

สหภาพแรงงานและการเคลื่อนไหวของคนงานในประเทศไทย: บทบาทของการเป็นขบวนการทางสังคม
และองค์กรผลประโยชน์ (พ.ศ. 2515-2545)



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TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKERS' COLLECTIVE ACTION IN THAILAND:
AN ARTICULATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT UNIONISM
AND ECONOMIC UNIONISM, 1972-2002



Miss Napaporn Ativanichayapong

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By Napaporn Ativanichayapong

Department Economics

Thesis Advisor Associate Professor. Voravidh Chareonloet, Ph.D.


Thesis Co-advisor 1 Associate Professor Narong Petprasert, Ph.D.
2 Associate Professor Suthy Prasartset, Ph.D.

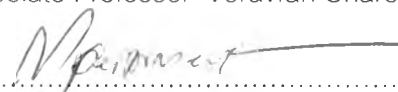
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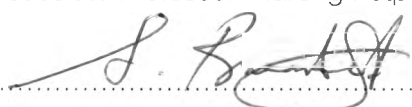
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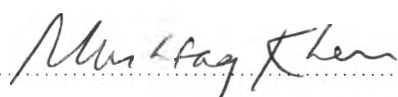
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 Thesis Advisor
(Associate Professor Voravidh Chareonleot, Ph.D.)

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(Associate Professor Narong Petprasert, Ph.D.)

 Thesis Co-advisor
(Associate Professor Suthy Prasartset, Ph. D.)

 Member
(Associate Professor Lae Dilokvidhayarat)

 Member
(Professor Mushtaq H. Khan, Ph.D.)

นางสาวนภาพร อติวานิชยพงศ์ : สหภาพแรงงานและการเคลื่อนไหวของคนงานในประเทศไทย: บทบาทของการเป็นขบวนการทางสังคมและองค์กรมลประโยชน์ พ.ศ. 2515-2545 (Trade Unions and the Workers' Collective Action in Thailand: An Articulation of Social Movement Unionism and Economic Unionism, 1972-2002) อ. ที่ปรึกษา : รศ.ดร. วรวิทย์ เจริญเลิศ อ.ที่ปรึกษาร่วม : รศ. ดร.ณรงค์ เพ็ชรประเสริฐ, รศ. ดร.สุธี ประศาสน์เศรษฐ์ 255หน้า. ISBN 974-03-0954-2.

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ได้ศึกษาถึงการเปลี่ยนแปลงบทบาทของขบวนการสหภาพแรงงานในประเทศไทยในระหว่างปี พ.ศ. 2515 ถึง พ.ศ. 2545 โดยได้วิเคราะห์ปัจจัยที่มีผลต่อการเปลี่ยนแปลงบทบาทของสหภาพแรงงานในระยะเวลาต่างๆ กรอบความคิดหลักที่ใช้คือการพัฒนาขบวนการสหภาพแรงงานในฐานะที่เป็นขบวนการทางสังคมและเป็นกลุ่มผลประโยชน์ทางเศรษฐกิจ ซึ่งสังเคราะห์มาจากทฤษฎีของสำนักเศรษฐศาสตร์ สำนักมาร์กซิสต์ และสำนักขบวนการเคลื่อนไหวทางสังคมแนวใหม่

การศึกษาแบ่งพัฒนาการของขบวนการสหภาพแรงงานออกเป็น 3 ช่วงตามการเปลี่ยนแปลงบทบาทของสหภาพแรงงาน ผลการศึกษาพบว่าขบวนการสหภาพแรงงาน ในช่วงระหว่าง 14 ตุลาคม 2516 ถึง 6 ตุลาคม 2519 เป็นขบวนการสหภาพแรงงานแนวสังคม โดยสหภาพแรงงานมีบทบาทหลัก 3 ประการคือ 1) ปกป้องผลประโยชน์ร่วมของชนชั้นแรงงาน 2) มีการเคลื่อนไหวทางชนชั้น และ 3) มีการเข้าร่วมกับขบวนการเคลื่อนไหวซึ่งมีจุดมุ่งหมายทางสังคม

ในช่วงหลังปี 2519 เป็นต้นมา สหภาพแรงงานแปรเปลี่ยนไปสู่ความเป็นกลุ่มผลประโยชน์ทางเศรษฐกิจ ซึ่งเน้นหนักที่การปกป้องผลประโยชน์ของคนงาน แต่ห่างเหินจากการเข้าร่วมขบวนการทางสังคมอื่นๆ หลังปี 2533 จนถึงปัจจุบัน การพัฒนาของสหภาพแรงงานในฐานะที่เป็นกลุ่มผลประโยชน์ สะดุดลงชั่วคราวภายหลังเกิดรัฐประหารในวันที่ 24 กุมภาพันธ์ 2534 อย่างไรก็ตาม สหภาพแรงงานในยุคนี้ยังคงมีบทบาทหลักเป็นกลุ่มผลประโยชน์ทางเศรษฐกิจ แต่มีลักษณะใหม่ที่แตกต่างไปจากขบวนการสหภาพในช่วงสิบปีก่อนหน้าการเกิดรัฐประหาร

การศึกษานี้ได้เน้นหนักไปที่การวิเคราะห์ข้อเรียกร้องของขบวนการสหภาพแรงงานและองค์กรที่นำการเคลื่อนไหวในแต่ละช่วงเวลา โดยได้อธิบายสาเหตุการเปลี่ยนแปลงบทบาทของขบวนการสหภาพแรงงานจากผลของการปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างสหภาพแรงงานกับปัจจัยแวดล้อมที่มีอิทธิพลต่อบทบาทของสหภาพแรงงาน 3 ประการคือ เงื่อนไขทางเศรษฐกิจ สถานการณ์ทางการเมือง และการพัฒนาของขบวนการทางสังคมอื่นๆ

ภาควิชา.....เศรษฐศาสตร์.....	ลายมือชื่อนิติ.....
สาขาวิชา.....เศรษฐศาสตร์.....	ลายมือชื่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา.....
ปีการศึกษา.....2544.....	ลายมือชื่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาร่วม.....
	ลายมือชื่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาร่วม.....

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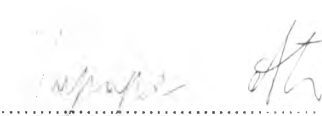
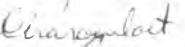
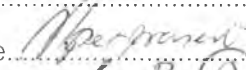
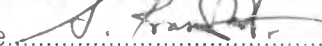
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NAPAPORN ATIVANICHAYAPONG: TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKERS' COLLECTIVE ACTION IN THAILAND: AN ARTICULATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT UNIONISM AND ECONOMIC UNIONISM, 1972-2002 THESIS ADVISOR: ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR VORAVIDH CHAREONLOET, PH.D THESIS COADVISORS : ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR NARONG PETPRASERT, PH.D, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR SUTHY PRASARTSET, PH.D, 255 PP. ISBN 974-030- 954-2.

This Dissertation investigates the changes in the characteristics of the trade union movement in Thailand from 1972 to 2002. The study examines the determinants that shaped and influenced the different characteristics of the trade unions at different periods of time. Social movement unionism and economic unionism are the two models identified as polar opposites in the analysis of trade unions' characteristics. The concepts of social movement unionism and economic unionism are derived from the economic, the Marxist and the new social movement theories. These two models of unionism have been confined to the trade union movement from 1972-2002, but to a different degree in the certain periods. The analyses are chronologically divided into three phases, according to the significant changes in the characteristics of the trade union movement.

The social movement unionism was developed as the dominant form of the trade union movement from October, 1973, to October, 1976, with the integration of three components: defense of the common interests of the working class, class collective action, and participation in the movements for broad social objectives. The economic unionism developed to replace the social movement unionism in the post-1976 period, when trade unions turned to emphasize only the defense of the workers' common interests and distanced themselves from the movements for broad social objectives. In the post-1990 period, the growth of the economic unionism was interrupted by the sudden change in the political situation. However, the dominant characteristic of the trade unions remained the economic unionism, but it developed with some new features that were different from the economic unionism in the previous decade.

With the focus on the collective demands of trade unions and the organisation of collective action, the study explains the changes of characteristics of the trade union movement as the consequences of the interaction between the trade union actors and the external factors surrounding the trade unions. These factors include the economic conditions, the political situation, and the development of the other social movements.

Department	Economics.....	Student's signature.....	
Field of study.....	Economics.....	Advisor's signature.....	
Academic year	2001.....	Co-advisor's signature.....	
		Co-advisor's signature.....	

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Napaporn Ativanichayapong

May 22, 2002

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ABBREVIATIONS

AOP	Assembly of the Poor
APF	Arom Pongpangan Foundation
CPT	Communist Party of Thailand
CUT	Central Unions of Thailand
CWSH	Campaign Committee for Workers' Safety and Health
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FOW	Friends of Women Foundation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOSH	Institution of Occupational Health, Safety and Environmental Protection in the Workplace
LAHH	Labour Association of Hotels and Hostel
LAT	Labour Association of Thailand
LATS	Labour Association of Textile Industry in Samut Sakorn
LCT	Labour Congress of Thailand
LOI	Letter of Intents
NCL	National Labour Congress
NCTL	National Congress of Thailand
NFLUCT	National Free Labour Congress
NGO	Non- Governmental Organisation
NPKC	National Peace Keeping Council
NSCT	National Student Centre of Thailand
NSM	New Social Movement
OSH	Occupational Safety and Health
PFT	Peasants' Federation of Thailand
SERC	State Enterprise Workers' Relations Confederation
SWG	Sixteen Worker Groups
TTUC	Thai Trade Union Congress
TUGT	Trade Union Group of Thailand
UCL	Union for Civil Liberty
WDG	Workers' Democracy Group
WEPT	Council of Work and Environment Related Patients' Network of Thailand
WWUG	Women Workers' Unity Group