

**SYMBOLIC COMMUNICATION THROUGH GUY FAWKES
MASKS AND WHISTLES IN POLITICAL MOVEMENTS
IN THAILAND**


Praewpan Parnnuch

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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and Management Innovation
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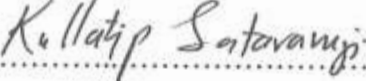
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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation	Symbolic Communication through Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles in Political Movements in Thailand
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The objective of this research is to study and analyze the signification and the roles including the communication adjustment of the Guy Fawkes masks and whistles used in Thailand's political movements. It is a qualitative research done by means of documents analysis and in-depth interview methods. The research results are as follows:

There are several aspects in terms of the meanings of the Guy Fawkes masks and whistles used in Thailand's political movements, such as Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin regime) and Yingluck government, politics/governance, monarchy, definition of protesters and their movements, emotions, concept and methods of movements, needs and goals

There are also several roles of the Guy Fawkes mask, for example; it's used for concealing the identities of participants, reflecting the current situations, representing ideas and political ideology, icons of the destruction of political ideology, universality, methods and tools for a movement.

About the reconstruction of the meanings, it is found that the ways Guy Fawkes masks are used in Thailand's political movements, not only do they kept the original meaning but also they adjusted to a different meaning and sometimes create a new meaning. They usually kept the original meaning because they wanted to show the same connections they had in the protester groups as the meaning used in the movie V for Vendetta. These political movements around the world are mostly anti-

government, so the meaning is related to the political ideology and the main reason for their movements. But if they adjusted to a different meaning, it is because they need to justify it with Thai social context. Sometimes a new meaning was created according to the political context of Thailand and the protester groups' movements. Apart from the change of the symbolic meaning, there are more adjustments in many different aspects such as: a change of design, a change of color, a change of form and a change of form and color.

The meaning of whistle symbol in Thailand's political movement suggests the same characteristics as the use of Guy Fawkes mask due to the chronological order of the events against the same opponent. It is found that there are many meanings of a whistle use as follows: Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin regime) and Yingluck government, the amnesty, the nation, the religion, the monarchy, signals for opponents, signals for in-group members, negative feeling/ emotion, positive feeling/ emotion, definition of movement, concepts and methods of movements, needs and goals

As for roles of the whistle symbol in Thailand's political movement, there are many roles such as using a whistle instead of roaring or clapping, expressing feelings, responding or interacting within the groups of protesters, raising funds, representing souvenirs or objects of collection, showing acts of participation and showing individualism. It shows also a way to instigate and convince, group identity and also the universality.

Regarding the reconstruction of the meanings, the use of a whistle in Thailand's political movement, it is found that not only do they keep the original meaning, but also adjust to a different meaning and sometimes create a new meaning. The original meaning is kept because it is used within the political movements around the world including Thailand. Therefore, the meaning is related to the political situations and the main reason for their movements. The usual use of a whistle in various activities in Thailand has been adjusted to the political contexts. Moreover, a new meaning was created according to the political movement of the protester groups and the reaction against the opposition including the current political situations. There are also more adjustments to the whistle itself such as shape change, size change, material change, and components and design changes.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Signification of the Research Problem

A society is composed of human beings gather together and have different kinds of relationships. What makes them more advanced than other things is that they can create a diversity of symbols as a medium to signify meanings in many dimensions. Thus, human beings are also called animals of symbols. The above-mentioned symbols or signs can be categorized in different forms such as languages or behaviors and acts including visual symbols that can convey meanings or represent something, for example, figurines, monuments or signs. Peirce (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2009, p. 80) has a concept that a sign is something that has more meaning than it has in itself. A Sign is Something Which Stands to Somebody for Something in Some Respect. Besides the various forms of signs, their meanings are also dynamic, restless and unstable, but they are composed or coordinated under certain rules (Chairat Charoensin-o-larn, 2012, p. 90). Due to the diversity of their qualifications, symbols have taken parts in many aspects because they are easy to remember and they convey a clear meaning which has some advantages in terms of religions, cultural art, even in business as well as in politics.

With regard to politics, symbols can signify ideas, beliefs and political ideology which are quite complicated and difficult to understand, instead, they are well remembered and understood more easily via symbols. Therefore, many different forms of symbols have been introduced into the political grounds up until now. They are all differently used according to the political contexts and situations, especially in Thai political movements which have constantly changed depending on the times and they also reflect very clearly the dimensions of the current Thai politics.

1.1.1 Symbols and the Political Movements in Thailand

In the flash mob to show the political stance, symbols have taken important parts in producing a memorable image and confirming the protesters' political stance and their ideology. They are shown in the form of signs, clothes, gadgets or many ways of expressions. Symbols in Thai political movements so far have evolved to be colorful and interesting amidst the situations full of conflicts and tension.

An important event in Thai history which started the people demonstrations and rallies against the government was: October 14, 1973. It was the movement led by students and intellectuals as group major leaders, the movement is therefore credited as "student mob". The students demonstrated along with the people rallied against the government and demanded democracy because they were not happy with the ruling government and its leadership. The demonstrations started again on October 6, 1976. Various kinds of symbols were widely used in the forms of rallies, songs, poems and caricatures printed in books and posters as well as people carrying the national flag and the King's photographs and notice signs of various demands and ideology of the demonstrators. Later in May 1992, the "Black May" incident occurred, the massive public protests in Bangkok against the premiership appointment of General Suchinda Kraprayoon. The protest was commonly known as "Mobile Phone Mob" because most of the protesters were middle-class living in the city such as business people and working people. The condition was different from the 14 October incident in 1973 whereas most of the protesters were university students. That name was given as a result of the latest arrival of the mobile phones in Thailand which was used as a major tool to communicate during the uprising. Another way of a demonstration was the use of water bottle knocking on the street and shouting "Brother Su-get out" to demand the Prime Minister to resign.

The major symbols used in both political incidents were the national flag and the King's image. Especially, they were used earlier on October 14, 1973, where it was the time of the blossoming era of democracy. It was the big time of demand for the constitution by the students and the people. Students held 3 symbols related to 3 institutes in the protest by decorating the rally with the national flag upfront together with the image of Buddha and the King's image. The waving of the national flag is aimed to arouse the patriotism. Moreover, there was a picture of the blood-stained

national flag of the dead during the incident to signify the sacrifice not only for their ideology but also the righteousness. (Suriya Chayachoen, 2011, pp. 50-56)

Later on, there was an important political crisis in Thailand from 2005 to 2010. It was the clash between two opposing groups: the political pressure group against Thaksin Shinawatra, the former Prime Minister of Thailand versus the supportive one. The symbol in this political movement was the color of the shirt. It was commonly called “the Yellow Shirts” and “the Red Shirts”. The yellow shirts group was called “the People’s Alliance for Democracy” (PAD). Its initial leaders included Sondhi Limthongkul and Major General Chamlong Srimuang. Protesters wore yellow shirts and a head ban written: “save the nation along with a blue scarf’s. Apart from those, there was a totally new symbol in the current political movements: plastic clapping hands. All protesters carried along these clapping hands with them while joining the demonstration and used them as a tool to expel those who served in the Thaksin regime. The group who supported Thaksin regime or the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD or in Thai, Nor Por Chor) used red shirts as their group symbol which was commonly called Red Shirts Group. They brought in plastic clapping feet to use against the clapping hands and with an intention for a mockery.

There was another important event came after that in 2013, it was the political conflict, and white masks or Guy Fawkes masks and whistles were used in the movement. These symbols have been used in many worldwide demonstrations. As for the Thai political context, they are not considered as something new, but they were used within other non-political contexts before. Thus, bringing masks and whistles to be used in this political context is again considered as a significant phenomenon of using symbols in political movements in Thailand.

1.1.2 Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles used Internationally in Political Contexts

Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles are wildly used internationally in political contexts, even though their political contexts and situations are different. The mask and whistle were used for various purposes in many aspects in their conflicts namely in Europe, America, the Middle East or Asia, but mostly they are related to the anti-

government movements. The reason why Guy Fawkes mask was commonly called white mask and V-mask originated from a real person in the British history from the incident of Gunpowder Plot. Later on, the story was developed and written in comic books and also made into a movie. Once the story was made into a movie, the masks were given out as a movie souvenir. That was why the Guy Fawkes masks became more widely spread. The more the story and the personality of the hero in the movie spread out, the more popular of the masks became, especially for those affiliated to Anonymous Projects which was a group of hackers gathered together to attack and destroy computer system networks around the world. The mask was also adopted in a group activity like Million Mask March which was a popular uprising of all protesters wearing Guy Fawkes masks in many rallies in big cities and this activity is organized every year.



Figure 1.1 Guy Fawkes Masks, the Symbol used in the movement of Occupy Wall Street

Source: Chen (2011).

Guy Fawkes masks were used again and again in many political incidents such as; in the protest against ACTA Agreement and the crucially political movement in the Middle East like the Arab Spring-the Demand for Freedom in the Arabian countries, for instance: Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and widely spread out all over the region including in North Africa which was the anti-government and protest against the country leaders, resulting in political changes in many countries. The demonstrations were in many different forms, for example, strike, rallies, mobs and the use of social media as a means of communication together with the use of Guy Fawkes masks as a symbol of the protest. The protesters wore masks during the demonstration in different places. The wearing of masks was the significant symbol in the protest of Occupy Wall Street or the Taking over of Wall Street which is the location of huge financial institutes as well as the US Stock Exchanges. There were many reasons that provoked this protest, especially the social and economic inequalities. The protesters wore Guy Fawkes masks all the time during the protest, the rallies, the road barricades, holding the building under siege. And then the ongoing Occupy Movement spread out to other countries such as Occupy London, Occupy Sydney, Occupy Oakland and Occupy Frankfurt. After that, Guy Fawkes mask was used internationally in the political movements around the world including Thailand.



Figure 1.2 Blowing a Whistle in Protests in Foreign Countries (1)

Source: Publication of the US Marxist-Leninist Organization (2012).



Figure 1.3 Blowing a Whistle in Protests in Foreign Countries (2)

Source: Publication of the US Marxist-Leninist Organization (2012).

Before a whistle became the symbol of the political movements, it was just a popular gear in a universal meaning used in both sports competitions and traffic and can be seen easily. The story of the whistle used as a symbol for political protest originated from the incident that Ralph Nader blew the whistle in the Senate to warn the government about the corruption and the non-transparent governance of the country. After that, many countries valued and took it seriously. Whistleblowing and blower were put as an issue in a decree that it is considered as an exposure of information or wrongdoing activity or corruption within any organizations in America, Australia, and Canada. Afterward, a whistle has become a symbol the protesters use during the protest in many incidents internationally, for example, Falling Whistles was founded in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for campaigning for peace in the country and the country's demonstrations caused by the European economic crisis affected the government in tightening one's belt by laying off workers, cutting back the wages and social welfare which provoked discontentment among the people who mobilized a flash mob using whistles as a symbol. Likewise, it happened in many countries like Romania, England, France and Spain. Moreover, Americans used whistles as a symbol to oppose the policy of Stop and Frisk of New York police. Whistles are also used in the social movement

demanding for social equality and sexual rights of a wide range of groups of people with sexual diversity: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) which is annually organized every year. The symbol of a whistle is still used internationally worldwide due to social problems such as labor problem, racial conflict, corruption problems in the governments. In Thailand, the whistle is the symbol of People's Committee for Absolute Democracy with the King as Head of State or commonly known as PCAD or Kor Por Por Sor who used the whistle to oppose the Yingluck Shinawatra's government and the Thaksin regime.

1.1.3 Guy Fawkes Mask and whistles in Thai Political Contexts

In Thai society, both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles are known as normal objects and their existence is widely known in Thai idioms as well. Masks are mostly used socially in entertainments such as, on stage shows and in amusement games. For example, Khon masks and Phi Ta Khon can really reflect what the mask represents in Thai social context. Apart from that, there are more uses of masks in cartoons, hero masks or heroes from movies which are used in social gatherings or as a toy for amusement. Not only the mask is used as an object symbol, it is also used as a sign language or expression; such as 'to mask' mean to conceal something, to be insincere and deceitful. On the contrary, 'to throw off one's mask' means to reveal, or to disclose. In addition, there is an expression of 'to unmask' which means to unfold or reveal the truth. Another similar one is 'to wear a full head mask' meaning a person who has an important role or work in a high position or rank but tends to forget who one really is and intentionally shows off one's authority to some unreasonable extent. It is quite obvious that Thai expressions related to the using of masks have a negative meaning.

There are many aspects of using whistles in Thai society. Some are made into folk toys such as terracotta pottery, water whistle or bamboo whistle. Afterward, they were made with zinc or plastic in different shapes. With their quality of sound, whistles are used in many campaign projects such as a whistle for self-protection when a whistle is brought to symbolize a stop of violence for children and women or a use of a whistle for help in case of emergency. Moreover, whistles are used in everyday life such as it is used as a signal to control traffic rules, in the police, military or even in boy scout

activities as well as for security or sports. Because of its strength as a sharp sound drawing attention from everyone and can anticipate unusual happenings upon hearing. Although the use of a whistle is in the form of an expression just like ‘mask’ but with less variety of meanings, mostly it is used as ‘to blow a whistle’ in the headline news such as:

Thaksin blows a whistle to announce the D-Day as May 21, warn the influential people in the campaign of taking the bread out of the police’s mouth (“Thaksin blows a whistle to announce,” 2003)

National Bank blows a whistle to compete for loans, to trouble having 3 major clusters (“National Bank blows,” 2009)

It conveys the meaning of signaling the start. The meaning is connected to the use of a whistle in a series of activities such as: to blow a whistle to start the sports competition which has the familiar and neutral meaning. It has no negative meaning like in the expressions using the word ‘mask’.

The appearance of both mask and whistle is seen in many aspects in Thai ways of life. The way a whistle is used in all these activities can be both creating and recreating the meaning which resulted well in the familiarity with their usual meanings. However, they have never been used in a political area before; therefore, this time can be considered as a new context. Most Thai people know the Guy Fawkes mask from the movie *V for Vendetta* that was shown in the theatre worldwide. Apart from that, the mask was also a film souvenir that can be found and purchased everywhere and it had no hidden symbol of politics at all. Later on, the mask was brought in the political context, at the same time it was also used in the protests by many countries around the world. Thailand started using the mask when demanding to close a website with the accusation of *lèse-majesté*, in the protest against those who disagree with the *lèse-majesté* law, the opposition of the autonomy university, including the broadcast ban on a TV soap opera ‘*Nue Mek*’.

The incident that made it clearer for using of Guy Fawkes mask in the political area was the movement against Yingluck’s government by the *V for Thailand*; the Group used social media as a mean to arrange the movement activities both on the

online mass media and the gathering of people wearing Guy Fawkes masks in many places which were, later on, spread out over the country. Not only the protest had come to attention, the symbol of the mask had been a trendy attraction. The mass media presented many aspects of the background of the Guy Fawkes mask including the comments and opinions expressed by the people on social media. The opposition group brought in a red mask as a symbolic fight back, relating to the previous use of shirt colors, yellow shirt and red shirt who was the former opposition parties between the pros and cons of the Thaksin regime. Even more, the historic event in the United Kingdom had been depicted to attack the used of Guy Fawkes mask was improper for Thai social context because Guy Fawkes was the person who tried to blow out the Parliament to assassinate King James 1st.



Figure 1.4 The Use of Guy Fawkes Masks in Thai Political Movements

Source: Sanook (2013).

The movement of the V for Thailand Group was formed during a short period of time only, but it linked to the protest of People's Committee for Absolute Democracy with the King as Head of State or Kor Por Por Sor group against the draft of Amnesty Law, but the protest was upgraded later to be the protest against Thaksin regime. The Group was led by Suthep Thaugsuban, the secretary-general and the group leader. The protest used whistles as their protest symbol and consequently

faded out of the Guy Fawkes mask. As a result, the whistle became prominent and popular instead among the protesters. This movement not only did it result in a change in Thai politics like a coup d'état, but it also made a whistle phenomenon to be popular and socially trendy at that particular time. Another thing was that the movement was commonly called as "Whistle Mob" where there were many designs of whistles on sale, a value-added whistle made of crystal, another value-added whistle made of gold or the national flag-printed whistle strap became fashionable on the protest ground. Street vendors could make a lot of money from selling whistles near the mob holding ground. The whistles sales could also raise fund to be used in the group movements. During the movement, whistles were used greatly along with the moves of the demonstration groups such as: blowing them while listening to the speeches on stage, blowing them to oust, or to give out a whistle as a token of invitation to the group. As a consequence, the flow of whistle uses went on smoothly according to the situations signifying both original and new meanings. As said by Mana Treerayapiwat (Visith Chuanpipatpong & Sakkarin Khemthong, 2014) that the national flag and the whistle, symbols of this protest, were connected to the national problematic issues and they also pinpointed the wrongdoing and corruption of the government. In addition, Time Chuastapanasiri (2013) said that the sound of the whistle is the sign, it has the sound that can signify more than itself, without any spoken words, the sound signifies many things with its signifier: that is the sound frequency sending out a message and with the signified meanings of dislike, disapproval, disrespect, disbelief, no communication, nor negotiation, nor love, nor faith, all of these are fully encoded by the whistle blowers. Regarding the listener-the politicians blown upon will not know exactly which meanings it signified because it has no apparent reproach, complaint, blame nor any clear condemnation, but the whistle sound assembles all the meanings within. As for the opposing group, red horn and whistle are the symbols used to fight back against the Kor Por Por Sor group. It has the same symbolic use as the clapping feet and the red mask used in the earlier conflicts.



Figure 1.5 The Use of Whistles in Thai Political Movements

Source: “Mobilization,” (2014).

Upon the use of Guy Fawkes mask and whistles in Thai political movements, it reflected an interesting phenomenon about the use of these symbols in the political areas that can be categorized in many aspects. Both of them were used in the world’s political movements of which the context and the political situations are different from Thai politics. As for Thai society, both of the symbols are nothing new, but they were used in politics which differed from the original context. Considering from the characteristics of both symbols, they are quite different: regarding ‘mask’ it usually has a negative meaning and is used to communicate visually, whereas the whistle has a neutral meaning but its strength of sound is used widely to give signals. From the factors mentioned, it is the reason why this research chose to study the symbol of Guy Fawkes mask and the whistle used in Thai political movements. It is a research of meaning and roles as well as the adjustment of meanings to reflect the phenomenal use of symbols under Thai political context.

1.2 Research Questions

1.2.1 What are the meanings of symbols used in Thai political movements? In what context are they used?

1.2.2 What are the roles of the symbols used in Thai political movements? To what extent are the roles?

1.2.3 How are the meanings of the symbols used in Thai political movements been reconstructed or adjusted?

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 To analyze the meanings of the symbols used in Thai political movements.

1.3.2 To study the roles of the symbols used in Thai political movements.

1.3.3 To study the reconstruction of the meanings of the symbols used in Thai political movements.

1.4 Scope of Research

In terms of time of the research about the communication via symbols in Thai political movements, it is a retrospective study from 2013-2015 due to the start of the use of symbols in the flash mob as well as a phenomenon attractive to the society through the presentations of data of the above issues such as dissemination of articles, news and research studies.

In terms of content, it is the study of the meanings of the symbols used in the political demonstrations under different contexts, the symbols studied are an object symbol that is Guy Fawkes mask and the whistle because they were both used in the world's political movements and they were also used in other contexts before in Thai society, when using in politics, it is a critical change of context that has affected the symbols.

In terms of data, due to the disband of political movements at present according to the political circumstances, the holding ground mobs changed and took

place according to the political conditions, hence the study cannot be done within the real situations. As a result, the study needs other data from other sources to conduct this research such as website, articles, research, books, news and individuals.

1.5 Definitions

Symbol means a designation of something to represent various meanings and as a medium of communication in the political mobs that refers to the Guy Fawkes mask and the whistle.

Symbolic Communication means expressions and showing purposes or aim. The movements via Guy Fawkes mask and the whistle are connected to the contexts and situations of using these symbols in the flash mobs and in Thai political movements.

Signification of symbols means the message itself or the message content that the symbols of the process of communication contained, which are the Guy Fawkes mask and the whistle which leads to the understanding, the clarification and the feelings conveyed by the symbols. However, the meaning of the symbols depends on the ways of communicative in different contexts including the mechanism of the meaning control and the meaning characteristics of the opposite definitions.

Political movement means the gatherings in groups of people whose purposes are to promote political ideas and proclamation to the government demanding for changes. Groups In this regard are all the concerned groups that related to the White Mask group or V for Thailand Group and the People's Committee for Absolute Democracy with the King as Head of State or Kor Por Por Sor by using the Guy Fawkes mask and the whistle as their symbols in the mobs.

Roles of the symbols used in the movements mean the values or the duties of the symbols that the group made use of in their political movements. For example, the symbols represent the stance and create the common and mutual understanding amongst the people and the group members. They could also be the medium of the conveyance of feelings, emotions, ideas, and attitudes as well as sharing feelings of stimulation, persuasion in the feelings of the group members and the mobs.

1.6 Benefits

1.6.1 The research result reveals the meanings of the symbols used in the political movements in various contexts and the clarification of the varieties of the phenomena in political movements and their backgrounds.

1.6.2 The research result reveals the roles of the symbols used in the political movements that can apply or analyze the political demonstrations that may occur in the future. The research analysis could be used by the concerned working groups to resolve the conflict and prevent the demonstrations.

1.6.3 The research result reveals that the communication via symbols in the movement process may analyze the situation and understand the cause of mobs in the political demonstrations.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The research, “Symbolic Communication through Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles in Political Movements in Thailand, aims to study the symbols used in political movements in various contexts in Thailand and to analyze the roles of symbols used in the movements by applying the following concepts, theories, and previous studies as follow:

2.1 The Concepts of Semiology: the Construction and Reconstruction of Meanings

2.2 The Concepts of Symbolic Politics

2.3 The Roles of Signs in Symbolic Politics

2.4 The Concepts on Political Movements

2.5 Related Literature Review

2.6 The Conceptual Framework of the Study

2.1 The Concepts of Semiology: The Construction and Reconstruction of Meanings

The study of signs, both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles, in political movements, covers the signs as objects and language. The initial meanings of both symbols in a Thai context are the meanings with which Thai people are familiar; however, when the meanings are constructed in a political context, the meaning is thus been affected in relations to the concept of semiology, meaning constructions and reconstructions.

2.1.1 Semiology

Semiology is a study of signs, symbols, illustrations, etc. Ferdinand de Saussure, a linguist, was a pioneer and founder of this field of study. “Semio” came

from Greek word “seme” or “semion” means “signs or meanings”. Semiology is a science of a sign cycle study. (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, pp. 407-408).

The word “semiotics” is often used by English-speaking scholars to pay their gratitude for Charles Sanders Peirce, an American philosopher. The two words are almost alike and both means a study of a sign system or a science of signs. Peirce succeeded to the semiology concept of Saussure. (Chairat Charoensin-o-larn, 2012, p. 8). The concepts of the semiology of various scholars are presented as follow:

Ferdinand de Saussure, a linguist, divided signs into two components: “signifier” (sound-image) or what creates a meaning and “signified” (mental concept). Both components are constructed simultaneously like two sides of a coin (Thirayuth Boonmi, 2008, pp. 64-65).

Charles Sanders Peirce defined signs with the simplest and easiest meanings, “A sign is something with more meanings than itself.” A sign, or representation, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign.” To distinguish “signifier” from “signified” more clearly, Peirce classified signs into three components: icon, index, and symbol. (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2009, pp. 78-80).

While Saussure gave more importance to communicative languages, Peirce tried to provide more understanding of non-language signification system. Later, the concept of semiotics or semiology was developed further by many scholars, such as Roland Barthes, etc.

Roland Barthes developed the concept of “connotative” and “denotative”, which was called “the first-order meaning” and “the second-order meaning” respectively. The second-order meaning is the meaning that creates a myth. Besides, Barthes also was interested in analyzing visual signs.

Kanjana Kaewthep (2009, pp. 76-77) defined “semiology” as a science that tries to explain the occurrence, development, adaptation, deterioration, and disappearance of signs. “A sign” means something that is constructed to have a meaning to represent a real object in a text or in a context. In each context, a society may give different meanings. Signs can be materials or objects, i.e. images, etc.

However, the most well known sign is a “language” At present, the importance and power of language as one kind of signs appear in literature, mythology, religious scripture. The identity of semiotics or semiology is its focus on the construction and reconstruction of meanings embedded in signs.

In general, signs have three major characteristics: (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, p. 408)

1) Signs must have a physical attribute, or they can be perceived by five sensory organs, i.e. see, hear, taste, smell, and touch. Examples are images, voices, letters, physical appearance, etc.

2) Signs must be intentionally transmitted from a sender to convey a particular meaning to a receiver. For instance, dark clouds signify it is going to rain, etc. Clouds are not signs, as they have no intent to transmit a message from one person to another. However, a director may put “black clouds” into a scene to communicate the feeling of a sad character. In this case, clouds become signs. Accordingly, whether any objects can be counted as a sign or not depends on a signification process that is called at present as “the construction of meaning.” Such as a ring will be a sign when a man puts it into a woman’s ring finger of her left- hand side.

3) Signs contain more meanings than themselves. To illustrate this, a red rose will be perceived only as a flower in red color unless it is constructed with a meaning more than just a red flower, i.e. a symbol of a man's love for a woman. Another example is shown in a song, “please pick up my handkerchief because I dropped it; it dropped with my heart.” In this song, a handkerchief is a sign with a meaning bigger than itself because it means more than being a piece of cloth for cleaning a face but a substitute or representative of a fallen heart.

2.1.2 The Construction and Reconstruction of Meaning

To connect the study of symbols used in political movements with a communication process, a sign is a major factor connecting a sender to a receiver and a significant variable to determine an effective communication towards intended goals. However, it is notable that in a communication with a symbolic meaning will not be static but be dynamic depending on various factors, i.e. context, circumstance,

time, or communicators of both senders and receivers. Therefore, to analyze a communication process in different contexts, the study of meanings is thus a fundamental factor.

Kanjana Kaewthep and Somsuk Hinwiman (2008, pp. 395-398) stated that for semiologists, they relatively emphasized “message” (M) in S-M-C-R communication process, especially meanings contained in the message or content of various kinds of communication.

Kanjana Kaewthep and Somsuk Hinwiman (2008, pp. 397-400) explained the significance of the meanings as follow:

1) A meaning is a sender’s proof of evidence since from analyzing a meaning, one can read the mind of a sender.

2) A meaning is a social proof of evidence. A message in a communication is like a mirror reflecting meanings of truth.

3) A meaning determines an impact on a receiver. By this sense, Roland Barthes explained that a meaning is an effect caused by the installation of codes on people.

Regarding the origins of meanings, Kanjana Kaewthep and Somsuk Hinwiman further explained the origins of meanings by considering communication elements or communication models as follows:

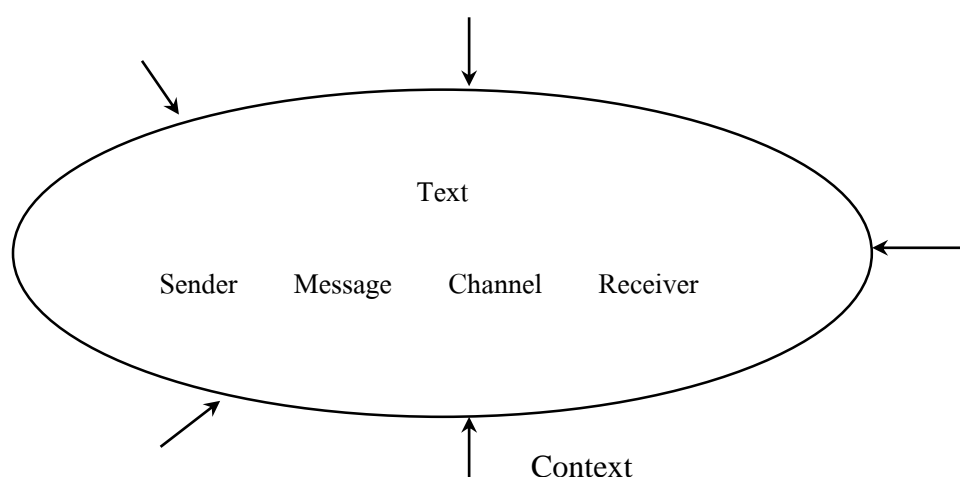


Figure 2.1 Origins of Meanings in Communication Elements

Source: Kanjana Kaewthep and Somsuk Hinwiman (2008, p. 339).

From the above figure, it can explain as follows:

1) Meanings come from persons in a communication comprising two roles: a sender and a receiver. Some schools of thought paid high attention to a sender's meaning while some to a receiver's meaning. However, some also viewed that meanings occur from a sender and a receiver.

2) Meanings are constructed from an internal relationship within a text. From the structural linguistic approach, meanings occur from internal relations in a text, i.e. sub-components of a sentence have no meaning unless they are read as a whole.

3) Meanings occur from the relationship between a text and its environment. One meaning in a text does not come from a person nor from internal relations but from environments around the meaning. Devito (1996, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep, 2011, p. 304) stated the meaning of either verbal message or nonverbal message depends on a context since the content is perceived in a context as water must always be contained in some kinds of containers. Therefore, a context determines the meaning of a content or message. Examples of environments are timing, history, culture, etc. Cultural contexts will not only determine the meaning of a text or content but also play as a guideline for interpreting a meaning.

Accordingly, meanings are not fixed and stable but can vary according to various factors. To illustrate this, a wearing of a mask for dramatic arts of a particular culture or in a fantasy party for entertainment will convey different meanings from a mask wearing in a political demonstration. In addition, a meaning can be constructed, reconstructed, and deconstructed.

As for the process of a signification or meaning construction from the concept of Saussure (1990, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, pp. 413-416), the founder of semiology, it is explained as illustrated in Figure 2.2.

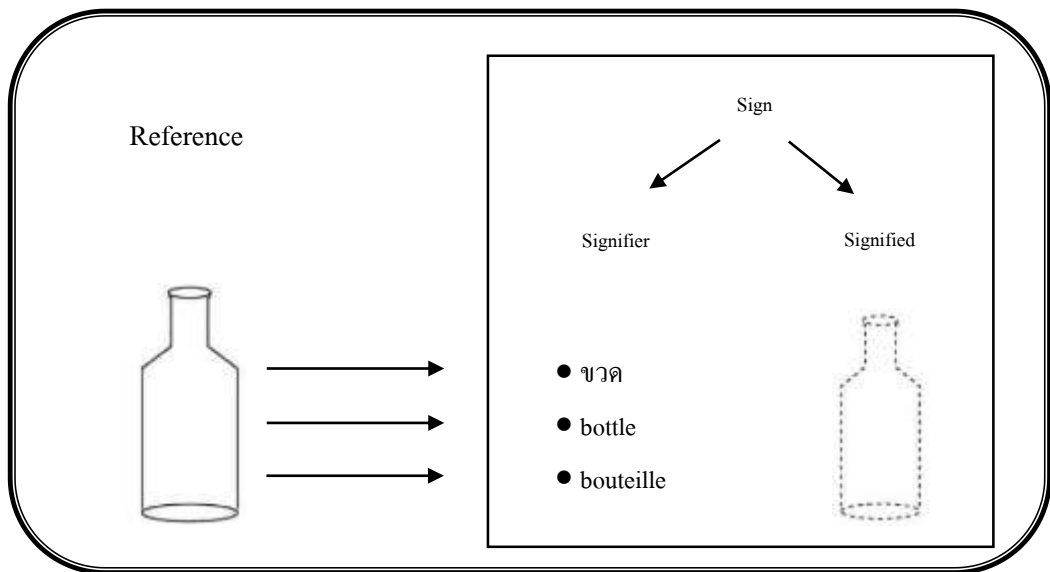


Figure 2.2 The Significance Process of Saussure

Source: Kanjana Kaewthep and Somsuk Hinwiman (2008, p. 414).

From the above figure, it shows that a significance process starts with a reference (an actual object of a bottle) and signs composing of 1) a signifier and 2) signified. (1) A signifier is an image of a bottle or verbal symbol in any language, such as bottle, bouteille, etc. (2) Signified is the mental concept or an image in the mind referring to the actual object or real bottle. A signification towards “a bottle” occurs when the relations between a sign and a reference are imposed.

There are many ways for constructing a meaning:

1) Structural comparison. A sign can convey any meaning when it is compared with other similar signs, i.e. to understand the meaning of a word, “truck”, it has to be compared with “car”, “van”, etc.

2) Binary opposition. A meaning can be created by showing the opposite characteristics or contrast of two things or beings, i.e. rich vs poor, etc. This kind of signification is simple and easy to understand.

3) Syntagm and paradigm. Syntagm and paradigm govern how signs relate to one another. A syntagmatic relationship is one where signs occur in sequence or parallel and operate together to create a meaning, i.e. the letters (a, b, c) in a word, words in a sentence, objects in a picture, etc. A paradigmatic relationship is typically

associative, in that both items are in a single membership set, i.e. items on a menu of the same group (starter, main course, sweet, etc.)

According to Saussure, a meaning is contained in the space of a language that is called, “a text”, which will vary by a condition called, “a context” in constructing any meaning.

Roland Barthes elaborated the above statement by describing two kinds of meanings:

1) Denotation or Denotative Meaning. It is a meaning commonly understood and interpreted. Most are descriptive or narrative words or statements with direct meanings.

2) Connotation or Connotative Meaning. It is an indirect meaning from an interpretation. The meaning is not fixed but changes according to different factors, i.e. time, place, person, etc.

In addition, meanings can be constructed, reconstructed, and deconstructed. Therefore, meanings are dynamic and changeable as following:

1) Construction of meaning. Meanings can be created or constructed in several ways, namely structural comparison, binary opposition, syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationship, including a construction through the use of codes.

2) Deconstruction of meaning. The old meaning of a sign can be demolished and replaced with a new meaning. For example, a ring on a woman’s left ring finger means a love and commitment; however, such meaning is deconstructed with a new meaning as a bond of love that imprisons her until she dies and becomes a ghost to look after the house in one of the Thai dramas. (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, p. 684)

3) Reconstruction of meaning. A meaning is adjusted, modified, or reproduced, in various forms, such as to keep all of the old form and content, to modify the old form but maintain the old content, or to maintain the form but adjust the content. (Chayaporn Petchposri, 1996, as cited in Nut Suksamai, 2008, p. 33)

Kanjana Kaewthep (2011, pp. 345-346) stated that the process of the construction of meanings will lead to an understanding of a cycle of birth, senility, and death of a meaning since the meaning can be constructed or created, reconstructed, and deconstructed.

In addition, Derrida (1930-2004, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, pp. 434-435), a poststructuralist, further explained the concept of deconstruction of meaning. Derrida rejected the concept of “logocentrism” or an attitude that logos (a Greek word means logics) is the central principle of language and philosophy. He claimed that in the western world, a philosophy often stuck with a certain reason from someone's perspective. To hold such view, it was not only incorrect but also supported some kinds of human dark power. Derrida criticized logocentrism that for one reason could be claimed, other reasons could be possibly claimed as well. Therefore, he rejected it and developed a concept of meaning construction. From his point of view, in the world of language and communication, more than one set of meanings could be created or constructed. If a sign or any meaning can be constructed, it can also be deconstructed and reconstructed as well.

Cultural Studies, influenced by semiologists, believe that language composes of meanings associated with all things around them via what is called “a sign.” However, what Cultural Studies urge to know is who has the power to monitor, create, and disseminate the constructed meanings, such as why Thai people use such an expression like “Stupid like a buffalo” or “Do a labor work like a buffalo.” The question they wonder is who has the power to use the word “buffalo” and why. Therefore, the focus of this approach is to find out who is such a and why such meaning is constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed like the aforementioned example of the meaning of a ring: a love or an imprisonment and bondage. (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, p. 684)

Besides the process of the construction of meanings, methods and tools in transmitting a meaning are also important factors affecting the containing of meanings. To choose a method or tool in transmitting a meaning, it depends on objectives, receivers, and issues of a communication. Therefore, to analyze which method, tool, or media (i.e. TV, online, Hi-park, etc.) should be used in transmitting some political sign, the consideration of those factors is needed. Due to a variety of tools, media, and methods, the previous studies can be grouped and presented as follow:

- 1) The property and types of tools and media containing or carrying meanings can be categorized into different kinds and each can contribute a different

kind of the construction of meanings, i.e. personal media, TV, radio, magazines, songs, printed media, pictures, internet, activities, objects, construction, etc. Adchara Panthanuwong (2008) found denotative and connotative meanings of various kinds of political signs, i.e. pictures and language. Wichan Champakhao (2011) found a systematic transmission of a message and a consistent and continual reconstruction of the messages and meanings through various kinds of media, i.e. hi-park on stage, printed media, TV, websites, and other audio-visual media. Panitan Phichalai (2012) found the use of political symbols in various forms, i.e. slogans, songs, T-shirts, etc. All of them conveyed and emphasized political ideology.

2) The transmission of a meaning varies according to the nature and qualification of methods and media used. For examples, printed media, such as books and magazines, constructed and transmitted the meanings from the idioms and illustrators. Picturesque media construct their meanings from visual contact or visibility, i.e. shot size, camera angles, camera movement, etc. Televisions that comprise audio and visual component construct the meaning of their message through a dialogue, music, scenes, prop, etc. Besides, the construction of meanings through a variety of techniques and methods, the form of presentation is also another factor affecting the construction of meanings, i.e. advertisements, narration, definition, news, personal communications, hi-park on stages, etc. Supa Jittiwassurat (2002) found that filmmakers rely on five elements in constructing meanings of the films: characters, plots, direct audience engagement, scenes, and presentation techniques. Busayagorn Teeraputtigunchai (2010) found the reconstruction of meanings in a funeral ritual through a participatory communication, i.e. small-group discussions, sub-village meetings, village meetings, and common activities, including the meaning transmission through the symbol of national flags, which convey a sense of nationhood. Such meaning is transmitted by the use of clear roles and strict regulations, i.e. the decoration of a national flag at governmental places or with other flags, a salute to the national flag, and the covering of a coffin of soldiers who sacrifice their lives to serve the country by the national flag. (Suriya Chayachoen, 2011, p. 187)

2.2 The Concepts of Symbolic Politics

The study of the use of political symbols helps to see how meanings are constructed in a communication system. As human beings are capable of using symbols to convey their meanings to make other people understand, the use of symbols thus is an intended communication that moves a meaning of something in other forms, especially media that can communicate widely to other people. Political symbols can be both in media and message.

The semiotic approach involves an understanding of a human action and behavior via signs or symbols. Such symbols reflect rules, regulations, and traditions of a society. Regarding the role of signs in the relationship between individuals and society, political signs can significantly reflect important contexts of each society. This is because politics is a system that involves a variety of people and relates to the relationship between human beings, power, authority, which is very complicating. Therefore, the study of meaning and the use of signs in a political context enables a deeper and wider analysis with more diverse perspectives, not superficial and easy-to-grasp information. Moreover, it can reflect a social context, roles, and behaviors of people in a society under different kinds of social structure at each period.

From the book “The Theory of Social Movement and Political Protest”, Somchai Phatharathananunth (2016) collected definitions of social and political movements of a number of scholars, which can connect to the understanding of Symbolic Politics. In general, scholars in social movements pay much attention to the meaning construction by activists, protestors, elites, adversaries, mass media, etc. Most significations lead to call for a group synergy to participate in a collective operation or demonstration. The signification process starts with the disposition of the meanings, meanings construction, meanings reconstruction or meanings elaboration. Any reconstruction of meanings will take place in various forms only when they are not in accordance with ways of life in a society so new values are created or promoted into a society. The objectives of a signification process are to identify a problem with rationale, to offer ways of problem-solving, and to motivate the receivers or audience why they have to participate in such movements. A successful motivation requires a

touching signification including the credibility of the witnessed cultural symbols that the receivers perceive as spontaneous.

However, each signification process may yield a different impact. Some signification may cause an effect on other meanings. In other words, the construction of dominant meanings may affect the peripheral cycle of the movements. Therefore, the new dominant signification may lead to mobilize all things around the movements. On the other hand, although surrounding structural conditions may be ready, no movement on the part of the mass occurs due to unattractive signification to move the mass. Accordingly, a signification or the construction of meaning is very important since it enables to alter a movement to be a cultural symbol and political culture for a mobilization

Chairat Charoensin-o-larn (2012) stated the study of Alasdair Macintyre on “Drifting Signifier.” It is a method of inquiry and usage of semiotic knowledge to explain what is called “democracy” in Soviet Unions in the period where Stalin was in power. Charles Taylor, a political scientist and theorist, pointed out all humanity studies, including political science, need a great understanding of meanings and interpretation because human behaviors, actions, symbols, and practices in a society all require an interpretation of meanings. However, the meaning for the same thing of each individual is different. Therefore, further questions needed to be answered are “whose meaning it is” and “what the meaning is.” Accordingly, a meaning and an event or action are the different issues. One event or action can contain several meanings. This means that a meaning tends to be an experiential meaning or the meaning of an actor towards an event. Consequently, in a larger context that is diverse and complicated and involves needs, feelings, and emotions, meanings are not something explicit or clear-cut but depend on the contexts. Therefore, the studies of concrete-science- approach and empirical-behavioral-approach political scientists may not reflect genuine meanings. This will be different from what semiologists, structuralists, and post-structuralists study, such as to raise up one's hand can convey different meanings: asking a question, expressing an idea, or voting, etc. As a result, it is important to understand the diverse meanings within a context and by rules and standards of a certain culture.

The application of knowledge-inquiry according to political scientific or political semiology helps to expand an interesting perspective and to understand a modern society more clearly, especially political knowledge and power in the form of knowledge and truth. Michel Foucault paid a special attention to study politics, knowledge, and power through discourse analysis. Similarly, Roland Barthes reflected politics in terms of power like Foucault. Barthes viewed literature as a tool to fight with linguistic power. From his view, power can occur in every circumstance in which there is a social exchange. Power does not necessarily belong to the state nor elites but power can occur in other parts of the society. Literature, for him, is not just a written work but it is a woven text containing a group of signifiers. For Barthes, besides literature semiotic is a concrete example of a challenge against the power of language because semiotic can illustrate how language operates by power and gives a high significance to the text as a fluid space of language. Therefore, signs have no fixed or definite meanings. Consequently, to study political science from a challenging critical reading is not sufficient to access power structure existing in a society.

Manit Nuallaor (1997) stated that to understand political symbols, it requires an understanding of the fundamental concepts of symbols. However, for political symbols used to serve political objectives, symbols and myths or beliefs are so closely related that both of them are often used concurrently and it appears a saying that symbols and myths are means and ends of each other. Edelman (1977, p. 6, as cited in Manit Nuallaor, 1997) defined “political symbols” as “a deeply embedded myth and rite in a political system.” To study political symbols, the focus will be on a function of a symbol, not only a property purely. Skorupski (1983, pp. 117-119, as cited in Manit Nuallaor, 1997) added that the study of symbols need to emphasize the relations between means and goals of a particular symbol in order to know that for which purpose such symbol is created. Apparently, political myths are the foundation of political symbols that appear widely and pervasively in a political system while symbols also are based on a social structure that enhances a deep perspective towards interpersonal relations within a society. Besides, political myths enable the perception of all myths, either true or untrue, that are accepted by the public as being true during each period. Accordingly, political myths are beliefs in predominant principles in

politics and all acts in a political process expressed by symbols with a logical explanation.

Every society possesses its own political symbols, no matter in a democratic or dictatorial society, which display the power relations between the governor and the governed with different environmental and political system. In a democratic society, political symbols in the form of feeling or emotional arousal language towards some common needs, i.e. the words “right, freedom, equality” etc. The reason why people in a democratic society focus on such political myths is that they expose to the transmission of such political symbols consistently until those symbols become “myths” or “beliefs.” Most of the use of political symbols in this kind of society tends to be a request for people's cooperation. On the contrary, the use of political symbols in a dictatorial society emphasizes an absolute power that orders or dictates people to support governmental or state policies. Therefore, political symbols are a dominance or propaganda to motivate people towards political beliefs in a rapid time in order to get their support of governance systems and to find a righteousness in the governance.

Edelman (1977, as cited in Manit Nuallaor, 1997) divided political symbols into the following types:

1) A referential symbol is a symbol that can be perceived explicitly and that is easy to obtain its reference. General people can understand this kind of symbol in common quite easily.

2) Condensation symbol is a symbol that can arouse or condense people's emotion in a certain situation, which makes the situation more condensed or severe. Most of this symbol relates to human pride, love, engagement, and dignity towards what is determined to be important in a political society.

For this research, Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles are symbols selected to be studied, which are different symbols from those studied in the past, i.e. literature, language, and discourse, since these symbols are concrete objects. On the other hand, contain meanings referable to political concepts and standpoints. Besides, such symbols are used in several roles in political movements in terms of symbolic politics, differently from general politics, which use signs as a mediator in transmitting their meanings that replace a direct communication. For example, in expelling the government, instead of using direct words, whistleblowing is used. For the use of a

political symbol, if it is used properly, it can transmit an intended message clearly and explicitly without words due to the meanings filled in the symbols. Besides, it can be an effective persuasion, which can draw more attention than general political communication.

2.3 The Roles of Signs in Symbolic Politics

Signs have been widely brought into a political sphere, i.e. the use of Swastika symbol of Nazis represents the confirmation of mighty power of Aryan Tribe to illustrate the superiority of German people to other tribes, including hammer and sickle symbol of the Communism, which represents the equipment of farmers and laborers in agricultural and industrial professions. (Promma Pitak, 2010, pp. 295-296). Besides these symbols, political signs can be in the form of action or gesture. For Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles are material symbols. Chatri Phakitnonthakan (2015) stated that the creation of objects or materials can reflect, either consciously or unconsciously and either directly or indirectly, beliefs of a person, creator, buyer, or consumer and can expand to the understanding of the society to which a person affiliates. The study of an object as a part of a social practice, a created form, a functional use, surrounding rituals, the storage, etc., all affect significantly human behavior and power relationship of people using it in each period. The use of signs in a political space thus plays several roles.

From related concepts, theories, and studies to semiotic, communication, and political signs regarding the roles of signs in symbolic politics, the following roles are summarized and presented:

1) A utility is the basic role of a symbol by highlighting the fundamental property of an object as a tool. For instance, the clapping-hands were symbols of the People's Alliance for Democracy or The National Liberation Alliance started as a tool for clapping hands during the demonstration to encourage the activists.

2) Exchange of products is a transformation of an object to be a product by using money as a means for an exchange. For example, the image of Che Guevara, a symbol of anti-social injustice and a revolutionist, was printed on several kinds of

products for sales. The story of Che Guevara was profiled in a documentary produced to explore the life of the man whose visage has become an iconic symbol of hard left politics. The movement of this group depends on several factors, i.e. manpower, communication, capital, etc. Therefore, movements at a societal level often use a donation activity in various forms. From the study of Sujikan Wathathiyapon (2010), it reviewed that a symbolic strike via symbolic product consumption was a kind of movement support by donating money to continue the movement, including by organizing a number of movement activities. The Manager or ASTV, a core group of the movement, produced products for having an income to support its movement. From the aforementioned studies, symbols containing some meanings towards the movement, i.e. objects, utilities, etc., can be requested for a support or resources can be mobilized from the leading groups to illustrate the activists' support. Snow and Benford (1992, as cited in Somchai Phatharathananunth, 2016, pp. 176-177) offered some concepts about a signification and the resources mobilization for a social movement. For instance, they offered a use of a dominant meaning as a foundation for providing an understanding of the process of inspiration creation and of strengthening their righteousness for a movement, including the use of a signification process for enhancing political opportunities and resources.

3) A gift or Symbolic exchange. Objects can become a meaningful symbol and be used in a communication to exchange meanings with others, i.e. a gift or souvenir to connect mutual relations. (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, p. 464).

4) A presentation of differences including social status and taste, which is the signified value. This role of symbols is to compare one object or one sign with another one to create a difference without concerning about its utility. As an example, the presentation of an expensive sports car looks relatively nicer and is more tasteful than a truck. Another example is the separation of middle-class from lower-class political groups by viewing that the movement of middle-class activists, most of whom are from the educated and high-income background, should gain more benefits and looks more civilized.

5) A medium of internal thought. Symbols can play a role of a medium within one's thought in which internal feeling cannot be perceived, i.e. thought,

attitude, emotion, feeling, belief, etc. For example, the arson of Central World by the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) is a symbol expressed by middle-class Bangkokians to transmit a message of anger and resistance against the existing political condition. (Chatri Phakitnonthakan, 2015, pp. 227-228) or the use of slap (or slapping hands) of PAD in the political rallies.

6) Representation. A representation or signification of something considered as a predominant value of a political system at a certain period (Manit Nuallaor, 1997, p. 21), i.e. honesty, virtue, political ideology, democracy, etc. The architecture of the House of Representatives signifies or represents a political power or The Democracy Monument represents a Thai governance ideology, etc.

7) Aesthetic roles. This role of symbols is to inspire or stimulate a feeling of enjoyment towards beauty, peacefulness, etc. varying by types of signs and symbols. (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2011, p. 261) For example, monuments, sculpture, architecture, etc., are created from political events not only for recalling goodness of some important people or events, but the beauty of the design is also a major factor to draw an attention. A western symbol called “Liberty Leading the People,” is designed with tricolors of France’s national flag as a part to narrate their political movements. In Thailand, the Alliance of Artists of Thailand used to exhibit a collection of political arts to oppose the authoritarian government. (Suriya Chayacharoen, 2011, p. 187).

8) The reflection of an event or situation. Symbols are used to reflect events or memorable situations, especially a material sign is a major information source, besides documentary sources, for understanding or knowing some events or happenings. As an example, after the revolution in 1932, there was a change of pediments in religious places all across the country to have a design with a Constitution Book on a Tray. Besides, other objects were also designed to relate with such Constitution Tray, i.e. books, Talapat fan stands, cinerarium, medals, and printed documents, which indicate that the revolution in 1932 interested general people widely, not only urban civilians or intellectuals. Furthermore, the design on the bank notes also reflects thought, beliefs, values, and ideologies dominating the society at that time, i.e. the design of the Constitution Tray on the bank notes in the People’s Council period. (Chatri Phakitnonthakan, 2015)

9) A reminder of significant events or persons. Symbols play a role of reminding people of some significant or valuable events or people worth for a remembrance or for inheriting the stories to the next generations via a transmission of signs, i.e. a monument, a commemorative token, a statue, etc. In the period of Field Marshal Plaek (Por) Pibulsonggram, several kinds of symbols were disseminated towards a political ideology. On the National Celebration Day in 1940, commemorative tokens with the images of Democracy Monument and the Constitution Tray, made of bronze, were made as a representation of the national day and to remind people of a change to a new political system. (Manit Nuallaor, 1997, pp. 68-69).

10) A process of deleting undesirable political memories against a dominant ideology. For an effective cultivation of an ideology, such ideology needs to be expressed in social practices through objects and architecture as a medium. On the contrary, if an ideology needs to be destroyed, such objects and architecture need to be destroyed as well, such as the destruction of the statue of Saddam Hussein after his power was overthrown. (Chatri Phakitnonthakan, 2015, pp. 26-27) Another example is once the Thai government in the past expressed their symbolic resistance against Communism by destroying all red flags and giving an importance to three-colored flag (Tri-Rong) as a sign of survival and safety of Thailand (Chanida Prompayak, 2000, p. 153)

11) Sacred things. According to Durkheim (1915, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep, 2011, p. 312) sacred things are objects having higher symbolic status than other objects. Sacredness or holiness will connect to stories, both beliefs, and practices, of how things are received, maintenance, and utilized through some religious or modern rituals, i.e. graduation, wedding, etc. Besides, Chatri Phakitnonthakan (2015, p. 23) stated that Thai society can change an object to be a sacred thing no matter for which objective it is created. For instance, people pay respect to the Equestrian Statue of King Chulalongkorn, Thao Suranari Monument (Ya Mo), Silpa Bhirasri Monument, etc., as sacred things.

12) Stimulus and emotional arousal. People's emotion and feeling can be stimulated or driven by the transmitted meaning, leading towards a collective action in the same direction as determined by the symbol users. (Manit Nuallaor, 1997, p. 22). Likewise, according to the concept of Noakes and Johnston (2005, as cited in

Somchai Phatharathananunth, 2016, pp. 176-178), a signification in social movements functions mainly as a call of manpower to participate in an assembly, etc.

13) Instruments, tactics, or strategies. Tactics or strategies are used to create beliefs, ideas, and political ideologies towards the same direction, induce some behaviors or political actions in accordance with what symbol users plan to achieve to create their righteousness. (Panitan Phichalai, 2012, pp. 33-35). Besides, the reproduction of political ideology makes people aware and absorb such beliefs. This is called, “tactics or strategies in political movements”, which are conducted through various ways, either violent and endless fights leading to a big loss or a peaceful resistance, a more preferable way nowadays. The use of symbols with a different look but full of numerous significant meanings is another strategy for a peaceful fight. (Sujikan Wathathiyapon, 2010, p. 152). In addition, Adchara Panthanuwong (2008) stated that the political meanings of verbal and nonverbal symbols via various media in each period serve a changing ideology of ruling classes.

14) A display of identity. Symbols containing some meanings play a role as a display of a unique identity different from others or a unique group identity by creating some common symbols to call for a unity and a pride for the group persons belongs to and by distinguishing which is our group and their group. (Somchai Phatharathananunth, 2016, p. 58), such as designs on a Thai banknote present and emphasize an identity of a nation, society, or culture, especially with a circulatory use. (Chatri Phakitnonthakan, 2015, p. 132). From the study of Sujikan Wathathiyapon (2010) found that symbols used by PAD, i.e. a stage, slap or slapping hands, yellow shirts, etc. identify the membership of the symbol users. Besides, they illustrate the relationships and interactions among members of the group. In addition, they play as a political-ideological representative to induce a common understanding and unity. Besides, displaying an identity of the large group, they also display an identity of sub-groups, i.e. Alliance of Srivijaya (or Srivijai) Warriors, Chinese Patriots, etc., by identifying which group one belongs to.

2.4 The Concepts on Political Movements

A gathering of people towards a political movement is one issue of the social movements, which can be classified into many issues: environment, women, labor, etc. Each movement in each issue has different purposes. In general, social movements is a common phenomenon nowadays, i.e. students' demonstration, People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), the Assembly of the Poor, etc. (Maniemai Thongyou, 2014, p. 1)

Edwards (2001, as cited in Somchai Phatharathananunth, 2016, pp. 22-23) stated that members of a social movement must have a common identity. Activists have a sense of membership, including common understandings and problem-resolution. Besides, they have an in-group attitude against other out-groups.

Tarrow (1998, as cited in Maniemai Thongyou, 2014, p. 5) added that a political conflict occurs when ordinary people join with some groups of influential people, especially supported by a social networking, to confront ruling classes, powerful people, or the adversaries.

Regarding social movements in Thai society, Prapart Pintobtang (2009, pp. 19-20) expressed his point of view that a demonstration, a rally, or an assembly to create a political force become habitual in Thai society. All classes of people gather together to commit a kind of collective action in the form of street politics. The assembly of people and the creation of a political force of organizations and people's alliances play an active role in public activities, i.e. an overthrow of a government, social and political changes, etc.

The concepts for analyzing a social or political movement have been developed fluidly in each period and are categorized as follow:

1) The Theory of Collective Behaviors. When facing political conflicts or abnormal situations, a large number of people will assemble to protest or request for something. Blumer (1951, as cited in Maniemai Thongyou, 2014, pp. 35-45) explained the mechanism that enables a development towards social movements with specific purposes as follows:

(1) Arousal. An arousal can be used at any stage of a movement but the most important stage is the initial or the starting period. An arouser plays a role as

a guide to illustrate disadvantages and to point out what should be done, including creating an expectation or encouraging people to disapprove their old condition or status. On the other hand, new stresses are created as an arousal to motivate people to gather towards a social movement. Therefore, a social movement requires an arouser's intent, skills, and knowledge.

(2) Collectiveness. What a movement needs to create through various methods is to build up an ingroup-outgroup relationship, an informal friendship establishment, and ritualistic behaviors, i.e. demonstration, slogans, songs, uniforms, or group symbols. All of these symbols create a collectiveness of a group.

(3) Morale. The use of morale is related to the creation of faith, i.e. a faith in the righteousness of the goal of the movement, a faith in the success of the movement, and a faith in sacred missions of the movement.

(4) Group Ideology. An ideology provides a direction, righteousness, and weapon for an attack, including an inspiration and expectation. Important features of a group ideology are academic and massive.

(5) Strategy. A strategy is created to form a movement, to maintain its unity, and to lead towards a success. A strategy used depends on a circumstance or environmental context of the movement and cultural background of the movement.

2) Resource Mobilization Theory. To accomplish the goals of a movement, resources are important factors. Prapart Pintobtang (2009, p. 67) pointed out that Resource Mobilization Theory is a theory about a mobilization of the mass, the selection of movement strategies towards an effectiveness, condition, and factors affecting the success and failure of the movement. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, as cited in Maniemai Thongyou, 2014, pp. 68-76) divided resources into four kinds: ethics and culture, organization and society, human resources, and material resources. The mechanism for accessing such resources is to mobilize supporters, self-making, adoption and possession, and patronage.

3) Political Process Theory. This theory focuses on political strikes and external political factors rather than economic factors (Maniemai Thongyou, 2014, p. 85). This theory believes that the success of a political movement comes from external factors, specifically the structure of political opportunities. It illustrates that the state or state institutions play a great role in mobilizing a power for a movement. (Somchai

Phatharathananunth, 2016, p. 180). As an indicator of political opportunities, Tarrow (1991, as cited in Prapart Pintobtang, 2009, pp. 101-102) defined a political opportunity in four aspects as follows:

- (1) A level of the opening and closing of a political system
- (2) A stability or instability of political order.
- (3) With or without a group support.
- (4) A rupture in leading classes or a tolerance of a leading class towards a movement

Later, Tarrow elaborated his explanation on an indicator of a political opportunity influencing social movements by dividing two levels of opportunity: a basic level that is difficult to change and an immediate level that can change easily.

4) Theory of a New Social Movement. A new social movement is not a movement based on any particular class. The issue or problem calling for a change is not narrow or related to particular group benefits. Instead, it is a movement by a self-autonomy without depending on any state mechanism. (Chairat Charoensin-o-larn, 2002, p. 2). This theory explains a process of structural changes in a society after the Post Industrial Age or Post Modernism and new forms of conflicts different from an industrial society. (Prapart Pintobtang, 2009, p. 128). The issues of a movement are diverse: genders, environment, ethnicity, culture, etc.

A political movement is a group formation with determined goals and claims. In a group operation, it needs to specify ways or methods used in mobilizing to the same direction in order to accomplish the target goals. Prapart Pintobtang (2009, p. 157-173) summarized all mobilization strategies as follow:

1) The strategy of obstructing or challenging the existing political system. This strategy is similar to a confrontation operation, which means a political operation without using any normal or regular mechanism to correct or rehabilitate a social unfairness. This strategy has two levels: 1) a challenging but legal operation by using a bravery of an offender, and 2) a wrong or illegal operation without a violence. Details are as follow:

(1) Civil disobedience: This political operation focuses on the mass, using peaceful means but violating existing laws intentionally, aimed to cause a legal change or an unfair policy amendment. Such political activities do not comply with

the laws or surrender for laws to stimulate the public conscience towards unfair laws, policies, and social structure, and to gain the public support.

(2) Boycott or a refusal to admit. This strategy is different from a civil disobedience in the way that it does not violate a law but needs to trade with some economic losses or activists' conveniences.

(3) Sit-in. It is a strategy of invading into a particular prohibited place to express a protest. This strategy is often used in a city where no strong mobilization has been established yet. Therefore, a movement is conducted by a small group of few people.

Besides, there are other strategies, i.e. a blockade of some places to obstruct a regular operation in such places. For instance, a blockade of governmental offices, a road blockade, or a peaceful demonstration at a place to express people's resistance to something, etc. Others are as following:

(1) The obstruction of a regular activity or procedure of the adversary party, of those concerned people, or powerful people. This is to enforce those people to pay attention to their claims or needs.

(2) Conflict expansion. For this strategy, activists pull outside people who have the power to make a political decision to get involved in the conflict and to make a political decision.

2) The Strategy of Using Violence. Tilly (1995) defined this strategy as an activity causing an injury, death, or damage, or all of them. This strategy can create widespread news effectively but portrays a social disorder. It calls an attention from all concerned like nonviolent strategies. In a democratic society nowadays, violent strategies are less popular while a government has more mechanisms to control the use of violence.

3) The Strategy of Complying with a Political System. This strategy is a normative means of a modern democracy, i.e. a balloting, demonstration, strike, etc. A demonstration reflects how many people involve in the movement. At present, a demonstration and strike are accepted as a legitimate political right in many countries.

2.5 Related Literature Review

From the review of related literature, three main topics are found: semiology, the construction and reconstruction of meanings, and issues of political movements, as follows

2.5.1 Semiology: The Construction and Reconstruction of Meanings

Manit Nuallaor (1997) studied “Political Symbols in Thai Politics: A case study in the period of Field Marshal Plaek (Por) Pibulsonggram (1938-1944).” It was found that Thailand during the period in which Field Marshal Por Pibulsonggram was a Prime Minister adopted several symbols to transmit various policies, including a symbolic struggle between the old and the new systems. A number of idea fights and signification towards a direct and indirect value of a political system were witnessed. Earlier, Thailand was governed by an Absolute Monarchy having the King as the utmost power of the country. The transmitted symbols were thus the Royal Signet or the great seal of the realm, the Royal Flag (the King’s flag), and other royal ceremonies, such as Royal Coronation, Consecrated Water, etc. Later, a new governance system was introduced into a country by People’s Council in 1932 to replace a monarchy system. Thus, a “constitution” is a symbol of the new governance system while “a king” of the old system. This illustrates that the use of political symbols is to create a new ideology and delete an old one by implanting some holiness into a constitution. From this study, four kinds of political symbols were used during the period of Field Marshal Por Pibulsonggram:

1) Ideological symbol: Constitution. The constitution was raised as the highest power while the King needed to be under the constitution and could use his power complying with the constitution. Ideological symbols comprise many components as follows:

(1) Important Day: December 10 of every year was set as The Constitution’s Day and June 24 (where the country changed their governance system) The National Day.

(2) Rituals and Royal Ceremonies. The form of the celebration of the constitution was gigantic and sacred. Besides, there were several constitution-related contests, i.e. plays, songs, poems, symposiums, speeches, paintings, etc.

(3) Construction: A concrete construction, i.e. Constitution Monument as a symbol reflecting a protection of the country's new governance system, stamps or seals, etc.

(4) Name change. The name of the country was changed from "Siam" to "Thailand" and reflected a change from the Absolute Monarchy to a democratic system since the word "Thai" meant "an independence" or an independence from the old governance system.

(5) Songs, i.e. the national song, Thai Royal Anthem, etc., were composed of patriotic content to arouse the Thai people's patriotism while devaluing the Royal Anthem.

(6) Symbolic Act. Some actions towards His Majesty the King Rama the seventh and his wives, i.e. a control over all of their properties, were a symbol reflecting a new paradigm of the country.

2) Ideological Symbols: Patriotism. These symbols emphasize a pride of the nation's dignity and honor by valuing and supporting a patriotic ideology.

(1) A salute to the national flag. A salute to the national flag originated in 1939 and designated 8.00 AM as the salute time, which is the creation of new culture in the form of symbols to compete with the traditional institutions.

(2) A demand for lost territories from France and the Indo-China War. Thai people or Siamese were aroused to call back their land back in several ways, i.e. leaflets, patriotic songs, etc. People of various groups throughout the country collaborated and supported the movements widely.

(3) Anti-Chinese policies. A number of anti-Chinese policies, i.e. a competing commercial role with China, a restriction of trade rights, a closure of Chinese schools and newspapers, a requirement for Chinese to learn Thai and to change their nationality to be Thai, etc.

(4) Construction. The creation of objects or places aimed to convey a sense of patriotism, such as the building of Victory Monument to portray a harmony

and patriotism of Thai people in collaboratively claiming back the lost land during the Indo-China war between Thailand and France successfully.

(5) Thai unique identity: Buddhism. Buddhism was designated as the national religion and other nationalities, not Thai, were barred.

3) Modernity Symbols. Modernity symbols were developed by revising the national culture against Japan, including other operations with a sense of an opposition.

(1) An abolishment of old traditions to delete old belief systems, i.e. the cancellation of ceremonies, a prostration or a crawl, a worship in royal ceremonies, a change of a new year's day, the abolishment of feudalism, a persuasion for discrediting auspicious time, etc.

(2) Language revision. Examples were the revision of Thai letters and writing styles, new pronouns, reply words, negative words, addresses, naming, and modern words, i.e. "happy birthday," etc.

(3) Creation of new culture, i.e. dressing, a hat wearing, no betel chewing, etc.

(4) Promotion of women's status. Women were promoted to be equal to men, i.e. the establishment of women soldiers; female soldier recruits schools, and female sergeant schools.

4) A Leader's Personal Charisma and Righteous Symbols. Due to the change in governance systems and a trend of patriotism, the modernization of the country was highly focused. Field Marshal Por Pibulsonggram thus tried to improve his personal qualifications be admired and trusted by general people.

(1) Personal characteristics, i.e. powerful, charisma, etc.

(2) Symbols of power as the political leader, i.e. the constitution protector or the protector of the new system, etc.

(3) Personal symbols. The use of "a chicken" (year of birth) and "green color" (birthday) of Field Marshal Por Pibulsonggram to decorate i.e. doors, windows, fences, chairs, etc., in Samakkeechai Government House.

(4) Ceremonies for intensifying the leader's charisma or power, i.e. soldier ceremonies, a salute to the leader's image in a theatre, etc.

(5) Slogans, praises, songs for admiring and intensifying the leader's power.

From the aforementioned use of symbols, it is found that there has been a connection between symbols, such as a modernity symbol is connected with an ideological and patriotic symbol. This illustrates that each type of symbols can reinforce the meanings for one another. Besides, four kinds of symbols of Field Marshal Por Pibulsonggram all strengthen a stability and firmness for the new government, including being political symbolic between the old and new systems by using symbols as a tool in competing, fighting, destroying, replacing, devaluing, and responding, etc.

Chanida Prompayak (2000) studied a Tri-colored (or Tri-Rong) Thai flag and the creation of the state ideologies from 1916 to 1977. She found that a Tri-Rong flag was designated as Siamese national flag used in religious ceremonies, including the creation of tokens identifying the position and rank of the King, the masters, nobles, etc., and signaling signs for organizing a troop. Later, after the change of ruling of the country under the period of General Phraya Phahol Pha Yuha Sena. Field Marshal Por Pibulsonggram intensified the holiness of the Tri-Rong flag as a symbol of the independence and sovereignty of the nation. Regulations about manners and behaviors to do with the Flag, i.e. a regular salute every morning and evening, were set up. Therefore, during the initial period of Marshal Por Pibulsonggram, a Tri-Rong flag was a symbol of sacredness, the representation of the nationhood, and the power of the Thai government. Especially, the Tri-Rong flag became a vital symbol in a struggle against political ideologies at that time, such as in the event of October 14, 1973, and October 6, 1976, while a symbol representing the monarchy institution was devalued. Not only being a symbol of an independence, sovereignty, and three significant institutions: nation, religion, and the monarchy, the Tri-Rong flag also contained spiritual meaning. It reflects a patriotism and a collective feeling of people in the nation. In addition, the Flag was not used only in ceremonies and political movements, it was also used in the national sports competition or even was the colors sports viewers painted on their body to express their patriotism. At present, the use of a national flag as a symbol is not limited by the state but general people can use it as a way of expression to respond to the popular trend in a society.

Niti Churstarponsiri (2001) studied the political meanings of architectural designs of Thai government buildings: case studies of city halls and found the architectural aspects of the city halls in four periods:

The first period: prior to the Reform of the Administration in 1892. In this period, the King tried to prove the effectiveness of the Absolute Monarchy so the architecture of the City Hall portrayed such an effort to gain the public's acceptance of power. However, it was unsuccessful. Nobody dominated the meaning nor political righteousness.

The second period: the display of success. In this period, a success of the Monarchy in centralizing and controlling the power was reflected in the architecture of this period. Thai King could dominate the meaning and political righteousness.

The third period: after the ruling change in 1932. The City Hall in this period reflects a success of the political change and the strengthening of political power from the central part. Those who would gain a political righteousness must have a power in the governmental systems.

The fourth period: economic and social restoration. In this period, a number of economic and social development plans were implemented, leading to complete a new democratic governance system of the country. The City Hall thus conveyed the righteousness of this new democracy, which became more realistic in practice. The political righteousness must reveal the acceptance of a diversity in a society and thus be reflected through the architectural structure

In overall, every period tried to express the political righteousness of Thai governmental systems and their adjustment according to the political changes in each period through the architecture of the city halls.

Vipaporn Korjaranchit (2002) studied the portrayal of “whiteness” in television advertisements and found that in Thai history, the meaning of “whiteness” was reconstructed and deconstructed. In the old time, whiteness contained the same and significant meanings like other colors in every context. However, up to present its meaning has been reconstructed and deconstructed through an advertising process. From an analysis of TV advertisements, five meanings have been found: beauty, good health, cleanliness, purity, and naturalness. The last meaning was the only meaning that was decoded by Oppositional Reading. Despite the capacity of an appearance of

meanings across contexts, the meaning of “whiteness” requires that composes of the chemical component only. Besides, it was found that the meaning of whiteness in advertisements was constructed through five components: themes and plots, a selected representation, characters, scenes and light, dialogues and narration. Besides, factors affecting the construction of whiteness meaning in TV advertisements were scientific knowledge, capitalism, consumption culture, middle class people, and male directors.

Adchara Panthanuwong (2008) studied myths and ideology in political campaigns of the Thai Rak Thai Party in a general election on February 6, 2005, by semiotic analysis. It was found that the Party constructed the meanings, both denotative and connotative, in its campaigns through visual and linguistic signs. All signs were constructed with technical-practical codes and social codes. From the analysis of denotative and connotative meanings to find a schematic structure, three types of structure were found: binary oppositions, metaphor especially metonymy, and narratives. Besides, several kinds of reading or decoding: Dominant, Negotiated, and Oppositional were found. The campaigns used signs to construct meanings supporting the Party’s ideologies, such as a myth of patriotism, sponsorship, otherness, and middle-class. However, such myths and ideologies were for supporting the benefits of political and economic elites. Furthermore, different interpretations or readings on part of receivers of the advertisements were found. The findings imply that lower-class people still needed some spaces for fighting for political ideologies and the media literacy knowledge on political communication through campaigns should be provided for them. The research results could be used as guidelines in analyzing signs used in a political communication by a semiotic approach.

Sujikan Wathathiyapon (2010) studied symbolic products in political movement spaces: the case study on symbolic products of the People’s Alliance for Democracy (PAD). This study aimed to investigate the origin and market of symbolic products in a political movement of PAD and a collective identity conveyed through such products. It was found that PAD used a new form of a political movement by highlighting its group identity, arousing conscience, and applying several movement strategies, i.e. a non-violent demonstration and a symbolic struggle via several kinds of symbolic products or objects in the movement space. Therefore, the market of these symbolic products originated from a political base. In the beginning, products

were used as a supplementary tool of the demonstration until they were popular, reproduced, and became a new kind of product. This enhanced the opening of a space for product markets in parallel to the demonstrations. Accordingly, such strategies were a non-violent protest in combination with political ideologies via products. Besides, within the product markets, a special management system was conducted for an orderly spatial organization with stipulated regulations of selling products within the political movement areas.

Products and markets were also related to cultural factors since it was the group culture that enhanced the value of identity and meanings into the products. On the other hand, it was inevitable that economic factors concerning sales dimension also involved. The meanings of the products were found to be more valued than their utility. Besides, the identity of the products is like the representatives of the supporters in the political movements by indicating their identity to the outsiders while the insiders accepted their reflected identity from the outsiders. This acknowledgment could be achieved by a symbolic interaction towards one another and the group used products as symbols for expressing their relationships and group identity. Furthermore, it was found that different social contexts and conditions, i.e. roles, status, situations, and common feelings enable different significations and values from the point of view of most product sellers, who formerly used to be activists. Therefore, they interpreted the meanings not so differently from the present activists in this movement. From the buyers' perspective, besides due to their faith and a political ideology, the buyers bought the products because of other reasons, i.e. scarce products, souvenirs, and an encouragement for the sellers, etc.

Nattanyanop Suksai (2009) studied the process of signification and value of Jatuakarmramathep in a commercial sociocultural context and found that 1) the signifier and the signified of Jatuakarmramathep has existed in Nakhon Si Thammarat area for a long time but the production of it as a holy object started in 1987. 2) At the initial stage, the production of this holy object was for a gift or a souvenir. However, during 2005-2008, it becomes products and symbolic products obviously. Its meaning was reconstructed from being a holy object to a holy product. The added sales volume as a gift or souvenir to a product was 3.8 million baht per/per piece for some lots of production, which was affected by the cost of a production process, an economic

change, beliefs and culture, and public relations factors. 3) The meaning and value of Jatuakarmramathep were constructed in every stage: before, during, and after the production. 4) Public relations and advertising played a great role in reconstructing the meanings and value of Jatuakarmramathep, and 5) the economic and cultural context of Nakhon Si Thammarat, which tended to be a more consumption society and commercial-concentrated since 1997, played a significant role in the growth of the Jatuakarmramathep consumption.

Busayagorn Teeraputtigunchai (2010) studied “A Communication Process in Reconstructing the Meaning of Funeral Ceremony” and found that regarding the status of the funeral ceremony, changes in ceremony components occurred in three stages. In the first stage, the funeral ceremony was constructed as a sign to display the face or the wealth of a host. In the second stage, it was constructed within a community space and thus as a sign to illustrate the helpfulness and collaboration of a community. For instance, the “No-Alcohol Project” induced the process of deconstruction of meaning for ceremony participants who were drinkers and reconstruction of the meaning of the community area as a demonstration area for forbidding alcohols in the funeral ceremony. In the third stage, the funeral ceremony became a sign of helpfulness and collaboration with a new identity as a “No-Alcohol in a Funeral Ceremony” community. The communication process for reconstructing the meanings was conducted by a Negotiating Reading with denotative and connotative meanings of alcohols. Besides, the myth of alcohols and the funeral ceremony were also deconstructed. However, the communication of the reconstructed meaning of “alcohol” needed to be conducted in parallel to the reconstructed meaning of “the loss caused by the funeral ceremony.” Therefore, “alcohol” was only a sign of a set of signs. Besides, it was found that during the early second stage and the third stage of building a strong community, a participatory communication was conducted, i.e. a small group discussion, a village meeting, a sub-village meeting, and collective activities in a funeral ceremony. Furthermore, the community leaders with high socio-cultural capital participated in every stage of the communication process for the meaning reconstruction of the funeral ceremony.

2.5.2 Political Movement

Prajak Kongkirati (2002) studied, “Prior to October 14: The Political-Cultural Movement of Students and Intellectuals under Military Dictatorship System, and found that students and the public formed their social groups caused by economic and educational development policies of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat. A discourse network was formed to express the members’ ideas via print media published as an alternative for a society obsessed by the government and mainstream media. During that time, progressive intellectuals and students were very active in politics and gathered into groups for a political discussion and conversation. Besides, they also expressed their ideas through a poem and short stories. At that time, it was called “the age of a dictatorship” in which a number of written works were suppressed, newspapers were censored, journalists and writers expressing opposing ideas were arrested. Accordingly, prior to and during the event of October, 14, an expression of political ideas through writings, literature, poetry, books, journals, and print media were witnessed widely. The political ideology at that time was inspired from both inside and outside the country. Some groups were influenced by American and European trains of thought through graduates from abroad and foreign print media, which needed to usurp the negative meaning defined by the conservationists, such as “New Left” conveyed the meaning of activists with violent ideas and emotions, focusing on a deterioration and destruction. Mostly, it oriented to young people’s political movements in changing a society, a riot against culture and old tradition or institutions, a restoration of Thai left socialists’ ideas and literature in 1987 via thinkers of that time, a library, old books markets, etc., which were publicized, reproduced, and adapted to inspire people to fight with dictators’ power.

Kanokwan Phongwilaisap (2008) studied the persuasive strategies of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD). It was found that PAD used mass media, personal media, and specialized media in persuading their tactics for the demonstration management, i.e. the building of faith in the leaders with a credibility and ideological faith, the construction of demonstration symbols, i.e. yellow slapping hands, logos of PAD, and songs, emphasizing non-violence principles.

Wanchat Komolvivat (2011) studied political communication via online social networks of “the Color Shirt Group” and found that the Color Shirt Group originated

from the group formation in online media because of its discontentment and the needs for their political expressions. The main media used the most by the group was personal media in transmitting the message and verifying information, followed by online media. Mass media was found to have very little attention to the group because of its little political involvement and expression as it was just a temporary specific group.

Wichan Champakhao (2011) studied the political communication of People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD): case study of a demonstration after the election on December 23, 2007. It was found that the sender or the leaders of PAD are knowledgeable, experienced, and skillful in communication. In addition, the group had a wide network that could attract and persuade the audience. The message could persuade and arouse a common feeling within the group. Besides, fundamental structure and factors in participatory communication and members' information exchange helped to disseminate the information within the group rapidly. Especially, a number of facilities provided for strengthening the gathering of the group in order were major factors for the mass mobilization and for handling masses of people continually. Furthermore, PAD had a variety of communication channels, i.e. speech on stage, print media, TV, websites, audio-visual media, etc. All these media could transmit the message in a systematic way and reproduce the group's message all the time. Besides, they could create a political consciousness of the mass. Finally, the receivers were diverse in many dimensions, i.e. occupations, educations, social status, and ages. Particularly, they had an attitude in the same direction as PAD. Since the content of the message focused on the present time, namely political environment and events happening at that time, this detailed political message enables receivers with some basic understandings to believe and gain better understanding towards common consciousness and ideology with the group easily.

Saranya Chaiwan (2011) studied new media in Thai political society: the case study of Facebook Voice TV. It was found that Facebook Voice TV, besides being a new media in reflecting a movement in the media business in Thai society, reflected the growth trends of internet users and people's information consumption behaviors. Most of the people were middle-class who wanted to create a communication community in a public space to express their political opinions. They were active in

politics especially in using new media to follow the consumption of news, different from what was presented in mainstream media, and to search for a public space to communicate their political ideas under some conditional structures, i.e. most media regulated by the state or government. Furthermore, it was found that the use of new media of media business tended to present their political news with content and style different from that of the mainstream media, especially a focus on insight analysis programs by interviewing with major sources or public figures. Regarding the news consumption behaviors of the new media users (or followers), it was found that at present the diffusion of technologies and communication networks in an internet world correlated to the middle class people's enthusiasm and political movements in creating a communication community in public sphere to express their political views in a democratic society. It also correlated to the new pattern of political movement through a participation in the public sphere or a newly created community via new media and information consumption no

Panitan Phichalai (2012) studied the political struggle of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) in the period of Thaksin Shinawatra government. A qualitative research was conducted by an in-depth interview, aimed to explore the strategies PAD used in a political struggle. The results showed that the issue raised by PAD tried to convey the meaning to the mass that "Thaksin government is trying to deteriorate or destroy national, religious, and monarchical institutions and PAD is fighting to protect them." PAD emphasized such meaning through the construction of political symbols, i.e. slogans, songs, shirts, etc., via various media in Manager Groups as the major strategies in a political struggle against Thaksin government in 2006.

Arthit Suriyawongkul (2012) studied Politics on Facebook: Political Culture in Thai Online Social Network from 2010 to 2012. It was found that online political movements in Thailand required a financial capital like the offline movements but online social networks allowed general people to accumulate and transform their social and cultural capital more conveniently. Although what happened in online social networks was not all novel, it could make the communication widespread and the power in controlling the area moved into the hands of general people increasingly. Besides, the creativity and cultural capital enhanced the possibility of some

expressions, which were very hard to do normally in a society, and increased the freedom of expression and in assembling.

Media Monitor (2013) studied, “Political Communication in Facebook and Online Newspapers: Case Study of V for Thailand”. From the analysis of V for Thailand page, it was found that a film called, “V for Vendetta” was presented and introduced with some guidelines of making a Guy Fawkes Mask, a symbol of V for Thailand, which was a symbol to dethrone a crooked government, to connect with the intended meaning and causes of the political movements. The Guy Fawkes Mask developed from the film, “V for Vendetta” used by the hero in the movie in his political movements represented a struggle with the unfair government. Besides, information useful for inspecting the government's policies were presented, together with the information about the activities of other groups with congruent political concepts, such as “White Mask Group: Power of Goodness”, “Power of Dharma”, “Woman Thailand.” The main content of V for Thailand page was the members’ political standpoint in abolishing Thaksin System, the criticism of political scandals, and communication for political movements i.e. the appointment and assembly in the rally.

For news reporting on media relating to V for Thailand, it was found that information sources of the government, Red-Shirts, and Alliances of Red-Shirts tended to report about the identity of V for Thailand in the same direction. In other words, they reported that V for Thailand was connected to White-Mask Group and the old political groups, such as groups related with Thai Spring and mobs at Sanam Luang, groups supporting Yellow-Shirts, and groups calling for a military revolution. For groups of scholars, V for Thailand was identified as a civil movement mainly while articles in newspapers analyzed V for Thailand as being connected with old political groups and other political groups, i.e. Thai Spring, Yellow-Shirts, etc., and also as a civil movement. For instance, they explained that V for Thailand is a modern political movement and most of them indicated that non-transparency or ambiguity of the government was the main cause for the movement and a political rally of V for Thailand.

Siriporn Kitprakob (2015) studied “Suthep as a political campaign communicator from the point of view of political journalists, scholars in communication and political

science”, and found that Suthep was a trustworthy and accountable leader with a power and charisma leadership. He presented as a group leader by resigning from being the House representative and member of the Democratic Party. He was a leader emphasizing the use of an emotional appeal by connecting to the feeling of the mass and adjusting his emotion in relations to each situation. A number of signs were constructed to emphasize the goal of the rally, to strengthen power and enthusiasm of the mass to be assembled. For instance, he called the participants as “Mass of Great People”, which was reproduced through various media and communication channels. He used “a national flag” as a center for calling spirits and souls and as a symbol for protecting the country and the monarchy. A whistle was also used as a symbol of their fighting, of calling for an assembly upon irregular circumstances, and of arousing general people to be awakened.

2.5.3 Foreign Research

Wen-Hsin Ho (2010) studied “Framing and Social Movements: A Case Study on The Red Shirt Movement in Taiwan,” a study on a rally against the president involving with a corruption. Red T-shirts were used as a symbol of the Red Shirt. The findings showed that a political opportunity was a major factor of a political movement of the Red Shirt as it was the issue interested by general people, i.e. the administrative defects of the president, which aroused a challenge against the governmental power. The result of this study led to change the concept that mass media always played a significant role in any movements.

Mikhaylova (2014) studied “The Anonymous Movement: Hacktivism as an Emerging Form of Political Participation”, which was a political movement of the group called, “Anonymous.” The group was very well known and had networks around the world. The movement was mobilized by an attack on a computer system and by the use of a Guy Fawkes Mask, which was symbols of the group. The study was conducted by content analysis and in-depth interviews. From the findings regarding the Mask symbol, it was found that the symbol was used to convey the opposition against powerful groups and government. The masks also helped to conceal the wearers’ identity and to avoid being arrested. Besides, the mask became a symbol to let people know more about the group.

Avalos (2014) studied “Symbolic Intersection on the fourth and Figueroa Street I: A Spatial Discourse Analysis of Occupy Los Angeles Day of Action Protest.” It was found that the action protest in “Occupy Los Angeles” did not display the protest area as an ordinary space but is full of concrete symbols and ideologies. The protest was expressed in the space, where was the center of business, in mobilizing people. Therefore, the place represented a political ideology. The political rally was an assembly of labor class for their political expression via the use of action protest by occupying or seizing the area and symbolizing with tents and sleeping bags as the laborers’ power and control.

Lampard (2017) studied “Understanding Culture in Social Movements: A Historical Materialist Approach to the Guy Fawkes Mask.” It was found that the Guy Fawkes Mask had been widely diffused around the world and used differently according to the happenings. The Mask was found to play various roles for the activists. The use of the Mask depended on the protest culture and on its own capability. The factors of a wider context revealed different kinds of groups using the Mask. The construction of its meaning also varied according to the culture, surrounding environment, and context. Therefore, the meanings of the Mask is diverse and the purpose of using the Mask ranged from a local problem up to global dilemmas, i.e. capitalism. Besides, the Mask signified a unity, power, or even a fashion. Another reason for having a mask was to hide their identity to avoid being inspected. Besides, social media enabled the Mask to be more diffused, especially in the technological era where all problems around the world were all connected, i.e. freedom, cultural and religious conflicts, etc.

2.6 The Conceptual Framework of the Study

The research, “Communication via the Symbols of the Guy Fawkes Mask and the Whistle in Political Movements in Thailand,” aims to analyze the constructed meanings of the symbols used in political movements in Thailand, to study its role in such movements, and to explore the reconstruction of the meaning of the symbols used in political movements in Thailand. The conceptual framework of the study is as follows:

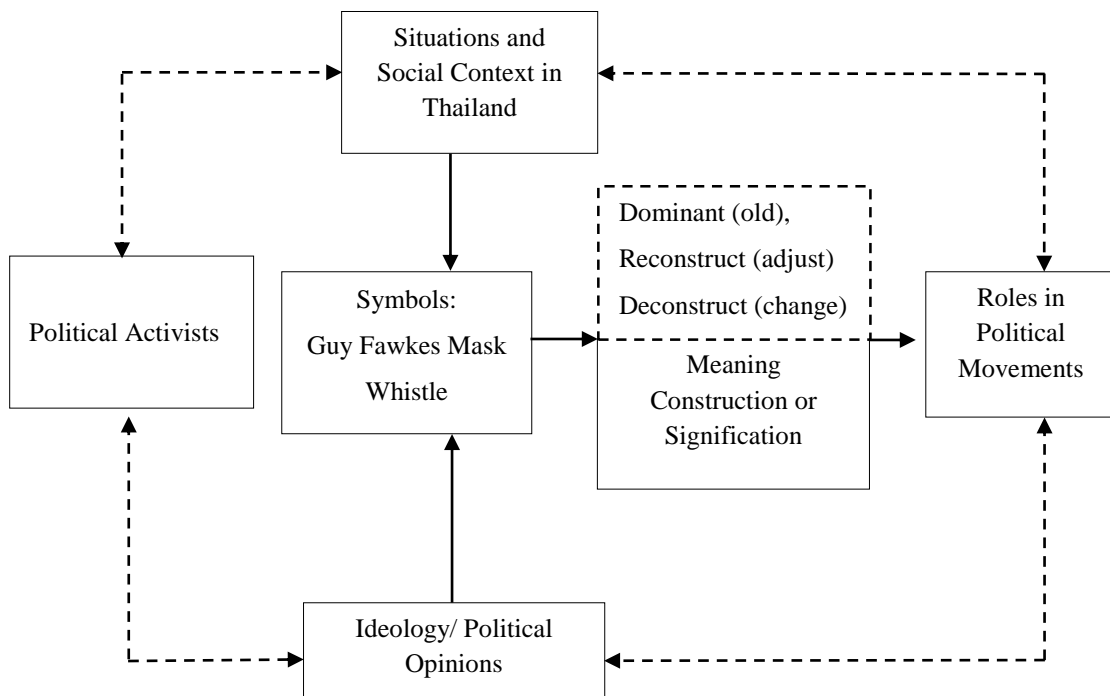


Figure 2.3 The Conceptual Framework of the Study

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study entitled, “Symbolic Communication through Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles in Political Movements in Thailand,” is a qualitative research conducted by documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with details as follows

3.1 Sources

In this study, the data concerning symbols, namely Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles for political movements, were collected from three perspectives from the concept of Semiology: a sender, text, and the audience.

3.1.1 Personal Sources

Personal sources were used for interpreting the studied symbols and for their opinions about the meanings and roles of the symbols used in political movements. Personal sources were people who used to participate in or who experienced the political demonstration by using some symbols, including people connected with “the White Mask”, “V for Thailand,” or “PDRC” (People’s Democratic Reform Committee)

Twenty-nine subjects were divided into two groups: 12 subjects using a Guy Fawkes Mask and 17 subjects using a whistle.

3.1.2 Documentary and other Concerned Sources

Documentary and other concerned sources were used for analyzing the meanings and roles of the symbols used in political movements and for their reconstruction of the symbols’ meanings:

3.1.2.1 Books, published during 2013-2015, on the history and background of a Guy Fawkes Mask and a whistle for a political movement:

- 1) LLP Exclusive: White Masks and A Battle to Claim Thailand back to Thai People by Yodmala.
- 2) Memoirs of the Whistle-Blowers (A photo book of the Great Mass of People's movement) by Kanjabadinth Sudlapa.
- 3) Power III series. The Great Mass of People Never Gives Up: A New Face of Thai Politics by Rungmanee Meksophon.
- 4) The Power of Change: Suthep Thaugsuban, a Headman from Tha Saton to Street Protests and a Whistle Riot by Suthep Thaugsuban et al.
- 5) Epic of the Grace Dance of the Great Mass of People by Cholthira Satyawadhna.
- 6) The Voice of Revolutionary Whistles by the editorial board of Matichon Newspaper.
- 7) 203 Days of Shutting Down Yingluck and Opening an Era of NCPO (National Council of Peace and Order) by the editorial board of Matichon Newspaper.
- 8) Matichon's Record of Thailand: 2013-2015 by Matichon Information Center.

3.1.2.2 Informational Sources

News, reports, scoops, and interviews with concerned people disseminated from May 2013-May 2015 from online newspapers and online news agencies since they can provide timely and updated news and backward-reference searching can be conducted, including magazines and journals as follow:

- 1) Online Newspaper
 - (1) Manager Online
 - (2) Thairath Online
 - (3) Daily News Online
 - (4) Khao Sod Online
 - (5) Matichon Online
 - (6) Kom Chad Luek Online
 - (7) Naewna Online
 - (8) Ban Muang Online
 - (9) Bangkok Business Online

- (10) Prachachat Business Online
- (11) Thai Post Online
- (12) Post Today Online
- 2) Online News Agency
 - (1) Isranews
 - (2) Prachatai
 - (3) Thai Publica
 - (4) T News
 - (5) INN
- 3) Journals and Magazines
 - (1) The Nation Weekly
 - (2) ASTV Weekly
 - (3) Matichon Weekly

3.1.2.3 The Dissemination of Information and News about Important People on an Online Social Network from May 2013 to May 2015:

- 1) Facebook Fan page: V for Thailand
- 2) Facebook Fan page: Suthep Thaugsuban
- 3) Facebook Fan page: Oak Panthongtae Shinawatra
- 4) Facebook Fan page: Blue sky Channel

3.2 Data Collection

1) For an in-depth interview, the data were collected from subjects by a purposive sampling of concerned people or subjects who used to participate in political movements, especially with white-mask, V for Thailand, and PDRC movements, divided into two groups:

(1) Subjects involved in the movements at a moderate level, i.e. those responsible for major guidelines for a movement or those who are famous and well known at a national level, mostly connected with scholars, politicians, and key leaders.

(2) Subjects involved in the movements at a general or low level, i.e. those experiencing demonstrations with symbols or those participating in a

demonstration, i.e. street protestors, leaders or members of concerned movement groups.

Table 3.1 Samples or Interviewees using a Symbol of Guy Fawkes Mask

Involvement at a Moderate Level	General/Low Level
A) Politician	E) Protestor
B) Politician	F) Protestor
C) A Representative of V For Thailand	G) Protestor
D) Scholar	H) Protestor
	I) Protestor
	J) Protestor
	K) Protestor
	L) Protestor

Table 3.2 Samples or Interviewees using a Whistle Symbol

Involvement at a Moderate Level	General/Low Level
A) Scholar	I) Protestor
B) Scholar	J) Protestor
C) Whistle-symbol maker	K) Protestor
D) Leader	L) Protestor
E) Leader	M) Protestor
F) Leader	N) Protestor
G) Leader	O) Protestor
H) Leader	P) Protestor
	Q) Protestor

Interview Questions

1) An understanding of the background of the use of symbols for a political movement

- 2) An interpretation of symbols used in political movements
- 3) Roles and objectives of using symbols for political movements.
- 4) The ways of using symbols in political movements.
- 5) Attitudes towards the use of symbols for political movements
- 6) Circumstances of using symbols in political movements

2) For a document analysis, data were analyzed for the signification and transformation of meanings of Guy Fawkes Mask and whistle symbols, including contexts in which symbols were used during political movements and demonstration, including symbols transmitted through online social networks in various forms.

(1) Criteria for the Selection of Sources

a) Mass media or central media presenting news on the movements of White-Mask, V For Thailand, or PDRC protestors, i.e. online newspapers, online news agencies, magazines, and journals in the forms of news, reports, scoops, and interviews with concerned samples, which were publicized or disseminated from May 2013 to May 2015.

b) Online social media of direct groups, i.e. Facebook Fan page, etc. publicizing from May 2013 to May 2015.

c) Symbolic Media, i.e. Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles, in various forms, shapes, designs, and colors, or other similar symbols appearing in media.

(2) Issues or Topics for Documentary Analysis

a) Meanings and background of symbols

b) Contexts, situations, and application patterns.

c) A comparison of symbols in various forms

d) The modification or reconstruction of symbolic meanings transmitted in political movements.

3.3 Data Analysis

1) Findings from an interview were interpreted towards meanings and roles of the use of symbols in political movements and were analyzed based on an interview guide.

2) Content was analyzed on a table sheet for analyzing and interpreting data from documents, books, articles, news about all kinds of movement activities to explore the meanings and roles of symbols in various contexts, including the transformation or modification of symbols used in political movements.

3) All findings were summarized and synthesized to see the roles of symbols while the meanings of the symbols were integrated from three perspectives and classified into groups of meanings. Findings were analyzed comparatively in order to find the modification or transformation of the symbols' meanings.

3.4 Data Presentation

For the data presentation, descriptive analysis of all findings from both documentary research and in-depth interviews is conducted and presented in accordance with the research questions to conclude the meanings and roles of symbols used in political movements.

CHAPTER 4

GUY FAWKES MASK SYMBOL

Guy Fawkes mask symbol was used under a variety of contexts in the political movements worldwide. In Thailand, Guy Fawkes mask, commonly known as White Mask or V Mask, became the symbol of an important movement following the conflict incident originated politically and led to anti-government trends. With the data compilation from document analysis and in-depth interviews about the white mask symbol or Guy Fawkes masks used in Thai political movement, the details of the research results are as follows:

4.1 Meanings of the Symbol

The origin of Guy Fawkes masks came from a different culture. Although some people might have known Guy Fawkes before as a role of the hero in a movie many years ago, or probably from a movie souvenir, some might have never seen it before but saw it the first time in the anti-government movement against Thaksin regime. According to the data collected, it was found that the symbol of Guy Fawkes mask used on the Thai political landscape has many varieties of meanings.

4.1.1 Meaning of Guy Fawkes Mask

Meaning of Guy Fawkes Mask: the use of Guy Fawkes masks in Thai politics and context, with the given meanings of how it was used before, manifested itself in various meanings. With the data analysis according to the factors and the characteristics of the political movements, the meanings can be categorized as follows:

Table 4.1 Meanings of Guy Fawkes Masks in Thai Political Movements

Categories of the Meaning Groups	Examples of Meanings
1) Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin regime) and Yingluck government	oppose to Thaksin regime and Thaksin, oppose to Capitalism, expel Thaksin regime, disapprove Shinawatra families, reject Thaksin regime, dissatisfied with the government under Thaksin regime, eradicate Thaksin regime, eradicate Thaksin, rebel against the State, object and oppose to the government administration, anti- corrupted government, defy the State authority, anti-government, defy the authoritarian government, disapprove government, dissatisfied with government, reject government, disagree with government, reject government, outcast politicians, overthrow government
2) Politics/Governance	rebel against ruling authority, disapprove totalitarian in the House of Representatives, fight against dictatorship, overthrow the authoritarian and the corruption, oppose to a corruption, evil, social unfairness, disagree to an unfair ruling, fight against unfairness/injustice and wrongdoing
3) Monarchy	oppose to monarchy defamation, loyalists to monarchy, nationalist and monarchy,

Table 4.1 (Continued)

Categories of the Meaning Groups	Examples of Meanings
4) Definition of protesters	people, good people, justice lover, free people, dissenters from the government, fighters against government
5) Definition of movement	power, pure power, purity, virtue, bravery, equality and equal opportunity, victory
6) Emotions	unwelcome, dissatisfied, dislike, hate
7) Concept and methods of movements	non-violence, anonymous, incognito
8) Needs and goals	demand for democracy, justice, human rights, freedom, oppose to amnesty bill, suppression of injustice, protection of one's country

4.1.1.1 Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin regime) and Yingluck government

There were two major opposition factions in Thai political conflicts causing the previous movements: the supporter faction and the anti-Thaksin regime faction. The issue raised about Thaksin regime or Thaksin Shinawatra is meant directly to Thaksin himself and the ways he administrated the country. The meaning represented by Guy Fawkes mask is used in the form of expressions of denial and outcast, or the terms used such as overthrow or expel. The protesters had the same points of view that the administration in Yingluck's government had no difference from the one of Thaksin's that has bad effects over the country. Considering the major movement trends, they go in the same direction as of how Guy Fawkes mask had been used as a symbol. Moreover, the movement activities and the share of the same political ideology can reflect well of the above-mentioned meaning.

The White Masks Group gathered in front of Central World Plaza to show power against Thaksin (“An anti-Thaksin rally of white-mask mobs,” 2013)

The White Masks Group, on the appointment, showed up at Central World. Ready to meet all over the country to show popular power to expel the Yingluck’s government for the fourth time consecutively (“White Masks came as appointed,” 2013)

Just to expel them, go away all Thaksin’s followers (Demonstrator F, personal communication, May 2, 2017)

We gathered together in a huge number because we want everyone in our society to know, the media to broadcast to all Thais in the country to see that we don’t want Thaksin’s regime (Demonstrator H, personal communication, September 7, 2017)

From the concept of our political movements wearing a mask every time, it is an expression of discontent towards the government and Thaksin regime (Cholthira Satyawadhna, 2014, p. 52)

Upon seeing someone with a white mask, I know instantly that this is the white mask group, expressing the same purpose of opposition: overthrowing Thaksin’s regime (Demonstrator G, personal communication, December 28, 2016)

Over 300 White mask protesters from Pattalung gathered to overthrow Thaksin’s regime and agreed to meet every Sunday (“White Masks in Phattalung,” 2013)

The Popular Forces have risen, we announced that we will eradicate Thaksin regime completely from Thailand (V for Thailand, 2013)

Being the rebels against the State means, frankly...whenever you use white masks, the opposition is the State. (Representative of V for Thailand and scholar D, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

Street protesters wearing white masks gathered in front of Central World Department Store, and rallied to tie black ribbons on the entrance gate of Royal Thai Police Headquarters (RTPH) and moved onwards heading to Bangkok Art and Culture Centre to show popular forces against the

administration of Yingluck's government ("A protest against Yingluck's government of white masks," 2013)

Mass of over 500 White Masks members gathered and demonstrated around the city of Nakhon Ratchasima to protest the country administration of Yingluck Shinawatra and its political dictatorship. The mass made a vow and continued protesting the corrupting government in every form. ("White Masks in Nakhon Ratchasima protested Corruptions," 2013)

The White Mask is the group identity, who protests against the authority of the government. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, September 10, 2016)

Just want to oppose to the government, the mask is a chosen tool (Politician B, personal communication, November 10, 2016)

Prior to the gathering of the white mask group, there was a Facebook post belonging to the group that there will be a meeting of V people on Sunday 21st July 2013 to overthrow Thaksin regime and to disapprove the administration of Yingluck's government. ("White Masks gathered at CTW and yelled to overthrow Thaksin Regime," 2013)

In response to Mr. Kwanchai, the white mask group reasoned that the group's rally caused no damage to Udon Thani province because it is feasible to show expressions of democracy through its activities when disliking the administration run by Thaksin Shinawatra's sister ("Came as scheduled Kwanchai blocked Udon white masks," 2013)

Just to tell people that we disagree what the government is doing, there are people who disapprove of what are wrongdoings (Demonstrator I, personal communication, March 16, 2017)

It's a way to express how to banish Yingluck's government ("The White Mask group driving out 'Yingluck' is being concerned all over the world," 2013)

4.1.1.2 Politics/Governance

Apart from the issues of Thaksin regime and Yingluck's, Guy Fawkes mask also signifies the features of politics and administration under the government which related to what the government has done to the people such as for being dictatorial, corrupt, there are corruption and inequality, all of the meanings are associated with those meanings from the movie V For Vendetta and the worldwide political movements that occurred due to the same situations and political and ruling features which resulted in this popular movement.

To summarize, Guy Fawkes is the form of rebellion against the government. (Representative of V for Thailand and scholars D, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

To proclaim the rights that we disapproved of the authoritarian acts of the House of Representatives done in favor of national cheaters (Somroutai Subsomboon, 2013, p. 9)

White mask around the world expressed their universal power to show the symbol of fighting against the authoritarian government. Thailand is to be a part of it because Thailand is now under dictatorship and we will never allow that. (V for Thailand, 2013)

Opposed to wrongdoings, corrupt systems, corruptions and monarchy defamation (Demonstrator L, personal communication, September 28, 2016)

I want to oppose to the government, corruptible processes and the message receiver is the government (Demonstrator K, personal communication, September 13, 2017)

I think those who volunteered to come shared the same ideas with me that the mask is used to oppose evils (Demonstrator E, personal communication, December 5, 2016)

Under this mask, the sad-eyed look was seen owing to the societal injustice. That is why we chose this mask to reflect that ("Reveal a puzzle who is behind the poet's mask," 2013)

It symbolizes that someone does not succumb to the unfair ruling (Yodmala, 2013, p. 130)

Fight against injustice, it is like standing up to someone who is taking advantage of you. (Representative of V for Thailand C, personal communication, November 3, 2016)

We are protesting against something, that is definitely injustice and wrongdoings. (Demonstrator I, personal communication, March 16, 2017)

4.1.1.3 Monarchy

The monarchy is the major institutions that Thai people highly revere in Thailand. Within the conflicts between the two factions, there were numerous cases connected to the monarchy and they were raised in the protest as well. Even the use of Guy Fawkes mask at the protest was controversially opposed to by the opposition faction that it was a symbol of the overthrow of the monarchy that is not appropriate for Thai society. This referred to the meaning referred from the history of the original use of Guy Fawkes mask. From this controversy, Guy Fawkes mask was; therefore, used in the meaning of the loyalty towards the monarchy as well.

Opposed to monarchy defamation, we opposed to something similar, it will be unique (Demonstrator I, personal communication, March 16, 2017)

Mr. Hong reveals that the reason why he joined this protest and also wearing a white mask is that it is an expression to show loyalty and love for the King. (“In sight: two old people wearing,” 2013)

The today’s demonstration of the white mask group is the demonstration of the people who are nationalist and monarchy loyalist. (“This is unstoppable!! “The White Mask” group,” 2013)

Western-style white mask was used to protect the Thai ancient institute: the Monarchy. (Cholthira Satyawadhna, 2014, p. 54)

4.1.1.4 Definition of Protesters

Due to the characteristics of the symbol as a mask, the given meaning defines protesters as participants wearing a white mask or Guy Fawkes mask and joining in the movement of these people is defined as a good act or righteousness that are the binary oppositions for another faction, such as the good person, the innocent,

the freeman. Moreover, the additional meaning given to Guy Fawkes mask signifies people that means a big number of people and that again conveys the meaning of this movement by the majority of people. This movement is thus considered as a vital public issue. In addition, the opposition faction's acts have effects on the majority of people; as a consequence, this movement becomes more righteous.

Either being at the Art and Culture Centre or on Ratchadamnoen, you may wear the mask as well because the white mask means people. Therefore, November 5 is our day. (V for Thailand, 2013)

This is a starting point of a light in Thailand. For V for Thailand, we initiated a number of activities but we will not accept any credits for them because V= we or people. (V for Thailand, 2013)

In our country, we use white masks as a symbol of good people. Demonstrator L, personal communication, September 28, 2016)

Because of the intention of V for Thailand to communicate that good people are increasingly buying power to the business on Ratchaprasong (V for Thailand, 2013)

We, however, let the mask speak for us. It is the universal language, the righteous and the freemen around the world have exactly the same perception (Thai Publica News Agency, 2013)

The white mask has become a political symbol for the people and the dissenters from the administration of the government, headed by Yingluck Shinawatra as the prime minister ("Open a will to fight with Thaksin," 2013)

The white mask is the majority of people with the major key as Anonymous, and with also the same opinion that is to fight against the government. (Representative of V for Thailand and scholar D, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

4.1.1.5 Definition of Movement

The meaning of Guy Fawkes mask that signifies the movements is connected to the signifier; the white mask. The meaning of white is brought to connect to the movement. In the Thai context, white color signifies positivity, such as

purity, goodness, virtue, justice. In addition, the meaning relates to the use of mask representing power and equality. To some extent, the meaning of the symbol supports the direction of the movement more positively.

The mask is a kind of power, a kind of power of thought. It is the power of the purified thought. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, September 10, 2016)

Cooperation is required before the activities. Do not wear the mask before 1 p.m., so that we can all wear the mask at the same time. (V for Thailand, 2013)

To declare oneself that one can represent any power, but with white color, because white represents purified power (Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

White mask shows the good intention in the protest, there is nothing more than participating in the protest against corrupt and corruption. (Demonstrator K, personal communication, September 13, 2017)

White mask as the symbol of the pure fight of the people who claim for justice. (Yodmala, 2013, p. 110)

The identity of the white mask group is like the myth that the constructor intentionally constructed and he also constructed a myth (mask) to become the particular group identity, attracting attention from society and media enough to be in the news continuously. (Cholthira Satyawadhna, 2014, p. 54)

Some held the mask up because there are people on the opposite side of the road. Some say they are not afraid to die that I would say they are more patriotic by tucking the mask in the waste as their symbol (Demonstrator G, personal communication, December 28, 2016)

We want to emphasize that “people should not be afraid of the government, but the opposite. (Somrouthai Subsomboon, 2013, p. 9)

Media Monitor revealed the study result that “Political communication on Facebook and online newspapers regarding V For Thailand stating the

meaning of “V” as “victory” in the fight against corruption in Thailand. (“Revealed study of white mask groups,” 2013)

White mask is used as the symbol of the equality among the people, no colors, no factions, and no core leaders (V for Thailand, 2013)

People with masks are equal, they are all equal, not only the capitalist, pay no attention to age, sex nor occupations (Representative of V for Thailand C, personal communication, November 3, 2016)

4.1.1.6 Emotions

Although Guy Fawkes mask shows no emotions, it is used to symbolize the emotions. These meanings are constructed during its use in the activities such as rallies, protests or in numerous situations including the binary oppositions; for example upon communicating with the oppositions, the mask expressed discontent or negative feelings. In addition, its original meaning from V for Vendetta, which represented various feelings taken to convey meanings in this movement.

People from all walks of life in Buriram...to show the power of disapproval against the administration of the government and to unwelcome Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra (“White Masks expelled Poo,” 2013)

White mask group is the gathering of people’s sector who want to demonstrate ideologically as a symbol of discontent against the authority. (“White Masks asked for a safety guard,” 2013)

The protesters have the same point of view regarding the King. That is the most important because he is highly revered by all, nobody can ever dishonor him. We must oppose it immediately. Some protesters hate corruption and injustice in the present society (“In sight: two old people wearing,” 2013)

The expression of white mask group today is that of the nationalists and loyalists who will never let anyone defy it no matter what. (“This is unstoppable!! “The White Mask” group,” 2013)

4.1.1.7 Concepts and Methods of Movements

A mask is a tool used in the protest. The political demonstration is expressed differently, such as candle lighting, fasting, wearing shirts of the same color, the use of plastic hand clapping. In regard to Guy Fawkes mask, one a mask is worn to conceal one's face. The Anonymous group was the protester group abroad who used the mask as a symbol in the concept and a method of their movement. They do not want to show their identities. Likewise, the Thai political movements used the same method, they communicated via online media, knowing no group leaders. Apart from taking Guy Fawkes mask as the symbolic status within the group, they also used it to hide their identities. In addition, it represents peace, non-violent method. It has the meaning of unarmed and harmless method as their concept of the movement that is different from the political movement in the past that was full of violence. However, it has provoked some criticism against the government's ban on Guy Fawkes mask sales, resulting in more controversial issues among the protesters and the public to show opposition over the matter.

White mask appeared anonymously. It is a symbolic fight following the concept of the non-violence. ("Hanuman volunteered to lead," 2013)

V for Thailand is not the major coordinator, but the above-mentioned activity is just a borrowed symbol of non-violence to demonstrate (V for Thailand, 2013)

Page administration of White Masks, V. for Thailand, still holds symbolic battle and our power in a peaceful way. ("Before d day," 2013)

I came out, and when I get there, I grasp the mask and put it on, I'm anonymous now. (Representative of V for Thailand and scholar D, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

4.1.1.8 Needs and Goals

Guy Fawkes mask symbolizes the demands or objectives of the movement of which the meaning is related to the protest or the conflict between the two opposition factions. The objectives are mostly related to the criticism of the acts of the opposing faction and the political situations at that time such as justice,

freedom, democracy. The meaning is thus constructed by the use of the symbol in the situations and the causes of the conflicts.

The mask is not the symbol of anger or revenge at all, but it symbolizes the rightful claim about the justice in the state (“Weekly hot issue: a consolidation,” 2013)

White mask group will rally to the Royal Thai Police Headquarters to demand human rights and freedom (“Vocational-college White Masks,” 2013)

We came out to protect our country in the era of societal big change (V for Thailand, 2013)

Protesters on social media called ‘V for Thailand’ wore a white mask and gathered at Central World yelling ‘Yingluck, get out!’ to express their anti-Thaksin Regime to protect the nation. (“White Masks’ rally,” 2013)

All is connected, the fight, the overthrow, the suppression of injustice, all is the same thing. (Demonstrator G, personal communication, December 28, 2016)

I’d like to announce my stance in supporting the popular movement from all factions who are joining to oppose to the amnesty law to the extreme (V for Thailand, 2013)

The V for Thailand group post on its Facebook to announce their opposition against the draft of Amnesty Act and its standpoint in joining all movements of all groups that protest the Act (“White masks appeared,” 2013)

4.1.2 Mechanism in Controlling the Meanings

From the data collection on the meanings of white masks or Guy Fawkes masks used in Thai political movements from the concerned people as well as the data analysis of evidence, it was found that Guy Fawkes mask has different meanings. The characteristics of the meanings compiled go in the same direction and the opposite direction. The researcher, therefore, analyzed the mechanism that controls the meanings, which is an important factor creating numerous meanings as follows:

4.1.2.1 Target Group

It is the kind of questions asking with whom the symbol is used. The communication partners or the receiver pertaining to the use of Guy Fawkes mask is another important factor in the meaning. Some meanings are used to communicate within certain groups. Target groups are divided into 3 major groups as follows:

1) The same group or groups with the same ideology. This communication within the same group designates the group symbol. It does not only indicate that the group is different from the others, but the group symbol is also used to communicate interpersonally within the group as well resulting in numerous meanings, for instance, power reinforcement, unity, or convey the meaning of concept of fight direction such as being good people, freemen, and bravery.

2) Other groups such as the mass media and the public. Although the political conflict was originated between two factions that are the government and the anti-government group, the others such as the mass media and the people who have not joined the protest play also an important role in the movement. Especially, news reports or online criticisms have an important part in generating social attraction and awareness. This communication conveys various meanings because it is the public majority, such as it represents the target, the problems, the causes of the movement or the criticism about the opposition as well as the ideology and political stance, such as opposing to the government administration, Thaksin's regime, fight for freedom.

We want to communicate to those who have not joined yet. They need to realize that we came out to protest in person. We did not just give comments behind the scenes. Whoever is here is ready to confront with anything (Demonstrator K, personal communication, September 13, 2017)

We need to communicate with the mass media and the government. We want to show that there are people who do not agree with what the government is doing, it is wrong. We want them to know that we oppose to the wrongdoings that they are making (Demonstrator I, personal communication, March 16, 2017)

3) The opposition faction or the conflict parties. Use of Guy Fawkes mask as a symbol in this movement is anti-governmental, thus the government and its supporters including Thaksin regime are the direct receivers. The major meanings of the mask have no difference from those when used at global protests representing a strike, expressions of anger and discontent.

It is a symbol for the government to be aware of its authority, not to use it in the way of dictatorship because the dictatorial Parliament is the enemy of the people of the world. (V for Thailand, 2013)

4.1.2.2 Time and Place

The factor to control the meaning of time and place of the use of a mask shares the same meaning of time and space. This factor controls the whole meaning of the protest against the government at that time. Despite the fact that in the past, the mask was worn freely by anybody like a toy or a gift from a movie promotion or a mask worn at Halloween and any parties. However, when worn at a political protest, time and space are involved because it is used during the activities as planned by the group protest. In the movement of V for Thailand group, they used social media to communicate and arranged the time and place as an appointment in order to organize their activities in the central region as in Bangkok or rural areas. They use flash mob and use symbolic activity, such as a rally, singing the national anthem, show their stance, etc. After that, they disband and disperse without spending the night. Therefore, a use of the mask somewhere else is not considered as their protest. Whoever wear Guy Fawkes mask somewhere else are considered using it in other contexts. There was a case of two robbers wearing Guy Fawkes masks and robbed a convenience store in Don Mueang District or another case about the intervention in the movement of V for Thailand group, the rally was led to a march on to the Victory Monument after the activities.

We need your cooperation not to wear the mask before 1 p.m. so that the mask wearing will occur at the same time. (V for Thailand, 2013)

At the time of the meeting, we gathered and then we go home. We don't spend the night. It is the uniqueness of the white mask group, not spending the night on the protest ground. We meet at 3.30-4.30 p.m., arrive at the Art and Cultural Centre, sing the national anthem, the Sansoen Phra Barami song, once finished, we just disperse and go home as always. It is a peaceful and non-violent protest, with the exact time like meeting at 4 and go home at 6, that is it. After six o'clock, if you see someone wearing a mask, that is not us (Representative of V for Thailand C, personal communication, November 3, 2016)

We carry it with ourselves first, including everything else, we do not wear it until we rally, not to wear it on the street, only wear it in the group. (Demonstrator F, personal communication, May 2, 2017)

4.1.2.3 Methods of using the Symbol

Apart from the signifier of the mask, wearing or not wearing it also conveys different meanings, such as representing assertiveness due to the influence of the original meaning. Wearing a mask in Thai society has a negative attitude in, it means hiding or insincerity. Some protesters wear the mask to show their group belonging. Some only want to show their participation, but they do not wear the mask because they see that it is a hiding or a fear to protest. Regarding this, unmasking is brave, they would rather hold it or wear it as a head ban just to show participation without hiding their identities. It is an open fight for them, wearing a mask is related to a suspicious hiding in Thai social context. Some may wear the mask at the beginning and take off afterward or wear it partly just to show the symbol and their participation.

I think that some people, people from rural areas think that covering their faces is like pretending, being afraid or being coward. We want to show to all that I am bold enough because I am confident that I am doing the right thing, whoever wants to see my face, so be it (Demonstrator E, personal communication, December 5, 2016)

Some wear it on the head or hold it. However, I do not wear the mask, the white mask. I do not want to hide. I want to show who I am. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, September 28, 2016)

Like me, I don't wear the mask even though they insist because I want to show my face all along, wearing or not wearing equals. (Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

Don't be afraid, we are doing the right thing. I tried to explain right here that if you feel afraid, wear the mask. For me, I did not wear it. I put it on my head. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, September 10, 2016)

4.1.2.4 Movement Activities of the Group

Even though the white mask group movement or V for Thailand took place for a short time, only a few months, it became a somewhat interesting trend in Thai society at that moment. With the continuing activities both in Bangkok and rural areas using Facebook to announce their goals and the movement concepts, Facebook is the major center for the movement news, and all of these resulted in the new meaning to the symbol.

4.1.2.5 The Political Situation

This political movement was caused by a conflict; therefore, the retaliations occurred between the government and the anti-government group. In spite the fact that the group movement's concepts are designated not only by the mutual agreement but also by the external situations. The longer in protest of the group continued, the more people joined in. Consequently, meanings of Guy Fawkes mask increase their varieties, such as there was a reaction from the opposition faction regarding the origin of the symbol as well as the clash with the opposition faction during the movement in the rural areas. It included the intervention within the group activities leading to a tendency to violence that is not in accordance with the group concept. Therefore, the activity recess was announced. Following that situation, the issue of loyalty and non-violent movement were raised to communicate within the group to stick to the group concepts, but this time with more emphasis. Besides, that is a part of constructing the meaning for the symbol. In the meantime, a trend of the amnesty bill being pushed into consideration resulted in the transition from the white

mask group to the protest of the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC). Guy Fawkes mask was used as the protest symbol against the amnesty bill as seen at the beginning that the protesters wear masks together with the use of a whistle.

V for Thailand page administrator responded that those who destroy the popular politics are those who tried to be the group leaders by using aggressiveness and rudeness. This recess is meant to let these people have time to revise their roles whether they are willing to join V or not, with due respect. It is a rearrangement of the strategic plan to be stronger. ("White Masks announced to terminate," 2013)

We would like to announce the stance that we support the popular movement to protest against the amnesty bill to the extreme, let the popular protesters join the force to the utmost strength. (V for Thailand, 2013)

4.1.3 Meaning in Terms of Binary Opposition

From the analysis, Guy Fawkes mask was used in the political anti-government movement under the contextual meaning of a Thai political conflict whose characteristics are obviously the same as binary opposition. The meaning analysis is from a compilation of interviews and document analysis together with the political situations. The meanings are summarized as follows:

Table 4.2 Meanings of Binary Opposition of Guy Fawkes Masks

White Mask Group (V For Thailand Group)	Conflict Party (Government. Thaksin regime)
White	Black
Pure, Clean	Dirty
Moral (Dharma)	Immoral
Goodness/Virtue	Badness/ Evil
Equal/ Fair	Superior/ Unfair
Freedom	Dictator
Protect	Destroy
Non-Violent	Violent
Bravery	Cowardice
Loyal	Lese-majeste
(Lese-majeste)	(Loyal)
Oppose	Support

The meaning of the white mask symbol or Guy Fawkes mask is constructed by means of color connection with politics. Most people remember the whole image from the color as seen from the name-calling: the white mask group. Color is chosen to compare between white and its opposite color: black as well as the meaning of color connecting more to binary oppositions; for example good and bad, clean and dirty, righteous and unrighteous. The traits are originated from Thai political factions in the past that are usually connected to colors: yellow and red. The opposition factions in this political movement are the same; therefore, color is used to signify the symbol as well.

The sale was banned, if not, once it is sold and whoever wears it, it is like being an anti-government protester. I think it is not a weapon as it is something already on sale. We just wear it to protest as the global protest adopted the mask to fight for righteousness, to fight against injustice, we have

to bear that in mind. (Representative of V for Thailand C, personal communication, November 3, 2016)

Whoever wears a mask is our own kind, representing us as the righteous group wearing a white mask, the opposite side without the mask is the unrighteous group. (Demonstrator G, personal communication, December 28, 2016)

Apart from the binary opposition related to colors and various meanings, there are more binary oppositions related to the acts of the opposition factions which are the government and the Thaksin regime, such as equality/justice, exploitation/injustice, freedom, and dictatorship, protect and destroy and non-violent and violence which has always been the major issue to attack Thaksin regime. It aims not only at the individual, but also at the state administration that is perceived as corrupt, or selling stocks to a foreign country following by political discourses like selling the nation and national recovery originated in the movement of The People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD). The meaning related to the act is still linked to this movement, such as to protect and to destroy.

Despite a number of anti-government movements against Thaksin regime, Thaksin-backed political parties won the election and became the government, resulting in more binary oppositions about the authoritarian ruling by controlling parliament and laws. Regarding this meaning, it is connected to the story in the movie V for Vendetta and the use of Guy Fawkes mask at the protests worldwide against the governments with totalitarianism that has the opposite meaning to freedom and a free man.

In addition, there are more binary oppositions relating to the characteristics of the symbol and the movement methods, such as non-violence and violence, bravery and cowardice, loyalty and lese-majeste. That was another issue that the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) or the Red-shirts or Thaksin's supporters were criticized for using arms in the previous political situation.

In regards to the binary oppositions of the brave and the coward, it represents the bravery that the anti-government protesters have in opposing to the more powerful government. However, the use of the mask has a negative meaning in the Thai

context. Therefore, the oppositional party criticized that they were cowards for hiding their identities.

As for the acts of disloyalty to the monarchy or commonly called lese-majeste, the discourse is used mostly within the group of Thaksin regime and the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) or the Red-Shirts. Following this conflict, that particular issue was raised to attack each other resulting in an important issue: using Guy Fawkes mask as the movement symbol was criticized that the white mask group or V for Thailand group turned into the lese-majeste by raising the origin of Guy Fawkes mask in the British history.

First Lieutenant Sunisa Lertpakawat mentioned the use of the mask as a symbol that it is surprising to see the Democrat Party cheering and supporting from the post on the internet that the anti-government protesters should wear white masks or Guy Fawkes mask as their symbol. Despite the fact that the party leader, Mr. Abhisit Vejjajiva, as a former British student, should have known wholeheartedly that Guy Fawkes is the symbol of British anti-monarchy. (“Lieutenant Jiab attacked Mark,” 2013)

Mr. Plodprasop Surassawadee said that the white mask protesters meet to expel him today, knowing well that the group does not like him, so if they come, come openly, no need to cover their faces (“A protest against Plodprasop while Plodprasop,” 2013)

Following the anti-government movements of the white mask group or the V for Thailand group using Guy Fawkes mask as their symbol, the online call for gatherings and the organized activities every Sunday became an interesting trend that the network expands to the rural areas from which the people also organized the same kind of anti-government activities. Consequently, that instigated the movement from the opposition faction; the government supporters and retaliated by using red masks and the issue of Guy Fawkes mask as something related to the monarchy as well.

Ultra-red Red Thriller which is a group of Yingluck’s government supporters also gathered on the same day at 5 p.m. 20 supporter front wearing

the red mask or any kinds of mask except white mask to pay respect to the national anthem at BTS Siam Station. (“Hanuman volunteered to lead,” 2013)

Mr. Pakorn Pornshewangkoon, a member of the Ultra-red Red Thriller group said that the gathering is aimed to protest the white mask group which has the meaning of overthrowing the ruling and monarchy in Europe. It is unbearable for Thais. (“Many members of the white mask,” 2013)

4.2 The Roles of the Symbol

The use of a Guy Fawkes mask in a political movement is a new type of movement and is considered as a trend with current social attention. Both uses of a mask as a symbol and use of social media as a major means of communication are the appropriate channel for communication technology and match the behavior of the majority of people, following by organizing activities on the protest ground and the number of participants keeps increasing which extensively spread out to the rural areas nationwide. From the above-mentioned movement, Guy Fawkes mask has various roles as follows:

4.2.1 A Concealment of Identities and Anonymity

The white mask or Guy Fawkes mask is an object symbol used to conceal the whole face, which is the basic role of the symbol. When used in the political movement, its use is still kept important during the protest against the current government who is a more powerful. For the protesters, it is used because of the fear that there would be consequences from their political expressions. At the same time, they need to participate politically by showing political intent, in response to the matter, wearing a mask is one solution to eliminate fear. Moreover, being anonymous is the group concept to follow and hide identities.

My private life won't have tampered. Wearing a white mask and join the protest every Sunday afternoon, I am Guy Fawkes. I do not agree with the government. Then, Monday morning I still can go to work as usual. From Monday to Friday, I survive. This is the main reason. I am anonymous. I am

Guy Fawkes. On Sunday afternoon, I come out to say that I do not agree with the government. I am the rebel against this government. But there is no impact to my private life. (Representative of V for Thailand and scholar D, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

Protest tips found in the study are as follow:

Wearing a mask has a reason and some benefits as well, it is more beneficial than being symbolic. That is to protect your face from any act of revenge. This method is used in many countries. We, therefore, propose wearing a mask for safety reason, a mask can protect our rights to express oneself without feeling at risk. (V for Thailand, 2013)



Figure 4.1 Reasons for Wearing a Mask

Source: V for Thailand (2013).

Conceal one's face because some people are big businessmen who didn't offer themselves to protest, but they are protesting. While we are demonstrating, they never come out, except for this time; they can come out because of white masks. (Demonstrator G, personal communication, December 28, 2016)

We came in disguise to protect ourselves, but we will join the group with the same opinions. Getting off the car, we put the mask on immediately

and join the group. (Demonstrator H, personal communication, September 7, 2017)

4.2.2 A Product

Before Guy Fawkes mask was chosen to be the symbol of the anti-government protest, in Thai society it was known from a movie called V for Vendetta shown in Thailand in 2006. Some might have known among the movie viewers. The mask of the main character in the movie was made and given out for free as a film souvenir and put on sales in the local markets as well as other kinds of masks from other movies. Mostly they are sales items for collections, toys or accessories for Halloween. Many years afterward, Guy Fawkes mask gained its popularity again after being used as a symbol of political movements. The business became widespread and made a lot of money for vendors.

Over a hundred items ordered at a time each day, the business spreads out in the area near Sapan Lek, Sapan Han at Yaowaraj. When the demand increases, they sell the mask everywhere until the price goes down to 10 baht a piece. (Representative of V for Thailand and scholar D, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

4.2.3 An Object for Fundraising

The mask's role for fundraising has the same characteristic as a product for sales, but the sales income will be used in the movement. Therefore, in some cases, no fixed price or no profit making are expected from the sales. They are put at protest ground to give out to protesters, but some protesters want to donate to show their support for the movement. No fixed price is shown for the sales in order that buyers pay depending on their affordability. Each movement organization has high expenses, therefore the protesters are willing to donate in order to show support for the group movement.

How much do they make from selling masks to support the movement?
(Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

The money made from the sales, if we can make a little profit, we spend it on loudspeakers, or gasoline. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, September 28, 2016)

4.2.4 A Gift or Freebies

To give out the symbol of Guy Fawkes mask to protesters or to give to people as a gift has the same characteristics as using the symbol as a medium of symbolic exchange or gift giving. Some of the protesters bought hundreds of masks or ordered a large amount from China or made the masks themselves to give out to protesters without pay. Some gave to friends, respectful acquaintances, or some protesters gave them to the group leaders. It is just another way to show goodwill or support to the movement.

Someone gave me many boxes of masks, or donated hundreds of masks, so I forward them to other protesters. (Demonstrator H, personal communication, September 7, 2017)

Some people came for the masks, I had to ask them not to sell them to anyone because these are freebies, they have to wear the masks for me to see, I prepare the elastic band ready to wear, I have never charged anyone, all for free. (Representative of V for Thailand C, personal communication, November 3, 2016)

4.2.5 A Display of Social Status

The role of Guy Fawkes masks in showing social status has the same characteristics as the symbolic value. The white mask group or V for Thailand group is seen from the society and the media that they are well educated and wealthy group of people or the upper-class people. That resulted in a comparison between the two opposition groups that one is socially superior to the other. Its role has a part in separating the social status. Consequently, the symbol users not only show their stance or a political ideology but also feel that they are different from the opposition.

V for Thailand from Facebook, arranged to meet at Central World, they are urban middle-class people. All are well-educated people gathered. (Demonstrator F, personal communication, May 2, 2017)

Most protesters are middle class to upper class, in my province and there is almost none from a lower class. (Demonstrator E, personal communication, December 5, 2016)

4.2.6 Beauty

Other than being the symbol of the group, the mask has an aesthetic role as well. That role can be seen from the trendy attraction and the novel kind of protest gadget that can entertain protesters more than any other protests. Some decorated as pleased their Guy Fawkes masks. Some use other fancy masks instead. As a result, during the anti-government movement, there was a variety of mask used at the protest.

The mask is a fashion, whoever is creative like a fashion designer for clothing and a fashion came out lot after lot for sales. Same here, using art to draw attention, not only songs or poems, by using clothing accessories as a means to persuade people to join the group. (Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

If they are students, they feel united by wearing masks, and they also feel cool. (Representative of V for Thailand C, personal communication, November 3, 2016)

4.2.7 Memorable Events

The white mask or Guy Fawkes mask is used as the group symbol and during the movement activities to an extent that the movement is commonly called the white mask group or the white mask mob. All stories and movement events happened during the time of protest were replaced by the mask symbol and were remembered by it as well. When the time passes by, if Guy Fawkes mask is to be mentioned, people will remember the events of Thai political movement at that time as if the symbol itself can represent the event.

We remember that once in our lifetime we used to wear a mask that once played by children play as a toy, but we used it as a political symbol. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, September 28, 2016)

If you are one of those protesters, the white mask will remind you of it. Like me upon seeing the white mask, it made me smile. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, September 10, 2016)

4.2.8 A Reflection of the Situation

The selection of the symbol for the political movement group is extremely important. It is not only the internal communication within the group but also a communication towards the different public groups. Therefore, the right choice of symbol use must be in accordance with the situation and be able to communicate well points of the movement. Some symbols contain the original meanings, and some have newly constructed meanings. As for the use of the white mask or Guy Fawkes mask, the meaning remains the same as the original one: that is to be anonymous and concealing identities as used widely in many anti-government movements around the world. When it is used in Thai politics, it then reflects the situation related to the original meaning. Moreover, the use of the symbol to conceal the face also represents the political situation at that time where people are afraid of influence or various impacts and they also feel unsafe otherwise.

The problem is when returning home late at night, it is dangerous for protesters. Our main concern is the safety of protesters. (Representative of V for Thailand C, personal communication, November 3, 2016)

It can be estimated how unsafe the society is when people have to wear masks for fear of showing faces. That means the society is under the ruling of so highly influential people that they have to conceal their identities. The society that has no mask, the feelings of the people shown through the protest that can be measured. (Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

4.2.9 A Group Identity

When gathering, it is quite important to designate the symbol of the group in order that the group meaning or the group essence will be meaningful, especially for a political gathering because the symbol will truly represent the movement through all the activities. Guy Fawkes mask was used to represent the current anti-government group at that time. Its role is to divide political factions with a unique characteristic to differentiate from the opposition faction. Those with the same concepts will express themselves with that symbol that represents the group identity. It was seen at the early stages of the movement that the campaign on social media to change the profile photo to the photo of Guy Fawkes mask, and later on the mask wearing started during the protest to represent the shared group identity.

The identity of the white mask group is like the myth that the constructor intentionally constructed and they also constructed a myth (mask) to become the particular image of the group that is so attractive that draw attention from the society and the mass media enough to be restlessly in the news. (Cholthira Satyawadhna, 2014, p. 54)

It was a white mask trend and the protesters at the protest ground must have the white mask in their hands, at least in their hands because we need something unique in our protest. (Demonstrator K, personal communication, September 13, 2017)

4.2.10 An Expression of Solidarity and Coalition

The symbol Guy Fawkes mask is the group representative whose role is to communicate agreements, mutual support among the group members. It also creates solidarity as well as a connection between one with another. The symbol is a means to show belonging to the group. Upon seeing a Guy Fawkes mask, the awareness of the group belonging and sharing the same concepts is created. It has a role of belonging to the group that plays an important part to instigate the protesters during the movement activities.

Its role is an indication that we belong to the same group. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, September 10, 2016)

It is like we are in the white mask group, we belong to the same group, and we share the same ideas... (Demonstrator H, personal communication, September 7, 2017)

4.2.11 A Participation and Self-presentation

Being a part of the group in a protest is shown via the symbol of Guy Fawkes mask and it is a means to present the stance and participation. An individual wants to manifest one's political stance. In fact, there may be several anti-government groups, but these group members choose to be in the group in the most obvious way by wearing the mask or showing the above-mentioned symbol.

I came out, I do what I want to do and I do not have to reveal myself, but I can manifest myself without self-disclosing who I am to the society (Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

Getting a mask, joining the mob, at least I participated in the protest against Thaksin regime. (Demonstrator E, personal communication, December 5, 2016)

An opportunity is given to those who disapproved to express their identities via the symbol of white mask. I want to participate in the existing fighting process. Using symbol indicates group belonging. (Demonstrator I, personal communication, March 16, 2017)

4.2.12 An Attention Drawer

There were several intermittent oppositions from a number of groups in the movements caused by political conflicts between supporters and protesters against Thaksin during the administration of Ms. Yingluck's government. During that time, V for Thailand was the major group to bring Guy Fawkes mask as the movement symbol. This tremendously drew attention from the public and the mass media because of the use of the mask in the protest was an extraordinary issue in Thai politics. As a result, there were doubts about the source and reason why the symbol

was chosen to be used in the movement. Following the group movements, there were incessantly positive and negative criticisms, articles, news reports. This trend of interest widely developed the network quickly to the rural areas throughout the country.

As a result of media monitoring study, the phenomenon of white masks received social interest widely, especially online. If searching for “white mask” on google, there will be over 13,500,000 web pages of information about the white mask protesters. And 928,000 among them are news blogs and newspapers websites. (“Revealed study of white mask groups,” 2013)

Suan Dusit Poll conducted a public survey in Bangkok and its vicinity. From a survey of 1,172 people on the white mask group and its political expressions, 59.14% stated that the public needs and opinions are revealed, 27.82% stated that people are instigated and become more aware of various angles of information and 13.04% stated that it shows public participation and political expressions of the people. (“Poll pointed people felt,” 2013)

4.2.13 An Instigation and Persuasion

The Guy Fawkes mask is used as a medium of instigation and persuasion mainly on social media from the very beginning and following by the people’s street protest. There was a campaign of changing the pictures on Facebook profiles by collective agreement. That is an instigation and evocation for those who have the same political concepts to come out and express together via the symbol. After that, there was a big gathering of people wearing a mask every Sunday and doing activities together that spread out to many provinces all over the country. The strength of Guy Fawkes masks is tangible and visible. The more the protesters were at the protest, the more emotionally involved they became. That is the power of the movement. There were times when the Guy Fawkes masks were out of stock, following with the news that there was an order to ban the sales. In some provinces, people made their own masks from paper. It reflects well how important the role of Guy Fawkes mask is at that time. Moreover, wearing a mask can cover the whole face is another factor for

those, who want to manifest their political expressions but for fear of consequences, can join the movement as well.

By contacting on social media, we arranged a meeting for more people coming along, so prepare more masks. This one is my cousin's relative who feels happy to join. People in the group know who we are, but not in public. (Representative of V for Thailand and scholar D, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

To hide the face and to attract people to see that there is a white mask group coming out to make an opposing movement so that more of them will join us. (Demonstrator H, personal communication, September 7, 2017)

4.2.14 A Means to Convey Emotions

Owing to the political conflict resulting from the disapproval of the government and in the anti-government movements, the use of white mask or Guy Fawkes mask became the group representative showing its political stance, objectives, and ideology. The symbol was therefore used in the group activities and it was also used as a means to convey emotions towards the opposing faction or to the current political situation in order to communicate thoughts, attitudes, emotions in accordance with the concepts and the political objectives of the group.

To express our emotions to the society to see what we focus on, what our objectives are and what the meaning is. (Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

To expel, it is like pressurizing politicians, we know not what to do to let them know, so we need to have a symbol. (Demonstrator F, personal communication, May 2, 2017)

4.2.15 A Representative of Political Ideas and Ideologies

The uses of Guy Fawkes in the political movements occurred internationally or from the movie, *V for Vendetta* is for anti-government purposes or against the people in political power. Likewise, in Thai political movement, it is also used in the same way. Therefore, Guy Fawkes mask is both a medium and a message of ideology. Those who have the same concepts will express themselves with the symbol filled with major ideologies of the group or with the supportive expressions for the movement by means of a donation to buy the masks.

Underneath the mask is the ideology which is different from human beings who can make mistakes, change and act with hesitation, but an ideology of the righteousness can never change time after time... (one of the pioneer users of white masks. (Somrouthai Subsomboon, 2013)

The reason of choosing the mask because it is not only a fashionable decoration to make a good look, but also a person in disguise filled with ideologies that have fought oneself to death under it. (Yodmala, 2013, p. 110)

To declare ourselves as anti-corruption protesters. Besides, we are opposing monarchy defamation or something like that so it is unique. For me, I am the kind of person who always opposes any wrongdoings. But if I go out by myself with no symbol on me, it is kind of hard to do. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, September 28, 2016)

4.2.16 An Expression to Defeat the Political Ideology

Since Guy Fawkes mask is a political ideology representative of the anti-government group, when there are situations caused by any political conflict, there are always mutual retaliations which are expressed differently such as to verbally attack or to an extent of using violence against one another. Destroying the opposition's symbol is another way to retaliate.

The government supporters known as the opposing faction or the Red-Shirts burnt down Guy Fawkes masks was an example of political retaliation.

“Burning of Guy Fawkes masks by Chiangmai Group 51 symbolizes that democracy has already died. (*V for Thailand*, 2013)

Burning masks means that democracy in Thailand died but its symbol, as a proof of the dictatorship, exists.



Figure 4.2 The Burning of the Masks

Source: V for Thailand (2013).

...the red shirts cremated the white masks. They burnt the white masks to mark the symbol around the Ratprasong Intersection... (“Red-Shirts cremated White Masks,” 2013)



Figure 4.3 Burning Guy Fawkes Masks of the Red Shirt Group

Source: “Red-Shirts cremated White Masks” (2013).

4.2.17 A Method and Tool for a Movement

There were several political Thai conflicts in the past and the means of movements are various. Examples were the use of violence resulting in loss and symbolic expressions in numerous forms like rallies, turning on the headlights of the cars, blowing horns, or the frequently used symbol as the national flag including the use of plastic clapping hands of the People's Alliance for Democracy. Regarding the use of Guy Fawkes mask in the protest against the government, it is considered as a means and gadget of the movement. It is used as a medium of expression and a representative of the political ideology. Wearing a mask is in accordance with the concept of the movement as well, such as no group leader, in particular, the movement is peaceful, quiet and non-violent. It is just a flash mob to show popular force and disband after the activities.

Tomorrow, we will gather together and announce loudly to show our power to the world to be aware of the black ribbon masterpiece of the sister's government with the quietest activity. Do not forget your weapon: the mask, marker pen, and cotton cloth. See you. (V for Thailand, 2013)

This device comes from V for Thailand. V-mask is a universal symbol used around the world to fight with an injustice of the government. V equals "we". To wear a Guy Fawkes Mask means we will leave our individual self and aim for one same goal. ("Criticized a mob just a colorful prop in politics, 2013)

Carry it with you first, in your pocket, carry everything in your pocket, we do not wear it just yet. Until we rally, then we will wear it. Before that we have to keep them in, we do not bring them just to show. When we get at the protest, we will wear it. (Demonstrator F, personal communication, May 2, 2017)

4.2.18 A Means to Show the Potential of the Group

The use of Guy Fawkes mask in the movement was perceived visibly; therefore, the power was expressed through the number of participants. This represented the popular force of those who had the same concepts which extended and created the power of movement in order that the opposition or the other people to see and to be aware of the number of the protesters via the symbols. It takes a big number of protesters to show the potential of the group and to pressurize the opposition faction. There was a distribution of masks at the protest grounds or the campaign of profile photo change to Guy Fawkes mask.

Some people might say there were only 10-20 protesters which is nothing, but actually, there were a lot more than that. We have nothing to indicate our people unless there were white masks, oh, 200-300. Now we have proof to show white masks all over. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, September 10, 2016)

You wear the mask when you step out of your house, you will be easily spotted. Most of them do not until they arrive at the meeting point. That is the

power, it is quantitative power. (Politician A, personal communication, September 16, 2016)

Protesters gathered to pressurize Mr. Plodprasop Surasawadee, deputy prime minister to resign. All protesters wore white masks in harmony. (“Many members of the White Mask,” 2013)

4.2.19 Universality

Guy Fawkes mask has the origin from abroad, both from the British history and a movie *V for Vendetta*, which is widely shown around the world, including the use of it in the political movements such as in the important events like Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street. Moreover, it is also used in anti-government protests in various countries. As a result, when it is used in the Thai political movement, it can communicate with foreigners about Thai political situation more easily, even though it is a political conflict occurring as an internal affair. The universal communication is an important issue in creating understanding and correct attitudes towards the situation as well as it is a part of justice and it is also an advantage over the opposition faction.

It is an extraordinary event because there has never been in our country. It is like to upgrade ourselves. It happened before in foreign countries, so when we do it, our protest has been upgraded since it is universal. (Demonstrator I, personal communication, March 16, 2017)

It is a universal symbol saying there is a group of Thai people who are dissatisfied with the people in the state administration. (Politician B, personal communication, November 10, 2016)

From the analysis of the data collected about the roles of Guy Fawkes mask used in Thai political movements as the above-mentioned details, the researcher conducted a comparison of roles of political symbols which are collected from concepts, theories and many research as mentioned in unit 2 with the comparison results as follows:

Table 4.3 A Comparison of Roles of Guy Fawkes Masks in a Political Movement

Roles of the Political Symbols	Roles of Guy Fawkes Mask
utilities	- to conceal and hide identities
product for sales	- product for sales - to raise fund
gift or a symbolic exchange	- to give to others or for distribution
show social status/signifier value	- show social status
a medium of a conceptual process	- to express feelings
represent a major value of the political system	- represent concepts and political ideologies
esthetic role	- beauty
reflection of situation	- reflection of situation
memorable event	- memorable event
a process of deleting political memory	- expressions in destroying political ideologies
arouse and persuade	- to draw attention - to show group potential - to arouse and persuade
tool or strategy	- means and gadget of the movement
show identity image	- group identity image - show solidarity and coalition - create participation and identity
resemblance of sacredness	-
-	- universality

1) The Congruent Roles of Symbol

From the research result, it was found that most of the roles of Guy Fawkes masks used in Thai political movement have the same characteristics as the roles of the concepts of political symbols, as follows

(1) Utility: a mask symbol is an object that has basic utility as a mask at a protest to conceal the identities of individuals who want to remain anonymous.

(2) A product for sales: there are two types of products: one for general sales and the other one for sales but the sales income will be used in the group movement or a fundraising.

(3) A gift or a symbolic exchange: the mask is used at the protest as a medium by presenting to others as a gift or giving out free to group protesters.

(4) To show social status or signifier value: this role came from the presentation of the social status of the white mask group as upper-class people, educated, perceived from both the outsider and the people within the group.

(5) A medium of a conceptual process: the meaning of a Guy Fawkes mask used in the movement conveys the emotions towards the political situations and the opposition factions.

(6) To represent a major value of the political system: using Guy Fawkes masks as the group symbol representing thoughts and political ideology such as anti-dictatorship or freedom.

(7) An aesthetic role: Guy Fawkes mask as a signifier is a trend that draws attention to Thai society at that time because of its beauty and bizarreness.

(8) Reflection of the situation: wearing a mask and hiding identities of the protesters connected the political situation and reflected its movement against the opposition with more power.

(9) Memorable event: use of Guy Fawkes mask as a symbol of the movement was meant to be recorded as a political situation occurred at that time.

(10) To delete political memory: A symbolic retaliation from the opposition faction by burning Guy Fawkes masks is a method of destroying a political ideology

(11) To arouse and persuade: When there is a trend that draws social attention due to the attractive symbol resulting in widespread of following of the movement. In addition, as a group symbol, it arouses and persuades, during the movement, the potential of the group by showing the number of groups and their power.

(12) A tool or a strategy: The use of Guy Fawkes mask both as a tool or a gadget and a strategy used in the movement because the symbol constructed a meaning and a connection to the group movement, such as an anonymous group or a group without a leader.

(13) To show identity: Guy Fawkes mask is like a sign or identity of the group that distinguishes from other groups. At the same time, group members can use it to show solidarity and unity through the symbol.

2) The Disappearance of a Symbol

Guy Fawkes mask used in Thai political movement is something similar to a sacred item because the group movement occurred for only a short time and the symbol originated from a Western culture, as a result, both social factor and Thai culture regard the mask negatively that cannot create feelings or spiritual value as a sacred item.

3) The New Role of a Symbol

The role of a universality is added as a result that Guy Fawkes mask came from abroad and widespread worldwide, therefore its meaning is universal and creates the understanding in one direction as it was used in various political situations around the world.

4.3 The Reconstruction of the Meaning of the Symbol

Bringing Guy Fawkes mask to use in Thai political movement is a change to a new context that is different from the original one. According to a study, there were adjustments to both meanings of the symbol and the form of the signifier.

4.3.1 The Reconstruction of the Signified

According to the semiology theory, in terms of meaning, they depend on many factors, such as time, place, situation, context and interpretation. Therefore, searching for a major meaning of the mask is quite limited because it is used in a different context and in various groups and situations as well. Researcher, therefore, summarized the major events or relevant contexts and gave examples of meanings from the analyzed data to show how Guy Fawkes mask in the Thai context was mentioned.

Table 4.4 Guy Fawkes Masks and Different Thai Masks in Different Contexts

Guy Fawkes Mask		
Contexts	Stories and Features	Examples of Meanings and Images
1. Guy Fawkes: a British history icon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - religious conflict era - King as a ruler - Parliament blow up 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gun Powder Plot Rebel
2. Comic series and movie (V for Vendetta)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the story portrayed the concept of Guy Fawkes as the model - the story portrayed the dictatorial government - the main character wearing Guy Fawkes mask - the movie promotion giving out Guy Fawkes mask free 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hero's characteristic as an anti-hero - fight against the dictatorial ruling - anti-dictatorship
3. Political movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - anonymous group - Arab Spring - Occupy Wall Street - Worldwide protests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - protest against information blocking - anti-government - protest against tyranny - protest against corruption - protest against capitalism - protest against inequality - urge for justice
Masks in Thai Society		
Various Contexts	Examples of Meanings	
1. idioms about masks	insincerity, hiding (mostly in negative ways)	
2. art shows: khon and Phi ta Khon	types of characters and types of Phi ta Khon	
3. other masks	to show identity or identification according to the masks	

1) Guy Fawkes Masks

Before Guy Fawkes mask was used in political movements, there were some connections to several contexts. Guy Fawkes was a man in the British history whose story has become the origin of an event day like Guy Fawkes Night. His story was portrayed into a comic series and a movie. After that, it was used as a symbol in political movements around the world. From the analysis of the data, the contexts that have an influence on the meaning construction can be divided into 3 main periods as follows:

Period 1: Religions in English history played an important role in every aspect including politics and the ruling. During his reign, James 1 caused conflicts between Roman Catholic sect and Protestant sect. Guy Fawkes was one of the Catholic group who was dissatisfied with the King James 1 who supported the Protestants over the Catholics so he planned to blow up the Houses of Parliament with gunpowder but failed and was caught, following with his death sentence. The story became Guy Fawkes Night or Bonfire Night that is organized on November 5 every year to celebrate the failure of the Gunpowder Plot. There are setting off fireworks and burning straw effigies of Guy Fawkes. From the legendary events in the past over hundreds of years ago; consequently, there are a variety of different perspectives to the image of Guy Fawkes.

Period 2: The comic series V for Vendetta is written by Alan Moore and illustrated by David Lloyd who also designed a Guy Fawkes Mask. It then has become the prototype until now. Following the movie V For Vendetta shown around the world inspired by Guy Fawkes Night or Bonfire Night and the British ruling and political situation at that time. Most of the story tried to convey both Guy Fawkes's concept and context depicting the reign under the tyranny or the dictator. The hero is V (relating to November 5) whose concepts are similar to Guy Fawkes's in many ways like he wears a mask showing the face of Guy Fawkes, he fights against the ruling and politics or he tries to blow up the Houses of Parliament. The hero or V has some characteristics as an anti-hero meaning the hero with the dark side and violence. In period 2 is the origin of Guy Fawkes masks and it tells the story that became well known and spread out all over the world. Generally, the media such as a movie allow interpretations from various angles. It is found that many examples are taken from the

movie and used in the political movement such as a comparison between the political situation of suppression by the government like a dictatorship and the story in the movie. The comparison of protesters and the hero wearing a Guy Fawkes mask who dares to stand up to fight against the government or the more powerful ruler.

Period 3: The use of the white mask or Guy Fawkes mask as a movement symbol such as Anonymous Group. They represented the concept of concealing their identities. Most of their movements are online media by means of hacktivism. The reasons of movement are various but the main reasons are to oppose to the blocking of information and news. In addition, Guy Fawkes mask was used to oppose the government in the incident of Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street with various aspects of oppositions such as against capitalism, inequality or environment. In this period, Guy Fawkes mask's meanings vary widely because it was used in many situations and for many objectives depending on the contexts of those situations.

2) Masks in Thai Society

Common idioms in Thai society that relate to the use of masks depending on the ways the mask is used: wearing the mask, unmasking, tearing the mask, and snatching the mask. Most of them have negative meanings. All of them mean to conceal, to hide or to deceive.

Use of mask in Thai society is mostly in Khon show, wearing masks according to the characters. Another kind of wearing masks is in Phi Ta Kohn, this time by category of Phi. Others are wearing masks in parties or on a special occasion. The mask is worn to show the identity of the mask worn such as a mask of an animal or a cartoon character.

In summary of contexts or main events connected to the meanings of the mask and the comparison of the meaning including the analysis and compilation of meanings of Guy Fawkes mask in Thai political movements, it is found that the meanings are connected with the original context and the Thai social context. There is the same construction as the original meaning and the new construction of meaning as the contexts in Thai society as follows:

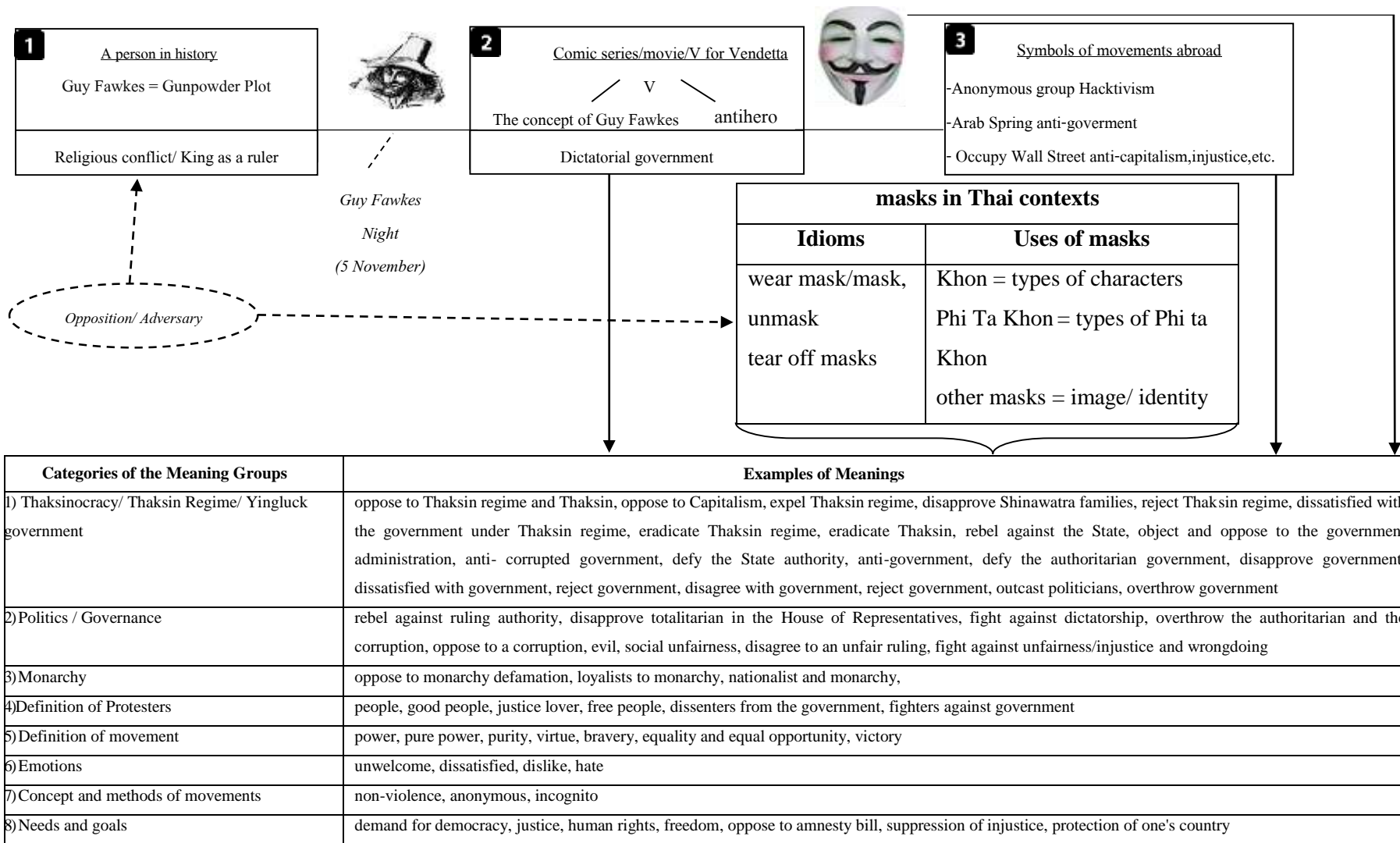


Figure 4.4 The Reconstruction of the Meaning of Guy Fawkes Masks in Thai Political Movements

4.3.1.1 The use of old meanings and the reproduction of meanings It was found that using the meaning of Guy Fawkes mask from Period 2, the time of comic series and the movie V for Vendetta and Period 3, the time of international movements.

Table 4.5 The Use of Old Meanings and the Reproduction of Meanings

Guy Fawkes Mask in Various Contexts	Issues / the Reproduction of Meanings	Examples of Meanings
Period 2: comic series and movie V For Vendetta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political ideology - Fighting against authoritarian - Conflict Problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rebel against authoritarian - Fight against injustice - Oppose to dictatorship
Period 3: International Movements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political ideology - Fight against authoritarian - Conflict problem - Directions of movements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Oppose to government - Oppose to corruptions - Oppose to capitalism - Anonymous

The use of the original meaning or construction of the same meaning as the original meaning involved the ideology and the movement direction having the same stance: to oppose to the ruling the country by the injustice government or dictatorial government. In regards to the construction, the same meaning as the original meaning involved various meanings that related to the government actions or the target of the movement such as the fight against injustice, opposition to the dictatorial government, opposition to the capitalism and corruption. In this matter, it was well understood as a result of the story in the movie and the international movements. In addition, the meaning can be used to support the movements that reflected the country's political problems that cause the protest. Moreover, the meaning that came from the direction of movement from Period 3 that is the anonymous group that is connected to the concepts of leaderless or anonymous group leader V for Thailand, by giving the reason of being anonymous. Nevertheless, having

no leader of the group can convey a message of equality and non-allied with any political factions.

4.3.1.2 The reconstruction of meanings. Adjustment of meaning is found to be connected to the meaning used in Period 2 that is comic series and a movie V for Vendetta by changing the name of the movie into V for Thailand and from Vendetta meaning vengeance to V meaning Victory. In addition, the meaning vengeance is not appropriate to Thai context because it is not a good thing according to Buddhism.

Therefore, there was an adjustment of meaning to be in accordance with Thai context and the direction of movement as well as with the situation and the political context at that time.

Table 4.6 The Reconstruction of the Meanings

Guy Fawkes Mask in Various Contexts	Issue/ The Reconstruction of Meanings	Examples of Meanings
Period 2: Comic series and movie V for Vendetta	V for Vendetta	V for Thailand
	Vendetta = vengeance	Victory / We

Media Monitor revealed the finding of the study that V for Thailand identified itself as “Popular Force” or “The Anonymous Thailand.” It is originated from “faith-power of goodness.” He also explained the reason for using Guy Fawkes mask in this political movement that it came from the movie V for Vendetta. With the movement of the hero under the mask, he fought against the injustice of the government and confirmed the meaning of “V” as victory in the fight against corruption in Thailand. (Prachatai, August 15, 2013)

4.3.1.3 The deconstruction of the meanings. It was found that in Period 2, the comic series and the movie V for Vendetta came from Thai context such as society, political situations as well as the movement direction of the group.

Table 4.7 The Deconstruction of the Meanings

The Origin of the Meaning	Examples of Meanings
Period 2: comic series and movie V For Vendetta	- Good people
- The white color of the Guy Fawkes mask	- Pure power
Thai social contexts	- Scruples
- Society	- Anti-Thaksin regime
- Political situation	- Loyalty
- The direction of the group movement	- Protect monarchy
	- Non-violence

The construction of a new meaning comes from the signifier of Guy Fawkes masks that is in white color such as purity or good people who is different from the original meaning of Guy Fawkes mask. This is originated from the influence of the Thai political situation that happened earlier because of a major political conflict. The factions were divided by the colors of the shirts, between the Yellow-Shirts or the People's Alliance for Democracy who opposed Thaksin regime and the opposite faction who are the red shirts. As a result, this movement linked the colors into the connection with the meaning of group name callings, besides V For Thailand, white mask group is also another name commonly called. Moreover, there was a new meaning constructed in order to go along with the situation and the Thai political context as well as the direction of the group movement or its goal such as the issue concerning monarchy. Due to the respect of Thai society for the monarchy, the retaliation against the opposition raised the issue of Guy Fawkes as a conspirator to blow up the parliament in the reign of King James 1. In addition, the new meaning is originated from the concept of the group movement as non-violent.

Apart from that, the other criticism from the opposition. Besides, the meanings used in the movements of the group, there is also an attack on the meanings conveyed by the adversary due to the political conflicts that separate people into two main groups: protestors and supporters. The adversary or opponents in the event is the government led by Yingluck Shinawatra as a Prime Minister, people involved in

Thaksin Regime and UDD or the Red-Shirts. They attack the meaning conveyed by the White-Mask or the anti-government group, especially drawing a negative interpretation of a mask-wearing of the anti-government group.

Panthongtae Shinawatra posted on his Facebook.

How can one see the good point of taking a mask of a dead man, who was sentenced to death by being accused of planning to assassinate the British king, to be their role model? Wearing a mask to hide their faces that can be considered as an extremely confusing life for them and it is inappropriate in Thai society. Those foreigners putting their feet on the table, walking around the house with their shoes, standing over their parents' heads, if they want to wear the mask and overthrow the monarchy, it is their business, but Thai should not do the same thing. It is a real damnation, especially for those who monopolize their loyalty only within their group, but wore a mask intending to overthrow the monarchy, alas, how could they have done such a thing! . After all these explanations, if there is still someone who come and ask me to wear 'a mask of overthrowing monarchy' you have to get a real heavy pair of earrings to wear and pray to admonish yourself 3 times before following them. (Panthongtae Shinawatra, 2013)

Doctor Cherdchai Tantisirin, a Party-list representative of Pheu Thai Party mentioned about the white mask movement to oppose Thaksin regime. "If they wanted to expel the government, they should unmask themselves. There was nothing to hide while wearing masks. They can criticize the government uncovered their faces, if the government had done nothing wrong, it will remain being the government for another 4 years. We are the red masks or the red-shirt and we do not hide our faces. ("UDD challenged the White Mask group to unmask," 2013)

4.3.2 The Deconstruction of the Signifiers

Guy Fawkes mask was originated from the design of David Lloyd, a stylized portrayal of a white face with a subtle smile and red cheeks, a wide mustache upturned on both ends and a thin vertical pointed beard. ("Political Prisoners in Thailand," 2013) Most of them are fabricated with hard plastic with an elastic band for wearing. Prices in Thailand are around a hundred depending on the material and the movie copyright.



Figure 4.5 Guy Fawkes Mask


Source: Ebay (2013).

How to use the mask: it is used on the face only on the protest camp when disbanded, no more use of the symbols, some protesters put the mask on their heads or carry it.

Type of the symbol: it is a tangible object used as both icon and symbol, owing to the fact that it was originated from an individual in the British history and designated mutually within the group to be used as the group symbol.

The complication of the symbol: it is not quite a complicated symbol as seen when the masks are out of stock or too expensive, protesters in many protest grounds fabricated their own masks with paper or cloth by taking after the original mask. Sometimes they used other similar masks as a replacement.

Table 4.8 The Deconstruction or Changes of the Signifiers of Guy Fawkes Masks in a Political Movement in Thailand

The Original Guy Fawkes Mask	Deconstruction/ Change	Deconstructed Signifier
	1. Change of design	
	2. Change of color	
	3. Change of form	
	4. Change of form and color	

4.3.2.1 A Deconstruction or a Change of the Signifier

In Thai political movement, the original Guy Fawkes mask was adjusted in many ways. The adjustments aimed to intensify or emphasize the political ideology, for instance, nationalism, loyalty to the monarchy or coalition of the group. Some designs have no effect on the meaning of the symbol, only add some vividness of the protest, for instance, many uses of different designs of masks preferred. In addition, when there was a high demand of the mask, they are out of stock or when banned due to criticism, protesters used other kinds of masks or some of them fabricated their own designed masks. The adjustments of Guy Fawkes masks in Thai political movement are as follows:

- 1) A change of design the rest of the original mask remained, but the white background is adjusted by adding various designs connected to the movement such as messages or national flag, meaning to show the group identity and the political ideology.



Figure 4.6 A Change of Design (1)

Sources: Post.Jagran.com (2014).



Figure 4.7 A Change of Design (2)

Sources: “The House of Representatives” (2013).

2) A change of color the rest of the original mask remained, but the color of the white to others, for instance, to the colors of national flags or to yellow color that is the symbol color of the People’s Alliance for Democracy who is the group connected with the anti-government movement against the same opposition faction.



Figure 4.8 A Change of Color (1)

Sources: Dario Pignatelli (n.d.)



Figure 4.9 A Change of Color (2)

Sources: “The House of Representatives” (2013).

3) A change of form It is a change from the original form of Guy Fawkes mask designed by David Lloyd into a different form, but the color is still white. It is a fabricated from scrap material or any purchased white masks in the market to use at the protest.



Figure 4.10 A Change of Form (1)

Sources: Kurtz (n. d.)



Figure 4.11 A Change of Form (2)

Sources: Kapook.com (2013a).

4) A change of form and colors. It is a change from the original Guy Fawkes mask both form and colors. It is a replacement of Guy Fawkes mask to other masks, mostly fancy masks easy to find in markets due to the shortage of Guy Fawkes masks and individual's preferences.



Figure 4.12 A Change of Form and Colors (1)

Sources: MGR Online (2013).



Figure 4.13 A Change of Form and Colors (2)

Sources: Thiti Wanmontha (2013).

4.3.2.2 Other Masks Created During the Movements

From the incidents of using Guy Fawkes mask in the Thai political movements, red mask and Hanuman mask are also used in the movements in many aspects as follows:

1) Hanuman mask It was brought in after the recess announcement of V for Thailand group following the conflict incident of usurpation over leading of people's power during its movement activities in the group. The Hanuman mask group or Hanuman Volunteer Reform Thailand has the same opposition towards the government and Thaksin regime but with a different way of movement leading to a conflict of usurpation over leading over the popular forces. The announcement of using Hanuman mask was made and the movements like announcing to continue gathering in front of Central World Department Store and giving out free Hanuman masks to protesters, after that they marched from the Art & Culture Centre to Victory Monument, including submitting a letter to the Democratic Party. It is only a short-term movement with a few participants, using a Thai contextual mask. Hanuman is a character in a Khon performance and it is used to convey political ideology that connects to the public and national benefits.



Figure 4.14 Hanuman Mask (1)

Sources: Post Today (2013).



Figure 4.15 Hanuman Mask (2)

Sources: Kapook.com (2013a).



Figure 4.16 Red Mask

Source: Kapook.com (2013b).

2) Red mask It takes a role as the opposition or the conflict pair whose movement is to show their disapproval with the V for Thailand group and wish the end to the use of Guy Fawkes masks because of the inappropriateness for Thai culture. The retaliation method is close to the way V for Thailand group used, specifically the gathering of people on Facebook. The criticism is focused on the improper use of Guy Fawkes mask referring to the British history that Guy Fawkes was a conspirator against the monarchy. The concept of the red mask will concur along with Guy Fawkes mask until the end of its use, and its objective is to protect the monarchy and protest against coup d'Etat. The movement was organized both in Bangkok and in rural areas alongside with the movement of V for Thailand group as well as the retaliation on the social network as Facebook. Their symbols used in the movement were similar to Guy Fawkes mask but red. Moreover, Ultraman mask, Ironman mask, etc. are used due to red color, reasoning that red is the color of democracy and they are not attached to any symbols.

CHAPTER 5

THE WHISTLE SYMBOL

A whistle becomes a symbol of a significant political movement in Thailand. Due to its popularity, this symbol is often mentioned in relations to the political movements of the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC). From a simple whistle, it turns out to be a signified group symbol used in many roles. From the study, the following findings are found:

5.1 Meanings of the Symbol

From the distinguished feature of a whistle in calling a great attention, a whistle is often used as an audio signal but the meanings depend on the context in which it is applied. For instance, for a traffic police, a whistle is used for controlling the traffic on the road, asking for a help, or signaling a danger, etc. In the political context, the use of a whistle for a political movement is rather novel and leads to several interpreted meanings.

5.1.1 Meaning of a Whistle

A whistle is one of the main symbols of the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) and is used in a number of activities during the movements. This caused its meanings to vary according to each context. From the analysis of the components and aspects of political movements, the meanings of a whistle are as follow:

Table 5.1 Meanings of a Whistle Symbol in Political Movements in Thailand

Categories of the Meaning Groups	Examples of Meanings
1) Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin Regime) and Yingluck Government	Thaksin is unwanted, no acceptance of Thaksinocracy, drive out Thaksin Regime, chase out politicians under Thaksin Regime, This government is unwanted, no acceptance of this government, anti-government, anti-abuse of the power of this government, Yingluck and her politicians are unwanted, expel Yingluck, drive out the adversary.
2) Amnesty	Disagree with an amnesty, disagree with those supporting an amnesty, anti-amnesty, no support for an amnesty, Oppose an amnesty, an objection of the act for purging wrongdoers, and stop an amnesty.
3) Nation, religion, and monarchy	Adore the nation, religion, and monarchy, a fight for the nation, religion, and monarchy, a protection of the institutions.
4) Signals for opponents	A warning to stop wrongdoing, a warning against corruptions, a signal to stop the government's administration, a warning for a remorse, a warning towards political consciousness.
5) Signals for in-group members	An appointment, a call for a rally, a mobilization, mobilizing a call for assistance, a warning of the nation's situation, awakening political enthusiasm, a signal for a readiness to fight or to move, a call for a participation, announcement of challenging to fight, a surveillance and protection.

Table 5.1 (Continued)

Categories of the Meaning Groups	Examples of Meanings
6) Negative feeling/ emotion	Don't like, don't accept, not satisfied, disagree, can't accept, hateful, hate
7) Positive feeling/ emotion	Appreciate, admire, pleased, satisfied, attracted, responding to the needs, happy, victory, encourage, agree, accept, support, thank you.
8) Definition of movement	Courage, power, pure power, civilians, people
9) Concept and methods of movements	Peaceful, non-violent weapons, non-illegal
10) Needs and goals	Eradicate bad things, expel the government, call for a reform, need a righteousness, reject an election.

5.1.1.1 Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin Regime) and Yingluck Government

The use of a whistle as a symbol in a political movement against the opponents is applied in the same direction as the Guy Fawkes Mask to convey the meaning of “a resistance” and “an objection.” A whistle is used in relations to the issue of Thaksin Regime because it involves an effort in issuing the Amnesty Act supported by Yingluck government. This makes people be afraid that Thaksin Shinawatra and Thaksinocracy will come back to Thailand again. Besides being applied as a symbol towards the People's Democratic Reform Committee, raises up the level of the movement to cover the eradication or extraction of Thaksin Regime from Thailand and stipulates to use a whistle as a symbol for this movement.

...It is a tool. Actually, it is for those who do not want Thaksin or disagree with an amnesty. (Demonstrator N, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

Sometimes, we will tell them ‘Blow your whistle, our brothers and sisters’ and then everybody blows as a sign of their disagreement. I cannot

accept you nor accept the Amnesty Act. That's an echo expressing their resistance against Thaksin Regime. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

To drive out Thaksinocracy from Thailand. Either on or below the stage, they have one same goal of expelling Thaksinocracy. Everybody shares the same feeling that it has rotten Thailand too long. (Leader F, personal communication, January 29, 2017)

...Mr. Boonyod Sukthinthai, the former party list, called his consciousness before picking up a whistle to blow out all those three people. This gained a big support from the protestors who all yelled simultaneously 'Thaksin's slaves go out!' ("Same man with black eyeglasses," 2014)

...Suthep Thaugsuban elevated the movement by performing a civil disobedience no. 4: if anyone meets the prime minister and her cabinet, he or she will not talk to and do nothing, except blowing a whistle to them to express his or her resistance against the government. ("Kru oy was blown to get out by a Whistle," 2014)

For expelling ...We use a whistle as a tool. The sound of a whistle represents our voice. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, June 5, 2017)

...You can blow a whistle anywhere. It is not necessary that you have to blow into their ears. If they walk towards us, we will blow it and they will know we are resisting them... (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

....To let people know that we are resisting this government. We have a whistle wearing around our neck, that's our symbol. (Demonstrator K, personal communication, February 4, 2017)

...A whistle is a symbol to expel Yingluck. You can hear the blowing from the demonstration stage, it says go out! If we blow it long, it means a heavy chase. I don't want you. Go out! You burden the land! (Demonstrator M, personal communication, August 27, 2017)

...The blow of a whistle means I don't want this government because it is not a righteous one. (Scholar B, personal communication, February 14, 2017)

5.1.1.2 An Amnesty

Before a rally was developed to be a resistance against the government and Thaksin Regime. The major cause of a political conflict was the resistance against the drafting act of an Amnesty, entitled, “Mao Keng (take it all) or Sud Soi (the end of the alley)”. The content obviously indicated the benefits of an amnesty towards the old power and the government at that time and an effort in accelerating the issue of this act from the House of Representatives. This caused a movement from many groups besides the Democratic Party that consistently resisted this act. Most of the demonstrators joined the movements because of their resistance against this amnesty act as the first cause. A number of groups gathered and determined the whistle blowing as their symbol officially. The first blow, as a sign of the beginning of a formal rally, took place at Samsen Train Station, leading by Suthep Thaugsuban and members of the parliament from the Democratic Party. Later, the movements continued and whistles were used in several events, inducing a number of meanings consequently. Still, most demonstrators recalled the resistance against the Amnesty Act as their initial cause for joining a political rally.

...Since early of this week, people in many areas in Bangkok have been deafened by the whistle blows of those who disagree with this extreme Amnesty Act. (“Whistleblowing,” 2013)

...We question if we meet people who support this Amnesty Act, what we should express to them to let them know our thought. Others told us that you should blow a whistle. We blow it to express our disagreement with those who support it. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

We object. We resist. We don’t need this Amnesty Act. I will not support this extreme law. It goes further to the idea that I don’t want this government. (Scholar B, personal communication, February 14, 2017)

...At Asoke BTS to participate in blowing a whistle against an act for purging the cheating people. (Kanjabadinth Sudlapa, 2014)

...The reason I have a whistle and a national flag is to support the ideology of this movement or the objection of the Amnesty Act. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

...I let people know this is what I want. I want to stop this amnesty. I reflect through my loud blow of a whistle. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8,2017)

5.1.1.3 Nation, Religion, and the Monarchy

The meaning of a struggle for the nation, religion, and the monarchy is connected with the resistance against Thaksinocracy, which is perceived as destroying the nation, religion, and the monarchy. Therefore, the meaning of this political rally is for benefits of the public by blowing a whistle to opposing and pressing the opponents. A whistle with a national-flag design of a lanyard emphasizes the meaning of this movement to protect the nation, religion, and the monarchy, the centers of Thai people, which used to be destroyed by Thaksinocracy.

When one hangs a whistle, it represents ‘our group’. Everywhere we will see whistles and national flag ribbons. They symbolize ‘our love for the nation’ or ‘we are the group who love our nation, religion, and monarchy.’ This is our fight for them. (Demonstrator N, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

...To blow a whistle conveys the meaning that we cooperate to perform our duties of protecting what and whom we love. My family loves the King so much. My mother pays homage to him all day. (Demonstrator Q, personal communication, September 17, 2017)

5.1.1.4 Signals for the Opponents

A whistle is signified as a warning against the government's misconduct, i.e. the cheating and non-transparent government, etc. It is similar to the whistle used by Ralph Nader, an attorney, author, and activist for American society, in warning the government that started to express their corruptions, and to the whistleblowers abroad who gave information about non-transparency of many organizations. The whistleblowing was so widespread in foreign countries that an organization, responsible for issuing laws and guidelines of whistleblowing, was established. Besides, whistleblowing is also found in many countries as a symbol again a corruption. This signification complies with the

traditional meaning of a whistleblowing as a warning against any act violating the rules of the sports competition or the traffic rules. In Thai political movements, this signal is also used with the same meaning.

To the former prime minister and all his cabinet, this blow is to let them know that people are here. They should know what they should or should not do (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8, 2017)

A whistleblowing is a signal against any cheatings or corruptions of the government. That's why a whistle is chosen for this rally. (Demonstrator M, personal communication, August 27, 2017)

Once the whistle blows, it means stop.... Stop what you are doing to damage the country. You have to stop it now. (Demonstrator I, personal communication, July 16, 2017)

To convey a meaning that Yingluck government should end their administration. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

...Mr. Thanut Thanakit-amnuay said that the reason he blew a whistle to Mr. Kittirat was to let him feel guilty and to tell him that what this government did for this country is unbearable. ("The heir of Noble is not scared," 2014)

5.1.1.5 A Signal for In-group Members

The origin of the whistle symbol came from the phrase "blow a whistle" Suthep Thaugsuban used on the stage so regularly that it was remembered and bore in the mind of the listeners. Actually, the word, "blow a whistle" is very familiar to Thai people. In the political movements of People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), whistleblowing was also used by the leaders in the meanings of "an assembly", "an appointment", or "get started". People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) called people to assemble due to the abnormal, unsafe, and disordered situation caused by an abuse of power of the government at that time. In the beginning, the protestors had been dispersed and had not united yet. Possibly, some people who had not decided yet to participate in this rally were bored and tired of political conflicts, which happened rather often in every period. Accordingly, a whistleblowing was

interpreted as a reminder or a warning to those ignorant people that they could not stay still but needed to participate in this movement to save the country. Therefore, it can also be interpreted as an invitation for a participation and a starting of a formal political rally. Especially, the eminent attribute of a whistle's sound effect corresponded to its constructed meanings. Therefore, in the former time, it was used as a warning of a danger or a sign asking for a help. Once, it emerged as a political movement, a whistle could be used as a symbol to warn an abnormal situation harmoniously.

....This occurred on November 24, 2013, and we blow a whistle many more after that to gather people. (Rungmanee Meksophon, 2014, p. 19)

If a problem happens again, we have to gather people. We have to blow our whistles for calling people to fix the country's problem once again. (Demonstrator N, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

It is like an assembly to meet or to shut down. To convey the meaning of our gathering or of the mass, since we found no other channels to communicate... (Leader G, personal communication, March 12, 2017)

...If we blow a whistle on the big stage, assume that we make an appointment to meet all protestors on January 24, on January 23 all the roads in Bangkok will be filled with people. That is we blow to mobilize people. One Squeeze means we ask people to gather. We don't have to talk more than 3-4 words, just one squeeze then, people will know we will meet one another on January 24. (Leader H, personal communication, January 6, 2017)

The sound of a whistle can represent the beginning of a request for help, depending on the situation but it can be used in every situation. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, June 5, 2017)

A whistle awakens Thai society to be alert as we get used to Thaksin system, which tramples on our country every day, and we are so familiar with it until it dares to issue an amnesty act. Therefore, whistleblowing will act as a silence breaker. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

I hear the whistle blow in my ears all day, from night to dawn. I told my fellows that we have to stand up all the country.....I told them that we

would blow our whistles when the Amnesty Act passed the House of Representatives without waiting until it will pass the Senators' votes. (Kanjabadinth Sudlapa, 2014)

...I think a whistle is our symbol for a movement. Once we blow it, it means everybody is ready. A long blow emphasizes that we are going to fight. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

...Khun Suthep said if we want to fight, let blow the whistle. If the mass blows it first, he will come out to join. Likewise, if he blows first, the public will come to join as well. (Kanjabadinth Sudlapa, 2014)

...Just blow a whistle to indicate our readiness and to show our determination for this movement. (Leader G, personal communication, March 12, 2017)

...It conveys our preparation and readiness. If it is a long and loud blow, it means we are ready now. (Leader H, personal communication, January 6, 2017)

Our friends, please listen to our whistleblowing. If you cannot wait for anymore, just blow it first. If I can't bear it, I will blow it first too. I keep telling this to all people and lastly on the stage of "Reveal the Truth" (Pha Kwam Jing) at Taveewattana District. That day, people of that area asked why I have not started my own whistleblowing yet since people have blown it so long. Where is your whistle? That was the date where I hanged my whistle and I started to blow it on the stage at Samsen Station. (Suthep Thaugsuban, 2014, p. 211)

Once a whistle is blown, it signals that from now on it is going to start. The fight will begin. From now on, we will face a victory or loss in expelling this government. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, June 5, 2017)

For some governmental places, demonstrators all broke into the building, barred the entrance and exit, brought flowers, whistles, and national flags to the officers and asked them to stop working and join in a rally to drive out the government. (Matichon Information Center, 2013, p. 456)

On November 25, the mass marched with flowers and whistles to several governmental places and offices to invite those officers to join in a rally. (“Conditions, Revolution, People, and Suthep’s Long Journey,” 2014

As soon as Suthep Thaugsuban blew a whistle loudly, it signaled that a heavy struggle would no longer occur only in the House of Representatives. It is an announcement for a battle by having the roads as the battlefield. (Aunchalee Paireerak, 2014, p. 211)

Loud noise indicates power and a whistle conveys our surveillance and protection. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8, 2017)

5.1.1.6 Negative Feeling and Emotion

A whistle is used as a medium of the protestors in a political conflict. By the nature of a whistle’s sound effect, it can transmit feeling and emotion very well. In the political movement of PDRC, whistles were also used as such medium. For instance, when protestors met their opponents, they would blow a whistle to them. Upon using a whistle to communicate with the opponents, its meaning contained in a whistle could represent their negative feeling and emotion, such as their discontentment, a rejection, etc.

It means we do not accept it. We will blow it loudly, we are not satisfied. We blow when we do not want to acknowledge anything or do not care about time. When we blow, we will not hear anything, it portrays our unacceptance of those actions. (Demonstrator P, personal communication, June 18, 2017)

Madam Phodjaman knew about the movements of United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) and of the government. Therefore, they decided to blow a whistle to signal to Thaksin that Thai people cannot tolerate what he did to the country anymore. They hope that Madam Phodjaman would bring their signal to Thaksin. (Isranews, 2014)

Suthep Thaugsuban declared to elevate the rally to be an eradication of Thaksin System by requesting all protestors and general people to express

their disgust through a whistleblowing towards all persons serving Thaksin Regime. (Rungmanee Meksophon, 2014, p. 22)

Especially, when you hate, you want to chase him out, or you are dissatisfied, a whistleblowing can tell that. (Scholar B, personal communication, February 14, 2017)

5.1.1.7 Positive Feeling and Emotion

Tracing back to the speech on "Reveal the Truth" (Pha Kwam Jing) stage earlier or before a whistle was used as an official symbol for the first time, some people used "slapping hands" as their symbol, which was the old symbol used in resisting Thaksin Regime earlier, at the beginning of the rally. However, after Suthep mentioned often about a whistleblowing on each stage, demonstrators started to blow their whistles, to replace the old slapping hands, during the leaders' speech, especially when a speech satisfied them, or when they agreed with what the leaders said. Later, PDRC organized a number of stages, both the main stages and sub-stages, including a variety of activities, which were broadcast by the TV. During those events and activities, whistles were used as a group identity and as a media to communicate within the group. Accordingly, the conveyed meanings were positive, i.e. greeting, welcome, support, and encouragement, etc.

If there is any activity that pleases the demonstrators, they will blow their whistles. When they are happy, they blow it. When they feel fulfilled, they blow it. (Scholar A, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

In the past, when we were satisfied, we would yell and clap our hands but now we blow a whistle loudly. Every time we blow it, it conveys our appreciation and pride of what we have done together. (Demonstrator Q, personal communication, September 17, 2017)

Today, we have blocked the Ministry of Interior and besieged it. The sound of whistles was very loud. This is an expression of a victory and it represents our happiness instead of clapping our hands like before. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, June 5, 2017)

The best way of our responses is to blow a whistle with a hissing sound. It is loud all over the place. (Leader H, personal communication, January 6, 2017)

When we arrived in front of the building of the Revenue Department, there was a sign writing 'stop working' and a number of officers came out to encourage us by blowing their whistles. ("Suthep' was amazed by a "whistle decorated with diamonds," 2014)

A large number of the officers in the Ministry of Public Health came out to welcome the protesters by blowing a whistle and waving a flag. This made the climate very lively. ("PDRC arrived the Ministry of Public," 2014)

A whistle is our fundamental symbol. People who agree with us will blow their whistles, which means it is OK. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

They accepted our conditions. It is a symbolic action. When they accept, they blow their whistles. (Demonstrator N, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

We blow a whistle when we are satisfied when we get a good speech, etc. Then, we blow it instead of clapping, which can hurt our hands. (Leader E, personal communication, March 9, 2017)

5.1.1.8 Definition of Movement

A whistle is also signified as "to join a movement." It means the power of harmony, unison, and courage, all of which contain positive meanings and is used to communicate among demonstrators for arousing and motivating people to join in a movement, including for displaying to the opponents to witness their unity and cohesiveness. Whistles also mean people or mass of people. The political movements of PDRC were moved up continually towards a political reform. Therefore, the number of demonstrators or protestors needed to be huge enough to represent the majority of people in the country to put pressure on the opponents. Besides, it could communicate that this movement reflected the needs of the majority of people.

We blow to Yingluck to express our different ideas. We want her to know that Thai people are not afraid of her power and we are ready to confront her. I used to show my bravery like this once when I fought against Thaksin Regime. (Demonstrator M, personal communication, August 27, 2017)

To hear a whistle blow surely causes no death but it shows that the power of people is very gigantic and magnified. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

As far as I could recall.... at that time.....it always thrills me every time I watch or think about it. To stand amidst the mass of people. Pure people and pure power. It is very scarce to find in this life. (Korn Chatikavanij, 2014)

Whistles represent people. They can change a situation and everything. It has bettered political situations up to now. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8, 2017)

5.1.1.9 Concept and Methods of Movements

The meaning of peaceful means, non-violence, and without weapons comes with the meaning of an expulsion when Suthep Thaugsuban increased the degree of the movement by declaring the civil disobedience measure. Whistles were used as weapons upon meeting the prime minister, her cabinet, and all involving Thaksinocracy, which was attacked by the opponents that it was an illegal action. Therefore, PDRC and the leaders tried to emphasize non-violent movements without violent weapons. The only weapon they had was a whistle, which could not make anyone die. They did not use bloody weapons like their adversary or the Red-Shirts who were criticized for having weapons during their rally. Consequently, a whistle contained "ways of the movement" in their signified meaning.

We have reached Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters already but we have no weapons, except our whistles! (Suthep Thaugsuban, 2013)

The only powerful weapon that we, people who comply with 'non-violent and peaceful' principles like the rest of the world, use for abolishing unfair systems is a whistle (Kanjabadinth Sudlapa, 2014)

The reason we say whistles are our weapons is to make our opponents who use guns realize that we have nothing, but empty hands and whistles. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

A whistle is like a weapon. In our opinion, we do not necessarily have guns or knives to kill anyone but we have only a whistle, which will be blown to get a sound effect for fighting with Thaksin Regime. (Demonstrator M, personal communication, August 27, 2017)

Suthep Thaugsuban said that ‘if you want to charge us of being guilty, please charge me but others. If Tarit wants to take this as his special case, tell him to bring a warrant and arrest me here. I will escape to nowhere.’ (“Whistleblowing...to charge Dej of a possible,” 2013)

5.1.1.10 Needs and Goals

A whistle represents PDRC whose goal aimed to resist the government and Thaksin Regime in many issues. All through the movements, whistles were used as a medium and contained several meanings, including goals and needs of the group: to anti the Amnesty laws, to expel the government, and to extract Thaksin Regime, including the needs of a reform before an election. A whistle was thus continually used as a symbol and representation of the group. Accordingly, the group's needs and goals were contained in such a symbol.

Everybody who blows a whistle intends to see the righteousness, to protect and to eradicate all bad things from our country. (Abhisit Vejjajiva, Whistle: Memoirs of the Whistle-Blowers, 2014)

Employees, businessmen, and general people have gathered in a rally to express their symbolic activities by blowing a whistle. This is to call for a political reform and a rejection of an election based on the Thaksin Regime before February 2. (“Silom people prepared to continue blowing,” 2014)

We blow a whistle as a symbol to expel this government out of our country. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

5.1.2 Mechanism in Controlling the Meanings

From an effort in pushing forward the Amnesty Act of Yingluck Government, which was perceived as a possible return of power to Thaksin Shinawatra, it initiated the assembly of a number of civic groups to protest about this action, led by Suthep Thaugsuban and members of the Democratic Party. Later, the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) was established and it took totally 204 days for its rallies and movements. (Hataikarn Trisuwan, Thai BBC, October 30, 2017). A whistle had been a symbol used in parallel with the movements, since the first formal symbolic whistleblowing on October 30, 2013, at Samsen Train Station. After that, a whistle was used in PDRC's activities so predominantly that PDRC was called, "Whistle Mobs." From an analysis of the meanings, it was found that a mechanism that regulates the meanings of a whistle or factors affecting its meanings were the following:

5.1.2.1 Target Group

From the political movements of PDRC, it is remarkable that PDRC elevated their rallies continually from the resistance of the Amnesty Act to anti the government and Thaksin Regime and then to a reform and the establishment of People's Council. Therefore, its movement involved several groups of people. Accordingly, a whistle as the group representation has different meanings depending on its target group and receivers, which can be divided into the following:

1) Homogenous groups or groups with the same ideology. Whistles are used to communicate with people who shared the same ideology since the early stage of the movement. Later, they were assigned as group symbol and group identity. Whistles play as a media in group communication or during the group's activities, such as demonstrations, public speaking, etc. Demonstrators use whistles to communicate with one another with different meanings, i.e. for greeting, for an acceptance, for expressing their satisfaction, or for identifying the membership, etc.

2) Alliances during the movements. PDRC put a pressure on the government and raised the level of their struggle by inviting governmental officers to stop operating their functions or stop their work and join a civil disobedience with

the group. The meaning of whistles for this group is thus to invite and motivate them to join the movements or to join the group.

3) Adversaries or opponents. To communicate with adversaries is the main goal for PDRC's movements by using whistles as one of the symbols to express its civil disobedience, i.e. to hang a whistle, to blow to the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, or anyone concerned with Thaksin Regime, etc. To use a whistle with its opponents has thus negative meanings, i.e. resistance, objection, expulsion, or pressure against adversaries, etc.

We blow a whistle because we want to convey its meaning to Yingluck government that she should stop governing the country and thus a whistle is a symbol to deliver our voice to let the government know. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

I blew to Yingluck. I think we came out because we want to show them that we think differently from them and I want them to know that I am one of the Thai people who are never afraid of their power but dare to confront them. (Demonstrator M, personal communication, August 27, 2017)

5.1.2.2 Time and Place

The meaning of a whistle depends on the factors of time and place. In spite of the same sound of a whistle, it conveys different meanings when used at different time and place. For instance, the meaning of a whistleblowing in a rally or during the movement activities is related to a political movement. However, when a whistle is used outside the rally or out of the specified time by the group, the meaning is not related to the movement of PDRC. Therefore, time and place are major factors in regulating the meaning of a whistle.

5.1.2.3 Methods of using the Symbol

In general, a whistle is used for blowing and its distinguished feature is its sound effect. Normally, the quality of sound determines the price of each kind of whistles. For PDRC's use of a whistle, there are other different ways and each affects its communicative meaning. Three main ways of using a whistle are as follow:

1) Blowing. Blowing is a basic use of a whistle. However, the sound of a whistle used in the rallies of PDRC depends on several factors, i.e. receivers and a context. If a whistle is used within the same group, it communicates or to support to another. However, if it is used while listening to a speech, it conveys an agreement or a satisfaction. The predominant feature of a whistle is it can convey its power through the level of the sound and it can be interactive. Besides, it can save the protestors' energy by blowing instead of clapping their hands or saying.

2) Hanging. Besides blowing, protestors hang a whistle as a sign of their membership or their self-identity in politics. Moreover, it gets along with what Suthep declared, “to go anywhere with a whistle and a national flag.” To hang a whistle is thus popular, especially when it is hanged together with a national flag symbol. It is found that in a rally area, whistles are produced in a number of forms and designs to draw an attraction from protestors. Besides its sound, the physical beauty is another attractive component of a whistle.

3) Giving. A whistle can be developed to be more valued, both monetary and spiritual. It is like the center of ideology and recorder of important events. Therefore, whistles are given to important people. To give a whistle is another way of the group's movement. For instance, in a demonstration to some governmental offices, whistles were given together with flowers as a sign for inviting their officers to join in the movement or to give a whistle as a reward to a brave demonstrator. Besides, it was found that some demonstrators gave their leaders a whistle to support and thank them.

To give a gold whistle is a created symbol with the meaning that we support your action. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

Hanging a whistle means we are the same group. We are PDRC. (Demonstrator I, personal communication, July 16, 2017)

To blow a whistle conveys our satisfaction and to hang it means we are the same group. (Leader E, personal communication, March 9, 2017)

5.1.2.4 Aspect and Design

Although whistles at the rally area have several designs and forms, they also have particular meanings of the group. For example, a whistle that directs the group's movements is a whistle with a thunder design, which was created by Blue Sky Televisions whose logo is a thunder. The whistle used in the first rally came from the ideas of Takerng Somsup, the director of the TV station. Later, many lots of Thunder whistles in different colors were developed and were popular among demonstrators who bought them as souvenirs or a collection.

Where a Thunder Whistle is, it means a symbol of our group membership, the same meaning as we hang a national flag symbol. Now, if you carry a general whistle, it means nothing but once you carry a Thunder Whistle or hang a national flag symbol, it becomes our political symbol. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

A man of 56 years old from Klong Toey hanged a national-flag ribbon with whistles of different colors. He was in a line, waiting to get a new whistle for the second round. He admitted that he had already nine Thunder Whistles but he missed one pink whistle in order to meet all ten colors for his memorable collection. ("Whistles and shut-down shirts on Hit," 2014)

5.1.2.5 Combined Symbols

Besides a whistle as a symbol, there are other factors that determine the meaning of a whistle. For the rallies of PDRC, it was found that combined objects with a whistle, i.e. a national-flag design hanger, flowers, etc. also determine the meaning of a whistle, especially by emphasizing the meaning of a whistle. To have a national flag ribbon in combination with a whistle is a distinctive symbol of PDRC and is very popular among the demonstrators to portray their identity in the rally space. Besides, flowers, national flag objects, and whistles are for inviting governmental offices to join their civil disobedience approach as proposed by Suthep Thaugsuban.

A whistle will perform as a complete symbol when it is hanged with national flag ribbons. (Rungmanee Meksophon, 2014, p. 51)

To give a whistle together with a flower is to ask a person to join for the movement. In many governmental offices, officials came out to accept it. (Leader G, personal communication, March 12, 2017)

5.1.2.6 Activities and Movement Approach

A whistle is the main symbol in a rally and important tool for a movement according to the measures declared by the leaders. Consequently, this brought about some name-calling for PDRC, such as whistle mobs, whistle guys, whistle mass, whistle gangs, or whistle revolution, etc. The activity in which a whistle is used also causes different meanings of a whistle. PDRC used a whistle in the following activities:

- 1) A whistleblowing during an activity, i.e. a rally, a speech, a demonstration, etc. In a movement for resisting an Amnesty act and Thaksin Regime, a stage for public speaking or speeches and a demonstration is one communication channel with the public. After the official whistleblowing, a whistle becomes a tool a demonstrator brings with him or her to express his or her standpoint and group participation. Around the stage, a variety of whistles was sold. Whistles were carried with the demonstrators in every rally and demonstration, both in Bangkok and in other cities. Examples of some important activities are “a join in one-minute whistleblowing,” “a campaign stage at various places”, “a great rally under the name of The Great Mass Day. Thai people with Millions of spirits”, “Shut down Bangkok”, etc.

The meaning of a whistle at a rally and a demonstration is varied, i.e. a support, satisfaction, encouragement, participation, resistance, expulsion, etc. Protestors will blow a whistle from time to time all through the activity as a sign of their participation. Plenty of emotional expressions is displayed during their demonstration or while meeting with general people on both sides of the roads. A whistle is thus blown to greet, invite, and encourage people to join. However, if the place or space belongs to their opponents, or if it is close to an election date, a

whistleblowing will be used to express their resistance and disagreement. Therefore, the meaning of a whistleblowing varies according to time and place or the situation.

2) An elevation of a rally and the civil disobedience measure. Suthep Thaugsuban declared an elevation of a rally with four measures of civil disobedience, which included a measure relating to a whistleblowing as well. Examples of the related measures or guidelines for protestors are to place or hang a national flag in front of a residence, house, or car; hang a whistle, bring a whistle and a national flag symbol with them everywhere, blow a whistle when meeting with the prime minister and the cabinet. Later, Suthep added more measures or guidelines when he elevated the rally's purposes to cover the resistance of the Amnesty Act, such as to blow a whistle when meeting people involving with Thaksin Regime. Suthep claimed that this approach is a peaceful and non-violent fight. After such measures, a number of people were blown, i.e. Yingluck Shinawatra, Madam Podjamarn Na-Pompech, Yaowared Shinawatra, Jaturon Chaisang, Chalerm Yoobumrung, Tarit Pengdit, etc. Since then, the meaning of a whistle as a "driving out" or "expulsion" has been witnessed.

3) A dispersing invitation activity. This activity is for inviting officials and general people to join in the movement. After the important rally of PDRC entitled, "The Great Mass Day, Thai People with Millions of Spirits," where a huge number of protestors joined at the Democracy Monument, groups of protestors were organized and divided or dispersed into 13 groups to march along 13 significant roads and places. All through the passing way, whistles, flowers, and national flag symbols were given to officials of the ministries, governmental offices, troops Headquarters, media organizations, including some places related to conflicts. Besides, in upcountry provinces, protestors assembled at the center of the city or city hall. Most of the target groups were officials, governmental officers, cabinets, top commanders, governors, and local leaders. They were given a whistle as a group symbol and were invited to join in a civil disobedience. In some places, protesters also requested the symbol receivers to blow a whistle as a sign of their acceptance of PDRC's approach.

4) A Blockade of Some Spaces and Offices. Protestors joined in the activity "Shut down Bangkok" to put a pressure on the Prime Minister Yingluck

Shinawatra to resign from her position and allow having a political reform by civilians. Ratchadamnoen Stage was removed but a number of stages were settled all over Bangkok, i.e. Ratchaprasong, Pathumwan, Lumpini Park, Silom, Jaeng Wattana, Ladprao, and Asoke etc. After that, the protestors went to block many governmental offices in Bangkok from performing their regular duties. Besides, they invited those officials to join the movement. Subsequently, in the blockade of governmental offices, whistles were used in the meaning of an arousal and a victory of the group.

For interpreting its meaning, you must see how a whistle is used. You cannot tell if it means a resistance or a support. If it is used for an expulsion, it means a resistance but if it cheers up any activity, it means a support. (Scholar A, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

Our fellows. We have won. We could break into here and could black it. The whistleblowing will be loud. It is the sound of the victory. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, June 5, 2017)

Suppose one comes in, sees us, and hears whistles blow, one will accept our movement. (Demonstrator Q, personal communication, September 17, 2017)

5.1.2.7 Political Situation

A political situation is another major factor that determines an approach for a movement of the group and for a reaction against the situation. The meaning of the use of a whistle was related directly with each situation as shown in the following:

Table 5.2 Political Situation and the Meaning of Symbols

Situations and Movement	Background/ Use of Whistles	Examples of Meanings
<u>Formation Stage</u>		
- The government pushed laws to the House of Representatives - The Democratic Party organized “Reveal the Truth” on a stage to oppose the laws outside the House of Representatives	- A phrase “blow a whistle” emerged during the speech of Suthep Thaugsuban	- A signal for calling an assembly of people for opposing the operation of the government. at that time.
<u>Early Stage of a Rally</u>		
- The government tried to force the laws into the House of Representatives continually - A lot of people came out for a movement	- An official whistleblowing on October 31, 2013, at Samsen Train Station. - A political rally against the Amnesty Act.	- An official starting of a political rally against the government - A resistance against the drafted Amnesty Act.
<u>A Commencement of an official Rally Stage</u>		
- The elevation of the movement to be the resistance against Thaksin Regime - Suthep resigned from being a member of the parliament - An announcement of the formation of People’s Democratic Reform Committee - A dissolution and an arrangement of a new election - A continual elevation of a rally	-The announcement of the measure of civil disobedience by blowing a whistle when meeting the cabinets - The arrangement of 13 processions to different places and the giving of whistles, flowers, and national flag symbols	- The resistance against the government and Thaksin Regime - The expulsion of the government and Thaksin Regime - Peaceful approach without weapons - An invitation to join the movement with PDRC

1) Formation Stage

The climate in the House of Parliament was increasingly serious every time the members scrutinized the laws submitted and pushed forward by Pheu Thai Party, which was the majority members in the House, especially in amending the constitution, the Harmony Act, and the Amnesty Act that was related with the return

of power for Thaksin Shinawatra. The Democratic Party, the opposition, widely discussed and objected to all these laws and acts every time a meeting took place. However, due to being the majority in the House of Representatives, the government could push forward these laws more heavily without ceasing. The Democratic Party, especially Suthep Thaugsuban, perceived that the battle in the House could not resist the push by the majority votes so he organized an address on a stage entitled “Reveal the Truth” and publicized all through the country. He started his speech in the south and later expanded to other areas by having the Democratic Party’s leaders and members gave their speeches on the stage alternatively. The issues that they addressed were the resistance against the Harmony and the Amnesty Act, including an attack towards the government. In parallel, they also performed their duties in the House of Parliament or Representatives as usual. During their activities, Alliances of Red-Shirt Groups and United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) always interrupted and caused a chaos while in the House of Parliament, the government kept pushing forward their proposed laws. The strategy Suthep used for making his protestors and mass media recall his activities was the phrase, “blow a whistle”, which he used during his addresses amidst a stressful political situation. At the first stage or “Reveal the Truth” stage, demonstrators still used slapping hands as the symbol, which had been used since the rally of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD). After the popular phrase of Suthep, a whistle became a symbol used for blowing to serve different purposes.

Today, I would like to announce that a whistle is here. It is here. I always hear your whistleblowing loudly all the time when I sleep or wake up. I am going to tell you all that we need to stand up and fight together all through the country to protect our nation and save our nation.

If any day you cannot bear it, you just blow a whistle. When you blow your whistle to send a signal to me, I will hear and I will come. If you fight, I will fight too because I cannot keep myself in the House of Parliament any more. I cannot bear it. If I blow my whistle, will you come to join me?

Whenever you cannot stand it, we must fight together. I will go out and fight with you all. If I cannot stand, I will come out and you must come out to

help me. Please listen to a whistleblowing. If you cannot bear it, you will blow first. I cannot bear it, I will blow first.

From the repeated phrase “blow a whistle” of Suthep, demonstrators started to bring their whistles with them to listen to a speech or campaign. Therefore, each time Suthep using this phrase, it accorded with the situation inside the House of Parliament. For instance, it was used when all sections or articles pushed by Pheu Thai party had been approved in spite of a strong objection of the opposition party. Under such circumstance, a whistleblowing means “a call for gathering or assembling and a call for help when a fight, by a regular process in the House of Representatives, cannot withstand or overcome a gigantic power.”

2) Early Stage of a Rally

Although Suthep mentioned about a whistleblowing all the time on the stage, an official use of a whistle was not acknowledged and it had not been raised up as an official symbol of the movement. Until October 19, 2013, the last day of “Reveal the Truth” stage, Takerng Somsup, the director of Blue Sky Station who produced the first Thunder whistle and gave it to Suthep. Suthep hanged it but did not blow it on that day. On October 30, 2013, Suthep Thaugsuban and representatives of the Democratic Party organized a press conference at the Rama VII monument in front of The House of Senators 1 to object the drafted Amnesty Act, which was proposed to the House for the second agenda, and to ask people to gather in the next day. On October 31, 2013, at Samsen Train Station, Suthep invited people to assemble and blow a whistle together officially. Therefore, on that day he gave an address and official statement, including blowing a whistle officially together with the crowd as the first time.

Considering from the context and situation at that time, the reason Suthep did not blow his whistle on October 19, 2013, but blew it officially on October 31, 2013, was to connect the whistleblowing with the situation and timing in the House of Senators. If the laws could pass the second agenda, there was a high tendency that the government could push forward the Amnesty Act successfully. Earlier or before October 31, many groups of people disagreed with this act so they had some common feelings and goals and joined a rally from time to time, but the

merger was not so explicit. Suthep's official whistleblowing thus was a sign that responded to the political situation and timing properly. The official blowing did not convey only the meaning of the starting point of an objection of the Amnesty Act through some activities and rituals, but it also conveyed the meaning that an official rally for objections had started as well. The initial meaning of "calling for a help from the mass" is still used in parallel to keep the alliances all through the country to put pressure on the government.

3) A Commencement of an Official Rally Stage

After the announcement of an official rally against the Amnesty Act, a great number of people joined in a rally, especially when the laws had passed the third agenda so rapidly that it was called, "a sneaking act." Still, the protestors forced the government into the withdrawal of all proposed laws and put the pressure on the government consistently led by Suthep. For instance, they organized "harmonious whistleblowing for one minute" to display the power of the mass and to mobilize and elevate their rallies because the government still had not withdrawn any of the six laws or acts. From elevating the rallies, a whistle was used to express more various meanings. Suthep elevated the rallies by resigning from being a member of the House of Representatives and a member of the Democratic Party together with another eight representatives from the Democratic Party. In addition, they also performed a civil disobedience with four measures or guidelines as they viewed that this way of opposition was a peaceful and non-violent or non-bloody fight without any weapons. The four measures or guidelines of the Civil Disobedience were as follow:

(1) Invite people to join in the civil disobedience all through the country during November 13-15, 2013. People were also requested to have a labor strike simultaneously throughout the country to participate in a rally at the Ratchadamnoen and alliances stages, which were organized in parallel at the same time.

(2) Request business people and all business to withhold their tax payments.

(3) Put a National Flag in front of the residence, vehicle, and hang its symbol. When going anywhere, bring two things always: a whistle and a national flag symbol

(4) Blow a whistle when meeting the Prime Minister, the Cabinets, and all concerned with this government.

After that, Suthep Thaugsuban announced an elevation of the rally once again by changing the target of their opposition from the Amnesty Act to Anti-Thaksin Regime as following:

1) A signature hunt for demoting 310 representatives who vote for the Amnesty Act.

2) A collective expression of their dissociation by performing a civil disobedience against all people serving Thaksin Regime, who exert too much power over others. What to do is to condemn them or to condemn on a stage without showing any wai (a greeting manner or a respectful manner), talking or conversing with them, and involving with them. When meeting these people, just blow a whistle to them.

3) A rejection of buying any merchandise produced or serviced by Thaksin Groups.

4) An invitation for governmental officers throughout the country to stop working or go on a strike.

During this period, mass media reported news on the political movement and rally continually, including the use of whistleblowing to chase the government and Pheu Thai Party. Until the Director-General of the Department of Special Case Investigation (DSI) declared that if any of DSI officers was blown by a whistle, he needed to take a photo as an evidence in charging the blower of a crime stipulating in Criminal Law of Article 370, and 397. For the Article 397, the accused or wrongdoer would be jailed for no more than one month or being fined with no more than 1,000 baht. Consequently, the meaning of a whistle is constructed for a battle between an illegal act and a peaceful act while Red-Shirts or UDD also reacted by using a red whistle and a red trumpet as their symbols.

Later, People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) was established by having Suthep Thaugsuban as the Secretariat. The important rally of PDRC called,

“The Great Mass of People Day and Thai people with Millions of Spirits” was organized on November 24, 2013. On the next day, the protestors were divided into 13 processions spreading into many places in Bangkok on November 25, 2013, as a disperse network to pressure on governmental offices and all involved with state power by a civil disobedience measures. Suthep brought whistles, flowers, and national flags to those officials he and his fellows visited and asked them to join in a demonstration. Later, similar operations of PDRC were conducted in many provinces to urge them to strike or stop working and join them in protesting the government. Whistles were used again for an invitation, for building a good relationship, for an identification, and for granting rewards for brave protestors.

After that, the rallies of PDRC was elevated continually by marching to block governmental places and by settling a rally stage at significant places in Bangkok, some of where they faced a confrontation with some adversaries, an ambush, and a bombing, which caused injuries and death. The government at that time could not withstand such a heavy protest while facing protests in the House of Representatives without ceasing so they decided to dissolve the parliament and declared for a new election. However, the planned new election was barred by PDRC who required a reform before an election. An elevated rally continued. At the same time, UDD also organized its large rally in parallel to the PDRC’s movement. The political situation at that time had a tendency towards a violence so a coup d’etat was declared on May 22, 2014.

All through a complete rally, a whistle was used as a symbol for the movements with both old and new meanings, including being used as one of the measures in elevating a rally. As a whistle was used as a symbol since the starting of a PDRC rally, no matter to which direction the protest moved, a whistle was mentioned and supported the movements. The meaning of a whistle thus tended to be heavy according to the occurrence of the situations, especially when the rally moved from a protest against the Amnesty Act to the expulsion of the government and Thaksin Regime. After the dissolution of the parliament, a reform and the establishment of people’s council was strongly required before an election. Apparently, each phase of the elevation of a rally needs intensified movement methods and strategies since it depends on people’s collaboration. Likewise, a whistle is used with several adjusted

meanings. Accordingly, political situations are major factors in relations to the meanings of a whistle used in parallel with the movement approaches.

5.1.3 Meaning in Terms of Binary Opposition

From analyzing the meaning of a whistle used in the movements of PDRC against its adversary, namely Yingluck Government and Thaksin Regime, the following binary meanings were found:

Table 5.3 Meanings of Binary Opposition of Whistles

PDRC	Adversaries (Government, Thaksin Regime Alliances)
Protest	Support
Purity	Corruption
Correctness/ Righteousness	Incorrectness/ Unrighteousness
Goodness/ Virtue	Wickedness
The Protection Of The Nation, Religion, And The Monarchy	The Destruction Of The Nation, Religion, And The Monarchy
Awaken	Passive/ Dominated
Win	Lose
Peaceful/ Non-Violent/ Without Weapons	Violent/ Threatening
Legal	Illegal
A Rejection Of An Election/ A Reform	An Organization Of A New Selection
People/ Mass	Alliances/ Dictators

A pushing forward of the Amnesty Act was the starting point of political conflicts leading to a coup d'état and a political change in Thailand. This initiated a political movement for protesting the Act and for expelling the government and Thaksin Regime. The obvious opposite binary was “a protest” and “a support.” A support of the government to force the Act, which was related to an amnesty for

Thaksin Shinawatra or related to the return of Thaksin to the power, led to a protest by PDRC.

From the issue of the Amnesty Act relating to Thaksin Shinawatra and the elevation of the rallies against the government and Thaksin Regime, most of the meanings thus connect with the description of “Thaksin Regime.” “Thaksinocracy” or “Thaksin Regime” was defined by a scholar as “a political phenomenon in which Thaksin Shinawatra was accused of performing a corrupt conduct, seizing national resources for personal benefits, exercising dictatorship and excessive power in the form of a democracy, destroying all concerned inspection offices (the House of Parliament, NGO, Court of Justice, etc.), creating a dissonance of all parts, and aiming for a ‘divide and rule’ principle.” (“Thaksin Regime: Beginning and the end,” 2014)

From the abovementioned definition, it brought about a number of binary meanings, such as pure and corruption, correctness and incorrectness, integrity and wickedness, the protection and the destruction of the nation, religion, and the monarchy, etc. Especially in the issue of the nation, religion, and the Monarchy, it was signified in the form of a national-flag hanger with a whistle, including the name of PDRC itself.

Besides, there are some meanings conveyed by a whistle. For instance, a whistleblowing took place to convey a meaning of a victory after some important operations were accomplished, i.e. an increased number of protestors, a successful blockade of governmental offices, or the dissolution of the House of Parliament. It was also a symbol as a signal to arouse people to be awake and aware of existing political situations and excessive use of power by the government. For the meaning of peace, non-violence, and no weapons, whistles were used as PDRC’s weapons during the movements, which was opposite to those of Red-Shirts or UDD in 2010 under the governance of Abhisit Vejjajiva where a shooting, an explosion, and arson were committed. From this binary meaning, it also indicated that PDRC’s use of a whistle was not illegal nor caused any damage to the country. However, the adversary responded that such an approach was illegal and threatened other people. To illustrate this, Panthongtae Shinnawat and the government, including Tharit Pengdit, the DSI Chief stated that a whistleblower was guilty according to the Criminal Law Article

370 and 397. Such defense caused the PDRC leaders to focus more on the interpretation of a whistle use as a peaceful and non-violent demonstration and on the comparison with the use of violence by the adversary in the past

A wife of the Democratic Party's representative blew her whistle to my mother. The aggressive behavior of this woman causes a trouble to a motherhood. In future, if any relatives or friends of the Democratic Party still behave in such a deteriorating, bad, and uncivilized behavior toward other people, as the Party does in the House of Representatives... (Oak Panthongtae Shinawatra, 2014)

As PDRC displayed a clip of blowing a whistle to Khunying Phodjaman on the stage, I perceive this act as a threatening and violating the right of Khunying by laws, said Noppadon Pattama (Isranews, 2014)

Regarding the binary meaning of “the rejection of an election/ the needs of a reform” by “People/ Mass” and “the organization of an election” by “alliances/ dictators,” they were the issues mentioned after the dissolution of the parliament leading to a new election but was protested by PDRC continually. PDRC perceived that if the election was the same as in the past, the old power or Pheu Thai Party would have a great chance to be elected as the government again. Accordingly, PDRC proposed for a reform and the establishment of the People's Council first. Therefore, during the period of an election, a chaos took place in many areas in Bangkok and other provinces. The protestors barred the election process and in some areas, a violent confrontation occurred causing a number of injuries. Later, the election was declared to be voided or invalid.

Anusorn Eiamsa-ad, acting for Deputy Spokesperson of Pheu Thai Party, stated that Abhisit Vejjajiva was trying to confuse people and make people forget which party was the leading party. He and his fellows persuaded people to blow a whistle, called the military to make a coup d'état, and caused the economics a heavy damage. (“Pheu Thai retorted Mark which party blew a whistle to call for a military force,” 2015)

The representatives from 20 northeastern provinces agreed to express their synergy to keep a democracy as a result of an election. Besides, it could reflect the roles and standpoints of over 9 million northeastern people to mobilize for the survival of the country (“Esan House of Representatives, Pheu Thai declared clearly not to accept PDRC’s offer,” 2014)

The approaches of PDRC used, such as rejecting an election, calling for a reform, and using a discourse to represent the majority of people in the country under the name of the great mass of people, including using a whistle for various purposes were attacked by the adversaries who disagreed with those approaches of PDRC. They viewed PDRC’s movements as violating the principles of democracy and compared the whistleblowing with a call for a military or a support of a coup d’etat. Therefore, these binary meanings were the arguments on the issue of democracy mainly since the political situation came to the dissolution of the parliament and a movement towards political changes.

5.2 The Roles of the Symbol

The political movements of PDRC took several months consecutively and were elevated to put a pressure on the adversary in many forms. One of them was to use a whistle as a mobilizing mechanism with some operational guidelines, i.e. to blow a whistle during the activities when meeting adversaries, or to give a whistle to governmental offices, etc. From all of these activities, whistles had the following roles in the political movements of PDRC:

5.2.1 An Emblem for a Yell or Clapping Hands

The sound of a whistle is its distinctive feature that can replace a yelling or a bravo, especially in the movements of PDRC, whistles were blown when the leaders addressed a satisfactory issue. Long blowing was to transmit their protestors' emotion or agreement; therefore, it is a kind of energy-saving tool during long movements.

I used a whistle as an emblem for my bravo when we could accomplish our goals (Demonstrator L, personal communication, June 5, 2017)

I blow it when I feel satisfied or when a leader speaks well. A long blow replaces my slapping hands so as not to hurt my hands. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

It depends on the emotion, situations, and timing. For example, when I was at the city hall, I blew it when leaders gave good speeches. Instead of clapping my hands, I blow a whistle. It echoed loudly in the Hall. (Demonstrator P, personal communication, June 8, 2017)

5.2.2 A Means to Convey Emotions

A whistle has characteristics as being both a message and a channel. Therefore, it can be a medium in transmitting an emotion and feeling within the same group or to the adversary. The level of a whistle's loudness can also transmit a different level of emotion. This can be witnessed by its use during the speeches or demonstrations where the sound of a whistleblowing represents different meanings depending on the contexts and situations, i.e. satisfaction, happiness, preference, discontentment, etc.

We can blow a whistle as long as we can. It can respond to our emotions very well. We can explode our emotion when we feel uneasy or tight. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

A whistleblowing is a symbol to say I am not happy with you. Then, we blow a whistle instead. (Demonstrator K, personal communication, February 4, 2017)

I used to blow a whistle when they talked about Yingluck or when I heard a satisfying speech. If I am very satisfied, I will blow it long. (Demonstrator M, personal communication, August 27, 2017)

I blew a whistle to express my emotion. For example, when the leader Suthep said this government could stay for no more than three days. I felt that it was our victory. The sound of whistleblowing was so loud. (Demonstrator L, personal communication, June 5, 2017)

5.2.3 An Interactive Tool in a Rally

A whistle is a sound-effect object and can communicate through its sound in several ways. The sound of a whistle represents one's thought, speech, and action that is communicative and can create a mutual understanding. Especially, in the political movements of PDRC where several kinds of activities were organized, a collaboration among people is very vital and a communication within the group is as important as the mobilization process itself. An example was a communication between a leader and demonstrators or among demonstrators, i.e. during a speech on the stage, there was a whistleblowing from time to time, which is an interactive communication between the speakers and the audience below the stage. Another example was a whistleblowing during a demonstration march to governmental places, which was responded by greetings and acceptance all the way.

During the march led by Suthep, people responded well by a blowing for greeting all the way. (Editorial Board of Matichon, 2014, p. 37)

Thunder whistles and all kinds of whistles were laid around the rally places. When whistles were composed to be hung by national-flag ribbons around the protestors' neck, they became a powerful communicative tool to communicate with their leaders. (Rungmanee Meksophon, 2014, p. 52)

While marching, protestors blew their whistles. They became a symbol of an identification. When we blew, people responded back. Some people at their workplace opened a window, blew a whistle and waved their national flag from high buildings on both sides of the street. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

It was like when we went up to the stage, the protestors blew their whistles. We blew back as a signal that we were from an identical group. It is like a question, 'are you there?', 'will you still want to fight?' (Leader F, personal communication, January 29, 2017)

5.2.4 An Accessory

In general, the distinctive feature of a whistle was used as signs or symbols during the rallies of PDRC. However, besides being used as a signal or symbol, to hang a whistle with national color ribbons is another symbol of expressing people's political standpoint. This induces the physical attraction of a whistle among protestors; therefore, whistles were produced in several forms and designs. This useful and meaningful symbol then became an accessory of the demonstrators.

Whistles became an accessory, not only for blowing but for decorating as well. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

Before leaving home, I must hang a whistle. It is like one of my accessories (Demonstrator Q, personal communication, September 17, 2017)

5.2.5 A Holy-resemble Object

All through the political movements of PDRC, whistles were used as a symbol in various activities from the starting official movement at Samsen Train Station, an activity of one-minute whistleblowing, and the giving of whistles and flowers to governmental offices, including the giving of gold whistles. The use of whistles in these activities is like a ritual of the meaning construction and this raised the status of a whistle to be like a holy object with a spiritual value.

From a piece of plastic, it becomes a sacred object, a historical valuable object, and a symbol of a battle. It has been developed from human thought and we perceive it as a worthwhile object. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

I think someone keeps it at home and someone hangs it on a Buddha stand. I found one house full of whistles. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

5.2.6 A Product

Due to the use of whistles as symbols in the political movements of PDRC, whistles were something available in a market and needed by protestors. This helped to increase the income of the merchants from their sales of whistles. Some were old and some were new merchants who saw whistles as popular products so they turned to sell whistles. The popularity of the whistles encouraged the production of whistles in various forms and designs to attract buyers. Moreover, some merchants used the image of a whistle to extend their business, i.e. screening an image of a whistle on a T-shirt, etc.

There were people selling whistles around the stage. New designs of whistles were produced. (Leader E, personal communication, March 9, 2017)

Procession of whistles were all over the places, millions of them, but only in Bangkok, some from upcountry bought them for their cousins. A whistle was so popular that factories could not produce in time. Protestors from upcountry must buy them for their relatives. It was a very good business. (Leader F, personal communication, January 29, 2017)

A whistle seller said that whistles are the best-seller products since the first day at Ratchadamnoen Stage. Every merchant could sell them all. Up to now, it has been almost two months, but they are still popular. (“The great mass of people shopped collections of whistles widely,” 2014)

5.2.7 An Object for Fundraising

As whistles were so popular, it was one of the symbols that were supported financially. Besides a support by blowing a whistle during a rally, demonstrators also supported the movements by buying whistles so that the incomes could be used to pay for expenses during a mobilization. In organizing a rally, besides the number of participants, financial resources or expenses are very essential. For a whistle, it was distributed and auctioned for a fundraising or for capital mobilization. As an example, in spite of limited quantity of gold whistles or genuine-gold whistles that Blue Sky Station produced and in spite of their high prices, they were still needed by protestors who wanted to support political movements of the group.

For silver and gold whistles, according to Khun Takeong, the former representative of the Democratic Party, they were created by his idea. This could reach a fundraising of over ten million baht to support the activities of Blue Sky. The most mentioned symbol was a fluorescent whistle, which Blue Sky produced and gave to any person who donated over 1,000 baht. (Rungmanee Meksophon, 2014, p. 53)

Whistles are very useful. They are also sources of a donation i.e. to produce a gold whistle for a donation. One whistle can make money so can a donation. Financial resources are highly needed for a rally. The more people join in a rally, the more expenses the group has to pay. Everything is a cost. Therefore, incomes from a donation play a significant role for a fundraising. (Scholar A, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

At the stage in Nakhon Si Thammarat, people sold whistles and T-shirts, symbols of a political struggle, and gave money for those who wanted to join in Bangkok to pay for their transport, and for some expenses of the stage. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

5.2.8 A Representation of Political Ideas and Ideologies

Whistles, symbols of PDRC, represent an ideology, thought, beliefs, approaches, and goals in a political movement. For people with the same ideology or with the same direction, whistles were a medium, which was explicit and easy to understand, to replace their explanation and words. The meanings of a whistle were communicated through each kind of activity and a whistle performed as a medium to connect all interactions during the movements.

Whistles are like an arousal of synergy for those who disagreed with the Amnesty Act instead of fighting individually through their social media. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

I want Yingluck to hear and to see that people with same ideology dare to express that we do not want Yingluck. We blow it to let her know that we do not want her. (Demonstrator M, personal communication, August 27, 2017)

A whistle represents the voice of people. Not all of us could give our speeches on a stage. We could not say we do not want this or that on a stage individually but one whistleblowing can communicate that I want this as you do. Whenever we are satisfied, we will blow it at that moment loudly. (Demonstrator J, personal communication July 8, 2017)

5.2.9 A Gift and Reward

As a whistle was used in many activities of PDRC, it had various roles besides blowing it for a useful purpose or selling it as an income source. Whistles were also valuable for a symbolic exchange, i.e. to give to someone a protestor liked, to be a gift or souvenir for relatives or friends, to distribute to protestors of the same political ideology, and to grant as a reward for distinguished or brave protestors who shared the same ideology. Besides, the protestors also gave a whistle embellished with diamond to Suthep Thaugsuban, the leader, as a thankful gift.

I brought whistles with me and distributed them at a rally place. Wherever I went, I would distribute to people while marching. Usually, I would bring about 20-30 whistles with me. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

I bought whistles with my own money. Sometimes I bought to give to other people. Each time, I gave about 1,000 pieces. (Demonstrator I, personal communication, July 16, 2017)

5.2.10 A Display of Social Status

In the beginning, a whistle was just a simple plastic object and then it was developed into various forms and designs, such as a high-value whistle embellished with diamond, a gold whistle, or an expensively branded whistle. In a rally, demonstrators comprised people from various professions, i.e. general people, farmers, governmental officers, actors, celebrities, etc., but they owned a whistle as a group symbol and identity. The whistles they used reflected their political standpoint and their symbolic consumption through their purchase and use of a whistle. For examples, some people used an expensively branded whistle or a whistle adorned

with Swarovski diamond, including whistles of the unlimited collection. The use of such various kinds and values of a whistle distinguished its users. Besides, it created a spiritual value and conveyed the social status of the owner.

Whistles are various, i.e. with cartoons or gold whistles made by Yaowarat people that gave to the leader or a globally branded whistle that a famous florist and a magazine owner, Sakchai Guy, selected for hanging. It is hot too. (“Sweet lemon,” 2014)

I used so many. Some were given but the most beloved whistle is one made of silver. Someone gave me too. It all was made of silver. Many people gave me. Someone bought a whistle that was for a child playing at the Disney Land. Some are made from Swarovski Crystal. That one I dare not to blow because it is very expensive (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

5.2.11 A Souvenir and a Collection

Many components of the political situation affected people’s participation in a rally since they perceived that it was a significant political event and was in accordance with their political ideology. Some people felt proud of being a part of the movements. Therefore, whistles became a souvenir and collection the demonstrators wanted to keep for their memory, especially various designs and colors of whistles were produced. Accordingly, from one whistle, they could get a beauty, a meaning, and a good memory of these significant events so people liked to keep their remembrance by collecting all these whistles.

Despite its high price, I still bought it per set to keep as a souvenir. Besides, a whistle is a communication device that can narrate the stories and events. (Demonstrator Q, personal communication, September 17, 2017)

This symbol for fighting will change in every movement so when a battle is finished, everyone will keep it at home for telling his or her descendants about with which they used to fight. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

Itchai Sae Ture, a man of 56 years old from Klongtoey District hanged his national flag ribbons with different colors of Thunder Whistle. He was in line for buying a whistle for the second round. He admitted that he had nine Thunder Whistles already but he missed only the pink one to get a complete set of 10. He wanted to keep them as a memory of his participation in the rally at Ratdamnoen Stage as the last day (“Whistles and shut-down shirts on Hit,” 2014)

I have whistles of every type, especially the Thunder ones. Every lot of the production became a valuable collection. (Rungmanee Meksophon, 2014,p.53)

5.2.12 A Group Identity

Before forming to be PDRC, at the first stage, each demonstrator made a movement separately or joined a rally at an individual level but having the same approach and ideologies, such as the Democratic Party, People’s Alliance for Democracy (PAD), the People’s Army Overthrows Thaksin Regime, etc. As the situation called for an assembly, a whistle was used as a symbol or representation of the group’s identity and political approach. Due to its role as a symbol of PDRC, PDRC was called a “Whistles Mob” or “Whistle Revolution.”

National-flag ribbons and a whistle was hanged. We saw people did so we followed them. It gives a feeling that it is our symbol. (Demonstrator N, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

The sound of a whistle communicates directly to the demonstrators. We have a right to claim that it is our symbol and Red-Shirts cannot use it. It is the symbol of people who resist Thaksinocracy or Thaksin Regime. (Leader F, personal communication, January 29, 2017)

5.2.13 A Sign of an Identification

One main role of a whistle is to indicate a membership or an identification of the group. A group symbol comes from an agreement of members in the group to signify its meaning and to use it as the group representation. Similar to a logo of a football team, players wearing the same clothes indicate one same group. Another

example is the symbol of a national flag. People of any nation will use a symbol with the colors of their nation to indicate from which country they are. Likewise, a whistle is the group representation in a political movement, which indicates to which political group they belong and what their political standpoints are.

Just when a whistleblowing is loud, we can know immediately it is our group. (Scholar A, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

Mostly, I will hang a whistle to let my fellows know we are the same group. It is an object that identifies our membership. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

I gave whistles to governmental officers for a friendship or frankly speaking we know that they are the same group with us. Sometimes they also hang a whistle. (Leader G, personal communication, March 12, 2017)

It is a kind of symbol of an identification, or of the same group who joins in a rally. If anyone has a whistle, then we can know. (Demonstrator K, personal communication, February 4, 2017)

5.2.14 A Participation and Self-presentation

Besides a role of a whistle as a group representation, a whistle also plays a role at an individual level by conveying that an individual has the same standpoint and ideology as the group. Therefore, people present their identity by hanging or blowing a whistle. Accordingly, most demonstrators hang a whistle in a rally area.

At that time, I did not know what kind of activity I could ask all those standing people to join until I met Doctor Top. He talked to his wife and then we finally decided that we would ask them to blow a whistle! (Kanjabadinth Sudlapa, 2014)

We must disclose ourselves that we disagreed with the government and the best and easy way we could do and express at that time was to blow a whistle. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

I do not have to blow a whistle but just hang it. Then, I am one of the protestors already. (Scholar B, personal communication, February 14, 2017)

5.2.15 Beauty/Beautiful Object

Due to the popularity of a whistle, a number of designs were produced, i.e. simple plastic whistles, or high-value whistles, etc. The merchants tried to attract buyers by introducing new forms of whistles into a rally area. Blue Sky was the first producer who makes Thunder whistles in different colors and models. Consequently, besides being a group symbol, whistles can attract the protestors from their beauty and colors.

It is up to what one wants to design. Someone used crystal, some Thunder whistles, and some simple whistles. It is like a fashion and people view it as an art. It is very normal. (Demonstrator O, personal communication, July 14, 2017)

One whistle seller said some people liked to be fashionable so they bought whistles with a pocket as a set. If so, then they would buy a small one with a fashionable design without a use for blowing. (“The great mass of people,” 2014)

5.2.16 Liveliness and Fun

Whistles, as symbols of PDRC, were very useful as they could be applied in a number of activities and could be developed into various forms and functions. The distinctive feature of a whistle was its sound that can communicate between demonstrators and can create a participation in a rally. In spite of the stressful situation because of political conflicts, whistles also played a significant role in stimulating and creating a good climate during a rally. Therefore, they helped to make the situation more relaxing. A political rally then was not so different from a sports competition or entertaining activities. This kind of climate was another factor that could attract demonstrators since it made a rally not so boring or too stressful. An assembly of demonstrators to participate in any activity was thus responded well.

I produced whistles so that people had fun. That’s all. I do not think about politics because when I produced them, it had not any rally yet so a

whistle did not start from a political purpose. Just blow it for fun. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

It is a symbol that can make a rally colorful and lively. Most of all, it is a part of a victory. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8, 2017)

5.2.17 An Arousal of Emotion and Persuasion

During a rally, a call for a preparation, a stimulation, and persuasion are very important for creating a collaboration and participation in the group's activities. Because of the advantageous audio feature of a whistle over other symbols that are just visual-aids, a whistleblowing can transmit well its power and liveliness.

At that time, the climate was very stressful. Later, at 10.00 pm, an increasing number of people of more than 1,000 came to join in a rally. An address on the stage together with a whistleblowing and a temporary yelling aroused the demonstrators' motivation. ("Hot News!! The Trang Whistle," 2013)

I was in an upcountry province. I saw PDRC waving a national flag, tie their head with national flag ribbons, block some governmental offices and academic institutions, blow a whistle etc. It shows that PDRC is very energetic. (Chamlong Fungcholjit, 2014, p. 36)

A whistle is like a stimulation. It stimulates people who disagree to express their ideas, especially in the provinces where people's ideas are very different. We want as many as people in Thai society to dare to present themselves. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

It strengthens my confidence and motivation, such as a long blowing can encourage us to be more confident as it indicates that so many people are with us. The louder a whistle is blown, the more people it sounds to be. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8, 2017)

When we started to move, we used a whistle to signal to our fellows to be ready or to increase their power in fighting together with another group of

PDRC who followed us. (Leader G, personal communication, March 12, 2017)

For each whistleblowing, we needed to communicate to TV viewers to let them know our intentions and movements, i.e. to stimulate them to join, to make an appointment with them, to tell them that we needed more supporting people. For instance, we had at that time ten thousand protestors but we needed five thousand. For a large rally, we needed at least a million up. (Leader H, personal communication, January 6, 2017)

5.2.18 An Attention Drawer

In political movements, besides the approaches and ideologies, the way to transmit and communicate a message to the audience is also important. The use of a whistle is one of PDRC's strategies, which seems to be a new political movement. In the past, whistles were used in other contexts and purposes. However, to use it in a political sphere, whistles can surprisingly create a liveliness and call the society's attention. Besides, such attention can expand people's perception in a wider range, especially to draw them to have a common feeling and emotion in the same direction with the group. Besides, it can communicate to the adversaries to let them know their needs or urges in some issues.

Once the whistle was loud, the government came to see what happened. The government needed to follow the situation, especially when the country was in a chaos. The whistles were blown days and nights to send a message to the government or powerful people. It was sent to ask them to admit the problems and not to let people solve the problems by themselves (Demonstrator P, personal communication, June 18, 2017)

I think a whistle was used to call an attention from people or to let people focus on that. (Demonstrator I, personal communication, July 16, 2017)

5.2.19 A method and tool for a movement

In Thai society, a whistle has been used in several contexts and purposes, i.e. to follow the rules, to give a traffic sign, to ask for a help, etc. Therefore, Thai people

are quite familiar with a whistle and acknowledge their fundamental meanings and uses. Whistles are also a simple object that is easy to find. However, from political events, a whistle became a symbol of PDRC used in many movement activities. From the measures relating to the use of whistle announced by Suthep Thaugsuban, a whistle was clearly used as a part of Civil Disobedience approach, which is peaceful and non-violent. A whistleblowing also called for a reform before an election. Consequently, a whistle played a role as both method and tool for the movements of PDRC.

This is an expression under the principle of peace and non-violence. I think people can accept that. Besides, they may feel that it is better than yelling or pointing to the adversary's face. We just blow a whistle. Most of all, our opponents also know that this is a symbol against them. (Leader D, personal communication, March 3, 2017)

A whistle is a device the protestors at the Democracy Monument Stage led by the former representative of the Democratic Party use while listening to an address on the stage, or while marching to do activities at different places throughout Bangkok. (Isranews Agency, 2013)

It reflects human ability to find ways to express what he wants but it depends on what he will use. Sometimes, he uses colors as a symbol or sometimes he uses some devices as symbols. (A Whistle Maker C, personal communication, December 7, 2016)

5.2.20 A Reflection of a Situation

From the phrase “blow a whistle” of Suthep Thaugsuban during his addresses, it reflected that to perform his formal duty in the parliament could not resist the government’s support to push forward the Amnesty Act so groups of people gathered to join in a movement and a whistle was used as a signal for an assembly to resist such laws. Furthermore, after the call for an assembly, a whistle was used continually according to a political situation. From a resistance of the Amnesty Act, a whistle was used to expel the government and Thaksinocracy or Thaksin Regime. A whistle

became a medium in each significant situation and event. After all events passed by, a story of a whistle could still transmit what happened in each situation.

Suthep narrated about the whistleblowing. ‘I have been through all of them. Some were hit and some were injured. I told people that if any day they could not stand it, they could blow a whistle. If you blow a whistle to send a signal to me and I hear it, I will come out. If my fellows fight, I will fight with them because I know that it is difficult to work in the parliament. If I cannot stand, I will blow a whistle. Will you come?’ I kept saying this with a mass of people and it went on like this. (Rungmanee Meksophon, 2014, p. 92)

I, at that time, was a member of the Democratic Party and the Opposition in the House of Representatives. I performed my duty fully in objecting to or expressing my ideas. In the parliament, I tried to show proofs to the Parliament Assembly or to the Committee but every time I was always cut short by the majority votes. (Leader F, personal communication, January 29, 2017)

It suited for the situation because at that time we had little force. Our leader thus used a whistle to blow for mobilizing resources, gathering people, and calling for more people to join. Therefore, each blowing of a whistle means an appointment with people and we hope to see a huge number of people to join. (Leader H, personal communication, January 6, 2017)

5.2.21 A Means to Show the Potential of the Group

In mobilizing people to resist against those with more power, it requires a collaboration from a huge number of people to support and participate in a rally. After Yingluck government won the election in 2011, a number of people had continually made a movement. Until a push of the Amnesty Act by the government, these people formed a group and later called their group as “People’s Democratic Reform Committee” (PDRC). PDRC had a continual rally for several months. During a rally PDRC tried to put a pressure on the government through many methods, i.e. addresses on a stage in significant places in Bangkok and other provinces, a demonstration, a blockade of governmental offices, etc. by using the distinctive feature of a whistle as a

medium to express the readiness, harmony, and size of the demonstrators. Whistles thus played a great role in expressing their power to pressure on their adversary.

To blow is to show that there are people here. If more people are needed, then they blow. Therefore, to blow a whistle reflects their power of harmony. A whistle is a harmony media. (Scholar A, personal communication, May 29, 2017)

Here it is. Listen to a whistleblowing. If it is a whistleblowing, this symbol conveys a meaning that we can assemble now. To blow means we are still gathering cohesively. A whistle thus is our media. (Leader F, personal communication, January 29, 2017)

A whistle is a symbol for conveying that we need more power rather than to be boastful that we have power. This is because we need a lot of people to support. (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8, 2017)

In November 2013 I left home to join a whistleblowing to resist the extreme laws harmoniously all through the country until the House of Parliament was pressured so much that the proposed laws were rejected for a while. (Kanjabadinth Sudlapa, 2014)

Sometimes we used a whistle to give a signal that we are here. If thousands of whistles are blown, it can cause a pressure that there are a huge number of protestors. It replaces a yelling. (Leader E, personal communication, March 9, 2017)

5.2.22 Universality

The sound of a whistle is universal and can be understood worldwide in spite of different languages or cultures. In a general context, it can be a signal for warning of a danger, a traffic signal, and a sports competition. In a political context, a whistle is also used in a demonstration around the world, i.e. Congo, the United States of American, and many European countries. The use of whistles in the political movements of PDRC can communicate Thai political situation to other countries. This helps to disseminate information about the conflicts occurred and to create an understanding of the movement approach PDRC applied. Normally, this should help

to enhance more sympathy and get more advantages over the adversary that has more power.

Mostly, it is blown to warn about a corruption, not a trivial problem. It needs to be gigantic; especially it should involve major processes of the parliament or the determination of policies. Besides, it should be universal too because it has evolved from abroad. This can make the world understand the meaning more quickly and it is not necessary to construct a new meaning. Just make it universal. (Scholar B, personal communication, February 14, 2017)

I used to follow foreign news and found that a whistle is also used as a political symbol to urge for concerned rights in European countries prior to the rallies of PDRC. (Leader G, personal communication, March 12, 2017)

The sound of a whistle is universal, i.e. in sports games, etc. At the beginning of the movements at Samsen Train Station, Suthep blew a whistle and then everybody followed him. It conveyed the starting of a rally (Demonstrator J, personal communication, July 8, 2017)

From an analysis and synthesis of information on the roles and functions of a whistle used in a political movement in Thailand, compared with roles and functions of a political symbol from the studied concepts and literature review in Chapter 2, the following is summarized:

Table 5.4 A Comparison of Roles of a Whistle in a Political Movement

Roles of the Political Symbols	Roles of a Whistle
Utility	- An emblem of a yelling or slapping hands - A responsive interaction in a rally - Accessory
A product	- A product - Capital mobilization
A gift or symbolic exchange	- A distribution/ a gift or a reward
A display of social status/ symbolic value	- A display of social status

Table 5.4 (Continued)

Roles of the Political Symbols	Roles of a Whistle
An inner medium in the thinking process	- A transmission of emotion/feeling
A representation of the predominant values of a political system	- A representation of thought and political ideology
Aesthetic role	- Beauty - Liveliness/ fun
A reflection of an event	- A reflection of a situation
A recall of an important event	- A souvenir and a collection - A call for an attention
An arousal and persuasion	- A display of potentials - An arousal and persuasion
Tool/Strategy	- Methods and device for a movement
A Display of Identity	- Group identity - Identification - A participation and self-presentation
Holy Object	- A holy-resemble object
Deconstruction of Political Memory	-
-	- Universality

1) The Congruent Roles of the Symbol

From the study, it was found that most of the roles of a whistle used in a political movement in Thailand are similar to those of political symbols shown in the theoretical concepts and previous studies as follows:

(1) Utility: The sound of a whistle can be an emblem for yelling or slapping hands as a responsive interaction during the movement activities, i.e. addresses on the stage, demonstration, etc. Besides, the physical appearance of a whistle is used as an accessory, especially a whistle and national-flag ribbons are strung together.

(2) A Product: During a rally of PDRC, a whistle becomes a popular product and increases an income for many merchants. Whistles are also sold and auctioned as an income to pay for expenses in organizing a rally.

(3) A Gift or Symbolic Exchange: A whistle is used as a medium among people of the same ideology or a medium to express their friendship by giving to others they like or to distribute in a rally space. Besides, a whistle can be given to a distinguished protestor as a reward.

(4) A Display of Social Status or Symbolic Values: Whistles being sold during a rally are produced in various designs and models. They can be a simple plastic whistle or a high-value whistle. The use and the possession of high-value whistles create a pride in the owner and convey different tastes and status of people.

(5) An Inner Medium in the Thinking Process: During the movements, demonstrators can transmit their emotion and feel through the sound of a whistle, which depends on a situation and context, i.e. to express their agreement of the address or to oppose the adversary, etc.

(6) A Representation of Predominant Values in a Political System: From determining a whistle as a group symbol, it becomes a representation of a position, ideas, and political ideology, of both individuals and the group, to communicate for their words and political standpoint.

(7) Aesthetic Roles: Although a rally takes place because of a conflict between two political poles, a whistle becomes a part of creating an entertaining and aesthetic function, i.e. to create a lively climate or the beauty of whistles in different designs.

(8) A Reflection of an Event: From the initial phrase “blow a whistle” of Suthep Thaugsuban and from the use of a whistle in the meaning of mobilizing people and assembly as a way of civil disobedience, whistles becomes a representation of a political situation at that time.

(9) A Recall of an Important Event: Most demonstrators buy whistles as a souvenir and a collection as a memory of the important events they used to participate in PDRC movements.

(10) An Arousal and Persuasion: The sound of a whistle plays a great role in stimulating the demonstrators’ emotion and in persuading them to join in a movement since PDRC has continual activities, i.e. a demonstration along the main roads in Bangkok and a continual rally for several months, etc. Therefore, the use of a

whistle in arousing their emotion is important. Besides, it reflects the potential of the group to pressure their adversary while calling an attention from the public.

(11) A Tool and Strategy: A whistle is both a tool and strategy for the movements of PDRC. Therefore, some guidelines and measures for using a whistle, including some strategies of a collective use in combination with other strategies are thus determined for mobilizing the group towards the goals.

(12) A Display of Identity: The rallies of PDRC are called as “whistle mobs” because a whistle is a representation or symbol that identifies PDRC membership. Besides, it is used for an interaction among group members for a sense of identification, for a participation, and for presenting their identity during the movements.

(13) A Holy Object: Whistles appear in every stage of PDRC’s movements. They are thus developed to have a spiritual value, such as to be a representation of an ideology, to give a whistle as a reward, a simultaneous whistleblowing, etc. All these functions enable a whistle to have a similar role as a holy object that passes an incantation by political activities.

2) The Disappearance of a Symbol

From the study, the adversary does not react PDRC by destroying its group symbol or by a deconstruction process of political memories. However, the adversary reacts by raising a comparison that a whistle is a weapon so to blow a whistle is also an illegal act.

3) The New Role of a Symbol

The meaning of the sound of a whistle is universal, which can be communicated to create an understanding of the majority of people. The use of a whistle as a symbol in a protest is common in many countries around the world. This helps to make PDRC well known and make other countries understand Thai political contexts. Likewise, the use of a whistle of PDRC is thus related to political conflicts.

5.3 The Reconstruction of the Meaning of the Symbol

The utility of a whistle comes from its loudness from the blowing and it is used as a sign in different forms and functions. In Thai society, a whistle is used in a number of contexts. The most common use is with a universal meaning that is used widely, i.e. in a sports game or for a traffic control. However, the use in a political context has not been witnessed so apparently. Hence, the use of a whistle in a political movement of PDRC leads to a reconstruction of both meaning and signifier of a whistle.

5.3.1 The Reconstruction of the Signified

From reviewing the meanings used in a political context both in Thailand and abroad, it is found that it is difficult to specify the main or principal meaning of a whistle since it is used by several groups and in different events, which causes a variety of meaning. Consequently, the researcher just summarizes some examples of a whistle in different contexts and compares with the meaning of a whistle used in a political movement in Thailand.

Table 5.5 The Use of Whistles in Different Contexts

Whistles and Political Movements in Foreign Countries		
User/Context of a Whistle Use	Event and Eminent Aspects	Examples of Meaning
1. Ralph Nader	Blow a whistle in the Congress	- Warning of a corruption and non-transparency
2. Laws about a whistleblowing	- The launch of the laws about whistleblowing in many countries around the world	- Whistleblower means a discloser or a person who gives a clue of a wrongdoing.
3. Movements in foreign countries	- Falling Whistles Organization - A resistance of Stop and Frisk Policy - A protest of low labor wages - A protest of Economization Policy (Tightening People's Belt) - A rally all over the world	- Peace Campaign - A resistance of the government - A resistance of a corruption - A resistance of an inequality - A call for fairness - A call for rights and freedom Etc.
Whistles in Thai Society		
Various Contexts	Examples of Meanings	
1. Idioms about a whistle	- A beginning	
2. Toy	- Fun/ Amusement - Entertainment	
3. Campaign projects	- An ask for help - A warning of danger	
4. The use in other activities (i.e. boy scouts, military, police, traffic, sports, safety guard)	- A control/ rules and regulations - Safety surveillance - Orders (i.e. gather/ separate, stop/ begin, etc.)	
5. People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD)	- A call to join a rally - Synergize - Power of morality	

1) Whistles and the Movements in Foreign Countries

The sound of a whistle is universal and is used in similar contexts around the world, i.e. sports, traffic, signals in the military or police operations, etc. However, in a political context, the use of a whistle is as follows:

(1) Ralph Nader. An American, playing many roles in politics, laws, and civil rights, blew a whistle in the Congress to warn the government that tended to portray a misconduct of corruption and non-transparency in governing the country.

(2) The laws on a whistleblowing. In the laws, a word “whistleblower” is contained with a meaning of “a person who gives a clue of a wrongdoing,” either in a governmental or private organization. Many countries, such as England, Australia, U.S.A., etc. enacted such laws to protect a whistleblower who might be affected by giving information of a wrongdoing to be revealed. They also covered other operational guidelines relating to a whistleblowing but the details of these laws are different in each country.

(3) The movements in foreign countries. During a rally, a whistle is used as a symbol in many events around the world, i.e. a peace campaign in Congo, a resistance of the policy of violating human rights in New York, U.S.A., a protest of low wages in Romania and many European countries, etc. A rally is caused by a variety of conflicting problems, i.e. a corruption, rights and freedom, labor, economics, and society. Accordingly, a whistle as a movement symbol contains a variety of meanings as well.

2) Whistles in Thai Society

A whistle is used in many contexts in Thai society in the form of an idiom, a toy, a sign for help, signals in sports games, a signal in military and police operation, including a symbol of PAD. The details are as following:

(1) An idiom. “Blow a whistle” meaning “a starting,” is used in news reporting of mass media or in political and economic articles.

(2) A toy. A whistle is a kind of toys. Formerly, it was made of clay. Later, it was developed to be zinc and then plastic respectively. From the distinctive feature of a whistle’s sound, it is a blowing toy for fun. Colors and beauty in various forms and designs are also distinguished attributes of a whistle.

(3) Campaign project. A number of organizations and offices organized a campaign by using a whistle. For instance, Police Stations and The Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women (APSW) organized a campaign

of using a whistle as a signal for a help and for warning of a danger when facing an abnormal situation or calamity.

(4) Other activities. A whistle is used in many familiar situations in Thai society, i.e. boy scouts, military, police, traffic, sports games, etc. All of these activities use a whistle with a similar role and meaning, namely as a sign for keeping rules and regulations, including orders, such as a call for a muster, a command to begin or to stop, etc., including the use of safety guards or police officers.

(5) People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD). The leaders of the PAD used a whistle on the stage during a big rally to call people to join in a rally or for an assembly. Besides, Somkiat Pongpaiboon, one of the leaders, stated that the sound of a whistle was the sound of morality power. However, at that time, it was only a whistleblowing on the stage as a ritual and it was not used with the protestors. Most of all, the use of a whistle could not call so much attention because the main symbols of PAD were slapping hands and Yellow-Shirts.

From an analysis of the meanings of a whistle in a political movement in Thailand, it is found that a whistle is used to convey a variety of meanings. To study the reconstruction of meanings of a whistle in a political context, a comparison between 1) the meanings of a whistle in a political movement in foreign countries and 2) the meanings of a whistle in a political movement in Thai society is summarized as follows:

Whistles and Movements in Foreign Countries		
Ralph Nader	Whistleblower	Movements
- A warning of a corruption and non-transparency	- A discloser or a person who gives a clue of a wrongdoing.	- A call for peace - A resistance against a violation of rights and freedom - A resistance against the government etc.

Whistles and Movements in Thai Society				
The Idiom “Blow a Whistle:	toy	Campaign Project	Other Activities (Traffic, Military, Police, Boy Scouts, Sports, Safety Guards)	PAD
- to start, to begin	- fun/ amusement	- ask for help - warning of danger	- rules control - safety control - Orders, i.e. to gather/separate, to begin/to stop, etc.	- A call for an assembly - synergizing - morality power

Categories of the Meaning Groups	Examples of Meanings
1) Thaksinocracy/ Thaksin Regime/ Yingluck government	Thaksin is unwanted, no acceptance of Thaksin Regime, drive out Thaksin Regime, chase out politicians under Thaksin Regime, This government is unwanted, no acceptance of this government, anti-government, anti-abuse of the power of this government, Yingluck and her politicians are unwanted, expel Yingluck, drive out the adversary.
2) Amnesty	Disagree with an amnesty, disagree with those supporting an amnesty, anti-amnesty, no support for an amnesty, Oppose an amnesty, an objection of the act for purging wrongdoers, withhold an amnesty.
3) Nation, religion, and the monarchy	Adore the nation, religion, and monarchy, a fight for the nation, religion, and monarchy, a protection of the institutions.
4) Signals for opponents	A warning to stop wrongdoing, a warning against corruptions, a signal to stop the government's administration, a warning for a remorse, a warning towards political consciousness.
5) Signals for in-group members	An appointment, a call for a rally, a mobilization, mobilizing a call for assistance, a warning of the nation's situation, awakening political enthusiasm, a signal for a readiness to fight or to move, a call for a participation, announcement of challenging to fight, a surveillance and protection.
6) Negative feeling/ emotion	Don't like, don't accept, not satisfied, disagree, can't accept, hateful, hate
7) Positive feeling/ emotion	Appreciate, admire, pleased, satisfied, attracted, responding to the needs, happy, victory, encourage, agree, accept, support, thank you
8) Definition of movement	Courage, power, pure power, civilians, people
9) Concept and methods of movements	Peaceful, non-violent weapons, non-illegal
10) Needs and goals.	Eradicate bad things, expel the government, call for a reform, need a righteousness, reject an election.

Figure 5.1 The Reconstruction of the Meaning of a Whistle in Thai Political Movements

5.3.1.1 The use of old meanings and the reproduction of meanings. Most of the meanings are related with the government and Thaksinocracy or Thaksin Regime, such as a resistance against the government, a signal for warning of a corruption or for stopping a wrongdoing, a call for an assembly or synergizing, which were used earlier by PAD in the political movements.

Table 5.6 The Use of Old Meanings and the Reproduction of Meanings

Whistles in Different Contexts	Issues / The Reproduction of Meanings	Examples of Meanings
Whistles in the political movements in foreign countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A whistleblowing of Ralph Nader - Meaning of a Whistle blowing - Conflict problems and movement goals in foreign countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A warning of danger - A reminder of political consciousness - A warning of the country's situation - An urge to expel the government
Whistles in the political movements in Thai society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The meaning of a whistleblowing that PAD used to apply in the political movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A resistance against the government. A call for a righteousness - A call for an assembly - A mobilization of people

5.3.1.2 The reconstruction of meanings. In Thai society, whistles used in the various contexts are associated with political issues, i.e. A conveyance of positive emotion and feeling satisfaction. The meaning has been reconstructed from the old meanings used earlier, i.e. a toy as a symbol of an amusement. Reconstructed meanings also cover a signal for beginning a rally or for calling for an assembly, which is based on the prior old meanings from the headlines of mass media and from the blowing signal of military, police, or boy scouts. For the meaning of a whistle in relation to a protection or an eradication of evils and bad things, it derives from the use of a safety guard to prevent danger. Regarding the meaning of “an expulsion”, it

is a new meaning based on an old meaning of “a warning against a violation of rules or “a safety surveillance, i.e. a traffic police blows a whistle when someone parks at a prohibited area. Another example is a whistleblowing in case that an athlete gets a red card and has to get out of the field. Accordingly, “an expulsion” comes from an old meaning with a higher degree of a violence since the meaning is constructed during a political conflict event.

Table 5.7 The Reconstruction of the Meanings

Whistles in the Context	Issue/Reconstruction of Meaning	Examples of Meanings
Whistles in Thai society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the meaning from an idiom “blow a whistle” - the meaning used as a toy - the meaning used for a campaign project - the meaning of a signal used in other activities (boy scouts, military, police, traffic, sports, safety guard) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contented, satisfied - Ask for help - Surveillance / protection - Signal for starting - Expelling the government - Expelling the adversary - Stop an amnesty

5.3.1.3 The deconstruction of the meanings. The construction or the creation of a new meaning occurs from the approach used for a political movement and political situation or climate at that time, i.e. negative feelings, hateful, dissatisfied, disagreement, etc. The old meaning of a whistle as a kind of the toys is mostly associated with positive feeling while the new meaning conveys a peaceful, non-violent, and legal approach of a political movement as it uses a whistleblowing as a weapon in the demonstration. Besides, the new meanings include the goal of the movements and the use of a whistle as a symbol to represent the movement meanings, i.e. a resistance against an amnesty, an urge for a political reform, a rejection of an election, etc.

Table 5.8 The Deconstruction or the Creation of New Meanings

Origin/Background of the Meaning	Examples of Meanings
- Political situation	- Hateful, dissatisfied
- A movement approach of the group	- Disagree with an amnesty - Resist the Amnesty Act - A peaceful and non-violent movement - Reject an election

5.3.2 The Deconstruction of the Signifiers

From a simple and familiar tool in Thai society, a whistle became a symbol in a political movement and was called “whistle mobs”. The patterns of using a whistle in a political movement in Thailand are as following:

Physical Appearance. Whistles as a symbol have no fixed patterns. On the other hand, they are a quite complicated equipment. Whistles in a rally space are diverse and adapted according to the popularity trends of each period. No specific colors or materials are determined but they depend on each person's financial capital and preference. Regarding prices, they are also varied depending on the design of a whistle, ranging from ten to million baht. Mostly, high-value whistles are proposed for a capital mobilization.

Usage. Mostly, whistles are used in a rally for a communicative purpose without specifying how long the blowing will be, short or long, depending on a blower. For instance, during an address on a stage, demonstrators may make a long blowing when they are satisfied with the speeches. Besides, how to blow a whistle, a whistle is also hanged by both leaders and demonstrators to express their group identity. Furthermore, a whistle is given as a reward to some group members or those with the same ideology. Due to its tiny size, it is convenient for demonstrators to carry it to every activity during the movements.

Type of the Symbol. A whistle is a tangible object and is a collective symbol since it is determined to represent PDRC.

The complexity of the symbol. A whistle is quite a complex symbol because of the sound-generating mechanism. Mostly, demonstrators buy it rather than invent

or make it on their own. Therefore, whistles in different designs and forms are sold widely around a rally area.

Table 5.9 The Deconstruction or Changes of the Signifiers of a Whistle in a Political Movement in Thailand

Aspects of General Whistles	Deconstruction/ Change	Deconstructed Signifier
	1. Change of Shape	
	2. Change of Size	
	3. Change of Material	
	4. Change of Components 5. Change of Design / Pattern	 

5.3.2.1 A Deconstruction or a Change of the Signifier

Before a whistle is used for a political movement, a physical appearance of a whistle is varied, both shape and color. Besides using a whistle as a sign or signal, Thai people use it as a toy or a souvenir, which people can carry with them. Moreover, earlier a whistle-design project was organized by the Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women (APSW) under the program called, “Preventing Danger by a Whistle,” in 2008. Therefore, a whistle has no protocol. Nevertheless, the analysis of aspects of whistles aims to compare whistles used in a political movement of PDRC with general whistles to see if there will be any differences. From the study, it is found that the signifier of a whistle mostly affects the meaning in terms of its role in emphasizing the group identity and the group’s expression of its ideology on the nation, religion, and the monarchy as following:

1) A Change of Shape

General whistles have different shapes while those of PDRC are thunder-like, developed from the logo of Blue Sky TV Station, which is one of PDRC’s alliances and PDRC media. Blue Sky Station presents movement information and broadcast live all movements on every stage. Hence, Blue Sky is another channel for PDRC to communicate with the demonstrators at that time. A Thunder Whistle was created from the idea of Takerng Somsup, the director of Blue Sky Station, who produced several models of Thunder Whistles. In spite of a great variety of designs, Thunder Whistles are the most popular as they are produced by people who represent the group. Consequently, the group identity reflected in Thunder-whistles is more explicit than in other whistles.



Figure 5.2 A Change of Shape (1)

Source: People who love Blue Sky whistles (2014).



Figure 5.3 A Change of Shape (2)

Source: Kapook.com (2015).



Figure 5.4 Thunder Whistles of Different Institutes

Source: People who love Blue Sky whistles (n.d.)

2) A Change of Size

The whistles of PDRC are bigger than general whistles. However, the deconstruction of such signifier is only for establishing a lively climate in a rally and they cannot be blown to get a sound effect like general whistles.



Figure 5.5 A Change of Size (1)

Source: Bangkokbiznews (2013).



Figure 5.6 A Change of Size (2)

Source: Oknation.net (2014).

3) A Change of Material

Most whistles are made of plastic so their price is not so high. However, the value of the PDRC whistles during the movement is added by the material used: silver, genuine gold or adorned with genuine diamond. The quantity of these high-value whistles is limited and some of the designs will have only one piece. They are given as a reward or brought into an auction for mobilizing capital for the movements.



Figure 5.7 A Change of Material (1)

Source: “NACC,” not to be wrong” (2017).



Figure 5.8 A Change of Material (2)

Source: Vittayen Muttamara (2014).

4) A Change of Components

A general hanger of a whistle is a simple string in different colors. However, the hanger of a whistle of PDRC is a nation-flag design, initiated by the concept of Jermmas Chuenglertsiri, the House of Representatives of the Democratic Party. A whistle with a nation-flag hanger is thus a symbol of PDRC, which also emphasizes the importance of the nation, religion, and the monarchy.



Figure 5.9 A Change of Components (1)

Source: Thumbs.dreamstime.com (2104).



Figure 5.10 A Change of Components (2)

Source: MGR Online (2014).

5) A Change of Design/Pattern

The political movements of PDRC occurs in the era of communication technology development, i.e. Smart Phone, online social media, etc. Therefore, technologies are used to develop a whistle application, which has different functions and usage from general whistles. Besides, it can be used to save an energy of blowing and a variety of options can be selected, i.e. a selection of colors and sounds of a whistle, an ability to share locations in online social media, etc.



Figure 5.11 A Change of Design and Pattern

Source: Spring News Network (2014).

5.3.2.2 Red Whistles and Horn: Symbols of the Adversary

The PDRC demonstrators and supporters of Thaksin Shinawatra or the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) has been in conflicts and against each other since the political movement of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), White-Mask Group, or V for Thailand. Besides an attack by several ways, the use of a symbol is another form of the attacks. For instance, the symbols used by the yellow-shirts and the red-shirts are slapping hands and slapping feet, a white mask and a red mask respectively. Up to the use of a whistle by PDRC, UDD uses a red whistle as its symbol based on the color of the group. PDRC demonstrators used to blow against Plodprasop Suraswadi, Deputy Prime Minister of Yingluck government, before being responded by the use of a red whistle. Besides, UDD uses a red horn as a symbol in attacking PDRC. UDD's horn is bigger and louder than the PDRC's whistle.



Figure 5.12 The Use of a Red Whistle and Horn (1)

Source: Preechayan Wong-arun (2013).



Figure 5.13 The Use of a Red Whistle and Horn (1)

Source: Sanook (2013).

From the analysis of the deconstruction of the signifier of a whistle as a symbol and representation of PDRC, it is found that the “color” factor has no effect on the changes of the signifier as the colors of a PDRC’s whistle are various. Besides, the production of a Thunder whistle of Blue Sky includes a red Thunder-whistle. Therefore, the meaning of the signifier is not related with the color of a whistle. Instead, it is more related with the property of the sound of a whistle and a national-flag hanger.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research, “Communication via the Uses of Symbols of Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles in Thailand’s Political Movements,” aims to study the following:

- 1) To analyze the meanings of the symbols used in Thai political movements.
- 2) To study the roles of the symbols used in Thai political movements.
- 3) To study the reconstruction of the meanings of the symbols used in Thai political movements.

The study is a qualitative research by conducting a documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with details as follow:

6.1 Research Summary

From the documentary research and from other information sources, including personal sources from an in-depth interview with people involving or used to involve in a political rally with the White-Mask Group or V for Thailand Group, and People’s Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC). The findings are as follow:

6.1.1 Guy Fawkes Masks and Thai political Movements

The symbol of a Guy Fawkes Mask originated from the western culture based on a history of England. Later, it became a plot in cartoons and movies, including a symbol for a political movement in many countries and Thailand. From the use of this symbol in the Thai context, some important phenomena in terms of meanings, roles, and reconstruction of meanings are found.

1) Meanings of the Symbol

From the analysis of Guy Fawkes Masks symbol in Thai political movements, the following meanings are found:

- (1) Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin Regime) and Yingluck Government
- (2) Politics/governance
- (3) Monarchy
- (4) Definition of protesters
- (5) Definitions of a movement
- (6) Emotions
- (7) Concept and methods of movements
- (8) Needs and goals

From the meanings constructed for Guy Fawkes Masks used in Thai political movements, the following mechanism are found to affect the construction of such meanings:

- (1) A target group
- (2) Time and place
- (3) Methods of using the symbol
- (4) Movement activities of the group
- (5) The political situation

For the binary-opposition meanings, Guy Fawkes Masks is used in a political conflict context between White-Mask or V for Thailand Group and the government. The following binary oppositions are found:

- (1) White vs. Black
- (2) Pure/clean vs. filthy/dirty
- (3) Moral (Dharma) vs. immoral
- (4) Goodness/virtue vs. badness/evil
- (5) Equal/fair vs. superior/unfair
- (6) Freedom vs. dictator
- (7) Protect vs. destroy
- (8) Non-violent vs. violent
- (9) Bravery vs. cowardice
- (10) Loyal vs. lese-majeste

(11) Oppose vs. support

2) The Roles of Symbol

Guy Fawkes Masks play the following roles in Thai political movements:

- (1) A concealment of identities and anonymity
- (2) A product
- (3) An object for fundraising
- (4) A gift or freebies
- (5) A display of social status
- (6) Beauty
- (7) Memorable events
- (8) A reflection of a situation
- (9) A group identity
- (10) An expression of solidarity and coalition
- (11) A participation and self-presentation
- (12) An attention drawer
- (13) An instigation and persuasion
- (14) A means to convey emotions
- (15) A representative of political ideas and ideologies
- (16) An expression to defeat the political ideology
- (17) A method and tool for a movement
- (18) A means to show the potential of the group
- (19) Universality

3) The Reconstruction of the Meaning of the Symbol

As Guy Fawkes Masks are adopted from foreign countries and are used in many political events when applying in Thai political contexts, they are modified in both meanings and signifiers as follow:

- (1) The reconstruction of the signified

The modification of the meanings of Guy Fawkes Masks in Thai political movements includes a reproduction of the old meanings but in a new context, a reconstruction of meanings, and the deconstruction or creation of new meanings. To reproduce with the old meanings, only the meanings related with or supporting the

movement approach of the group are selected, i.e. the original meaning of the mask from the movie, “V for Vendetta and all movements in foreign countries having the government as their adversary. Besides, the reproduction of old meanings covers the meanings relating to a political ideology, a movement approach, and a drive for a movement. For the reconstruction of the meanings, the meanings are adjusted to suit Thai social contexts and situations, such as changing from Vendetta (a revenge) to Victory. The deconstruction or creation of new meanings also occurs due to political influence and the movement approach of the group, such as a new meaning relating to “white color” of the mask or a meaning conveying a peaceful and non-violent movement approach, etc.

(2) The deconstruction of the signifiers

Guy Fawkes Masks were designed by David Lloyd. When applying in Thai political movements, the following are modified: design, color, form, form and color.

(3) Other masks used during the movement of White-Mask or V for Thailand groups

Other masks used during the movement of White-Mask or V for Thailand groups are Hanuman Masks and Red Masks. Hanuman Masks belong to the group in opposition to the government and Thaksinocracy while the Red Masks are of the group who disagrees with the movements of White-Mask and V for Thailand groups.

6.1.2 Whistles and Thai Political Movements

In Thai society, whistles are used in several contexts and purposes. The whistle symbol was used officially in a political movement when people assembled to resist the issue of the Amnesty Act that the government of Yingluck Shinawatra tried to push forward for an implementation. Since then, the meanings, roles, and modification of meanings of a whistle occur apparently.

1) Meanings of the Symbol

From the analysis of the meanings of whistles used in Thai political movements, the following meanings are found:

- (1) Thaksinocracy (or Thaksin Regime) and Yingluck Government
- (2) Amnesty
- (3) Nation, religion, and the monarchy
- (4) Signals for opponents
- (5) Signals for in-group members
- (6) Negative feeling/emotion
- (7) Positive feeling/emotion
- (8) Definition of movement
- (9) Concept and methods of movements
- (10) Needs/goals

The following mechanism or factors affect the meaning of the symbol.

- (1) A target group
- (2) Time and place
- (3) Methods of using the symbol
- (4) Aspect and design
- (5) Combined symbols
- (6) Activities and movement approach
- (7) Political situation

For the binary-opposition meanings, the whistle symbol is used in a political movement of PDRC against Yingluck government and Thaksin Regime/alliances with the following binary-opposition meanings:

- (1) Protest vs. support
- (2) Purity vs. corruption
- (3) Correctness/righteousness vs incorrectness/unrighteousness
- (4) Goodness/virtue vs. wickedness
- (5) The protection of the nation, religion, and the monarchy vs. the destruction of the nation, religion, and the monarchy
- (6) Awaken/active vs. passive/dominated
- (7) Win vs. lose
- (8) Peaceful, nonviolent, and without weapons vs. violent/threatening
- (9) Legal vs. illegal

(10) A rejection of an election/a reform vs. an organization of a new selection

(11) People/ mass vs. alliances/dictators

2) The Roles of Symbol

The political movements started as a resistance against the issue of the Amnesty Act, which later was uplifted to expel the government and Thaksin Regime. The whistle symbol is with a rally from the starting and is used in several contexts in accordance with the movement approach of the group. From the analysis, the roles of a whistle in Thai political movements are as follow:

- (1) An emblem for a yell or clapping hands
- (2) A means to convey emotions
- (3) An interactive tool in a rally
- (4) An accessory
- (5) A holy-resemble object
- (6) A product
- (7) An object for fundraising
- (8) A representation of political ideas and ideologies
- (9) A gift/a reward
- (10) A display of social status
- (11) A souvenir/ collection
- (12) A group identity
- (13) A sign of an identification
- (14) A participation and self-presentation
- (15) Beauty
- (16) Liveliness and fun
- (17) An arousal of emotion and persuasion
- (18) An attention drawer
- (19) A method and tool for a movement
- (20) A reflection of a situation
- (21) A means to show the potential of the group
- (22) Universality

3) The Reconstruction of the Meaning of the Symbol

In Thai society, whistles are used in several activities but not in a political context. From their application in Thai political movements, the modification of both the signified and signifier of the whistles is found as follows:

(1) The reconstruction of the signified

The whistle symbol used in Thai political movements is reproduced with the old meanings from 1) The use of a whistle in political movements in foreign countries 2) The use of a whistle in Thai society that is associated with or related with political situations and the movement approach of the group, i.e. the resistance against a corruption, a signal warning a corruption, a call for an assembly or synergizing, etc.

Furthermore, the meaning of a whistle is deconstructed or created with a new meaning in a political context, which is different from the old and unfamiliar meanings used in activities in Thai society. For instance, the word “an expulsion” is a newly created meaning based on the old meaning of a warning against a wrongdoing, a control of rules, or a safety guard. Furthermore, a new meaning is also created from the movement approach of the group and an attack against the adversary, including political situations at that time, i.e. the resistance against the Amnesty Act or a rejection of an election, etc.

(2) The deconstruction of the signifiers

In general, whistles are varied in both shapes and colors. When applied for the movements of PDRC, the modification of the signifiers, which is different from general whistles, are a change in shapes, sizes, materials, components, and patterns.

(3) Red whistles and horns

Such symbols are used as a representation of the supporting groups of Thaksin Shinawatra, i.e. United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD) or Red-Shirts, who are the adversary of PDRC.

6.2 Discussion

From the study of Communication via the Use of Symbols of Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles in Thai Political Movements, it indicates that both symbols reflect multi-dimensional roles in the political space. Especially in the issues of political conflicts between the government and its adversary, they become a procession of political movements in which symbols were used in mobilizing the group in various ways as shown below.

6.2.1 Significations of the Symbols in Political Movements

A resistance of V for Thailand and People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) against the government was formed from a merger of people who disagreed with the government and expanded their alliances into a much larger group. Symbols were used as the group's representation and played a significant role from the starting point. For instance, V for Thailand urged users to change their profile to be a Guy Fawkes Mask or PDRC used a whistle to signify an assembly of demonstrators. Earlier, the groups had not been officially formed yet; however, due to a massive arousal and identification, these informal groups were developed to a movement procession. According to Blumer (1951, as cited in Maniemai Thongyou, 2014, pp. 35-45), an occurrence of a movement procession requires a powerful arousal in initiating the procession. The construction of a meaningful symbol also helps to consolidate the power of a movement. From an analysis of the meanings or the signified of the symbols, it is found that both Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles are equipped with several meanings, i.e. Thaksinocracy or Thaksin Regime, Yingluck Government, governance crisis, an amnesty, meanings relating to the nation, religion, and the monarchy, etc. All of these meanings can arouse people to gather for a movement. Besides, there are meanings related to the groups' ideology, goal, and movement approach, all of which induce a collective consciousness, arouse an enthusiasm, and a desire to participate in the movements. Blumer explains the roles of an ideology that it can maintain a group's existence and direct towards further development. It enables the group to have a clear direction, have a righteousness as their weapon for attacking the adversary, and create an inspiration and expectation.

For methods and strategies, they are for mobilizing people and other resources into a procession and strengthen the cohesiveness and solidarity of the group. Hence, Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles are representations of all those meanings and thus are an important mechanism for mobilizing the group since the starting of the group formation and during the movements.

The transmission of meanings via symbols is another important factor in a political movement. If a symbol is properly used, it can perform as a good representation and a major factor in mobilizing the group. Manit Nuallaor (1997, p. 24) states that a symbol is an indirect media requiring an artistic use tactfully in order to call or stimulate receivers' emotion, feeling, and impression in the way as encoded and needed by a sender. Snow and Benford (as cited in Somchai Phatharathananunth, 2016, pp. 176-177) perceive that in signifying and mobilizing resources of a social movement, a dominant code or the principal meaning is a foundation in creating an understanding of the inspiration process and in creating the righteousness for a group. On the other hand, a signification process plays a great role for political opportunities and for mobilizing resources. Therefore, a signification process has to vary according to a situation and context. For instance, a whistle is reconstructed by PDRC from the old meaning of warning against a danger or controlling the rules to the new meaning of warning against an abnormal situation of the country and of expelling the government with a wrongdoing. This illustrates the use of a symbol to support the group's movement approach. For the use of Guy Fawkes Masks, despite a wider use of this symbol for a political movement in many countries, its meaning in Thai context can be interpreted differently due to a different culture. As an example, it can be perceived as "no courage to reveal oneself" or as "a concealment," which is conveyed in a negative meaning and might be an obstacle in a political movement in Thailand.

In constructing and transmitting the meanings of both symbols (Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles) in a political movement, which is quite new because these symbols were used formerly with other meanings in other contexts, it needs a suitable method and tool to lead them as good representations of the groups. Furthermore, the signification and transmission process also helps to emphasize the meanings needed to communicate or to diversify the meanings to serve or support the movements with

different purposes. From this study, some interesting findings of the signification and transmission of the meanings are as follow:

Firstly, it is an issue of leadership. In constructing the meaning of a symbol used in a political movement, a leader plays a significant role. Manit Nuallaor (1997, pp. 6-20) collected all concepts about the use of political symbols and found that a governor played a role of intensifying people's feeling, beliefs, and attitude via his use of a political symbol as a power to support his righteousness. An adept and skillful governor often projects a thorough plan in bringing the social foundation to apply for a use by designing a proper symbol. This will be a political tool in creating a myth for the servants. In a democratic society, several common political-linguistic symbols are witnessed, i.e. the word, "right, freedom, equality, etc." Accordingly, a leader is an important person who determines the meanings via symbols. A comparison of the leader's role between V for Thailand and PDRC is illustrated as follows:

The movement approach of V for Thailand is to have no clearly identified leader. The communication among group members is through Fan Page of V for Thailand, which is a new pattern of a political group formation according to communication technology development. Online communication space becomes a medium and center to replace an individual leader and a campaign or speech. Fan Page of V for Thailand is a communication sphere in which a movement approach is determined and all meanings are constructed and transmitted. In 2013, Media Monitor studied "Political Communication on Facebook and Online Newspaper: a case study of V for Thailand." It found that the content of Fan Page of V for Thailand was divided into three main groups: messages to report on the movements and to make an appointment for a political rally, statements declaring its political intents, and content about political issues. For the political content communicated the most, a message about "an abolishment of Thaksin Regime" was found the most, followed by "the declaration of its anonymity or nameless state.", "its political neutrality," and "a resistance against a violence" respectively.

On the other hand, the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) has an apparent leader and plays a great role in constructing meanings during the movements. The meaning of a whistle is associated with the group's movement approach determined by the leader, Suthep Thaugsuban. The movement approaches of

PDRC are a civil disobedience by blowing a whistle to people under the Thaksin Regime (the meaning is an expulsion), by giving a whistle and flower to governmental officers (the meaning is to invite them to join in a rally), or by transmitting their political ideologies by the use of a whistle. Therefore, the roles and power of a leader are significant factors in the meaning construction and transmission. The main roles of the leader are to stimulate and arouse people to cooperate. It accords with the meaning of “an arouser” according to Blumer (1951, as cited in Maniemai Thongyou, 2014, pp. 35-45) who defines “an arouser” as a person who determines the direction of a movement and to transform people’s dissatisfaction or anger into a protest or a political procession. Siriporn Kitprakob (2015) studied “Suthep: A Political Campaign Communicator” and found that Suthep owns a high leadership characteristics who gives high importance to an emotional expression and can connect with the mass’s feeling by adapting political climate to accord with each situation. He also uses symbols for a meaning construction in order to emphasize the goals of a rally, to energize the mass into a movement. In the movements of PDRC, he calls the demonstrators, “The Great Mass of people” and reproduces it through various media and channels. A whistle is a major symbol for his movements, i.e. to call for an assembly under irregular situations or to stimulate people to be active.

Furthermore, the activities during the movements can both transmit or reproduce the meanings and create a new meaning of a whistle. From the study, a whistle is used in the group's activities, i.e. a whistleblowing during an address, demonstration, an auction, a giving of a gold whistle, etc. The meanings of a whistle are thus transmitted through these activities, which is like a transmission tool for communicating with group members and general people. For the Guy Fawkes Masks, most of the signification process occurs on online social media space through Fan Page of V for Thailand by making an appointment to assemble and to depart after the missions are finished. However, the meaning construction of both symbols is different.

In short, the signification of a whistle focuses on a communication via activities. Each activity aims to create good participation; therefore, a whistle can have a diverse definition used in several contexts during the movements of the group. Regarding Guy Fawkes Masks emphasizes a peaceful movement approach and the

assembly activity finishes in one day without staying overnight. There is no stage and no leaders while the assembly is formed through online social media. Due to no staying overnight policy causing less face-to-face interactions and no central leader, the perceived meanings are less. Especially, to wear a mask in the Thai context conveys relatively negative meanings since it may be perceived as a hiding or a concealment. Still, the construction and transmission of meanings have several patterns depending on the symbol itself and objectives or goals of the use. From the study of Panitan Phichalai (2012) on a political struggle of People's Alliances for Democracy (PAD) under the government led by Thaksin Shinawatra, PAD emphasized some myths through the construction of political symbols, i.e. slogans, songs, shirts, etc. via media of the Manager Group, as a significant strategy in abolishing Thaksin Government. Besides, from the study of Wichan Champakhao (2011), it further found that PAD used an address on stages, prints, TV, websites, and audio-visual media in disseminating its message in a systematic way and can reproduce its message of the group all the time. For the construction and transmission of the meaning by the use of Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles, an organization of activities is a major strategy since both symbols are objects. Therefore, their meanings can be moved from an activity to another activity, which enhances a participation and helps the receivers absorb the meanings through such activities.

6.2.2 The Roles of Symbols in Political Movements

From the study, it is found that both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles are used in several roles since both are objects or material symbols that represent many meanings of the groups. Besides, they can be developed or changed to other forms and served for utilities different from other types of political symbols, i.e. two-finger V sign, musical songs, burning or lighting a candle, etc., which are harder to change. Chatri Phakitnonthakan (2015) stated about an object or material symbol that a human creation can reflect, directly or indirectly and intentionally and unintentionally, beliefs of a person, a creator, or a user. It can lead to understanding a society where a person is a member. To study an object symbol is a part of social practices: constructed patterns, ways of use, surrounding rituals, maintenance, and location. All

of these affect significantly human behaviors and power relations among users in each period.

According to the concept of a political movement, both Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles are important resources in the movement process. Besides, being used during a rally, they can turn to be resources in other forms to support a movement, i.e. supporting money from a capital mobilization, drawing more people or creating a network to join in a movement from giving the symbol, etc. Furthermore, both symbols can be used in various movement approaches. Prapart Pintobtang (2009, pp. 157-173) identified a variety of movement approaches, i.e. a civil disobedience, boycott, listing, demonstration, strike, etc. Both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles can be used in those movement approaches. For instances, a wearing of Guy Fawkes Masks and whistleblowing are used during a demonstration or as a part of a civil disobedience expression by blowing a whistle when facing the adversary. Especially, a whistle can be easily carried anywhere. Therefore, a large number of demonstrators need to buy it and this helps to increase a monetary support for the group's movements. As both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles enable a multi-function use, it can connect with various kinds of activities. Accordingly, these symbols do not only reflect the dominant ideology of the groups, but they also cause some new meanings while applying them in a movement, i.e. a meaning of an affectivity or meaning constructed by demonstrators themselves. In other words, it induces an extensive meaning and creates a sense of involvement or participation, which is very vital for expanding dynamic movements without ceasing, no matter an increase in the numbers of demonstrators or news space of mass media.

From analyzing the roles of Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles, the study also finds some roles relating to Baudrillard's concept of symbolic consumption regarding all four levels of the relationship between human and an object used or consumed: consumption value, exchange value, symbolic value, and the value of signs. For instance, the purpose of wearing a Guy Fawkes Mask is to conceal one's identify, giving a mask a whistle to others to express a friendship or a support, or producing a large number of masks and whistles to sell during a rally. In addition, during the rallies of PDRC, a variety of patterns and designs of whistles from cheap to highly expensive prices were produced. Some of the whistles were specially designed or

adorned, depending on individuals' preference. From the study of Sujikan Wathathiyapon (2010), it is found that a symbolic battle through a symbolic consumption is a kind of support for a movement through monetary assistance, including the organization of all movement activities. For instance, the Manager or ASTV, the principal group of PAD, produced symbolic products to sell for increasing the monetary support for the movements. The products whose hidden meanings were related with the movements, i.e. objects, utilities, etc., were asked for a support or for mobilizing resources from the demonstrators. Therefore, the findings reflect that in a rally, it is not only a political sphere with political factors, but it is also a social space in which some kinds of relationships exist.

Furthermore, from the comparison of symbols between a Guy Fawkes Mask and a whistle, both contain different properties that cause different roles. Specifically, a whistle is an audio object and can be more adjusted for a variety of uses in different situations as a mask can only be used for covering one's face. That is why a whistle was used in all kinds of activities in combination with the movement strategies of PDRC. Accordingly, the type of a symbol is an important factor affecting its role in a political movement. If a symbol can be modified into different functions, it can be used in several roles in a movement. From this study, it further finds that a whistle is a symbol that can uplift spiritual value like some holy objects. This is a distinctive role from a Guy Fawkes Mask. It is remarkable that this is quite a contradictory phenomenon in the Thai context where a mask should be more connected with holiness. To illustrate this, in the performance of Khon (Thai classic masked play) or Manorah (Thai classic dance of the south), a mask an actor wears conveys different roles with a meaning of holiness; thus, a worship ceremony will take place before a performance. However, for a Guy Fawkes Mask, Thai people know it from a movie in the same way that they know a Hero mask or a cartoon mask before a political movement so it is treated as only a souvenir of a movie or as a mask one wears in a party or play. Besides, the holiness often derives from a legend or story with which Thai people are familiar, such as some characters in Ramayama. A ritual is also another factor that can turn an ordinary object to be a sacred or holy one. Therefore, the use of PDRC's whistle as a group representation in all activities is like a political ritual and helps to elevate the spiritual value equivalent to holy objects. Durkheim

(1915, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep, 2011, p. 312) states that an object can have a higher symbolic status or be more sacred than other ordinary ones only when its story ties with its background, maintenance, and further use through some forms of rituals. These rituals are based on a belief or social practice, which can be either a religious traditional rite or contemporary ceremony, i.e. wedding, graduation, etc. Chatri Phakitnonthakan (2015, p. 23) states that Thai society can change an ordinary object to be a holy one easily no matter for which the purpose is, i.e. a reaction or a respect for the Equestrian Statue of King Rama V, Thao Suranari (Ya Mo) Monument, the Monument of Silpa Bhirasri as a sacred object.

6.2.3 The Modification of Meanings

The modification of meanings covers the reproduction of the old meanings, the deconstruction of the meanings or the construction of a new meaning. Both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles are objects Thai people witnessed before a political movement. Therefore, when they move into a political sphere, their meanings are modified and created by the contexts. Kanjana Kaewthep (2011, pp. 345-346) explains that the study of the meaning construction can lead to an understanding of the formation, lifespan, and termination of a meaning, including its modification and disappearance of old meaning by deconstructing the old meaning and reconstruct a new meaning.

The meaning of a Guy Fawkes Mask is reproduced from the meaning inherited from the movie “V for Vendetta,” that a mask is worn as a sign to protest the government in a foreign country. However, its meaning is also reconstructed from “Vendetta” that means a revenge to “Victory.” This is because, in Thai society, a revenge is perceived as bad and is prohibited according to religious teachings. On the contrary, Thai people value “a forgiveness” rather than “a revenge”. Besides, a new meaning of “White color” of the mask is constructed with the meaning of “a pure and good power”. To connect “color dimension” with the identification of a political group or party was formerly witnessed in Thai society. Furthermore, a mask in Thai society is often perceived in a negative way as it conveys to be an anonymous group who dares not to disclose its identity and this can obstruct the use of it as a symbol to protest the adversary. Additionally, the negative perception of a Guy Fawkes Mask

can be caused by the connection with the history of an explosion at the council planned to assassinate King James I, which is unacceptable in Thai society where people pay high respect to the monarchical institution.

For a whistle, the old meaning of a whistle in various contexts (i.e. traffic, boy scouts, sports, etc.) can still be used for a movement. Besides, whistles are used with different meanings in different contexts. Therefore, a context plays a great role in determining the meaning of a whistle. Devito (1996, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep, 2011, p. 304) believes that a meaning is embedded in a context so content must be filled in a context properly like water always filling in a container. Especially, cultural context is the determinant of a meaning interpretation.

By comparing the reconstruction of meanings of a Guy Fawkes Mask and a whistle, it is found that due to their different properties, the reconstructed meanings are different. A mask is a visual communication or a visible media that is quite difficult for an adaptability while a whistle is audio communication and is easily adjusted towards a variety of meanings in different contexts. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the meanings of both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles reflects the relationship between power and the reconstruction of meaning. For instance, the meaning of a whistle indicates a sound of a movement beginning, a sound of a rejection, and a sound of an expulsion. This relates to the leader's power in creating and adjusting the meaning to respond to the movement approaches. Saussure believes that the meaning of a sign is dynamic. In creating or changing the meaning of any sign, he gives an importance to the question, "who has a power" (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinwiman, 2008, p. 416) because power influences the construction and reconstruction of the meaning. In accordance with the study of Niti Churstarponsiri (2001) who studied the political meanings appearing in the architectural structure of Thai governmental buildings or specifically a city hall. It is found that the governance supreme power of each period determines which meaning should be contained in a piece of architecture of a city hall. Likewise, Suthep Thaugsuban, the PDRC leader, determines the meanings of a whistle all through the rallies. He determines the first meaning of a whistle by his catchword "blow a whistle" or "hang a whistle" to make the demonstrators absorb its meaning. Besides, he modifies the whistle's meanings to cover "a call for an assembly, an expulsion, an invitation, or a peaceful movement

approach.” Therefore, all the meanings are determined by his declared movement approaches. Every night, Suthep declared his movement approach and emphasized the use of the whistle symbol. Accordingly, the meaning of a whistle is reproduced all the time throughout the movements. For V for Thailand, in spite of no formal leader, the reconstruction of meaning is conducted through its centralized channel or through the online social media channel. Fan page of V for Thailand is used for an appointment towards a collective activity and it is an important space in communicating various meanings of the symbol used.

Besides, the reconstruction of the meanings or the signified of the symbols, there is a reconstruction of the signifiers to illustrate the purpose of the movements as well. For instance, both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles use national-flag colors. Furthermore, a whistle is adjusted to have a thunder design, which is the logo of the Blue Sky TV Station, which is the medium of information for the group. The thunder whistles are very popular among demonstrators. Apparently, the reconstruction of the signifiers of both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles transmits and emphasized the groups’ political ideologies, including portraying their group identity. According to Saussure, each sign consists of a signifier and a signified. In the movements of PDRC, the relations between the signifier and the signified accord with the movement approach of the group, i.e. to convey a struggle for the nation, to protest for the country, or other issues that are significant for the country and lead to a movement. All of these meanings are communicated through signs or its signifiers, i.e. colors or design of the national flag, etc. Besides, the mask and whistle symbols are distinctive from other political symbols, i.e. a national flag or the Royal portrait of the King, etc. On the contrary, these two symbols can be adjusted in shape, colors, and decorations in various ways. Both symbols also can be developed further in other forms and patterns to become significant resources for supporting the movements.

The study “Communication via the Symbols of Guy Fawkes Masks and Whistles in Thai Political Movements” illustrates that human beings do not necessarily communicate in a direct way, i.e. through speeches and written statements, etc. They can communicate through some symbols containing their intended meanings, which can be developed and expanded more than a direct communication. Particularly, the use of explicable and simplified political symbols

can be easily developed as an important resource for a movement. Moreover, the use of both symbols illustrates the connectivity of universal and individuated symbols in Thai political sphere. In other words, with some universal meanings, both symbols can also be encoded or constructed with a new meaning under some situations in Thai context to relate with the group's political ideology. Therefore, their meanings are accepted and some are developed to cover other roles or functions, which enable the use of symbols to become a major resource for the movements.

Nevertheless, there are not only supporters of these symbols in Thai society or politics, but also the adversary and the neutral groups who do not favor any group or party. Consequently, from the perception of those opposing or neutral groups, both Guy Fawkes Masks and whistles are not powerful symbols for them and their meanings and codes may not be read or interpreted in the same direction as those who support the movements. On the contrary, from the study, it is found that the adversaries have an oppositional reading or interpret their meanings in a negative way. Likewise, while one group perceives the two symbols as holy and powerful, the other perceives them adversely, i.e. burning or destroying the symbols or to signify them as weapons, etc. Furthermore, time is another important factor affecting the use of a political symbol. When time changes, it affects conditions and changing circumstances of each context, i.e. when the situation is dissolved or when a political change occurs, etc. From the retrospective observation, it is found that there were some heavy efforts in reconstructing the meanings of both symbols; however, due to changes in time that caused a change in political situations, symbols that used to represent a variety of intended meanings turn to be a representation of political conflicts and chaos at a certain time in Thailand.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Recommendation for Academic Purposes

Communication involves an understanding of a social process. From this study, it indicates that a social phenomenon is complicated by both direct and indirect meanings. Besides, an innovation or a new invention found in this study is like other kinds of innovation that are diffused from abroad into Thailand.

6.3.2 Recommendation for Knowledge Inquiry

From the study, it shows that the knowledge of semiology and linguistic discourse is important no less than other knowledge. It highlights the power of human communication by the use of symbols directly by a leader over a direct communication. However, the selection of a symbol accounts for socio-cultural context, including the former meanings of a symbol, situation, event, and components by considering if and how such a symbol can relate with a group's ideology and represent the group properly. For a continual use of a symbol, it is important to consider the congruence between a symbol used and an activity.

6.3.3 Recommendation for Policy Implementation

Major social institutions should pay attention to the signification of a symbol in social and political mobilization.

6.3.4 Recommendation for Politics Circle

To evaluate or judge some social rules and political struggles mobilized by the use of symbols needs to be considered thoroughly and with an understanding since its wide impact towards the majority of people will become greater than a movement itself and be a valuable lesson to learn.

6.3.5 Recommendation for Future Study

As this research is an overview study of a political situation in Thailand. Future studies can be conducted at a local level, which is different from the national-level context. Besides, other types of political signs in the novel and interesting patterns used nowadays should be studied to acquire a new body of knowledge.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Situations and Thai Political Contexts during 2012-2014

Situations and Thai Political Context during 2012-2014

From the result of the election in 2011, Yingluck Shinawatra was elected from the House of Representatives to be a Prime Minister of Thailand, next to Abhisit Vejjajiva. However, the governance and administration of Yingluck Shinawatra and the government were still under the old power of former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, i.e. political parties, Ministers, policies in governing the country, especially the Policy of Popularism, which was opposed and criticized continuously by several groups in the country. Most policies and governance connected with and facilitated for old power or for Thaksin Shinawatra

The issues that were criticized and watched were the meeting between Yingluck Shinawatra and Ekayut Unchanbut at Four Seasons Hotel, which was perceived as a talk about benefits of Shinawatra's groups, the Rice Pledge Project that the government confirmed that was a useful project for agriculturists or farmers, etc. On the other hand, the opposition party, private sectors, and scholars disagreed with this project and urged the government to discontinue the project so strongly that it was sued to the Administrative Court. Other disagreed policies were 1) "an increase of daily wage to 300 baht all through the country", which made employers bear the increased capital so heavily", "a free distribution of Tablet computers to grade 1 students all through the country," "the loans of two thousand billion baht," etc.

The most significant issue that became a trigger leading to gigantic political movement under the governance of Yingluck Shinawatra was the effort in passing "The Harmony Bill" and "The Amnesty Act." After the political event in 2010, the government under Yingluck Shinawatra raised up a policy of "creating a harmony" in the country as an urgent policy. In 2012, in which the government involved with the constitutional amendment, was the transitional point to political movements. In 2013, the proposed amendment of the constitution by the government and the coalition had

been approved by the joint committee of the Parliament but was obstructed by the Democrat Party who submitted their request to the Constitutional Court to interpret if the Parliament could have a power in amending the constitution or not. Still, the government insisted to propose the Draft of Harmony Bill and the Amnesty Act to be approved continuously in spite of a strong resistance within and Outside the House of Representatives. More than that, the government proposed another three Amnesty Acts. It was believed that the Harmony Bill proposed by the government would be beneficial for Thaksin Shinawatra. A resistance against several policies and laws led to the formation of several groups, i.e. The Yellow-Shirt Group came out to resist after the Democrat Party, etc. However, Pheu Thai Party still drove the acts into the Parliament continuously until some chaos took place when the representatives of the Democrat Party dissatisfied with the role of Somsak Kiatsuranon, the President of the Council or Parliament. This made the Draft of the Harmony Bill stuck. Later, there had been a proposal of another Draft of the Amnesty Act, which enabled some wrongdoers from a political demonstration or expression during September 13, 2006 – May 10, 2011, be free of charge. Therefore, this was a major trigger towards eminent political movements and rallies in the later time. It was estimated that since the appointment to be the Prime Minister of Yingluck Shinawatra, there have been a number of groups coming out to resist with different purposes. These groups were People Alliances of Democracy (PAD), Siam Protection Organization (or Pitak Siam), Alliances of Thai People with Love for Protecting their Nation.(The Thai Patriotic Front, Thai People Love Heart), V for Thailand White-Mask Group, People Army to Abolish Thaksin Regime, the Democrat Party, and the Network of Reforming Thailand Students, etc. (Isranews Agency, 2013)

After the opposition of the Amnesty Act, many organizations consolidated into a gigantic group, named “People’s Democratic Reform Committee” (PDRC)”, led by Suthep Thaugsuban and some members of The Democrat Party to protest such Act. The Democrat Party also made some movements, both in and outside the Parliament continuously, i.e. organizing a “Reveal the Truth” stage for a speech throughout the country starting from the south in order to provide information and attack the failure of the government’s administration. This also includes a persuasion towards Thai people to protest against the Amnesty Act and the Constitutional

Amendment BE 2550 (2007). During the rally, the leaders gave their addresses on the stage alternatively. The rally and addresses were broadcast live through satellite TV: Blue Sky T-News, and E-San Thai TV. On August 7, 2013, the top leaders, such as Chuan Leekpai, Banyat Bantadthan, Abhisit Vejjajiva, and Suthep Thaugsuban jointly walked to the Parliament while the government was trying to pass the proposed laws continuously. After that, on the last stage of “Reveal the Truth” at Sanam Luang 2, Taveewattana District, Suthep Thaugsuban announced a whistle blowing and invited rural people of each province to gather in front of the city hall. While in Bangkok, the assembly took place at Urupong Stage, of which was taken care by The Reform of Thailand Student Network or to Lumpini Park Stage where The People’s Army against Thaksin Regime was addressing and made a movement all the time. On October 31, 2013, Suthep Thaugsuban and some members of the Democrat Party all stood on the stage and read their official statement. After that, they blew a whistle altogether. At the same time, while the House of Representative was discussing on the draft of the Amnesty Act as a special case, a protest occurred and finally, the government voted to close the discussion. Since it took overnight for a consideration, no people protested the later Sections; thus, everything was passed very rapidly, taking about one hour. The casting of votes finished so the assembly proceeded to the consideration in Agenda 3 with 310: 0 votes and 4 abstentions. Somsak Kiatsuranonda, the President of the Parliament, announced the closing of the assembly in the morning on November 1, 2013.

Earlier, in the late evening of the assembly on October 31 up to early morning on November 1, 2013, the climate was stressful. A variety of groups protested the act as it was to help Thaksin Shinawatra, the former Prime Minister, to be free of his political guilt and earlier charges. Especially, he could return to Thailand and the government had to return all of his seized property back to him. Therefore, once the news of the passed Draft from all three agendas was disseminated, Suthep Thaugsuban gave a speech at Samsen Railway Station, which was the first rally station to protest the Draft of the Amnesty Act, and tremendous numbers of people joined in a rally.

On November 4, 2013, Suthep Thaugsuban announced to move a rally to the Democracy Monument on Ratchadamnoen Road. The gathering of people was so

large that on November 11, 2013, the Senate Assembly voted against the draft; however, the rally continued and raised the issue of the objection of the Amnesty Act to the Protest against the government. Eight members of the Democratic Party (Tavorn Senniam, Issara Somchai, Sathit Wongnongtaey, Wittaya Kaewparadai, Chumpol Junsai, Phutti Phong Punnakan, Ekanut Prompan, and Natthapol Theepsuwan) resigned from the Party to be leaders of the movement. On November 15, 2013, Suthep announced another rally uplift by a continuous pressure against the government. To protest the Thaksin Regime, a new measure was used by collecting names to expel those 310 House of Representatives who voted for the Draft of the Amnesty Act and proposed to the National Anti-Corruption Commission. Furthermore, the demonstrators also protested against all concerned people in the network of Thaksin Regime by whistle blowing upon meeting those people, including opposing to buy all kinds of products from such a network. All Thai people were asked to stop working and came out to join a rally as many as possible until the victory was achieved.

Later, the Constitutional Court considered the charge of 40 senators against the amendment of the constitution in the Section of the acquisition of the senators if it violated the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand BE 2550 (2007) or not. However, Pheu Thai Party rejected such consideration by claiming that the Constitutional Court violated the scope of authority of the Senate. The reading of official statements against the consideration of the Constitutional Court of Pheu Thai Party caused an exceeding number of protestors against the government. On the other hand, the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD), which supported the government, organized a reactive rally at Rajamangala National Stadium. The major rally at Ratchadamnoen stage also announced their uplifted movement to protest Yingluck's government under the event called, "The Day of Thai Great People of over Million Hearts." This time, a fight occurred at Ramkhamhaeng University with some dead and injured people. Since then, there had been occasional fighting causing many injured. After that, on November 29, 2013, at the Governmental Center, Chaengwattana Road, Suthep Thaugsuban declared the foundation of People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) consisting of many representative organizations of various circles and occupations: scholars, the Reform of Thailand

Student Network, Silom Businessmen Community, Businessmen for Democracy Network, Dharma Army, People Army against Thaksin Regime, State Enterprises Workers' Relations Confederation, etc. Suthep was a secretary-general of the committee.

On December 9, 2013, the Prime Minister declared the dissolution and a new election date on February 2, 2014. However, Suthep and the demonstrators rejected the declared election and urged to settle a People Council prior to an election since they did not want politicians to influence the election. On the first day of the application for an election, a chaos and a fight took place to obstruct a further application. However, Pheu Thai Party declared in a press conference to proceed to organize an election as planned. Accordingly, the leaders of PDRC gave a speech to expel the acting government and closed many roads in Bangkok. The demonstrators obstructed a prior election in Bangkok and in Southern provinces. From this chaos, the Criminal Court issued a warrant of arrest to 19 major leaders with a charge of violating the Emergency Management Act BE 2548. Later, Suthep announced the termination of the road closing in Bangkok and gathered all rallies to Lumpini Park. On the other hand, the Constitutional Court considered that the planned election on February 2, 2014, was unlawful. Nevertheless, the rally situation of all parties still continued until May 20, 2014, Field Marshal Prayut Chanocha, Army Commander, declared Martial Law all through the country and asked all concerned parties to collaboratively find ways to resolve the conflicts. However, the negotiation was not successful, so a Coup D' Etat was announced on May 22, 2014, by the Army and National Peace Corps with Field Marshal Prayut Chanocha as a Prime Minister. All rallies were prohibited and all concerned parties were called for reporting themselves: leaders of Pheu Thai, UDD, PDRC, including some former soldiers and police officers. The Army and National Peace Corps performed as a government to administer the country.

From the aforementioned situation, this can be considered as a gigantic and continual movement of people alliances to protest against Thaksin Shinawatra until the period in which Abhisit Vejjajiva was a Prime Minister. Another protest took place again after Pheu Thai Party won the election. Earlier, the protest was mobilized by wearing yellow shirts and slapping hands while the supporters of Thaksin

Shinawatra wore red shirts. After some violence and political changes in Thailand from a conflict between Yellow-Shirts and Red-Shirts and the role termination of People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD), there had been an attempt in dissolving the color of shirts to separate political ideologies. A Multi-Color Shirt (criticized as being the old Yellow-Shirts) was formed. Most of their movements were against UDD or Red-Shirts. After Pheu Thai Party won the election again and Yingluck Shinawatra was a Prime Minister, the protestors were not formed as a cohesive group so clearly like the earlier PAD. Especially, the protestors came from several groups so they had no distinguished symbols for their movements. The first new symbol was a white mask before forming to be PDRC, which used a whistle as their symbol. On the contrary, the supporter of Thaksin Regime still used red color and red shirts as their symbols, together with a parallel symbol to their adversary, i.e. red masks, red whistles, etc.

Appendix B

Background information of Guy Fawkes Masks

Guy Fawkes Mask: Background and Important Events

1) Background: The Guy Fawkes Mask originated from English History (about early Ayutthaya Period of Thailand) from a religious conflict by Catholic protestors against King James I who supported and promoted mainly Protestants. Besides, they were discontented with the Parliament members who cooperate with the King to oppress and bar the Catholics. In 1604, Robert Catesby persuaded many people, i.e. Thomas Winter, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Guy Fawkes to bomb the Parliament during the meeting in order to assassinate King James I, monarchy members, and politicians. However, the plan was not successful and some of them were arrested. On November 5, a night before the Parliament assembly, Guy Fawkes was imprisoned and tortured at a tower for two years until he was executed in 1606. After that event, every November 5 in England, there will be a bonfire to celebrate the survival of King James I from the assassination. (Somkiat Onwimon, 2013, p. 74) and a burning of a straw man representing Guy Fawkes. The bombing event was called "Gunpowder Plot" and under other names, i.e. Bonfire Night, Guy Fawkes Night, Guy Fawkes Day, and Firework Night. During the celebration, there were fireworks for amusement so it has no political meaning anymore. After time passed by, the political meaning of Guy Fawkes came back in the form of a cartoon called "V for Vendetta" composed by Alan Moore and David Lloyd. Therefore, Guy Fawkes was transformed to be an Anti-hero, a hero who expressed the dark or evil side, i.e. revenge, etc., who wore a Guy Fawkes Mask to fight with a dictator. After that, such story was produced as a film and the mask was used as a symbol for political movements around the world, i.e. Anonymous Group and the Occupy rally in which people wore Guy Fawkes Masks to conceal their identity in the public (National Geographic History, 2017, p. 74)

Alan Moore was an English cartoonist who wrote many famous cartoon books while David Lloyd was a drawer and a designer of Guy Fawkes Mask that becomes a model and the meaning has been transmitted until now. V for Vendetta was written during 1982-1985 and reprinted many times, both in black and white and in color. The mask and the image of the mask have not been known only in England, but worldwide. The V of the hero's name conveys several meanings and reflects many symbols, i.e. November 5, Vendetta in Italian means a revenge, and the plot of the story (Gunpowder Plot) refers to English history and political problems in England at that time.

The story is about England in the future. It presents a governance under a Fascist military dictatorship system and a chaos after a nuclear war. The government offices in this story are named by the names of human organs, i.e. head, nose, finger, etc. The Fascist State controls people's Nose, Eyes, Ears, and Fingers and the leader is the Head who controls everybody's fate. V represents a violent anarchist who believes that a land of freedom where people can speak or do whatever they wish can be achieved only when a bloody reaction causing a chaos in a society occurred. Alan Moore gave an interview that he did not judge who was right or wrong but what he tried to convey was to illustrate a society with two extreme sides interacting violently against each other. For the Guy Fawkes Mask, he wanted to use only as a symbol to display a battle between two poles of power, namely between the Catholic King and Protestant People 400 years ago. (Prasert Phalitphonkanphim, 2014).

Later, the cartoon novel of Alan Moore was adapted to be a movie called, "V For Vendetta" in 2006, starred by Hugo Weaving as V, Natalie Portman as Evey, Stephen Rea as Finch, and John Hurt as Adam Sutler. It is an Action, Drama, Sci-Fi, and Thriller film with rated R. (by the level of violence and language used). In spite of old plot, there were many different parts being adapted by changing context and time. Thus, the movie does not portray a theme of freedom but also other forms of conflicts at present, i.e. authoritarianism, homosexuals, religion, and terrorism. Besides, it can say that V for Vendetta in the movie form initiates the application of Guy Fawkes Masks for political movements. They are not simply a souvenir of a movie but have also been a symbol of movement used widely around the world up to now.

2) The Symbol of Guy Fawkes Masks Used in Political Movements. One witnessed application of the mask in a political movement was the wearing of Anonymous group to protest the charge of the Scientology Group against a person who disseminated a clip showing Tom Cruise while praying. Since they were afraid of being sued by the Scientologists, they wore masks to conceal their identity. After the photo of this protest was publicized, many people joined in the protest and Guy Fawkes Masks became a symbol of the group. (Nontawut Rajkawee, 2013). It also inspired Anonymous hackers around the world to attack and destroy computer system of many governmental and private offices occasionally. Furthermore, there was a movement called, “Million Masks March” on every November 5 in many cities to mobilize the mass to wear white Guy Fawkes Masks to join in a demonstration in many big cities around the world. It started from London and to many others, i.e. Manila, the Philippines; Berlin, Germany; Washington, D.C., U.S.A., including cities in Japan, Australia, Mexico, New Zealand, etc. to express their power and to protest many issues, i.e. the government’s corruption, non-transparent governance, capitalism, economic or social problems, etc. In some countries, Guy Fawkes Masks cannot be sold.

Major events related with Guy Fawkes Masks are as follow:

2008 A protest against Scientology in London and Guy Fawkes Masked were used as a symbol during a rally for helping Julian Assange, the owner of WikiLeaks website

2009 Masks were used in front of the G-20 Meeting in London, and G8 in L’Aquila and in front of the Parliament in England. The protestors wore the masks and exploded with fake gunpowder to protest against the expenses of the Parliament members.

2011 In Arab Spring where there was a call for freedom of Arabian countries and Occupy Event, Including at a Wall Street rally where people protested economic inequality and capitalism

2012 A protest against a signed agreement to join ACTA in Poland and a protest against an internet censorship of Indian government in Mumbai, India.

Moreover, there were many countries and significant events in the world using a white mask as a symbol for their rally and movement with different meanings as following: (Yodmala, 2013, pp. 117-118)

Palestine: V = no needs for the government that oppresses people

Sweden: V = no needs for the government pleasing powerful country

Brazil: V = no needs for the ineffective government

Germany: V = no needs for the government shaking the money of the country.

France: V = no needs for the government using money to buy religious/Christian positions

U.S.A.: V = no needs for the government with violence-orientation

Hong Kong: V = no needs for the government that destroys the national economics.

English: V = no needs for bad politicians, biased and deceptive mass media

Portugal: V = no needs for the government failing in administering the country.

Spain: V = no needs for the government cutting educational budgets causing a direct effect to people.

The Concepts of Masks in Thai Society

Masks have been in Thai history for no less than 2,500 years, i.e. for the folk plays, etc. At present, people still wear masks in some ceremonies or rituals inherited from the ancient time. For instance, “Phi Ta Khon” is a type of masked procession celebrated on the first day of a three-day Buddhist merit making holiday known in Thai as “Boon Pra Wate”. The annual festival takes place in the northeastern province of Loei. Participants of the festival dress up like ghosts and monsters wearing huge masks made from carved coconut-tree trunks, topped with a wickerwork sticky-rice steamer. The procession is marked by music and dancing. Others are the wearing a mask of a character called Pran Bun in a southern play, “Manorah,” a play performed by all males, including the performance of classical Khon that has been inherited up

to present. For Khon or Phi Ta Khon, both are symbols of sacred rituals and performance.

Besides as a part of cultural artifact and performance, masks are always found in amusing plays, in a feast, and in a fantasy party, including being a kind of toys general found in a market but in different shapes and designs, i.e. masks of cartoon characters, animals, characters, etc.

Thai Idioms or Expressions about a Mask

According to the Dictionary of Royal Academy, “a mask” means something used to hide one’s face partially or fully, something worn to protect someone from something, or something to conceal one’s identity. A mask has been used for a performance or for entertainment. Since the old days, it has been used in a ceremony. In Thai context, there are a number of proverbs or idioms related to masks.

1) To wear a mask is a verb meaning an action that does not come from the actual or genuine character or feeling of someone, such as that man must wear a mask to face with his boss. Therefore, that man wears a mask in order to please others. Another meaning is to perform a deceptive manner to interpret in a different way, i.e. all the time he is seeing her, he always wears a mask of being a wealthy person so she believes him. (National Radio Broadcast Station, 2013). Such expressions or idioms come from some kinds of Thai performance in which performers must wear a mask, i.e. Khon or one kind of Thai pantomime to communicate to the audience that performers do not act as they really are but because of their performance roles. Besides, “to wear a mask” generally means “insincerity,” “performance not real behavior,” and a deceptive or distorted manner. (Prasit Roekpisut, 2012). Besides, the idiom “to wear a mask towards each other” means “an insincere expression or manner or that are not real characters of both sides. In general, to wear or to put on a mask has a negative meaning, either meaning to conceal the truth or to lie and disguise”.

2) To take off a mask. This idiom has an opposite meaning to “to wear or put on a mask”. It means to reveal oneself or real status that is concealed or hidden. For instance, once he got what he needed, he took off his mask to reveal the true feeling,

determination, or character. Mostly, a person will take off his own mask to reveal the truth. (National Radio Broadcasting Station, 2013)

3) To tear or unveil a mask. It means to reveal the truth of one person by another person as the former hides some truths or secrets. This contains a negative meaning and reflects an interpersonal conflict.

Appendix C

Background Information of a Whistle

Whistles and Important Events out of Thailand

1) the Use and Meaning of Whistles of Ralph Nader. In 1970, Ralph Nader, an American lawyer, writer, and social activist, decided to blow a whistle or to be a whistleblower in the Parliament to warn the government at that time about its apparent corruption and non-transparent governance of the country. Nader explained the meaning of the whistleblowing, “It is the action of a male or female who has a strong faith to concern about the public benefits as his or her utmost importance beyond the organization he or she is working for. His or her whistleblowing is telling that the organization involves some dishonesty or misconducts.”

It is remarkable that in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1961, it appeared no word of, “whistleblower” or “whistleblowing” except the word “a whistle, whose meaning is “to tell, to signal, or to whisper”.

In the third edition of Webster English Dictionary in 1976, both words did not appear either but had only the meaning of “a whistle”, which means “to inform, to signal, to warrant, and to assemble”.

Later in 1986 in the Index of the Oxford Dictionary, the word, “whistleblowing” was added with the meaning, “to end or to stop a person or action by calling an assembly towards a sharp conclusion.” The word is often used with a person or an action of digging out an irregular, incorrect, and criminal practice. The revealer of such truth is a whistleblower. Therefore, at present, a whistleblower means someone who reports, points out or reveals misconducts, unethical, and unlawful action or behavior of a company or the government to mass media or concerned officers to be acknowledged. (Walun Supakorn, 2013).

2) Laws of Whistleblowers. A whistleblower is like a person who is responsible for reporting any conduct that tends to be unlawful. Accordingly, in the U.S.A., “Whistleblower Protection Act 1989” was drafted to protect a governmental officer and information related to illegal conducts, i.e. corruption, etc. Officers who have corruption information can report it to their superiors or external offices. Moreover, there has been a development of effective laws, i.e. laws for protecting a whistleblower to report the information, etc. by increasing the degree of punishment, i.e. threatening superiors, spiting law officers, creating a monetary motivation for a whistleblower, etc. However, protection laws are for government officers only. Later, many countries paid attention to this law, i.e. England, Australia, Canada, etc. Furthermore, Sam Adams Foundation for Morality of CIA awarded Sam Adams Award for Edward Snowden, the former CIA (Center of Intelligence Agency) and NSA (National Security Agency), one of the most famous whistleblowers who brought to light the many surveillance programs and other snooping activities of the U.S. government. This former intelligence officer revealed secret documents that he gathered from U.S. intelligence agencies like the NSA show the depth and breadth of surveillance programs that have been in place since 2007. It also showed the role of corporations, governments of other countries and lawmakers in furthering and legitimizing these surveillance programs.

3) Whistles and Movements. Whistleblowing is a symbolic activity used to mobilize in many meanings and purposes, i.e. to reveal secret information or information of misconducts, cheatings, illegal actions of governmental or private organizations. The wrongdoing can be just a violation of some rules, a harmful act to people, corruption, or a call for peace. Other examples of whistleblowing of various groups around the world, after Ralph Nader in the U.S. Parliament in 2006.

2008 An establishment of Falling Whistles, a non-profit organization aimed to mobilize towards peace in Democratic Republic of the Congo by inviting people to express their support by whistleblowing.

2009 Approximately 15,000 Romanians joined in a rally at Victory Square, a business center in Bucharest, and blew a whistle to protest against the government’s low labor rate and to urge the government to solve the problems.

2012 From the Stop-and-Frisk' Policy of New York Police in U.S.A., which gave authority for police officers to search and examine on people freely, it caused a discomfort among American people and perceived it as a severe violation of people's right and freedom. This led to a campaign persuading everybody to carry a whistle. If anyone was examined, he or she would blow a whistle. Besides, many protestors in Harlem, Manhattan, jointly blew a whistle to protest this policy.

2013 People and mass media in Iraq in the land of Kurdish cooperated in whistleblowing in front of the Parliament to protest against the threatening behaviors and the government's restriction of information presentation. Later, mass media presenting anti-government news were charged and arrested.

Whistles in Thai Society

According to the Dictionary of Royal Academy BE 2554 (2011), a whistle is a noun meaning a tool for blowing and making a sound. In general, whistles are used in the same ways as other countries since it was influenced from abroad, i.e. sports competition, games, boy or girl scouts, call for help, traffic, military and police work, etc. Most of the whistleblowers are powerful in controlling, regulating, and supervising. Whistles have been used in Thai ways of living since the old days. Due to the distinctive nature of whistle's sound, whistles have been used as a medium in many activities:

1) the idiom "whistleblowing". This idiom is well known and used widely in Thai society, especially in the news report of mass media or in political and economic articles in the meaning of "a signal for starting something." This is different from the idiom "whistleblowing" used in foreign countries in the meaning of "revealing information", as shown below:

When Bank of Thailand blows a whistle, the game of credit card competition starts. (Manager Magazine, July 2002)

Metta blew a whistle for separating gas into two prices and ordered 400 containing factories to install a meter. (Manager, September 2008)

Korn blew a whistle for an investment in 2010, led by private sectors. Keep an eye on the Cabinet's meeting tomorrow. (Manager, February 2010)

Whistleblowing to warn 7 dangerous days. Brainstorm for coping the problem. (Thairath, December 27, 2012)

July 26, Red-shirts will blow a whistle to confront with high-class people to protect Poo of Pheu Thai (Matichon, July, 2011)

2) Thai Folk Toy. Before having a high technology for producing toys like the present time, a whistle was a kind of toys made from clay or called "a clay whistle." Clay was used for molding into birds of different kinds or into other kinds of animals, most of which were aquatic and amphibians, i.e. prawn, crab, fish, duck, frog, etc. It was used for blowing and if anyone could blow a whistle more loudly or more beautifully, that person would win. Besides, there were bamboo whistles and zinc whistles, which were very popular among children during that period. At present, whistles as a toy are seldom seen due to the evolution by time.

3) A tool for a help. A whistle is also used as a symbol for stopping violence against children and women. For instance, Women's Empowerment Association in patronage or Emergency Shelter provides red whistles or Kanpai (to protect from the danger) whistle to children and women for blowing when they need a help, i.e. to chase away a thief, etc.

4) Signals in Activities. In a military and soldier circles influenced by its use in England, a whistle is used as a signal, i.e. to control the traffic, boy scouts, etc. Besides, Safety guards use it for surveilling the safety or referees use it in a sports competition to control the rules. Each blowing may be short or long differently.

5) A Symbol in Political Movement. Before a political movement of People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) to protest Thaksin Regime or Thaksinocracy, a whistle had been used before in an earlier political movement. Namely, it was used in the political movement of the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD). However, at that time, the more distinguished symbol of PAD was slapping hands. Nevertheless, PAD also applied a whistle in various ways, i.e. a whistleblowing song, an idiom of whistleblowing, etc. Mostly, it contained the meaning of "a mobilization" or an appointment for making a movement to protest the government.

Whistleblowing is a word used by PAD while demonstrating to expel the government of Thaksin Shinawatra, then Samak Suntharawat, and Somchai Wongsawat or the nominee government for Thaksin. It means whenever the leaders of PAD blow a whistle, its alliances throughout the country will gather to show their power and do an activity as planned by the leaders and approved by the demonstrators, i.e. to seize the Government House, etc. (Wisut Phinyowanchka, 2009)



Figure C1 Whistleblowing and PAD

Source: Wisut Phinyowanichka (2009).

PAD blew a whistle for the last time to expel a puppet government before the country would collapse. Call for a nation-wide assembly from August 25 before marching on an early morning of August 26. Sondhi emphasized the sacred liberation of the country must be ended and asked people to prepare all necessary things with them. (Manager, August 21, 2008)

PAD denied postponing a whistleblowing for expelling the government because of Prem's birthday.

Deputy Secretary-General to the Prime Minister (National Security) gave a hint that the Prime Minister said this country would never be peaceful if PAD keeps on driving out the government.” (Matichon, August 24, 2008)

In addition, whistles were blown by the leaders of PAD on the stage, not by demonstrators. They blew whistles during their addresses on stage when Samak Suntharawat acted as the Prime Minister for the nominee government of Thaksin. In August 2008, Sondhi Limthongkul and other leaders gave their speech at Makkawanrungsun Bridge about rushing the trial of Thaksin into the judicial process of judgment and about prohibiting any transfer of government officers to help Thaksin to be free of the corruption charge. PAD also struggled to obstruct the amendment of the constitution by calling a major rally on August 26, 2008. Somkiat Pongpaiboon, one of the PAD leaders said the sound of a whistle was like the sound of moral power. On that day, Sondhi Limthongkul and other leaders, i.e. Phiphob Thongchai and Somkiat Pongpaiboon, blew their whistles on the stage for sending a signal to people throughout the country.



Figure C2 Sondhi Blew his Whistle on the Stage

Source: Oknation.net (n.d.).



Figure C3 A Whistleblowing of PAD Leaders on the Stage

Source: Manager (n.d.).

BIOGRAPHY

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