

**Chapter 12. "Democratization and the Construction of Class Cleavages
in Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia, 1992-2019"**

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Appendix A - Thailand

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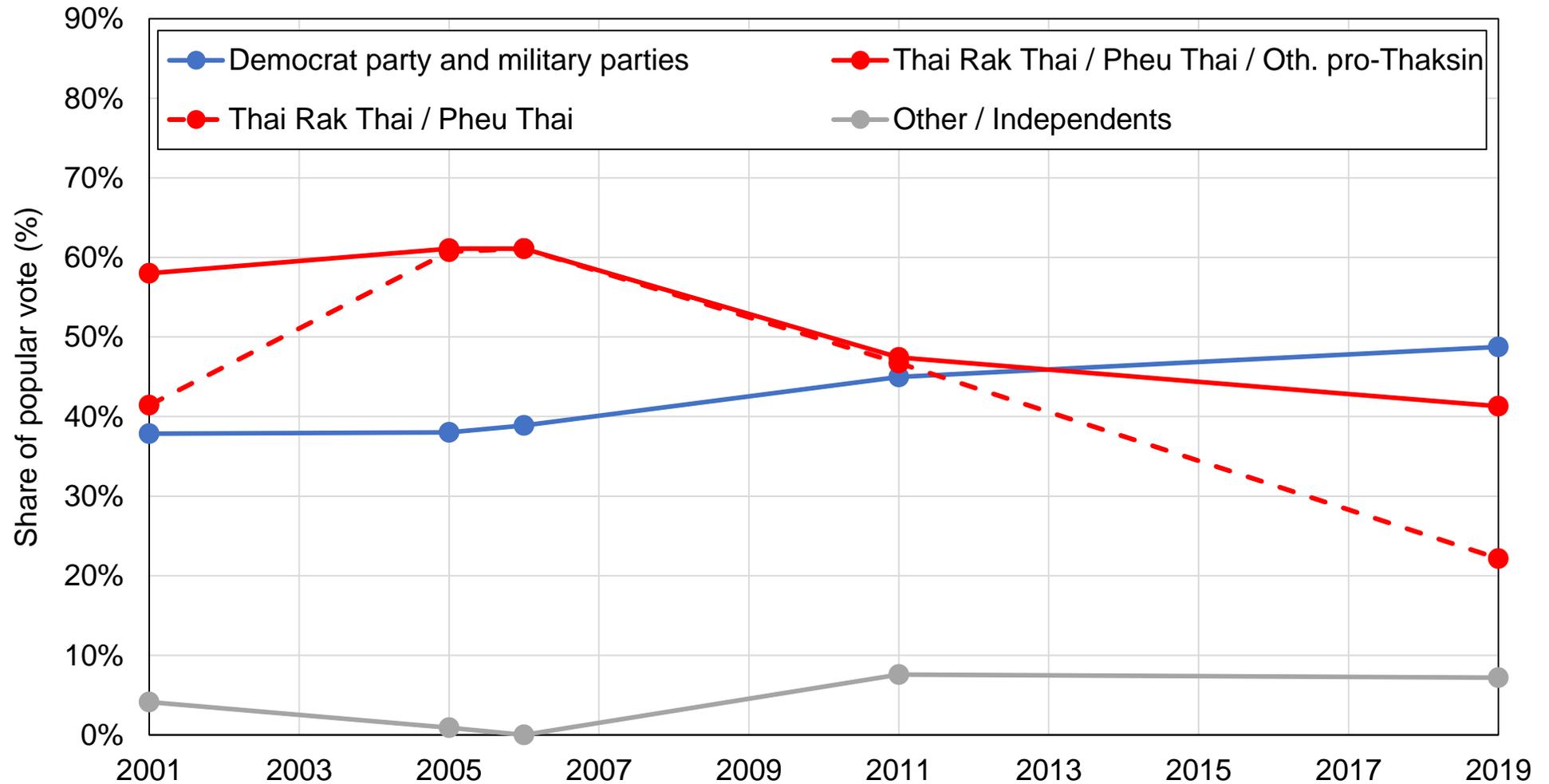
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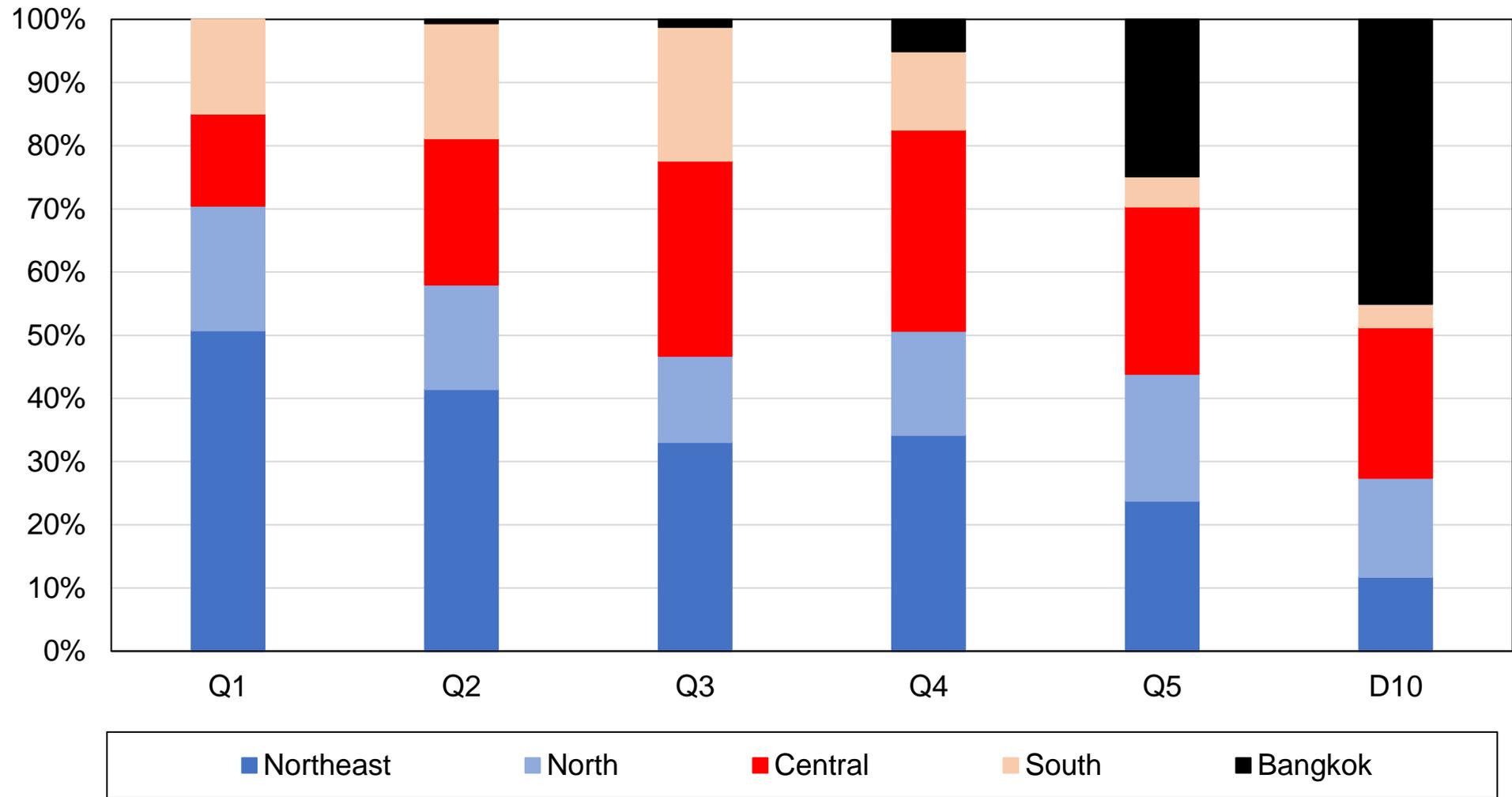
Figure A1 - Election results in Thailand, 2001-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Thai political parties in general elections between 2001 and 2019.

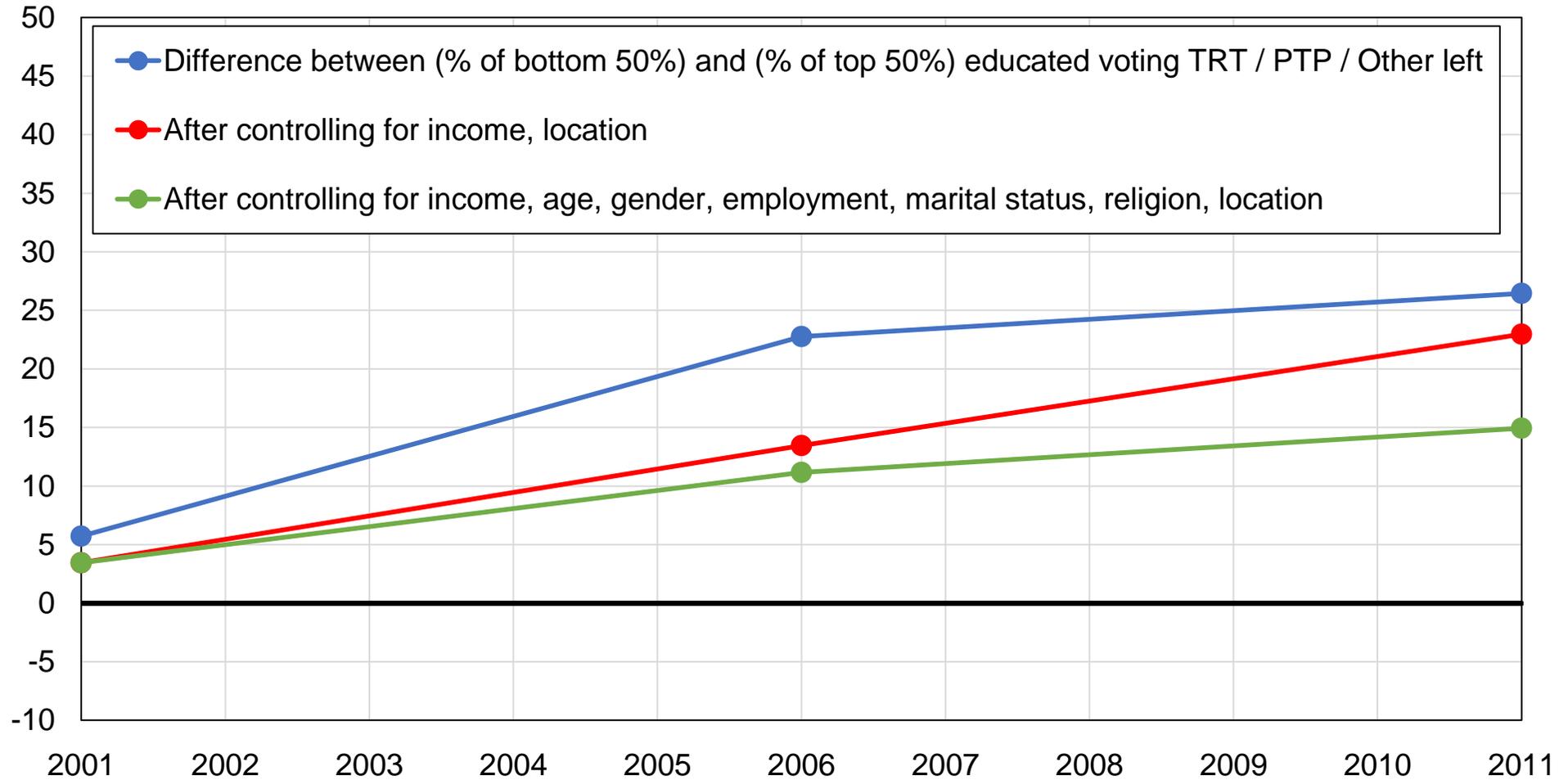
Figure A2 - Regional composition of income quintiles/deciles, 2011



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by region in 2011.

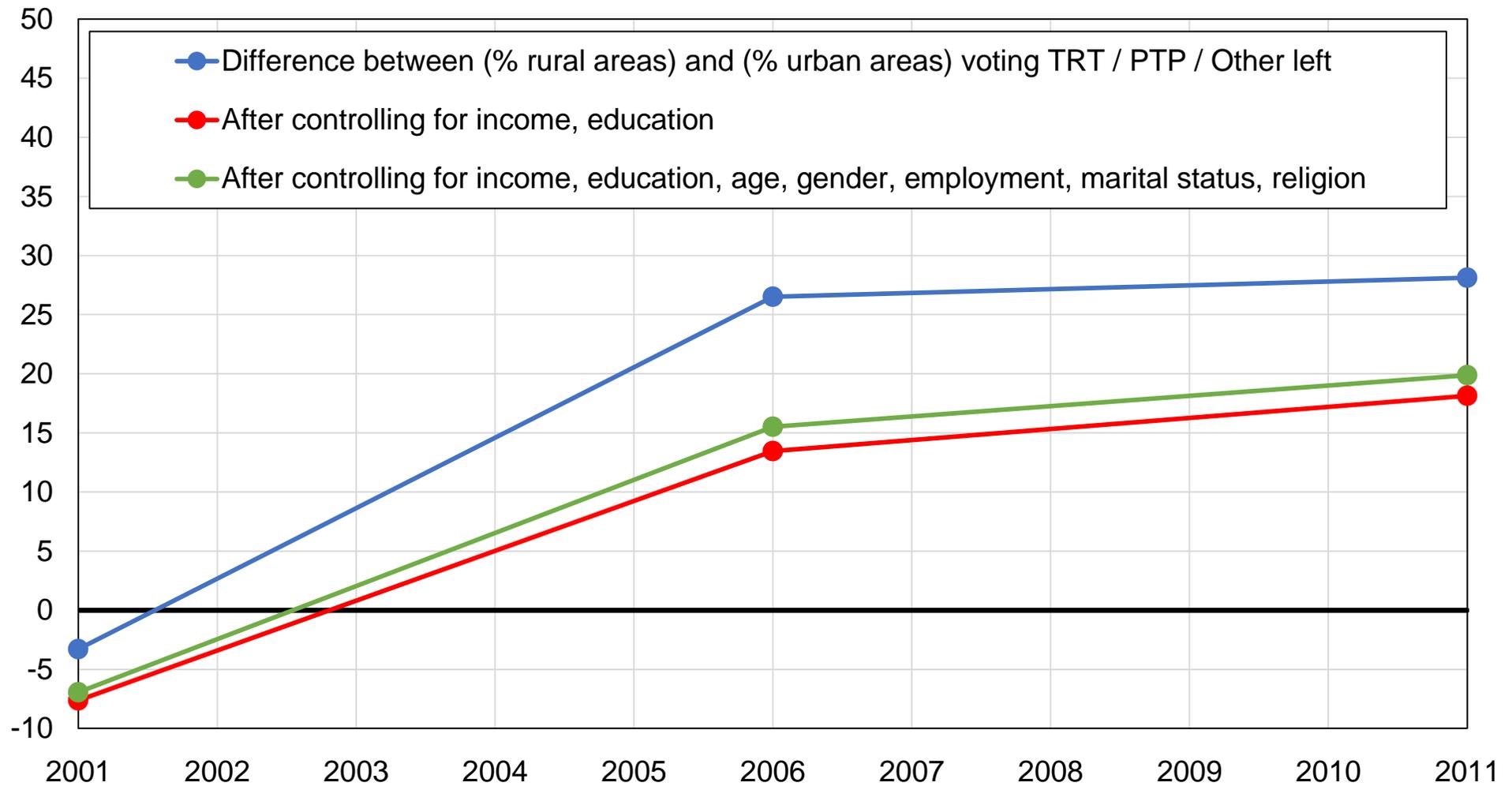
Figure A3 - Vote for TRT / PTP / Other pro-Thaksin among lower-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% educated voters and the share of top 50% educated voters voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controls.

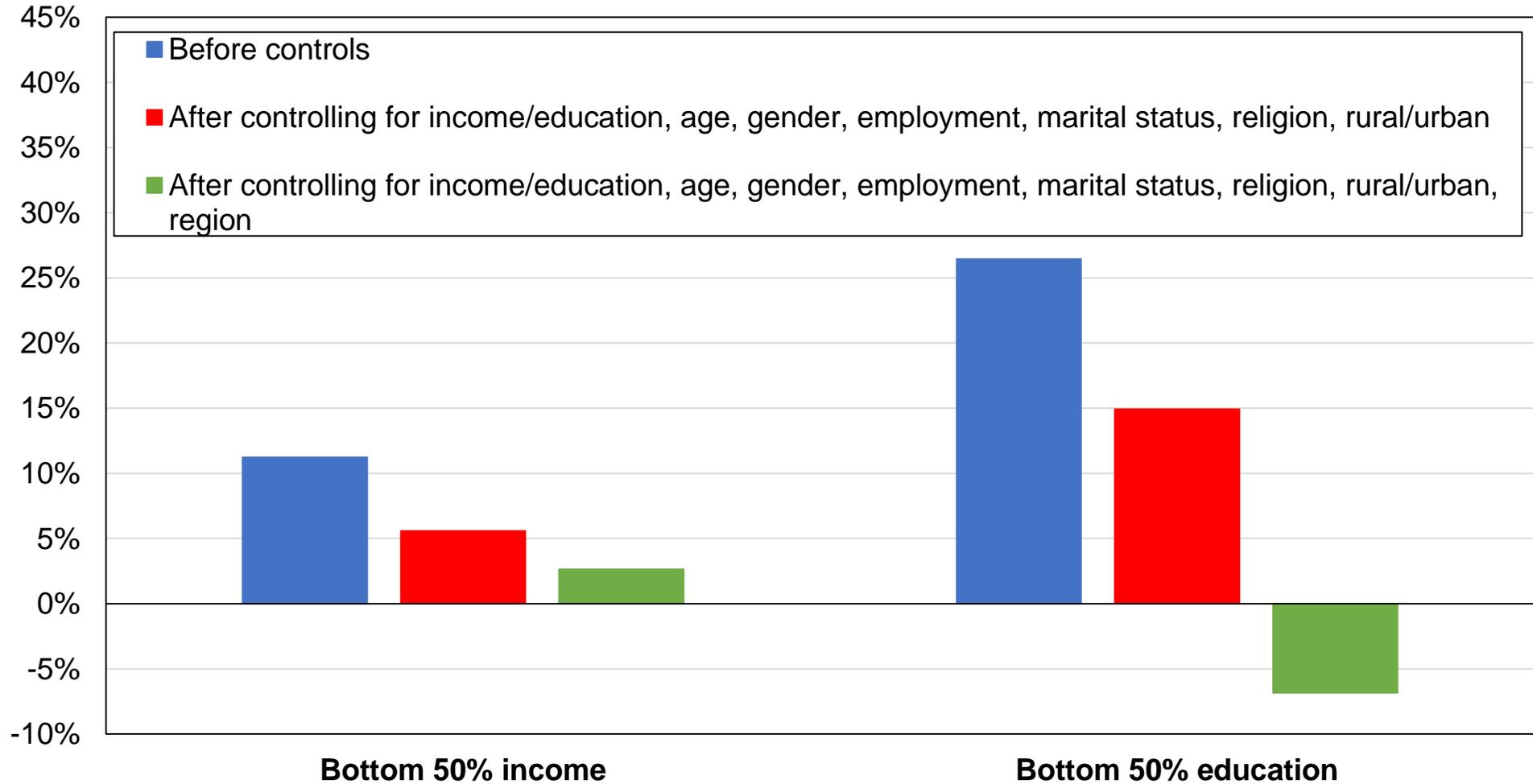
Figure A4 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among rural areas



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

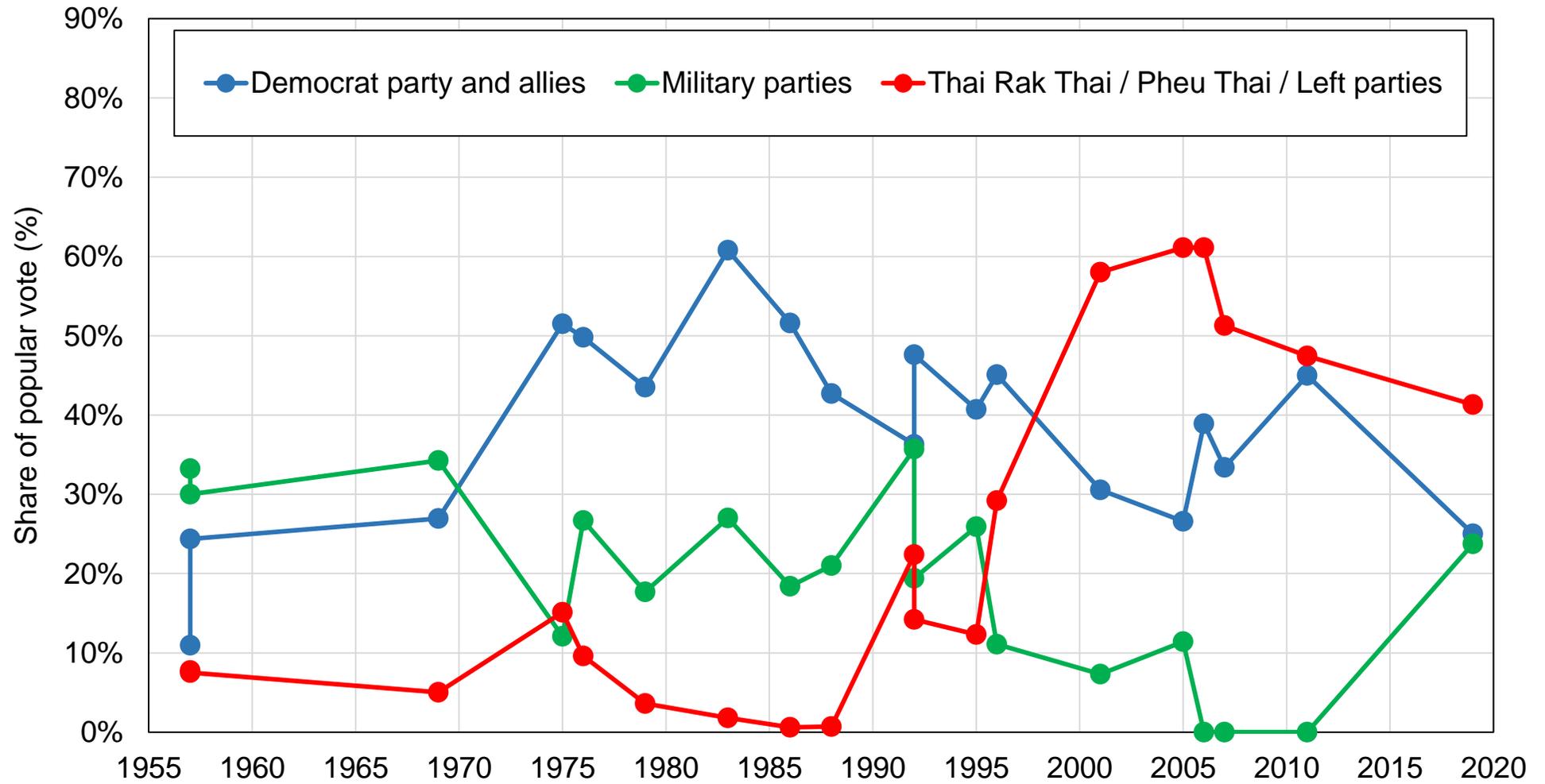
Figure A5 - Class cleavages in Thailand, 2011: the role of regional inequalities



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative bias of low-income and lower-educated voters towards the Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controls in 2011.

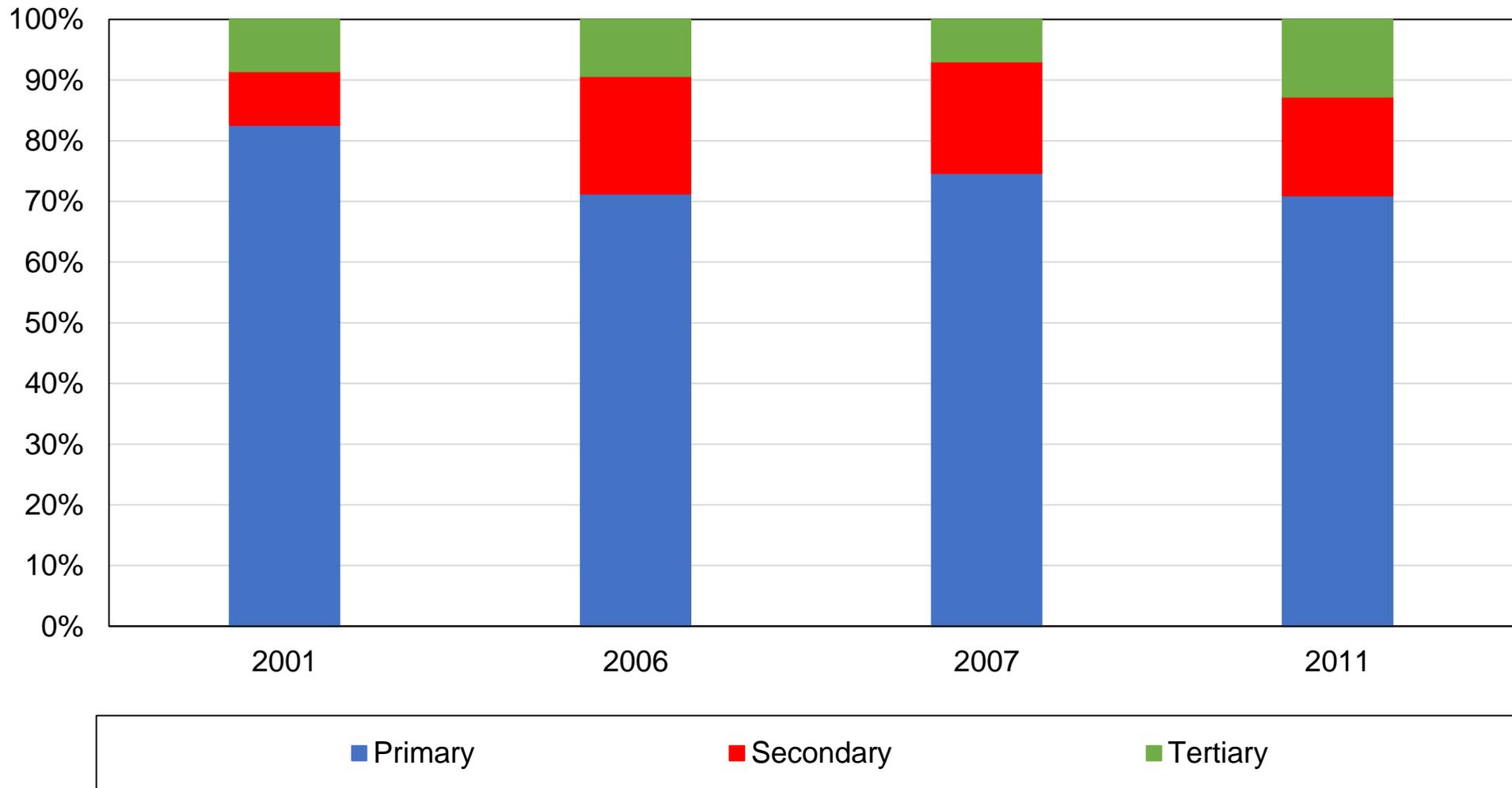
Figure AA1 - Election results in Thailand, 1957-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Thai political parties in general elections between 1957 and 2019.

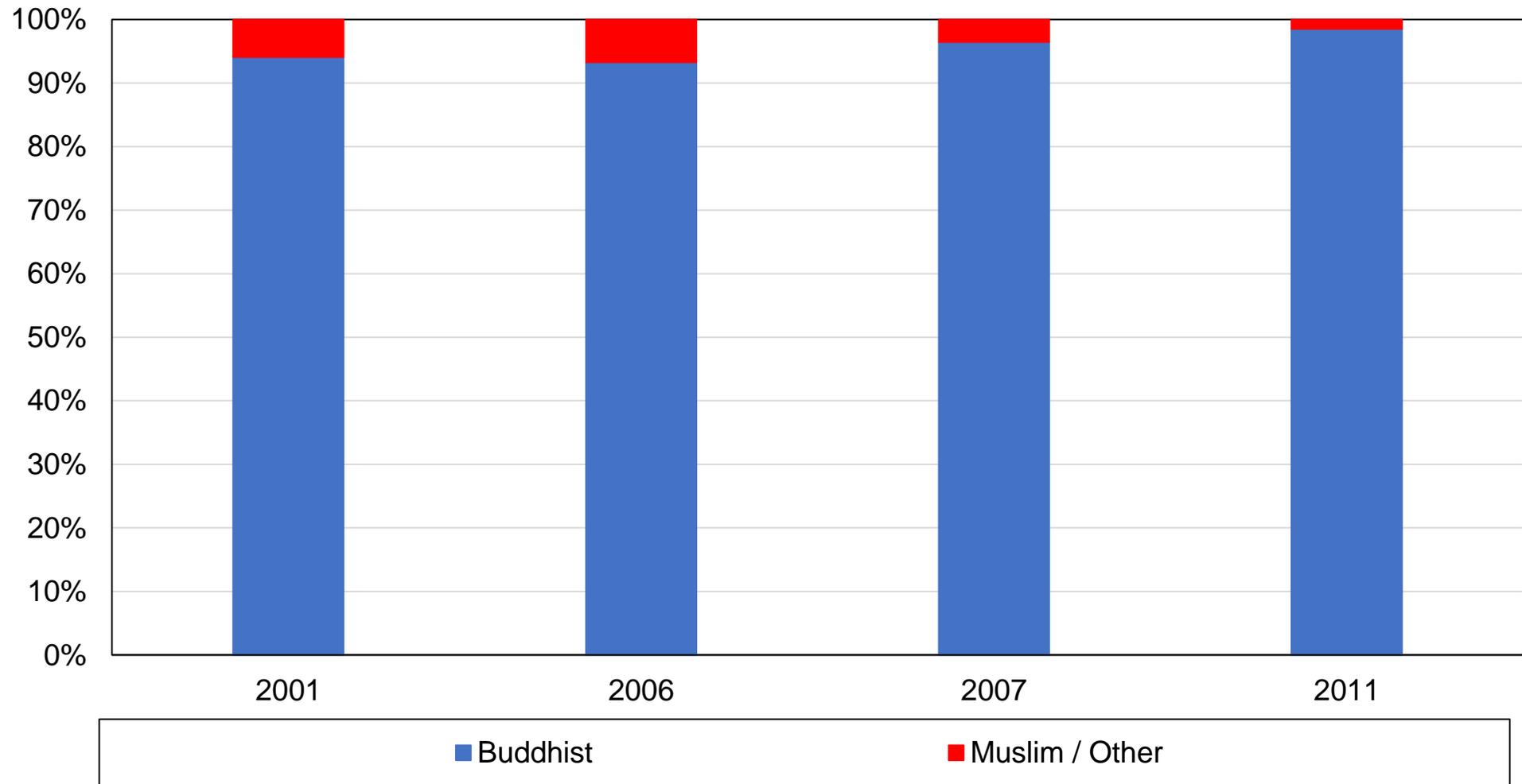
Figure AA2 - The composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Thai adult population and its evolution over time.

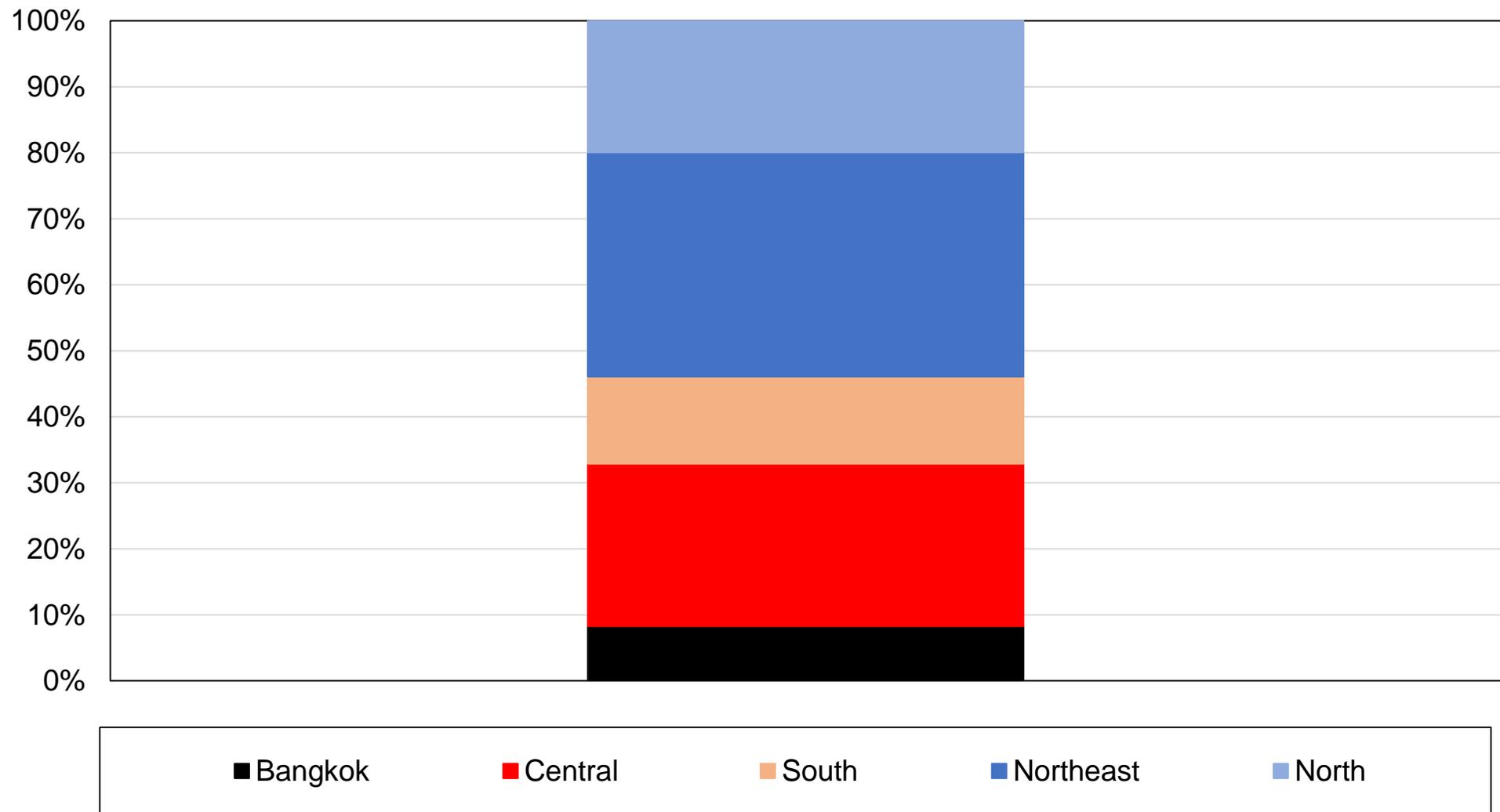
Figure AA3 - The composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of religious affiliations in the Thai adult population and its evolution over time.

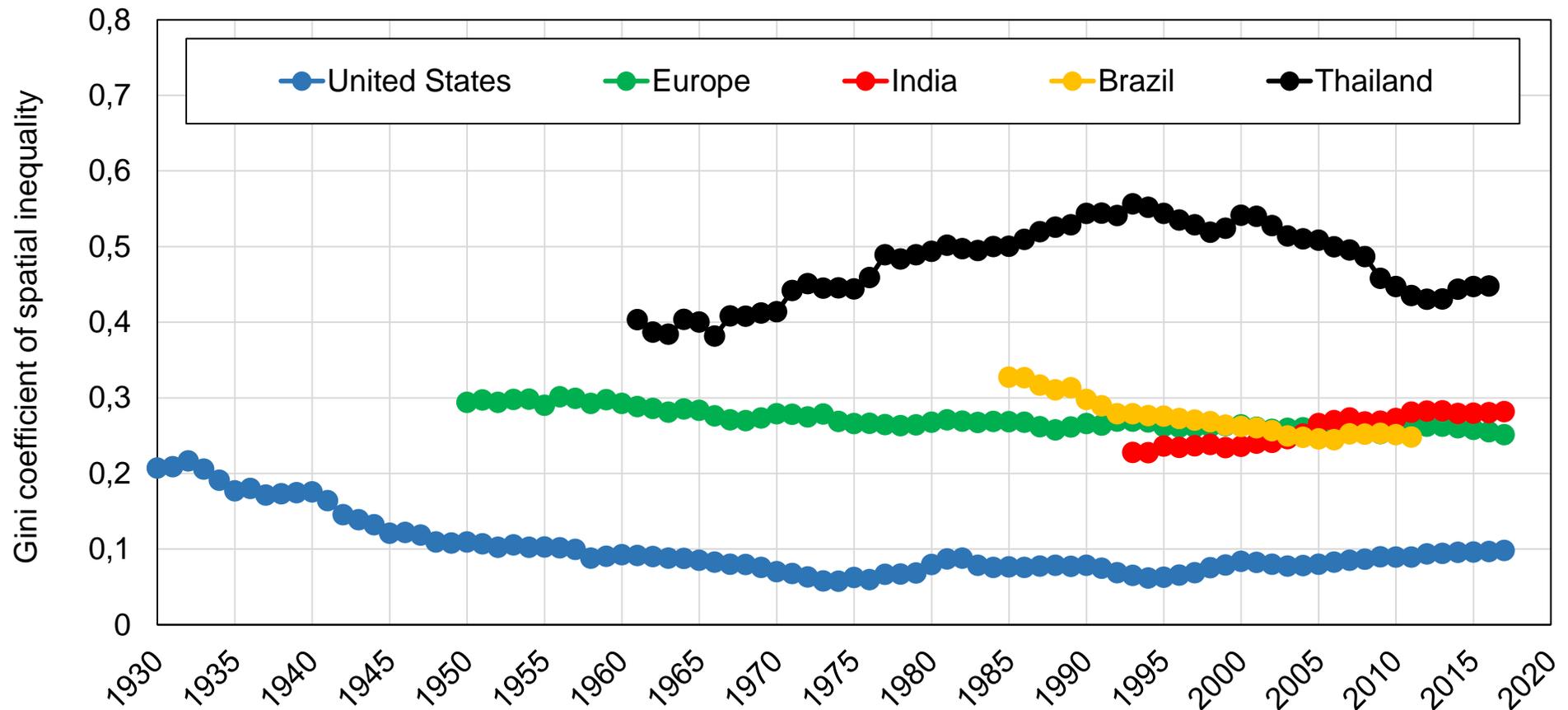
Figure AA4 - The composition of the electorate by region, 2011



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of the electorate living in different regions of Thailand in 2011.

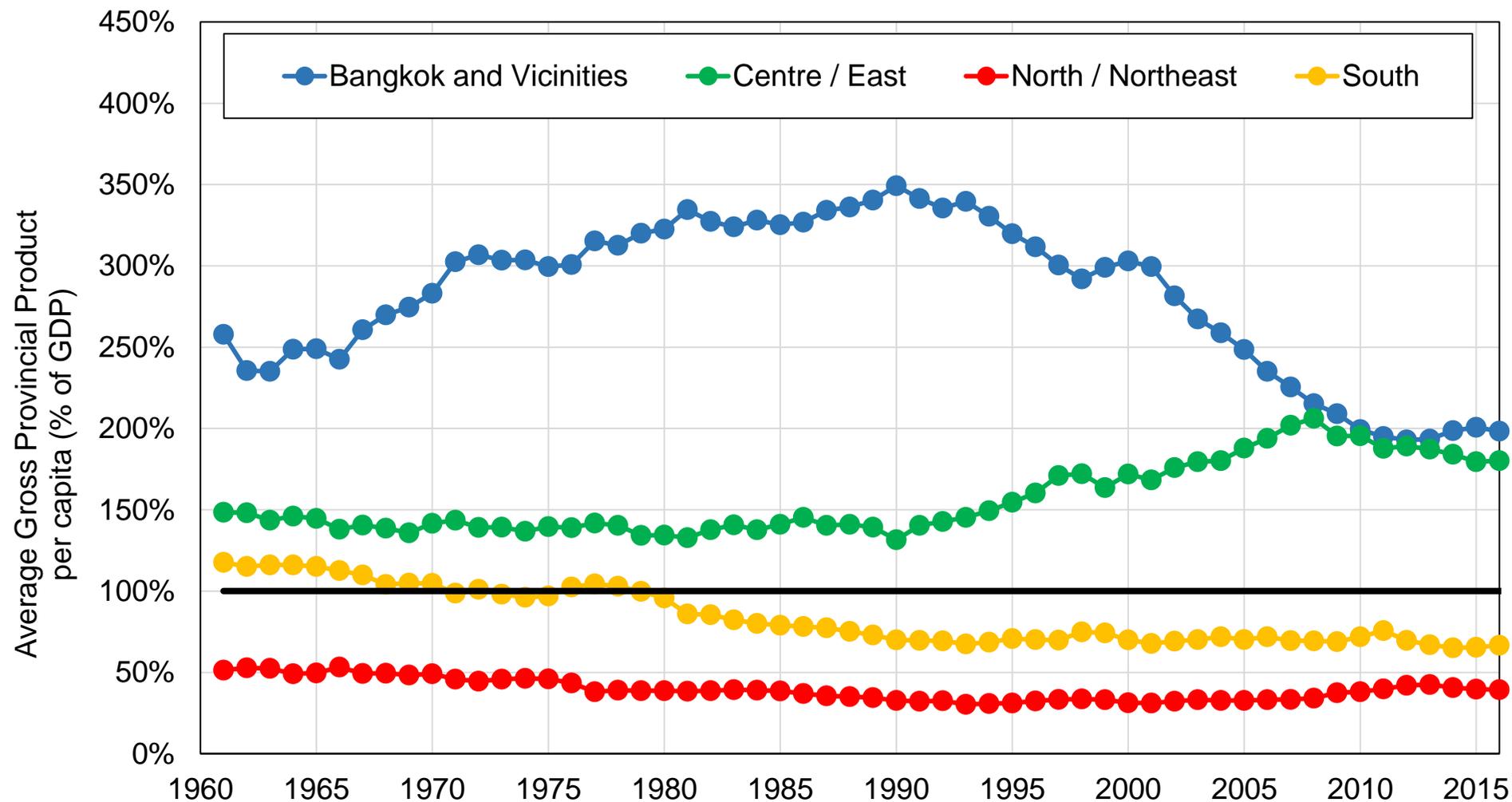
Figure AA5 - Thai regional inequality in comparative perspective



Source: authors' computations combining national and regional accounts statistics from the National Economic and Social Development Board (Thailand), the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (Brazil), the Bureau of Economic Analysis (United States), the Central Statistics Office (India) and the World Inequality Database (Europe). Spatial units refers to Thai provinces, Brazilian states, US States, Indian States, and European countries (38 countries).

Note: the figure shows the Gini coefficient of regional inequality.

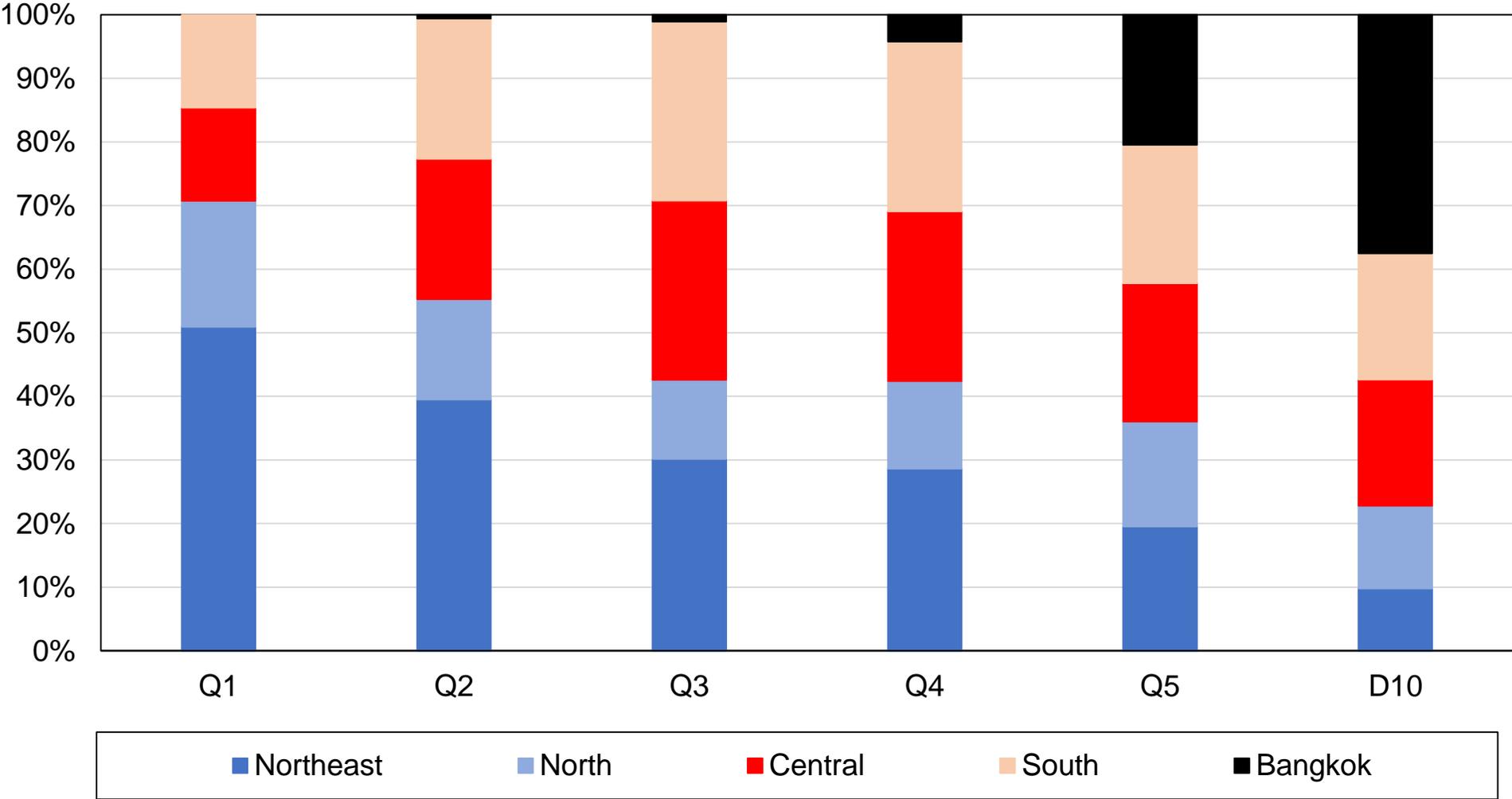
Figure AA6 - Regional inequality in Thailand, 1961-2016



Source: authors' computations using regional accounts statistics.

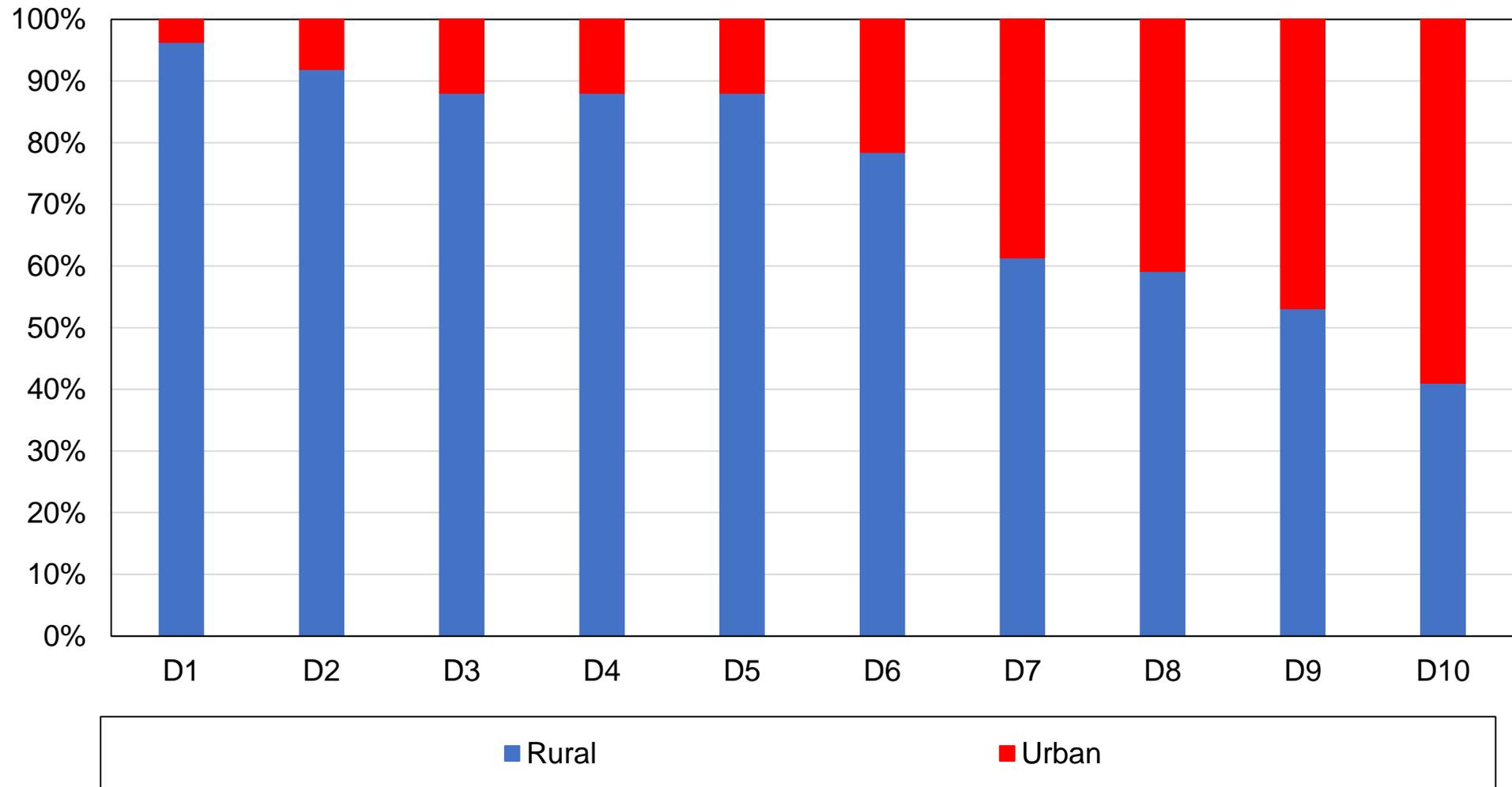
Note: the figure plots the average gross provincial product per capita of Thai regions relative to the overall Thai GDP per capita between 1961 and 2017.

Figure AA7 - Regional composition of income deciles, 2011



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by region in 2011.

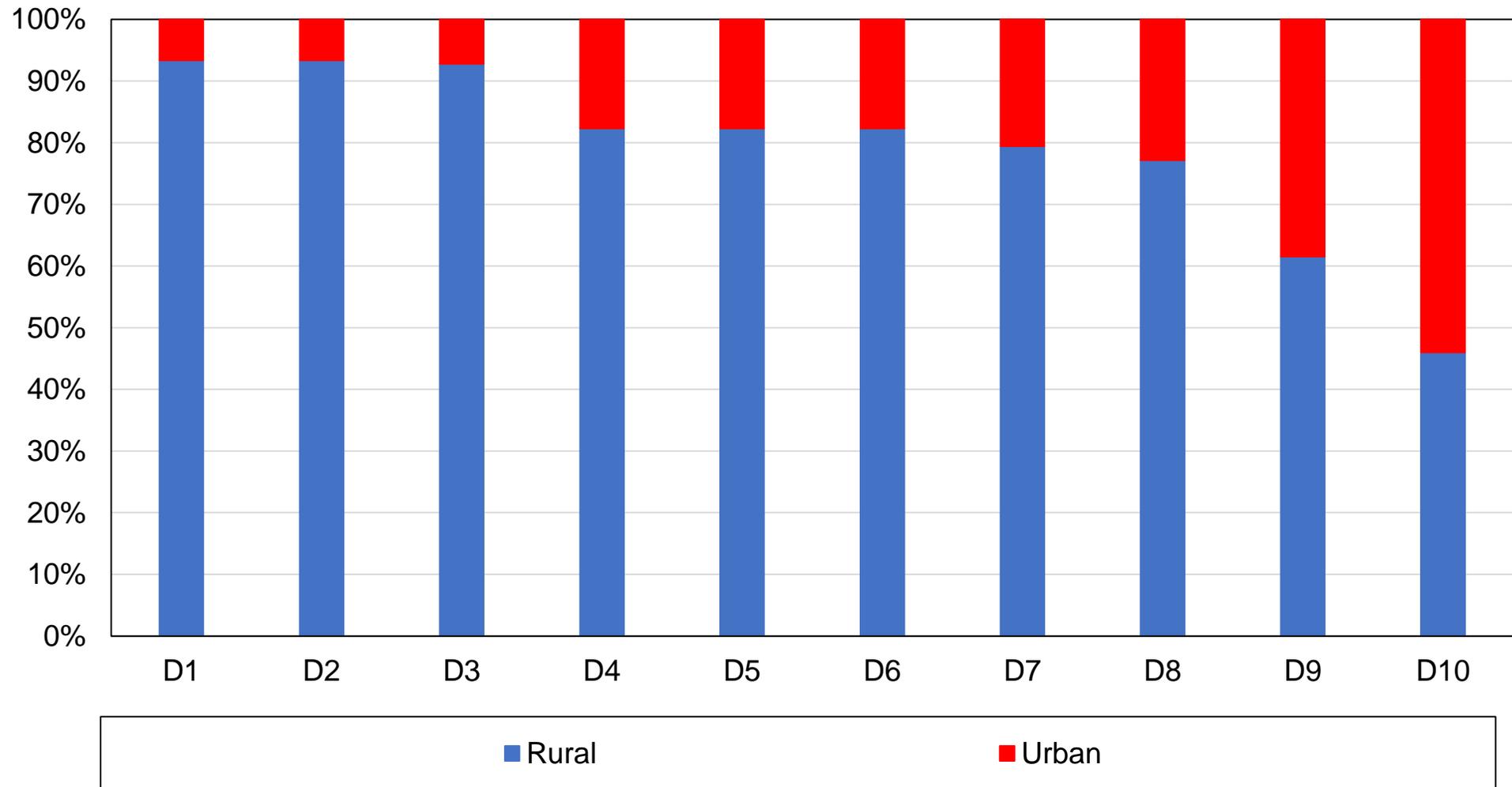
Figure AA8 - Rural-urban composition of income deciles, 2001



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by location in 2001.

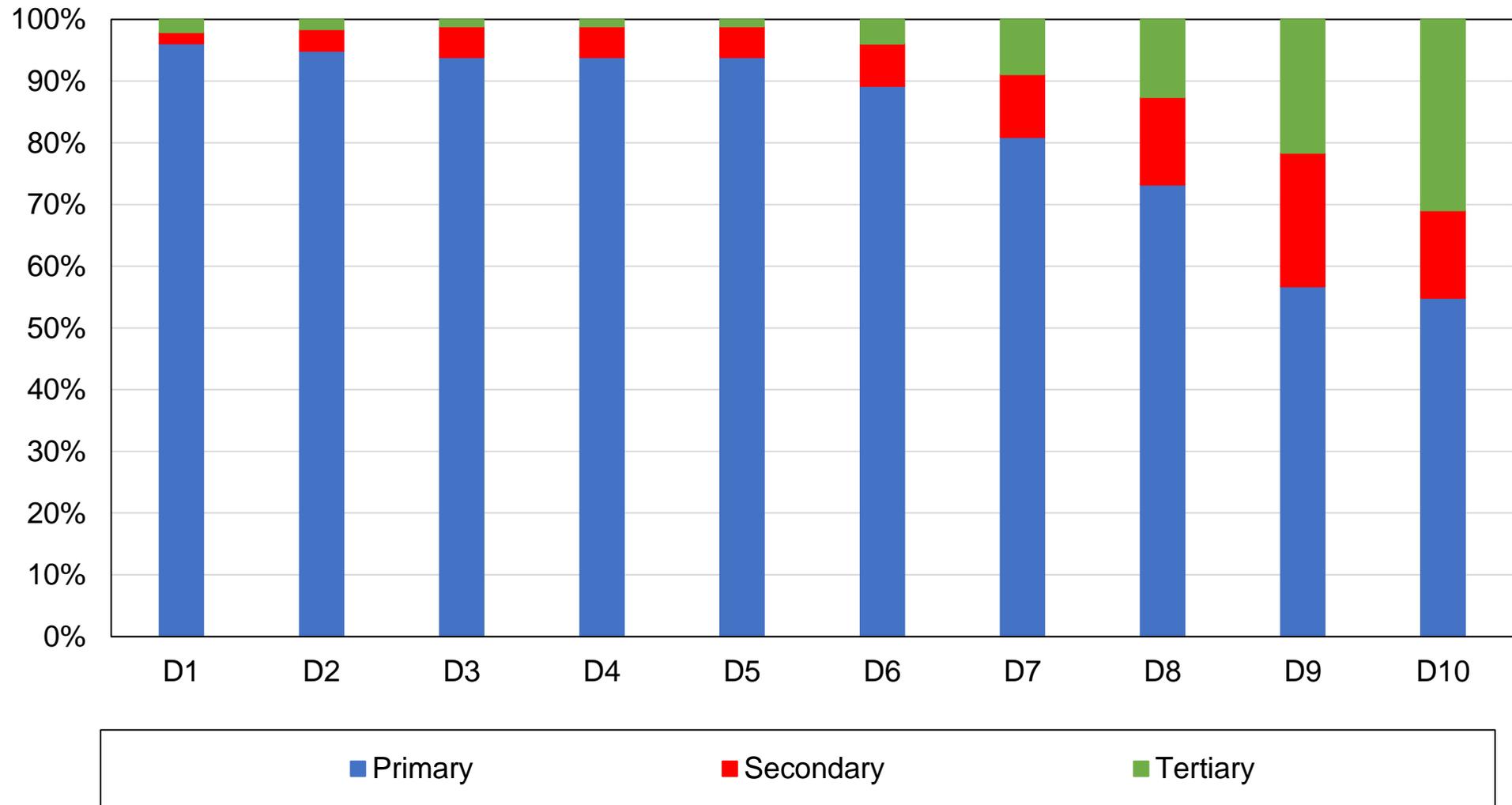
Figure AA9 - Rural-urban composition of income deciles, 2011



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by location in 2011.

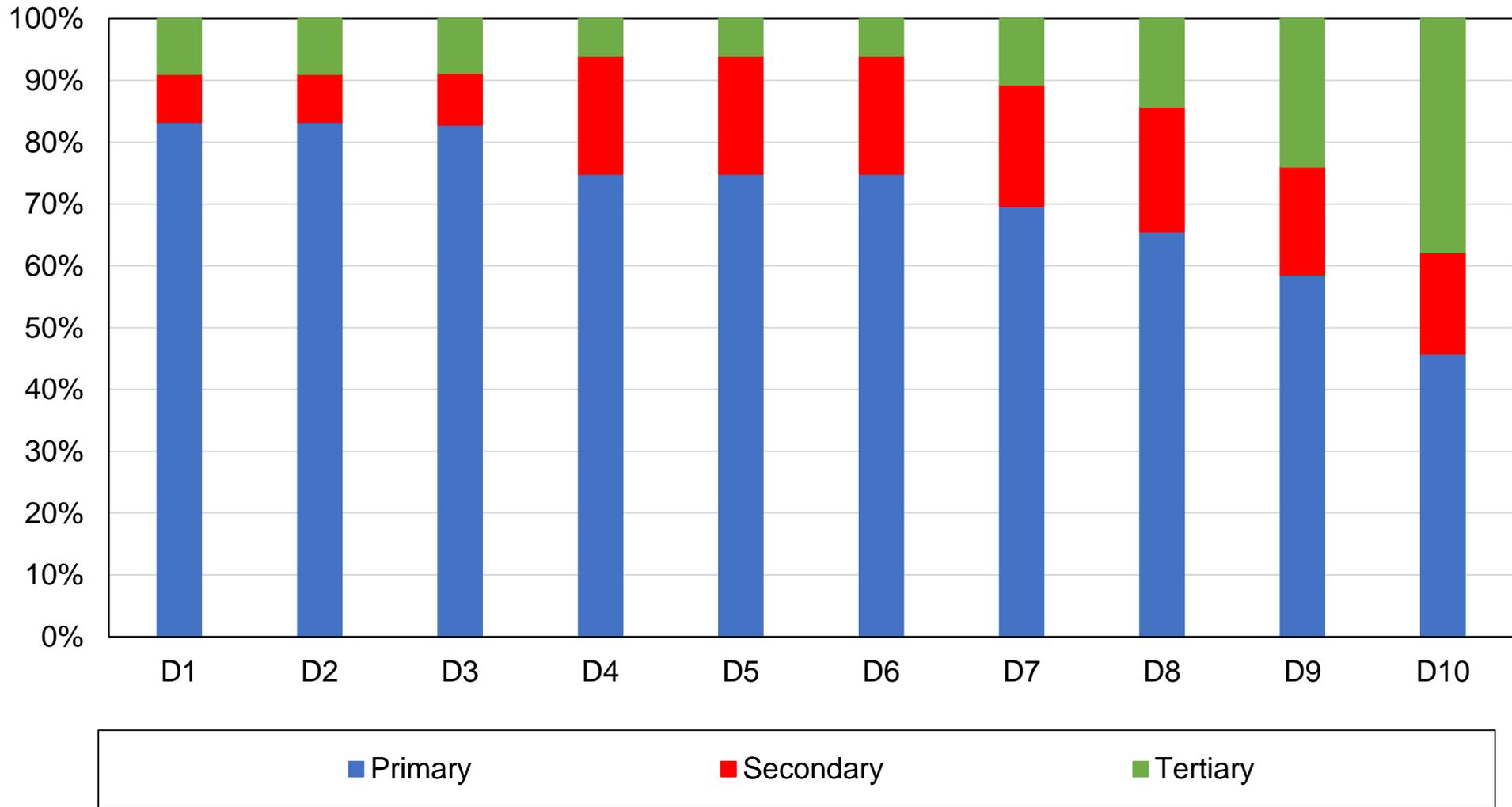
Figure AA10 - Educational composition of income deciles, 2001



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by education level of the Thai population in 2001.

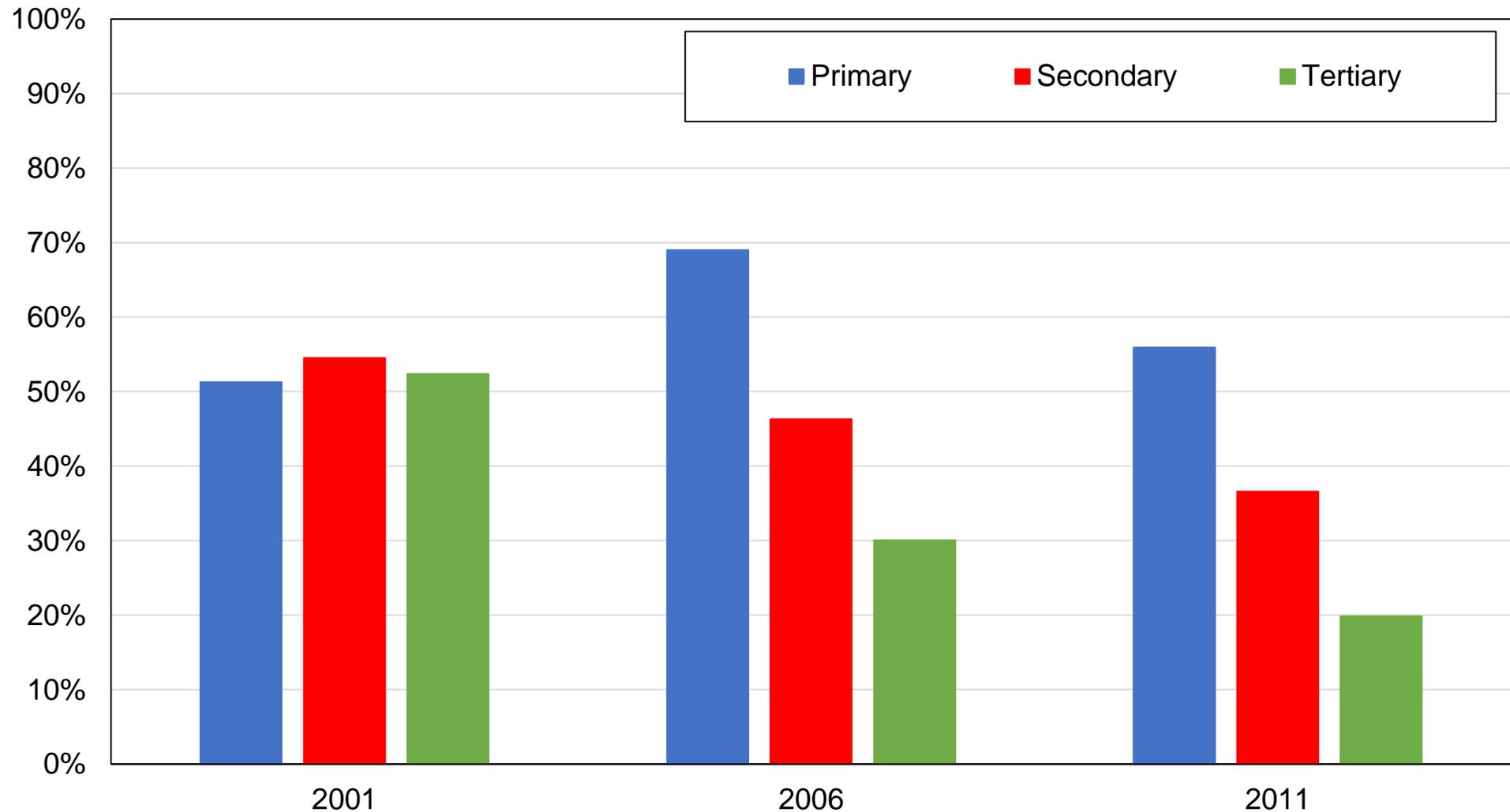
Figure AA11 - Educational composition of income deciles, 2011



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by education level of the Thai population in 2011.

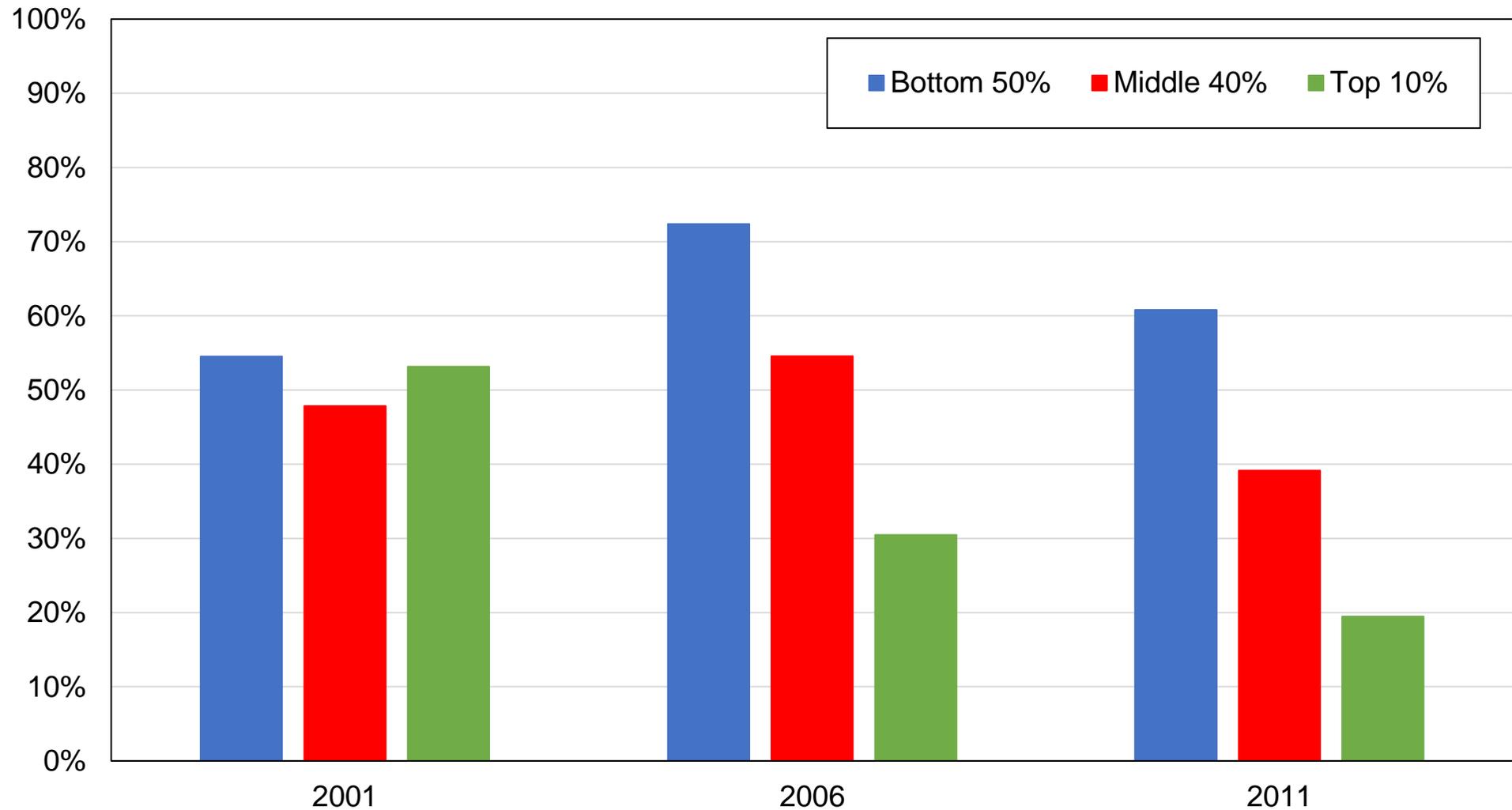
Figure AB1 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by education level



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by education level.

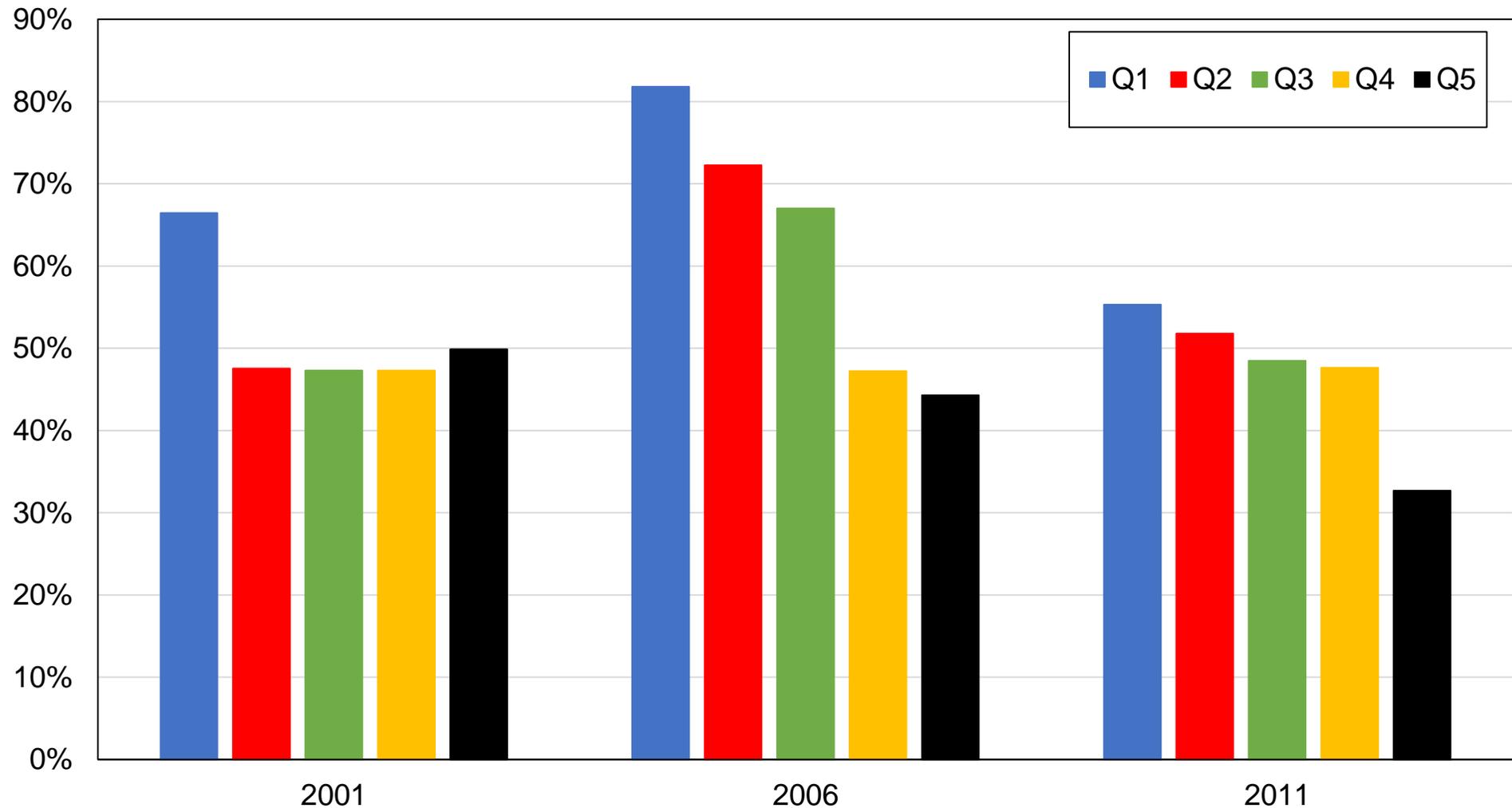
Figure AB2 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by education group



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by education group.

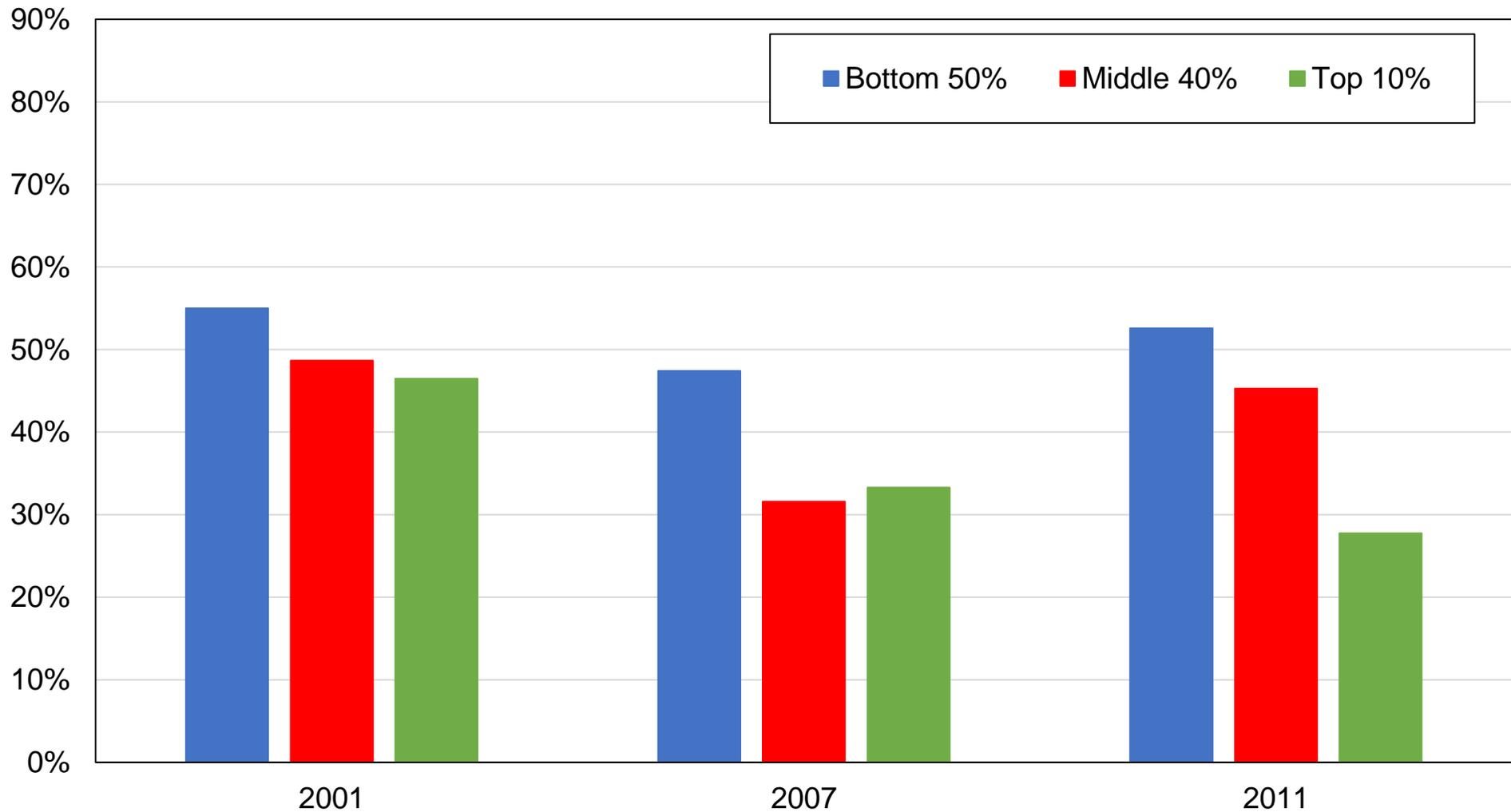
Figure AB3 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by income quintile



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by income quintile.

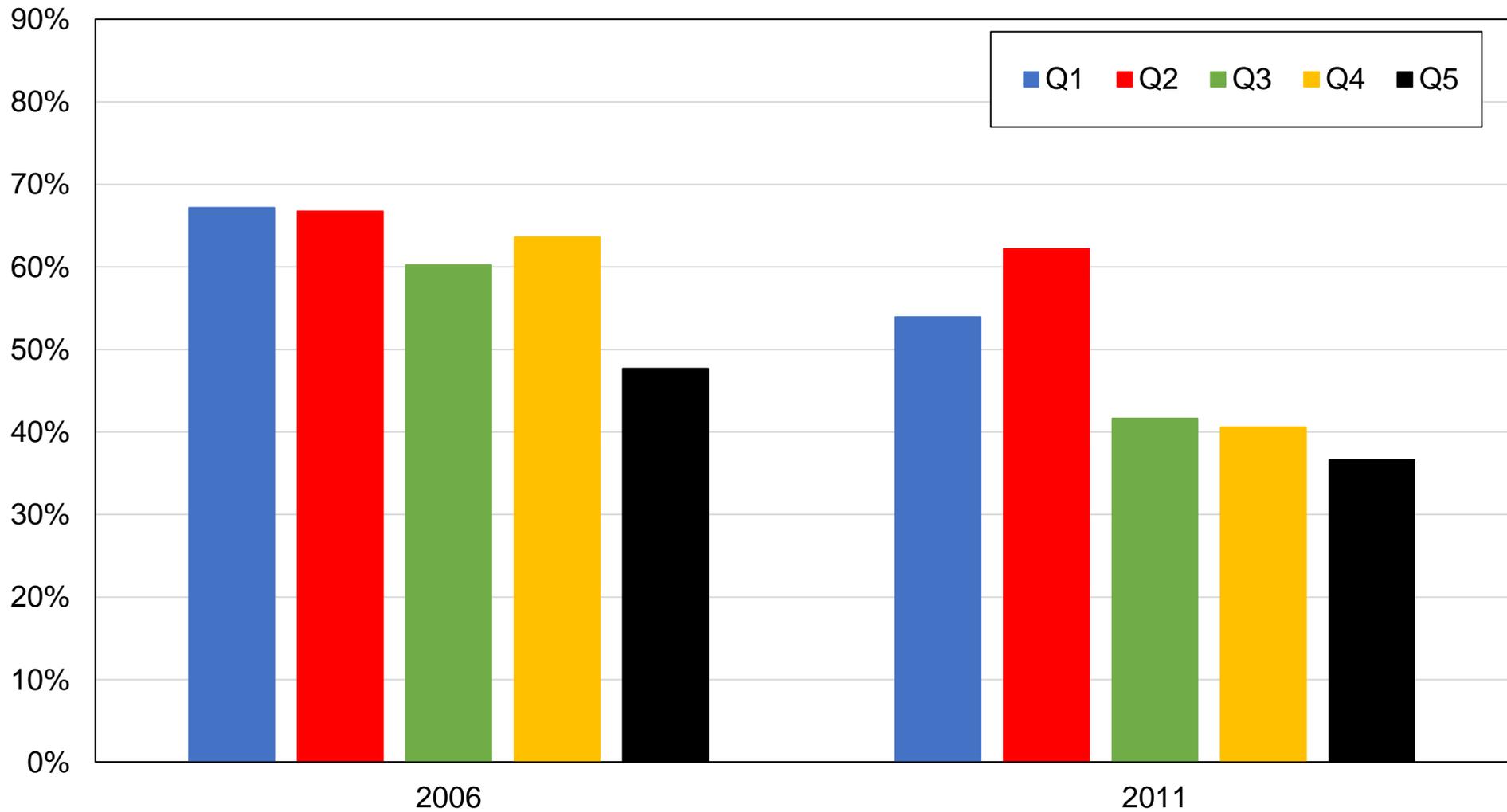
Figure AB4 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by income group



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by income group.

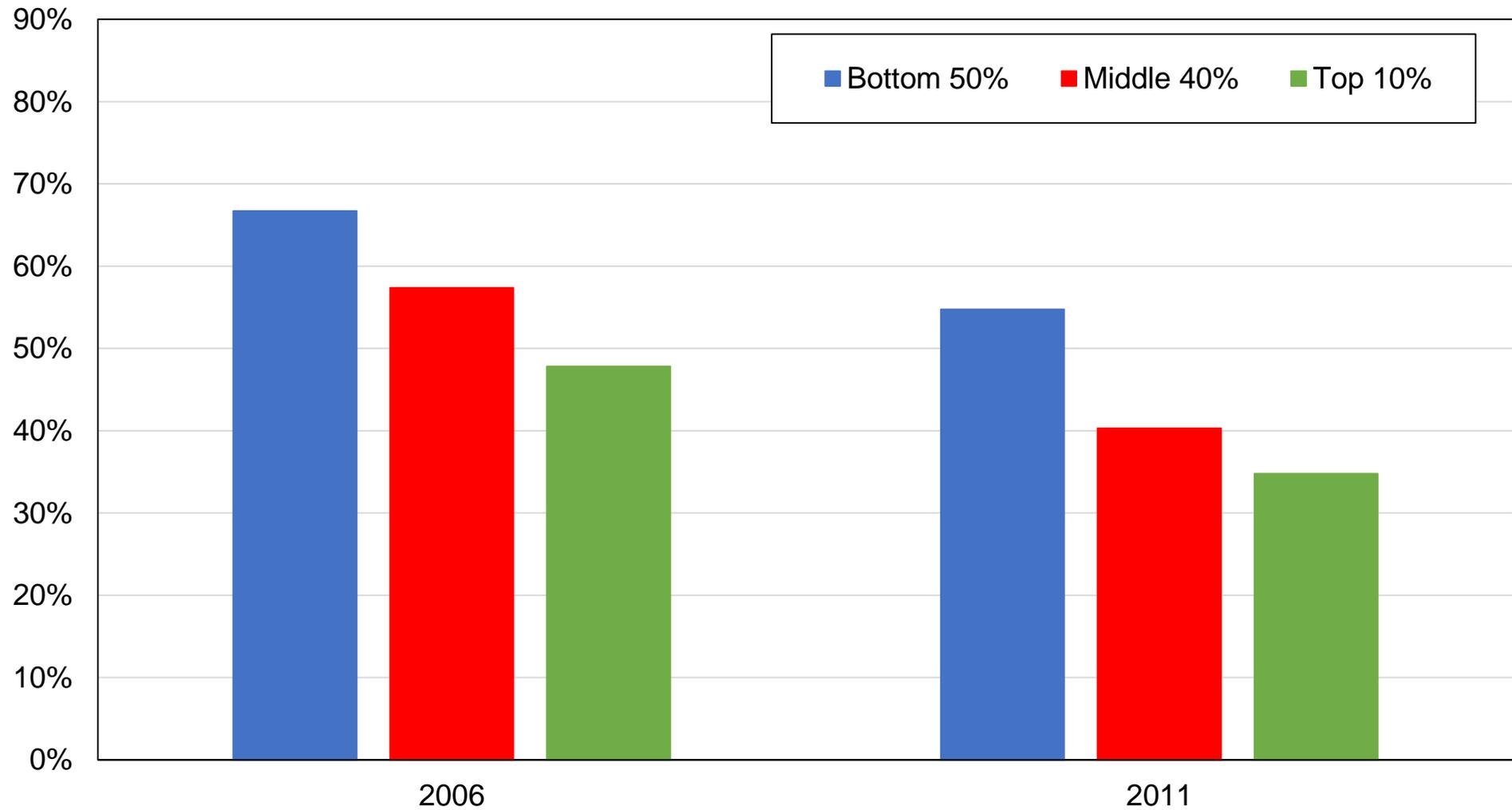
Figure AB5 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by wealth quintile



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by wealth quintile.

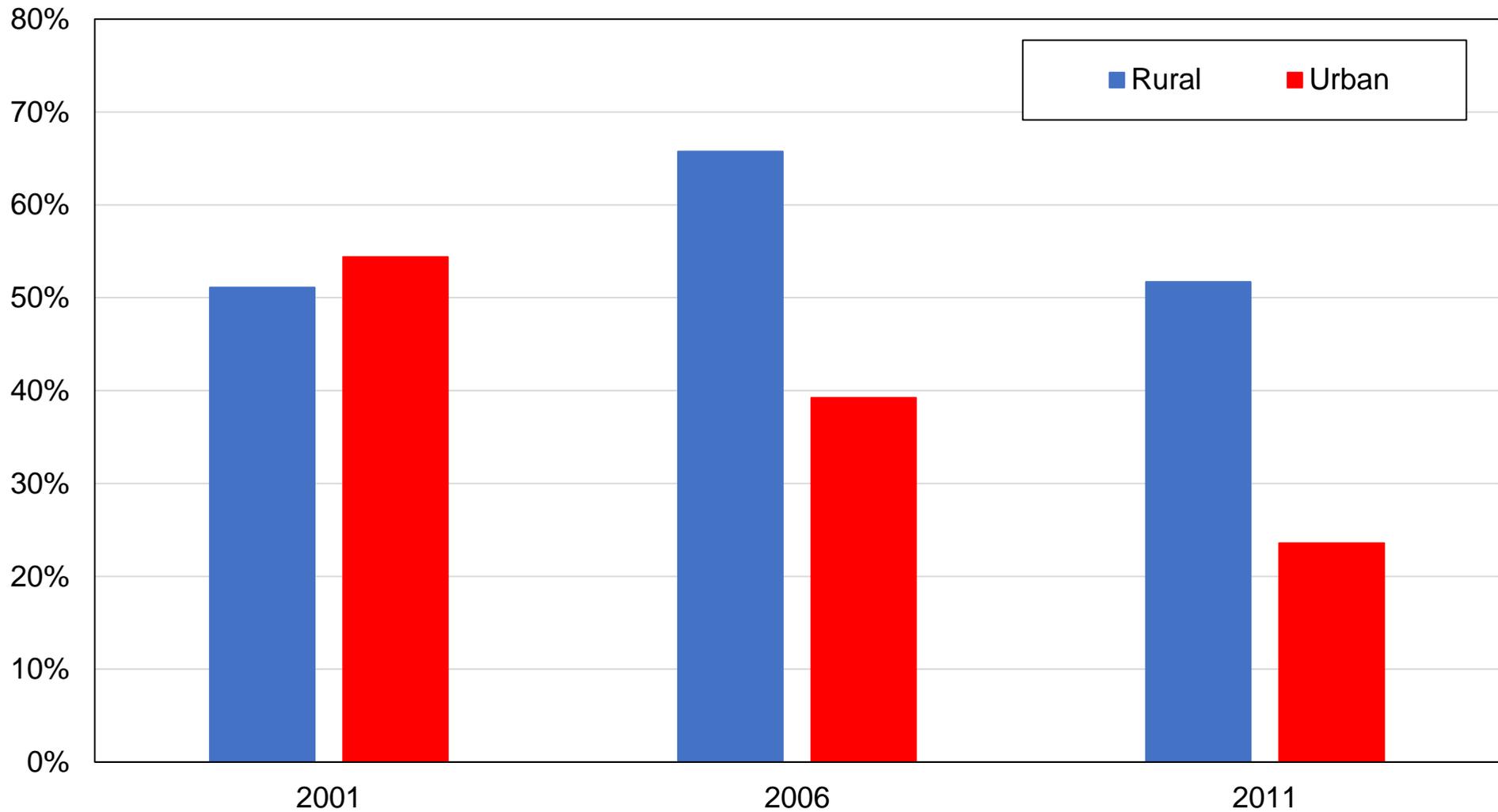
Figure AB6 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by wealth group



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by wealth group.

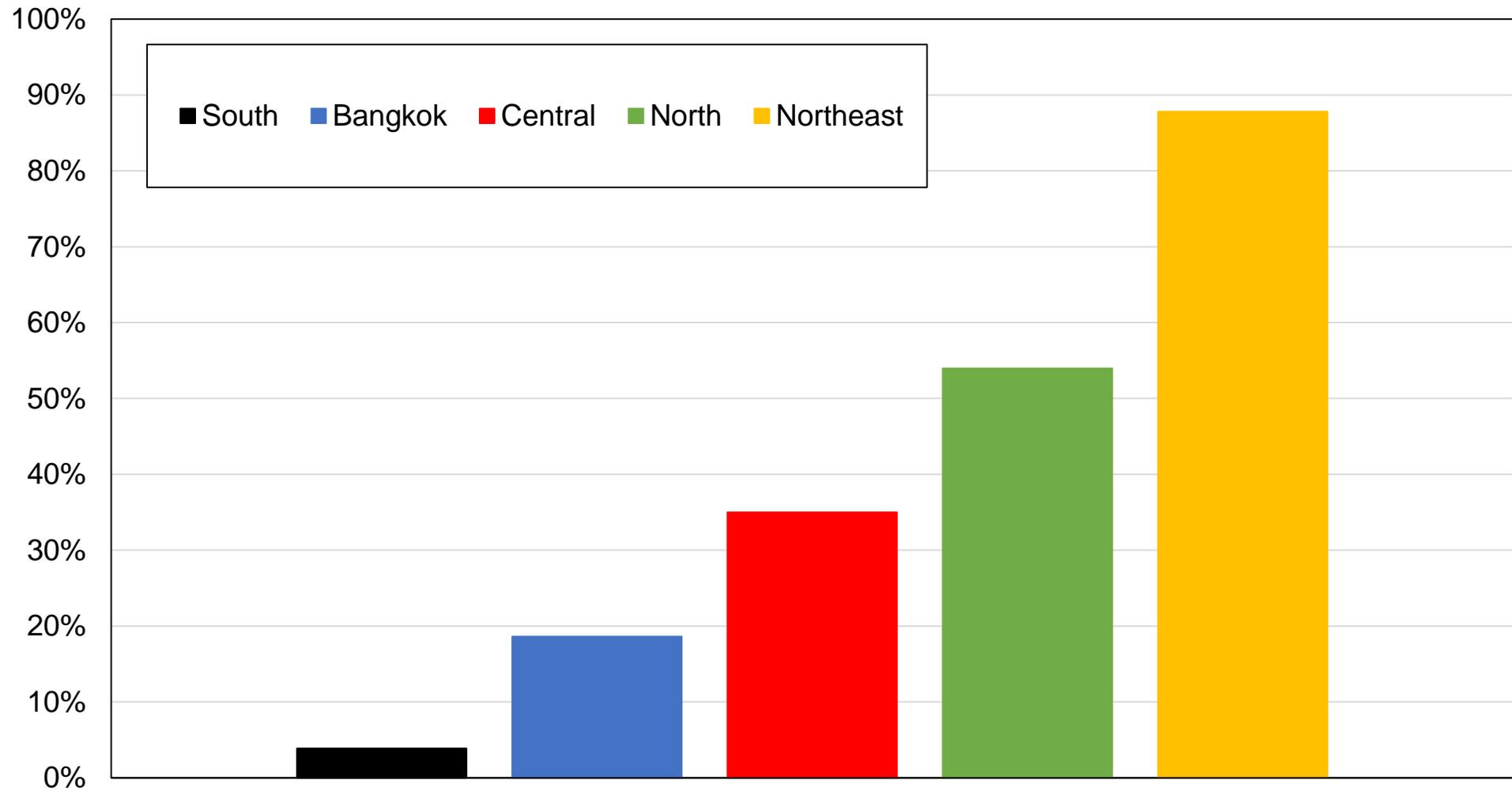
Figure AB7 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by location



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by location.

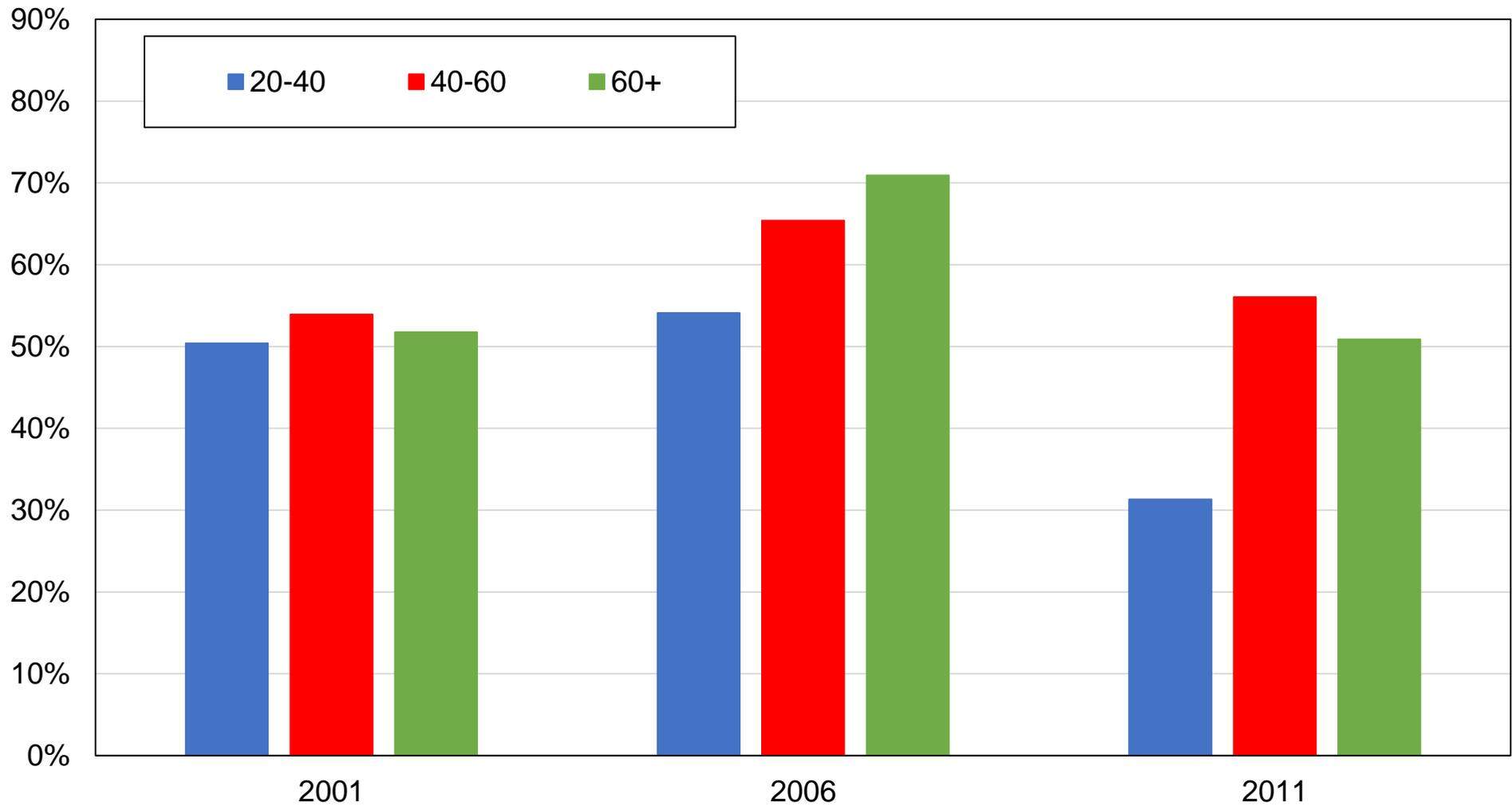
Figure AB8 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by region, 2011



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by region.

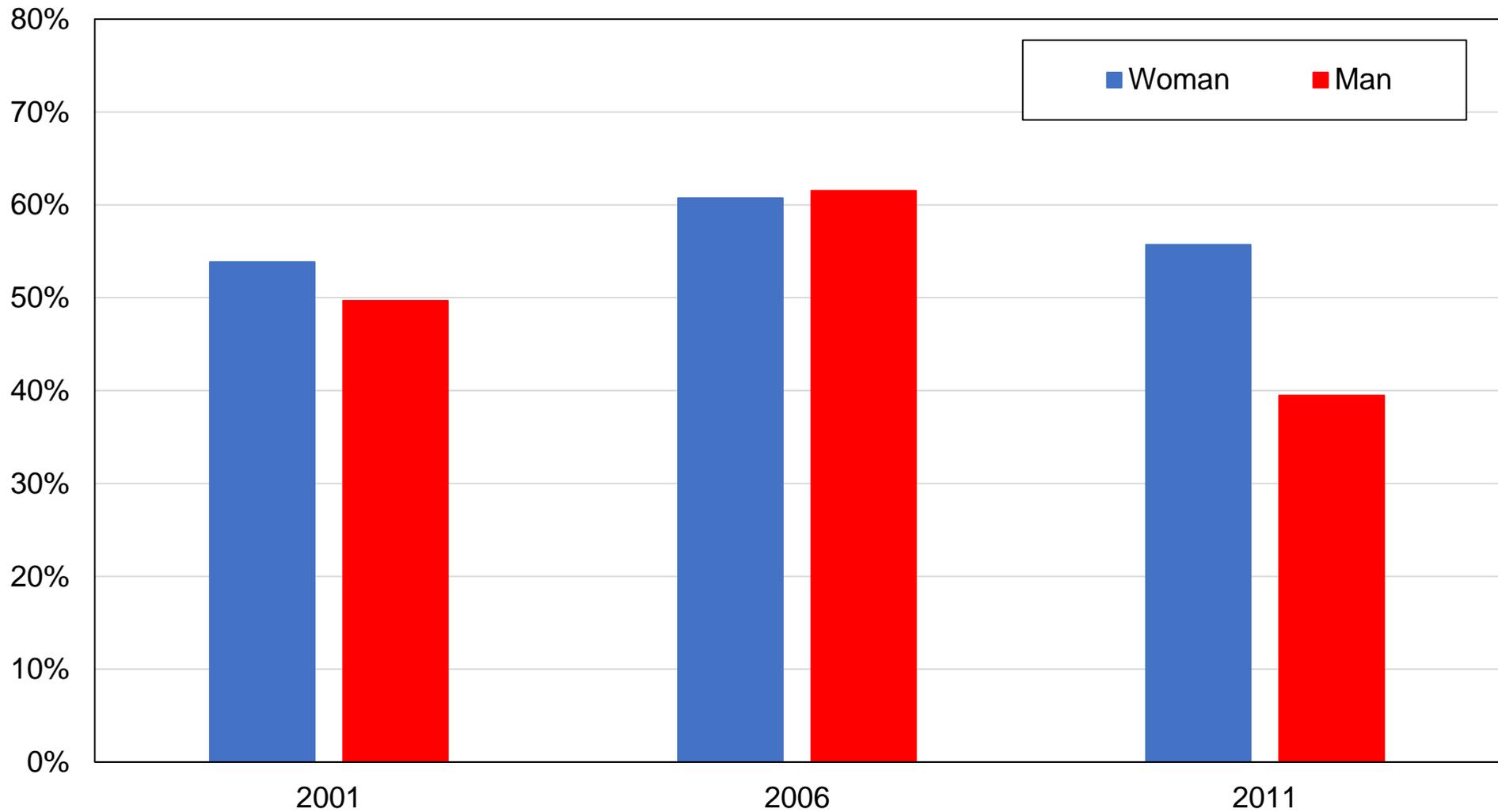
Figure AB9 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by age group



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by age group.

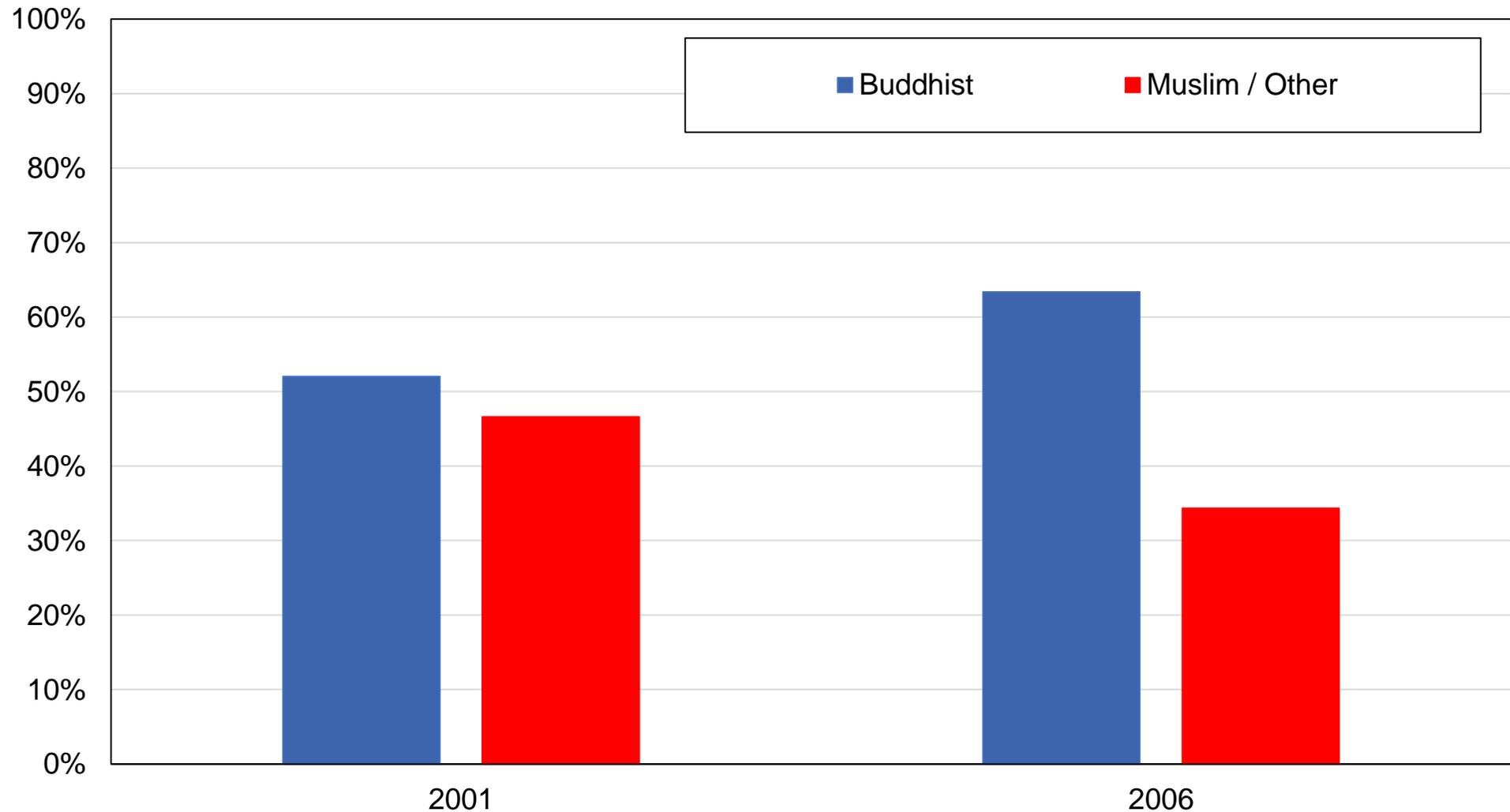
Figure AB10 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by gender



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by gender.

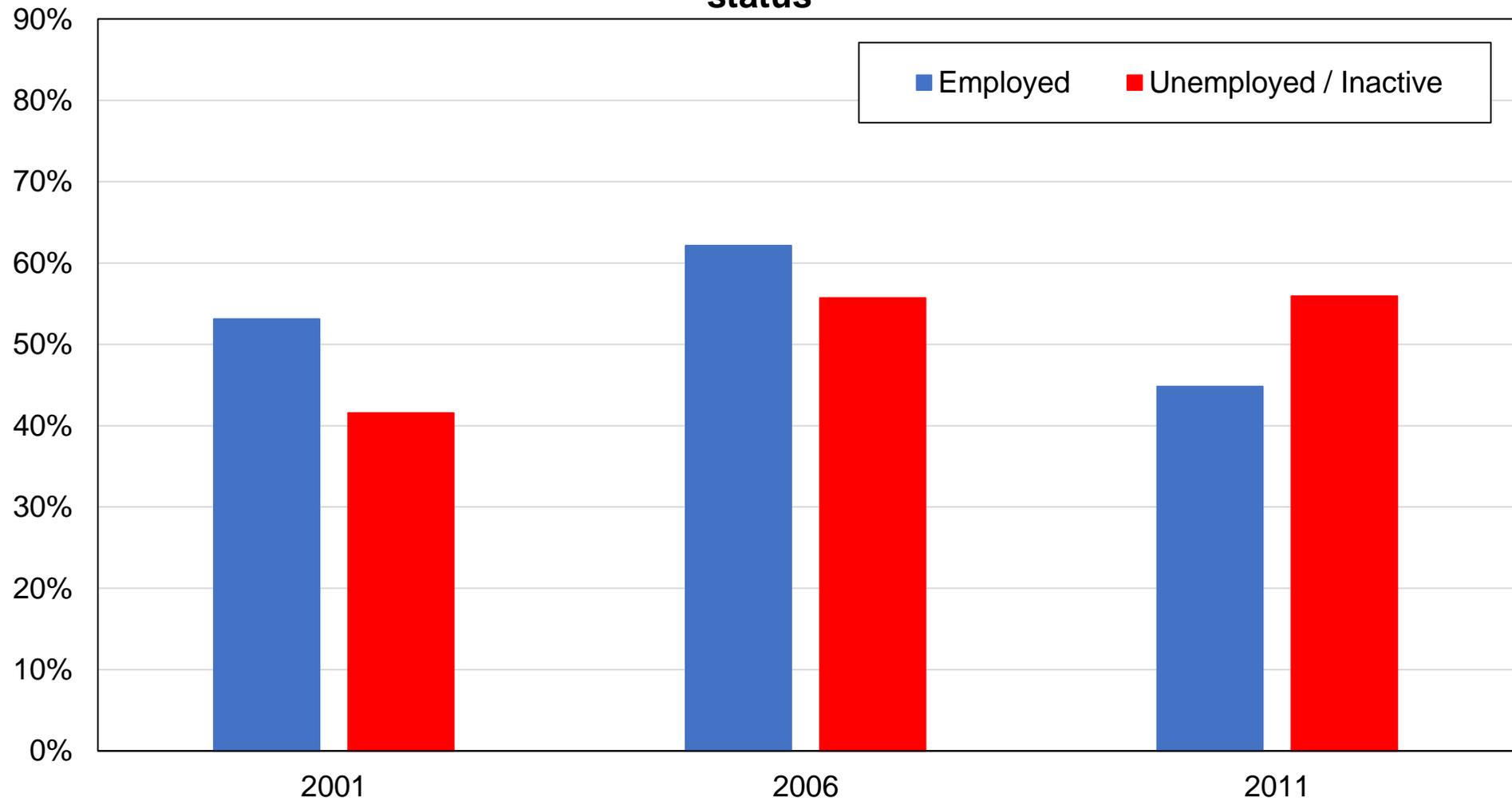
Figure AB11 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by religion



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by religious affiliation. 2011 is excluded due to too low sample sizes.

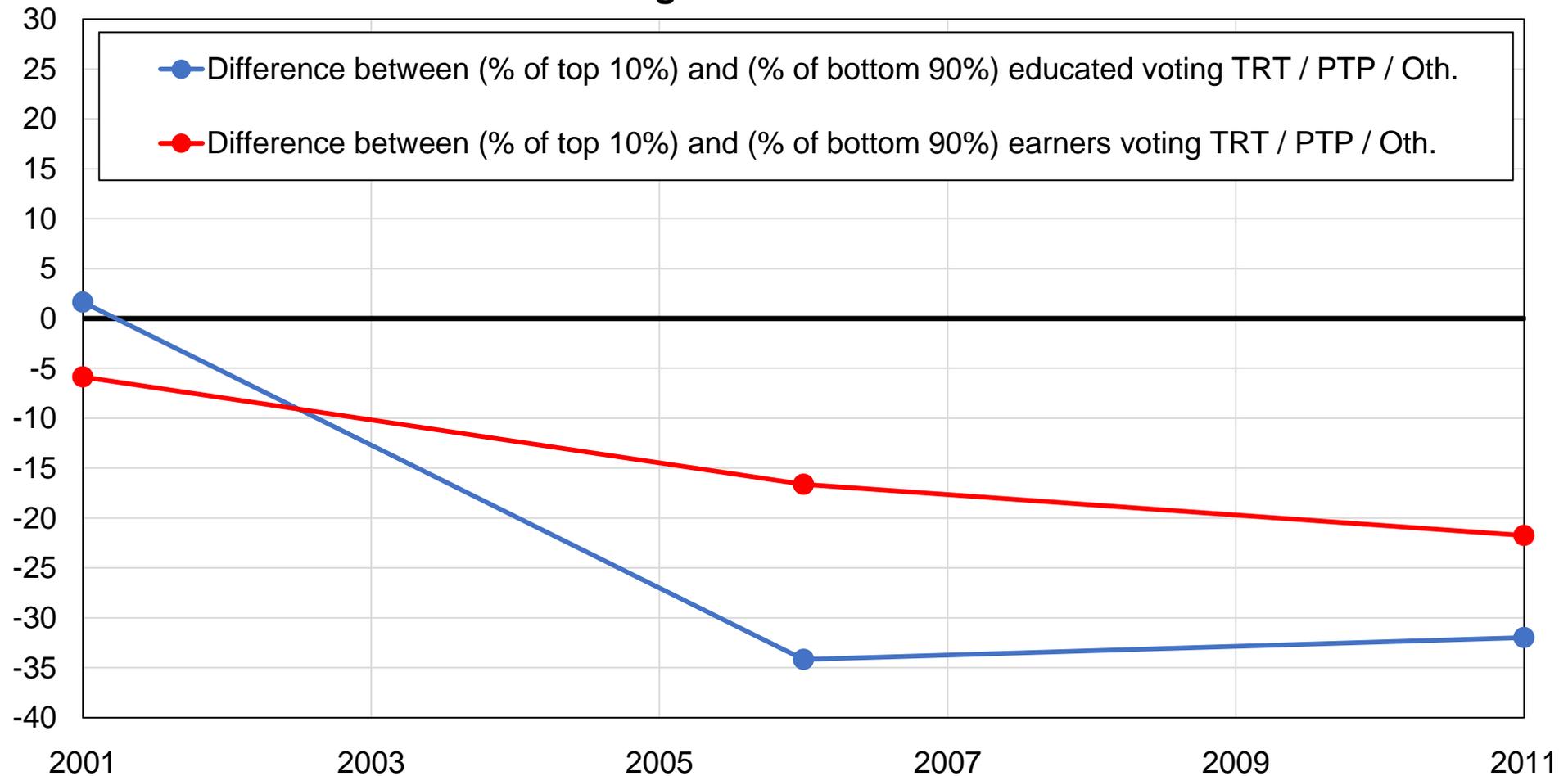
Figure AB12 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin by employment status



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties by employment status.

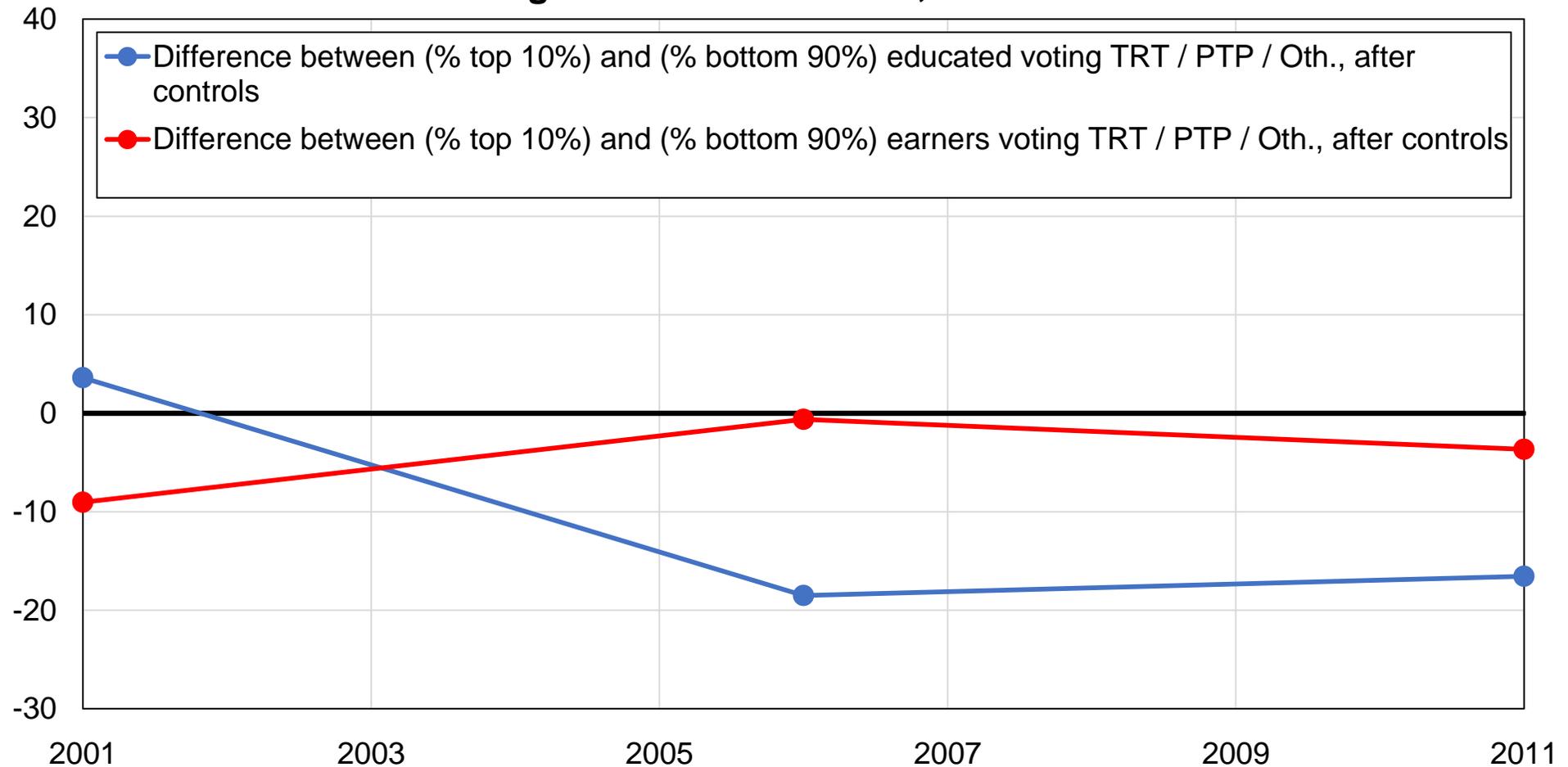
Figure AC1 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among top-income and highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, and the same difference between top 10% earners and bottom 90% earners.

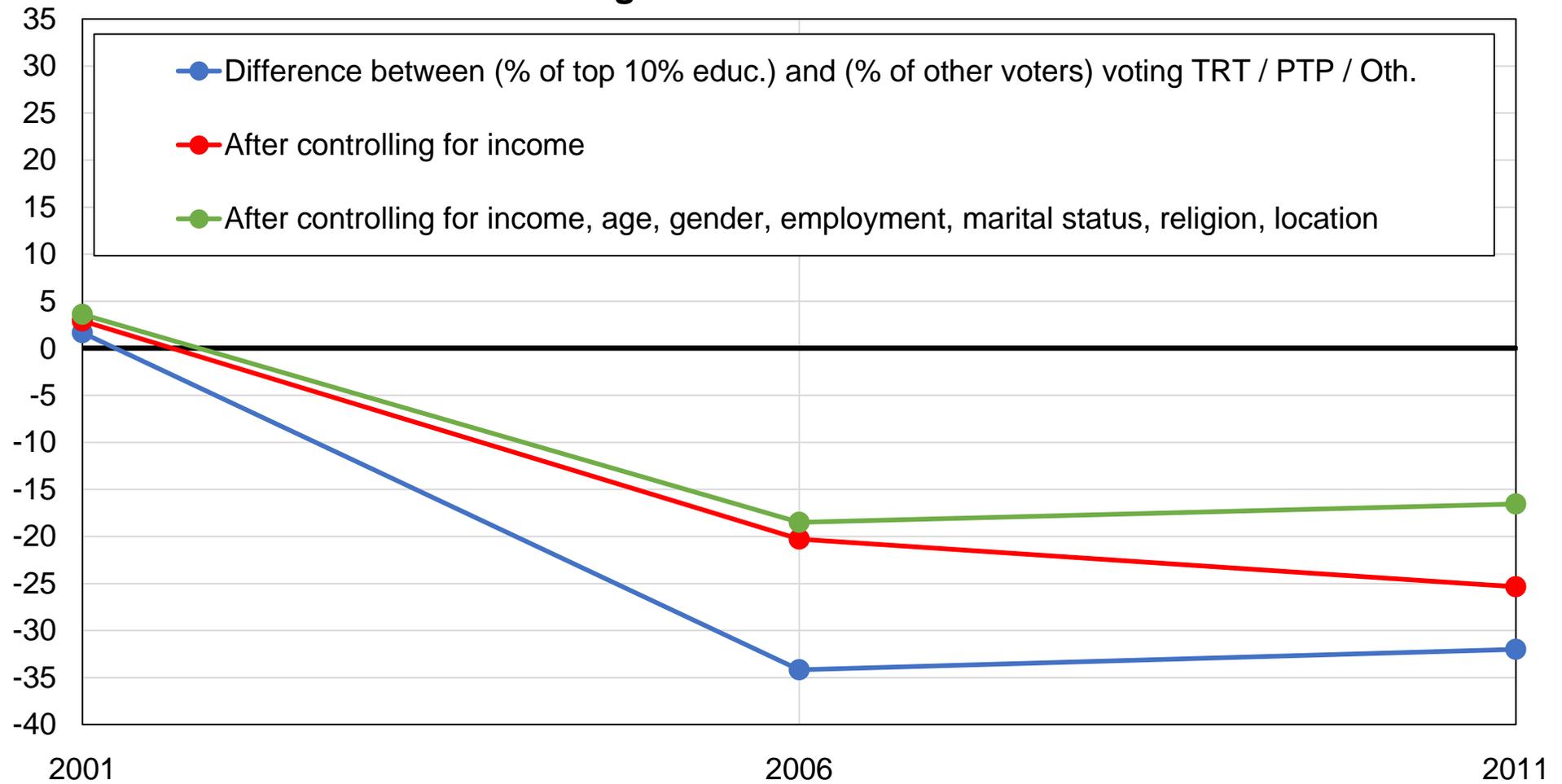
Figure AC2 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among top-income and highest-educated voters, after controls



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, and the same difference between top 10% earners and bottom 90% earners, after controls.

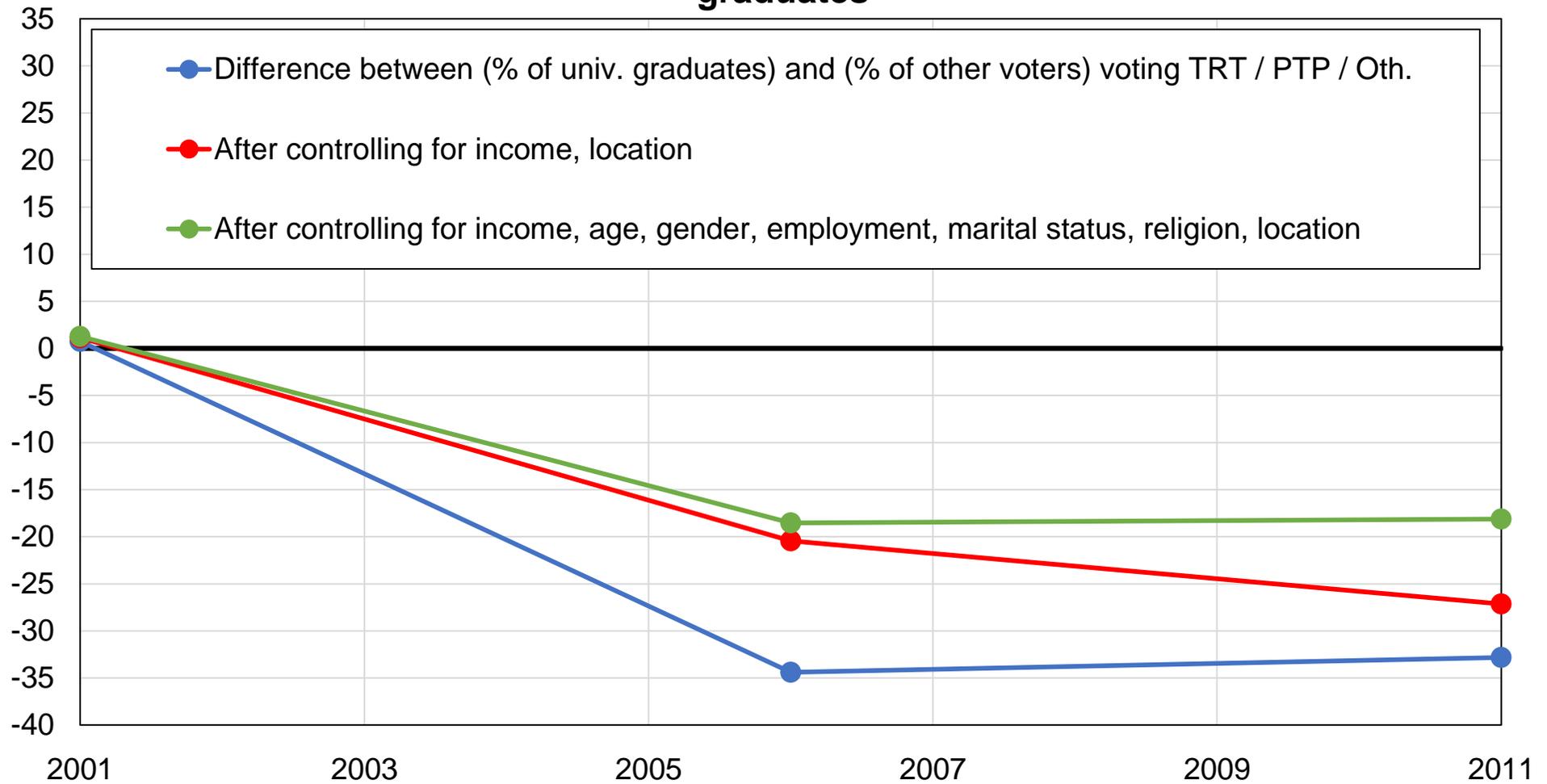
Figure AC3 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

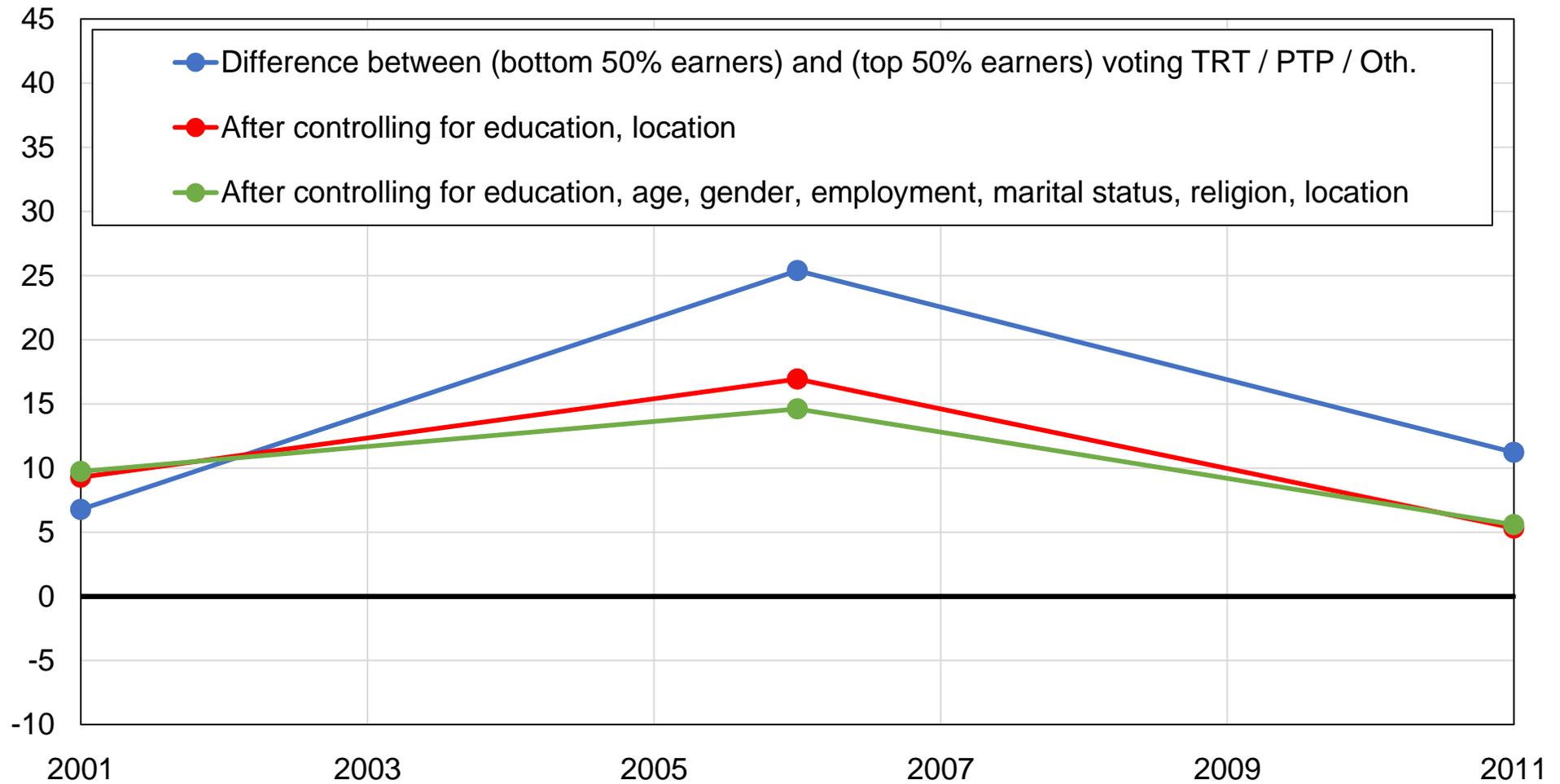
Figure AC4 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

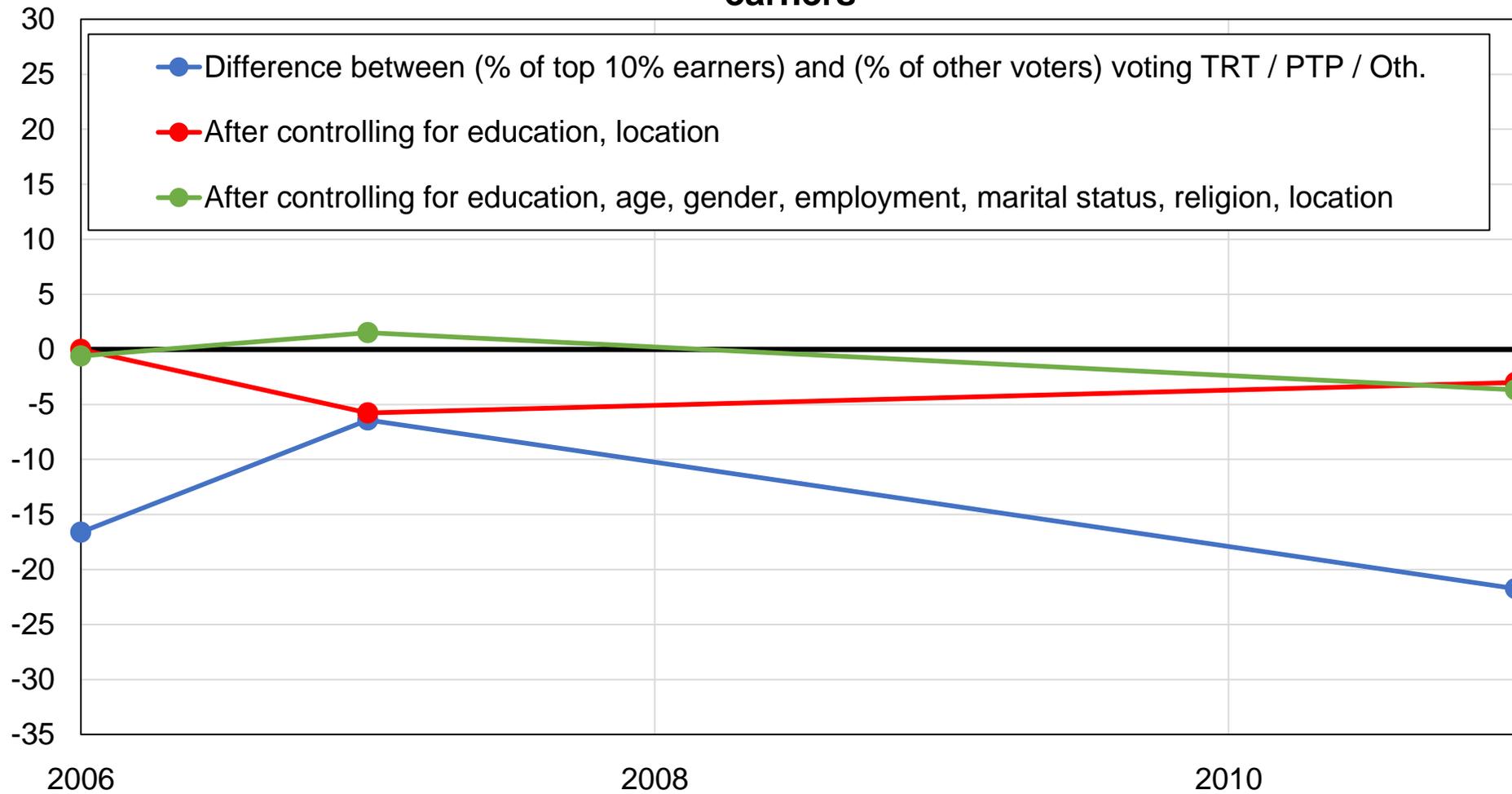
Figure AC5 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among bottom 50% earners



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% earners and the share of other voters voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

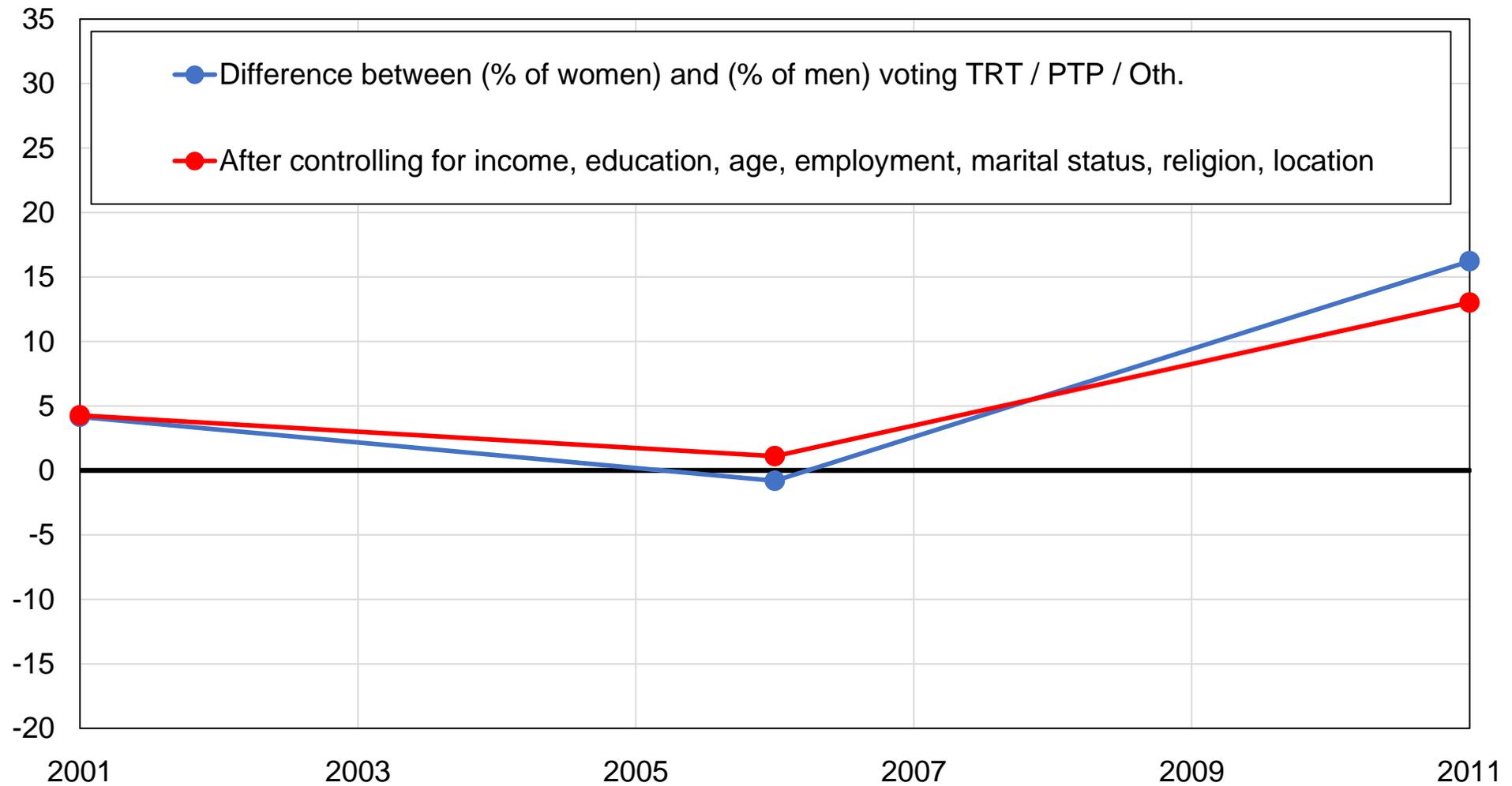
Figure AC6 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among top 10% earners



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure AC7 - Vote for TRT / PT / Other pro-Thaksin among women



Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for Thai Rak Thai / Pheu Thai / Other pro-Thaksin parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

Table AA1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
2001	Asian Barometers	AB	1546
2006	Asian Barometers	AB	1546
2007	Asian Barometers	AB	1512
2011	Asian Barometers	AB	1200

Source: authors' elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. AB: Asian Barometers.

Table AA2 - Complete descriptive statistics

	2001	2006	2007	2011
Education: Primary	83%	71%	75%	71%
Education: Secondary	9%	19%	18%	16%
Education: Tertiary	9%	9%	7%	13%
Age: 20-40	53%	45%	30%	33%
Age: 40-60	33%	41%	52%	52%
Age: 60+	14%	14%	18%	14%
Gender: Man	49%	48%	48%	48%
Employment status: Employed	85%	85%	75%	89%
Employment status: Unemployed	0%	4%	6%	1%
Employment status: Inactive	15%	12%	19%	10%
Marital status: Married / Partner	72%	71%	80%	73%
Religion: Buddhist	94%	93%	96%	99%
Religion: Muslim / Other	6%	7%	4%	1%
Location: Rural areas	74%	80%	87%	80%
Region: Bangkok				8%
Region: Central				25%
Region: North				20%
Region: Northeast				34%
Region: South				13%

Source: authors' computations using Thai political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by year for selected available variables.

Table AA3 - Spatial inequality in Thailand

	Gini of spatial inequality				GPP per capita (% of national average)			
	US	Europe	India	Thailand	Bangkok	Centre-East	North-Northeast	South
1929	20%							
1930	21%							
1931	21%							
1932	22%							
1933	21%							
1934	19%							
1935	18%							
1936	18%							
1937	17%							
1938	17%							
1939	17%							
1940	18%							
1941	16%							
1942	15%							
1943	14%							
1944	13%							
1945	12%							
1946	12%							
1947	12%							
1948	11%							
1949	11%							
1950	11%	29%						
1951	11%	30%						
1952	10%	29%						
1953	11%	30%						
1954	10%	30%						
1955	10%	29%						
1956	10%	30%						
1957	10%	30%						
1958	9%	29%						

1959	9%	30%					
1960	9%	29%					
1961	9%	29%	40%		258%	149%	51%
1962	9%	29%	39%		236%	148%	53%
1963	9%	28%	38%		235%	144%	52%
1964	9%	29%	40%		249%	146%	49%
1965	8%	28%	40%		249%	145%	50%
1966	8%	28%	38%		243%	138%	53%
1967	8%	27%	41%		261%	140%	49%
1968	8%	27%	41%		270%	139%	49%
1969	8%	27%	41%		275%	136%	48%
1970	7%	28%	41%		283%	142%	49%
1971	7%	28%	44%		303%	143%	46%
1972	6%	27%	45%		307%	139%	45%
1973	6%	28%	45%		303%	139%	46%
1974	6%	27%	45%		304%	137%	46%
1975	6%	27%	44%		300%	140%	46%
1976	6%	27%	46%		301%	139%	43%
1977	7%	26%	49%		315%	142%	38%
1978	7%	26%	48%		313%	140%	39%
1979	7%	26%	49%		320%	134%	39%
1980	8%	27%	49%		323%	134%	39%
1981	9%	27%	50%		335%	133%	38%
1982	9%	27%	50%		327%	138%	39%
1983	8%	27%	49%		324%	141%	39%
1984	8%	27%	50%		328%	138%	39%
1985	8%	27%	50%	33%	325%	141%	39%
1986	8%	27%	51%	33%	327%	145%	37%
1987	8%	26%	52%	32%	334%	140%	36%
1988	8%	26%	53%	31%	336%	141%	35%
1989	8%	26%	53%	31%	340%	139%	34%
1990	8%	27%	54%	30%	349%	132%	33%
1991	7%	26%	54%	29%	341%	140%	32%
1992	7%	27%	54%	28%	336%	143%	32%

1993	7%	27%	23%	56%	28%	340%	145%	30%
1994	6%	27%	23%	55%	28%	330%	149%	31%
1995	6%	26%	24%	54%	28%	320%	155%	31%
1996	7%	26%	23%	53%	27%	312%	160%	32%
1997	7%	26%	24%	53%	27%	300%	171%	33%
1998	8%	26%	24%	52%	27%	292%	172%	34%
1999	8%	26%	23%	52%	26%	299%	164%	33%
2000	8%	26%	24%	54%	26%	303%	172%	31%
2001	8%	26%	24%	54%	26%	300%	168%	31%
2002	8%	26%	24%	53%	26%	282%	176%	32%
2003	8%	26%	25%	51%	25%	267%	179%	33%
2004	8%	26%	25%	51%	25%	259%	180%	33%
2005	8%	26%	27%	51%	25%	249%	188%	33%
2006	8%	26%	27%	50%	24%	235%	194%	33%
2007	8%	26%	27%	50%	25%	225%	202%	33%
2008	9%	25%	27%	49%	25%	215%	206%	34%
2009	9%	25%	27%	46%	25%	209%	195%	37%
2010	9%	26%	27%	45%	25%	199%	196%	38%
2011	9%	26%	28%	44%	25%	195%	188%	40%
2012	9%	26%	28%	43%		193%	189%	42%
2013	9%	26%	28%	43%		193%	187%	42%
2014	10%	26%	28%	44%		199%	184%	41%
2015	10%	26%	28%	45%		201%	180%	40%
2016	10%	25%	28%	45%		198%	180%	39%
2017	10%	25%	28%					