Asia Democracy Research Network

Working Paper Series

Gender Differences in Support for
Democracy and Political Participation in Thailand

Thawilwadee Bureekul & Ratchawadee Sangmahamad
King Prajadhipok's Institute

Gender Differences in Support for Democracy and Political Participation in Thailand

Thawilwadee Bureekul[*] & Ratchawadee Sangmahamad[**]
King Prajadhipok's Institute
November 2016

Abstract

This paper looks at the gender dimensions of support for democracy in Thailand, including political participation such as elections, protests, and connects officials at higher level and community leaders. The study finds that both genders are found not to differ in their level of support for democracy, but there are different factors that influence their support for democracy. Moreover, to improve the development of democracy in Thailand, trust in local government corresponded with greater support for democracy among both genders and decentralization efforts should be strengthened. To develop a democratic regime and motivate people to support democracy, people should participate more and have greater interest in politics, especially women. The way to change their attitudes is to empower women and provide more opportunities to participate in politics and have power in decision-making.

Introduction

The investigation of a gendered perspective on support for democracy is an important issue for every country in the world, including Thailand. Gender equality is a critical Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) aimed towards assuring female empowerment by achieving full and effective female participation and equality of opportunities in leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life. To meet this goal, sound policies should be adopted and strengthened with enforceable legislation to promote gender equality and female empowerment at all levels and ages (SDG, 2015). Moreover, the 1995 Beijing Platform stresses that equality in

* Director, Research and Development Office, e-mail: thawilwadee@kpi.ac.th
** Researcher, Research and Development Office, e-mail: ratchawadee@kpi.ac.th

decision-making is integral to the advancement of women's rights and that women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a question of simple justice or democracy, but also a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account.

Thailand is also concerned about gender equality, as evidenced by the country's signing and ratifying of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985. Data from the UN in 2013 for the Southeast Asian region shows that the proportion of women participating in decision-making processes increased from 12 to 18% in 2013 (UN, 2013). The proportion of female candidates running for election increased by 3.75% between 2007 and 2011, despite there being 1,472 fewer candidates overall. However, in business the proportion of top female managers decreased from 24.81% in 2011 to 21.3% in 2013.

Despite a fall in business, a comparison of the composition of the legislature between 2007 and 2011 shows an increase in the female political participation rate. Even so, there are many obstacles barring women from participating in politics, such as social acceptance, family roles and responsibility including childcare, economic factors, and social capital in addition to political skills and knowledge (Farzana Bari, 2005). Zazuki Iwanaga (2005) explains that Thai women face numerous challenges in their struggle for political representation. The underrepresentation of women in the legislature is a serious problem because it runs counter to the ideals of democracy, and is caused by eligibility limitations as well as social, cultural, educational and occupational obstacles. Internationally, there has been significant opposition to feminists among both males and females due to the lack of feminists' political knowledge (Rinehart and Josephson, 2005). This conforms to the results of World Value Survey (KPI, 2014), which found that 44.5% of respondents agreed that the reason males are more often local political leaders was because women lack political knowledge, whereas 55.5% disagreed with this statement. However, moving to achieve consolidated democracy depends on not only increasing numbers of women in the parliament and administration but strong commitment to democracy.

Let us now move beyond gender participation in the legislature to consider support for democracy. Thailand has had thirteen successful coups. In May 2014 there was a coup d'état in response to the political situation after months of political demonstrations, a disrupted and ultimately invalidated election, and accusations of government mismanagement. Since the May 2014 coup, General Prayut Chan-o-cha has acted as Prime Minister, with some academics stating that Thailand is under a military regime.

With the 4 sets of survey data overtime, we are able to analyze the changes of Thais's perspective overtime. With the interest in Thai democratization and gender perspectives, we , therefore, would like to study whether Thai women really commit to democracy and participate less in politics than men or not. Are the perspectives on democracy matter? Is there different level of commitment to or support for democracy between men and women? The extent of support for democracy in Thailand as well as the factors affecting such support based on gendered dimensions, which occur in the period of survey are also studied.

Data Collection

This study presents survey data based on face-to-face interviews undertaken in 2001, 2006, 2010 and 2014 (see Table 1) from the Asian Barometer Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development in Thailand, as conducted by King Prajadhipok's Institute. All interviewees were at least 18 years old and represented a true sample of eligible Thai voters. This research also utilizes probability sampling, meaning that subjects were randomly selected.

Table 1. Summary of Asian Barometer Surveys in Thailand

Wave	Year	Period of data collection	Prime Minister	Sample size
1	2001	Oct. - Nov. 2001	Thaksin Shinawatra	1,546
2	2006	Apr. - Sep. 2006	Thaksin Shinawatra	1,546
3	2010	Aug. - Dec. 2010	Abhisit Vejjajiva	1,512
4	2014	Aug. - Oct. 2014	General Prayuth Chan-Ocha	1,200

For the period of survey, there were conducted between a coup d'état on the 22nd of May 2014, which Yingluck Shinawatra was seized from General Prayuth Chan-Ocha. Moreover, there was an earlier coup d'état on the 19th of September 2006 which occurred in the same period of 2006 survey.

Literature Review

This paper is related to two theoretical discussions: support for democracy; and gender difference in political participation. Each will be explored in turn.

Support for Democracy

The word "democracy" can be literally understood in modern terms as the government of the majority of people, and can be distinguished from other forms of government such as monarchies and dictatorships. The most common definition of democracy is that provided by Abraham Lincoln; 'the government of the people, by the people and for the people'. This means a government that comes from the people; that is exercised by the people, and that is for the purpose of the people's own interests. This description is very broad, so in order to understand the term democracy more concisely we must understand it through its key elements. Democracy consists of fundamental freedoms and rights, elections, the rule of law, the separation of powers, and freedom of the press (Becker and Rveloson, 2008).

Democracy has various forms which are based upon historic, social, cultural and- obviously- political contexts. It can be constituted through a combination of varying characteristics such as a representative government, direct or indirect elections, a transparent government, rights and liberties provided by the government, equality, and political participation (Del Dickson, 2014).

Larry Diamond explained democracy occurs if only citizens believe that democracy is "the most appropriate form of government for their society" (Diamond, 1990: 49). This comes as no surprise, because democracy requires the consent of the populace through the electoral process. Based on data from the World Values Survey, Larry Diamond concludes that there is overwhelming and universal support for democracy, where in 2001; "at least eighty percent of people on average say democracy is the best system" (2008: 31). Nonetheless, in recent years there has been a strong temptation towards authoritarianism involving democratic breakdowns in numerous countries including Turkey, Bangladesh and the Philippines. In this paper, we examine the support for democracy in Thailand over four different waves of the Asian Barometer Survey, a cross-national research program that gauges public opinion. More specifically, we analyze the degree to which these individuals living in democracies would approve other authoritarian alternatives.

Gender Differences

Gender differences are here used to bring attention to the gender gap and equality in relation to political participation at all levels. To Coffé and Bolzendahl (2010), participation is a crucial component of democracy. However, they contend that while men are more likely to participate in collective political activities- such as being a member of a political party- women are more likely to vote as a form of 'private' activism. Consequently, they point to a need to move away from studying gendered perspectives of participation rates, and instead look at how and why men and women participate differently. In addition, they found that an individual's socio-economic status is an important factor in explaining the gender gap in political participation (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2011).

Welsh and Chang (2012) explain that there is a distinction between political attitudes and political behavior, contending that the gender gap is more significant when accounting for political behavior than for political attitudes. The significance continues in relation to democratic engagement, with young Asian women being less engaged than their male counterparts. However, Welsh and Chang further point out that in countries with higher levels of human development and political rights, the gender imbalance in democratic support disappears (ibid.). An additional study by Konte (2014) continues to argue that women in countries with social and political institutions that are more favorable towards women have correspondingly higher levels of democratic support among women. The issue of gender has been frequently cited in studies conducted on the subject of inequality (Coffé and Bolzendahl, 2010). Furthermore, political participation and gender equality and the wider process of democratization are inextricably linked. However, women have yet to be equally treated because their interests, needs and rights have not been taken into account in earnest by those in political circles and positions of power. Therefore, women should

be provided with the opportunity for equal participation in politics and in decision-making processes alongside their male counterparts. Such participation will ensure that female viewpoints are included in the decision-making process at all conceivable levels, from individual to public. Gender equality was expressed in terms of attitude, belief and behavioral patterns, as well as politics, all of which provided value assessment for the aforementioned concept.

Factors

In this paper, we outline the importance of the following factors which impact support for democracy; trust, following political news, satisfaction with the current government and the way democracy works, corruption in the local and national governments, the economic situation of country, the economic situation of one's family, age, education level, income, and place of residence. Note that the differences in wordings between satisfaction "with the way democracy works" and satisfaction with the "current government" serves to quantify the commitment to democracy rather than to whichever government was in power during the survey periods.

Trust between citizens and the incumbent government is vital to any society and especially so for democracies. According to Blind, a member of The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), trust is dependent on citizens regarding the government as "promise-keeping, efficient, fair, and honest" (2006: 4). That is, it is the citizen's perception of the political incumbents and their responsiveness to abide by what the citizens believe is correct. In the absence of trust, citizens exhibit cynicism towards the government by searching for alternatives and even starting political riots. Inglehart et al. (2002) has indicated that a high degree of trust is important to the evolution of democracy (quoted. in Memoli, 2011: 81). It goes without saying that trust in the executive office is an important factor in establishing the legitimacy of a country's democracy and instilling support for democracy. In addition, Bureekul and Albritton (2008) utilize a regression to measure support for democracy, measuring social capital and demographic indicators, as gender, age, education. They found that the strongest variable relating to support for democracy is the level of trust in political institutions, including the Prime Minister. This finding shows that a higher trust in political institutions relates directly to support for democracy. However, the variables of age, gender, and education do not affect support for democracy, with the level of significance at .05.

Support for democracy depends on the media because "journalism views itself as supporting and strengthening the roles of citizens in democracy" by broadcasting the necessary information for citizens to make informed decisions (Gans, 2003: 21). It is important that citizens are informed and receive information from a variety of different sources before deciding who to vote for and to keep track of the government's fulfillment of their mandate. Likewise, the government relies on news media and public surveys about citizens' satisfaction and demands to maintain its legitimacy outside of elections. Inglehart et al. (2002) has also indicated that an interest in politics is important to the evolution of democracy (quoted in Memoli, 2011: 81). Therefore, how regular-

ly an individual follows the news, the media outlet that individuals use and that representatives communicate through is a further indicator of democratic support. According to the UN, the dimensions affecting female political participation are as follows; representation, gender equality, the impact of traditional and new social media, and the strengthening of political accountability (UN, 2013).

Satisfaction with democracy is a means to evaluate the perspectives of citizens on the current government. A citizen's assessment looks at the regime's performance (mainly economic), its commitment to the rule of law and transparency, and the direct benefits that they receive from the government. Because a person could be satisfied with how the current democracy improves the level of education, furthers the development of an urban middle class, or affects income levels, (Memoli, 2011: 81) this indicator is a good system to measure support for democracy.

The quality of democracy depends on the extent that different social groups participate and feel politically empowered. Hence, since women account for at least half the population of societies, the link between gender equality and democracy is self-evident (Moghadam, 2008). Nonetheless, in most cases, women are still heavily underrepresented (Inglehart et al, 2002: 1). Though recent research suggests that gender plays a "contributing factor" in communal political participation in Thailand (Albritton and Bureekul, 2013: 221), it is still unclear whether this trend is universal, and whether female voters show high support for democracy.

Although there is no conclusive theory about the correlation of age and support for democracy, recent trends suggest that young people "do not exercise their democratic rights" (The Economist, 2014). This trend is true not only in the United States, but also in European countries including Britain. A depressing explanation for low youth turnout in certain places like France is that there are no political candidates worth voting for, with "22% of French 15- to 24-year olds said they believed society's problems could be fixed only by revolutionary action" (The Economist, 2014). Hence, it is important to determine whether this theory is similarly true in Thailand.

Lipset's (1959) claim that higher education leads to more democratic politics has received a good deal of empirical support (Papaioannou and Siourounis, 2005). In addition, Papaioannou and Siourounis (2005) further explain that "education is…a significant predictor of the intensity and the timing of political transitions". In many countries, people with a higher level of education express stronger support for democratic principles. Nonetheless, earlier research suggests that education influences people to become cynical about politics and as a result less likely to participate politically (Albritton and Bureekul, 2002: 17).

Lipset (1959) also posits a positive relationship between income and support for democracy. Nonetheless, other research suggests that rising income levels do not result in an increase in support for democracy.

The analysis of the cleavages between Bangkok and provincial voters has been thoroughly researched. Earlier research reveals that each group holds the other side in contempt (Albritton and Bureekul, 2007: 7). Voters in Bangkok are also generally more cynical and less supportive of democracy than rural workers. Hence, it is interesting to examine whether Bangkokians, who are known to prioritize individual freedoms, also support the new military regime.

Conceptual Framework

The dependent variable in this study is support for democracy, while the independent variables in this study include trust, following news about politics and the government, satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country, satisfaction with the current government, corruption in the local and national governments, the economic situation of the country, the economic situation of one's family, age, level of education, income, and place of residence. Support for democracy is calculated based on the degree of rejection of the four alternative types of regimes, which are; a strong leader in place of elections and parliament; a single political party system; a military government; and a technocracy.

Findings

The findings of this study consist of three parts; the background of the respondents, the attitude of people surveyed to a democratic regime, and the support for democracy, compared by gender.

Background of the Respondents

For Wave 4 of the Asian Barometer Survey, 53.3% of respondents were women and 46.7% were men. The average age of those surveyed was around 45 years old, and 62% of respondents were married while 19.3% were single. Moreover, 39.8% of respondents completed primary school, and a further 13.2% completed secondary school or technical/vocational education. 41.6% were self-employed, 22.9% were employed full time, and 19.4 % worked for their families. Finally, 16.1% were unemployed.

In addition, 67.1% of female and male respondents thought they were interested in politics. Furthermore, 38% of women and 37% of men followed political news several times per week.

Attitudes towards Democracy by Gender

This section determines attitudes towards democracy using a few separate indicators, namely satisfaction with the way democracy works, satisfaction with the present government, the level of democracy under the present government and whether or not respondents desired democracy for the next 10 years; the suitability of democracy for Thailand, and trust in the political process.

Table 2. Satisfaction with the way democracy works by gender

Percentage of satisfied and very satisfied	Male	Female	Overall
Satisfied	78.0	80.7	79.4
Dissatisfied	22.0	19.3	20.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

df. = 3 sig. = 0.723 n = 1,093

The research found that overall 79.4% of respondents were satisfied with the way democracy worked, while a slightly higher proportion of women at 80.7% were satisfied (Table 2). 90.2% of respondents were satisfied with the current government under Prime Minister Prayuth Chan-Ocha, again with a slightly higher proportion of women being satisfied at 91.7% (Table 3). In addition, 75.3% of females were satisfied with the government in general, with a slightly higher proportion of men saying the same at 75.8%.

Table 3. The level of satisfaction with the government of General Prayuth Chan-Ocha by gender

Percentage of satisfied and very satisfied	Male	Female	Overall
Satisfied	88.6	91.7	90.2
Dissatisfied	11.4	8.3	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

df. = 3 sig. = 0.263 n = 1,070

However, 56.1% of women and 52.5% of men think that Thailand is a democracy despite minor problems (Table 4).

Table 4. Opinions regarding 'how much of a democracy is Thailand' by gender

The opinion of people	Male	Female	Overall
A full democracy	14.0	14.4	14.2
A democracy, but with minor problems	52.5	56.1	54.4
A democracy, with major problems	30.6	26.9	28.6
Not a democracy	2.9	2.6	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

df. = 3 sig. = 0.566 n = 1,096

We asked about opinions of democracy in the past, present, and future and asked respondents to rank each using a scale between 1 and 10, in which 1 is completely undemocratic and 10 is completely democratic (Table 5). We also asked how suited democracy is to Thailand using the same scale in which 1 is completely unsuitable and 10 is completely suitable.

Table 5. Mean of opinions on how suitable democracy is for Thailand by gender

Level of suitable (1 - 10 scale)	Male	Female	Sig.
Mean score on democracy 10 years ago	7.24	7.50	0.069
Mean score on democracy under the current government	6.75	6.62	0.398
Mean score on desire for democracy in the next 10 years	8.56	8.47	0.452
Mean score on the suitability of democracy	7.69	7.82	0.347

Table 6 shows that there was very little difference in the way that males and females responded to each, with most questions garnering a positive response. Even though the respondents are disappointed with the current state of democracy, they continue to believe that democracy is suitable for Thailand and desire increasing levels of democracy for the future. Despite a consistent decline over time, democracy is shown to be more preferable among males than females, with the exception of the survey undertaken in 2014.

Table 6. Opinions regarding preferences for democracy by gender and survey period

Preference for democracy	2001		2006		2010		2014	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Democracy: preferable to any other kind of government	83.1	83.0	82.6	80.8	81.5	77.0	58.7	61.3
Authoritarian governments can be preferable	13.3	10.4	14.3	15.8	12.2	15.9	31.1	30.7
Does not matter whether we have a democratic or non-democratic regime	3.7	6.6	3.1	3.4	6.3	7.1	10.2	8.0
Sig	*.011**		*.665*		*.123*		*.430*	

Public Participation

In this study, Political activities were placed into the categories of Conventional Political Participation (CPP), Unconventional Political Participation (UPP) and the participation in elections (further details in the Appendix).

Table 7. Responses to "did you participate in the election" by gender and survey period

Participate in election	2010		2014	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Voted	96.0	95.0	91.5	93.1
Did not vote	4.0	5.0	8.5	6.9
Sig	.349		.291	

More men than women voted in 2010. However, this varied in 2014, when women were more likely to vote than men with no significance at a level of .05.

The Conventional Political Participations (CPP), with 12 scores in total, come from 1 indicate participate in these activities only one time and 2 indicate participate more than one time in each activity. For the Unconventional Political Participation (UPP), with 6 score in total, which come from 1 mean participate in these activities only one time and 2 mean participate more than one time in each activity.

Table 8. Mean forms of political participation by gender (2010 and 2014)

Political Participation	2010			2014		
	Male	*Female*	*Sig.*	*Male*	*Female*	*Sig.*
Conventional political participation (12 scales)	4.18	3.68	.000**	3.93	3.86	.667
Unconventional political participation (6 scales)	2.24	2.35	.567	2.24	2.20	.814

The study found that although men were more likely to participate in CPP than women, this decreased from 4.18% in 2010 to 3.93% in 2014. Women were, however, more likely to take part in UPP than males in 2010.

Trust has been distilled into two components; trust in political institutions and social trust. Females have slightly greater trust in political institutions (such as the national government and parliament) and in politics itself, but these are statistically insignificant. However, women had less social trust in people such as relatives, neighbors and the people whom they have contact with.

Table 9. Percent and mean of opinions on institutional and social trust by gender

Great deal of trust and quite a lot of trust	2010			2014		
	Male	*Female*	*Sig.*	*Male*	*Female*	*Sig.*
Prime minister	66.2	66.4	.418	75.8	75.3	.762
National government	53.7	61.7	.007*	65.1	67.1	.234
Parliament	50.8	58.8	.006*	61.3	61.8	.357
Local government	76.4	80.6	.020*	66.5	64.5	.907
Civil service	69.2	77.6	.003*	64.6	63.5	.181
The military	72.9	78.3	.010*	90.2	89.4	.924
The police	76.4	80.6	.001**	51.7	53.7	.299
Social Trust				*Male*	*Female*	*Sig.*
Your relatives	94.4	91.1	.002**	91.6	93.4	.313
Your neighbors	81.4	80.7	.131	74.7	72.1	.574
Other people you interact with	58.5	53.0	.043*	46.5	49.3	.063
Mean of 12	*9.19*	*9.03*	*.082*	*8.85*	*8.81*	*.843*

* sig at < .05; ** sig. at < .01; *** sig. at <.001
[a] significant at the .05 level

Commitment to democracy by gender

To determine support for or commitment to democracy, the following four statements were presented:

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 be-half of the people (technocracy).

Each category was scored from 1-4 points, where 1 indicates strong acceptance of the pro-posed regime while 4 indicates strong disapproval. Higher scores therefore indicate a greater level of support for democracy, with a total of 16 equating to total commitment to democracy. The re-sults in Table 10 have been converted from the aforementioned rating system to a binary in which 3-4 marks support for democracy, while 1-2 is understood as support for the alternative form of government.

Table 10. Percentage of acceptance for alternatives to democratic governance by gender

Acceptance for alternatives to demo-cratic governance	2001		2006		2010		2014	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strong leader, no elec-tions or parliament	19.8	25.7	23.1	24.9	22.6	27.3	36.3	38.7
Single Party System	40.5	35.8	18.6	20.1	17.4	21.5	32.7	36.7
Military government	17.3	19.4	18.6	20.1	17.9	22.6	53.1	55.4
Technocracy	20.1	22.7	-	-	16.5	20.3	30.4	34.0

* This question was not asked in 2006

Table 10 shows that in 2014, over 50% of men and women agreed that the military was the best alternative to democracy. This contrasts with 2001, when most people didn't want a military gov-ernment, and shows the impact of a decade of political upheaval and division. These results also show that women supported all alternative forms of government to a higher extent than men over the course of the survey period (2001-2014). In 2014, people had generally become exhausted by the vicious cycle of protests and counter protests, leading them to hope that the military may be able to restore peace and order to conclude this stormy and restless period in Thailand's politics.

These results may be coincidental, but they could also point to a bias in how the participants responded to the surveys, or in how data collection was approached. Prayuth Chan-Ocha's coup d'état of May 2014 was under a banner of reconciliation, with the coup and subsequent military government acting as a large reset button for the country's recent turbulent political environment. Perhaps this rhetoric had become widely accepted, or perhaps that very rhetoric was actually sourced from a general public malaise.

Table 11. Mean of support for democracy by gender
(1 = ***highly support*** the alternatives to a democratic government, 16= highly ***support democracy***)

Support for democracy	2001	2006	2010	2014
Male	12.44	12.29 [9.02)	12.92	10.76
Female	12.20	12.30 [8.88]	12.28	10.39
Sig.	*.090*	*.201*	*.000****	*.075*

[ ] Because the final question was not asked in 2006 this figure has been adjusted in line with the other responses for that year

Table 11 shows a small decline in support for democracy in 2014. By 2014, however, support for a military government increased dramatically. This switch in support may be indicative of political fatigue that set in after almost a decade of political crises and divisiveness.

Breaking these responses down by gender, we see that in 2001, 2010, and 2014, males had the highest support for democracy. It may be because females don't want to participate in politics, which is the biggest obstacle to them.

Factors affecting support for democracy in Thailand

The following tables (Tables 12-14) detail the statistical results of the variables used to determine support for democracy in Thailand outlined in the previous section.

Table 12. Model of factors affecting support for democracy in Thailand among males (2010)

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	10.42	1.697		6.14	0.000
	Follow news about politics and government	0.485	0.149	0.157	3.258	0.001**
	Satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country	0.393	0.185	0.109	2.119	0.035*
	Satisfaction with the current government	-0.532	0.236	-0.161	-2.252	0.025*
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in your local government	-0.073	0.199	-0.021	-0.366	0.715
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in the national government	0.306	0.216	0.086	1.415	0.158
	Trust in the Prime Minister	0.15	0.243	0.048	0.617	0.538
	Trust in the Parliament	-0.038	0.195	-0.012	-0.194	0.847
	Trust in the national government	-0.036	0.255	-0.011	-0.14	0.889
	Trust in the local government	0.156	0.197	0.046	0.793	0.428
	Trust in the civil service	0.399	0.216	0.118	1.847	0.065
	Trust in the military	-0.386	0.182	-0.13	-2.118	0.035*
	Trust in the police	-0.138	0.203	-0.045	-0.678	0.498
	The economic state of the country today	-0.039	0.199	-0.011	-0.195	0.846
	The economic state of your family today	-0.147	0.226	-0.034	-0.649	0.517
	Household income	0.026	0.089	0.015	0.287	0.774
	Age	0.002	0.01	0.008	0.151	0.88
	Level of education	-0.005	0.076	-0.004	-0.062	0.951
	Residency (BKK = 0 Non BKK = 1)	-0.077	0.473	-0.008	-0.162	0.871

Dependent Variable: Support for Democracy R^2 =.096 F = 2.402 sig. = 0.000
* sig at < .05; ** sig. at < .01; *** sig. at <.001, [a] significant at the .05 level

Using Table 12, one can interpret that there were four factors that significantly affected male support for democracy in 2010. These were following the news, satisfaction with the way democracy works, satisfaction with the current government, and level of trust in the military. The findings show that those who are satisfied with the way democracy works and who follow the news, yet are unsatisfied with the government have more support for democracy than people who are satisfied with the government and don't follow the news. In addition, greater trust in the military corresponds with lower democratic support.

Table 13. Model of factors affecting support for democracy in Thailand among females (2010)

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	14.465	1.579		9.159	0.000
	Follow news about politics and government	0.245	0.134	0.085	1.823	0.069
	Satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country	-0.237	0.204	-0.059	-1.161	0.246
	Satisfaction with the current government	-0.467	0.234	-0.136	-1.998	0.046*
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in your local government	-0.469	0.206	-0.124	-2.272	0.024*
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in the national government	0.515	0.217	0.13	2.378	0.018*
	Trust in the Prime Minister	0.179	0.238	0.052	0.753	0.452
	Trust in the Parliament	0.107	0.235	0.029	0.456	0.649
	Trust in the national government	-0.003	0.273	-0.001	-0.009	0.993
	Trust in the local government	0.132	0.202	0.036	0.654	0.514
	Trust in the civil service	0.523	0.235	0.14	2.227	0.026*
	Trust in the military	-0.533	0.249	-0.151	-2.141	0.033*
	Trust in the police	-0.352	0.231	-0.104	-1.526	0.128
	The economic state of the country today	-0.411	0.191	-0.118	-2.145	0.033*
	The economic state of your family today	0.226	0.233	0.049	0.972	0.332
	Household income	-0.128	0.094	-0.07	-1.366	0.173
	Age	-0.011	0.012	-0.049	-0.889	0.375
	Level of education	0.095	0.078	0.074	1.225	0.221
	Residency (BKK = 0 Non BKK = 1)	-0.864	0.475	-0.093	-1.82	0.07

Dependent Variable: Support for Democracy R^2 =0 .154 F = 4.173 sig. = 0.00
* sig at < .05; ** sig. at < .01; *** sig. at <.001, [a] significant at the .05 level

Table 13 shows that there were six factors that significantly affected female support for democracy in Thailand in 2010. These were satisfaction with the way of democracy works, the perception of the level of corruption in local and national governments, trust in the civil service and in the military, and the economic situation of the country. In contrast to the findings of male respondents, greater levels of *dissatisfaction* with the way democracy works correspond with greater

support for democracy. In addition, this support was also dependent on a distinction between corruption at the local and national levels, with a lower perception of corruption at the local level and a higher perception of corruption at the national level resulting in higher democratic support. Moreover, the findings show that higher trust in the civil service and lower trust in the military reflect a higher support for democracy. Finally, female respondents with positive perceptions of the country's economic situation had a more positive perception of democracy.

Table 14. Model of factors affecting support for democracy in Thailand among males (2014)

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	6.814	1.934		3.523	0.000
	Follow news about politics and government	-0.06	0.149	-0.021	-0.403	0.687
	Satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country	-0.638	0.243	-0.137	-2.627	0.009**
	Satisfaction with the current government	0.164	0.254	0.035	0.643	0.52
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in your local government	0.453	0.261	0.117	1.734	0.084
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in the national government	0.221	0.262	0.056	0.842	0.401
	Trust in the Prime Minister	0.21	0.284	0.049	0.738	0.461
	Trust in the Parliament	-0.43	0.301	-0.1	-1.428	0.154
	Trust in the national government	0.169	0.313	0.042	0.541	0.589
	Trust in the local government	0.63	0.259	0.156	2.432	0.016*
	Trust in the civil service	0.581	0.305	0.131	1.904	0.058
	Trust in the military	-0.868	0.273	-0.182	-3.184	0.002**
	Trust in the police	-0.575	0.24	-0.161	-2.392	0.017*
	The economic state of the country today	-0.238	0.209	-0.068	-1.139	0.255
	The economic state of your family today	-0.078	0.262	-0.017	-0.299	0.765
	Household income	0.515	0.173	0.184	2.969	0.003**
	Age	0.048	0.013	0.198	3.625	0.000***
	Level of education	0.04	0.079	0.029	0.499	0.618
	Residency (BKK = 0 Non BKK = 1)	2.923	0.767	0.224	3.81	0.000***

Dependent Variable: Support for Democracy $R^2 =0 .217$ F = 5.308 sig. = 0.000
* sig at < .05; ** sig. at < .01; *** sig. at <.001, [a] significant at the .05 level

In Table 14, there are seven factors that significantly affected male democratic support in 2014. These were satisfaction with the way democracy works, trust in the local government, military, and police; income, age, and residency. As with the results from female respondents in 2010, dissatisfaction with the way democracy works resulted in greater support for democracy among males in 2014. In addition, this support also correlated with greater trust in local government and a lack of trust in the military and police. In terms of demographics, those with higher incomes

who were older and lived in a rural area had higher levels of support for democracy than those who were younger, lower-income, and urban.

Table 15. Model of factors affecting support for democracy in Thailand among females (2014)

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	11.714	2.132		5.494	0.000
	Follow news about politics and government	0.364	0.16	0.11	2.274	0.024*
	Satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country	-1.352	0.256	-0.27	-5.277	0.000***
	Satisfaction with the current government	-0.061	0.281	-0.011	-0.215	0.83
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in your local government	0.464	0.26	0.115	1.784	0.075
	Corruption and bribe-taking exist in the national government	0.082	0.253	0.021	0.326	0.745
	Trust in the Prime Minister	-0.032	0.314	-0.007	-0.103	0.918
	Trust in the Parliament	0.195	0.315	0.045	0.618	0.537
	Trust in the national government	0.428	0.362	0.091	1.182	0.238
	Trust in the local government	0.563	0.279	0.136	2.015	0.045*
	Trust in the civil service	-0.599	0.289	-0.138	-2.069	0.039*
	Trust in the military	-0.119	0.276	-0.024	-0.431	0.667
	Trust in the police	-1.101	0.238	-0.301	-4.631	0.000***
	The economic state of the country today	-0.294	0.212	-0.079	-1.387	0.166
	The economic state of your family today	-0.293	0.287	-0.057	-1.022	0.307
	Household income	0.116	0.164	0.038	0.707	0.48
	Age	0.035	0.015	0.134	2.343	0.02*
	Level of education	0.033	0.087	0.023	0.376	0.707
	Residency (BKK = 0 Non BKK = 1)	1.656	0.732	0.12	2.261	0.024*

Dependent Variable: Support for Democracy $R^2 = 0.297$ F = 8.134   sig. = .000
* sig at < .05; ** sig. at < .01; *** sig. at <.001, [a] significant at the .05 level

Table 15 shows seven factors that significantly affected female support for democracy in 2014. These were following the news, satisfaction with the way democracy works, trust in the local government, the civil service, and the police, age, and residency. Higher rates of following the news as well as dissatisfaction with the way democracy works contributed to a greater support for democracy. In congruence with the male respondents, higher trust in local government and lower trust in the police as well as the civil service resulted in a higher support for democracy. In addition, older people and those living outside of Bangkok had greater support for democracy.

Table 16. Key factors affecting support for democracy by gender

Model Correlation coefficients[#]	2010		2014	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
(Constant)	10.42	14.465	6.814	11.714
Follow news about politics and government	*0.485(**)*	0.245	-0.06	*0.364(*)*
Satisfaction with the way democracy works	*0.393(*)*	-0.237	*-0.638(**)*	*-1.352(***)*
Satisfaction with the current government	*-0.532(*)*	*-0.467(*)*	0.164	-0.061
The perception of corruption in the local government	-0.073	*-0.469(*)*	0.453	0.464
The perception of corruption in the national government	0.306	*0.515(*)*	0.221	0.082
Trust in the local government	0.156	0.132	*0.63(*)*	*0.563(*)*
Trust in the civil service	0.399	*0.523(*)*	0.581	*-0.599(*)*
Trust in the military	*-0.386(*)*	*-0.533(*)*	*-0.868(**)*	-0.119
Trust in the police	-0.138	-0.352	*-0.575(*)*	*-1.101(***)*
The economic state of the country today	-0.039	*-0.411(*)*	-0.238	-0.294
Household income	0.026	-0.128	*0.515(**)*	0.116
Age	0.002	-0.011	*0.048(***)*	*0.035(*)*
Residency (BKK = 0 Non BKK = 1)	-0.077	-0.864	*2.923(***)*	*1.656(*)*

 # Correlation coefficients are expressed as values between + and -. A coefficient of + indicates a perfect positive correlation: a change in the value of one variable will predict a change in the same direction in the second variable. A coefficient of -1 indicates a perfect negative correlation: a change in the value of one variable predicts a change in the opposite direction in the second variable. Lesser degrees of correlation are expressed as non-zero decimals. A coefficient of zero indicates there is no discernable relationship between fluctuations of the variables.
* sig at < .05; ** sig. at < .01; *** sig. at <.001

This table highlights key factors that affect support for democracy among both men and women. Those with less trust in the military and police, those who were dissatisfied with the government in 2010, and who were dissatisfied with the way of democracy works in 2014 showed greater support for democracy. Higher trust in the local government also corresponded with greater support for democracy. Moreover, for men in 2010 and women in 2014, following the news resulted in higher democratic support. However, women in 2010 who perceived that local government officials were corrupt while national government officials were not corrupt had high support for democracy. In addition, women who thought the economic situation of the country in 2010 was worse supported democracy. Men who reported higher income levels indicated more support for democracy. Finally, among both genders in 2014, older people and those living outside Bangkok had greater support for democracy than younger people and those living in Bangkok.

Summary

The analysis of the Asian Barometer Survey data on factors in support for democracy find that both genders differ significantly in 2010, but the significance of this distinction disappears in 2014. However, there are different factors affecting support for democracy between men and women

which varied according to the survey year. In 2010, low levels of political trust and electoral participation and high levels of following political news correlated with higher levels of support for democracy for women. In the same year, high levels of political trust and low levels of social trust and perceptions of corruption and bribery in local government correlated with higher levels of democratic support among men. However, in 2014 the factors affecting women's support for democracy disappeared. In addition, this paper found that in 2014 men were more likely to participate in elections, while women were more likely to engage in forms of Unconventional Political Participation.

Trust is found to have been a major factor affecting support for democracy in 2010, and there are differences in this area between men and women. A high degree of trust in political institutions, such as the prime minister, parliament, and the national and local governments were found to be an important factor in support for democracy among men. This confirms the findings of Inglehart et al. (2002). On the other hand, women who had less trust in political institutions showed more support for democracy. However, as with the other factors detailed, trust was not a factor in support for democracy in 2014. Beyond trust, the perception of corruption is a further factor in support for democracy, which confirms Diamond's (2002) argument that accountability is a crucial component for the development of effective democratic government. These results showed that men who perceived corruption and bribery in the local government had greater support for democracy.

Yingluck Shinawatra was elected as Thailand's first female Prime Minister in 2011. Prior to the 2014 coup, anti-government protests and disruption were caused predominantly by people from Bangkok who were dissatisfied with the way democracy was working against their own interests and fatigue with ongoing political cleavages.

Because trust in local government corresponded with greater support for democracy among both genders, decentralization efforts should be strengthened in order to improve the development of democracy in Thailand.

Finally, in order to develop a democratic regime and motivate people to support democracy, people should participate more and have greater interest in politics, especially women. The way to change their attitudes is to empower women and provide more opportunities to participate in politics and have power in decision-making. ∎

References

Albritton, R.B. and Bureekul, T. (2013). 'How Asian Minorities Participate in Politics', *Working Paper Series* 97: 221. *Asian Barometer*. Global barometer.

Albritton, R.B. and Bureekul, T. (2002). 'Support for Democracy in Thailand', *Working Paper Series* 3: 17. *Asian Barometer*. Global barometer.

Albritton, R.B. and Bureekul, T. (2007). 'Thailand Country Report: Public Opinion and Political Power in Thailand (Second Wave of Asian Barometer Survey)', *Working Paper Series* 34: 7. *Asian Barometer*. Global barometer.

Becker, P. and Rveloson, A, Jean-Aimé. (2008). What is Democracy?. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES).

Blind, P.K. (2006) 'Building Trust in Government in the Twenty-First Century - Review of Literature'. UNDESA, November. Accessed 28 July 2016, available on http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan025062.pdf

Bureekul, T. and Albritton, R.B. (2008) '*Social Capital and Democratic Governance in Thailand',* presented at WAPOR Conference, New Orleans, 12 – 13 May 2008.

Coffé, Hilde, and Bolzendahl , Catherine. (2010). Same Game, Different Rules? Gender Differences in Political Participation. National Center for Biotechnology Information, U.S. National Library of Medicine, doi: 10.1007/s11199-009-9729-y.

_____. (2011). "Gender Gaps in Political Participation across Sub-Saharan African Nations." *Social Indicators Research* 102(2): 245-64.

Diamond, L. (2002) "Horizontal Accountability and Corruption Control". Prepared for the conference on "Economic Reform and good Governance: Fighting Corruption in Transition Economies", April 11-12 2002, Qinghua University, Beijing, China.

Dickson, Del, (2014). The People's Government: An Introduction to Democracy. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Farzana, Bari. (2005).Women's Political Participation: Issues and Challenges. Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), United Nation. Bari .2005, pp. 3-5.

Gans, H.J. (2003) *Democracy and the News*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Inglehart, R., Norris, P. and Welzel, C. (2002) 'Gender equality and democracy." *Comparative Sociology* 1.3: 321-345.

Iwanaga, Zazuki. (2005). Women in Politics in Thailand. Working paper No.14. Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies. Lund University: Sweden.

King Prajadhipok's Institute. (2016). Women's Empowerment in Politics: Strategies and Action Plan in Thailand. Paper presented in Philippine Political Science Association 2016 International Conference: Governance and the Politics of Change, April 21 – 22, 2016 at Philippines.

Konte, Marty. (2014). 'Gender difference in support for democracy in sub-Saharan Africa: Do social institutions matter?'. WIDER Working Paper 2014/044. United Nations University.

Lipset, S.M. (1959) 'Some Social Requisites for Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy', American Political Science Review 53: 69-105.

Lowenthal A. F., and Bitar, S. (2015). From authoritarian rule toward democratic governance: Learning from political leaders. International IDEA, available on https://yali.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2016/01/From-Authoritarian-Rule-to-Democratic-Governance-Learning-from-Political-Leaders.pdf.

Memoli, V. (2011) 'How Does Political Knowledge Shape Support for Democracy? Some Research Based on the Italian Case' *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3.1 (2011): 79-102.

Moghadam, V.M. (2008). "The Gender of Democracy: The Link between Women's Rights and Democratization in the Middle East," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. The Global Think Tank, 20 Aug. 2008

Oakes, Amy C. (2002). "Gender differences in support for democracy." Social Structure: Changes and Linkages, pp.157-173.

Papaioannou, E. and Siourounis, G. (2005) 'Economic and Social Factors Driving the Third Wave of Democratization', Mimeo, London Business School.

Rinehart, Sue Tolleson, and Josephson, Jyl L. (2005). Gender and American politics: Women, men, and the political process. (2nd ed.) New York: M.E. Sharp.

The Economist (2014) 'Why Young People Don't Vote', 29 Oct. 2014. Available on http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2014/10/economist-explains-24.

United Nations. (2005). Impact of women's participation and leadership on outcomes. available on http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/eql-men/docs/EP.7_rev.pdf.

United Nations. (2013). Democracy and Gender Equality: The Role of The UN. Discussion paper on September, 2013.

United Nations. (2015). Sustainable development goals. Available on http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/.

Welsh, Bridget, and Chang, Alex Chuan-Hsien. (2012). 'Democratic Citizenship and Gender Differences among Youth in Asia', presented at IPSAS Conference, Taipei, 20-21 September 2012.

Appendix: Questionnaire items used in the analysis

Variables	*Questions*
Institutional Trust	How much trust do you have in them? Q7. Prime minister
	Q9. The national government
	Q11. Parliament
	Q12. Civil service
	Q15. Local government
	Q13. The military
	Q14. The police
Social Trust	How much trust do you have in each of the following type of people? Q26. Your relatives
	Q27. Your neighbors
	Q28. Other people you interact with
Political in the Election	Q33. Did you vote in the election [the most recent national election, parliamentary or presidential] held in [year]?
Conventional political participation	Q69. Contacted elected officials or legislative representatives at any level
	Q70. Contacted officials at higher level.
	Q71 Contacted traditional leaders/community leaders.
	Q72. Contacted other influential people outside the government.
	Q73. Contacted news media.
	Q74. Got together with others to try to resolve local problems
Unconventional political participation	Q75. Got together with others to raise an issue or sign a petition
	Q76. Attended a demonstration or protest march
	Q77. Used force or violence for a political cause
Economic situation	Q1. How would you rate the overall economic condition of our country today?
	Q4. As for your own family, how do you rate the economic situation of your family today?
Corruption	Q133. How widespread do you think Perception of corruption and bribe-taking are in your local/municipal government?
	Q134. How widespread do you think corruption and bribe-taking are in the national government?
Support for democracy/ commitment to democracy	Q146. We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things.
	Q147. Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office.
	Q148. The army (military) should come in to govern the country.
	Q149. We should get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.