score of 56.4, and trust in government officials, the army, and the police at a score of 54.6. The score of trust in the Parliament was the lowest at a score of 51.9.

The result represented that support for democracy has been on the rise, indicating no support for replacing democratic governance with any other form, including having specialists make decisions on behalf of the people, abolishing the parliamentary and electoral systems, establishing a single political party, governing by strong leaders, and having the army rule

the country. The results from comparing these four forms of government revealed the highest opposition towards the army rule, followed by having a single political party, having specialists run the country without elections, and having strong leaders run the country without elections. When considering overall support for democracy, the scores remained consistently high, which ranged from 65 to 68 points from 2017 to 2022. In 2023, the score increased by approximately a score of 5. Regionally, Northeast showed the highest support for democracy in every year.

The anti-corruption indicator consistently had a high-level score, standing at a score of 84.0 over the past seven years with a range between a score of 70 and 80. This indicator had the highest score among all the democratic indicators.

The political participation indicator measures activities including contacting community leaders or government officials, collaborating with others to solve local problems, writing complaint letters, and exercising force or violence for political gain. The study found that overall political participation scores were slightly higher. The sub-indicators for conventional political activities were higher than the others. Regionally, respondents in the Northeastern region exhibited the highest political participation. By region, Bangkok had the lowest political participation score in 2023.

The analysis of factors affecting political participation between 2021 and 2023 suggested that the area of residence significantly played a significant role in political participation. Those living outside the municipal area were more involved in politics than those living within the municipal area. Education was another critical factor. Those with higher education

had more political participation than those with lower education. This finding aligned with the study of Thawalakorn Bunsri (2013), which indicated that education affected political participation. Additionally, the factor of interest in political news showed continuous influence since 2021. Age also plays a role in political participation, where the older were more politically active than the younger. This observation is consistent with the study of Bourne et al.'s (2017), which found that the older were more likely to be politically involved than the younger. Similarly, Sikanya Yumuang and Natthapat Yumuang (2019) found that age correlates with political participation, where older individuals were more active politically. Moreover, men were found to be more politically involved than women in all years of the study, consistent with the findings of Výrost and Bozogáňová (2019), who stated that men were more likely to engage in political activities than women.

Other factors influencing political participation included respect for the rights, freedoms, and duties, trust in the Prime Minister, and confidence in each other. The study found that positive attitudes towards these factors led to increased political participation, consistent with the studies by Hooghe & Marien (2012) and Saad & Salman (2013), which suggested that trust in state organizations, including politicians and the government, was related to a higher level of political participation.

5.4 Suggestions from the Study

From a study of democracy in Thailand with an analysis of factors affecting political participation, the suggestions are as follows:

An essential element in promoting democracy is political participation. In this study, the political participation indicators scored the lowest among all indicators. To enhance political participation, it is crucial to provide citizens with thorough and equitable access to important information according to the context to cater to all groups based on gender, age, and specific needs of diverse populations.

Additionally, the government should establish platforms or channels that enable citizens to express their ideas on politics, society, and other issues. These avenues would allow communities to communicate their opinions and needs to those in power and policymakers, all while exercising their rights within the framework of social rules.

Another factor affecting political participation is social growth, encompassing the distinctive social relationship, group membership, and confidence in community. When people gather to do interesting activities and gain social acceptance, such social capital should be promoted by the government. Human capital involves building not only knowledge but also social responsibility to harmonize and strengthen society.

Building confidence state organizations is important to promote democracy. The Thai government and all government agencies should operate under the principles of good governance to raise the quality of public services. People should be able to access public services equally for a better life quality. From the results of the study, people with good quality of life and living conditions were more interested in politics. In addition, the public services should operate under the principles of good governance, which public confidence in the legal system is fostered with equal protection under the law for all citizens.

The government and state organizations should promote media literacy in both formal and non-formal education in order to help citizens become immune to distorted information. Additionally, prioritizing citizenship education in families, schools, communities, and extending to the national level is essential to cultivate awareness of rights, liberties, and civic responsibilities among citizens. Fostering active citizens is key to political participation for the development of democracy in Thailand.



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Appendix

Appendix 1: Tools and Criteria for Calculation of Scores on Democracy Indicators

From the conceptual framework for democracy indicators, the research team compiled and developed 7 main indicators in the context of Thai society through the following steps.

Step 1: determining the consistency of questions

The meaning of each question must be in the same direction, either negative or positive. In this study, if any question has a mixture of negative and positive meaning, all scores must adjust from a negative meaning (-) to a positive meaning (+).

In the study, there are three main basic elements. First is the administration and good governance. It is mainly related to respect for rights, freedoms, and duties and adherence to the rule of law. Second is the democratic process, in terms of public participation and social capital. Lastly, the outcomes of democracy are explained through trust in the state organizations, support for democracy, and anti-corruption.

Principles of Administration and Good Governance

Key Indicator: 1) Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and Duties

Sub-indicators:

- 1.1) Dedicate time for public benefits
- 1.2) Pay tax
- 1.3) Have equality rights
- 1.4) Accept the different opinions
- 1.5) Be protected rights
- 1.6) Have the freedom to access the information

Question	Not Agree (1)	Not Really Agree (2)	Agree (3)	Highly Agree (4)	Not Sure (0)	Note (+/-)
1.People dedicate personal time to public benefits whenever possible.						(+)
2. People are willing to pay taxes.						(+)

Question	Not Agree (1)	Not Really Agree (2)	Agree (3)	Highly Agree (4)	Not Sure (0)	Note (+/-)
3. Rich and poor people are treated equally by the government.						(+)
4. A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him.						(+)
5. The basic rights and freedoms of people are protected.						(+)
6.(-) The government withhold important information from the public.						(-)
(+) People can access the important information from the government.						

Key Indicator: 2) Adherence to the Rule of Law

Sub-indicators:

- 2.1) Correct and Appropriate Access to Justice
- 2.2) Legal Enforcement with equality
- 2.3) Confidence in the legal system

Question	Not Agree (1)	Not Really Agree (2)	Agree (3)	Highly Agree (4)	Not Sure (0)	Note (+/-)
1. Citizens can access to the correct and appropriate justice and receive fair compensation in case of mismanagement.						(+)
2. The process of criminal justice and the system of legal punishment implement with equality.						(+)
3. People trust in the legal system to effectively and equally adjudicate.						(+)

Democratic Process

Key Indicator: 3) Public Participation

Sub-indicators:

- 3.1) Participate in the conventional political activities
- 3.2) Participate in the unconventional political activities

Question	Option	Note
		(+/-)
1. Have you voted in the previous national election?	(1) Yes (0) No	(+)

2. In the past 3 years, when having personal problems, family issues, household issues, or problems with government officials and policies, have you done any of the following.

	More than once (4)	Once (3)	Never, but Likely to hap- pen if needed (2)	Never and not likely to hap- pen (1)	Not Sure (5)	Note (+/-)
1) Contacted the government officials or legal representatives at all levels.						(+)
2) Contacted the high- ranking officials such as Governor, Director						(+)
3) Contacted the community leaders such as village leader, village headman						(+)
4) Contacted the local influencers and community leaders aside from government officials.						(+)
5) Contacted news media						(+)

3. In the past 3 years as a citizen, have you done any of the following?

	More than once (4)	Once (3)	Never, but Likely to hap- pen if need- ed (2)	Never and not likely to hap- pen (1)	Not Sure (5)	Note (+/-)
1) Joined the group to try to solve the community problems.						(+)
2) Joined a group to write complaint.						(+)
3) Attended a protest march / demonstration						(+)
4) Taken a force or violence action for political cause.						(+)

Key Indicator: 4) Social Capital

Sub-indicators:

- 4.1) Joining a group or being a group member
- 4.2) Confidence in each other

Question	Option	Note
		(+/-)
1. Are you a member of a group / club /	(1) Yes	(+)
association?	(0) No	

2. How much confidence do you have in the following people?

Question	Not Confi- dent (1)	Confident (3)	Very Confi- dent (4)	Not Sure (0)	Note (+/-)
1) Your relatives					(+)
2) Your neighbor					(+)
3) People in contact with					(+)

Outcome of Democracy

Key Indicator: 5) Trust in the state organizations

Sub-indicators:

- 5.1) Trust in the Parliament
- 5.2) Trust in the Government
- 5.3) Trust in the Court
- 5.4) Trust in the Constitutional Independent Organizations
- 5.5) Trust in Government Officials, the Military, and the Police
- 5.6) Trust in the Local Government Organizations

How much trust do you have in these agencies?

Question	Do not trust at all (1)	Some- what dis- trust	Confident (3)	Very Confi- dent (4)	Not Sure (0)	Note (+/-)
1) Member of the National Legislative						(+)
Assembly (NLA) *						
2) The National Reform Steering						(+)
Assembly (NRSA.)						

Question	Do not trust at all (1)	Some- what dis- trust	Confident (3)	Very Confi- dent (4)	Not Sure (0)	Note (+/-)
3) Prime Minister						(+)
4) Cabinet / Government						(+)
5) Court of Justice						(+)
6) Constitutional Court						(+)
7) Administrative Court						(+)
8) Ombudsman						(+)
9) Election Commission						(+)
10) The National Counter Corruption Commission						(+)
11) The State Audit Commission						(+)

Question	Do not trust at all (1)	Some- what dis- trust	Confident (3)	Very Confi- dent (4)	Not Sure (0)	Note (+/-)
12) Human Rights Committee						(+)
14) Government Officials						(+)
15) The Military						(+)
16) The Police						(+)
17) Local government organizations						(+)
18) Local council members						(+)

^{*} Questions are subject to change. *

Key Indicator: 6) Support for Democracy

Sub-indicator:

6.1) Support for Democracy

Question	Disa- gree (2)	Agree (3)	Strong- ly agree (4)	Can't choose (0)	Note (+/-)	Note (+/-)
1. We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things.						(-)
2. Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office.						(-)
3. The army (military) should come in to govern the country.						(-)
4. We should get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.						(-)

Key Indicator: 7) Anti-corruption

Sub-indicator:

7.1) Not Accept of Corruption

Question	Strong- ly disa- gree (1)	Disa- gree (2)	Agree (3)	Strong- ly agree (4)	Can't choose (0)	Note (+/-)
1. What is your opinion on the statement "Sometimes corruption in government is necessary to get things done".						(-)

Step 2: Coding the questions in each indicator

Key Indicator: 1) Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and Duties (Code R)

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
R1	Dedicate time for	R11	People dedicate personal time to
	public benefits		public benefits whenever possible.
R2	Pay tax	R21	People are willing to pay taxes.
R3	Have equality	R31	Rich and poor people are treated
	rights		equally by the government.
R4	Accept the differ-	R41	A person should not insist on his own
	ent opinions		opinion if his co-workers disagree with
			him.
R5	Be protected	R51	The basic rights and freedoms of
	rights		people are protected.
R6	Have the freedom	R61	People can access the important
	to access the		information from the government.
	information		

Key Indicator: 2) Adherence of the Rules of Law (Code L)

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
L1	Correct and	L11	Citizens can access to the correct
	Appropriate Access		and appropriate justice, and receive
	to Justice		fair compensation in case of mis-
			management.

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
L2	Legal Enforcement	L21	The process of criminal justice and
	with equality		the system of legal punishment
			implement with equality.
L3	Confidence in the	L31	People trust in the legal system to
	legal system		effectively and equally adjudicate.

Key Indicator: 3) Public Participation (Code P)

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
P2	Participate in the conventional	P21	Contacted the government officials or legal representatives at all levels.
	political activities	P22	Contacted the high-ranking officials such as Governor, Director
		P23	Contacted the community leaders such as village leader, village headman
		P24	Contacted the local influencers and community leaders aside from government officials.
		P25	Contacted news media
P3	Participate in the unconventional politi-	P31	Joined the group to try to solve the community problems.
	cal activities	P32	Joined a group to write complaint.
		P33	Attended a protest march / demonstration
		P34	Taken a force or violence action for political cause.

Key Indicator: 4) Social Capital (Code S)

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
S1	Joining a group	S11	Are you a member of any club or
	or being a group		association?
	member		
S2	Confidence in each	S21	You are confident in your cousins.
	other	S22	You are confident in your neighbors.
		S23	You are confident in the people you
			are in contact with.

Key Indicator: 5) Trust in the Public Agencies (Code T)

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
T1	Trust in the	T11	You are confident in the National
	Parliament		Legislative Assembly.
		T12	You are confident in the National Reform
			Steering Assembly.
T2	Trust in the	T21	You are confident in the Prime Minister.
	Government	T22	You are confident in the Cabinet and
			the government.
T3	Trust in the Court	T31	You are confident in the Court of Justice.
		T32	You are confident in the Constitutional
			Court.
		T33	You are confident in the Administra-
			tive Court.

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
Т4	T4 Trust in Government	T41	You are confident in the government officials.
	Officials,	T42	You are confident in the military.
	the Military, and the Police	T43	You are confident in the police.
T5	T5 Trust in the Local Government Organizations	T51	You are confident in the local administrative organizations.
		T52	You are confident in the Members of the Local Council.
Т6	Trust in the	T61	You are confident in the Ombudsman.
	Constitutional Independent Organizations	T62	You are confident in the Election Commission.
		T63	You are confident in the National Counter Corruption Commission.
		T64	You are confident in the State Audit Commission.
		T65	You are confident in the Human Rights Commission.

Key Indicator: Support of Democracy (Code SP)

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
SP1	Support of	SP11	We should cancel the parliamentary
	Democracy		system and elections, then finding
			a strong leader to run the country.
		SP12	It is acceptable to have a single
			political party in elections and running
			the country.
		SP13	The military should rule the country.
		SP14	We should cancel the electoral system
			and the parliamentary system, and we
			should have experts to make decisions
			on behalf of the people.

Key Indicator: Anti-Corruption (Code A)

Code	Sub-indicator	Code	Question
A1	Anti-Corruption	A11	What is your opinion on the state-
			ment: "Corruption in the government
			is sometimes necessary to complete
			the assignment."?

Step 3: Calculation

In processing the assessments, the questions were grouped as the key indicators and sub-indicators, and the results were shown in scores of different key indicators and sub-indicators. The details of the scores or the values of each question were not included.

Formula for Calculation

The formula for calculating the scores of the key indicators and the sub-indicator was obtained from the questions represented in each code as follows:

- 1) The codes are shown on the table in Step 2.
- 2) n means the number of the respondents for each question

For example, nR11 = the number of the respondents in the question Code R11.

3) The average of each question such as the score of the question Code R11 is derived from the mean according to the number of the respondents nR11.

The formula for calculating the scores of the key indicators and sub-indicators in assessing democracy in the Thai society context is as follows:

Indicator 1: Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and Duties (R) $R = \frac{(R1 + R2 + R3 + R4 + R5 + R6)}{6}$ $R1 = \frac{(R11 / n_{p11})}{6}$

R2 =
$$(R21 / n_{p21})$$

R3 =
$$(R31 / n_{R31})$$

R4 =
$$(R41 / n_{R41})$$

R5 =
$$(R51 / n_{R51})$$

R6 =
$$(R61 / n_{R61})$$

Indicator 2: Adherence of the Rule of Law (L)

L = (L1 + L2 + L3) / 3

 $L1 = (L11 / n_{L11})$

 $L2 = (L21 / n_{121})$

L3 = $(L31 / n_{131})$

Indicator: Public Participation (P)

P = (P1 + P2 + P3) / 3

P1 = $(P11 / n_{P11})$

P2 = $((P21 / n_{P21}) + (P22 / n_{P22}) + (P23 / n_{P23}) + (P24 / n_{P24}) + (P25 / n_{P25})) / 5$

P3 = $((P31 / n_{P31}) + (P32 / n_{P32}) + (P33 / n_{P33}) + (P34 / n_{P34}) / 4$

Indicator 4: Social Capital (S)

S = (S1 + S2) / 2

 $S1 = (S1 / n_{S11})$

S2 = $((S21 / n_{S21}) + (S21 / n_{S22}) + (S23 / n_{S23})) / 3$

Indicator 5: Trust in the state organizations (T)

T = (T1 + T2 + T3 + T4 + T5 + T6) / 6

T1 = $((T11/n_{T1}) + (T12/n_{T1}))/2$

T2 = $((T21 / n_{T21}) + (T22 / n_{T22})) / 2$

T3 = $((T31 / n_{T31}) + (T32 / n_{T32}) + (T33 / n_{T33})) / 3$

T4 =
$$((T41 / n_{T41}) + (T42 / n_{T42}) + (T43 / n_{T43})) / 3$$

T5 = $((T51 / n_{T51}) + (T52 / n_{T52})) / 2$
T6 = $((T61 / n_{T61}) + (T62 / n_{T62}) + (T63 / n_{T63}) + (T64 / n_{T61}) + (T65 / n_{T65})) / 5$

Indicator6: Support of Democracy (SP)

$$SP1 = (SP1) / 1$$

$$SP1 = ((SP11 / n_{SP11}) + (SP12 / n_{SP12}) + (SP13 / n_{SP13}) + (SP14 / n_{SP14})) / 4$$

Indicator 7: Anti-Corruption (A)

A1 =
$$(A1) / 1$$

A1 = $(A11 / n_{A1})$

Step 4: Discussion

When receiving scores in each area, the explanation of values is based on the criteria as follows:

Score 1 – 20 = Very Low Level of Democracy
Score 21 – 40 = Low Level of Democracy
Score 41 – 60 = Medium Level of Democracy
Score 61 – 80 = High Level of Democracy
Score 81 – 100 = Very High Level of Democracy

The summary and presentation of the results is presented in the form of a spider web and a bar chart with details included in chapter 5.

Appendix 2: Survey of Democratic Values in 2023

This questionnaire is to survey the democratic values among Thai people in 7 indicators including Respect for Rights and Duties, Adherence to the Rule of Law, Public Participation, Social Capital, Support of Democracy, Confidence in Public Agencies, and Anti-corruption. This survey is to learn about the status of Thai democracy in the public view in order to improve quality and efficiency of Thai democracy for the future.

Section 1: Respect for Rights, Freedoms, and **Duties**

Question	Not Agree	Not Really Agree	Agree	Really Agree	Not Sure
1. You think people are willing to sacrifice themselves for the common good whenever there is an opportunity.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(0)
2. You think everyone is willing to					
pay taxes. 3. You think everyone, either rich or poor, receives the same treatment from the government.					
4. You think we should not hold on to our own opinions if there are different opinions in the team.					
5. You think the basic rights and freedoms of all people are protected.					
6. You think the government has blocked people from being informed about important information.					

Section 2: Adherence to the Rule of Law

Question	Not Agree	Not Really Agree	Agree	Really Agree	Not Sure
7. Citizens have a correct and appropriate access to justice and receive fair compensation in the case of mismanagement	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(0)
8. The process of criminal justice and the system of legal punishment are implemented with equality.					
9. You believe the justice and legal system are effectively implemented with equality.					

Section 3: Public Participation

10. I have voted in the election	(1) Yes
of House of Representatives.	(0) No

11. During the past 3 years, when having personal problems, family issues, problems in residential areas, or problems with government officials and government policies, have you done any of the following?

Question	(1) More than once	Once (2)	(S) Never, but probably do in the future	Never, and not likely to do in the future	(6) Not Sure
1. In contact with Community					
Leaders such as Village Leader and Village Headman					
2 In contact with government officials					
or legal representatives at all levels.					
3. In contact with high-ranking					
officials such as Governor and					
Director					
4 In contact with the local influencer					
and local intellectuals aside from					
government officials.					
5. In contact with the media.					

12. During the past 3 years, have you involved in the following as a citizen?

Question	(1) More than once	o Ouc e	(S) Never, but probably do in the future	(a) Never, and not likely to do in the future	(6) Not Sure
1) Joining those who try to solve local problems.					
2) Joining those who write letters of complaint.					
3) Joining the protest / demonstration					
4) Exercising force or violence for political reasons					

Section 4: Social Capital

13. You are a member of clubs,	(1) Yes	(0) No
associations, and groups		

14-16 How confident are you in the following people?

Question	(1) Not Confident	(S) Not Really Confident	(3)	(b) Very Confident	(0) Not Sure
14. Cousins and Relatives					
15. Neighbors					
16. Individuals in contact					

Section 5: Trust in the State Organizations

17. How confident are you in the State Organizations?

Question	(1) Not Confident	(S) Not Really Confident	(3)	(F) Very Confident	(O) Not Sure
1) Member of the National Legislative Assembly (NLA) *					
2) The National Reform Steering Assembly (NRSA.)					
3) Prime Minister					
4) Cabinet / Government					
5) Court of Justice					
6) Constitutional Court					
7) Administrative Court					
8) Ombudsman					

Question	Not Confident	Not Really Confident	Confident	Very Confident	Not Sure
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(0)
9) Election Commission					
10) The National Counter Corruption Commission					
11) The State Audit Commission					
12) Human Rights Committee					
14) Government Officials					
15) The Military					
16) The Police					
17) Local government organizations					
18) Local council members					

Section 6: Support of Democracy

Question	(1) Not Agree	(5) Not Really Agree	Agree (3)	(5) Completely Agree	(0) Not Sure
18. The military should rule the country.					
19. Having a single political party in elections and running a country is acceptable.					
20. The parliamentary system and elections should be abolished and find a strong leader to run the country.					
21 The parliamentary system and elections should be abolished and there should be experts making decisions on behalf of the people.					

Section 7: Anti-corruption

Question	Not Agree	Not Really Agree	Agree	Completely Agree	Not Sure
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(0)
22. You agree on the statement: "Corruption is sometimes necessary to complete the assignment."					





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