



Chulalongkorn University
Faculty of Political Science

Master of Arts
in International Development Studies
(M A I D S)

Thesis Format Guide

2010 - 2011

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1 INTRODUCTORY REMARK

Chulalongkorn University and the MAIDS programme require that all theses conform to the format specifications detailed in this booklet. Departure from these norms will render the thesis unacceptable, and will be returned to the student for correction.

The time needed to format your thesis exactly as required should not be underestimated. Many aspects of the thesis format, such as referencing, can be addressed early on, even in the literature review and research stages. Failure to conform to the format guidelines will result in extra work for you in the last few days prior to the final submission, when you would rather spend your energy on the content of your thesis.

1.1 How to use this booklet

Read this whole booklet a first time early on in your thesis research. If any item is not clear, ask immediately for clarifications from the MAIDS Office; don't wait a few days prior to thesis submission.

You should dedicate at least two full days exclusively to formatting your thesis prior to the Thesis format examination. One day will probably be enough if your in-text citations and reference list already conforms to all the specifications of Chula's referencing style (Please consult Chula's Thesis Handbook). During this period read each format specification one by one, and ensure that your whole thesis conforms to it.

See Section 4.2 the Thesis Format Examination, and also the *Thesis Guide* for more information on all the steps involved in the thesis submission including the format examination.

1.2 Using Word Processing Software

Graduate students must be familiar with word processing software such as Microsoft Word. To format your thesis you will need to use functions such as pagination, insertion of footnotes and references, margin modification, table and figure creation, etc.

The programme encourages students who do not feel confident with the use of such software to remedy this situation early on in their studies and NOT the week prior to their thesis submission. Word processing software generally includes a detailed help section that should become your best friend.

The MAIDS Office staff will not be able to assist students with the editing of the thesis format, except for specific instances mentioned in the guidelines below. 1.3 Safeguarding your work

This should go without saying, but it is always worth a reminder: do multiple backups of your electronic files, to avoid any loss of data. USB memory sticks (also called Flash drives, Handy drives, pen drives, etc) and CD burning hardware now makes this process very quick and easy.

2 GENERAL FORMAT GUIDELINES

2.1 Language

Theses must be written in English. The MAIDS Programme expects the thesis to be expressed in good literate style, with clear sentence structure and appropriate vocabulary. The programme expects the same level of proficiency from students whose English is a second language than from those who are native speakers. Students who find it difficult to write academic English should seek help early on in their studies.

If you are a native English speaker, you should still get a friend to proofread your thesis for typos and other mistakes. Non-native speakers often need an editor to do this. The editor should fix up all grammatical and expression mistakes; they should not contribute in any way to the argument or ideas of the thesis.

Please note that supervisors and MAIDS staff are not allowed to edit your thesis. You will need to find someone outside the programme.

2.2 Thesis Sections

The thesis is comprised of several sections:

1. Title Page (in English)
2. Title Page (in Thai)
3. Approval page
4. Abstract (in Thai)
5. Abstract (in English)
6. Acknowledgements
7. Table of Contents
8. List of tables (if necessary)
9. List of figures, illustrations and graphs (if necessary)
10. Abbreviations (if necessary)
11. Body of the Thesis (comprising all of the thesis' chapters)
12. References
13. Bibliography (if necessary)
14. Appendices
15. Biography

Details on each of these sections are given in Section 3.

2.3 Length

Masters' theses will normally no less than 10,000 words but not more than 20,000. The length is highly variable depending on the type of research you undertake: a thesis involving field work normally takes more pages, as primary data is presented; a theoretical paper relying only on secondary sources is generally more concise. You should consult with your supervisor to know what exactly is expected of you.

Simply remember that a short, concise, meaningful and original thesis is worth much more than 100 pages of confused and pointless babble.

2.4 Electronic version of your thesis

The MAIDS Programme highly recommends that you save each section of your thesis as a separate file. Each chapter of your thesis should also be saved as a separate file. Working with multiple files may appear complicated at first, but it greatly eases content management.

The Graduate Office is not strict as to the naming of your thesis files. However the programme recommends that you adopt the following nomenclature:

File number – Student name – thesis section name

E.g. 1. John Doe - Title Page (in English).doc

2.5 Font

- The font size is 12 points.
- Times New Roman is the preferred font.
- The same font should be used throughout the entire thesis.

2.6 Paper

- A4 is the mandatory paper size (width: 21cm, height: 29.7 cm).
- Your thesis should be printed on good quality bond white A4.
- Thesis should be printed on one side of each page.

2.7 Margins

- The left-hand margin (the binding margin) and the top margin should be set at 3.81 cm (1.5 inches).
- The right-hand, bottom and header margins should be set at 2.54 cm (1 inch).

2.8 Paragraph indentation

The first line of each paragraph should be indented using one tab.

2.9 Pagination

- Use small Roman numerals (i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x) as page numbers in the parts of the thesis preceding the body of the thesis (start from 'iv' on English abstract page).
- From the first page of the first chapter to the last page of your thesis, use Arabic numerals (1,2,3, etc), and follow a continuous page count.
- Page numbers should appear on every page's upper right corner except for:
 - Title Pages,
 - The Approval Page,
 - The first page of the Table of Contents,
 - The first page of every chapter,
 - The first page of references and first page of the appendix(es) section(s).

Please note that the above-mentioned page numbers are nevertheless included in the page count.

- All text, page numbers, or other markings must be contained completely within the area bound by the margins. To ensure that page numbers are contained inside the bound area, you will have to set the Header and Footer at 2.54 cm from the edge.

To do this in Microsoft Word:

1. select the “File” menu;
2. select the “Page setup” submenu;
3. Select the “Layout” submenu; In the “Headers and Footers” section, you will see a “From edge” option. Set it at 2.54 cm.

Here is a summary of pagination rules:

1. Title Page in English	No page number
2. Title Page in Thai	No page number
3. Approval Page	No page number
4. Abstract in Thai	iv
5. Abstract in English	v
6. Acknowledgments	vi
7. Table of Contents	No page number on first page; roman numerals on subsequent pages, following the page count.
8. List of Tables	Roman numeral, following the page count
9. List of Figures	Roman numeral, following the page count
10. Abbreviations	Roman numeral, following the page count
11. Body of the Thesis	Use Arabic numerals, starting with page 1, but first page of each chapter are not numbered.
12. References/ Bibliography	Use Arabic numerals, no page number on the first page but included in the page count
13. Appendices	The first page of the Appendix/Appendices section should

	be a blank page with no page number and with the word “Appendix” (or “Appendices”) at the center (see Appendix A). The section’s remaining pages are numbered following the page count.
14. Biography	This page should be numbered, and is the last page of your thesis.

2.10 Units of Measurement

The use of SI (Système International) metric unit is mandatory. Where older or local measurement systems are used, the SI equivalent must be presented in parentheses or footnotes. Eg. On 16 September 2005 Khun Somboon bought 6.25 rai (1 ha) of farmland to grow rice.

2.11 Line Spacing

The body of your thesis should have a line spacing of 1.5 or 2 (double).

In addition, double spaces should be used between:

- chapter number and chapter title;
- chapter title and the first paragraph of the chapter;
- a major heading and subsequent text;
- a major heading and preceding text;
- a new paragraph and the preceding text.

3 SECTION PER SECTION GUIDELINES

3.1 Examples and Templates of each Thesis Section

Appendix A of this document contains an example of each thesis section, taken from the theses of former MAIDS students. You should consult this example as you read the format specifications described below. Not all specifications are written here: some are illustrated directly in the example.

Electronic templates of each thesis section (in Microsoft Word format) are also available on the MAIDS website. It will be much easier for you to work directly from these templates and fill in your specifications, rather than rewrite completely new files, with the possibility of missing some crucial details.

3.2 Title Page in English

Simply follow the template. Your thesis title should be in UPPERCASE. If the title spans two or more lines, it should be double-spaced, and the first title line should be longer than the second and the second longer than the third, etc.

The academic year is the year you will submit your thesis and graduate, not the year you began your studies.

3.3 Title Page in Thai

Your English language thesis title will be determined during your thesis proposal examination. Your thesis examination committee members will then translate your thesis title in Thai, and both titles will then be submitted to the Faculty of Political Science board for verification. Both your Thai thesis title and the Thai-script version of your name (for non-Thai students) will be kept at the MAIDS Office, and can be accessed at any time.

You can request assistance from the MAIDS Office to help you format the Title page in Thai.

3.4 Approval Page

The approval page is perhaps the most important in terms of format, as it must include original signatures of all your thesis examination committee members, and the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science. Any format errors on this page involve finding these very busy people to get their respective signatures. The student has to make sure the committee members' names are spelled correctly (double-check with the MAIDS Office).

FOUR COPIES OF THE APPROVAL PAGE MUST BE PREPARED FOR THE THESIS EXAMINATION. After the exam, the committee members will sign on this approval page, and the supervisor (or the MAIDS Office) will keep it until you make all the required changes to your thesis. After your final version is approved, your supervisor will inform the MAIDS Office, which will then get the Approval Page signed by the Dean of the Faculty of Political Science.

3.5 Abstract in Thai

It is the student's responsibility to provide a Thai version of their thesis abstract. In the case of non-Thai students, it is recommended that they use the services of a professional translation firm, which abound in central Bangkok. These firms generally charge 300 – 500 baht per page.

The MAIDS Office is not responsible for correcting errors that may have occurred in the translation of your abstract from English to Thai. The MAIDS Office will only accept the final abstract.

The abstract in Thai is required by the Graduate Office for the thesis format examination. As this format examination precedes the final examination, where committee members may require changes to your abstract, students should be prepared to have their abstracts translated twice. The Graduate Office will also need the original signatures of both the student and the supervisor on the Thai abstract.

3.6 Abstract in English

The abstract should not exceed one page in length, including all the required elements specified in the thesis template. Note that the entire heading section, prior to your abstract per se, should be in UPPERCASE letters.

You are allowed to write your abstract single spaced.

3.7 Acknowledgements

In this section the student is required to declare the extent to which assistance (paid or unpaid) has been given by members of staff, fellow students, technicians or others in the collection of materials and data, the design and construction of apparatus, the performance of experiments, the analysis of data, and the preparation of the thesis (including editorial help). In addition, it is customary for you to express gratitude to all of those who have helped you along the way, including supervisors, family and friends. The section should not exceed one page, and should follow the same line spacing as the body of your thesis (see section 2.11)

3.8 Table of Contents & Headings

- Students are free to design their own heading styles and number of levels. However, the heading levels must be systematically formatted throughout the thesis.
- Heading levels must be differentiated in the Table of Contents.
- In the Table of Contents all headings must be followed by a dotted line (.....) leading to the page number.
- Numbers and letters can be used to number minor headings, and bold letters or a line can be used under major headings.
- UPPERCASE letters should only be used for level 1 headings (thesis section titles, such as Chapter, References, Biography, etc).
- All headings of similar level must be included in the Table of Contents. For instance, if level 3 headings in Chapter 2 are included, level 3 headings from all other chapters must be listed in the Table of Contents as well. In addition, headings must be worded identically in the Table of Contents as in the text.

- Major headings should be aligned to the left.
- Do not strand a heading at the bottom of a page. Move the heading to the top of the following page, even if it means leaving one or two blank lines at the bottom of the previous page.

The MAIDS Office has noticed a tendency to put a colon (:) between the Chapter number and the title of the chapter in the Table of Contents. This is WRONG.

Wrong CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION
Correct CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Example 1: heading levels

CHAPTER III TRANSVERSAL RESISTANCE AND POWER	29
3.1 Introduction.....	29
3.2 Transversal Resistance And Biopower.....	29
3.3 Sites Of Transformation Within Transversal Resistance.....	33
(a) The realm of 'dailiness'	34
(b) 'Spaces'.....	36

Example 2: heading levels

Chapter II Literature Review.....	5
2.1 Development and Poverty	5
2.1.1 Conceptualizing Poverty.....	5
2.1.2 Measuring Poverty.....	6
2.2 Development and Micro-credit.....	8
2.3 Background of Micro-credit.....	10
2.3.1 Definitions of Micro-credit.....	11
2.3.2 Micro-credit Approaches.....	12
2.3.2.1 Village banking.....	13

3.9 Thesis Chapters

- Type “CHAPTER” followed by the chapter number on the new page (on the top and center of the sheet), whenever a new chapter starts.
- Number each chapter by using capital Roman numerals (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, etc).
- The chapter name should be placed below the chapter number, with a double space between them.
- Use uppercase letters to name every new chapter number and chapter title.
- Do not underline the chapter title, but use bold letters or a bigger font.
- Page numbers should not appear on the first page of each chapter.
- New paragraphs should be double spaced, and the first line of each chapter should be indented.
- Your thesis’ introduction should be labeled as “CHAPTER I”
- The thesis’ conclusion should be labeled as the last chapter, e.g. “CHAPTER V”

The structure of the content will be determined by you and your supervisor. You may choose to adopt the traditional structure of Introduction, Literature Review, Research Methodology, Findings, Analysis, Conclusion. You may also choose to organise the structure around dominant issues and themes.

3.10 Tables, Figures, Charts, Graphs and Maps

The following minimal guidelines should be observed:

- Each table or figure must be numbered and titled. The number and title of each table or figure must appear on top of the table or figure.
- Tables and figures must respect the margin specifications.
- Information regarding abbreviations or symbols used in a table or figure, copyright information, and probability must be located in a “Note:” section below the table or figure.

3.11 References

“Accurately prepared references help establish your credibility as a researcher. An inaccurate or incomplete reference ‘will stand in print as an annoyance to future investigators and a monument to the writer’s carelessness’ (Bruner, 1942, p.68)” (American Psychological Association, 2001, p.216).

Referencing is by far the most important and perhaps complex part of thesis editing. Proper referencing is an important academic skill that needs to be learned and mastered. Referencing is the part of thesis formatting that can be dealt with from the very beginning of your research.

Chulalongkorn University requires each student to use one of three referencing styles, namely, Harvard (Author-date), Footnote or Number Identification.

REMEMBER, EACH TIME YOU COME ACROSS A DOCUMENT YOU THINK IS RELEVANT TO YOUR THESIS, WRITE DOWN THE FULL CITATION IN THE APA STYLE.

What’s the difference between the References and Bibliography section?

The References section contains the list of sources cited throughout the thesis. The References section is mandatory in all theses. In other programmes and universities it is also known as the Reference List, Works Cited, Literature Cited, Sources Cited. However, at the MAIDS programme this section should be titled “References”, plain and simple. As stated in the fifth edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, “references cited in text must appear in the reference list; conversely, each entry in the reference list must be cited in text” (p.215).

A Bibliography, also known as Bibliographical References, is a comprehensive list of sources related to a specific topic (in this case, your thesis topic), but that you may not have read or referred to in your work. It is often given as a list of sources “for further reading”. It is not necessary to include a Bibliography section in your thesis.

3.12 Appendices

- The appendices must be located after the reference section.
- The first page of the Appendix/Appendices section should be a blank page containing the word “APPENDIX” (or “APPENDICES”, if the section contains more than 1 appendix) in the centre of the page. This page should not be paginated, but is however included in the page count.
- The appendices must be paginated continuously. Page numbers should appear in the upper-right corner of all pages.
- Materials in the appendices must be single-sided. Double-sided materials will have to be photocopied onto single-sided sheets.
- If there is more than one appendix, name the rest of the appendices alphabetically as Appendix A, Appendix B, etc.
- Type “APPENDIX” followed by its letter (A, B, C, etc) at the top and center of the page whenever a new appendix begins.
- The appendix name should be placed below the chapter number, with a double space between them.
- Use UPPERCASE letters to name every new appendix title.

3.13 Biography

The biography should be written in paragraph form and should be no longer than 1 page. The biography should be paginated, and be the very last page of your thesis. The biography can include such information as your academic background, work experience, and personal interests. Don't be shy to boast your scholarships, Olympic medals or Nobel Peace Prizes: they always look good!

4 THESIS SUBMISSION – FORMAT ISSUES

4.1 Final Version

The final version of the thesis must be free from typographical, grammatical and other errors when submitted to the Graduate Office for binding. While this is the responsibility of the student, supervisors should not sign off on theses that are not error free.

4.2 The Thesis Format Examination

The Graduate Office ensures that every student thesis conforms to all the format rules. Two weeks prior to your final thesis examination, you will be required to submit one hard copy of your thesis for format examination. The Graduate Office will take on average one week to review your thesis, and indicate which format rules you may have violated. You are then responsible to make the corrections.

See the *Thesis Guide* for more information on the thesis format examination as well as the other steps involved in the thesis submission process.

4.3 Thesis Title Change

Your thesis title is first set during the thesis proposal examination, in the second semester. This title is then approved by the Faculty of Political Science, and the Graduate Office.

As your research evolves is it quite possible that you wish to modify your thesis title. Please note, however, that any substantial change in your thesis title involves a substantial, lengthy and difficult process. In order to do so you must:

1. Write a new thesis proposal
2. Pass a new thesis proposal examination

However, if you only intend to make a minor change, you can ask for approval from your own committee members verbally, and inform the MAIDS Office about the new title. However, you must keep using the old title in all official copies (i.e. the draft submitted to the Graduate Office for format examination), until you pass your final thesis examination. The chairperson of your thesis examination committee will then sign on a letter prepared by the MAIDS Office. This letter - addressed to the Graduate Office - will inform them that the thesis examination committee agreed to have your title modified.

4.4 Submitting your final thesis

After your final thesis examination, your thesis examination committee will most likely ask you to make some changes to the thesis content.

WARNING: It can take a few days up to a few weeks to make all the changes requested by the thesis examination committee. Time must also be allowed for the supervisor to read the thesis again to ensure that all the requested changes have been made. Hence students should NOT plan to leave Bangkok and/or start full-time employment immediately after their thesis examination.

Once you make corrections both to the content (as requested by your committee) and to the format (as requested by the Graduate Office) you will be ready to submit your final copies to the Graduate Office.

The Graduate Office requires 1 hard copies and 1 electronic copy of your thesis. Please note that if the Graduate Office still finds important errors in the thesis format (errors that you have not corrected in the first place), they will return the copies to you a second time for correction. To avoid a waste of time, the programme recommends that you first submit a single copy for a second, final format examination. Once the Graduate Office confirms that all is correct with your thesis format, you can submit the required number of copies. This procedure however necessitates that you complete your thesis a few days ahead of the deadline fixed by the Graduate Office. See the *Thesis Guide* for details.

The MAIDS Office is NOT responsible for printing your thesis.

The Graduate Office will bind the 4 copies of your thesis. The fee for thesis binding is 340 baht, and must be paid separately to the MAIDS Office upon submission of the final copies.

You will be required to submit a CD with an electronic copy of your thesis in “.pdf” format and your **thesis bibliography**. Recent versions of Microsoft Word allow you to “print” your “.doc” files in “.pdf”, effectively converting the file format, without you having to buy Adobe Acrobat. If you have no idea what preceding sentences mean, don't worry, *you can request the assistance of the MAIDS Office to convert your electronic files to the required format.*

4.5 Thesis Bibliography

You will have to submit the Thesis Bibliography as a .text file, which will be saved on the same CD containing your thesis file in .pdf form. The bibliography of your thesis will appear in the library searching system. You can fill in your thesis bibliography in the template *provided at the MAIDS office*. Please follow directions as follow:

1. Open the template file obtained from the MAIDS office.
2. A two-page thesis bibliography form will appear as below.

Page 1

Elib. Template for CU	
Page 1	Page 2
Author:	<input type="text"/>
Title:	<input type="text"/>
Publish Year:	<input type="text"/>
Physical:	<input type="text"/>
Dissertation Note:	<input type="text"/>
Added Entry	<input type="text"/>
(Personal Name):	<input type="text"/>
	<input type="text"/>
Added Entry	<input type="text"/>
(Corporate Name):	<input type="text"/>
	<input type="button" value="Load"/> <input type="button" value="Save"/> <input type="button" value="Close"/>

Page 2

Elib. Template for CU	
Page 1	Page 2
Abstract: <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 80px; width: 100%;"></div>	
รายละเอียด: <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 100px; width: 100%;"></div>	
<input type="button" value="Load"/> <input type="button" value="Save"/> <input type="button" value="Close"/>	

3. Fill in the blank boxes in page 1 as following.

3.1. Author: Insert student's name followed by, \d and year of birth.

Ex. Satit Prasitwuttivech,\d1972-

3.2. Title: Insert Thai thesis title followed by \t and type the student's name in Thai followed by =\l(a lowercase L letter). Insert the English thesis title, followed by \ and the student's name in English

Ex. การออกแบบระบบลำดับชั้นของแคชในการใช้งานสภาพแวดล้อม
มหาวิทยาลัย \t สาริต ประสิทธิ์วุฒิวณิช=\l Design of hierarchical cache in
campus network Environment\Satit Prasitwuttivech

3.3. Published Year: Insert year of completion (Academic year)

Ex. 2007

3.4. Physical: Insert number of pages followed by :\b and figures, tables, maps, graphs (if applicable)

Ex. i-xiii, 80 pages:\b figures, tables

(i-xii = stands for number of page from title page to abbreviations)

3.5. Dissertation note: Insert degree title and year of degree completion

Ex: Thesis (M.A.)-Chulalongkorn University, 2007

3.6. Added Entry (Personal Name):

Box 1 Student's name in English

Box 2 Advisor's name in English followed by, \leadvisor

Box 3 Co-Advisor's name in English followed by, \leadvisor (If do not have co-advisor, do not fill in the box.)

Ex. Box 1: Satit Prasitwuttivech

Box 2: Yunyong Teng-amnuay, \leadvisor

Box 3:

3.7. Added Entry (Corporate Name): Insert field of study after \a Chulalongkorn University\b (already appears in the box)

Ex. \a Chulalongkorn University\b International Development Studies

4. After finishing Page 1, click on Page 2 to find two blank boxes and follow directions as below.

4.1. Abstract (in English): Type abstract text in English.

4.2. สารสังเขป (Abstract in Thai): Type abstract text in Thai.

(Abstracts can be copied entirety from the original thesis abstracts and placed in the boxes.)

5. After you have finished, click **Save** to save the file and name the file as **your student ID.txt**.

Ex. 4981170624.txt.

4.6 Summary of Thesis Submission Requirements:

1. One HARD copy (BINDED) and a CD containing word file and pdf file of thesis to MAIDS.

2. Submit thesis online at <http://thesis.grad.chula.ac.th>

2.1 Forms to fill in online:

- (1) Questionnaire on thesis publication
- (2) Research Mapping information
- (3) Report of thesis publication

2.2 File to Upload:

- (1) Thesis Abstract (Thai & English) File Upload

(2) Thesis FULL TEXT File Upload

2.3 Documents to be printed out:

- (1) Barcode on the front page of the thesis cover
- (2) Documents for complete thesis submission. These documents need supervisor and chairperson to sign.

3. one HARD copy (NOT BINDED) of the complete thesis together with the documents below to the **Graduate Office:**

3.1 A CD containing PDF file and MS Word of thesis + bibliography information + Thai & English Abstract in MS Word + Thesis Dissemination Report

3.2 One signed approval page

3.3 One signed abstract (both in Thai and English)

3.4 A letter requesting for changing title signed by the thesis committee chairperson (If any)

3.5 A confirmation letter from International conference organizer or journal publisher

3.6 A copy of full presented or published paper

3.7 Documents for submission of complete thesis (print form the website you submit thesis online)

3.8 Barcode on the front page of the thesis cover (print form the website you submit thesis online)

4. The thesis binding fee is approximately 350 baht

4.7 A Note on Appendices with reference to the Thesis Format Requirements

The Appendices of the Thesis Format Requirements include examples of each thesis section taken from former MAIDS student theses. Due to the nature of the appendices, the page numbers appearing on them relate to the original thesis, not the present booklet. These appendices are also not titled as such. They should be consulted for format purposes, and no attention should be given to content.

Please also note that the entries in the References section do not conform to the APA style, and should not be used as examples.

APPENDICES

THE THAI LABOUR UNIONS: IDENTIFYING INTERNAL CONSTRAINTS TO
EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION OF MEMBERS' INTERESTS IN
THE WORKPLACE AND IN SOCIETY

Mr. John Osolnick

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in International Development Studies
Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University
Academic Year 2006
Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

ขบวนการสหภาพแรงงานไทย: การศึกษาข้อจำกัดภายในขบวนการที่มีต่อประสิทธิผล
ในการปกป้องผลประโยชน์ของสมาชิกในสถานประกอบการและสังคม

นาย จอห์น โอซอลนิก

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ดูเหมือนว่าผู้ใช้แรงงานทั่วโลกต่างต้องดิ้นรนต่อสู้เพื่อศักดิ์ศรี ความเป็นธรรม ความยุติธรรม
และคุณภาพชีวิตที่ดีขึ้นอย่างไม่อาจหยุดยั้งได้ สหภาพแรงงานเป็นสถาบันที่สำคัญอย่างยิ่งยวดในการ
ช่วยเหลือผู้ใช้แรงงานให้สามารถดิ้นรนต่อสู้เพื่อตัวเอง เพื่อครอบครัวและชุมชนมาโดยตลอด ซึ่ง สามารถ
ประจักษ์ได้ว่ากว่ายี่สิบสามสิบปีที่ผ่านมาี้ ผู้ใช้แรงงานและสหภาพแรงงานต้องพบกับความท้าทายที่
รุนแรงขึ้นเมื่อมีคณเชื่อว่าการรื้อถอนอำนาจและประสิทธิภาพของสหภาพแรงงานจะทำให้พวกเขาได้ผล
ประโยชน์เพิ่มขึ้น ดังนั้น สหภาพแรงงานทั่วโลก ไม่เว้นแม้แต่ในอเมริกาและประเทศไทย ต้องเผชิญกับ
อุปสรรคที่กล่าวมานี้

อย่างไรก็ตาม อุปสรรคเหล่านี้ได้ก่อให้เกิดพัฒนาการบางอย่างขึ้น สิ่งหนึ่งก็คือ การสร้างแบบ
ฉบับของระบบสหภาพแรงงาน

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มุ่งเน้นแต่เฉพาะการขับเคลื่อนของสหภาพแรงงานไทย โดยไม่ได้เจาะถึง
รายละเอียดของอุปสรรคต่างๆที่ผู้ใช้แรงงานไทยต้องเผชิญกับนายจ้าง รัฐบาลหรือกฎหมาย แต่เป็นบท
ทดสอบถึงศักยภาพของสหภาพแรงงานไทยในการสร้างแบบฉบับของระบบสหภาพแรงงานที่มี
ประสิทธิภาพ

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มุ่งค้นหาถึงปัญหาที่สหภาพแรงงานไทยจำเป็นต้องแก้ไขก่อน จึงจะสามารถสร้าง
แบบฉบับของระบบสหภาพแรงงานต่อไปได้ ท้ายสุดของงานวิจัยนี้ ส่วนใหญ่เป็นการกล่าวถึงปัจจัยสำคัญ
สองประการที่จำเป็นต้องมีเพื่อใช้ในการสร้างแบบฉบับของระบบสหภาพ นั่นคือ การเงิน(ค่าบำรุง
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ผลงานวิจัยนี้ได้เปิดเผยให้เห็นว่าสหภาพแรงงานไทยในปัจจุบันขาดทั้งเงินทุนและบุคลากร
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Workers around the globe seem to share the same constant up-hill struggle for dignity, justice, fairness and a decent way of life. Trade unions have been and continue to be the pivotal institution for working class people to advance their struggle for themselves, their families, and their communities. The past few decades have borne witness to ever-greater challenges to workers and their unions by those who believe they benefit from limiting the power and effectiveness of unions. Consequently, unions all over the world, including in America and Thailand, have faced setbacks in recent decades.

There have however been developments that have shown real promise in turning around the setbacks organized labor has been facing. One such development is the organizing model of unionism.

This research is focused on the Thai trade union movement. It is not an elaboration of the many hurdles the movement faces from employers, the government or the law. It is instead an examination of what capacities Thai unions have to adopt and implement the organizing model of unionism.

This research seeks to examine what internal constraints Thai unions need to address as a prerequisite to adopting the organizing model. To that end, the research is chiefly concerned with examining two key resources needed to adopt the model: financial resources (dues) and organizing staff.

The research reveals that Thai unions currently lack both the financial resources and organizing staff to adopt the organizing model.

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I also want to thank the people of the American labor movement for having first accorded me the privilege of coming to Thailand, in the first place, to work, learn and hopefully better understand this beautiful country and its fine people. I am also deeply indebted to the many fine labor leaders and organizers I have worked with both here and in America from whom I learned what little I know about this subject matter. There are simply far too many of you to mention but you know who you are.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
CEDAW	-	Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	-	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DEPT	-	Department of Educational Planning and Training
DRD	-	Declaration on the Right to Development
ESCAP	-	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
ESCR	-	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
FY	-	Fiscal Year
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	-	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
INGO	-	International Non-Governmental Organization
NAC	-	National AIDS Committee
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	-	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
SHAPE	-	School-based Healthy Living and HIV/AIDS Prevention Education (for youths in formal school)
SHAPE Plus	-	School-based Healthy Living and HIV/AIDS Prevention Education (for out-of-school youths)
UDHR	-	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	-	United Nations
UNAIDS	-	United Nations Joint Agency for AIDS
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	-	United Nations Economic and Social Council

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Strong labor movements have historically proven to be an effective, if not the most effective means by which workers can protect their interests and share in the rewards of the wealth that is generated through industrialization and development. Unions provide a means by which workers can collectively deal with their employers and their government through a peaceful, constructive, and democratic process. Strong, effective, and democratic unions are the vehicles through which working class people learn to participate in and appreciate democratic processes.

Unions do this by providing workers an economic avenue by which they can become members of the middle class. In so doing, it can be said that unions help foster a growing middle class and thereby help create a larger domestic market of consumers and a larger domestic economy. As workers enter the middle class through their participation in unions, the nation's tax base is expanded as well. Finally, by giving workers an organization where they can both interact effectively with their government but also participate in a meaningful way in the political process, unions vest working class people in the political process and representative democracy.

Historically, the power of those economic interests in any society that benefit from denying workers their rights never simply recognize the rights of workers until after the workers themselves have already built strong and effective unions that must be recognized. In effect, the legitimacy of workers' organizations is not granted by the existing power structure but rather it is simply recognized after workers and their unions have already attained power. Workers, through their own organizations, create their own space!

Trade union leaders around the world are constantly talking about the need to stand together against the onslaught of globalization. The pantheon of national and international Labor Solidarity Support Organizations (SSOs) around the globe is built on the premise that workers need to help other workers. That by doing so, workers in

every country can build strong, self-reliant unions that can work together as partners to arrest what they call to the race to the bottom.

Non Governmental Organizations of all varieties have been engaged in these activities for over thirty years in Thailand. Nonetheless, the Thai Labor Movement has not become stronger or more self-reliant. To the contrary, it has become weaker, particularly over the past fifteen years. What is the explanation?

This research is aimed at identifying what obstacles are preventing the Thai Labor Union movement from becoming stronger and more self-reliant. What capacities do Thai Labor Unions have or need to develop to overcome the obstacles to their development? What can NGOs do or have failed to do to assist the Thai Labor Movement becoming a self-reliant, capable representative of the interests of Thai workers?

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The rights to organize and collectively bargain are universal human rights that are recognized as such both in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Labour Organization core conventions 87 and 98.(International Labour Organization, 1948, , 1949; United Nations, 1948) Previous research by Compa, Bundit, Brown and others demonstrates that neither the United States nor Thailand are in compliance with conventions 87 and 98.(Brown, Bundit, & Hewison, 2002; Bundit, 2003; Compa & Human Rights Watch (Organization), 2000)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE ORGANIZING MODEL OF UNIONISM

Organizing Model: Service or Business Model

Defending members is most important.	Attitude toward employer	Good relationship with management is most important.
Inclusive. Tries to reflect workforce in composition of union leadership.	Attitude toward members	Exclusive. Little turnover in leadership. Suspicious of newcomers.
Tries to involve all members in the department.	Grievance handling	Tries to settle without involvement of members.
Make immediate supervisor settle by showing solidarity of workers.	Settling grievances	Settle at highest level with company or through arbitration.
Election by co-workers.	Selection of stewards	Appointment by union leadership.
Large bargaining committee, constant flow of information to members.	Bargaining	Small committee, negotiations often kept secret until a settlement is reached.
Encourage initiative and creativity of members.	Strategy and tactics	Reluctant to involve members in bringing pressure on employer.
Union represents all workers - organized and unorganized. In a constant state of organizing.	Organizing the unorganized	Unwilling and unable to organize. feels threatened by newly organized.

BIOGRAPHY

John Osolnick Jr. was born and raised in the Wilkes-Barre area of Pennsylvania, USA. His father, John Sr., was a master carpenter and lifelong member of the local carpenters union in which he held numerous union offices during his career. John Sr. was also an active member of the local Democratic Party, a city council member for twenty years and a Kennedy delegate to the 1980 Democratic National Convention. His mother was a registered nurse and a proud member of 1199PA where she was a member organizer, negotiating team leader, lifelong labor activist and admirer of Leon Davis, the founder of 1199. He is the product of a union family that spans four generations.

John began his labor career as a member of the Laborers union. He worked his way through college with a combination of jobs such as a construction laborer during the summertime, as a full-time night-shift ethanol production operator during the school year and with the assistance of US Veteran's Education Benefits. He has a BS from George Mason University and AA from Penn State University.

He has held many positions throughout his career where he has lived and worked in Europe, South America, Asia and America. He was Country Program Director for the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, now called the Solidarity Center, in South Korea and the Philippines and S.E.Asia Regional Director in Bangkok Thailand. He is the Executive Director of BIDD and considers both Washington, DC and Bangkok his home.

He is particularly proud of his work as an organizer where he worked on internal, external and GOTV campaigns throughout America. In his various organizing roles, he had the privilege to organize public and private sector workers including road workers and janitors in New Hampshire, homecare workers in Wisconsin, Headstart teachers in Baltimore, state professionals in Michigan, registered nurses in Illinois, and hospital workers in California.