

**THE FLOW OF INFORMATION THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA: A  
CASE STUDY OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REFORM  
COMMITTEE (PDRC) MOVEMENT FROM 2013-2014**



**Ratana Maknantaphisit**

**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy (Communication Arts and Innovation)  
The Graduate School of Communication Arts and Management  
Innovation  
National Institute of Development Administration  
2021**

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## ABSTRACT

<b>Title of Dissertation</b>	THE FLOW OF INFORMATION THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REFORM COMMITTEE (PDRC) MOVEMENT FROM 2013-2014
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This qualitative research aims to study the flow of political information through social media based on the PDRC movement of 2013-14 in the areas of: 1) The flow of information through social media during the movement; 2) Creation of an online public sphere to support the movement; and 3) The roles and reliability of the information flowing through social media.

A content analysis was used to analyze both social-media content and transcriptions from in-depth interviews with communicators of both traditional and new media. Information regarding the PDRC movement from 2013-14 on Facebook was selected based on a purposive sampling method. Samples of information were obtained from the Facebook accounts of 1) "Suthep Thaugsuban" and 2) "Top Secret", an individual using the alias of Seh Namngoen. Six individuals who worked as communicators in both old and new media were purposively selected to include mass- and social-media communicators and academics.

Results: 1) Based on the flow of political information on mass media and social media while PDRC was mobilizing people for the six major rallies, and the general election on February 2, 2014, it was found that both local and foreign mass media reported a variety of information related to political groups as mediators. The two Facebook Fanpages, which presented the information as stakeholders, performed different duties. "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page, as the movement leader, focused on providing information and mobilizing people. "Top Secret" Facebook page mainly provided information and background analyses of the violent situation. 2) Individuals used social media to create an online public sphere to support the PDRC movement by using their real name and using an alias. Political information on social

media that distributed to public played a major role in supporting the rallies and fostering political movement. 3) Key informants had two different opinions on agenda-setting role of social media. Some agreed that social media had the agenda-setting role because the number of likes and shares received of each post and the trend that professional media took issues from social media to communicate to public. Those who disagreed said there were too many media and issues to set any agendas, and only professional journalists can present some issues. Moreover, social media supported the diversity of perspectives in democratic regime, but the filtering system might result in a creation of echo chamber. 4) There is no question about reliability of “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page, which used his real name. While “Top Secret” Facebook page was believed to provide accurate information at a certain level. If it does not provide any reliable information, there will be no popularity and followers.

Findings of this study conformed to the concept of soft technological determinism; there were other factors that might take part in promoting the roles of communication technology. These included individual’s fame on social media and the content’s informational appeal.

To maintain online social media as a quality public sphere, findings indicated the importance of platforms offered by related government agencies to verify whether news is fake or true. Social media technology and mass media in Thailand should also be supported and developed by the government. Mass media should be careful with their choices, either to present or ignore facts, as well as should operate under their media ethics in order to maintain their reliability.

Educational institution should promote media literacy and ethics in their curriculum. Future research could be implemented in many topics related to online social media including users’ behavior, cultural and social dimensions, roles and functions, recent development of features such as live and filtering system, other platforms such as YouTube and Twitter.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background and Significance of the Problem

#### 1) Mass communication

Mass communication is a complex process, one that differs from other communication processes such as interpersonal communication. In general, mass communication consists of senders; messages ranging from information to opinions; channels such as radio and television broadcasts, newspapers, printed media and websites; receivers; and effects. Each type of mass media varies by characteristics, content, and operating model. Mass communication encompasses a wide variety of mass media, a large industry and massive profits, while at the same time fostering concepts diametrically opposed to mass communication such as the free flow of information, media imperialism and globalization.

#### (1) The Free Flow of Information

Herbert I. Schiller (1919-2000), an American mass-media scholar, criticized the concept of a free flow of information that was widely popular during the 1950s and 1960s, saying it was used as one strategy to dominate Third World countries and allow powerful, multinational corporations the opportunity easily to control communications in colonial countries. In turn, this led to inequalities and a unidirectional flow of information, mostly from the US (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2010, pp. 104-105). This was because dissemination of information was possible only to those with sufficient funding and the right technology.

Schiller also argued the US had since the Cold War continuously and vigorously promoted the free flow of information via the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). He said mass media from all across the globe contributed to a free-market economic system. As a result, any individual or country should be at liberty to produce, distribute and consume information freely and

independently. At the same time, controls on mass media placed barriers to communication channels that were meant to liberate people.

## (2) Media Imperialism

Schiller described pre-19th-century imperialism as a pattern employed by Western imperialists who militarily occupied other countries. Seizing those countries' political sovereignty eventually gave Western imperialists the economic and cultural authority over the colonized. However, the mid-20th century saw these colonized countries liberating themselves. In addition, Western European countries' power began to diminish after the Second World War, in contrast with the political strength of the US, which strengthened after the war.

The US then engaged in neo-imperialism. The subsequent shift from geographic territorial acquisition to cultural acquisition was known as cultural imperialism or cultural domination, with the US acting as the mainstay of the movement.

Of particular interest to Schiller was media imperialism. He claimed an analysis of the US economic and communications structure from 1970 onward revealed a growth in mass production that nearly led to market saturation by goods and services. As a result, the US adopted a strategy of pioneering new markets in the Third World in order to increase the profits of the industrial system not only by facilitating the development of communications and information technology but also dominating the mass communications channels owned by the Third World countries. In Thailand, for instance, multinational albeit US-owned corporations like Procter & Gamble (P&G) once invested heavily in television and radio broadcasting commercials during the 1970s. The company's endeavors to expand the broadcasting industry translated into media and cultural imperialism.

The industrialization of information and culture turned them into global cultural goods that were produced, distributed and widely consumed in tremendous amounts. Schiller stated that colonizers' preferred tools were multinational media corporations such as the Cable News Network (CNN) and multinational animation companies such as the Walt Disney Company (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2010, pp. 103-104).

In turn, academics in the late 20th century defined the state of communications and information exchange as possessing two distinct characteristics. First, the flow of global mass media information was unidirectional. Second, only a few countries were source countries—countries from which messages were produced. Yet these countries exerted immense influence all over the world through media (Wipa Uttamachan, 1998, p. 69).

### (3) Globalization

Carbaugh (2008) defined “globalization” as an interactive process between global citizens. It consists of a combination of international marketing, production and resources through international trade, and a cross-border flow of labor and investment. It also includes non-economic elements such as culture, the environment, politics and technology.

That said, the driving force of globalization was technological change, which facilitated mass production and global sales and distribution as well as communications connecting the world as a single global communications infrastructure via computers, the Internet and satellites, etc. The existence of worldwide rapid communications led to more global business and consequently a global market. It could be said that globalization—particularly technological development—has fostered worldwide communications.

### 2) From Technological Advancement to Online Social Media

As academics debated and proposed other concepts emanating from the state of mass communications, technological advancements also promoted change in global communications. First came development of the World Wide Web (WWW), with the Web 1.0 era offering one-way communication in the form of static webpages such as newspapers, magazines and website advertisements. Users could read the content but not create data. Second, the arrival of the 21st century with its increased Internet potential saw a transition to Web 2.0. The focus shifted to granting users the ability to create as well as be more engaged for social benefits. Communication became interactive -- two-way communication between sender and receiver. From this new development emerged online social media platforms such as Facebook and weblogs, publishing information in various forms as well as free video-exchanging services like YouTube and Twitter. Such highly popular social media could be used with no

limitations on time or place. Mass media such as newspapers, magazines and television and radio broadcasts were subsequently affected due to changes in the information consumption behavior of receivers. Consumption of information from traditional media decreased, causing many publishers of printed media gradually to close down.

In Thailand, people knew of and had been using social media. The Electronic Transactions Development Agency (EDTA) published the “2013 Thailand Internet User Profile,” which revealed the most popular social media platform to be Facebook (92.2%), followed by Google+ (63.7%), and Line (61.1%). For Facebook, EDTA data showed 19.2 million users in Thailand as of June 15, 2013.

The EDTA’s “2014 Thailand Internet User Profile” showed Thai users’ three most favored platforms to be Facebook (93.7%), Line (86.8%) and Google+ (34.6%). This showed a switch in place between Line and Google+, which showed 61.1% and 63.7% in 2013, respectively.

For Instagram and Twitter, the number of users in 2014 was higher than the previous year. Instagram users made up 34.1% of users in 2014, up from 12%, while the number of Twitter users grew to 16.1% from 8.2% (Praimpat Trakulchokesatien, 2014).

Regarding the three most popular social media platforms, a comparison between users in Bangkok and upcountry showed little difference in Facebook preference. However, Line was more popular among Bangkok users at 66.1%, whereas upcountry 59.2% of municipal users and 53.1% of rural users did so. More users upcountry preferred Google+ than did Bangkok users -- 59.2% of Bangkok users preferred Google+ compared with 66.2% of municipal users and 69.7% of rural users upcountry.

### 3) Social Media and the Movement of the People’s Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC)

A change in the method of communication was found to affect the public’s communication behavior. Society became informed of news through not only mass media but also social media, as seen during Thailand’s political crisis from 2013-14. A protest by the PDRC began in late October 2014, under the Yingluck Shinawatra government, in opposition to an amnesty bill. This amnesty bill would have exempted



politicians from charges dating as far back as 2004. Despite the amnesty bill being unanimously rejected in the Senate, the protest continued.

The PDRC was co-founded on November 29, 2013 by former Democrat MP Suthep Thaugsuban. It was supported by various organizations including the Democrat Party of Thailand, the People's Alliance for Democracy, student activists and public-sector labor unions. Most PDRC supporters came from Bangkok and southern Thailand. Unlike previous movements, the PDRC's symbol was the act of blowing a whistle rather than wearing a specific color of clothing.

Protest leader Suthep declared the PDRC's purpose was to restore national sovereignty to the people through national reforms that could be achieved through a non-elected People's Council. This council was intended to be a legislative body whose tasks included amending laws and regulations and executing the country's reform plan. The PDRC also planned to eliminate Thaksin Shinawatra's influence.

However, PDRC demonstrations were brought to an end on May 22, 2014 by a coup d'état against the government. On June 16, Suthep declared the assembly concluded and that the PDRC was willing to cooperate if the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) planned national reforms.

During the PDRC's seven-month assembly, six rallies had been organized to mobilize supporters as follows (Suthep Thaugsuban, personal communication, December 23, 2020):

- 1) The first rally was organized for November 24, 2013 under the name "November 24: The Great Mass of Thais with One Million Hearts";
- 2) The second rally was held on December 9, 2013. A march concluded at Government House, where the PDRC demanded Yingluck Shinawatra resign from her position as caretaker prime minister and that national reforms be implemented before an election could be held.
- 3) The third rally was on December 22, 2013, with the PDRC occupying five major intersections in Bangkok's business districts for half a day.
- 4) The fourth rally was organized for January 13, 2014. Seven intersections in Bangkok's business districts were occupied for a day.
- 5) The fifth rally was held on March 29, 2014, when the PDRC arranged a march to the Royal Plaza to present offerings to and swear an oath before

the statue of King Rama V. Afterward, the assembly proceeded to the parliament building to present offerings to the statue of King Rama VII and declare the PDRC's goals.

6) The sixth rally was organized for May 9, 2014, with the PDRC announcing its campaign to oust the Yingluck Shinawatra government.

Social media like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube were widely used during the PDRC's assemblies: Protesters, the government, PDRC supporters and opponents. Suthep Thaugsuban, Yingluck Shinawatra, Jatuporn Prompan and an individual using the alias of Seh Namngoen, to name a few, all used Facebook or Twitter to communicate directly with protesters and mobilize supporters for each activity.

At the same time, the movement attracted the interest of both local and foreign mass-media outlets. However, news reports from the Cable News Network (CNN), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and other major Western mass media aggravated protesters and spurred even more social-media use.

The use of media in PDRC assemblies differed from previous demonstrations. The 2010 protest by the United Front for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD) and the 2008 and 2011 protests by the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) were reported mainly in the press — either in general or in support of the cause. The UDD's used satellite TV consisting of People's Television (PTV) (2007-08), the Democracy Station (2009) and the People Channel (2009-10), while the PAD communicated via Asia Satellite TV (ASTV) and the Manager Online website. Only journalists used social media like Twitter to report news in 2010. By contrast, the PDRC used a wide variety of channels, communicating via both mass and social media, the latter developed in concurrence with the ongoing movement. The PDRC's social media were used to mobilize supporters and provide situation updates. A few excerpts from Suthep Thaugsuban's Facebook fanpage to rally the crowd for the upcoming demonstration on May 9, 2014 is an example:

Allow me to set the time when we will unite for our final battle. I would like to reschedule from May 14 to May 9 at 9:09 am. It is an auspicious time — an auspicious moment — for us to reclaim our sovereignty. Our march to Bangkok begins now, my fellow muan mahaprachachon nationwide (Suthep Thaugsuban, May 7, 2014)

From Suthep's Facebook post of May 8, 2014:

Tomorrow begins our last muan mahaprachachon's great perseverance. This time, it is of the utmost importance. If we do not fight now, there will be no other chance. Whoever shares our views — understanding how detrimental Thaksin's control is for our country — come join us. You must. The time for lounging around is now past. If you live in the provinces — and cannot join us in time — come anyway. Because this battle will last days. For Bangkokians, let us unite. Let's fill the streets with our numbers. Their lamp is nearly burned out. Let us march out together to snuff it out. If we fail to do so, that lamp could ignite again.

We, the muan mahaprachachon, do not plan to form a political party. Once our goal is achieved — when Thailand is reformed — we will simply head back home to become just another civilian. I will not accept any office — none whatsoever. Like I said, I no longer play politics. I only want to go home and be an old kamnan (sub-district head), just another civilian.

We are here to make our demands today, we are here to demand the country's "big shots" march out. Give us a hand. Come, march with us. We must rally in great numbers and show them the people's cry now drowns out the sounds of the thieves. But if millions of us are in the streets already — have been here for days already — and still they do nothing, then it is time we take matters into our own hands. Our wait is over!

I do not know how many new pairs of pants each of us buys in our lives. But the lives of our children, must they be enslaved by this Shinawatra dynasty forever? Here we are, three prime ministers later. See how they have robbed our nation, and still folks are being considerate of them. It all falls to this, nothing else. Today, will the Shinawatra dynasty live on, or it will be completely eradicated from Thailand. Ask yourself which one.

This sacrifice is great and one to be proud of. Because this, truly, is a sacrifice made for our country. And it is possible only this time around. If we cannot triumph over Thaksin's control today, we may never have another chance. (Suthep Thaugsuban, May 8, 2014)

Excerpt from Suthep Thaugsuban's Facebook post of May 9, 2014:

Our campaign today: Rallying on seven strategic TV stations:

- 1) Channel 3: Nataphol Teepsuwan
  - 2) Channel 5: Dhamma Army, by Samdin Lertbut
  - 3) Channel 7: Issara Somchai, Buddhipongse Punnakanta and Sakontee Pattiyakul
  - 4) TV Channel 9: Chumpol Julasai, and Chitpas Kridakorn
  - 5) TV Channel 11 on Vibhavadi Rangsit Road: Thaworn Senneam
  - 6) TV Channel 11 on Phetchaburi Road: Wittaya Kaewparadai
  - 7) Government House: Suthep Thaugsuban and Akanat Promphan
- Comrades, feel free to join us at these locations.

Toward Victory!!

11:09: Muan mahaprachachon arrive at Government House. Tonight, here we rest.

13:30: Polices use teargas on Luang Pu Buddha Issara at CAPO.

14:30: Kamnan Suthep arrives at parliament to meet with the new Senate speaker.

23:00: After a day-long battle, Kamnan Suthep returns to the SNT stage, set in front of Government House, to spend the night with his compatriots. (Suthep Thaugsuban, May 9, 2014)

The researcher's interest is in how social media affected the change of information flow during existing demand from mass media for a free flow of information. Mass media's information flow was criticized as promoting cultural imperialism by Western countries that possessed technology and large amounts of funding as well as acted as a gatekeeper and sole sender of information to the public via their work processes. However, technological advances leading to the birth of social media minimized both funding needs and obstacles to accessibility. Social media enabled a direct sender-to-receiver and interactive nature of communication.

Furthermore, during the political crisis of 2013-14, the PDRC movement may have been local for the most part, but it also addressed what was perceived to be a foreign export—democracy. The political movement had largely attracted

international mass media, while social media attained widespread use among the protesters. The PDRC movement is an appropriate case study to look at social media's political function in information during the PDRC's assembly and to investigate how social media can participate in the development or change of the flow of information compared with mass media in the context of both the free flow of information and media imperialism. This study focuses on widely popular online social media including Facebook and YouTube.

## **1.2 Research Objectives**

This research aims to study the flow of political information through social media based on the PDRC movement of 2013-14 in the areas of:

- 1) The flow of information through social media during the movement;
- 2) Creation of an online public sphere to support the movement; and
- 3) The roles and reliability of the information flowing through social media.

## **1.3 Research Methodology**

This research applies a qualitative method, content analysis, to analyze both social-media content, in accordance with topics of interest, and transcriptions from in-depth interviews with communicators of both traditional and new media.

## **1.4 Scope of the Study**

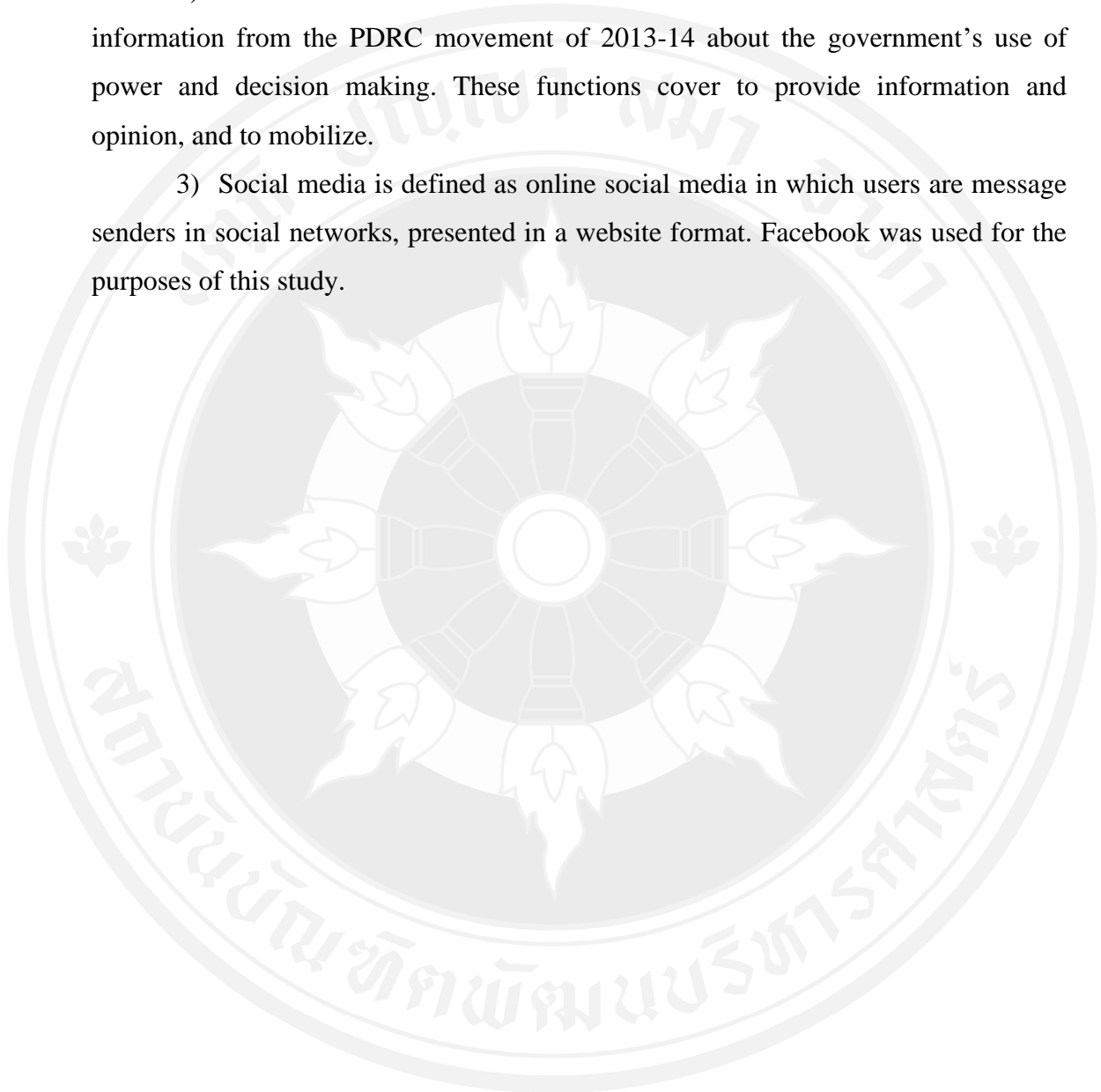
This study focuses on content that appeared on social media, particularly Facebook, during the PDRC movement of 2013-14.

## 1.5 Operational Definitions

1) Flow of information refers to the flow of local social-media information about the PDRC movement of 2013-14.

2) Political function is defined as functions of social media that related to information from the PDRC movement of 2013-14 about the government's use of power and decision making. These functions cover to provide information and opinion, and to mobilize.

3) Social media is defined as online social media in which users are message senders in social networks, presented in a website format. Facebook was used for the purposes of this study.



## 1.6 Conceptual Framework

The Flow of Information of the PDRC Movement

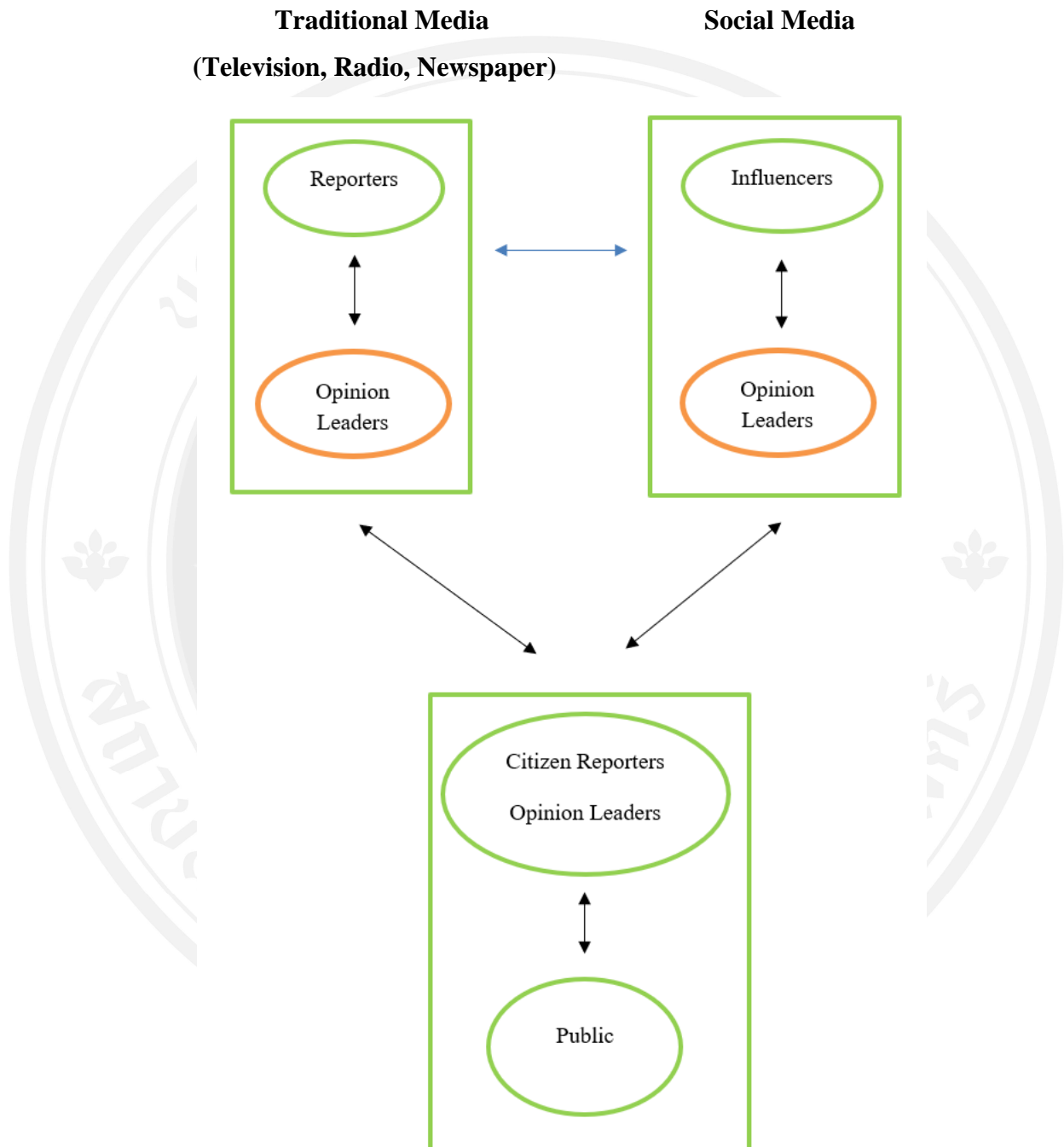


Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework

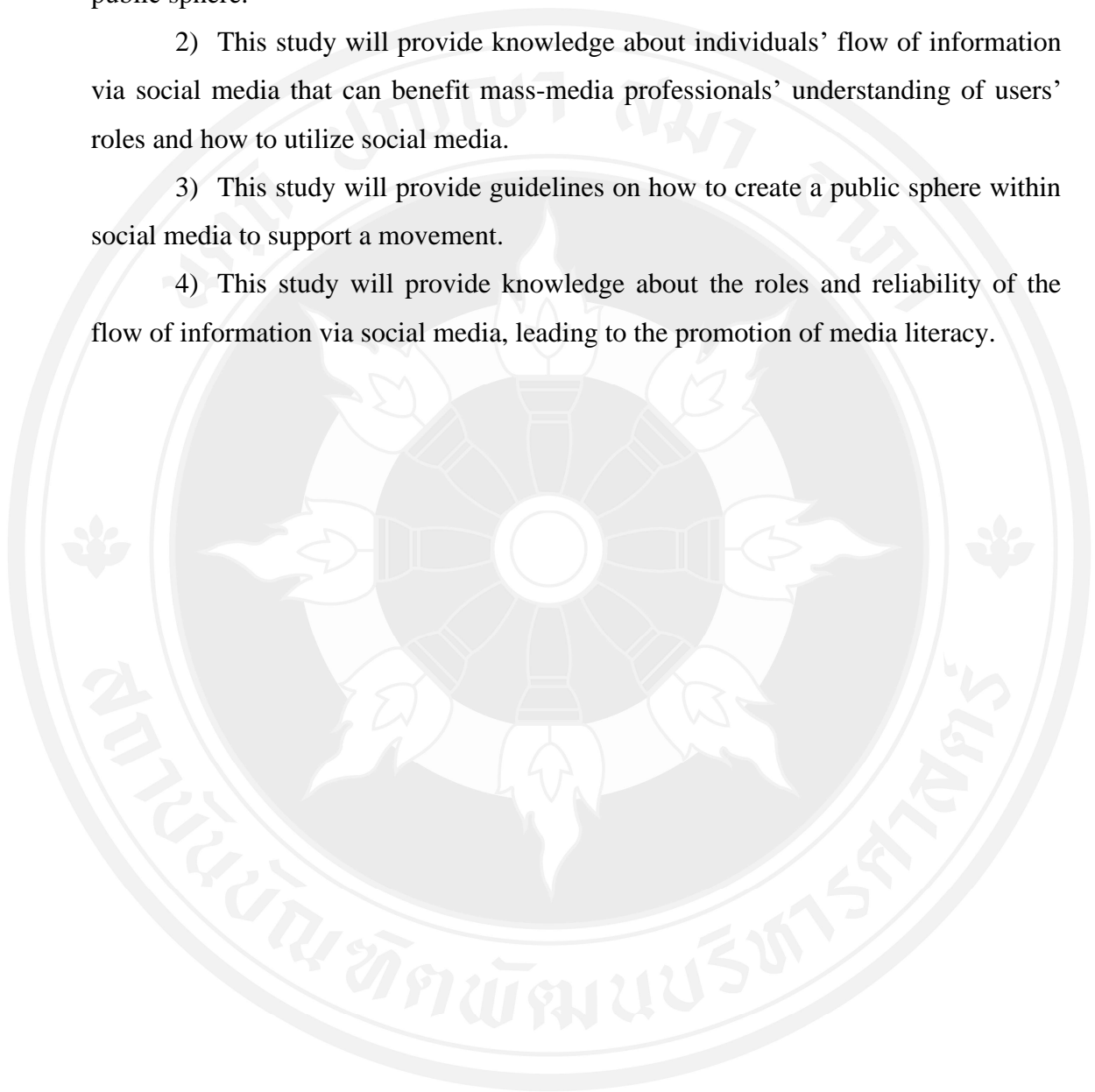
### **1.7 Expected Benefits**

1) This study will benefit government agencies' understanding of the flow of information via social media as well as the public's use of social media as a quality public sphere.

2) This study will provide knowledge about individuals' flow of information via social media that can benefit mass-media professionals' understanding of users' roles and how to utilize social media.

3) This study will provide guidelines on how to create a public sphere within social media to support a movement.

4) This study will provide knowledge about the roles and reliability of the flow of information via social media, leading to the promotion of media literacy.





## CHAPTER 2

### RELATED CONCEPTS, THEORIES AND RESEARCH

This research adopted the following concepts and theories to formulate the study's conceptual framework and guidelines:

- 2.1 Functional Theory of Mass Media
- 2.2 Concept of Social Movement
- 2.3 Concept of the Public Sphere
- 2.4 Flow of Information Concepts
- 2.5 Theory of Communication Technological Determinism
- 2.6 Related Research

#### 2.1 Functional Theory of Mass Media

Lasswell (1984, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep, 2000), an American political scientist, described the concepts and principles of the function of communication. His communication model explained an act of communication by defining:

- 1) Who
- 2) Says what
- 3) In which channel
- 4) To whom
- 5) With what effect?

In his book *The Structure and Function of Communication*, Lasswell added that mass communication had three functions (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2000, p. 213):

- 1) Surveillance by mainly monitoring events and reporting incidents that could destabilize society;
- 2) Correlation, a duty extending beyond news reporting to include interpretation, explanation and guidance so that all components of society reachable by mass media can be shaped into a united view and action; and

3) Cultural transmission, because culture, as a social asset, must be transmitted from one generation to another and preserved as a social heritage by mass media as per duty.

Wright later included “Entertainment and Recreation” as another function of mass communication.

At the same time, McQuail (2010) suggested the five functions of mass communication in his book *McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory* (2010), “Chapter 4: Theory of Media and Society” as follows:

1) Information: Mass communication continuously keeps society informed while remaining frank, impartial, independent and unprejudiced. Mass communication serves:

- (1) To report social events at the city, national and global level;
- (2) To explain and demonstrate the various power relations, offering both a holistic and an in-depth view to give people a comprehensive understanding of the message and the origin of the described event;
- (3) To promote ideas and new inventions, leading to development and social progress.

2) Correlation: Mass communication forms a collaboration between institutions and various social organizations. In addition, it acts as a liaison among different social groups to create social harmony by:

- (1) Offering explanations, interpretations and comments on reported events;
- (2) Supporting the people in power and socially accepted norms;
- (3) Disseminating ideas;
- (4) Linking activities of various social groups;
- (5) Fostering harmony and social consensus; and
- (6) Prioritizing social status.

3) Continuity: Mass communication transmits culture from one generation to another by:

- (1) Displaying mainstream culture and subculture as well as cultivating new culture;
- (2) Building basic values and preserving societal or public values.

4) Entertainment: This function of communication serves to:

- (1) Entertain receivers and demonstrate recreational methods;
- (2) Lessen social tension by easing the stress receivers gained from work or daily life.

5) Mobilization: Mass communication mobilizes people be it for socio-political campaigns, wars, the economy, work and religion. These campaigns are meant to create social movement or unite people in times of social crisis.

Using this functional theory of mass media as a guideline, the researcher investigates functions of information that flow on social media.

## **2.2 Concept of Social Movement**

### **2.2.1 Definition**

Various scholars have defined the concept of “social movement.”

Turner and Killian (1957, as cited in Srithammakul, 2020) said social movement was a continuous, collective action intended to promote or resist a change in society or the organization to which it belongs

Habermas (1981) mentions that the new social movement began just twenty years before. On the other hand, Gunder and Fuentes (1989) believes new social movements are interesting only for two new aspects they present. The first of these is a change to the definition of “politics.” Although politics was previously implicitly tied to nations, governments and political parties, this association has gravitated toward civil politics. Second, new social movements pay attention to resistance movements and civil disobedience that extend beyond one’s own country and governance to include international campaigns. This is in answer of people’s need to expand public space beyond its previous limitations and reduce the gap between the state and its people. Nevertheless, the intended results are either a regime change or a change in the social structure aimed at lessening conflict.

Omvedt (1993) points out that new social movements are social movements in the sense that they are aimed at changing society through a broad overall organizational, structural and universal ideology.

Lyman (1995) defines “social movement” as a process that creates change in ways of life and social norms, working toward objectives focused not only on social, economic and political reform but also those currently unattainable through governance with conventional attitudes and norms such as the environment and right to privacy.

Chairat Charoensin-o-larn (1999) concludes that new social movements share four characteristics. First, these movements are not solely class-based. Second, instead of demanding benefits for any particular group, new social movements focus on benefits for people from various groups and classes. Third, new social movement activists personally engage in a movement rather than through state or political mechanisms owing to a lack of faith in political parties and governmental honesty. Last, the objective of the demand is to establish “new lifestyle rules or regulations,” unlike past social movements that sought to seize state power.

In conclusion, social movements are a demand made by a group of people who aim to steer social changes in a desired direction. It is a collective action with a united social goal that appeals to participants’ conscience and promotes a social awakening. Social movements are characterized by pushes and demands in the form of resistant movements, expressions of identity and conscience building under a common cause. This is done in the belief that a movement will lead to a change in society that is desired by the activists and which may affect the value system (Srithammakul, 2020).

### **2.2.2 Types of Social Movement**

Aberlef (1966) classifies social movements into four types, as follows:

- 1) Alternative movements commonly focus on self-improvement and limited, specific changes to individual behavior and beliefs. Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), Alcoholics Anonymous and Planned Parenthood are three such examples.

- 2) Redemptive movements—sometimes known as religions movements—seek meaning. This type of movement centers on a particular section of the population with an aim to promote spiritual growth and inner change in individuals. Some sects can be classified as such.

3) Reformative social movements aim at specific changes in the social structure, although they may target an entire population for more limited change. Examples of reformative movements included the women's suffrage movement, the environmental movement and "Buy Nothing Day," a contemporary movement that challenges Black Friday's rampant consumerism.

4) Revolutionary movements aimed at entirely altering every social aspect. The goal of these movements is a dramatic change in all of society. The civil-rights movement and political movements pushing for communism are examples of revolutionary movements.

### **2.2.3 Stages of Social Movements**

The life cycle of social movements—their emergence, growth and in some instances death—has been the subject of study by sociologists. Blumer (1969) and Tilly (1978) outline the development of social movements as a four-stage process:

- 1) The preliminary stage: During this period, leaders emerge once people become aware of an issue.
- 2) The coalescence stage: During this stage, people unite and organize to raise awareness and publicize the issue.
- 3) The institutionalization stage: Grass-roots volunteerism is no longer required since it has become an established organization, typically with a paid staff.
- 4) The decline stage: This occurs when a movement succeeds in bringing about a desired change, when people no longer consider the issue relevant or when they stray and adopt a new movement. (Lumenlearning, n.d.)

Based on this ideology, the PDRC is interpreted as a social movement group aimed at some changes that were impossible given the existing system. Therefore, the movement had to communicate in order to convince people to agree with its cause and join the movement.

## 2.3 Concept of the Public Sphere

The concept “public sphere” first appeared in the work by Immanuel Kant, a modern German philosopher and became widely studied when reintroduced in 1962 by another German scholar, Jürgen Habermas, in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*.

### 2.3.1 Definition

Public sphere is a compound term composed of “sphere” and “public” (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2010, pp. 372-388).

#### 1) The meaning of “sphere”

“Sphere” has both physical and abstract connotations. From a physical perspective, sphere is an area with clear boundary such as areas in factories, houses, temples, malls, televisions and computer screens.

From an abstract point of view, sphere indicates an abstract stage which is used for political, economic, social and cultural benefits. Not only can this stage be occupied, it is constantly being contested for. A footpath is an example from daily life. When it is occupied by hawkers, it becomes an economic sphere. It also transforms into a political sphere when hawkers are arrested by police on its premise, or when occupied by demonstrators on their journey to Bangkok.

It is in an abstract sense then that all sphere of mass media — whether they are newspapers, radios, televisions, magazines, music on a website — become a “public sphere” that is constantly occupied and contested for.

#### 2) The meaning of “Public”

The word “public” is similar to “collective” and opposite to “private.” Its meaning extends to the benefits of people as a whole which may either conform or conflict with a personal interest.

Like “sphere,” “public” has both physical and abstract meanings. To give a concrete example, a public construction like a public park, everyone can access and use public parks, and shares ownership and care. An abstract example can be community leaders or people with public consciousness who rather work for collective interest than personal interest.

Combining the two words, Habermas defines “public sphere” as being related to the “sense of public.” To a democratic society, public sphere is most crucial because it provides each people on its premise the status of an “actor” who equally participates in decision making using communication rationality to find the best solution that does not rest on individuals’ power or long-standing traditions.

### 2.3.2 Public Sphere in Habermas’s View

Habermas explained “public sphere” by building on the existing ideas of other philosophers from late-modern age such as Hegel, Marx, and Grunsi who divided public sphere into two parts, each of which differed by their operational mechanisms and characteristics

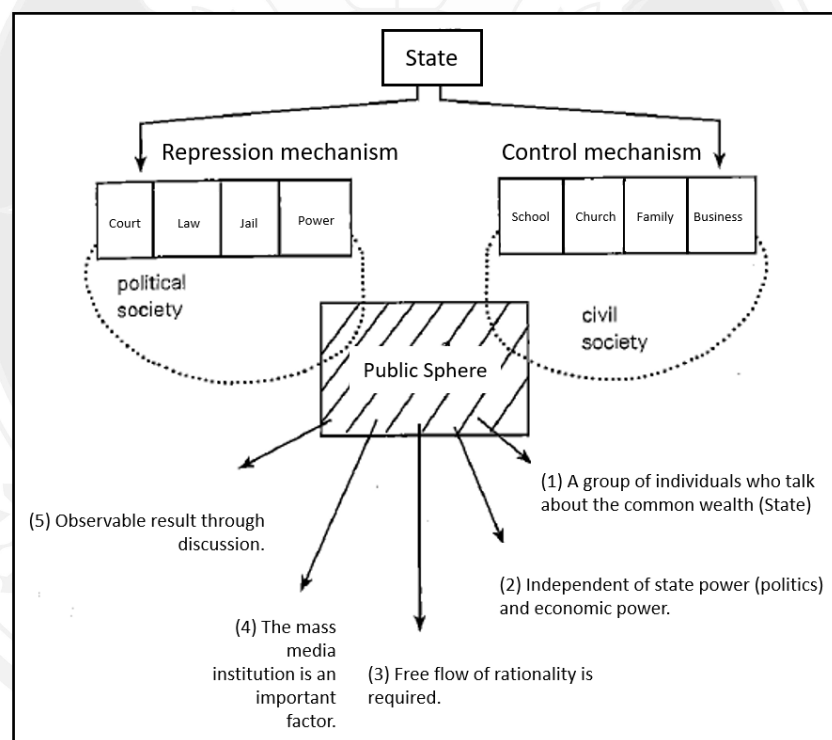


Figure 2.1 Public Sphere in Habermas’s View

### 2.3.3 Public Sphere’s Location

Hegel divided space into two parts through the benchmark of “public” and “private.” Matters concerning public interest such as politics exist in public space

which is called a political society. Gramsci further extended that political society used a state mechanism called “repressive apparatus,” including courts, laws, the police, the army, the parliament, political parties, and prisons.

An individual’s space for private use is called “civil society,” including a family life, work life and cultural life. Civil society functions through an “ideological apparatus” such as religious teachings, culture cultivation through mass media and parental disciplinary.

Habermas suggested “public sphere” of the 17th century to be an intermediate space that connected political society and civil society together. For example, a type of coffee joint known as a coffeehouse forum in a living room of an aristocrat or in a pub seems to represent a “private space.” However, people often discuss “public” matters like politics or national affairs within their boundaries. In this manner, it becomes a “public sphere,” like a political discussion program on TV, newspapers, or radio broadcastings in Habermas’s view.

Public sphere has five key elements.

- 1) It allows a group of individuals who willingly participate in a discussion on public matters while aiming for public interest rather than personal gain.
- 2) It is not dominated by powers of any kind — whether it is power of the state or the church (from the 17th century), or economic power (from the 20th century).
- 3) It allows a free flow of rationality, and free from all privileges (birthright or rank).
- 4) Mass media institution such as newspapers, radio broadcastings, or televisions serves as a supporting factor that makes a discussion possible, because mass media contents are inherently public and serve as groundwork for constructive discussions.
- 5) The discussion brings about certain changes rather than serves as an “intellectual masturbation.” All deliberations must therefore be followed by actions: for example, a submission of feedback reports to authorized persons or an open letter.



### 2.3.4 Public Sphere's Development

In The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, Habermas applies 'historical materialism' to investigate public sphere of various ages and divides it into three eras: 1) Feudal period, 2) From 17th to 18th century during which the bourgeoisie competed for state power, and 3) From 19th to 20th century during which the bourgeoisie had control of state power.

#### 1) Feudal Period

The characteristics of public sphere during this period follow the diagram below.

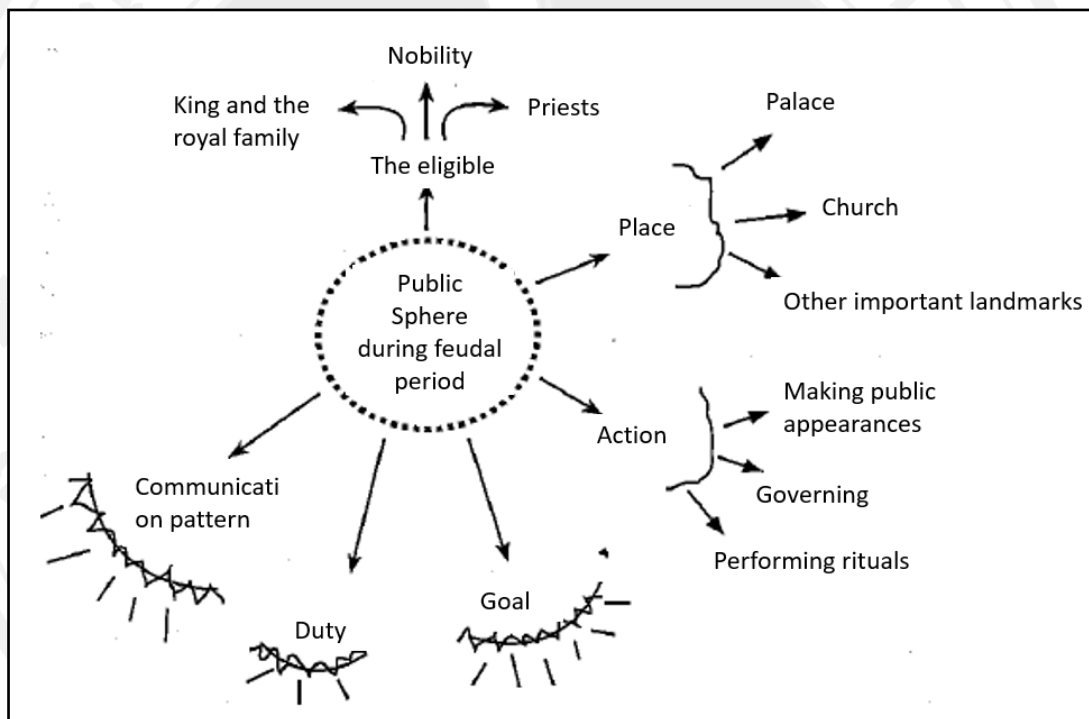


Figure 2.2 Public Sphere during Feudal Period

Public Sphere during Feudal Period was:

- (1) The eligible for privilege classes such as king, the royal family, nobilities, and priests at
- (2) Places like palaces, churches, and other important landmarks where

(3) Actions such as making public appearance to gain people's favor, governing, and performing rituals happened with

(4) Goals to exercise one's privilege or power to make public decisions. These were

(5) Duties of public sphere to monopolize knowledge, power, public propaganda and broadcasting. At the same time, it forbade common people from participating despite them being affected.

(6) Communication patterns were uni-directional, flowing from top to bottom and the center outward.

## 2) From 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Century

The bourgeoisie was a social class that was previously forbidden from participating in the traditional public sphere which was once owned by kings, nobilities and priests. They had grown wealthier from their trading. They were also better educated—having learnt how to read, write, and print—and possessed modern equipment as a result of scientific advancements. Albeit all male, the bourgeoisie was composed of merchants, craftsmen, medium-level noblemen and scholars. They formed their own “modern public sphere” described by these following characteristics:

(1) The eligible for the bourgeoisie such as merchants, craftsmen, professionals, and scholars who referred to themselves “citizen.” They rarely include the lower class. The bourgeoisie attended

(2) Places like coffee houses, taverns, and living rooms, or salons in French, of well-to-do households. These areas operated outside king's or religion's authority because they were part of civil society. Concerning

(3) Actions, the bourgeoisie regularly met for open rational discussions on state's various administrative laws. These debates happened under the principle of equality of which

(4) Goals were to create a stage where citizens could participate and decide on public issues that affected the collective; and to ascertain that the outcomes of any decisions were not based on the personal opinions of those in authority. Instead, all decisions had been through careful deliberations. Not only did these

(5) Duties of public sphere, stemmed from meetings and subsequent exchanges of opinions, create conversations, but also to translate the results from these intellectual contests into actions. Public sphere, therefore, served as the bourgeoisie's political battlefield because it became one of the channels that allowed the bourgeoisie to participate and voice their opinions in "public life," at the same time offered an inspection mechanism and a check and balance on the government power.

(6) Communications in any conversations needed to be supported by good and sufficient information. From 17th-18th century, the formation of newspaper had made the medium central to news input, an incoming source, and created a stage, an outgoing source, for the bourgeoisie to express themselves. The communication was bidirectional and stretched in all directions.

Habermas concluded that the bourgeoisie's public sphere, lasting from 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century, functions with great efficiency as it was an important tool that was used by the bourgeoisie to overthrow feudalism in countries such as France, US and England.

### 3) From 19<sup>th</sup> to 20th Century

Having overthrown feudalism and ascended to state power, the bourgeoisie's victory turned public sphere into an ineffectual tool. The concept was hardly completely dismissed. Instead, Habermas discovered that the bourgeoisie redefined their public sphere to possess these following features.

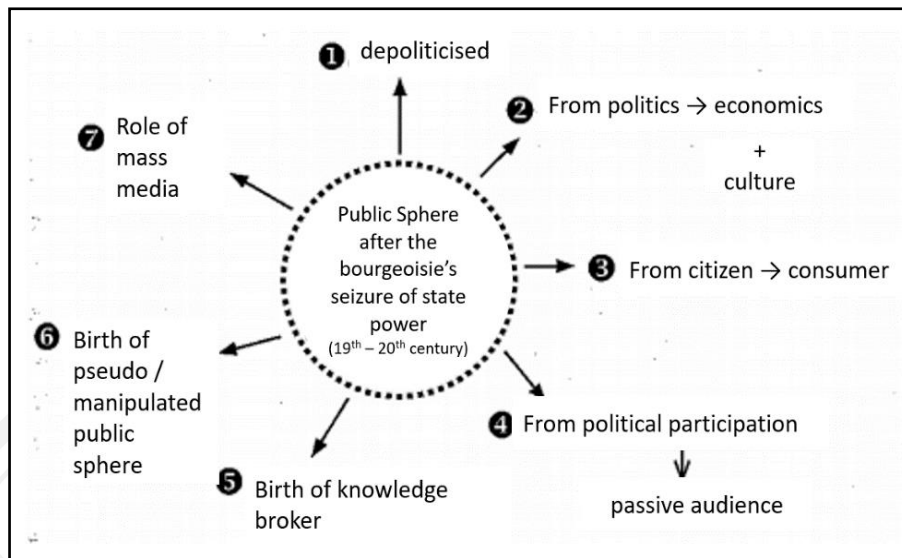


Figure 2.3 Public Sphere after the Bourgeoisie's Seizure of State Power

### Public Sphere after the Bourgeoisie's Ascension to Power

#### (1) Depoliticized area

Post-victory, the bourgeoisie, with the power of the state in their hands, redefined the meaning of public sphere from a “politicized area” to “depoliticized area”. In turn, the removal of a political dimension from areas such as public parks, malls, or other recreational areas had also changed the features they formerly possessed.

(2) From a political dimension to an economic, social and cultural dimension

Not only had the bourgeoisie made their first strategic move by redefining public sphere's features and meaning, their second move was to gradually shift public sphere's center from a “political dimension” to an “economic, social and cultural dimension.” The building of malls, amusement parks, science parks, concert halls, and movie theaters, for instance, has turned the gathering of people in public sphere into a search for enjoyment or knowledge, or expenditures.

#### (3) From “citizen” to “consumer”

This transition was a result of the previous dimensional change. As public sphere re-centered, shifting from political dimension to economic, social and cultural dimension, people's status similarly changed from “citizen” to “consumer”

because “citizen” was defined in political perimeter whereas “consumer” was defined in economic perimeter.

Nicholas Garnham (1995) further explains that the two statuses differ vastly. “Citizen” has a collective significance. As members of the community, citizens have rights and duties to act for public good. In contrast, “consumer” implies privacy or individualism. Each consumer has the right to purchase which is dictated by their “purchasing power.” Each must also protect the private interest according to the principle of consumption.

By this definition, even in the political perimeter where votes are bought and politicians themselves are products, voters are possibly merely political consumers.

#### (4) From “political participation” to “passive audience”

An observation on public sphere history from 17th–18th century revealed that people, in their role as “citizen” in political perimeter, actively participated in politics.

Political perimeters and underlying stories certainly exist in present society. Habermas suggests that the altered public sphere has created a circumstance that separates politically involved individuals into two groups. The first group becomes political parties who diligently engage in politics. The second group consists of eligible voters with the conscience and status of political consumers which were previously mentioned.

Despite being receptive to public information, status of people as “political consumer” has created an invisible social insulator rendering them indifferent. Because a “political consumer” status is private and individualistic; and is mainly dominated by a “none-of-my-business” mentality. The lack of public concern has made the experience similar to an act of watching a grenade being thrown on television; yet, viewers are never fearful of blast fragments. The insulator has caused passive information exposure which lacks the power to force reactions such as arguments or public participation in all three dimensions: cognitive (the lack of comments), emotion (the lack of empathy), and action (the lack of responses).

(5) The birth of “knowledge broker”

The modern age’s “division of labor” does not apply only to factories, but has expanded into every parts of societies, institutions and perimeters, adhering to the principle of instrumental rationality which identifies the system as most efficient. Concerning public sphere, the removal of its political dimension has consequently eliminated the stage to build knowledge and political reasons for the people. At the same time, it seems “a political party”, more or less, is tied to an interest of particular groups. As a result, demands for ideas, decisions, and updates on political news are answered by a new group called “specialist”, a unique trait of a society with a high division of labor. People delegate their duties to specialists, creating what is known as a “representative system”. This means the people, as political consumers, leave public matters in the hands of political professionals namely a “spatial interest group” or “knowledge broker” by Habermas. Examples of these include professional politicians, lobbyists, senior people, and political analysts for newspapers, radio or televisions.

These specialists stay up-to-date on news; analyze, comment and offer opinions on public matters: For instance, is the coup justified, or what are the solutions to the national dilemma? However, it remains a question whether these professional opinions truly conform to the public interest. In other words, do their opinions truly carry enough weight to force a real change?

(6) The birth of pseudo-public sphere

Having removed from the traditional public sphere’s real and important qualities, the 20th century public sphere is only a pseudo-public sphere. Political actions by political actors such as politicians, government or their opposition in pseudo-public sphere are focused mainly on the theater, fame, fashion, personality and image. Although, as observers, people may have opinions, thoughts and feelings, they have no channels through which to participate publicly.

In other cases, a stage for “political drama” may be set up. Such public sphere is monopolized, all decisions are dictated, and is called “manipulated public sphere.” Instead of providing a scene for debate like public sphere of the 17th century, the 20th century public sphere exists for the theatrical and political rituals performed by political actors; and provides the collective with no firm results. A

parliament meeting is one such example. All things considered, this public sphere hardly differs from feudal public sphere; therefore, is named “refeudalisation of public sphere” by Habermas.

#### (7) Role of mass media in public sphere

Based on the facts above, Habermas concluded that the development of mass media roles is one crucial variable which characterize public sphere.

At the beginning of 17th century, the roles of mass media—newspapers, mainly—was most crucial to the formation of public sphere. Among the various characteristics of newspapers that contributed to public sphere was its awareness of its mission: newspapers existed and operated for collective interests. Moreover, consumption of newspapers—an act like sharing newspapers in coffee joints or living rooms—was a collective consumption.

However, mode of media consumption nowadays has grown increasingly more private. Newspapers are bought to be read at home. Similarly, the act of listening to a radio or watching a television, almost all occur at home. This is partly a result from increased media production. This new mode of media consumption has decreased the opportunity for collective discussion which is public sphere’s major characteristic.

Other than the change in mode of media consumption, moving from being “public” to “private,” Habermas also suggested that the goal of mass media themselves had changed immensely. In the beginning, newspapers’ main goal was to participate in politics in order to bring about social changes; thus called “political press”. However, social changes as much as an expansion of newspaper have seen newspapers diverting its goal toward commerce instead; thus called “commercial press”. In sum, nowadays newspapers have grown increasingly less and less involved in the formation of public sphere.

Concerning goals that continue to be public-related, Habermas analyzed that, as a knowledge broker, mass media takes on the important role of building and transferring culture from one generation to another. Mass media has the potential as a status conferral agent which means it can turn an “expert” into a “celebrity”. As a result, hardly is there any socially accepted experts whose status had

not been previously conferred by various types of mass media. In this sense, mass media acts like public sphere where the intellectuals, academics, specialists from various professions, including mass media personnel themselves speak in the name of the “public.” Discussion programs are such examples.

(8) Role of communication with respect to public sphere

Were democratic society to be Habermas’s hope of liberating human beings—it should be noted that, unlike his political-economic predecessors, a socialist state is not Habermas’s route—Habermas insists that “public sphere” must exist as one important component. The question is, “Which public sphere?”

Habermas proposed that only the public sphere of 17th–18th century was truly practical. Therefore, we should retrace our steps and recreate such a public sphere. He also offers other suggestions:

a) To begin with, various forms of public sphere must be created. This is to ensure that people from all groups, each possessing different interest, can access different types of public sphere and truly profit from them. Essentially, certain groups of people may have found public sphere inaccessible, had there been only one type of public sphere.

b) Public sphere must not be turned into rigid organizations or institutions under the influence of bureaucratic system. Instead, public sphere must become a network which allows a full flow of information.

c) Public sphere should elicit communicative action, of which activities focus on building new conscience and new feeling for the people so that they transcend “individualism”. This new feeling is called “ethic of compassion” which means an understanding of other people’s emotions, feelings and needs, asking individuals to wear someone else’s shoes and empathize with their situation. Mass media has proven that it has the potential to evoke shared feelings for the fate of fellow human beings as demonstrated in the emotional “We are the World” campaign, tsunami supports, or a global warming mitigation.

d) An efficient use of public sphere to create democracy depends on two factors: 1) quality of the communication and 2) quantity of participation. Habermas suggested that various forms of organizations or social



groups be created to act as mediators for the participations which can take the form of communities, forums, public hearings, or community radios, for example.

### **2.3.5 Are Electronic Media Capable of Creating Public Sphere?**

It appears the answer already exists. Nowadays, electronic media like radios and televisions have created new public sphere of which aspects have diverted from the traditional public sphere. For instance, it moves into the perimeters of sport, culture, or other important events. Scholars like Paddy Scannell (1986) became interested in studying the role of electronic media, particularly computer media, on the creation of new public sphere. Its interactive nature has made computer media suitable as topics for discussion despite the media being a mediated communication and not a face-to-face communication. In sum, it is an interesting development to observe how this refeudalisation of “public” sphere in a computer era will progress.

#### 1) The National and Global Boundaries of Public Sphere

Historically, the concept of “public sphere”, even in Habermas’s works, remained limited to a national level. Nevertheless, the modern world since 1950 has seen thoughts, events and various issues overflowing globally. Clear everyday life examples come from mass media sector, including the Hollywood film industry, and CNN news. No nation states can decide on their internal affair without having first considered the international implications. Examples such as Thailand’s IMF program, or China’s suppression of Chinese university students at Tiananmen Square demonstrated an international influence over each country’s nation state. It is therefore impossible of public sphere to escape transnational phenomenon.

The advancement in communication technologies such as satellite and cable has formed an important base that connect all dimensions of economic, political, and cultural systems at a global level. In everyday life, we observe a social phenomenon in which a group of country leaders or elites always keep up-to-date of international news. An event such as the 1992 Black May, while was prohibited by Thai government from being broadcasted, was still presented by international mass media worldwide. Thairath newspaper, on the other hands, offers a space — public sphere—on their newspaper for Thais living overseas. Even though, physically, they remain “at distance”, they still have “intimate” link to national social movements. As

a result, Thai people who are living oversea continue to have the electoral vote legitimacy. For that matter, social movements must have an “international” element.

## 2) The Role of Alternative Media

Habermas’s study is attentive to only two particular communication systems: A group communication such as those taking place in coffee joints, taverns, or living rooms; and mass communication such as newspapers which do not only receive information input, but also provide a channel for group expressions in public sphere.

Even so, present world has spotted new, emerging communication system such as the birth of community forum, fan clubs, interest groups, and other social networks. All of these communication systems operate completely outside state and economic power. Therefore, alternative media become an interesting option concerning the creation of public sphere of which quality closely reflect the original public sphere of 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## 3) Virtual Public Sphere

As affirmed by Habermas, the original communication system must be face-to-face communication. However, advancements in communication technologies of current age have surpassed both space and time. Mobile phones and the Internet, for instance, have connected people over great physical distance and allowed them to communicate simultaneously. As a result, the idea that “public sphere” must possess a physical characteristic—being an area that exists in a real world—may be extended to include the discussions in “virtual public sphere” as well.

Nowadays, various phenomenon have demonstrated that the working pattern of “virtual public sphere” closely resemble the once suggested model of public sphere, discounting the need to be physically present. Chat rooms that discuss various public issues on websites are such examples.

It is the advancements in communication technologies that give scholars in futurology the hope of replacing representative democracy with direct democracy. The use of representative democracy has stayed prevalent in human society for more than hundreds of years as a result of the limitations of time and place since it is not possible for all the people in any nation to give their opinions at the same time. However, digital communication technologies such as the Internet and mobile phones

have made direct democracy seem conceivable when members of the society can all vote directly, rather than through representatives.

Before each social member can exercise their right to create a mechanism to prevent people from acting only as “political consumer” but to turn them into “citizen,” the public sphere must first exist to offer a stage for constative speech acts. Ultimately, people need the opportunity to engage in practical rationality which is considered an essential, indispensable condition (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2010, pp. 383-388).

The concept of public sphere assist this study in explaining how social media functions to create political public sphere.

## **2.4 Flow of Information Concepts**

Following are concepts related to the flow of information.

### **2.4.1 The Free Flow of Information**

Herbert I. Schiller (1919-2000) saw the free flow of information as a post-Cold War concept that the US, through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), actively and continuously promoted. The US claimed that mass media from all countries was part of a free market’s economic system. Consequently, all people and nations should be at liberty to share and consume information freely. The control of mass media was considered a barrier to communication channels aimed at liberating people. To give an example, the US pointed to Hitler’s information blockade during World War II and the use of mass media to promote Nazism, eventually leading to Germany’s Holocaust.

In Schiller’s view, the free flow of information was part of a strategy to dominate Third World countries and give transnational media corporations an opportunity to seize colonial countries’ communication spaces. This led to inequalities and a unidirectional flow of information, usually originating from the US (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2010, pp. 104-105).

### 2.4.2 Media Imperialism

When considering the real global message senders, almost all were US media conglomerates and few in number. In turn, it was clear that global messages originated only from a handful of senders. The flow of information among countries globally, therefore, was greatly unbalanced.

The major reasons behind unbalanced communication between two countries were:

- 1) An unbalanced power resource of both countries; and
- 2) A cultural invasion by the more dominating country.

As a result, this unbalanced flow of information resulted in a movement in Latin America against cultural imperialism starting in the 1970s. Mass media scholars started to criticize US interference with the political and cultural aspects of its people.

During that period, Hollywood movies and US comics influenced Latin American society. Mattelart, a Belgian sociologist working in Chile, and Dorfman, a Chilean writer, pushed the idea of cultural imperialism in their book, *How to Read Donald Duck* (1971), which attacked the US and Hollywood perspectives of the world. This similarly acted as a warning sign to create awareness among the Latin Americans on US cultural imperialism (Wipa Uttamachan, 1998).

Furthermore, Schiller, who was praised for laying the groundwork for theories on mass-media imperialism and cultural domination, explained his view in a book entitled *Mass Communications and American Empire* (1969) that economic and cultural expansion of the US through media into other countries was an attempt to insert its own ideology into other societies' cultures and thus undermine local cultures.

Schiller's important ideas can be summarized thus (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2010, pp. 103-105):

- 1) The relationship between the US mass-media system and socio-economic structure

Schiller found the US mass-media industry to be one part of the production structure under American capitalism -- that is, almost all US mass media were controlled by an alliance between the US Army and groups of businessmen. Since US mass media was circulated globally, they became part of an imperialist

system for these interest groups. For example, many Hollywood war movies or fantasy movies were often supported by US political institutions and served as a tool to justify US imperialism. These movies included Pearl Harbor, Independence Day, War of the Worlds and Superman.

## 2) Media Imperialism

The old imperialism of the nineteenth century formed a pattern in which Western colonizers employed their armies and gunboats to seize political power from nation states in Latin America, Asia and Africa. This was done in hopes that any successful seizures of state political power would eventually gain Western countries the status of economic and cultural colonizers. However, in the mid-twentieth century, many of these colonies started liberating themselves from their colonizers. Additionally, the end of World War II saw a power decline among Western European countries, as opposed to the US, which began to build its political economy strength. In turn, the post-war US sought to form a neo-imperialist scheme by altering its strategy from geographic domination to focusing on cultural domination instead. This design, with the US its mainstay, was well known as “Cultural Imperialism” or “Cultural Domination.”

## 3) Industrialization of Information and Culture

Under media imperialism, news and various cultures were industrialized. They attained the status of global cultural goods that were manufactured, distributed and widely consumed in great quantities. Examples of these industries included the Hollywood film industry, CNN news, various television documentaries from National Geographic and the Discovery Channel and online businesses such as Amazon.com. Nowadays, media imperialism and its industrialization began to flow from the US to other new colonizing countries. Growth in the South Korean entertainment industry, in films, music, television series and international concerts, is one example of regional imperialism.

## 4) Transnational Media Corporations

US media imperialism, as well as that of Western Europe, Japan and South Korea, was capable of expanding to dominate colonies’ mental and cultural space. Schiller explained that an important tool chosen by colonizing countries was transnational media corporations including news agencies such as AP and CNN, Walt

Disney's international animation studio and prominent advertising agencies like Lintas, McCann-Erikson and Ogilvy & Mathers. All of these attempted to push US news and cultural goods onto other countries.

On the other hand, anti-cultural imperialism movements in Latin America proliferated to other Third World countries. In consequence, there was a demand that global communications be reorganized through a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). The main supporters of this movement were non-aligned countries, consisting of former colonies and countries that were semi-colonial at the time. These countries opposed neo-imperialism's use of language, education and mass media as its tools. Intending to defend national sovereignty and local cultures, these countries proposed a balanced flow of information between countries in both direction and quantity (Wipa Uttamachan, 1998).

Post-1990 scholars did not view the US as the sole manufacturer of messages. Canada and Australia were establishing themselves as exporters of television programs to regional viewers who shared a similar language and culture (Wipa Uttamachan, 1998).

Some scholars point out that considering the characteristics of media markets in this changed world and principles of media production for merchandising together, the information that circulates around the world is universal and fits with market conditions. Media markets were formerly limited, so senders created messages that targeted local receivers and rarely gave any thought to international receivers, but all business nowadays relies on international markets. Likewise, media markets increasingly tailor their messages to international receivers. The structure of media corporations has altered from being transnational to multinational including resource management. Media merchandise was therefore the total product of senders who understood the needs of international receivers.

Smith, a British scholar, said while it is true that human beings' various cultures and ideologies have been affected by only a few giant media corporations, technological advancements grant opportunities to many small and medium-sized enterprises. These enterprises could then compete with the media giants and serve as a mouthpiece for local people.

Roland Robertson on the other hand conceptualized his understanding of the nature and process of media exchange and social change in the era of globalization, calling it “glocalization,” the practice of conducting business according to both local and global considerations. He believed that compared with globalization, this idea could explain the world’s societal and cultural dimensions more extensively. Therefore, instead of cultural imperialism, he suggested glocalization as an alternative.

Glocalization explains cultural changes from a historical dimension, saying that none of the cultures in this world exist in isolation. Whenever a more powerful society encounters a smaller village society, the dominated society tends to change its societal structure and cultural pattern to support the dominating society’s standards. Nevertheless, resistance to complete capitulation persists under the process of domination and assimilation. This school of thought also gives the example of a historical event where the dominating society, instead of forcing its culture onto the subjugated society, sometimes embraces its culture instead. When Han Chinese, for example, were conquered by the Mongols and the Manchus, its culture was not devoured but rather the Chinese incorporated those cultures into its own (Wipa Uttamachan, 1998).

The researcher applies these concepts to study how the new communications technology of online social media affects the flow of information.

## **2.5 Theory of Communication Technological Determinism**

Communication Technological Determinism Theory or the Toronto School is based on the political economy theory regarding superstructure and infrastructure. The nature of the relationship between these two sections is that the economic infrastructure always determines values, ideologies, and social institutions of the superstructure. The Toronto School mainly focuses on the study of technological innovation driving communications and changing society.

### **2.5.1 Definition of Technology**

The Toronto School defines the term “technology” differently from others that limit its boundary only at its technique dimension, or all modern or contemporary tools, machines and intellectual instruments. Marshall McLuhan of the Toronto School (McLuhan, 1964) concludes that technology is a process of the extensions of man or a process of potential extension of human beings that needs certain knowledge and skill. There is nothing that is a technology in itself but it depends on people’s condition. (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2010).

### **2.5.2 Nature and Characteristics of Communication Technological Determinism**

Although scholars of the Toronto school paid attention to this theory differently, they shared some common perspectives. According to McQuail (2005, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2010), they are as follows:

- 1) Communication technology is the foundation of every society.

The Toronto school believes that human beings need to communicate and a communication technology is essential for interactions. Another belief is communication technology will be the foundation to maintain the existence of society of each time period.

- 2) Each type of communication technology will be suitable for each social structure differently.

For instance, in the agricultural society, the communication needed is a local communication technology that is related to ceremonies, beliefs, or oral history; while in the industry society, mass media that can produce and distribute a massive amount of messages will be needed. On the other hand, the digital media and the Internet are appropriate for a society that needs speed and information accessibility.

- 3) The development of communication technology comprises three stages almost regularly: Invention, application, and control.

- 4) The revolution of communication technology will lead to a social revolution.

Harold Innis, a prominent academic from the Toronto School, believed that the changing of communication technology is always the prime mover of social



revolution. To illustrate this, after the invention of a printing press by Johan Gutenberg, the bible and other printings were circulated throughout Europe, Western civilization emerged into gigantic transformation, for example, the exploration to other regions and colonialism, the revolution of science and industry.

#### 5) The impact of changes in media technology

The Toronto school explained the development of media technology would always drive to changes in the perception of time, space, and human perception.

### **2.5.3 Concepts of Scholars in the School of Communication**

#### **Technological Determinism**

##### 2.5.3.1 Concepts of Harold Adams Innis

Harold Adams Innis, a pioneer scholar of the School, focused on the impact on society at the macro scale by connecting media studies with technology, history, and culture of each society. (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2010, pp. 33-138).

The major concepts of Innis are summarized as follows:

1) The relations between social civilization and modes of communication.

Innis analyzed that social civilization is always correlated with modes of communication. In the past, upon reaching a kind of knowledge advancement, stone inscription technology was discovered. That period, political and social power was in a hand of the king. Later, when the society created a new invention for recording messages on paper, political and social power moved from the king to monks or priests. Changes occurred with the making of printing, monopolized power started to reduce.

2) The relations between modes of communication and power structure in society.

Innis were interested in the expanding of the imperial system and explained that spreading of the imperial power was not only military capability but also uses of communication technology. Only nations or powerful elites with efficient communication technologies can expand an empire across space widely. On

the other hand, the wider communication systems can expand, the more marginalized people are overshadowed.

3) The power of elites and the control of communication technology.

Although communication technology can lead to an advancement of economy and society, due to Marxism influence, Innis believes that there is no any technology that can be created or applied equally or so called “egalitarianism.” On the other hand, communication technology is often the tool of some groups or elites to dominate and control the majority of people in society.

4) Media technology and social power changes

Innis believes every communication technology change always affect changes in a social power structure. This power change does not transfer power across classes, but only among the leading class. He concluded that the more advanced or developed new media technology is, the more centralized powerful upper class will become. On the other hand, such technologies will lead to an increase in audience.

5) Concepts on time and space orientation of media

Innis found that different kinds of media possess different time and space biased. Old media technologies, such as narration and folklore, tend to be time-biased and highlight insight and sustainability for inheritance from generation to generation. This nature is highly conservative and focuses on communication within a small community. For example, parents transfer their cooking knowledge to children in their households or teachings only in the royal court. While newer technology, i.e. mass media is space-biased or it emphasizes the spreading to larger lands and focuses on the future than the present. It pays attention to business purposes mainly such as cooking books, cooking journals, cooking television programs.

Innis explained in terms of politics that the time-biased media emphasize the power preserving of traditional authority. Differently, the space-biased media are interested in communicating to a large number of people in different areas for expanding power of the empire.

### 2.5.3.2 Concepts of Marshall McLuhan

Marshall McLuhan, the Canadian professor of English literature, focuses on media power at the micro scale or the relationship between effects and individuals (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2010, p. 141)

McLuhan defined “media” as a process of extending human abilities or media technology as a tool to increase human senses. For example, a telephone is for increasing hearing ability and television is for increasing vision ability. People can see scenes or images from every corner of the world. McLuhan summarized communication technological determinism on three dimensions:

- 1) The effect on time dimension, i.e. a message can be recorded on media across time or media can shorten communication time, such as palm-leaf manuscripts, diaries, satellite imagery.
- 2) The effect on space dimension, i.e. media that can overpower the space, such as using a pigeon as a message carrier, letters, telegrams, the World Wide Web.
- 3) The effect on human experience, i.e. televisions and movies allow us to see something we have never seen before.

McLuhan argued that every time new media take place in a society, these media will always organize human ideology systems and state of mind in these three dimensions.

McLuhan’s work was an important turning point in the question of communication theory, especially the concepts “The Medium is the Message.” and “The Global Village”

The main concepts of McLuhan are summarized as follows:

- 1) The Medium is the Message

For McLuhan, the impact of communication on individuals and societies does not come from the content, but from the consequences of media features.

For example, the light bulb is a medium without any messages, however, light bulbs can have an enormous impact on human beings. It can provide a new perception of space and nighttime. It makes the night shine brightly that is not different from the day. In the case of television, McLuhan believes that the content of

children's programs, or violent programs are not important because the effects on the audience and society come from media characters.

McLuhan was not interested what we experienced through the media, but instead focused on analyzing how we experienced the world. The substance is not as important as the medium because every changing of media technology always affect the content. The message of a novel is not essential because the media will come to define the substance of that novel. The characters of printing novels are imagined by readers but the characters of the soap operas on the television which produced from printing novels, are created by directors.

Additionally, not only the medium determines the message, it also determines the reception and perception, or even the personality of the receiver.

## 2) Media and the Global Village

The Global Village means a process of connecting people, cultures, economics, politics, and information that stay apart in society into one or the same culture.

McLuhan explained that the main changes in communication technology that are linked with people and cultures across borders happened twice. The first time occurred when human beings created the innovation like paper, wheels and roads to shrink time-space distancing. It is a connection with distant local communities and gradually reduces the consciousness of being individual villages and communities to one same village. At the same time, by such innovations, some interest groups can centralize their power to the distant area, i.e. using paper and wheels for extending power of Roman Empire because paper can convey the message of the king across the lands and wheels are used for moving people from one land to another land.

However, McLuhan emphasized that the main factors of changes driving in the back were global standardization of time and monetary mechanisms.

The second change in the global communication system happened because of the development of electronic media technology. Especially, the main factor of these changes was the speed after the emergence of electric systems that were connected around the world. After that, transportation and communications were developed to be faster and broadened wider human experiences than the first wave.

We can, for example, receive information from televisions or the Internet networks more rapidly than from reading a newspaper. The advancement of communication via electronic media and rapid transportation leads to unifying human experiences or the thing that McLuhan calls “implosion.” It means making individuals, anywhere they are on earth, share the same experiences and events that happen simultaneously from distance through electronic communication systems. Finally, it pushes people to reorganize a new global system into a global village.

The uniqueness of news production and consumption in the global village consists of three qualities:

- 1) Synchrony, the perception of same information and culture all over the world;
- 2) Simultaneity, the simultaneous perception of information and culture, no matter where each group of communicators are;
- 3) Immediacy, the rapid perception of information and culture.

#### 2.5.3.3 Concepts of Everett M. Rogers

Rogers was not a scholar of critical theory, however, he considered himself a soft technological determinist. (Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2010)

As a soft technological determinist, Rogers identified that communication technology factors in coordinated with other factors are joint prime movers in the procedure of social revolution. In other words, communication technology is the key factor in changing social nature; however, this factor needs to work with other factors of society.

Besides, Rogers analyzed some other major characteristics of new media, i.e. computers. He emphasized that the new media arised at the middle of interpersonal communication and mass communication as illustrated in the following table.

Table 2.1 Comparison of Three Types of Communication by Everett Rogers

<b>Media Characteristics</b>	<b>Interpersonal Communication</b>	<b>New Interpersonal Communication (Aided by Some Tools)</b>	<b>Mass Communication</b>
1. Information flow	From one sender to 2-3 receivers	From several senders to several receivers	From one sender to masses of receivers
2. Knowledge a sender has on a receiver (s)	A sender knows a receiver as an individual	A sender knows a receiver very well due to an interactive system.	A sender working in an organization so he or she hardly knows the receivers
3. Grouping of receivers	Very high (individualized/ Demassified)	Very high (individualized/ Demassified)	Low (massified because one same message being sent to all receivers)
4. Degree of responsiveness	High	High	Low
5. Feedback	A lot and immediate	Some, but restricted, may be immediate or delayed	Very restricted and delayed
6. Potential in keeping information	Low	Mostly, very high	Some media may be low, i.e., radio, and some may be high, i.e., books
7. Type of content	Socio-emotional oriented	Little socio-emotional oriented,	Not so social-emotional

<b>Media Characteristics</b>	<b>Interpersonal Communication</b>	<b>New Interpersonal Communication (Aided by Some Tools)</b>	<b>Mass Communication</b>
		but rather task-oriented	oriented
8. The use of nonverbal language	Highly	Some kinds of new media may use nonverbal language rather highly	Visual mass media tends to use nonverbal language highly, but not audio mass media
9. Control of information flow	Communicators of both parties can control communication equally	Communicators of both parties can control communication equally	Receivers cannot control communication
10. Degree of personalness	Low	Normally Low	High

From the above table, the characteristics of new media have continuous effects on human experience and social nature in three ways:

1) New media provides a prompt interaction between users and technology, i.e. a person can react with the other person on a computer monitor or through chats.

2) New media is Individualized or demassified, while the audience of mass media are treated as mass or a larger audience, the users of new media are all treated as individuals, not as a group or mass, i.e., MP3 players or online games.

3) New media is divided into sections, and can be asynchronous later, i.e. computers, several parts of different media, i.e. CDs, movies, printed media, that is disconnected can be assembled into one communication channel.

The researcher applies this concept to study how the new communications technology of online social media affects the flow of information which used to flow only from mass media.

## **2.6 Related Research**

A study by Passanai Nutalaya (1997) entitled “Political Communication of the Middle Class” is based on the rationale that the middle class in the cultural dimension is a group possessing the communication capacity to use a variety of channels for the effective spread of their ideology and class interests. Therefore, where they stand amid confrontation among ideological factions in society is questionable. This research is aimed at exploring the patterns of political involvement in daily life among the middle class and their ideological struggles, especially in terms of political communication patterns in newspapers and responses to class interests. Five forms of political communication were found: 1) Being only receivers of information from newspapers; 2) Being receivers from newspapers and senders via personal contacts; 3) Being receivers from newspapers and senders via personal contacts and other mass media; 4) Being receivers from newspapers and senders via personal contacts and networking communication; and 5) Being involved in integrated communication. In terms of their ideology, diversity was revealed and comprised a public interest orientation, group interest orientation, professional orientation and a combined group and professional orientation.

An analytical descriptive research into the public sphere of computer-mediated communication was conducted by Rattanaavee Kaittiniyomsak (1997) through a data collection from web boards at [www.pantip.com](http://www.pantip.com) and [www.sanook.com](http://www.sanook.com). The objective was to study the characteristics, functions and uses of this public sphere. Besides a content analysis, other methods used included focus groups, in-depth interviews and e-mailed questionnaires. Findings indicated the public sphere of computer-mediated communication appears as a cultural forum segmented by users’ interests, a virtual community paralleling the real world and a machine-interactivity participation. It functions for users as a channel of information dissemination, environmental surveillance, mobilization for the national benefit, relationship building, entertainment



and communication of taboo topics. Furthermore, use of the public sphere is aimed at meeting users' private needs, learning others' opinions for their own advantage and fostering relationships with others.

Next, a study by Emika Hemmin (2013) entitled "Social Media Consumption Behaviors and Opinions on the Results of Experiencing Social Media in the Bangkok Metropolitan Area" showed the highest-reported range of social media use was three years or higher. Facebook was the most frequently used application and smartphones the most preferred tool. Most samples left social media on all day, while most reported the highest use for chatting with friends. The most liked characteristic of social media was receiving news more quickly. Websites were reported as the biggest media source persuading people use social media.

Nantaporn Wongchestha (2017), in her study of contentious political communication in Thailand from October 30, 2013–May 22, 2014, found that such communication grew more contentious in accordance with the political situation. She divided this communication into three stages: 1) Protests against the amnesty bill draft; 2) Abolition of Thaksin's control; and 3) Establishment of political reform. The contentious political communication model was divided into four phases: 1) Creation of a fuse; 2) Declaration of a movement and call for supporters; 3) Escalation of collective mobilization and the testing of power; and 4) Organizational launch and the integration of contentious politics.

A study of information and social media conducted by Wattanee Phoovatis (2017) and entitled "The Usefulness and Credibility of Information from Online Social Media for Journalists' News Reports" found most journalists used online social media including Facebook, Google+ and Twitter to search for news sources, convey information, create networks in online communities and provide a free discussion platform for topics of public interest. Most journalists also stated the credibility level of information from online social media was moderate since the information was not verified by a news editorial department, unlike the traditional process of news reporting. The information therefore must be confirmed by double-checking news sources on location and/or by analyzing contexts of the online news to determine whether the news was simply made up. Problems of using online news included errors, a lack of reliability, causing panic during crises, sharpening division in society,

and privacy and copyright violations. Journalists must be cautious about hidden political agendas in the form of fake news or rumors and must use their own discretion to consider information carefully and impartially.

Last, a study on the evolution of online politics in social media from 2014-17 by Wutthipol Wutthiworapong and Kingkan Jongsukklai (2019) showed Facebook, a major platform, became a main channel for politics in Thai society, while YouTube gained increasing popularity with multimedia content that eased literacy limitations. Twitter played a major role in Thai politics due to its use by a new generation of Thai politicians and its fast-growing platform employed by teenagers, while Instagram gradually grew through a series of popular hashtags or keywords to demonstrate common causes. Finally, Line became another growing communication platform as major platforms like Facebook became subject to tighter control, with some sharing even leading to prosecution. Open political discussion on Facebook in Thailand was driven underground in the form of private groups under Instant Messenger as well as the use of privacy settings and avatars to disguise identities from strict state surveillance.

## **2.7 Summary**

Technological development brought about mass media growth in the past two centuries. There were debates related to the free flow of information and cultural imperialism. The free flow of information was said to lead to an imbalance flow of information between countries. Information and cultures, after the Second World War, were industrially manufactured and considered world class goods. Some academics argued that the media imperialism of flow of information which affected worldwide communications did not appear to orderly flow as before, but displayed confusion. Sources of messages are everywhere and multi-directional flows are common in the context of the changing landscape of global communication.

According to Innis of Communication Technological Determinism Theories, the transition of communication technology is always the prime mover of social revolution. Global village as described by McLuhan is a process of connecting people, culture, economic, politics and information that used to stay in various places in

societies to become only one unit, or in other words, people are consuming the same culture even though they are in different places in the world. At the end, electronic-based communication of this process will establish a new world system of global village. The uniqueness of information production and consumption in a global village comprised three characteristics:

- 1) Synchrony or a common perception of information and cultures shared worldwide,
- 2) Simultaneity or a perception of information and cultures at the same time no matter where people are, and
- 3) Instantaneousness or a perception of information and cultures in a very short time.

Rogers said new media is interactive, users and technology can interact promptly, and individualized or demassified, that is, while mass media communicate to build a mass of people at the same time, new media tend to create users who are more likely to be individualized.

Concepts of social movement argued that if an existing system does not meet the needs of its people, it may drive some people to start a social movement to reach a change. Communication is essential during the movement. When there was the movement of PDRC to overthrow the elected government, both leaders and protesters used the newly developed technology, online social media, in public sphere, i.e. Facebook, Twitter and Youtube. They were utilized for the purpose of reporting and expressing their opinions without relying on only mass media system.

Concepts and theories described in this chapter provide the conceptual framework of this study in the case of PDRC movement; How people used social media, the public sphere, to communicate. Based on the functional theory of mass media, which functions the information that were produced by protesters were? In addition, how the communication through social media can cause a change to the flow of information which used to flow only from mass media.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The research entitled “The Flow of Information through Soial Media: A Case Study of the People’s Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) Movement from 2013-14” is a mixed-method study comprised of components to be described as follows:

- 3.1 Study Method
- 3.2 Population and Samples
- 3.3 Research Instruments
- 3.4 Data Collection
- 3.5 Data Reliability
- 3.6 Data analyses

#### **3.1 Study Method**

A content analysis of qualitative research methods is used to analyze content appearing in online social media regarding the PDRC’s assembly from 2013-14. It also analyzes transcripts of in-depth interviews with individuals working as communicators in both old and new media in order to cross-check the reliability of information flowing through social media and their opinion toward the roles and reliability of that information.

#### **3.2 Population and Samples**

##### **3.2.1 Population**

There are two populations in this study:

- 1) Information regarding the PDRC movement from 2013-14 that appeared on Facebook; and

2) Individuals who worked as communicators in both old and new media.

### 3.2.2 Samples

1) Information regarding the PDRC movement from 2013-14 on Facebook was selected based on a purposive sampling method. Samples of information were obtained from the Facebook accounts of individuals representing the PDRC and which showed a large number of followers. These Facebook fanpages are:

(1) “Suthep Thaugsuban,” former secretary-general of the PDRC, <https://www.facebook.com/suthep.fb/> (2, 855,212 likes received); and

(2) “Top Secret”, an individual using the alias of Seh Namngoen, <https://www.facebook.com/topsecretthai/> (512,705 likes received).

2) Six individuals who worked as communicators in both old and new media were purposively selected to include mass- and social-media communicators and academics. They included:

(1) Suthep Thaugsuban, former secretary-general of the PDRC;

(2) Assistant Professor Warat Karuchit, Ph.D., Graduate School of Communication Arts and Innovation Management, National Institute of Development Administration;

(3) Sermasuk Kasitipradit, senior journalist and former political and security news editor of the Thai Public Broadcasting Service during the PDRC movement;

(4) Tanom Onketpol, news anchor at the National Broadcasting Service of Thailand’s Channel 11 and former news anchor at Blue Sky Channel during the PDRC movement;

(5) Praweemanai Baicloy, news anchor at Channel 3 Thailand and former news anchor at the Thai Public Broadcasting Service during the PDRC movement;

(6) Noppatjak Attanon, executive editor of Workpoint News and former reporter with the Nation Broadcasting Corporation during the PDRC movement.

### 3.3 Research Instruments

1) A content analysis is the main instrument used to analyze content regarding the PDRC movement that flowed on social media.

2) In-depth interview guidelines are used, consisting of questions regarding:

(1) Opinions of the roles and factors of individuals whose information flowed on social media;

(2) Opinions of the roles and factors of information that flowed on social media;

(3) Opinions of the roles and factors of social media;

(4) Opinions of reliability of information that flowed on social media.

### 3.4 Data Collection

Three steps were used in data collection:

1) Document research in academic journals, theses and textbooks that were relevant to this study;

2) Data collected from online newspapers that presented content related to the movement and selected data from social media were recorded in coding sheets in order to show the flow of information about the assemblies. Such information appeared in Thai media and in foreign media that were selected for presentation in Thai media as well as selected social media in the following phases: Prior to each of the five rallies, during the rallies and afterward. Information prior to election day, on election day and afterward was also included.

Additionally, the total number of likes for posts on the selected popular Facebook fanpages during that time was recorded. In the case of Suthep Thaugsuban's fanpage, with more than one million followers, only posts with more than 10,000 likes were recorded.

Meanwhile, the posts of the concurrently created fanpage "Top Secret," with more than 100,000 followers, were recorded with only just over 1,000 likes found;

3) In-depth interviews for data collected from academics, journalists and content creators.

### **3.5 Data Reliability**

1) In addition to collecting data from samples of various relevant backgrounds and to conduct a cross-validation or triangulation, information appearing on the Facebook fanpages of selected individuals is also compared with other content presented by mass and online media during the same period.

2) The credibility and dependability of the study's findings are confirmed in accordance with research objectives, with the findings audited by the dissertation adviser.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

The last component of the research methodology consists of the following steps:

1) Data are organized from documents and samples in accordance with the research objectives, resulting in categories having their own meaning and which can be conveniently retrieved and easily tested for validity and reliability. This step leads to a systematic display in the next step;

2) To derive functions of social media in information regarding the PDRC movement, Denis McQuail's functions of mass media concepts is applied for analysis. These functions include providing information and opinions and mobilizing. They are specified at the end of the selected messages;

3) Data from in-depth interviews are arranged in categories and explained according to research objectives;

4) Conclusion, interpretation and verification of the findings is the last step in achieving the research objectives.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

The study intended to explore the political function of information related to the PDRC movement from 2013–2014 on social media concerning these topics:

- 1) Situation of the flow of information through social media during the movement
- 2) Creation of an online public sphere to support the movement
- 3) Roles and reliability of the information flowing through social media.

Findings are as follows:

#### **4.1 Situation of the Flow of Information through Social Media during the Movement**

Suthep Thaugsuban initiated PDRC's first rally at Samsen railway station, close to Democrat Party headquarters, on October 31, 2013. The rally ran in opposition to Draft Amnesty for Those Who Committed Offences as a Result of the Political Protests and Political Expression of the People B.E. 2556 (2013). On November 4, 2013, Suthep Thaugsuban announced that PDRC's assembly converged at Democracy Monument on Ratchadamnoen Avenue instead. The protest continued on for seven months. This study focused on the period when PDRC was mobilizing people for the major rally, spanning six occasions in total; and the time PDRC was opposing the general election on February 2, 2014. This study investigated local and oversea information concerning the movement in comparison with social media information to better understand the role social media had on the flow of information regarding the PDRC movement.

Listed below were the six major rallies that were studied in the research:

- 4.1.1 The first major rally on November 24, 2013—Day of the Million,



4.1.2 The second major rally on December 9, 2013—On to Government House,

4.1.3 The third major rally on December 22, 2013—Five Stages, the Opening,

4.1.4 The fourth major rally on January 13, 2014—Shutdown,

4.1.5 The general election on February 2, 2014,

4.1.6 The fifth major rally on March 29, 2014,

4.1.7 The sixth major rally on May 9, 2014—D-Day.

The research studied posts from “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook fanpage and “Top Secret” Facebook fanpage by Seh Namngoen which first published on December 9, 2013. It focused on posts from before, during, and after each rally with an intention to study the content and objectives of each posts. The analyses were implemented based on the functions of media proposed by Denis Mcquail (1983).

#### 4.1.1 The First Major Rally on November 24, 2013—Day of the Million



Figure 4.1 The First Major Rally on November 24, 2013

Source: Nation TV (2014).

4.1.1.1.1 Pre-rally Period

Table 4.1 Pre-rally Period (The First Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>
8 November 2013	<p>BBC — An analysis by Jonathan Head pointed out that the blanket amnesty bill had sparked wide-ranging opposition. A coup was unlikely, he predicted, as Pu and Tu were thick as thieves. (MGR Online, November 8, 2013: Online)</p>	

17 November 2013

Content from the 1st post: “Fellow Thai brothers and sisters who love our nation, on Sunday, November 24 — Day of the

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p> <p>Million— please join us at Ratchadamnoen Avenue to reclaim our country.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize. It received 110,000 likes, 8,600 comments, and 7,800 shares.)</p> <p>Content from the 2nd post: “These two siblings arrived with their grandfather to donate for our cause. I am telling you this so that you may pass this message to other Thais: I, and our brothers and sisters had no need for your money. We do, however, need your heart— let’s fight for our children’s future together.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="349 846 376 1178">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="349 846 376 1178">Foreign Mass Media as</p> <p data-bbox="405 846 432 1178">Presented by Thai Mass</p> <p data-bbox="461 965 488 1061">Media</p>	<p data-bbox="349 241 376 768">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
18 November 2013		<p data-bbox="517 241 938 792">“On Sunday, November 24, we asked that our Bangkok brothers and sisters be a good host and welcomed our comrades from provinces. They will join us on this “historic date.” Anyone who can help set up booths to feed our brothers and sisters, please do.” (<u>The post was intended to mobilize.</u>)</p>
20 November 2013		<p data-bbox="963 241 1331 792">A post: “Last night after my speech, close to midnight, I was heading home on Buddhamonthon Sai 2 Road ... 50–60 police officers set up checkpoints, initiating a search on three people from our caravan but they did not find even a toothpick... I am saying this; we are fighting with our</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	Media	
		<p>bare hands. There are no weapons.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p> <p>Post at 14.49: “Our national artists collaborated on this historical wall art.” (The post showed photos of the event.)</p> <p>(The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p>Post at 16.43: “We had travelled and presented Senate Speaker Nikom Wairatpanich with documents signed by 115,500 people to advocate the impeachment of 310 MPs who supported the amnesty bill.” (The post was intended to give information.)</p> <p>Post at 22.11: “Every sentence, every word</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
21 November 2013	<p>Thai Mass Media</p> <p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p> <p>in the assessment by the court— read them, brothers and sisters. You will understand what true democracy is, and you will realize how terrible this government can be— inconceivably so.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p>- At 00:39: “Our meeting on November, 24 has not changed. Our meeting is most crucial above all else. Because this meeting is for our country... Let us hold on to our pledge. On the 24th, let us unite our hearts as one for Thailand.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p>At 12:38, shared post from Kathawut Thongthai (Kai) Maleehuana (Musical</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="343 481 391 974">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="343 974 391 1176">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="343 1176 391 1243">Media</p>	<p data-bbox="343 974 391 1243">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p> <p data-bbox="391 974 502 1243">artist): “This poisonous tree was only knocked out. It must be completely uprooted.”</p> <p data-bbox="391 1243 502 1865">At 13.36, shared post from Ple Jaranee Saksawas, an actress: “We feel that our country has come to the point when we must make a choice: are we heroes, or villains? It is as our Father to the Nation once said: a miscreant’s ascension to power must be impeded for debacle follows otherwise. We must unite and cleanse them.”</p> <p data-bbox="502 1243 550 1865">At 20.49, shared post from Tawin Pleansri, former Office of the National Security Council (NSC) Secretary-General: “As</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	
22 November 2013	<p>Post Today – “Ratchadamnoen Avenue mob called for major assembly on November 24. Sub-leaders made a speech on Ratchadamnoen Avenue stage to clarify their expedited expansion of the rally sites, and invite people to their major assembly, and announce the</p>	<p>government officials, you have the knowledge and the capability. Vile dictators have no place here, if you refuse to work for them... Step out and stand beside your fellow citizens.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p>Content from post at 12.27: “From our fight at Samsen to Ratchadamnoen Avenue— this makes 22 days. That leaves two more days till we become one of the million powers that will determine Thailand’s fate.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p>Post at 18.11: “They accused me, my brothers and sisters of committing terrorism, that we used weapons of war.</p>



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="344 483 384 696">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="392 483 496 696">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="344 1525 496 1883">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
23 November 2013	<p data-bbox="512 483 663 696">relocations of outside broadcast vehicles.” (Post Today, 2013: Online).</p> <p data-bbox="903 483 1326 696">Isaranews Agency – “Suthep announced, he will lead SNT, PATR, and other anti-Yingluck government networks to form an alliance to eradicate Thaksin regime, starting November 24 onward in order to truly return Thailand’s sovereignty to its</p>	<p data-bbox="512 1525 887 1883">They warned people not to join us... The government held a press conference... condemning the people in our peaceful protest as terrorists. When it was caught on its lie, it simply apologized — that cannot be enough.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p data-bbox="903 1525 1054 1883">Post at 06.05: “Historical photos of our assembly at Muan Maha Prachachon stage, Ratchadamnoen Avenue.”</p> <p data-bbox="1070 1525 1326 1883">- Post at 09.53: “The State Enterprises Workers’ Relations Confederation (SERC) invited its members and their families to join our march from in front of the Temple of the Emerald Buddha to Ratchadamnoen</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="344 483 384 719"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="384 483 512 719">people. Suthep called for millions of people to join him as a display of power to obliterate Thaksin regime. Dao-kra-jai marches to twelve locations will take place on November 25, 2013.” (Isaranews Agency, 2013: Online).</p>	<p data-bbox="344 981 384 1178"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="384 981 512 1178"><b>Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="384 981 512 1178">Avenue.”</p> <ul data-bbox="384 1178 512 1881" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="384 1178 512 1344">- Post at 12.24: “The volunteer who was waving the flag: everyone has been wondering who he is. Here is a blind man whose heart is not color-blinded.”</li> <li data-bbox="384 1344 512 1881">- Post at 14.10: “People have been wondering about this November 24: what if people come out in great number and still, this government will not leave, what then? We probably can do nothing on that day... But we, ‘the good guys’, must come out ...Show these atrocious politicians... the bona fide majority.”</li> </ul> <ul data-bbox="384 1881 512 1973" style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="384 1881 512 1973">- At 14.49, shared video clip of November, 24 event: “Let’s blow the whistle... loud</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="343 481 391 548">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="343 548 510 851">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="343 851 391 1258">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p> <p data-bbox="391 851 896 1258">           enough that it reaches our children.”            - At 16.08, shared post from Nicha Hiranburana Thuvatham: “Had government officials refused to be their lackey, politicians could not have committed crimes of such severity...” (The post was intended to mobilize.)         </p>

4.1.1.1.2 During the Rally

Table 4.2 During the Rally (The First Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
24 November 2013	Daily News – “PDRC assembled at Ratchadamnoen Avenue and its surrounding to oppose the government. The crowd was in great number.” (Daily News, November 24, 2013: Online). Naewna – Where are you on November 24? clip widely shared by whistle blowing netizens. The 1.50 minute long clip described the damages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 09:23: “The war drum has now been sounded in Thai history on Muan Maha Prachachon stage at Ratchadamnoen Avenue where we united to remove Thaksin regime.” (The post was intended to give information. It received 153,147 likes, and 5,953 comments.)</li> <li>- Post at 12:04: “History has begun on November 24, 2013.” (Photos of the assembly) (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</li> <li>- Post at 13:03: “Let this be my message to the red shirts: I have never considered you my</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="344 483 384 987"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="384 483 887 987">under the administration of Yingluck Shinawatra and the MPs in action. These damages included the rice-pledging scheme, the blanket amnesty bill, and the 2-trillion-baht borrowing bill with a 50-year repayment plan. (Naew Na, November 24, 2013: Online). MGR Online VDO channel on YouTube – (The post received 178,906 views.) The post was captioned, “A high-angle shot of the protest to eradicate Thaksin regime at Democracy</p>	<p data-bbox="344 1010 887 1883"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="344 1010 887 1883">enemies. Instead, stop serving Thaksin. Let us united... To my fellow official governments... observe our number tonight. We have almost reached Sanam Luang. How about waiting till tomorrow, then make your decision?” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p> <p data-bbox="344 1010 887 1883">- Post at 13.06: “I am sending this message to military officers... Have you truly forgotten what Thaksin regime did to you? If not, I ask that you step out and join the people. Fellow policemen nationwide... this government is no longer legitimate. And since this government is no longer legitimate, you must not followed any of its orders. Because if you had done so,</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
<p>Monument, Ratchadamnoen Avenue. The procession spanned from Lan Luang Road, Phan Fa Lilat Bridge, Khok Wua Intersection, to the head of Somdet Phra Pinklao Bridge. As of latest, the number of protesters has already exceeded one million people, confirmed PDRC leaders.” (MGR Online VDO, November 24, Online).  Isaranews Agency – “UDD held major assembly at Rajamangala National Stadium. Jatuporn vowed, there was no quitting till</p>	<p>you would have broken the law as well.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 16.00: “Muan Maha Prachachon day — our mass of people have crowded the street from Ratchadamnoen Avenue to the Royal Turf Club of Thailand, passing through Democracy Monument to Sanam Luang (The post was intended to mobilize. It received 39,350 likes, and 1,483 comments.).</li> <li>- Post at 17.36: “It is a historical day as Thai people united to remove Thaksin regime.” (The post showed photos of people joining the assembly.) (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</li> </ul>	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b>
	Suthep did.” (Isaranews Agency, November 24, 2013: Online).”		- Post at 19.18: “An evening at Ratchadamnoen Avenue.” (The post showed photos of the assembly.) (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)

#### 4.1.1.3 Post-rally Period

Table 4.3 Post-rally Period (The First Major Rally)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b>
25 November 2013	Prachatai website – Pol Lt Gen Kamronwit Thoopkrachang, Metropolitan Police Bureau		Post at 01.06: “More on Muan Maha Prachachon day.” (the compilation of photos) Post at 01.48: “I, on behalf of PDRC leaders,

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	Presented by Thai Mass Media	
	<p>chief, conveyed His Royal Highness Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn’s concern for Thai people, and his wish to see them reconcile through talks. (Prachatai, November 25, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Daily News – Live coverage of Bangkok’s protest: Ratchadamnoen Avenue crowd marched to thirteen protest sites such as the armies including the Royal Thai Army headquarters, the Royal Thai Navy headquarters, and the Royal</p>	<p>am sending out this message: tomorrow, we march in thirteen directions.... All (except the first) will assemble at 8.00 at Sanam Luang.” (The post was intended to mobilize. It received 47,170 likes.)</p> <p>- At 08.00, shared YouTube video clip of Suthep Thaugsuban’s speech on the stage: “Today is the day to be written into the history of Thai politics. Today is the day the largest number of Thai people has risen to fight... For this reason, Yingluck’s government and its enslaved MPs are no longer legitimate...” (The post was intended to give information, to comment, and to mobilize. It received 92,524 likes.)</p>



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
<p>Thai Air Force headquarters; the Royal Thai Police; the Metropolitan Police Bureau; channel 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11; the Ministry of Interior; and the Budget Bureau. Afterwards, Suthep laid siege of the Finance Ministry as a stage for his speech. The red shirts continued to hold their position at Rajamangala National Stadium (Daily News, November 25, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>Post at 10.30: “Muan Maha Prachachon en route: on which route are you, brothers and sisters? Report yourself.” (The post was intended to give information.)</p> <p>Post at 15.32: “Tonight, we are having a sleep over at the Finance Ministry together, brothers and sisters.”</p> <p>Post at 16.24: “On this night, let us altogether express our ownership of this country at the Metropolitan Police Bureau and the Financial Ministry.”</p> <p>Post at 21.39: “We are thankful of the Ministry of Finance officials who supported our press conference with electricity and air-condition.”</p> <p>Post at 22.04: “We received a warm welcome</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
26 November 2013	Kapook.com – Suthep declared a siege of every ministries on November 27 and an immediate installation of a people’s	<p>from government officials this morning. Let’s ready your whistle and flag.”</p> <p>Post at 23.28: “I am giving my all today. I am devoting my life to fight Thaksin regime. Brothers and sisters, if you come out and fight with all your power, we will win in a few days. Come, let’s unite our force against Thaksin regime this one last time. We fight today so that our children will not be enslaved.” (The post was intended to give information, and to mobilize. It received 65,106 likes.)</p>
	Thai PBS – Foreign press kept tabs on Thailand protests. On the big picture, most reported a	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>council. He further arranged for Bangkok protesters to occupy every ministries. At the same time, protesters in provincial areas should rally and appeal to government officials at each city halls and district offices, asking them to free themselves from Thaksin enslavement through non-violent methods. (Kapook.com, November 26, 2013: Online)</p> <p>Kom Chad Luek – Suthep Thaugsuban gave a speech at the Finance Ministry stage,</p>	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>great number of protesters. Russia Today or RT reported an assembly in great number to drive out Yingluck Shinawatra after an attempt to pass the amnesty bill. The UDD announced that they would hold a rally to support the government and to oppose the opposition. The government estimated that at least 1 million people</p>
		<p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	<p>saying “We must completely eradicate Thaksin regime. Then, we must unite to change this country to make its governance truly democratic with the King as head of state. We must band together to make this into a national agenda” (Kom Chad Luek, November 26, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>
	<p>had joined the assembly whereas police officials estimated approximately 200,000 protesters. United Kingdom’s BBC reported that the considerable number of protesters resulted from a disagreement over the amnesty bill. At the same time, government supporters also rally at another Bangkok site and amounted to 40,000 people approximately. AI</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	<p>Jazeera quoted Yingluck who confirmed her refusal to resign. Reuters News Agency reported this as the biggest protest since 2010. Agence France Press (AFP) showcased prime minister Yingluck’s photo on its website’s main page, adding that Chulalongkorn University academicians stated that her government was on borrowed time.</p> <p>Meanwhile, CNN said this</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
27 November 2013	<p data-bbox="344 483 384 539">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="344 562 384 987">MGR Online – An article “At this hour, who can understand Suthep more than ‘Sondhi Limthongkul?’” stated that neither the prime minister’s</p>	<p data-bbox="344 1010 384 1066">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="344 1088 384 1514">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
		<p data-bbox="400 730 863 1211">protest had proven to be the most stressful since the 2010 political unrest. The report concluded that 10 countries had already cautioned their citizens to avoid the protest sites in Bangkok (Thai PBS, November 26, 2013: Online).</p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>resignation nor the dissolution of parliament provided a solution to the problems without a political reform. However, this government must be toppled before we reached that point. Regardless of how the people may have sieged government offices, without the military's support, it hardly had any altering effects on politics (MGR Online, November 27, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Naewna – Police officials sought an arresting warrant for</p>	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	<p>Suthep from the court. The warrant was approved for two charges. In terms of the arrest, it will be proceeded with caution (Naewna, November 27, 2016: Online).</p>	<p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
28 November 2013	<p>MGR Online – Smarty Pu aimed to take down Bluesky Channel and to issue an emergency decree to give Big Jazz the green light (MGR Online, November 28, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Thairath Online – PDRC protesters crowded 25 city halls.</p>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
29 November 2013	<p>In retaliation, UDD arranged for major meeting on November 30. Meanwhile, government insisted that there will be neither an emergency decree nor a forceful arrest of Suthep. Rather, it was preferable he surrendered himself. At the same time, there was a plan to issue arresting warrants for six other PDRC leaders (Thairath, November 28, 2013: Online).</p>	
29 November 2013	<p>Post Today – PDRC founded, leading an army of people with the sound of a whistle to take</p>	<p>Thairath Online – Many foreign press reported United Nation’s concern</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>over Thailand. Suthep announced that their operation would operate under the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) or People's Committee for Thailand's Absolute Democracy under the Constitutional Monarchy (PCAD) henceforth. The initial plan involved leading people to lay siege of various government agencies such as Government House and several ministries; and city halls nationwide. PDRC also asked that people</p>	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>over the protests in Thailand and demanded that all parties negotiate to reconcile their differences (Thairath Online, November 29, 2013: Online).</p>
		<p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 725 379 987">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="347 987 379 1429">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 1429 379 1966">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
	<p data-bbox="402 725 434 987">join their cause from now on in order to declare their victory on December 1 (Post Today, November 29, 2013: Online). Isranews Agency – Suthep formed “PDRC” – D-Day to seize Government House on December 1 (Isranews Agency, November 29, 2013: Online).</p>	

## Conclusions

### 1) The first Major Rally on November 24, 2013 — Day of the Million

#### (1) Pre-rally Period

In summary, Thai mass media reported information about the PDRC movement and the major assembly. Foreign mass media, on the other hand, presented the reasons behind PDRC's rally which was to protest against the Draft Amnesty for Those Who Committed Offences as a Result of the Political Protests and Political Expression of the People B.E. 2556 (2013). They further analyzed that there would be no coup since the government and military shared a good relationship.

Concerning social media, the majority of the posts "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook fanpage were intended to provide information and to mobilize. Comments and criticisms were offered on some occasions to encourage the people's participation. Posts were shared from other people's pages and quotes from Suthep Thaugsuban's speech were presented. The most liked post during this period was a mobilization post on November 24, "Day of the Million," which received 110,000 likes, 8,600 comments, and 7,800 shares.

#### (2) During the Rally

On the day of the rally, Thai mass media provided photos and lively reports of the major rally, including movements of an anti-PDRC group, namely the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD).

Meanwhile, posts from "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page focused on mobilizing people. The page occasionally post content and photos to report the current movement of the protest, concentrating on photos of the rally. The first photo set invited 153,147 likes, and 5,953 comments. Posts also included quotes from Suthep Thaugsuban's speech, one demanding that UDD and military join PDRC's rally.

#### (3) Post-rally Period

PDRC movements attracted interest and media coverage from local mass media. This included reports on Suthep Thaugsuban's speech which formed the keystone of the political reform. In addition, there were reports on the government's attempt to terminate Bluesky Channel's broadcasting which was used to mobilize people and announced the founding of PDRC.

Manager Online offered a lesson learnt from PAD's protests, analyzing that however the people may have sieged government offices—the current seize of the Financial Ministry, for example—hardly could any political reforms be achieved without the military's support.

As presented through Thai mass media, foreign mass media mainly reported the situation with its massive crowd; the conflict concerning the number of protesters, reported to be one million by the PDRC and 200,000 by Thai police; various invasions of government ministries by protesters; and Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra's refusal to resign.

“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page gave a report of the movement, intending to give information and to mobilize. The most liked post received 92,524 likes, showing a YouTube clip of Suthep Thaugsuban's speech on November 24, the day of the major rally. Suthep stated that it was the day to be written into Thai history, having united the highest number of Thai people to fight.

#### 4.1.2 The Second Major Rally on December 2, 2013—On to Government House

##### 4.1.2.1 Pre-rally Period

Table 4.4 Pre-rally Period (The Second Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	
30 November 2013	<p>Sanook.com – Ram unrest!</p> <p>Student guard group at Ramkhamhaeng crashed with the red shirts. A fight broke loose around 17.00 between Ramkhamhaeng students who opposed the red shirts at Rajamangala National Stadium in front of Ramkhamhaeng university, and the red shirts. One person had been injured</p>	<p>Thai PBS – Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra gave an interview to BBC about the anti-government protest which had lasted into the sixth day. She added that there would not be an early election because of the local unrest. She insisted that the government would not employ force against the</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
<p>(Sanook.com, November 29, 2013: Online). Thairath Online – A summary of events: At 17.37, troubles at Ramkhamhaeng University. An attack by an unidentified force left one person injured and traffic paralyzed. The red-shirt UDD asserted, they would be holding their position at Rajamangala National Stadium... (Thairath Online, November 29, 2013: Online)</p>	<p>protesters who currently occupied government offices. Furthermore, she stated in her interview with CNN that there was neither winning nor losing side, only one common goal which was for this country to win (Thai PBS, November 30, 2013: Online).</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	
	Media	
1 December 2013	<p>Kapook.com – (The post received 56,856 views.) Report of a crash in front of Ramkhamhaeng University during the night of November 30 by Erawan Center concluded there were one fatality and more than 35 wounded. Latest announcement from Erawan Center at 16.00 revealed four more deaths and 57 injuries (Kapook.com, December 1, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>There were various posts as follows:            Post at 08.00: “For as long as we have fought together, television media or ‘free TV’ had always been under the government’s influence, either by force or through benefits, to presented our fight... Therefore, today (December 1), besides our previous arrangement, we invited you, brothers and sisters, to join us in front of Channel 3, 4, 7, and 9; NBT; and Thai PBS.” (The post was intended to comment and mobilize.)            Post at 11.57: “At Metropolitan Police Bureau, ‘Big Jazz’ (I am what I am today because of you, Brother) had</p>





Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
Media	Media	Media
		<p>14.02: “Channel 7 agreed to side with Muan Maha Prachachon and prepared to broadcast our speech with their outside broadcast vehicles.” (The post was intended to give information. It received 98,407 likes.)</p> <p>16.24: “Kamnan Suthep is preparing to broadcast his speech on all free TVs.”</p> <p>19.44: “Our endorsed people’s council will have no politicians — not a single one.” (The post was intended to give information.)</p>
2 December 2013	Thairath Online – A summary of events: 09.37: A crash broke out as	Thairath Online – The Southeast Asian Press Alliance or SEAPA issued a

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	<p>police officers fired tear gas at PDRC protesters who attempted to approach the concrete barriers and the police defense line at Chamai Maru Chet Bridge and in front of Phranakhon Rajabhat University.</p> <p>10.05: At Pol 1 Intersection, police officers continued to hold their position.</p> <p>10.15: Bangkok Emergency Medical Service Center (Erawan Center) revealed 55 injuries from the tear gas. The</p>	<p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p>statement to express their concern over Thailand press after PDRC leaders pressured free TV to report in favor of their side. It further affirmed that the press must retain their professionalism (Thairath Online, December 2, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Thai PBS – BBC reported that leading foreign press all gave a minute-by-minute coverage of the day’s situation which included the various occupations of government</p>
		<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="344 483 384 539"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="344 539 384 965">wounded protesters were dispersed among five hospitals (Thairath Online, December 2, 2013: Online).</p>	<p data-bbox="344 987 384 1055"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="344 1055 384 1469">buildings and the struggle to besiege the Government House. However, the attempt was blocked by police officers who employed tear gas and water cannon. Moreover, various free TVs had been occupied as a preparation to broadcast Suthep’s victory speech in the evening. The Office of the National Security Council (NSC) secretary-general, however, denied to Reuters News Agency that the sieges of any</p>
		<p data-bbox="384 987 424 1055"><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	Presented by Thai Mass Media	
	Media	
3 December 2013	<p>Thairath Online – A summary of events:</p> <p>12.35: PDRC declared its victory after police officers allowed them to enter Metropolitan Police Bureau and Government House.</p> <p>14.00: CAPO announced that the police had allowed protesters to enter Government House’s area.</p> <p>14.21: “Thida”, a UDD</p>	<p>offices by the protesters ever happened (Thai PBS, December 2, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Thai PBS – Democrat Party leader Abhisit Vejjajiva gave an interview to CNN, demanding that the government take responsibility for what had happened. It was the government’s attempt to pass the amnesty bill and its refusal to accept the Constitutional Court’s ruling that led to the protest. Mr.</p> <p>Post at 09:47: “Yesterday, I informed senior members of Democrat Party and Mr. Abhisit that when, altogether with you, I had reformed Thailand and its bureaucracy, and exterminated Thaksin Regime, I will not be rejoining the Democrat Party, or any others. I am washing my hands off politics.” (The post was intended to give information.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	<p data-bbox="357 837 491 1655">member, claimed that the police were using psychological tactics when they allowed protesters to enter Government House. She encouraged that the government be understood.</p> <p data-bbox="852 837 1050 1655">15.05: Thousands of Kamphaeng Phet red shirts declared their support for an elected government.</p> <p data-bbox="1075 837 1219 1655">15.10: “Chalerm” predicted the demonstration to be over in seven days, stipulating that “Suthep” and nine other PDRC leaders would turn themselves</p>	<p data-bbox="347 264 386 792">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="405 264 443 792">Abhisit believed that it was undemocratic for an elected leader to act outside the law. At the same time, the people were engaging in civil disobedience, had used no weapons, and were willing to accept the legal consequences born of their actions. The people could no longer trust the government because they could not be confident that it would not reconsider the amnesty bill (Thai PBS, December 3, 2013: Online).</p>
		<p data-bbox="347 264 386 792">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	<p>in on this December 12.</p> <p>15.15: “Suthep” declared he would continue to fight. He then cautioned that people remain vigilant and that their occupation of Government House and Metropolitan Police Bureau might only be the government’s ploy (Thairath Online, December 3, 2013: Online).</p>	
4 December 2013	<p>Thairath Online –</p> <p>13.45: PDRC spokesman Akanat Promphan said he did not trust the prime minister’s</p>	<p>Voice TV – BBC pressured Abhisit Vejjajiva for answers: whether or not the Democrat Party of Thailand felt</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 860 379 1491"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p data-bbox="347 1532 379 1957"><b>Foreign Mass Media as “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>
	<p data-bbox="402 860 434 1491">statement, expressing her wish for a collaborative conversation on national reform.</p> <p data-bbox="402 860 434 1491">14.00: The Ministry of Interior Minister and leader of Pheu Thai Party insisted that a new prime minister could not be installed through Section 7 of the constitution.</p> <p data-bbox="402 860 434 1491">14.17: PDRC co-leader Thaworn Senniam led people to the Royal Thai Police office where he demanded to know the police’s standpoint.</p> <p data-bbox="402 860 434 1491">14.30: Academicians from</p>	<p data-bbox="402 1532 434 1957"><b>Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="402 1532 434 1957">ashamed as an old political party that supported a movement intending to overthrow democracy through violence. Meanwhile, the Democrat Party leader backed, “Suthep” fought because he had lost his faith in the system (Voice TV, December 4, 2013: Online).</p>



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>various universities recommended that parliament be dissolved, and that the prime minister resign. On the other hand, the suggestion for a people’s council and an elected prime minister through Section 7 of the constitution was expected to lead to greater conflict. (Thairath Online, December 4, 2013: Online).</p>	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
7 December 2013	<p>Thairath Online – Social media posts from many educational institutions conveyed similar message,</p>	<p>Post at 10.43: “We sound our final whistle on December, 9 at 9.30.”</p> <p>- Post at 11.00: “No matter what happens on December, 9 – every leaders</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	announcing a day off and encouraging its students, alumnus, and personnel to join PDRC’s march to Government House at 09.39. (Thairath Online, December 7, 2013: Online).	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	Presented by Thai Mass Media	
	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	
		from all networks conceded unanimously that we must finish this fight on December, 9. For us to win, the great mass of people must come out. That is how we win. Thai people, it is now time to pick a side... “
		- Post at 12.00: “If millions of our brothers and sisters come out, we will declare that power is now returned to the people and will proceed accordingly... If we have to win in this lifetime, we have to win on this December 9. We remain enslaved otherwise.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
		<p>- At 20.35, shared post from Dr. Krisana Kraisintu, a pharmacist and winner of the 2009 Ramon Magsaysay Award for public service: ‘I am proud to be part of this rally. We united to fight against injustices and corruptions that have corroded this country. I fear no danger in participating in civil disobedience here...’ (The post was intended to mobilize. It received 105,496 likes.)</p> <p>Post at 20.47: “I salute your heart, Ramkhamhaeng brothers and sisters. Despite having been cruelly mistreated, you have the spirit of a great fighter.”</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 1323 375 1563">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="347 846 491 1176">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 331 375 788">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
8 December 2013	<p data-bbox="963 1265 991 1653">Thairath Online – A summary of events:</p> <p data-bbox="1074 1397 1101 1653">19:00: The Election Commission of Thailand (ECT) aimed to discuss (December 9, 2013) election date after MPs from Democrat Party resigned</p>	<p data-bbox="518 483 545 788">(Followed by a photo –.</p> <p data-bbox="572 273 935 788">“Ramkhamhaeng, it is time to sound the bell. Let us sound the bell together in front of the clock tower on December 9, at 9.00.”) “We will march to Government House together at 9.39.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p> <p data-bbox="963 331 1046 788">Post at 16.39: “An itinerary of the processions on December 9, 2013.”</p> <p data-bbox="1074 273 1217 788">Post at 23.04: The post shows assembly points and charts. (The post was intended to give information.)</p> <p data-bbox="1241 273 1326 788">Post at 23.32: “December, 9 will be the most glorious day in the history and</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	<p>en masse.</p> <p>19.13: People crowded the space in front of the stage, preparing for the march next morning. At the same time, photographers from various news outlets each tried on a gas mark.</p> <p>20.10: The prime minister to withdraw the bill she had submitted to the palace for royal endorsement. The bill sought to change the composition of the Senate.</p> <p>21.21: Suthep announced a</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p> <p>record-setting for lovers of democracy worldwide. Please unite with your brothers and sisters nationwide in this fight... Be prepare to spend a night on the street because unless it ends here, we will not go back...” (The post was intended to mobilize. It received 114,386 likes.)</p>
	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	





Figure 4.2 Photo of the Rally on December 9, 2013 which Received the Highest Likes

Source: Suthep Thaugsuban (2013).

4.1.2.2 During the Rally  
 “Top Secret” Facebook fanpage by Seh Namngoen was first established on December 9, 2013.

Table 4.5 During the Rally (The Second Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
9 December 2013	Thairath Online – Democrat Party leader Abhisit Vejjajiva announced the party’s decision for its MPs to resign en masse on December, 8 at 16.30 (Thairath Online, December 9, 2013: Online). Thairath Online At 10.27 - Prime Minister		Post at 09.06: “The march of the history begins now.” + Photos (The post was intended to give information.) 21.05: Posted photos of the rally. (The post was intended to give information. It received 385,464 likes, and 14,376 comments.)	There were various posts as follows: - A photo with a caption, “Hunting red buffalo nationwide.” - “Today, crooked politicians will clearly realize 1. How their supports for both in-house and offshore anti-monarchy



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
Yingluck Shinawatra	announced a House dissolution, calling it the last attempt to resolve in-house crisis and restore harmony. She said she wished for no more loss (Thairath Online, December 9, 2013: Online).	<p>movement should make them feel as they take an oath of allegiance;</p> <p>2. how they, crooked anti-monarchy politicians, were now facing the consequences of their own actions;</p> <p>3. how more united people have become to make this commemorating occasion most memorable, the harder they tried to lessen the importance...</p>

#### 4.1.2.3 Post-rally Period

Table 4.6 Post-rally Period (The Second Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
10 December 2013	Thairath Online – Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra and the defense minister, through Television Pool of Thailand, announced their decision to present draft Royal Decree to dissolve the House of Representatives B.E. 2556 (2013). An election could be expected on	Thai PBS – Foreign press to keep an eye on “Thai politics”. Most predicted a prolonged conflict and that the House dissolution was only a temporary fix. At the same time, they approximated the number of protesters to be only around a hundred thousand. Reuters News Agency reported that the	There were various posts as follows: - 13.37: This post presented a video clip with a caption, “The welcome by our fellow brothers and sisters along the 20 kilometer procession... There is only one more step. We will march on together to reform Thailand.”	- Shared post from Pat Jitsilchayakul (December 7): “I really want to ask my red shirt friends this: how could you accept this government? ...Nobody thinks Suthep is a saint. But at this very second, however terrible the Democrat Party or Suthep were, it is no longer comparable. I cannot

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
February 2 while Yingluck's government continued as a caretaker government (Thairath Online, December 10, 2013: Online).	<p>protest against the government would continue because an unelected "people's council" was the anti-government group's demand. On the other hand, "Financial Times" website pointed out that Thailand political stability had always been in jeopardy. This was driven by two main reasons: the opposition's hatred and Thaksin Shinawatra's</p>	<p>13.39: "Order of PDRC committee (No. 1) B.E. 2556 (2013) demanded that the prime minister stop performing her caretaker duty within 24 hours..."</p> <p>- At 20.07, shared post from Thirayuth Boonmee, a scholar and former leading student activist during the October 14 uprising: "I respect PDRC for its ability to keep this</p>	<p>possibly imagine an opportunity for a political reform to be any more within reach. There is no other opportunities like this. It is now or never. If we do not unite now, there will be no politics for Thailand tomorrow. There will be no future." (The post was intended to comment, and mobilize.)</p> <p>- As prime minister travelled to Chiang Rai, army commander-in-chief</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
		attitude which clearly expressed his wish to return to power once more (Thai PBS, December 10, 2013: Online).	movement by millions of people under discipline and powerful.” - 23.37: “At 22.30, today, if Prime Minister Yingluck still has no answer regarding her resignation, we will declare more measures to intensify the protest. In three more days, there shall be no more peace of mind for Shinawatra family.” (The post was	took the opportunity to pick Suthep up with a car to a meeting at the 1st Division, King’s Guard with the supreme commander and commanders of the three military branches. Seeing the names on the list should give the prime minister and Pheu Thai Party the shivers. What a cleverly played underhanded game by Suthep to put the pressure

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
11 December 2013		<p>Thai PBS – CNN, BBC, and Al Jazeera reported that acting caretaker Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra, in a trembling voice, made a statement that she would not resign as an acting caretaker Prime Minister since she had to continue her duty until an election on</p>	<p>intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p>	<p>on Pheu Thai Party. (The post was intent give information, and to comment.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
		<p>February 2. However, the anti-government group demanded that Ms. Yingluck resign within 24 hours to allow for the founding of the people's council. Foreign Minister Murray McCully of New Zealand issued a statement, demanding that democratic process be respected. The New Zealand government believed the will of Thai people could be best understood through</p>		

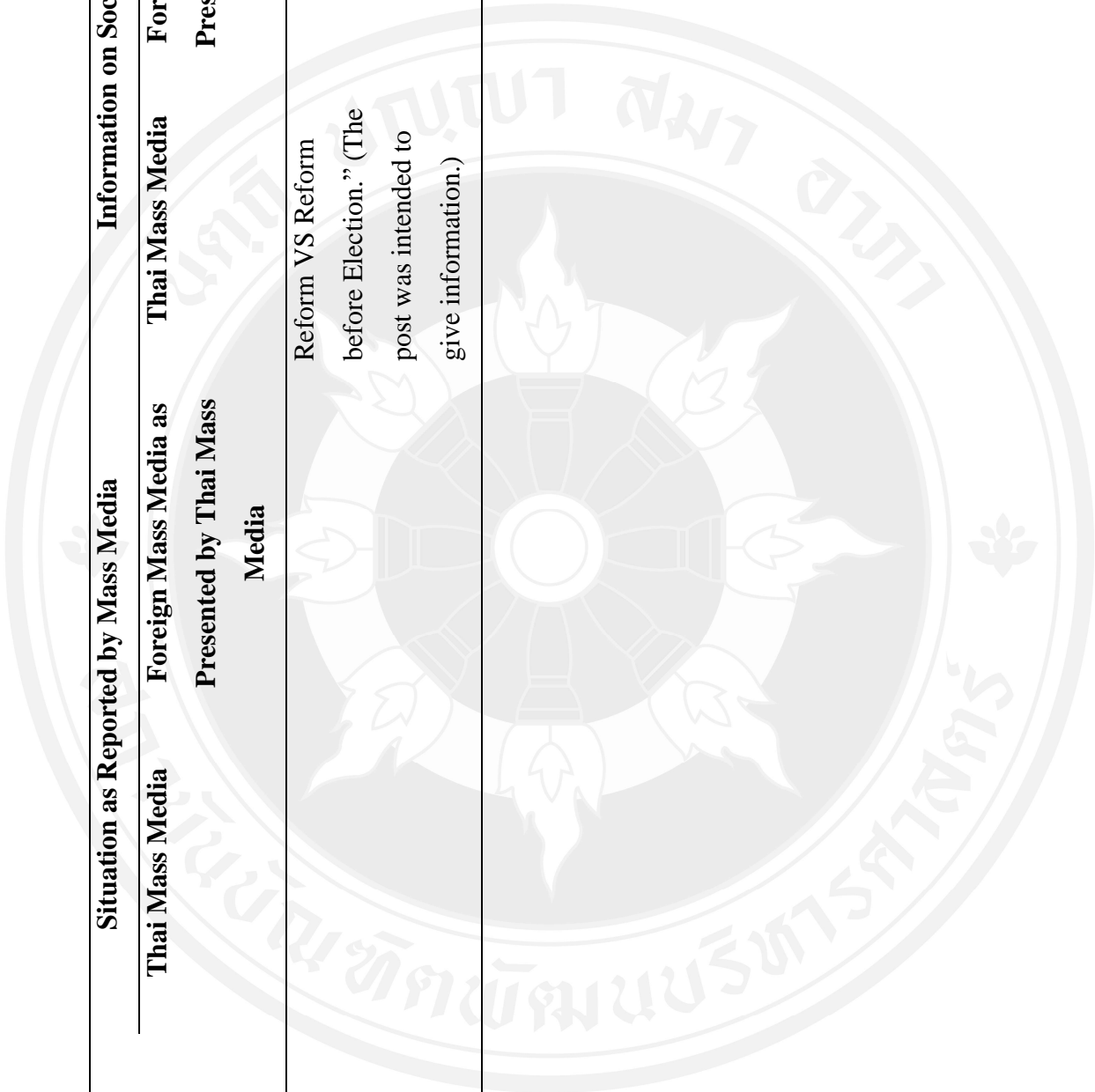
<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>
14 December 2013	<p>Daily News Online – During a public forum chaired by supreme commander, PDRC secretary-general Mr. Suthep Thaugsuban suggested that government officials stand with the people and that the cabinet members cease their caretaking duty (Daily News,</p>	<p>election ballots (Thai PBS, December 11, 2013: Online).</p>		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
December 14, 2013: Online).				
15 December 2013			<p>Post at 10.00: “For PDRC to achieve reformation for Thailand, these must be executed before any general election. There are only two approaches.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The first is diplomatic. Acting caretaker prime minister must resign so that someone else can be</li> </ol>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
			<p>appointed premier. It is believed that the government will not choose this path.</p> <p>2. Instead, the people will proceed with the plan...”</p> <p>Post at 15.26: “From the Forum at Thammasat University, which was joined by academicians, all pointed, ‘reform before election’.”</p> <p>- 20.47: A poster showed “Election before</p>	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>
			Reform VS Reform before Election.” (The post was intended to give information.)	



## Conclusions

### 1) The Second Major Rally on December, 9, 2013—On to Government House

#### (1) Pre-rally Period

Before the second major rally as PDRC, Thai mass media reported movement from both PDRC's and UDD's sides, PDRC rallies to various government buildings—most importantly, the Government House and the Metropolitan Police Bureau—and the clashes between PDRC protesters and police officers. Notable incidents from this period included the clash between Ramkhamhaeng University students and UDD protesters on November 30 and the Democrat Party's en masse resignation.

At the same time, presentation from foreign mass media addressed Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra's interview which insisted that she would not resign before the election; and the Democrat Party leader Abhisit Vejjajiva's interview which demanded that the government accept responsibility for its draft amnesty bill.

Social media such as "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page instead focused on mobilizing supporters. It chronically presented the collision between Ramkhamhaeng University students and UDD protesters, and PDRC movements in which they marched to various free TV headquarters at the time to request that they reported news on PDRC's rally.

Crucial events included Mr. Suthep's post, announcing his decision to wash his hands of politics when the movement reached its conclusion.

The most liked post is the one declaring Channel 7's agreement to cooperate with the people and that the channel had dispatched its outside broadcast vehicle in preparation to broadcast PDRC's statement. This post received 98,407 likes. At the same time, a post by Dr. Krisana Kraisintu, a pharmacist and winner of the 2009 Ramon Magsaysay Award for public service, stating her pride for being a part of the protest received 105,496 likes. A different post from December 8, saying that December 9 would be the greatest day in the history, received 114,386 likes.

#### (2) During the Rally

The major point presented by the press was Prime Minister Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra's resignation announcement in the morning.

In terms of social media, “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on giving information and presented photos of the rally which received as high as 385,464 likes, and 14,376 comments. As for “Top Secret” Facebook page on its opening date, it discussed an interesting topic on anti-monarchy politicians.

### (3) Post-rally Period

Reports from Thai press continued to focus on the resignation, the government’s presentation of draft Royal Decree to dissolve the House of Representatives, and the PDRC movement. On the other hand, foreign press addressed Ms. Yingluck’s announcement of House dissolution, approximated the number of protesters to be merely a hundred thousand PDRC’s, and reported PDRC movements to establish the people’s council, ,

The crucial point was the statement from the Foreign Minister of New Zealand which requested that democratic process be respected and added that the best course to understand the citizen’s will was an election.

On social media’s front, “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on mobilizing people. A post meant to encourage stated that only one more step was needed to reform Thailand and demanded that Ms. Yingluck resigned from the role as an acting caretaker government. Posts were shared from others well-known individuals from the society, stressing that PDRC had always won. Moreover, a different post demonstrated PDRC’s guideline which aimed to a national reform before an election.

“Top Secret” Facebook page, on the other hand, focused on mobilizing people and giving information. It shared a post from another page which questioned red shirts on how they could accept Yingluck’s government. However, concerning Mr. Suthep, it focused on his pledge to exit politics. Therefore, with an opportunity for political reform within reach, why should the people not come out and help? In addition, it reported the military’s summon of Mr. Suthep for a discussion and marked it as a strategic move by PDRC that Ms. Yingluck should fear.

### 4.1.3 The Third Major Rally on December 22, 2013—Five Stages, the Opening

#### 4.1.3.1 Pre-rally Period

Table 4.7 Pre-rally Period (The Third Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
18 December 2013	<p>Thai PBS – PDRC scheduled its big rally on this Sunday December 22 to oust Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra who challenged the people with her press release, stating that she would remain in office to see a new government appointed after February 2 election</p>	<p>“Thai Mass Media Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media” “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page “Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
		Page by Seh Namngoen
(Thai PBS, December 18, 2013: Online)	<p data-bbox="630 1413 657 1675">Isaranews Agency –</p> <p data-bbox="687 1346 1209 1675">Suthep led PDRC to invited Bangkokians to join their anti-government resistance on December 22. They will take a rest stop at Asoke area before returning to their stronghold. (Isaranews Agency, December 18, 2013: Online)</p>	<p data-bbox="630 999 657 1283">Post Today – MSNBC, an alternative US news website, criticized reports from the New York Times newspaper and BBC as reflecting the double standard of US democracy. Their insistence on the importance of democracy and a government from an election in Thailand</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook
	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoeng
	<p>Major Rallies: When Will PDRC Win?” stated that people who had been giving Suthep their one hundred percent definitely would not miss this chance. However, a few others might begin to hesitate or grow tired. It is important to note that the ‘number of protesters’ had already been proven last December 9. This upcoming December 22 might only serve as a sign</p>	<p>contrasted with their acceptance of cry for democracy in Arab world, known as the Arab Spring which was backed by US (Post Today, December 19, 2013: Online).</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai	Mass Media	Facebook Page
Mass Media	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>of the fight. The battle against Thaksin Regime is a long road. Therefore, there will be major rallies... many more (Post Today, December 19, 2013: Online).</p>		
<p>20 December 2013 Channel 3 – Department of Special Investigation (DSI) issued twenty more summons to PDRC leaders and ordered an inspection and a freeze on their bank accounts. The charges included inciting disorder</p>	<p>There were various posts as follows: Post at 13.00: “All along our path yesterday, we were greeted by fellow brothers and sisters on both sides of the street. They said, ‘Kamnan,</p>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>or civil disobedience, and creating assemblies to incite city unrest (Channel 3 News, December 20, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>fight on. Kamman, fight on’ . And I replied, ‘Let us fight together.’            Post at 20:00: ‘I have clearly declared that this is my final work for Thailand. I want Thailand to be free of dictatorship of corporations... Brothers and sisters, you can be sure that with your support, I will never cave...’ (The post was intended to give</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
21 December 2013	<p>Bangkok Biz News – PDRC aimed at setting up five major stages and 10 minor sites this December 22. It pushed to postpone the election, and demanded that Yingluck resign from her position as an acting caretaker prime minister. The five major stages were the Victory Monument; Bangkok Art and Culture Centre;</p>	<p>There were various posts as follows:            Post at 10:00: “When Yingluck made a statement that she would neither resign nor postpone the election, I would like to tell her, ‘That is your business.’ Our brothers and sisters will take up the reins. But our way must still keep with civil</p>	<p>information, comment and to mobilize.)</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
		Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>Pathum Wan, Ratchaprasong-Silom and Asoke intersections. Ten minor stages included six major roads. LED monitors would be installed at each of the ten minor stages to display the broadcast from the rally at Democracy Monument stage (Bangkok Biz News, December 21, 2013: Online). Kom Chad Luek – Pheu Thai Party mocked</p>	<p>Mass Media</p>	<p>disobedience. We must win fair and square... I believe that our number grew with every major rally.”          At 11.00, shared post from Dr. Seri Wongmontha: “Wicked government, how vile that they should try patriots for treason. December, twenty-second, let us come, united as one, win this war.”</p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b>	<b>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
	<p>Suthep’s city-wide march as an act of panhandling. The party dismissed the news regarding the prime minister’s preparation to use martial law. Instead, it countered, asking with which section of the Constitution that an election could be postponed (Kom Chad Luek, December 21, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>Post at 15.33: “To me, my brothers and sisters who had marched down the street, what we feel about today are the same. Surely, Thaksin Regime can never win against Muan Maha Prachachon... I ask that we keep our hope, and that we love one another, and unite shoulder to shoulder. We will battle every day.”</p>		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>Post at 17:00: “We received an enormous donation because our fellow citizens had heard about Tharit. He had frozen all of our accounts. Even now, we have been unable to finish counting the donation, brothers and sisters.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p>		

4.1.3.2 During the Rally

Table 4.8 During the Rally (The Third Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
22 December 2013	Prachatai channel on YouTube – (It received 15,653 views.) It was captioned, “PDRRC held rallies at fifteen intersections all around Bangkok.” (Prachatai, December 22, 2013: Online)	Thai PBS – “Wall Street Journal”, New York Times newspaper, Times magazine, CNN, BBC, Reuters News Agency, and AP: all reported the significance of Democrat Party’s announcement not to field their candidates for the election. Foreign presses reported that the Democrat Party’s stance	The followings were listed chronologically. Post at 08.16: “Asoke stage is all crowded today.” + Photos (The post was intended to give information and received 168,608 likes.) - 08.17: “From Lumpini to Asoke stage, we caught a bike ride from the boys to reach all stages.” - 09.36: “This photo	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>up at Wongwian Yai minor stage. He was welcomed by the teeming crowd.</p> <p>10.28: Suan Dusit Poll discovered that more than 70 percent of Thai people grew increasingly wearier of politics and urged that all parties digest news cautiously.</p> <p>10.56: The mass of people had moved past the police barriers.</p>	<p>only added to the tension in Thailand and brought the situation closer to the 2006 event when the Democrat Party refused to field their candidates. On the same year, a coup that toppled former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra followed not much long after (Thai PBS, December 22, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>collection showed banners from both sides of the street as we marched on to invite our patriotic brothers and sisters to join us. Today (December 22, 2013), we must come out. Our entire family must all come out. Whichever stage is most convenient, go there.”</p> <p>(Photos)</p> <p>- 11.18 “Kamnan led our Thonburian procession from Wongwian Yai to join our brothers and sisters at</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>However, they had not reached the prime minister’s house, having been blocked by another police’s checkpoint.</p> <p>11.18: Prime Minister admitted that she regretted the Democrat Party’s decision to boycott general election. She pleaded that they respect the system even though they could not accept</p>	<p>Lumpini.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p> <p>- 11.29: Photos of the march. (The post was intended to give information and received 109,617 likes.)</p> <p>- 13.19: “Muan Maha Prachachon procession here has marched with me from Wongwian Yai, heading toward Silom.” (The post was intended to give information and received 131,439 likes.)</p>		



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>this government. She hoped for a victory, admitting that she felt pained by the national unrest.</p> <p>12.35: “Pheu Thai Party spokesman, Prompong Nopparit” pressured the Office of the Election Commission to dissolve Democrat Party, alleging that they conspire with PDRC to form blockades which</p>	<p>- 23.25: “Today’s lunch is grilled pork with sticky rice. Here on Lumpini-Silom stage with my fellow citizens, any dishes are delicious.” + Photos (The post was intended to give information and received 207,725 likes.)</p> <p>- 23.36: “Our fellow Thais in Paris gathered to oust Prime Minister Yingluck in France.” + Photos (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize,</p>		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>kept field candidates off registration venues.</p> <p>12.40: Udon Thani red-shirts stand in strength to send “prime minister” off on a train to Nong Khai, shouting their encouragement, “Prime minister, fight. Prime minister, fight”.</p> <p>12.45: A bustling scene at Victory monument rally– Bangkok Metropolitan Administration</p>	<p>and received 117,188 likes.)</p> <p>- 23.46: “I would like to express my respect and deepest gratitude to you, my brothers and sisters ...All of you have shown us that you love Thailand above all else. Before today, many people have mocked us. They told us we could count until we all dropped dead and our number still could not have exceeded our number on December, 9. But today proves that our</p>		

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b>
	<b>Media</b>	<b>Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
	<p>unlocked the gate for protesters, allowing them to convene around the monument. At the same time, PDRC launched a donation campaign and declared that it had no fear of a treason charge.</p> <p>- 13.48: A photo collection of PDRC rally in front of prime minister’s house.</p> <p>- 13.49: Active crowds</p>	<p>number is even greater. So I will wait and see how will Thai presses report today’s event tomorrow. Then we will know about Thai presses: if their hearts are enslaved or free.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize, and received 104,339 likes.)</p> <p>- 23.52: “So hear me out. We have fought till nearly the end of the year now, having always done everything peacefully and</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
	Media	Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>gathered at 5 major PDRC stages and ten minor PDRC sites since 9 this morning even though the rally is set at 13.00. - 14:00: Prime Minister admitted she felt worried by the rally. She had been monitoring the protest in front of her home through the house’s CCTV using the Internet during her train</p>	<p>never damaging our country. If you, government officials, continue to remain indifferent, then you must not blame the people when they take matters into their own hands. I will lead the people to revolt completely. Let’s go for broke. At most, I will be sentenced to a life imprisonment for treason.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize, and received 119,789 likes.)</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
		“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>ride from Udon Thani to Nong Khai where there was a near miss encounter with the anti-red shirt group (Thairath Online, December 22, 2013: Online).</p>	

#### 4.1.3.3 Post-rally Period

Table 4.9 Post-rally Period (The Third Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
23 December 2013	<p>Post Today – PDRC releases the number of protesters, totaling at 6 million people on December 22. It chastised Royal Thai Police and the Office of the National Security Council for twisting the number. An urbanist, Mr. Kwansuang Atibodhi</p>	<p>Thairath Online – BBC reported that protesters still continued their anti-government march all around Bangkok, including the Prime Minister’s house. The protesters demanded that the Prime Minister resign and announced that they would boycott the election on February 2, 2014. CNN</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically. - 08.00: “This, I pledge. Here, more than a million of us who have stood up to fight will not take a step back, not even a single step. I am going to allow government officials some time. If we have exhausted all available options and we still cannot change their</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”	“Top Secret” Facebook	Page by Seh Namngoan
Media				
<p>estimated that, at 18.00, Ratchadamnoen Avenue stage along with other 5 major stages in Bangkok has hosted 6 million protesters in total (Post Today, December 23, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Prachatai – A photo collection of PDRC major ‘Half-day Bangkok Shutdown’</p>	<p>disclosed that protesters came out to oust Prime Minister. Protest leaders urged that protesters surround the stadium which served as the candidacy registration venue for February 2, 2014 election (Thairath Online, December 23, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Bangkok Biz News – A report by BBC described a large gathering at the center of Bangkok center</p>	<p>mind, then brothers and sisters, you and I must rise for the people’s revolution at the people’s hands.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize, and received 208,363 likes.)</p> <p>- 11:30: “At this moment, DSI has issued a freeze on all PDRC leaders’ bank accounts. But this will not affect our rally because our brothers and sisters have given us a cash donation.”</p> <p>- 14:40: “Kamnan directed</p>	<p>Facebook Page</p>	<p>Page by Seh Namngoan</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
<p>rally on December 22, 2013 (Prachatai, December 23, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>yesterday. AFP quoted PDR leader Suthep on his threat to shut down Bangkok for one month (Bangkok Biz News, December 23, 2013: Online).</p>	<p>the march to 5 stages, starting from Wongwian Yai to Lumpini on foot; then on a motorcycle ride to Asoke, Ratchaprasong, and Bangkok Art and Culture Centre; and to Victory Monument stage by BTS train.” (The post was intended to give information.)</p>		
24 December 2013			<p>Interesting posts were as follows:  Post at 19.14: “I would like to tell you that we must</p>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
		Page by Seh Namngoeng
	<p>Media</p>	<p>always bear in mind that we are fighting as a good citizen would. We are fighting as someone with morale would. Our principles are peaceful, calm and without weapons. It has been two months together in hardship, we are progressively making some successes and headways. It is the heart of Muan Maha Prachachon who strictly adheres to civil disobedience that is most</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
Presented by Thai Mass Media		“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
Media		Facebook Page
		<p data-bbox="517 629 603 999">precious.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p data-bbox="630 629 657 999">At 23.00, shared post from Apichat Damdee: “To... the fighting journey of Chitpas Kridakon, a female warrior seeking to save her nation, religion, and monarchy. Her soul shines brightly and pure.” (The post was intended to give information and received 405,194 likes.)</p>

## Conclusions

### 1) The Third Major Rally on December 22, 2013 — Five Stages, the Opening

#### (1) Pre-rally Period

The reports on the PDRC movement by the press concentrated on the rally on December 22 which involved the march to various sites to mobilize people; and DSI's summons of 20 other PDRC leaders, including the freeze issued on their accounts.

An analysis by Post Today questioned when PDRC would win since it had already held three major rallies, with the rally on the upcoming December 22, being its fourth. It predicted many more major rallies in the future.

Concerning foreign press, most discussed how alternative media in the U.S. criticize New York Times and BBC on their reports concerning Thailand situation which, unlike their reports of the U.S.-backed protest in Arab, failed to accept PDRC's protest.

Posts from "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page during this period focused on mobilizing people by quoting from Suthep's speech to encourage protesters that PDRC would win. A post was shared from the Facebook page of Wallop "Kru Yui" Tangkananurak from the Foundation for the Better Life of Children. It asked that political parties refrained from fielding their candidates on February 2, for the general election.

During this period, "Top Secret" Facebook page offered no post.

#### (2) During the Rally

Thai press reported PDRC's and Yingluck's movement.

Suthep Thaugsuban's Facebook page instead concentrated on giving information and mobilizing people. Highly popular posts included the first post, showing photos of the rally at Asoke stage and receiving 168,608 likes; and a photo of Suthep's having a lunch break on the street which received 207,725 likes. Almost all the posts on the date of the rally received more than 100,000 likes. Nothing was posted on Top Secret Thailand Facebook page during the rally.

### (3) Post-rally Period

Afterwards, Thai press recapped the rally, reporting PDRC's announcement of 6,000,000 protesters, and accused either the Royal Thai Police or Office of the National Security Council of having manipulated the number of protesters to be less than it was. During this period, all reports from foreign press which were selected and repeated by Thai press concentrated on events from the rally on December 22, 2013, the march to Yingluck's house, the people's council proposition, and Democrat Party's decision to boycott the election on February 2, 2014.

Suthep Thaugsuban's Facebook fanpage focused on being informational. The post that received most likes was a quote from Suthep's speech on the stage on the night of the rally, saying that if the government refused to resign, then the people and PDRC leaders would rise for the people's revolution by themselves. This post received 208,363 likes. Another post that received high number of likes was shared from Apichat Damdee who wrote about Ms. Chitpas's change of surname to her mother's maiden family name, Kridakorn. The post received as many as 405,194 likes.

#### 4.1.4 The Fourth Major Rally on January 13, 2014—Shutdown

##### 4.1.4.1 Pre-rally Period

Table 4.10 Pre-rally Period (The Fourth Major Rally) (1)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
26 December 2013	Sanook.com –Polices fired tear gas into protesters at Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan), Din Daeng. CAPO spokesperson insisted that some unidentified men had fired at police officers, causing three injuries. Erawan Center concluded that 23 injuries from the clash		Shared post from Akanat “King” Promphan: “What happened today was that our people protested at Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan), Din Daeng. The idea is that an election as dictated by the government must not happen. National reform must precede an	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
		Page by Seh Namngoen
(Sanook.com, December 26, 2013: Online).	MThai – Polices and mob violently clash!: a photograph compilation.	election... I was concern that if we continued to stay while Surapong Tovichakchaikul—a crazy man, a wacko—remained chief of CAPO, he will find something to get our brothers and sisters...” (The post was intended to give information and comment.)
Police officers were reported to have fired live ammunition at mob, causing injuries to both protesters and reporters.	The crowd vandalized the site, attacked and forced the police to retreat inside the football field. Police officers had to	The followings were listed chronologically. Post at 16.46: “If there is

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b>
	<b>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Facebook Page</b>
		<b>Page by Seh Namngoan</b>
	<p>occasionally fired tear gas to protect themselves. As of latest, two deaths were reported, including one civilian and one police officer. Sixty-six casualties were reported (Mithai, December 26, 2013: Online).</p> <p>Post Today – PDRC leader Mr. Satit Wongnongtaey announced on the stage that, on this December 26, a tragedy took place at Bangkok Youth Center</p>	<p>no live ammunition, are you calling this in my hand a fake? ...”</p> <p>- 19.31: “There are steel balls, head bolts, rubber bullets, and real bullets— are these truly under the universal principle?” (The post was intended to give information and comment.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
Mass Media	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>(Thai-Japan), Din Daeng, injuring people from the Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT), polices, and reporters (Post Today, December 26, 2013: Online).</p>		
<p>27 December 2013 Thairath Online – Concerning Thairath newspaper on December 27, 2013, which published photos of the fight between police officers and protesters, including a</p>		<p>The followings were listed chronologically.  Post at 08.00: “Chief of CAPO Surapong Tovichakchaikul issued a personal statement at 17.30. I am telling you,</p>



<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p data-bbox="343 481 397 1003"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="343 481 512 1003">photo of mystery man who was holding a gun, recent investigation revealed the mystery man to have no involvement with the event. The editorial department hereby apologized for the mistake (Thairath Online, December 27, 2013: Online).</p>	<p data-bbox="343 1003 397 1883"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="343 1003 512 1883">the government and Mr. Surapong conspired to lie to the people of this country... The broadcast has misled people into believing us to support violence when our fight has always followed the principle of civil disobedience..."</p> <p data-bbox="343 1003 512 1883">Post at 19:44: "PDRC core leader Buddhipongse Punnakanta, on PDRC's behalf, paid a visit to the protesters who were</p>
		<p data-bbox="512 1003 566 1883"><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p> <p data-bbox="512 1003 715 1883"><b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b> <b>Foreign Mass Media</b> <b>as Presented by Thai</b> <b>Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b> <b>Facebook Page</b>	<b>“Top Secret” Facebook</b> <b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
28 December 2013	Thairath Online – On Victory Monument stage, PDRC secretary-general Suthep shedded a tear as he and others stood in silent tribute to Mr. Wasu Suchantabut, a protester who was killed in the clash at the Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan) Din	wounded in the clash with the police yesterday.” (The post was intended to give information and to comment.)	The followings were listed chronologically. At 12.21, shared photo from an album titled, “A mourning ceremony for two souls” (December 27, 2013). Post at 12.23: “I hereby pledge to Wasu’s soul that we will carry on his

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b>
	<b>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Facebook Page</b>
		<b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
	Daeng (Thairath Online, December 28, 2013: Online).	commitment to cleanse Thailand of Thaksin regime.”
	ThaiPublica – The chaos at Competition venue 2, Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan) Din Daeng on the registration date for party-list candidates was the talk of social media this week. The next topic discussed by netizens included praises and tributes to Mr. Wasu Suchantabut, a hero who	- 15.12: “At the time of the incident, there were many reporters and civilians around at the time of the incident. However, none of the press saw anyone with a weapon. There were only photos of police officers shooting at the people...” At 21.36, shared post from Police General Wasit

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai	Mass Media	Facebook Page
Mass Media	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoeng
<p>had protected the protesters and passed away (ThaiPublica, December 28, 2013: Online</p>	<p>Detkunchon, former deputy director-general of the Police Department, stating that an analysis on the sequence of event should be done as soon as possible. On SNT’s front, the crowd was large in numbers. Many of them were unrecognizable and could not be controlled. It is under suspicion that outsiders could have been there under false pretense to provoke the police. On</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page “Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoan
		<p>the other hand, what is notable about the police is the violence observed of those in police uniforms... (The post was intended give information and a comment.)</p>

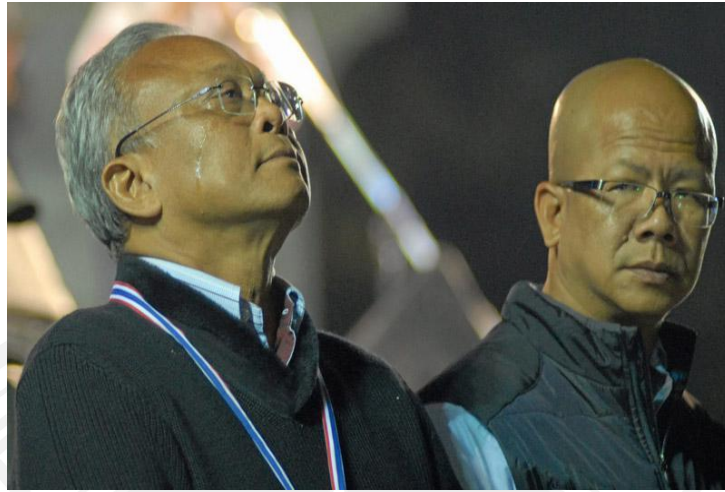


Figure 4.3 Suthep Thaugsuban on PDRC stage, standing in silent tribute to Mr. Wasu Suchantabut

Source: Thairath Online (2013).

Table 4.11 Pre-rally Period (The Fourth Major Rally) (2)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
2 January 2014	<p>Post Today – Army desisted the government’s invocation of an emergency decree to block PDRC’s attempt to shut down Bangkok on January 13, 2014. It claimed to tighten its control over the situation. Deployment of Police force remained adequate, but would be revised to include the army as a supporting unit (Post Today, January 2, 2017:</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 20.00: “Shut down Bangkok – a show of civil disobedience by shutting down Bangkok, rendering the government into a failed government. Muan Maha Prachachon, let us all step out to block Bangkok’s streets, setting up stages on every T-junctions and intersections, that government officials</li> </ul>		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
			<p>can no longer work. Let us cut off electricity and water at every government offices, including homes of Prime Minister and her cabinets. Operation shut down Bangkok begins on Monday 13, 2017 from 9.00 a.m. henceforth until we win.”</p> <p>- Post at 21.00: “PDRC assigned Dr. Seri Wongmontha to liaison with artists and celebrities to organize their stage at Ratchaprasong Intersection.</p>	



<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p> <p><b>Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>
<p>3 January 2014</p>	<p>Manager Online – “Shutdown”: Bangkok in chaos as people rushed to stock up on supplies! PDRC issued an order to cut off electricity and water at homes of “Yingluck and her cabinets”. Meanwhile, academicians pointed out</p>	<p>This is one of their major stages.” (The post was intended give information and to mobilize.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media	
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>how the government did not believe PDRC would win since it lacked the force, weapons and funding. Moreover, PDRC risked losing supporters by “blocking traffic” (Manager Online, January 3, 2017: Online).</p>	<p>Mass Media</p>	<p>Facebook Page</p>	<p>Namngoen</p>
<p>4 January 2014</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 12.35: “Members of PDRC committee have discussed: it is time we burn our bridge. For provincial</li> </ul>		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
			<p>dwellers who are coming to Bangkok, please arrive before January 12. Because we will disassemble our stage at Ratchadamnoen Avenue when we will occupy all other intersections instead. Please be prepared to make our stand until we win.”</p> <p>- At 13.14, shared post from Pramon Sutivong, chairman of Anti-Corruption Organization of Thailand (ACT), stating that</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
6 January 2014		business sector accepted that the intensification of the protest was a short-term cost. (The post was intended to give information, to comment, and to mobilize.)		
		The followings were listed chronologically. - At 20.35, shared post from Chai Rachawat: “Some people believe that this matter concerning Muan Maha Prachachon, the millions of us, is just	The followings were listed chronologically. - “Do you want to know if a political warfare is breaking out? My opinion is that there is no potential for total political warfare.	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
			<p>between Democrat Party and Pheu Thai Party. Wake up. This is between the villains without conscience and the good people whose patience has ran out.”</p> <p>- Post at 12.18: “Pheu Thai MP Anudith Nakornthap claimed Muan Maha Prachachon had taken drugs to feel courageous. But nobody had taken drugs. We do not need them to give us courage. We are ‘courageous at heart’ ...”</p>	<p>However, there is a chance for violence through terrorism. Though operated under Thaksin regime and being backed by foreign press, the government’s attempted use of discourse to paint Thailand as entering a political warfare... However, with such conditions considered, it remains unlikely that</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
			<p>- At 20.35, shared post from senator Rosana Tositrakul which stated when the government lost votes on draft laws as important as a draft amnesty bill and an amendment to the 2007 Constitution, it should resign.</p> <p>- Post at 20.25: “With our route tomorrow, we are visiting our fellow Thonburian to invite them to join us, Muan Maha Prachachon...”</p>	<p>a total civil war should transpire...”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information, and a comment.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
7 January 2014	Thairath Online – a photograph compilation of PDRC rally during an afternoon march on-foot. Led by PDRC secretary-general Suthep Thaugsuban, the procession headed for Thonburi area to invite people to join their ‘Shutdown’ campaign on January 13, 2014 which	(The post was intended to give information, a criticism, and to mobilize.) - 9:00: “If today, Muan Maha Prachachon and I lost, that is all right. Let those people who support Thaksin regime continue to enjoy themselves. But if one day, Muan Maha Prachachon win, we will move forward and forfeit all the asset owned by Yingluck and those who served Thaksin... As for Jatuporn’s accusation	Post, “The military tactic this turn is even cleverer, much like the Trojan horse of Troy when, under a pretense, the Greeks fashioned a gigantic wooden horse and hid a select force of men inside. After Thailand National Children’s Day on this January 11, 2014,	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>will take place on the street all over Bangkok.” (Thairath Online, January 7, 2014: Online)</p>		<p>in which he claimed we have secret plot to induce a military coup, I assure you, we have never made such demand. Our revolution will be by the people.” (The post was intended to give information and to comment.)</p>	<p>observe something that has never been done before when an green men transported armored vehicles, machine gun vehicles, and artilleries to the 11th Infantry Regiment (King’s Guard) in the middle of the night to prepare for the parade. At the same time, another group transported a tremendous number of</p>



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
				<p>other armaments to the 2nd Infantry Division Queen Sirikit’s Guard to prepare for Thailand National Children’s Day.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give an information and to comment.)</p>

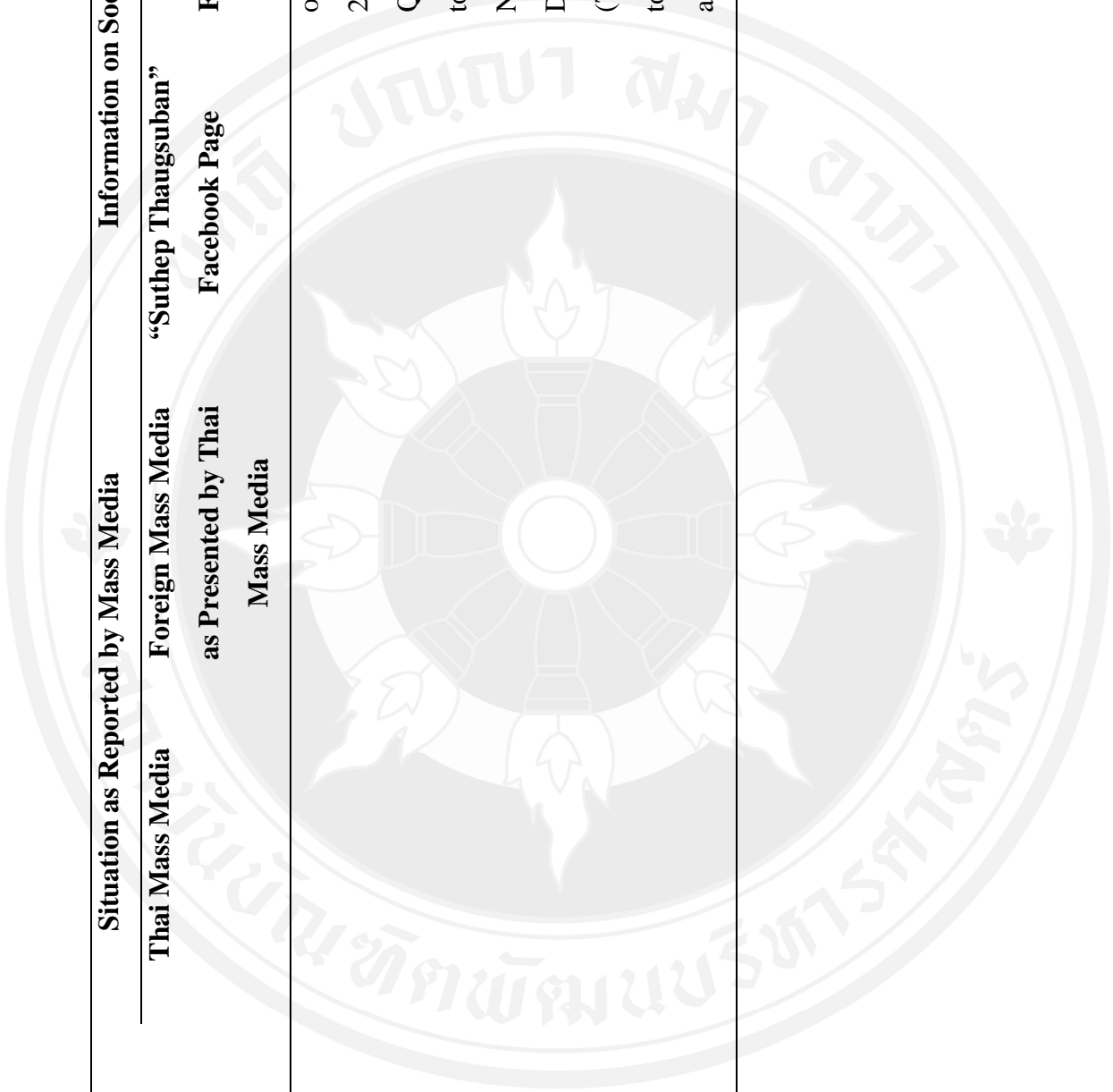




Figure 4.4 A Photograph Compilation of PDRC's On-foot March to Invite People to Join Their Shutdown Campaign on January 13, 2014 in Thonburi Area

Source: Thairath Online (2014).

Table 4.12 Pre-rally Period (The Fourth Major Rally) (3)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media	
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoan
8 January 2014	<p>Bangkok Biz News – It offered a report on the movement, summarizing that PDRC leaders had hoped that the intensification of the protest by shutting down Bangkok on this January 13, 2014 would be the final journey of their final journey to this fight against the caretaker government. The battle had lasted for more than 2</p>	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoan

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p>months. However, PDRC assessed that although the number of Muan Maha Prachachon increased with every new rally, they still could not see the end game. Naturally, here presented 2 risks: a potentially violent situation and political accidents without any win, or the win did not lead to true national reformation... (Bangkok Biz News, January 8,</p>	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p> <p><b>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
9 January 2014	Prachatai – PDRC to lessen its “Bangkok Shutdown” sites from 20 locations to seven stages, centering at Pathumwan intersection. There will be a march to block access to all government offices every day. However, the protesters will return to their strongholds at night to prevent them from being attacked. As for whoever is lighting a	2014: Online) Prachatai – PDRC to lessen its “Bangkok Shutdown” sites from 20 locations to seven stages, centering at Pathumwan intersection. There will be a march to block access to all government offices every day. However, the protesters will return to their strongholds at night to prevent them from being attacked. As for whoever is lighting a	The followings were listed chronologically. - At 14.00, shared a link from Thairath Online, presenting the interview with Lips magazine founder Sakchai Guy: “Today, I am here as another citizen who wished to see good things happen to our country.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)	The followings were listed chronologically. - Army commander-in-chief countered Pheu Thai Party, “Do not be all bark and no bite”, He gave an interview, saying, “The army had not wished for people to be wounded or die. The army is here to help, not to harm the people, but to guarantee their safety. I am passing this message

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>candle to symbolically oppose PDRC, we will consider them one of the UDD. (Prachatai, January 9, 2014: Online)</p>			<p>through you, the press, please tell Pheu Thai MP Mr. Prompong Nopparit, “do not be all bark and no bite.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.) - “Will coup d’etat happen, if not this week then next week? ... Operation ‘Bangkok Shutdown’ bears three levels of consequences. First, enters the</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>‘stagnation’ during the first two days. Any period longer than 4 days becomes a ‘riot.’ ... The beginning of a confrontation provides a likely opportunity for a coup d’etat.”</p> <p>- On the morning of January 13, 2014, the world may catch a shocking glimpse when government officials all line up at their own ministry and march</p>		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
10 January 2014	<p>Post Today – PDRC prepared to meet representatives from various organizations such as Tourism Council of Thailand and International Red Cross which were affected by “Bangkok</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 13.26: “Our expense has greatly multiplied since we have set seven stages all around Bangkok. Ms. Taya Teepsuwan, wife of Mr.</li> </ul>	<p>alongside the people. Even though soldiers will follow suits, they will say it is to protect the people.” (The post was intended to give a comment.)</p>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page Page by Seh Namngoeng
<p>Shutdown”. It affirmed that it would collaborate and assist all embassies wishing to travel through protesting sites. It attacked the threat made by Metropolitan Police Bureau on its officers, ordering their “wife and children” to light a candle as a symbol of opposition (Post Today, January 10, 2014: Online)</p> <p>Post Today – Red shirts and Pathum Thani PDRC</p>	<p>Mass Media</p>	<p>Nataphol (a PDRC core leader in charge of the expense), has helped us by setting us, Muan Maha Prachachon, up with a donation account. ...Brothers and sisters... you can contribute to this account right away...”</p> <p>- At 20.35, shared post from Captain Sorawit “Dr. Kong” Suboon (M.D.): “For someone to take on the role of a public administrator... not only must they possess</p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p data-bbox="343 705 375 996"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="391 705 422 996">in a violent clash, four were injured. A fight broke out at the Thai National Memorial in Pathum Thani between the UDD who gathered to protest against shutting down Bangkok and a procession of PDRC protesters who campaigned for others to join them on January 13. The fight resulted in four injuries (Post Today, January 20, 2014: Online).</p>	<p data-bbox="343 1030 375 1321"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p data-bbox="343 1355 375 1646"><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p> <p data-bbox="391 1355 422 1646"><b>Page by Seh Namngo</b></p> <p data-bbox="438 1355 470 1646">the skills to perform their assigned task, but also a moral character... Today, you (Charupong Ruangsuwan) declared you would open an investigation on sub-district headman and village headman who spoke on PDRC stages.” (The post was intended to give information and a comment. It received 163,517 likes.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoan
11 January 2014	<p>Thairath Online – A summary of news from January 10-11, 2014. A summary of news on January 10 goes as follows.</p> <p>19.15 The Election Commission (EC) resolved to make a petition to Prime Minister, suggesting an issuance of a new royal decree to reschedule the election date after it encountered a problem.</p> <p>- 20.30: “Jatuporn”</p>	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b>
	<b>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
	<p>helped candidate for an MP campaign at Nongkhai. On stage, he landed a punch on “Suthep”, predicting there could be a coup d’etat. He further invited the red shirts to march against a coup d’etat together on January 13 and opened this country.</p> <p>- 20.52: Department of Special Investigation (DSI) chief prepared to issue summoning warrants</p>	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b>
<b>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Facebook Page</b>	<b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
	<p>for 20 PDRC third-row leaders on the charge of treason.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 22.15: Suthep revealed, polices were planning an arrest tonight.</li> </ul> <p>A summary of news on January 11 goes as follows.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 04.45: Heavy explosion and gunfire erupts at Khok Wua intersection near PDRC’s stage. One among the five wounded was fatal (Thairath Online, January</li> </ul>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
		Page by Seh Namngoen
11, 2014: Online).	Thairath Online – A	
	summary of news follows.	
- 10.36:	An Army commander-in-chief	
	admitted he felt concerned	
	about the safety of	
	“Bangkok Shutdown” day	
on January 13.	There	
would be no coup d’etat,	he asserted.	
- 11.16:	The United	
Nations Secretary-General	Ban Ki-moon expressed	
his concern for “Bangkok		

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media</b>      <b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b>  <b>as Presented by Thai</b>      <b>Facebook Page</b>  <b>Mass Media</b>                      <b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>
	<p>Shutdown” campaign on this upcoming Monday. He revealed that he has spoken with “Pu and Mark” to mediate the problems. He asked for patience on both sides and that they return to negotiation.</p> <p>- 13.30: Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra post her apology for the cancellation of the annual celebration of Thailand National Children’s Day at</p>	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Top Secret” Facebook</b></p>
	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>
	<p><b>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>
	<p>Government House for convenience and security reasons.</p> <p>- 15.30: Pheu Thai Party spokesman, “Prompong Nopparit” reaffirmed, no postponement of the election, and pushed that the Election Commission (EC) should quit. He as well called for the EC to press charge against PDRC and not to run from the problem. He pointed out that “Suthep” had invested</p>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b> <b>Foreign Mass Media</b> <b>as Presented by Thai</b> <b>Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b> <b>Facebook Page</b>	<b>“Top Secret” Facebook</b> <b>Page by Seh Namngoan</b>
<p>as high as 1 thousand million baht, hiring people to join the Shutdown campaign at the rate of 2,000 baht each (Thairath Online, January 11, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>Post Today – An active scene for PDRC rally as it was joined by the people from the provinces, preparing to shutdown Bangkok. Core leader Satit Wongnongtaey revealed that they were preparing to</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “We are recruiting people who live in a ‘high-rising building’ or ‘saw something unusual’, please take a video clip and share!!!!!!!!!!!!”</li> </ul>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>disassemble the stage at Ratchadamnoen Avenue and seized government offices. This included cutting off electricity and water at Prime Minister’s home. He insisted that PDRC only wished for the government to resign and cleared the path for a national reform before an election (Post Today, January 12, 2014: Online)</p>	<p>carrying a gun, had tried to force their way into the stadium which served as the party registration venue. Thai police’s ability to control the crowd was disappointing and the officers were asked to avoid any life-threatening risk. While soldiers were stationed at the stadium, they only</p>	<p>“This confidential news goes, a former MP from Phao Thai Party (Burning Thailand Party, referring to Pheu Thai) currently served in a position of the Director of Kurusapa Business Organization, an organization to print the ballot paper which works under the Ministry of Education,”</p> <p>- “As many as 68 million ballot papers has</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	stand in observation. This could be viewed that the government does not have the military support despite the military being considered one of Thailand political “players”. New York Times, on the other hand, gave a report on EC’s proposal for a postponement of election which was	been printed when only 48 million people have a voting right. Oh my, the secret has leaked.” (The post received 20 likes and 14 shares.) - 16.30: “Men in black observed in Chumphon, driving cars (with their siren on) leading and trailing 5 container trucks. All were driven by men in black; all headed for Bangkok.” (The post was intended to		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>rejected by Pheu Thai Party. That being said, a postponement of an election could be considered as the protesters’ victory (Prachatai, January 12, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>give information and to comment.)</p>

#### 4.1.4.2 During the Rally

Table 4.13 During the Rally (The Fourth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
13 January 2014	<p>Post Today – PDRC protesters crowded Pathumwan intersection as Mark and Chuan greeted the masses. Protesters from provincial areas continued to flow in, joining others at PDRC’s main stage at Pathumwan intersection. All traffic in the surrounding area had been blocked (Post Today,</p>			<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Today, my friend from Kamphaeng Phet... told me that folks from a different district was asked by the province to help out in a campaign. But they were not told what the campaign was about. They were picked up by a car and were paid</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
January 13, 2014: Online). Post Today – DSI issued summoning warrants to first, second, and third row PDRC leaders, totaling to 55 people. All acknowledged the charge of conspiring to commit an act of treason (Post Today, January 13, 2014: Online).	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page
January 13, 2014: Online). Post Today – DSI issued summoning warrants to first, second, and third row PDRC leaders, totaling to 55 people. All acknowledged the charge of conspiring to commit an act of treason (Post Today, January 13, 2014: Online).	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	200 baht each. Once they reached the urban district, they formed a procession with banners... Turning out, the procession was meant to support an election, not the violence. Once, they finished lighting some candles, each of them was paid 200 baht and transported back to each of their own village...” - “To analyze the

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 1003 379 1621">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="347 1003 379 1621">Foreign Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="405 1003 491 1294">as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 271 379 949">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p> <p data-bbox="405 271 443 600">Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p data-bbox="517 376 549 600">shutting down of Bangkok from January 13 henceforth, there are three levels of consequences. January 15 – observe carefully, from this time forth, the red state will take this chance to attack the people. Strategically, green men may have to come out and put an end to the situation, combatting undercover... It is time to get even with</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
				<p>the red shirts from year 2010 without the green uniform to hang over one’s head. (The post was intended to give information and to comment.)</p>



#### 4.1.4.3 Post-rally Period

Table 4.14 Post-rally Period (The Fourth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
14 January 2014	<p>Kom Chad Luek – PDRC spokesman Akanat Promphan issued a statement, saying that the march to various sites was meant to put a pressure on the caretaker government. Meanwhile, their movement would continue to be calm, peaceful, and</p>		<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 08.00: ‘Today is the first day of our ‘Bangkok Shutdown’ operation. The government thinks we will not last more than three days. But let me tell you, we are here to stay until we know the outcome, either we win or we lose. If we lose, I am going to jail. I would rather</li> </ul>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “This one is fierce. I heard there was a huge press conference, announcing that if Suthep shut down Bangkok, he, too, would transport 15 million red shirts to Bangkok to open the city.”</li> <li>- “Say... has he followed through with his promise?”</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>nonviolent. In addition, they would avoid any surrounding areas such as airports or stock markets that would trigger a widespread impact. In all, it was PDRC’s aim that Mrs. Yingluck resign from her position as a caretaker Prime Minister. With her resignation, PDRC would be opened for any subsequent negotiations</p>	<p>be in prison than to be outside, but still enslaved by Thaksin. “ - 10:00: “We had the privilege to welcome Mr. Jetrin ‘J’ to sing on our Asoke stage for Muan Maha Prachachon. A heartfelt salute to your courage, sir.” (The post was intended to give information. It received 175,685 likes.) - 11:00: “Brothers and sisters, when we agreed that we would take this fight to</p>	<p>“I saw him making a speech at the 700th Anniversary Stadium in Chiang Mai. There were 2,000 hired red shirts from northern region; swindling ensues.” (The post was intended to comment. It received 139 likes and 157 shares.) - “An analysis on the event from January, 15 when the government beat a hasty retreat, summoning 70 state agencies for a</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>that aimed for the benefit of the people (Kom Chad Luek, January 14, 2014: Online).</p> <p>Voice TV Online – Breaking news from newspaper go as follows.</p> <p>Thairath – A successfully led “Bangkok Shutdown” campaign led by “Suthep” as he followed his dream and set up</p>	<p>its end, there was no need to ask when to stop. Therefore, I am inviting you all join our sleepover on the street. Come, join our picnic. We will close down all the streets in Bangkok. And if anyone of you want this to end quickly, come join us. I assure you, this will end quickly.”</p> <p>- 17.42: “Here is the view from both sides of Ratchadamnoen Avenue (January 13, 2014).”</p>	<p>discussion at Air Force Convention Hall to postpone an election. Failure is most likely since the Election Commission will not be joining.” (The post was intended to comment.)</p> <p>Addition posts included the followings.</p> <p>- “...Another mistake was made by the red state. Current circumstance considered, it is obvious to high public officials who</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>eight stages to “chase Yingluck”, forcing her to resign from her position as a caretaker prime minister. Meanwhile, first Army Region commander insisted that “Prayuth” certainly would never attempt a coup d’état. Thai people who resided in Sydney joined the shutdown campaign, demanding a national reformation.</p>	<p>- 23.43: “All the foolish scholars should spare us the theory, and stop saying that such a thing like reformation by the people does not exist. We will show them in a few days.” (The post was intended to give information and to mobilize.)</p>	<p>lost. At every agencies visited by PDRC, daily defectors are to be expected from now.” - An evaluation by the Election Commission revealed that if there is an election on this January, 22, many of the agencies serving as polling units from southern region will have refused the use of their facilities... In addition, staffs are likely to turn down or withdraw</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media	
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>Post Today – Shutdown to continue until victory is won. Suthep declared, no negotiation, as Pu arranged to discuss for a way out. A member of Class 10 at pre-cadet school revealed a coup d’état was underway (Voice TV Online, January 14, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>Mass Media</p>	<p>Facebook Page</p>	<p>their involvement during various processes of the election... My, my ...that is 3,9 thousand million baht wasted by the government.” (The post was intended to comment.)</p>

## Conclusions

### 1) The Fourth Major Rally on January 13, 2014n—Shutdown

#### (1) Pre-rally Period

Thai press reported the violence which had begun to take place. This included the clash that occurred on December 26, 2013 between the Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) and police officers at Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan) Din Daeng, the candidacy registration venue. This resulted in two fatalities, marking one civilian and one police officer. Sixty-six people were wounded. Other reports included an announcement from the government about its invocation of an emergency decree despite the military's objection, and PDRC's announcement to shut down Bangkok on January 13, 2014.

Foreign press like BBC analyzed that despite the violence, military continued to be impassive. This showed that the government did not gain the support from the army. Other news agencies reported the proposal for postponement of the election which was made by the Election Commission to the government.

On social media's front after the violence, "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page was observed to focus on being informational as well as giving a situational analysis of the clash at Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan) Din Daeng. Concerning the confrontation, the caretaker government claimed that protesters were armed and violent. This claim was countered by "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page which gave information about PDRC's upcoming major rally on January 13, 2014 in addition.

Posts which received most likes during this period was shared from Captain Sorawit "Dr. Kong" Suboon (M.D.) which specified that, for someone to take on the role of a public administrator... not only must they possess the skills to perform their task, but also a moral character. It received 163,517 likes.

Despite the long period without any posts since "Top Secret" Facebook fanpage was first set up, it offered one on January 6, 2014 after the violence. The post concentrated on analyzing and explaining the situation — for instance, its elaboration of the possibility of a civil war. The post suggested that complete political warfare was impossible, but there was a chance for violence through terrorism; this was also expected by the government. Moreover, it anticipated

that the army would use the opportunity to organize Thailand National Children's Day on January 11 to also bring in military personnel and armaments. In addition, a post was shared from the army commander-in-chief, stating that the presence of the army was to protect and ensure the people's safety. One crucial point was a post predicting that violence would break out after the major rally and a coup d'état was likely.

### (2) During the Rally

Thai press reported the events of the major rally to shut down Bangkok throughout the day, and DSI's summoning warrants to another 55 PDRC leaders.

There was no post from "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page. In contrast, "Top Secret" Facebook page criticized the group of people who lighted candles to show their support for the election, saying they were people from the province who had been tricked to come to Bangkok. It further urged that, because of the Bangkok Shutdown campaign, from January 15 onward, people should keep an eye out. The red state would attack the people, possibly forcing the undercover green men to come out, and put an end to the situation.

### (3) Post-rally Period

All local press reported events from PDRC's major rally, the Bangkok Shutdown campaign. This included the aim of PDRC's leaders which stated that Yingluck must resign from her role as a caretaker Prime Minister. Only then that they were willing to negotiate. Furthermore, the press also presented Suthep's interview with BBC, saying that PDRC's occupations of various major roads and government offices in Bangkok would not trigger any violence or other confrontations. PDRC protesters fought peacefully; they were unarmed. Civil war was therefore impossible.

During this period, "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page focused on giving information and mobilizing people. It quoted Suthep's stage speech, particularly concerning the reformation; and offered information on PDRC's procession to various sites in each day. The post that received most likes concerned Jetrin "J" and the song he sang on Asoke stage to Muan Maha Prachachon. It received 172,685 likes.

“Top Secret” Facebook page focused on giving information, analyzed and explained the situation. It assessed that the upcoming election would likely fail, instead becoming a waste of 3.9 thousand million baht of government budget.





## 4.1.5 The General Election on February 2, 2014

### 4.1.5.1 Pre-election Period

Table 4.15 Pre-election Period (1)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
17 January 2014	<p>Sanook.com – Urgent!! Bomb thrown at protesters marching along Banthat Thong Road by sneaky assailant around 13.00. As of latest, the incident had caused 28 injuries. PDRC security guards spread out, searching a deserted building for the assailants. Meanwhile, Suthep had</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 14.30: “Today (January 17) around 13.00, there was an explosion at Banthat Thong Road, just before Charoen Phon intersection and near a deserted building behind Supachalasai National Stadium as the crowd was</li> </ul>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “It is time to settle a score... I repeat!!! Red government and men in black—they have such audacity. They fired and threw weapons at people who cannot fight back every night. Then they lied on television, using</li> </ul>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>already marched to the stage at Pathumwan intersection (Sanook.com, January 17, 2014: Online). Thairath Online – A summary of events: 13.00: “NIDA Poll” revealed that 71.04 percent of Bangkokian had never participated in PDRC rally.</p> <p>13.44: A loud noise much like an explosion sounded out at Suthep’s procession along Banthat Thong</p>	<p>waiting to greet Suthep’s procession. Ten people were injured; each was being transported to a hospital. Erawan Center reported 28 injuries as of latest.”</p> <p>- Post at 21.26: “They wanted to scare me. But I am not. Tomorrow, I will march again at 10 a.m., starting from Pathumwan intersection!”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information.)</p>	<p>our nation’s tax... From today onwards, we go full-forward with our “Operation Flower Picking”... To those at managerial level above the four men in black, prepare to watch ‘Seh Daeng’s Head: the 2nd sequel “personally. Abdul of men in black... your promise to the big green man around New Year, saying you would ‘atone for your mistakes’, I have</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
<p>Road. There were injuries.</p> <p>15.10: Prime Minister gave an interview with foreign press, stating that an election must be held until there were enough MPs to open a parliament session.</p> <p>15.45: Soldiers searched an abandoned building on Banthat Thong Road where they discovered numerous weapons. The building was as well observed with water and</p>	<p>Mass Media</p>	<p>come to collect... I repeat!!!”</p> <p>(The post was intended to comment. It received 1,400 likes and 489 shares.)</p> <p>Post at 13.33: “Red government employed men in black to throw a bomb, intending to assassinate Suthep. There was an arsenal of weapons!!! As PDRC procession, led by Suthep, was marching along</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>electricity connection.</p> <p>16.30 A loud noise much like an explosion sounded out at Chaeng Watthana stage.</p> <p>16.32 PDRC leaders prepared to march to Kurusapa organization of the Teachers Council to prevent and impede the printing of ballot cards (Thairath Online, January 17, 2014: Online).</p>			
				<p>Banthat Thong Road, a man in black, working under the government, threw a bomb from a deserted building, intending to murder Suthep and other PDRC leaders. Approximately, 28 people from the procession were injured. However, Suthep was safe and was taken to their base under a heavy protection by men in green and men in white</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 1003 375 1621">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="347 1003 375 1294">Foreign Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="405 1003 432 1294">as Presented by Thai</p> <p data-bbox="459 1061 491 1234">Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 250 375 580">“Top Secret” Facebook</p> <p data-bbox="405 250 432 580">Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p data-bbox="517 250 544 580">who were undercover...</p> <p data-bbox="571 250 767 580">The uniformed green men had completely secured the area within a few minutes after the attack.</p> <p data-bbox="794 250 991 580">As of latest, a large number of weapons belonging to men in black had been seized from their armory inside an abandoned building. Also, there was red cap with the inscription ‘Attacking unit’, and cards with the inscription ‘Police’. It</p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p data-bbox="343 481 391 716"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="343 716 391 996"><b>Foreign Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="391 481 438 996"><b>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p data-bbox="343 996 391 1232"><b>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p> <p data-bbox="343 1232 391 1467"><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>
		<p data-bbox="510 996 1340 1968">           appeared that the man in black had laid in ambush for Suthep in this room for several days. News was positive that the bomber was a man in black with the rank of a commissioned police officer from a Border Patrol Division. (The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 5,100 likes and 6,135 shares.)         </p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
18 January 2014	<p>Post Today – PDRC to donate one million baht to hold a funeral for “Prakong” at Wat Thepsirin</p> <p>PDRC co-leader Puttipong Punnakan visited Ramathibodi Hospital to offer encouragement to the family of the deceased, Mr. Prakong Chuchan, who was killed in the bomb at Banthat Thong Road (Post Today, January</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “I will remember the incident at Banthat Thong Road. They claimed we created this situation ourselves. This is my message to them: I am not a UDD that I will kill my compatriots!...”</li> <li>- 21.26: “I am devastated because we have always fought within our right under the Constitution. Since the beginning of our</li> </ul>	<p>The followings were posted.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. “The big boss of men in black rushed to cut his henchmen loose, fearing the rerun of ‘Seh Daeng’s Head: the 2nd sequel’.</li> </ol> <p>Here are more information worth following concerning the incident when an explosive was thrown in broad daylight with an intent to kill Suthep:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The bronze gray car</li> </ol>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthetp Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
18, 2014: Online).	Post Today – Suthetp led PDRC in a candle light vigil for “Prakong.” Suthetp declared on Victory Monument stage that PDRC would intensify their “Bangkok Shutdown” campaign next week before he returned to Pathumwan stage where he led the crowd in a ceremony to light candles and placed flowers in remembrance of “Prakong	movement, the government has always used violence against us. I am terribly saddened and pained because I have never thought Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra and the Minister of Defence to be like her brother. Neither will my team and I be dissuaded, nor will we back down, abandoning everyone. The only way is forward; I ask that everyone keep their spirit,	belonging to the man in black carried a registration plate with a police emblem followed by the registration number 19086. 2. There were signs indicating that several men in black had been residing in the unoccupied building where weapons were found for some time... Predictably, the next move by the big boss of men in black was to	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
<p>Thai Mass Media</p> <p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>	<p>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
<p>Chuchan” (Post Today, January 18, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>march on, and keep fighting.” (The post was intended to give information and to comment.)</p>	<p>severe all ties with his henchmen to prevent the scandal.” (The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 2,200 likes and 1,608 shares.) - “The puzzle solved... Schemed by red state, bomb was hurled, attempting to assassinate Suthep... paving way to operation ‘Seal Pu (Crab in.’</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
19 January 2014			<p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 2,100 likes and 1,114 shares.)</p> <p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Post at 13.00: “Kamnan Suthep’s official Facebook page had now received one million fans. We are thankful for all your follows, brothers and sisters.”</li> </ul> <p>(The post was intended to</p>	<p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 2,100 likes and 1,114 shares.)</p> <p>The followings were posted.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “A complimentary gift in form of guards and other goodies from the people’s tax to protect the Election Commission. Since the parliament dissolution has effectively rendered the red state</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
			<p>inform. It received 149,265 likes.)</p> <p>- At 17.00, shared an article from Matichon Online by Nongnuch Singhadecha: “The reasons behind the phenomenon, “Kamnan Suthep Fever.” (The post was intended to give information and to comment.)</p>	<p>powerless, consequently, they have been trying to lobby the five members of the Election Commission into approving the decision to dismiss the bosses of men in green, men in white and men in navy. However, the Election Commission refused; thus news was spilt. The boss of men in green was furious...</p> <p>Therefore, both uniformed and undercover guards</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 741 379 1077">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="395 741 427 1077">Foreign Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="443 741 475 1077">as Presented by Thai</p> <p data-bbox="491 741 523 1077">Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 1077 379 1301">“Top Secret” Facebook</p> <p data-bbox="395 1077 427 1301">Page by Seh Namngoen</p> <p data-bbox="443 1077 475 1301">“Suthep Thaugsuban”</p> <p data-bbox="491 1077 523 1301">Facebook Page</p>
		<p data-bbox="517 1077 549 1881">should equip themselves with goodies that were purchased with the people’s tax to dutifully guard each members of the Election Commission whenever any of them makes a survey visit. (The post was accompanied by a photo of the Election Commission Chairman surrounded by armed officers.) (The post was intended to give</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
21 January 2014	Thairath Online – The government issued an emergency decree, starting from tomorrow, January 22 onwards and lasting for 60 days. It appointed “Chalerm” as the director of the Centre for Maintaining Peace and Order (CMPO). Meanwhile, the national			information and to comment. It received 3,700 likes and 1,774 shares.)

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Top Secret” Facebook</b></p>
	<p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>
	<p>police chief and the permanent secretary for defense each will serve as deputy director of the CMPO. They absolutely will not disband the protesters (Thairath Online, January 17, 2014: Online)).</p>	<p><b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>
	<p>Thairath Online – PDRC Co-leader Suthep Thaugsuban ignored the government’s emergency decree announcement, declaring his intention to</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoan
26 January 2014	<p>continue leading the people in a fight that was peaceful and without any weapons... (Thairath Online, January 21, 2014: Online)</p> <p>Post Today – PDRC continued to block more pre-poll voting stations all over Bangkok. Meanwhile, PDRC protesters from Lumpini stage arranged to visit “Chalerm’s” home at Bang Bon (Post Today, January 26, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>Post at 19.46: “May Mr. Suthin Taratin’s soul rest in peace. We promise that we will carry out your wish.” (The post was intended to give information. It received 104,232 likes.)</p>	<p>The followings were posted.</p> <p>– “A secret revealed... The plot by Center of Manifold Planetary Organisms (CMPO) to assassinate Suthep– what a foolish ploy. I happened to learn that Ducky Lerm</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p><b>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng</b></p> <p><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p>
	<p>Post Today – Co-leader of People’s Democratic Force to Overthrow Thaksinism (Pefot) Suthin Taratin shot dead at Wat Sri Iam. A group of red shirts fired at Pefot’s pickup truck with amplifier, using an unknown type of guns, during their anti-election campaign at Wat Sri Iam, Bang Na. The bullets killed Pefot co-leader “Suthin Taratin” and injured four members of</p>	<p>personally volunteered for the director position of Center of Manifest Planetary Organisms (CMPO). It was the same old, same old silly idea: he believed that his services to that Dubai guy, he might land himself the position of a ‘caretaker prime minister’ by a fluke. That could be included in his biography at least once before he ‘pass away’.</p> <p>Ducky Lerm, you should</p>



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
the crew (Post Today, January 26, 2014: Online).		<p>stop with your foolish scheming when I am unraveling them and spoiling them all. Instead, it is better Ducky Lerm watch himself.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 2,700 likes and 1,695 shares.)</p>
28 January 2014	<p>- Post at 14.55: “Yingluck Shinawatra does not have the authority to establish a center to repress the</p>	<p>- “A secret revealed...who ordered the murder of Suthin? from the management</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
			<p>people. Nor does she have the authority to appoint the director of CMPO. Therefore, CMPO is an illegal center and has none of the authorities. We will not negotiate with this illegal center and we asked that it be dissolved. If not, we will shut it down ourselves, with our Muan Maha Prachachon’s hands. (The post was intended to comment.)</p>	<p>level of political parties who opposed the red state. Ducky Lerm ordered that protesters be disbanded; although, he asked that it be corrected as a negotiation for the return of the occupied space. On a different front, violence is to be executed against Pefot as the first target to make an example...</p> <p>- On January 26, 2014, co-founder of New Politics Party Suthin was</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 1003 379 1621">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="347 1003 379 1621">Foreign Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="405 1003 491 1294">as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 250 379 577">“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p> <p data-bbox="405 250 437 577">Facebook Page</p>
		<p data-bbox="517 250 549 591">assassinated around Wat Sri Iam, Bang Na.</p> <ul data-bbox="628 250 1331 591" style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- On January 27, 2014, a group of men in black visited the rally site at Chaeng Watthana Road to negotiate for the return of the occupied area.</li> <li>- The first and the second snipers, who worked for the red state– each wearing a black coat and a crash helmet, were observed in a professional firing stance. The</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p>Thai Mass Media</p> <p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng</p> <p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
		<p>assassination of PDRC co-leader Suthin was premeditated with one of the main reason being his knowledge of the energy situation in Thailand.</p> <p>5. Once the plan succeeded, rottton Pu immediately follow the order from the man from Dubai and flew to Chiang Mai.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
31 January 2014		<p>11.00 : “The sight of Muan Maha Prachachon crowding Sukhumvit road yesterday makes an impressive view.” (The post was accompanied by a photo of the procession.) (The post was intended to give information. It received 189,959 likes.)</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Remember January 31, 2014... when Liberia’s corrupted cabinets were all executed by firing squad.” (The post was intended to give information. It received 5,000 likes and 2,694 shares.)</li> <li>- “The Civil Court to issue an injunction to</li> </ul>	<p>3,400 likes and 2,582 shares.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p>Thai Mass Media</p> <p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p> <p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
		<p>protect protesters...</p> <p>At 18.30, the Civil Court issued an injunction to protect protesters... The Civil Court had deliberated PDRC protest was lawful.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information. It received 4,500 likes and 1,871 shares.)</p> <p>Below was the summary.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “A secret revealed... Red state’s insurgent group under Ko Tee’s</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p>Thai Mass Media</p> <p>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p> <p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>
		<p>command apprehended by PDRC guards around 13.30. They were found carrying improvised explosive devices. The man had infiltrated the protesters on multiple occasions previously and was being kept under observation by men in green uniform and PDRC guards... A search of the man’s bag revealed several giant firecrackers... The search</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen Facebook Page
		of the man’s car was demanded, revealing numerous other weapons...” (The post was intended to give information. It received 3,400 likes and 1,687 shares.)





Figure 4.5 A Political Cartoon Titled, “Going to vote” from Thairath Newspaper  
Source: Thairath Online (2014).

Table 4.16 Pre-election Period (2)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
1 February 2014	Thairath (YouTube) – A life and death moment relived: reporters fled for their lives from Lak Si battle. The clip was captioned, “Battle broke out at Lak Si area today, triggered by Luang Pu Buddha Issara’s seizure of the area to prevent transportation of voting equipments (Thairath (YouTube), February 1, 2014: Online).”			<p>- “A secret revealed...” Anyone visiting a polling station is one of the red shirts,” declared the red insurgent group.</p> <p>1. Nok Saek Daeng (referring to Thida Thavornseth)... announced that all the eight million rice farmers nationwide should know that any farmers who protested, demanding payment for the pledge scheme were fake farmers.</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
		<p>Would the longer wait have killed them? She added that if they had nothing to eat, then they should eat their rice pledging warrant.</p> <p>6. Nok Saek Daeng... made a resounding announcement, “People who visit the poll stations, they all are the red shirts. There is no exception, none whatsoever.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to comment. It received 1,900 likes and 1,411 shares.)</p>

4.1.5.2 During the Election

Table 4.17 During the Election

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
2 February 2014	Thairath Online – It headlined, “A bloody scene at Lak Si as several were “injured” during the heavy gunfire. The incident took place on February 1 after an overnight stay led by Luang Pu Buddha Issara and more than 200 protesters in front of Lak Si district office to oppose	Thairath Online – The Associated Press (AP) reported volleys of heavy gunfire near one major intersection north of Bangkok. This was a result from the confrontation between an anti-government group and its opposition before the major election. On Report on		- “Secret unmasked... A traitor, one of the men in green uniform will join force with men in black to execute a cranky self-coup. Thus is how the insurgent state was stuck, completely left with no path to escape across this infernal abyss... In turn, it pulled out this desperate ‘self-coup’ operation to claim credit for being an

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>the election. The assailant had parked his car, laid in waiting, before firing more than 10 bullets at a 10-wheel truck used as the blockade barrier. No one was injured. However, a confrontation later broke out between them and a group of red shirts who were led by Wuthipong Kachathamkun or Ko Tee and positioned themselves in front of Wat Lak Si. Gun fires were exchanged</p>	<p>Sunday, February 2 of the violent outcome revealed at least eight injuries, including an American reporter. The clash began when rocks and firecrackers were thrown at each other, and escalated into a gunfight. Since November of last year, Thailand political crisis had resulted in 10 deaths, and nearly 600 wounds so far (Thairath</p>	<p>absolute fool once more... The steps and method behind this self-coup plan go as follows: - Announcing a deployment of men in black, mainly from Isaan and other trustee provinces...; - Deploy military armored car...from their location near Thailand-Cambodia border to Bangkok... - Which will be led by a high-ranking man in green uniform who plan on</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media	
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media		Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>under Lak Si Intersection Overpass; there were injuries. In addition, a man wearing a black hood, black uniform and a cap was observed holding a gun as he kept a watchful stance beside a telephone exchange by the railroad track. More than 10 injuries were initially reported. It was two hours later that police officers seized control.” (Thairath Online, February 2, 2014:</p>	<p>Online, February 2, 2014: Online).</p>		<p>betraying our “father.” But Thailand is not an instant noodle. There are other men in green uniform and men in black who cherish our father. Moreover, there are mysterious, colorless men, biding their time among several gather forces and working undercover. They have been protecting the people for so long.” (The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 4,800</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 999 375 1621">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="347 999 375 1285">Foreign Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="405 999 491 1285">as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 271 375 595">“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p> <p data-bbox="405 271 437 595">Facebook Page</p>
Online)		<p data-bbox="517 322 544 629">likes and 3,542 shares.)</p> <p data-bbox="571 248 1326 629">- “Unmasked... the next victim, Ko Tee’s gang from Pathum Thani who were tight with red state’s insurgent group ... Later, Ko Tee will send his cronies to ambush PDRC rally with heavy weapons several times, including the attack on SNT... But at every location, Ko Tee gangs instead were greeted by the mystery men’s BB gun, completely bombarded all the time. I</p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b>	<b>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
				<p>reckoned Ko Tee is acting too much like a lightning rod. He should take Seh Daeng as his example...It is tenfold response to any attack. If he believes the risk is well-worth, just remember the picture of She Daeng and the photos taken from Lak Si on February 1, 2014...”</p> <p>(The post was intended to comment. It received 3,300 likes and 1,880 shares.)</p>



#### 4.1.5.3 Post-election Period

Table 4.18 Post-election Period

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoan
3 February 2014	<p>Thairath Online – Election, a tangled affair. A poll was cancelled for 18 provinces, having been unable to open 10,284 polling stations for voting. At the same time, few people came out and exercised their right to vote at polling stations that were open. None of the violence was observed.</p>	<p>Thairath Online – ‘Time’ pointed out, PDRC’s plan to eschew an election was a success. The number of MP was not sufficient to form a government. Currently, Thailand is standing at the edge of the Constitutional abyss after anti-</p>		<p>- “A plan, dissected... Ko Tee was doubled back at Lak Si when what he had thought as a piece of cake turned out to be one tough nut to crack. Concerning the confrontation at Lak Si on February 1, 2014, Ko Tee led a force, each equipped with a stick and a paper banner with a written ‘Going to vote’ ... Around 400 men in black</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen	
<p>However, chaos broke out in Bangkok as PDRC sought to close down polling stations at Lak Si, Ratchathewi, and Din Daeng. On the other hand, all polling stations in nine Southern provinces were completely closed down (Thairath Online, February 3, 2014: Online). Thairath Online – A few groups of celebrities had stepped out, announcing through their social media</p>	<p>government protesters had successfully impeded the election, barring the possibility of forming a new government when faced with insufficient number of MPs... (Thairath Online, February 4, 2014: Online).</p>		<p>were stationed at three locations including Chaengwattana Soi 10, 100 men in front of IT Square, and another 100 men in front of Wat Lak Si. Yet, they had allowed Ko Tee’s crowd to easily breeze through. At 14.30, a total of 150 men in green uniform from the 11th Infantry Regiment (King’s Guard) were given command to protect the monk and PDRC protestors once they reached Lak Si</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
<p>accounts that they disagreed with the idea of having an election before a reform. A ‘No Vote’ post was published all over social media (Thairath, February 3, 2014: online Thairath Online – Police Captain Labour Minister Chalerm Ubumrung, in his role as the director of the Centre for Maintaining Peace and Order (CMPO), stated that from February 5 henceforth, there will be</p>	<p>district office. At 16.00, a mysterious, colorless man (who had no ties to PDRC) arrived at their station, guided by a spotter unit with a walkie-talkie on high ground. Once opportunity presented itself, he open fired at Ko Tee’s gang, using a BB gun which was disguised under a popcorn bag. Four were wounds...” (The post was intended to comment. It received 10,000</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai	as Presented by Thai	Facebook Page
Mass Media	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>an attempt to retaken the currently occupied official buildings and the intensification of the attempt to apprehend PDRC leaders. Suthep, on the other hand, announced that protests would be held in front of homes of Prime Minister and the cabinets (Thairath Online, February 3, 2014: Online).</p>		likes and 7,200 shares.)

## Conclusions

### 1) The general election on February 2, 2014

#### (1) Pre-election Period

Thai press reported multiple incidents of violence, including the occasion when a bomb was thrown at the PDRC procession at Banthat Thong Road. There were 36 injuries, subsequently leading to one death. Moreover, the report covered a loud sound much like an explosion at PDRC stage on Chaeng Watthana Road.

The government declared an emergency decree beginning on January 22, and lasting 60 days. At the same time, it appointed “Chalerm” as the director of CMPO.

The clash between two groups of protesters, PDRC protesters and the red shirts, had resulted in explosions and heavy gun fires at Wat Sri Iam, Bang Na. Pefot co-leader, Suthin Taratin, was killed and many were wounded at the pre-poll voting station in front of Wat Sri Iam.

On social media’s front, Suthep Thaugsuban Facebook Page concentrated on giving information and commenting, offering explanation on the violent situation. Concerning the bomb at Banthat Thong Road, it selected the speech by Mr. Suthep on the stage, saying that he did not fear having a bomb thrown at him. He would continue his march to various locations in Bangkok. He would not back down, and “may the soul of Mr. Suthin Taratin rest in peace.” He would not accept the authority of this center that was appointed to suppress the people. In addition, he offered information about the people who had been shot at Thai Army Club during their campaign to chase Yingluck off. He insisted that reformation must precede any election.

The major point being brought up during this period was an invitation for the people to join PDRC movement instead of voting in an election.

On January 19, “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page officially declared that it now had 1,000,000 followers.

The post with most likes was an impressive sight of Muan Maha Prachachon as they crowded Sukhumvit road. It received 189,959 likes.

With regard to “Top Secret” Facebook page, the author focused on providing information and a background analysis of the escalating events. “Top Secret” Facebook page had become highly popular during this period, receiving more likes and shares which amounted to more than a thousand in number. Its analytical account of the bombing incident at Banthat Thong Road began with “It is time to settle a score... I repeat!!!!,” further suggesting that the attack made by the red state and men in black signaled the beginning of Operation Flower Picking. In addition, the man in green uniform demanded that the man in black keep his promise, when he said he had wanted to make up for his wrong. The author later stated, “Man in black, following the Red state’s order, hurled bomb at Suthep in an attempted assassination. Numerous weapons discovered in the armory!!!!” The post received 5,100 likes and 6,135 shares. The author then elaborated that Suthep was safe and had been heavily protected by the men in green and white uniforms. As for Suthep’s attacker, the man in black, he had spent days laying in ambush. It was believed that the bomber was a commissioned police officer from a Border Patrol Division.

The assassination of Suthin was analyzed in an article titled, “A secret revealed...who ordered the murder of Suthin?, from the management level of political parties who opposed the red state.” The post received 3,400 likes and 2,582 shares. The author elaborated that the first and the second snipers under the red state’s command– each was wearing a black coat and a crash helmet, and was observed in a professional firing stance. Another post was published before an election titled, “A secret revealed...anyone visiting a polling station is one of the red shirts.”

## (2) During the Rally

Situations as reported by the press included the clash between PDRC protesters and the red shirts, and of the election.

In terms of social media, “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page offered no post. On the other hand, “Top Secret” Facebook page provided an analytical outlook and an insight on the event. There could be observed in a post titled, “Secret unmasked... A traitor, one of the men in green uniform will join force with men in black to execute a cranky self-coup” which stated that the government’s planned self-coup would fail. As for PDRC protesters, not only have they been long protected by the men in green uniform and the men in black who cherished their

'Father', but also a force of mystery, colorless men. The post received 4,800 likes and 3,542 shares. Another post titled, "Unmasked... the next victim, Ko Tee's gang from Pathum Thani who were tight with red state's insurgent group" said that PDRC rallies were often targeted by Wuthipong "Ko Tee" Kachathamkun's followers with heavy weaponry. This included an attack on SNT. However, they were always countered by an open fire from the mysterious, colorless man's BB gun at every location. The post received 3,300 likes and 1,880 shares.

### (3) Post-election Period

Thai press focused on the situation of the election, during which polling stations were closed in some provinces; celebrities' stance on social media, stating 'No Vote'; the call for a major PDRC rally. On the other hand, foreign press reported that PDRC had successfully impeded the election, resulting in an insufficient number of MPs that a government could not be formed.

"Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook Page offered no post during this time. In contrast, "Top Secret" Facebook page analyzed Lak Si confrontation in a post titled, "A plan, dissected... Ko Tee was doubled back at Lak Si when what he had thought as a piece of cake turned out to be one tough nut to crack". The mystery, colorless men with no tie to PDRC were well-prepared. Their deployment was planned, using an ambush tactic. When a group of red shirts was within range, he open fired at them with his BB gun, disguised with a farmer's popcorn bag. Four red shirts were wounded. The post was highly popular. It received 10,000 likes and 7,200 shares.

#### 4.1.6 The Fifth Major Rally on March 29, 2014



Figure 4.6 Photo of the Rally

Source: Thairath Online (2014).



4.1.6.1 Pre-rally Period

Table 4.19 Pre-rally Period (The Fifth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
17 February 2014	Bangkok Biz News – The crowd surrounded Government House, led by PDRC leaders. The blockade was intended to prevent caretaker Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra from performing her duties inside Government House.			
	An arrival of PDRC secretary-general Suthep			

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
Page by Seh Namngoen	Page by Seh Namngoen	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>Thaugsuban is expected (Bangkok Biz News, February 17, 2014: Online).</p>		
<p>18 February 2014</p>	<p>Thairath Online – CMPO to retake five rally sites. Violent clash broke out at Phan Fah stage where live bullets were used. A bomb blast near a group of polices causing 4 deaths including one police officers, two civilians, and one who remained unidentified. On the other</p>	<p>Post Today – BBC revealed a video clip of police officers hitting demonstrators. BBC UK broadcasted a video clip of police’s use of force, chasing and repeatedly hitting protesters during the operation that was executed around noon</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
Mass Media	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>hand, the Office of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) voted unanimously to summon caretaker Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra to acknowledge charges of malfeasance in office regarding the rice pledging scheme which caused enormous loss to the state. Also, the Director of Government Savings Bank gave a green light to lend</p>	<p>to retake the occupied rally site near Phan Fa Lilat Bridge, Ratchadamnoen Avenue. BBC field correspondent Jonathan Head stated that during the operation to retake the occupied area, the police were as well attacked with a bomb which resulted in one fatality (Post Today, February 18, 2014:</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>to Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Cooperatives (BAAC) via interbank inter-loans, causing a nationwide withdrawals. A large number of customers from provincial area flocked to either withdraw or close their accounts, or to make a deposit. Meanwhile, Thai stock market fell 6.16 points to close at 1326.21, unnerved by the political confrontation (Thairath</p>	<p>Online).</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
Mass Media	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
Online, February 18, 2014: Online).		
23 February 2014	Thairath Online – An assault on Trat PDRC: the moment disclosed. Trat PDRC co-leader revealed that gunmen on two pickup trucks drove by when they threw two grenades at the crowd in cold blood and began shooting. He believed the gunmen were not local.	
	The latest report on the night of February 22, 2014	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	revealed that two persons had died from the bomb, both are girls. Latest confirmed injuries totaled to 33 people (Thairath Online, February 23, 2017: Online)			
24 February 2014	Thairath Online – Ratchaprasong blast killed one nine year old and a woman; and wounded 22. A grenade attack took place in front of Big C Supercenter on Ratchadamri Road.	Thairath Online – AP, AFP, Reuters News Agency, CNN, and BBC: all were following Thailand political crisis closely. Each reported the blast at PDRC rally site at		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p data-bbox="517 1346 1326 1671">Eyewitnesses saw a tuk tuk taxi carrying three children and their guardian to the scene. The force of the blast had not only damaged the vehicle’s front and left wheels, but also the stalls nearby, shopkeepers, and other protesters. The Erawan Emergency Centre concluded that 24 people were wounded. The doctor later revealed that a five year old boy had now</p>	<p data-bbox="517 1010 1326 1301">Ratchaprasong on the night of February, 23 which caused at least three deaths, including a boy and two girls who were siblings. More than 20 other people were wounded. This incident occurred only a few hours after the bombing and shooting incident at Trat which resulted in deaths and many injuries. Meanwhile,</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>passed away (Thairath Online, February 24, 2017: Online).</p>	<p>Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra had travelled from Bangkok to carry out a mission in Saraburi province. BBC suggested the violence were meant as a retaliation by the armed ‘men in black’ group who once appeared among the red shirt protesters, known supporters of Pheu Thai Party,</p>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
21 March 2014	<p data-bbox="349 725 381 1084">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="349 1084 381 1886">Isaranews Agency – “The Constitutional Court” ruled by a 6-3 vote to</p>	<p data-bbox="349 1084 381 1886">“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
	<p data-bbox="405 725 437 1084">Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="405 1084 437 1886">during the year 2010. The United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon condemned the violence that happened and demanded that all parties cease the violence immediately (Thairath Online, February 24, 2014: Online).</p>	<p data-bbox="405 1084 437 1886">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
	as Presented by Thai	Facebook Page
	Mass Media	Page by Seh Namngoen
23 March 2014	<p>annul the February 2, elections on the basis that no election was held in 28 constituencies. The February 2 poll, therefore, was not completed in one day. It suggested that the government and EC discussed on an issuance of a new royal decree to reschedule the election date (Isaranews Agency, March 21, 2014: Online).</p>	
23 March 2014	<p>Thairath Online – ‘Suthep’ talked in details,</p>	<p>The followings were posted. “The Senate election that</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>castigating UDD leaders. He chastised ‘Thida’ for her lack of understanding of Election law. As for Nattawut Saikua, he was only good at jokes much like those in the satire parliamentary roleplay television program called Sa Pa Joke. UDD has better watch out for Muang Maha Prachachon’s power on this Saturday, March 29. He fully denied the existence of any elite</p>	<p>took place on March 23, and 30— have the people done their duty and personally removed the corrupted? Do not vote for the red insurgent group. Once the red insurgent group failed to gain control through normal, legitimate channel, they instead collaborated with the extreme capitalists and sought a shortcut and played outside the rules. Using violence and propaganda, they</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b> <b>Foreign Mass Media</b> <b>as Presented by Thai</b> <b>Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b> <b>Facebook Page</b> <b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
	bureaucrats to work as PDRC’s wire pullers (Thairath Online, March 23, 2014: Online).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hired an armed force;</li> <li>2. Hired the red shirts, paid per project or on a monthly basis;</li> <li>1.1 Scholera (Referring to Scholars), the press, and NGOs for hire.”</li> </ol> (The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 7,800 likes and 485 shares.)
24 March 2014	- Post at 08:00: “To give our invitation to our Bangkok brothers and sisters some	The followings were posted. “A secret revealed... The true popcorn warrior. How truly humiliating for Ai

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 1003 375 1294"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="347 1003 375 1294"><b>Foreign Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="405 1003 432 1294"><b>as Presented by Thai</b></p> <p data-bbox="459 1061 491 1234"><b>Mass Media</b></p>	<p data-bbox="347 282 375 613"><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b></p> <p data-bbox="405 712 432 920"><b>Facebook Page</b></p> <p data-bbox="405 282 432 613"><b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>
		<p data-bbox="518 282 545 972">encouragement since Puet’s old man. A month ago... the man from Dubai gave a command to the Center of Manifold Planetary Organisms (CMPO) through Skype, ordering that the protesters be cleared out. So right on schedule, an operation team of men in black under CMPO’s command was deployed to disperse PDRC protesters in the area of Phan Fa Lilat Bridge and Democracy monument. PDRC co-leader</p> <p data-bbox="572 282 600 972">some of you may not know of our schedule, therefore this entire week will be devoted to our marches along all Bangkok’s streets. This is to make sure that our brothers and sisters know we have an arrangement on this upcoming 29.</p> <p data-bbox="627 282 654 972">Completely synced, we will march in joy, in peace and without</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
			<p>violence...”</p> <p>(The post was intended to mobilize. It received 81,082 likes.)</p> <p>Post at 13.00: “On Mach 29, at 9.30, I am inviting all Muan Maha Prachachon who love our nation and our country to come out. Let us show our force for our nation. For those who cannot come, please cheer for us at home by</p>	<p>Somkiat was apprehended by men in black at the area behind the rally... But how can a swallow compete with an eagle? The commander of popcorn warriors had then ordered them, equipped with either a small-sized popcorn bag or an extra-large one, to take positions... The big boy in Khaki found the situation to be disquieting so he ordered the anti-riot officers from Provincial Police Region 2 to pull back. But it</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
	displaying our national flag or reform banner.	was too late. Three mysterious grenade fell
	You can affix a national flag to your car, or putting on a sticker of our national flag. Anything to show that we want to reform this country.	among the group of men in black from the anti-riot unit... One of the men in black pulled back the shield and attempted to kick at the grenade. The strong blast injured multiple people.
	Let all PDRC from all provinces organize a march on this March 29 at 9.30.”	Then, all of a sudden, the popcorn warrior in his black hood began to unleash his popcorns from his position at
	(The post was intended to mobilize. It received	Phan Fa Lilat Bridge on men in black, sounding a rapid

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>- At 20.35, shared post from PDRC spokesman Akanat Promphan, saying “Fear is inevitable, but can be vanquished with courage and a firm, undeterred heart.” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p>	<p>more efficient. That said, it should give an answer to the question on whether or not the true popcorn warrior was arrested at Lak Si, or was the man just a scapegoat. The people who should know who popcorn warrior is would be Abdul and Katcha. Would they say anything? That is just about all there is to it !!”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 9,600</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
26 March 2014			likes and 1,454 shares.)	
		<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- At 19.33: “Kamnan Suthep was thankful for Khunying Porntip Rojanasunan for taking a stand on Lumpini stage today.”</li> </ul> <p>(The post was accompanied by a photo.)</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to mobilize. It received</p>	<p>“A secret revealed... The final chapter: MH370 and outsmarting the terrible two. Based on an intelligence report, the man from Dubai and Huai Seng of Cambodia had once formed a pact, promising to send in military support to induce a military coup and, like the event from 2010, to burn Thailand to the ground. But something unbelievable had happened and severed the tie between</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
			189,517 likes.) - At 19.36: Ready to march on this 29. Come on out. (The post was accompanied by a photo and a list of groups who will be matching in the major rally.) - At 20.19: The post showed a photo of Suthep, sitting in a chair and bowing down to tie his sneakers. It	the two. Not only that Cambodia troops had not shown up as promised, when the man from Dubai flew to Mong to perform a ceremony to ward off bad luck, his request to meet their national leader was also turned down— thanks to the dubbed chong cao clip which was leaked by the man in green uniform from Thailand... Even the Dawei deep sea port megaproject was considered off-limit to the

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page Page by Seh Namngoen
	Mass Media	
	<p>was accompanied by a caption, “Are you ready? Let’s ready your ‘whistle’ and your ‘heels’. Be ‘seeing you’: 29 3 2557.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to mobilize. It received 124,063 likes.)</p>	<p>man from Dubai. The man in green uniform, on the other hand, appears to be in very good shape. At the moment, all personnel have been practicing ‘target shooting’ every day. This upcoming April, they will get an opportunity to engage in target shooting for real.... — how funny.”</p>
		<p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 1,417 likes and 4,447 shares.)</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b> <b>Foreign Mass Media</b> <b>as Presented by Thai</b> <b>Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b> <b>Facebook Page</b> <b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
27 March 2014		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- At 08.00, post a posters of invitations from various institutions.</li> <li>- At 21.16 : “When I called for our major rally on this upcoming March 29, no one asked me if we would succeed. But everyone knows it is their duty to come out and fight for their country. I beg to tell you... the sacrifice by our brothers and</li> </ul>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>sisters will not be for nothing. We have done it. We have made it so that the people who served under Thaksin regime cannot come back. Therefore, forward must we continue...”            (The post was intended to mobilize. It received 84,785 likes.)</p>		

4.1.6.2 During the Rally

Table 4.20 During the Rally (The Fifth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng
29 March 2014			At 19:24: “Kamnan’s lunch at 17.00, after having burnt his face during the long day under the sun, included Thai sour soup with fish and Thai-style omelet.” (The post was intended to give information. It received 336,504 likes.)	

#### 4.1.6.3 Post-rally Period

Table 4.21 Post-rally Period (The Fifth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
30 March 2014	<p>Thairath Online – “Go big: kilometers after kilometers of PDRC procession observed. ‘Suthep’ and his wife led the march, declaring his intention in front of the statue of King Rama V and announcing that they would keep the parliament shutdown until reformation was a success. SNT respectfully invited a</p>			



<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>
	<p>Buddha statue to the Government House where they paid their respect to Thao Maha Phrom atop the Thai Khu Fah building. Seized, it is now the People's House. Meanwhile, an unidentified individual fired M79 at Sawankhalok Road. Luckily, there were no casualties (Thairath Online, March 30, 2014: Online).</p>			

## Conclusions

### 1) The fifth major rally on March 29, 2014

#### (1) Pre-rally Period

Thai press reported the situation concerning the PDRC movement, PDRC's seizure of Government House, and the violence that broke out between protesters and police officers. These incidents included the confrontation between SNT and the police at Phan Fa Lilat Bridge, resulting from CMPO's attempt to retake the occupied area and killing one police officer and three civilians; and the grenade explosions at PDRC stage at Trat which resulted in the death of two children. The Constitution Court's ruling to annul the February 2 election was as well presented.

In terms of social media, "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page aimed to give information and to mobilize. Examples of post included one which advertised their march as being joyful, peaceful and without violence, a post shared from PDRC spokesman Akanat Promphan saying that "Fear is inevitable, but can be vanquished with courage and a firm, undeterred heart". As well, it raised the subject: reform before election.

The post that received most likes was a photo post containing Kamnan Suthep's badge of gratitude to Khunying Porntip Rojanasunan for taking a stand on Lumpini stage. It received 189,517 likes. Another post showed a photo of Suthep, sitting on a chair and bowing down to tie his sneakers. The post was captioned, "Are you ready? Let's ready your 'whistle' and your 'heels'. Be 'seeing you': 29 3 2557." It received 124,063 likes.

"Top Secret" Facebook page offered an analytical outlook and an insight on the event at Phan Fa Lilat Bridge. This was elaborated in an article "A secret revealed... The true popcorn warrior. How truly humiliating for Ai Puet's old man" which received 9,600 likes and 1,454 shares. To summarize the article, a black hooded popcorn warrior had showed up, began to fire from his position at Phan Fa Lilat Bridge at men in black, and then help protesters escape from them. Another article titled "A secret revealed... The final chapter: MH370 and outsmarting the terrible two" told a story about the falling out between the man from Dubai and Huai Seng of Cambodia who once formed a pact, promising to send in military support to induce a military coup, and to burn Thailand to the ground like the event from 2010.

But something unbelievable, and absolutely unforgivable, had happened and severed the tie between the two completely. The post received 14,000 likes and 4,447 shares.

(2) During the Rally

The posts on “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on providing information about the rally and received 336,504 likes. In contrast, “Top Secret” Facebook page offered no posts.

(3) Post-rally Period

Thai press reported the event from the rally, saying that a great number of people had joined the movement. Mr. Suthep had led them to pay their respect to the statue of King Rama V. The Government House was also seized. Although, an unidentified individual had fired an M79 at the procession, no one was hurt.

#### 4.1.7 The Sixth Major Rally on May, 9th, 2014—D-Day

##### 4.1.7.1 Pre-rally Period

Table 4.22 Pre-rally Period (The Sixth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
14 April 2014	Thairath Online – PDRC spokesman “Akanat Promphan” posted on his Facebook, disclosing that his house on Phutthamonthon Sai 2 Road was attacked with M79 for the fourth time. He further said that on April 15, they would hold a water-pouring ceremony			

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page
		Page by Seh Namngoen
30 April 2014	<p>for PDRC leaders to ask for their blessing and to hold a Buddhist ceremony for ‘Luang Pu Buddha Issara’ (Thairath Online, April 14, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>The followings were posted:  “On D-Day, we will be holding on to our principle: to fight peacefully. If you, brothers and sisters, decided to join us, please come with only</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
1 May 2014	<p>Thai Mass Media Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p>Thairath Online – It was disclosed by a report that UDD had converged on Pibulwitthayalai School in Lop Buri. It was a busy rally where UDD leaders</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page Page by Seh Namngoen</p> <p>your bare hands and a whistle... We are fighting with our big heart. We fight as a courageous fight, daring to fight with just our bare hands...” (The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p>The followings were posted. “Going all out.” Bang! Pow! Here goes a bloody affair– a near-death experience -- for the red shirts from Phraya Phichai’s</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban”
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>from central area took turn on the stage to give their speech. On the other hand, PDRC spokesman Akanat Promphan revealed that PDRC leaders had discussed and agreed to lead another march on this May 2 to invite people to join them on their final major rally (Thairath Online, May 1, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>hometown. It began when UDD held a rally at Uttaradit Stadium... There were orders to village headman, sub-district headman, and sub-district administrative organization (SAO) to bring people in to listen to UDD insulting and slandering the monarchy. A major rally held by the northern region UDD which targeted 15,000 people, they bragged.... Alas, just one night before the rally, on</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
		<p data-bbox="517 725 1324 770">April 29 at 23.00, came the portent in form of the most intense storm and gales in decades. At 17.30, there were only around 1,000 people, each of whom recruited and locked up inside the stadium. Not only was it a truly humiliating outcome for UDD leaders, but also frightening when facing the possibility of being punished by the financial sponsor. Eventually, they claimed 12,000 red shirts were at the rally.</p>



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
2 May 2014	<p>Thai Mass Media      Foreign Mass Media      “Suthep Thaugsuban”</p> <p>as Presented by Thai      Facebook Page</p> <p>Mass Media</p>	<p>“Top Secret” Facebook</p> <p>Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 5,600 likes and 780 shares.)</p>
	<p>Post a poster with the following text:</p> <p>“14.5.14 D-Day”</p> <p>(The post was intended to mobilize.)</p>	<p>“A secret revealed... Oak, and the anti-monarchy red shirts from Northern and North Eastern region—all will be wearing black and waving a black flag to oppose the monarchy.</p> <p>Based on an intel, insulting and slandering the monarchy is one activity that must be hastened by the ‘anti-</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
		<p>monarchy group’ at the moment. During the interregnum, that the red shirts should rise up and support His Royal Highness Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn’s ascension to the throne was nothing but a false claim. The Crown Prince has no involvement in this affair. On May 5, 2014, each red shirts wore black and waved a black flag bearing a new emblem to celebrate the Coronation Day.”</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b> <b>Foreign Mass Media</b> <b>as Presented by Thai</b> <b>Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b> <b>Facebook Page</b> <b>Page by Seh Namngoen</b>
4 May 2014	<p>Thairath Online – ‘Suthep’ was certain, government officials to help putting an end to government on this May 14. Certainly, an intel on May 3 revealed that the tyranny faction had wanted a bloodbath to frighten people from joining the fight on D-Day. This is why protesters at Ministry</p>	<p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 5,800 likes and 10,758 shares.)</p> <p>“A secret revealed... Red shirt MP to protect democracy along with the Prince of Devils in hell. And boom. Kaboom. Smashed ‘?????’”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 6,200 likes and 1,096 shares.)</p> <p>Post a poster with the following text, “Chulalongkorn University and Thammasat University to celebrate the auspicious occasion and to make our pledge on May 5 at 5 p.m.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information. It</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>“Top Secret” Facebook</b>
	<b>Foreign Mass Media</b>	<b>“Suthep Thaugsuban”</b>
	<b>as Presented by Thai</b>	<b>Facebook Page</b>
	<b>Mass Media</b>	<b>Page by Seh Namngoan</b>
	<p>of Interior were directed back to Lumpini park (Thairath Online, May 4, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>received 110,000 likes.)</p>
5 May 2014	<p>Prachatai – PDRC protesters marched to Channel 3, 5, 6, 9, and 11. Also, Suthep visited the Government House and the parliament building to submit a letter to the new Senate speaker to urge them find solutions for the country. Some PDRC protesters had stationed</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
7 May 2014	<p>Thai Mass Media Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p> <p>themselves at Channel 3 to ask that CMPO's broadcast be stopped and to do a live broadcast of Suthep instead (Prachatai, May 5, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
7 May 2014		<p>- At 20:50: “Allow me to set the time and date when we will unite for our final mission. I would like to move our appointment from May 14 to May 9 at 9.09. It is an auspicious time to demand our</p> <p>“A secret revealed... All ye enter the age of the mass, an era of a new metropolis under the people. Today, May 7, the Constitutional Court ruled that rotten Pu and her 10 lackey Ministers who took part in the controversial</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook
as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Facebook Page	Page by Seh Namngoen
	<p>sovereignty back. My brothers and sisters, Muan Maha Prachachon, nationwide your journey to Bangkok may begin now.”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 99,653 likes.)</p>	<p>cabinet meeting to transfer the Prime Minister changer ‘Mr. Thawil’ to another position be removed immediately from their offices— what a truly satisfying death on this democratic battlefield. As if attacked by a great earthquake, Phao Thai (Burning Thailand Party, referring to Pheu Thai) Kingdom had collapsed to the ground in only one night. From 2.00 a.m., approximately, to the early</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
		<p>morning of May 7, 2014, two companies of unidentified, fully armed men had launched a raid on red shirts store, confiscating all the heavy weapons, grenades, and other lethal weapons. Abdul seems to be in good shape these days; he has just given an order for his men to take a swing at Kotex (an American brand tampon, referring to Ko Tee)</p> <p>During the reign of King Rama 1, he had constructed</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p>Thai Mass Media      Foreign Mass Media      “Suthep Thaugsuban”  as Presented by Thai      Facebook Page  Mass Media</p>	<p>“Top Secret” Facebook  Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p>the city’s astrological chart and designed the city’s ascendant to be accompanied by Mars, a horoscopic representation of the military, intending for rulers of the country to be a militant. Therefore, what follows mostly will remain in accordance with the poem, saying ‘Civilization will come to Siam. Soon after the storm, shall we rise.’  (Referring to mass media, the growth of social media,</p>



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
8 May 2014	<p>Thai Mass Media      Foreign Mass Media      “Suthep Thaugsuban”</p> <p>as Presented by Thai      Facebook Page</p> <p>Mass Media</p>	<p>“Top Secret” Facebook</p> <p>Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p>hailstorm, an earthquake in Chiang Rai, and the court’s power)</p> <p>‘All ye enter the age of the mass, an era of a new metropolis under the people’ (Referring to the reform by Muan Maha Prachachon.)”</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 7,500 likes and 985 shares.)</p>
		<p>The followings were posted.</p> <p>- “I do not know how</p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p data-bbox="343 481 391 716"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="343 716 391 996"><b>Foreign Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="391 481 510 996"><b>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p data-bbox="343 996 391 1232"><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p> <p data-bbox="343 1232 391 1968"><b>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoeng</b></p>
		<p data-bbox="510 996 1340 1968">many new pairs of pants each of us buys in our lives. But the lives of our children, must they be enslaved by this Shinawatra dynasty forever? Here we are, three Prime Ministers later. See how they have robbed our nation... This sacrifice is great and one to be proud of.” (The post was intended to mobilize. It received</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page Page by Seh Namngoan
	120,000 likes.) - A photo was post with the following text, ‘D-Day: an operation to reclaim our sovereignty, 9-5-2557 at 09.09.’ - “Tomorrow begins our last Muan Maha Prachachon’s great perseverance. This time, it is of the utmost importance... The time for lounging around is now past. If you live in	

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p data-bbox="343 481 391 996"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="391 481 510 996"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p data-bbox="343 996 391 1966"><b>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</b></p> <p data-bbox="391 996 510 1966"><b>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</b></p>
	<p data-bbox="510 481 662 996">the provinces — and cannot join us in time — come anyway.</p> <p data-bbox="662 481 742 996">Because this battle will last days. For Bangkokians, let us unite. Let’s fill the streets with our numbers. We, the Muan Maha Prachachon, do not plan to form a political party. Once our goal is achieved — when Thailand is reformed</p>	

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p>Thai Mass Media</p> <p>Foreign Mass Media</p> <p>as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p>“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p> <p>“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p>— we will simply head back home...”</p> <p>(The post was intended to mobilize. It received 130,000 likes.)</p>

#### 4.1.7.2 During the Rally



Figure 4.7 The First Tear Gas to Greet PDRC Today

Source: Thairath Online (2014).

Table 4.23 During the Rally (The Sixth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page	“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
9 May 2014	<p>Thairath Online – The first tear gas to greet PDRC today (Thairath Online, May 9, 2014: Online).</p> <p>Thairath Online – The Centre for the Administration of Peace and Order (CAPO) issued its fifth statement, forbidding any broadcasting or assistance of PDRC leaders. Press were forbidden to broadcast signals from</p>	<p>The followings were listed chronologically.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Our campaign today: Rallying on seven strategic locations... Comrades, feel free to join us at any of these locations.”</li> <li>- “Toward victory!”, accompanied by photo of the march.</li> </ul> <p>(The post received 130,000 likes.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- At 11.09: “Muan Maha</li> </ul>		

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
<p>PDRC. In addition, the Anti-Money Laundering Office (AMLO) was ordered to seize PDRC leaders’ assets (Thairath Online, May 9, 2014: Online).</p>	<p>Prachachon arrive at Government House. Tonight, here we rest”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- At 13.30: “Polices use teargas on Luang Pu Buddha Issara at CAPO.” (The post received 240,000 likes.)</li> <li>- At 14.30: “Kamnan Suthep arrives at parliament to meet with the new Senate speaker.” (The post received 100,000 likes.)</li> <li>- At 15.30: “At the</li> </ul>	



Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="343 481 391 996">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="391 481 438 996">Foreign Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="438 481 510 996">as Presented by Thai Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="343 996 391 1879">“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page</p> <p data-bbox="391 996 510 1879">“Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p data-bbox="510 996 702 1879">moment, Kamnan Suthep is in the parliament building, waiting to submit his letter to the Senate speaker.”</p> <p data-bbox="702 996 893 1879">(The post received 121,731 likes.)</p> <p data-bbox="893 996 1085 1879">(The post was intended to mobilize.)</p> <p data-bbox="1085 996 1339 1879">- At 15.49: “Currently, at parliament building, Kamnan has personally submitted the letter to the Senate speaker and all the senators....”</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	<p data-bbox="347 1010 375 1621">Thai Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="347 1010 375 1621">Foreign Mass Media</p> <p data-bbox="405 1010 432 1294">as Presented by Thai</p> <p data-bbox="459 1070 491 1234">Mass Media</p>	<p data-bbox="347 271 375 958">“Suthep Thaugsuban”</p> <p data-bbox="405 703 432 913">Facebook Page</p> <p data-bbox="347 271 375 600">“Top Secret” Facebook</p> <p data-bbox="405 271 432 600">Page by Seh Namngoen</p>
		<p data-bbox="518 271 545 1621">- “I am thankful for the cooperation PDRC received from all the press today, for your understanding of our national situation, and for being one part to help resolve the issues faced by our country by not allowing the opportunity for the government’s Center of Manifest Planetary Organisms to fool the people. Except for Channel 11, of course...”</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media	Information on Social Media
	Thai Mass Media Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page “Top Secret” Facebook Page by Seh Namngoen
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- At 23:00: “After a day-long battle, Kamnan Suthep returns to the SNT stage, set in front of Government House, to spend the night with his compatriots.” (The post received 970,000 likes.)</li> <li>(The post was intended to give information.)</li> </ul>	

4.1.7.3 Post-rally Period

Table 4.24 Post-rally Period (The Sixth Major Rally)

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
10 May 2014				<p>- “A secret revealed... A political aftershock, landed with punches, knives, spears, and swords. A 9.0 Richter earthquake happened the other day at the Constitutional ‘Kaifeng’ Court. One after shock after another has been following ever since. One 7.0 aftershock occurred only yesterday when the Office of the National Anti-Corruption</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
				<p>Commission (NACC) voted that they found the case against rotten Pu concerning the rice-pledging program to have ground. This not only resulted in her being removed from the office by the Senate, but also buried her alive by stripping off her political right for five years”</p> <p>- Another aftershocks today happened in two consecutive waves. The first happened when a senate meeting appointed former loyal civil servant Ms. Supa Piyajitt who once blew a</p>

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
				<p>whistle on the rice-pledging scheme... to be new NACC commissioner, replacing a retiring member. From the vote to select a Senate speaker, it turned out that an appointed senator Surachai has won 96 to 51 over the red shirt Pol Gen Jongrak and has now become the new Senate speaker.</p> <p>(The post was intended to give information and to comment. It received 7,700 likes and 1,924 shares.)</p>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>		<b>Information on Social Media</b>	
	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Thai Mass Media</b>	<b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b>
15 May 2014	<p>Thairath Online –</p> <p>Prosecutors agreed to indict 43 PDRC core members on treason and eight other charges whereas the Criminal Court has approved arrest warrants for 30 PDRC core members.</p> <p>Pheu Thai Party spokesman, Prompong Nopparit, submitted a letter to Department of Special Investigation</p>			

Date	Situation as Reported by Mass Media		Information on Social Media	
	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media	Thai Mass Media	Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media
	(DSI) chief Tharit Pengdit, seeking the prosecution of first Senate deputy speaker Surachai Liangboonlertchai and others for accommodating the request of Suthep by calling a meeting to discuss the appointment of a new prime minister. Later, CAPO issued its eighth statement about			



<b>Date</b>	<b>Situation as Reported by Mass Media</b>	<b>Information on Social Media</b>
	<p data-bbox="344 483 384 719"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="344 719 384 931"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>	<p data-bbox="344 931 384 1155"><b>Thai Mass Media</b></p> <p data-bbox="344 1155 384 1379"><b>Foreign Mass Media as Presented by Thai Mass Media</b></p>
	<p data-bbox="512 483 1007 719">the demands, cautioning the senates to cease the attempt to install a new prime minister through section 7 of the constitution (Thairath Online, May 15, 2014: Online).</p>	

## Conclusions

### 1) The sixth major rally on May 9, 2014 — D-Day

#### (1) Pre-rally period

Thai press continued to report the situation concerning the PDRC movement, and Thai politics. One major event during this period was PDRC's announcement, inviting people to join the D-Day rally on May 14, 2014.

In terms of social media, "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page focused on mobilizing people. It alerted people of the change in their schedule, moving from May 14 to May 9, 2014 instead. The post that received most likes was published on May 8, 2014 which said, "Tomorrow begins our last Muan Maha Prachachon's great perseverance. This time, it is of the utmost importance... The time for lounging around is now past. If you live in the provinces — and cannot join us in time — come anyway, because this battle will last days. For Bangkokians, let us unite. Let's fill the streets with our numbers. We, the Muan Maha Prachachon, do not plan to form a political party. Once our goal is achieved — when Thailand is reformed — we will simply head back home..." The post received 130,000 likes.

"Top Secret" Facebook page continued to offer an analytical outlook and an insight on the event. The post titled "A secret revealed... Oak, and the anti-monarchy red shirts from Northern and North Eastern region— all will be wearing black and waving a black flag to oppose the monarchy" received 5,800 likes and 1,075 shares. The author revealed information from an intel, saying that the anti-monarchy group was being rushed into slandering the monarchy by suggesting violence would soon broke out during the interregnum. The red shirts should rise up and support His Royal Highness Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn's ascension to the throne. This was nothing but a false claim; the Crown Prince has no involvement in this affair. Another post titled "A secret revealed... All ye enter the age of the mass, an era of a new metropolis under the people" talked about the event on May 7's early morning when two companies of unidentified, fully armed men had launched a raid on red shirts store. Heavy weapons, grenades, other lethal weapons including multiple sniper rifles, each fitted with a scope and 15 kilograms of the other essentials were confiscated. The author further discussed King Rama's decision regarding the city's astrological chart, and how its ascendant was accompanied by Mars, a

horoscopic representation of the military. “All ye enter the age of the mass (Referring to the reform by Muan Maha Prachachon).” The post received 7,500 likes and 985 shares.

### (2) During the Rally

The press concentrated on the repression by the police using tear gas, the government’s ban on PDRC broadcast, and its prohibition against assisting PDRC.

The posts on “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on providing information about the PDRC activities. On the other hand, “Top Secret” Facebook page offered no posts.

### (3) Post-rally Period

The crucial points that were reported by the press included the prosecutor’s decision to indict PDRC leaders on treason and other charges, and CMPO’s announcing that selecting a new prime minister through section 7 of the constitution was not possible.

In terms of social media, there was no post from Suthep Thaugsuban Facebook page. “Top Secret” Facebook page chose to give information and to analyze. This was noted in a post titled “A secret revealed... A political aftershock, landed with punches, knives, spears, and swords” which discussed the Office of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) voted about finding ground for the case against Yingluck concerning the rice-pledging program, her subsequent removal from the office by the senates which stripped off her political right for five years. The post received 7,700 likes and 1,924 shares.

Overall, comparing between the flow of political information on mass media and on social media, a civic sector comprised “Suthep Thaugsuban” and “Top Secret” Facebook fanpages, during the PDRC movement, it was found that both local and foreign mass media had reported the events of the political movement as mediators. The two Facebook fanpages, which presented the information as stakeholders, performed different duties. “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page, as the movement leader, focused on providing information and mobilizing people. “Top Secret” Facebook page became of great importance during the violent circumstances

against the PDRC protesters, from January to the election day in 2014, through providing information and background analyses of the situation.

## **4.2 Creation of an Online Public Sphere to Support the PDRC Movement**

Habermas defines “public sphere” as a sense of public which is an integral part of a democratic society because it is an area where people enter into as actors who equally have decision making power, through argumentative communication process and rationality, to mutually reach the best answer, instead of making decision based on one person or previous conventional traditions.

This research approached this topic by analyzing content of Facebook Fanpage and in-depth interviews with six individuals who worked as communicators in both old and new media. The followings are the results of the two dimensions that were investigated.

### **4.2.1 The Roles of Individuals on Social Media to Support the PDRC Movement**

Findings showed that individuals used social media to support the PDRC movement in two ways: Using their real name and using an alias.

#### 1) Individuals who used their real name

The sample of Facebook page in this study was “Suthep Thaugsuban” (<https://www.facebook.com/suthep.fb>).

This Facebook page was founded on March 12, 2011, with 2,855,212 likes received (as of April 10, 2017), using “Suthep Thaugsuban” as its official name. Suthep Thaugsuban was secretary-general of the People’s Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC, or People’s Committee for Absolute Democracy with the King as Head of State).

He was a politician in the Democrat party, born on July 7, 1949. He was elected district leader of Tha Sathon, Phunpin District, Surat Thani Province. He was first elected as Surat Thani Member of Parliament at constituency 2, under Democrat Party, and was elected at this constituency many times. He was appointed as Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Cooperative and Deputy Prime Minister. On March 5,

2005, he was appointed as secretary-general of Democrat party and later on December 20, 2008, he again was appointed as Deputy Prime Minister. Finally, on November 30 2013, he became self-appointed as secretary-general of the PDRC (Bunyakiert Karavekpan, n.d.)

On “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page, during the PDRC movement, it was found that:

(1) This “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page is a personal Facebook page (not the PDRC official Facebook page).

Tanom Onketpol, one of the PDRC leaders and Blue Sky cable TV anchor, revealed what he knew was there was no official page; all information was distributed through the PDRC information center via cable TV or distributed from announcement on PDRC stage only (Tanom Onketpol, personal communication, August 5, 2020).

(2) No official Facebook-page administrators administered the page.

Based on the interview with Suthep Thaugsuban, there were not any official administrators, but a group of his relatives and some protesters helped running this page (Suthep Thaugsuban, personal communication, December 23, 2020).

There were many people, from protestors, my relatives, they helped organizing the Facebook page I did not interfere or manipulate content for the media, everything had been done naturally. What people particularly interested was movement of PDRC through Blue Sky cable TV and online TV

All media content was not manipulated, my Facebook did not have official administrators, but my relatives helped looking after it. I did not have time to manage this Facebook page. My duty was to manage the PDRC movement, deciding what to do tomorrow and this process repeated every day. News distributed through media was produced by colleagues and other people. I did not take part in Facebook page management. I was not interested in doing so. I mainly spent time watching Blue Sky TV and T-News, because they were part of the PDRC movement. (Suthep Thaugsuban, personal communication, December 23, 2020)

(3) This “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page was not an official PDRC page.

Suthep and Tanom insisted that the PDRC movement determined to use Blue Sky cable TV as a major mean of communication.

Facebook page was an additional channel of communication for PDRC, it was, however, considered successful as page’s number of followers had increased significantly to one million during the political gathering on January 19, 2014.

## 2) Individuals who used an alias

Facebook page “Top Secret” by an individual using the alias of Seh Namngoen, opened on December 9, 2013, which was the day PDRC called for the second political gathering. There were 512,705 likes received on April 10, 2017.



Figure 4.8 Facebook Page “Top Secret”

Source: Top Secret (2013).

No one knew who Seh Namngoen was, however, the cover image of Facebook page was an image of army officers, as shown in Picture 4.8. The word ‘Seh’ refers to either army or police officers holding Bachelor degree or equivalence and graduated from Command and General Staff College/ Naval Command and I Staff College/ Air Command and I Staff College or the same type of colleges from abroad (Post Today Online, October 10, 2010).

Results are as follows:

1) Baes on the assessment of media:

(1) This Facebook page used a pseudonym to disclose sensitive information that professional media cannot report.

Political desk at Post Today newspaper suggested that the political battle between Suthep Thaugsuban, former secretary-general of the PDRC, and Yingluck Shinawatra, Prime Minister at the time, was just a small fraction of the whole conflict. There were more secret masterminds and the third, the fourth and the fifth parties, and many more involved while mainstream media could not disclose these information sources, Facebook, then, became a source of in-depth or exclusive analyses for public, particularly mysterious space as in the “army” (Post Today Online, February 24, 2014).

(2) Seh Namngoen was likely to be related to an internal security agency or army, involving in a psychological operation.

According to the political desk at Post Today newspaper, the evidence that supported this finding came from the secretive nature of information access and relationship with internal security agencies, including understanding of exclusive knowledge about army weapons (Post Today Online, February 24, 2014).

Editorial team at Manager Online suggested that it was highly likely that Seh Namngoen was in an “army and internal security agency” or so-called “IO” or “information operations.” Seh Namngoen was a mouthpiece and propaganda operation of the army to cherish and persuade a group of people who hated “Thaksin regime” to support army operation, as the cover image of the Facebook page “Top Secret” indicated a slogan “A coup d’etat that brings happiness to people is better than an election that brings difficulty to people.’

(3) A distinctive point of this Facebook page was reporting movement of prominent figures both in the government and the PDRC with a vivid and amusing language.

Political team from Post Today commented that a distinctive character of Seh Namngoen was an update movement of prominent figures both in the government and oppositions — namely the PDRC and the mysterious army or the so-called “popcorn gunman,” also a vivid and amusing language used.

Moreover, another distinctive content provided in this Facebook page was war strategies, particularly from the famous Chinese saga “The Three Kingdoms” for example, Lü Bu said “killing a hundred of normal soldiers is enjoyable than killing the prominent one,” while Zhuge Liang said “killing the prominent one was better than killing a hundred of normal soldiers,” or “Today, iron chef no.4 could not make a decision, he, therefore, decided to do what Lü Bu and Zhuge Liang suggested” (Post Today Online, February 24, 2014)

2) Based on the in-depth interviews:

(1) Seh Namngoen was a supporter of the PDRC.

Tanom, one of the leaders of the PDRC, suggested that it was widely known that who actually “Seh Namngoen” was. He was an insider, knowing exclusive information when ordinary people could not access such information source, but he did not distort information. He supported the PDRC and gave society an insight (Tanom, personal communication, August 5, 2020).

#### **4.2.2 The Roles of Information on Social Media to Support the PDRC Movement**

Results from in-depth interviews revealed as follows;

1) Information on social media was political that individual would like to disseminate to public.

Warat Karuchit commented that

In the beginning of “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook fanpage, it was likely to set up to serve political purposes, for example, political campaigning, rather than updating PDRC’s activities. However, when PDRC has substantially amassed more and more people, the objectives of the page



changed to mobilize people to join the PDRC movement. Also, Facebook page became an information center and proxy of Suthep. Although he mainly talked on stages, online channel was an important way to communicate when a call for demonstration was needed.

“Top Secret” Facebook page was likely to be an IO, information operation. This page indirectly fed information to support the PDRC movement, like using avatar to overthrow the government or gossiping about political news (Warat Karuchit, personal communication, July 21, 2020).

Praweemanai Baicloy argued that

Content published in “Suthep Thaugsuban” and “Top Secret” Facebook fanpages were mainly political in nature. These pages have been set up during political tension and polarization of political beliefs, where people had diverse political standpoints. Content provided in these pages therefore focused on criticisms and political views, both facts and opinions. Oppositional political groups were attacked by negative reviews, while supporting their own political views. She concluded that

- 1) Both Facebook pages have been set up to disseminate information about political views.
- 2) Both pages wanted to mobilize supporters of “Suthep Thaugsuban” and “Top Secret” pages to support certain political views.
- 3) Apart from these two pages, there were several pages with different political standpoints. These pages were used to offer political news from different angles” (Praweemanai Baicloy, personal communication, July 22, 2020).

2) Information that fostered and cherished the PDRC

Warat Karuchit commented that

The “Top Secret” Facebook page was basically political gossip information. When the PDRC leader, Suthep Thaugsuban, could not explicitly do it himself, the “Top Secret” page therefore acted like an insider who unveiled political gossip news to entertain protestors and fostered the PDRC

movement. This page has different functions compared to “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page. (Warat Karuchit, personal communication, July 21, 2020).

Tanom Onketpol also agreed that

Fostering was the right word as content in that page confirmed beliefs of the PDRC. It helped driving people to join PDRC as it offered news instigating people’s beliefs and let them believe that there would be someone coming out to help. During General Prem Tinsulanonda years, Council of National Security staged a coup and protestors were disintegrated. Someone distributed a rumor that military from Nakhon Ratchasima sent by General Prem would be coming to help. It was later known that there was no military came to help. Rumor was used to persuade and stop people’s fear, for example, at the frontline of protestors when attacked by officers, someone said do not be afraid, there would be army supporting our side coming soon. This technique was used in the mob to help fostering mob. Protestors would be overwhelmed and continued to join mob. Whether it was true or not, fake news and rumor were used to either discourage or encourage people to leave or join mobs. (Tanom Onketpol, personal communication, August 5, 2020).

Results from content analysis of the two Facebook fanpages and in-depth interviews on this topic can be summarized that public sphere in social media had been established. Individuals used both real name and alias to support the PDRC movement. Information on social media from individuals was political-oriented intentionally to be published to public and was meant to foster political movement; particularly an alias was used when certain information was unable to report by mass media.

### 4.3 Roles and Reliability of the Information Flowing through Social Media

Results of this section are presented as follows:

#### 4.3.1 Role of the Information Flowing through Social Media

##### 4.3.1.1 Agenda-setting

Interviewees both agreed and disagreed that social media had an agenda-setting role.

##### 1) Supporting the agenda-setting role of social media

Praweemanai Baicloy believed that online platform played a substantial role more than mainstream media. As she was a host at Channel 3, “Reungden Yennee” program, she said that

News from online platform was given an importance as there was a special online team working on it. Channel 3 online news always presented human interest news, for example, accidents or popular video clips and also issues attracting public, which were similar to Channel 7 and Amarin TV. They all presented the same news from online sources, each station, however, presented in their own style to differentiate themselves. More than half of the news was coming from the same sources. Online news was easy to monitor whether audiences were interested or not. If many people press ‘like’, it of course meant they were interested.

News value, according to foreign researchers, must nowadays consider ‘share’ rates. If the news was shared, it was likely that it was so because audiences were interested.

Professional media outlets, therefore, have been challenged as in the past, television broadcasts only presented news considered holding very high impact, however, in social media era, people tend to lodge complaints to “E Jeab, E Jan, E Ja Facebook page,” and professional media followed those issues in those Facebook pages (those ‘E’... pages are news pages-writer). It is obvious that the role of mainstream media as public sphere have deteriorated while social media such as drama-addict, queen and Maam Po Dam became

more reliable for people” (Praweemanai Baicloy, personal communication, July 22, 2020).

Tanom Onketpol also believed that

Online media shape social directions all over the world. In the past, media had influence during “October 14 Incident,” if we put jigsaw together. Students played a leading role during the coup in “October 14 Incident’, after that it was academics who led the situation. Universities always held seminars by lecturers who, after students, became leaders who countered the coup. During ‘Black May Incident’, people played more leading role during the coup, whether they had enough information or not. It was not students’ role anymore, but it might be academics who were the masterminds.

If looked closely, retired lecturers had background information. They infiltrated everywhere, but media could not lead, it must be led by academics or students. Media could not lead, but could set agenda from columns leading to violence. Dao Siam newspaper set agenda, distorted information and misled people when it published an image of a man hanged under the tree. Media cannot do like that anymore, as society was led by people who set agenda in media. Society was equaled to people. Today we should talk about casinos or Boss Yoovidhya. Media picked up news from social media such as Facebook and others to present as news. Media lost power to set agenda and became followers. Facebook and online sources have become major sources for mainstream media.

We mostly consumed online media, but why do people still watch television? This might be so because it is difficult to verify online news whether it was true or false. Finally people have to come to check what newspaper published, such as Matichon, Thairath, Khaosod, Post Today and Nations.

Mainstream media destroyed and devalued themselves when using social media as sources. They are expected to be leaders and provide investigative news, rather than online media. Online media are ordinary people who present general news, without investigative news. They just presented

whatever happened around mostly without facts and evidences, for example, reporting news about homicides in casino without facts, only pictures, voice and comments. Mainstream media never die, but they have to work harder, get deeper information and go beyond online new, if they follow online media, they will come to an end. (Tanom Onketpol, personal communication, August 5, 2020).

## 2) Opposing the agenda-setting role of social media

Sermsuk Kasitipradit said that “it depends on each media as media have knowledge and understanding about political situation. Some social media were also managed by professionals who work in media.

Social media present news faster, traditional media therefore have to follow social media. However, political, soldiers and army issues were not easily accessed by social media; only journalists would know in-depth issues, for example, a rift in the army. Social media could not access or write news about these issues. Security and army issues were not the same as regular issues on social media. Social media only present something socially known, but if it is in-depth political issue, social media do not have access to information. Only journalist, like Wassana Nanuam -- ‘Lek’ – would be able to write these issues.

On social media, you can communicate faster, and it is a platform to present owner’s personal view. If you write in newspaper, you cannot present your opinion; it should be a view from journalists and must be true. We can write only analyses, but social media, particularly your Facebook wall, there is your name on it. Whatever you write, audience know who the writer is, -- my name, Sermsuk -- is on my Facebook and my followers know it is me who write it. Sermsuk might have in-depth news and write about it. Social media can set agenda, if owners have information, when ordinary people do not know anything. Newspapers are still sources and therefore not agenda-setter. “Plew Si Ngern” Facebook page has been shared because people still trust professional media” (Sermsuk Kasitipradit, personal communication, August 11, 2020).

Warat Karuchit commented that

Power of media has been deteriorated. Before, one person might be able to set an agenda, for example, Thairath newspaper's first page. Every day in the morning we have to read Thairath newspapers to see what people talk about. But it was not like that anymore, all media must pay attention to the same news, for example, Chompoo (Girl's name is in a news-writer) and people beating in the hospital, were agenda setting. If all media pay attention to the same issue, it can be news, but if it is general issue, it is difficult to blow the issue, for example, it must be a high rating program with very high number of followers, not only one media. For example, if 'E Jeab' paid attention to particular issues -- Chompoo case when uncle Pol or mother are the suspect. Mother could have been the suspect if all media pointed out the same way, if, for example, E jan showed new evidence that Chompoo has been hurt before being thrown away, or Achariya said, if E jeab, E ja and queen Facebook page pointed out the same way, it is possible to set an agenda. Although it is easy to set an agenda, it is also easy to counter that agenda. If someone presents something and someone disagrees, it can be done easily" (Warat Karuchit, personal communication, July 21, 2020).

From these interviews, some key informants agreed and some disagreed that social media had the agenda-setting role. For those who agreed, they saw the number of likes and shares received on social media and the trend that professional media took issues from social media to distribute to public. On the other hand, key informants who disagreed said there were so many media presenting many issues; and some issues for example, military and army; only professional journalists can present those issues while ordinary people cannot.

#### 4.3.1.2 Encouraging Diversity of Perspectives in Democratic Regime or Echo Chamber

Warat Karuchit believed that

There was no diversity of views as much as we thought because each person has different views and each person can choose to listen or not to listen information that they receive. We follow only friends who share the same

beliefs and values, particularly political views, we therefore stay in echo chamber where the same voice resonates all over the place, or silent chamber where we do not hear any unpleasant information, when we press unlike or unfriend, there will be no opposite voice. When there is no opposite voice, we will think that nobody was against our view and we will think that we are majority. We will be eager to talk and act. The previous election's result was questioned by teenagers why the current Prime Minister won the election. Supporters of Prayuth also questioned why Thanatorn's party won seats in many constituencies. This is so the opposing voice was not heard.

This is interesting aspect of society, information circulation seems to work perfectly, but it is in fact not. For example, Chao Phraya seems to flow very far away, however, it does not flow much, only in the same region, not all over the world. It was like we live in a different world. Facebook users will not know what has been talked in Twitter. Twitter users did not know how Thanatorn has been scolded in Facebook, because they never know. They just talk about country reform, evicting authoritarian, everybody supports view in his or her group. Both sides admired themselves.

On social media, the one who filtered contents, was not authorities, The National Broadcasting and Telecommunications Commission (NBCT) or Ministry of Digital Economy and Society, but it was the users themselves who blocked information circulation because of selective perception, because other beliefs are not consistent with their belief, and they do not want to have dissonance in their mind. However, we cannot filter content from television or newspaper. We can block content from television by not switching on television, for example, if we watch too much news from Amarin TV, we will be stressful, then we change to watch something else.

Politics is about ideology which is not neutral. Chompoo case was not related to us. Political issue, if it is inconsistent with our ideology, we will try to block that content. If it is inconsistent with people's belief, we will feel uncomfortable and stressful; therefore, we will block content. Content will circulate within the same ideology.

As long as there is clear division and we use social media as main media, the situation will continue. During the television era, we cannot choose, television tried to balance news, not create division. Although there is diversity, it is still limited.

Now someone uses Facebook and has many followers. When you use Facebook and be yourself and news source, you become news. News does not necessarily come from newspapers anymore, social media instead become new source of news. For example, in the morning, General Pom went to General Prayuth's birthday, this suddenly became news in social media, while newspaper could not catch up. Newspaper should publish online instantly. Speed and accuracy are the heart of news." (Warat Karuchit, personal communication, July 21, 2020)

Noppatjak Attanon commented that

There were a lot of conversation, but diversity is scary because the algorithm of Facebook enables us to see only the pages we choose to follow. People then feel that it is easy to follow pages we see. This made diversity decreased.

As I said earlier, there at least should be open conversation. A good side is that there is space for conversation, but a bad side is that algorithm creates tunnel vision, for example, if I like certain scholars and followed them, in the morning I will only see them and I might think that everyone was thinking in the same ways, but it was not true. If people have tunnel vision, the situation will be like this.

Now, the tunnel vision is dangerous, but at least, it shows how people really think. Thai people should admit that laws and cultures make people fear of expression their opinion. There are fake online accounts that do not disclose real identity to express opinion. For example, the online account with real identity would not express what they really think, but the fake account will be more freely express their opinion. This might be a good idea to let them express their opinion and we know what people really think. The drawbacks



are difficult to explore and verify that if there was a manipulation.” (Noppatjak Attanon, personal communication, August 26, 2020)

To conclude, in term of promoting diversity of perspectives in democratic society, social media supported the diversity, but because of the filtering system in social media, for example by Facebook algorithm, caused a visibility reduction to only followed pages or pages published consistent content to followers, resulting in a creation of a worrying echo chamber.

#### **4.3.2 Reliability of the Information Flowing through Social Media**

Warat Karuchit commented that

We cannot prove what has been said in “Top Secret” Facebook page because we are not an insider who can verify the fact. We do not have enough knowledge. Information operation technique used by Facebook pages will start issues whether it was true or not, they just need small piece of information that is likely to be credible. True or false is another story. If you ask that this is right or not, it is difficult to answer until it has been proven wrong. I believe that there should be a certain level of truth; otherwise they would not publish that content as it is easy to verify and falsify.

It complemented each other, IO page and formal page. When there was a gossip, they continue discussing whether it is true or not, at least there is something to talk about” (Warat Karuchit, personal communication, July 21, 2020).

Praweemanai Baicloy, former news anchor at the Thai PBS during the PDRC movement, said that “since the political rift, some people chose their own political standpoint and followed whoever on the same side. As a journalist, I looked at many pages to verify information. When there was IO page, people who were interested in information will look at other pages to verify the data, but someone who chose to believe or being a follower, they will get information they like to hear.

Information from these pages was also presented in other pages and news agencies. They all had the same information, but what made people

followed these pages was pages' identity — a bold content and supporting data which was exclusive and special. Content was written in professional columnist style and partisanship was very clear. However, some information was later found untrue.

Opinion is a personal view. Some information in those pages was not correct so it was criticized that the pages use imagination without truth. Some people said that information was good, but there was something incorrect. If people chose to believe, they were likely to receive incorrect information. For example, the content about Pridi Banomyong, the revolution of The People's Party group and the assassination of King Rama VIII, was still unsettled. Information presented in the page has been seen by someone as either distorted or of quality as they disclosed another side of stories. Finally, it depended on people whether they chose to believe or not. The journalistic principle of being able to name source information is important. When these pages have no information source, there is no credibility. As it disguised real identity, it cannot be used as an official source of information. For example, Thai PBS would not use "Top Secret" Facebook page as it has no credibility.

Social media, compared to traditional media, have less professionalism. Traditional media have been working under ethics, journalist code of conducts, corporate code of conducts and laws. News reported in channel 3, 5, 7 and 9, a traditional media, was controlled by ethics and content must be:

- 1) A true story, not content published in "Top Secret" Facebook which is impossible to appear in mainstream media,
- 2) Checked and balanced, while online media have no rules and regulation, they can publish whatever. Social media can present content not allowed in mainstream media. Social media have opinions and comments and more sentiments" (Praweemanai Baicloy, personal communication, July 22, 2020).

Sermasuk Kasitipradit commented that

There are a lot of avatars or fake social media accounts, my Facebook page followers follow me because of some reasons, I consider myself

journalist. However, it does not mean that I have to be impartial. Impartiality is not necessary, there is no impartiality in media, but there is presentation of information of oppositional side. There are certain political standpoints in media. Even in the US, media show clear partisanship to political party, for example, Fox News supported Donald Trump, while CNN was against him. In Thailand, the press also has partisanship to certain political party; however, they should publish information from every party involved. Readers will decide what to believe. If you are media that only present news from one side, you will have no credibility.

“Top Secret” Facebook page reported information, it can be called media, social media send exclusive content to audiences, for example, a page with 100,000 followers can reach 20,000 to 30,000 people instantly for each post. If it provided incorrect information more than 2-3 times, it lost credibility.

Social media enables speed of information. Political decision or other decisions need information to see trend and understanding particularly for journalists to analyze situation. For example, yesterday Parinya’s case, if it was 30-40 years ago, you have to wait for tomorrow until newspaper publishes what happened. In the morning social media reported that Parinya said sorry. Doctor Rianthong posted on his Facebook calling for Parinya’s resignation. It was instant news and created wide impact. Readers were waiting for what to happen next.

If you are working in news agency, you have to know trend in each issue and do not offer opposing news. For example, if you work with Matichon, you should not offer positive news to Prime Minister Prayuth or criticized Thanatorn. However, if you write on your own page, it is up to you. Readers know that it is your own thought, your information, you can decide to believe or not. If you want do not want to read, you can just leave. Social media are space where people choose to read what they want.

The attractiveness of social media is openness. If you set permission to public, even you do not use real name, but if you have Facebook for 2-3 year

and you provided quality content, your followers know that this page offered truth. You will gain credibility.

Social media open for creativity; you can use rude and funny words in social media, while professional media is not allowed. Sometimes, you want to scold someone by using rude word or karaoke word in English, for example, using ‘narok’ instead of ‘hell’.

What considered rude in social media are extremely rude which are unacceptable. This kind of extreme still can be found and we need more time to create mutual understanding. (Sermasuk Kasitipradit, personal communication, August 11, 2020).

Tanom Onketpol commented that “The “Top Secret” Facebook page gave information such as fact, but to say how accurate is impossible. It could be personal analysis” (Tanom Onketpol, personal communication, August 5, 2020).

In sum, findings suggested that in the case of “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page, which used his real name, there is no question about reliability. However, “Top Secret” Facebook page, which used a pseudonym, was found to provide accurate information at certain level. If it does not provide any reliable information, there will be no followers. Some issues were analyses. People selected pages to follow according to the content which were consistent with their beliefs. The positive side of social media is its speed that can enable people to receive information faster, whether it is political decision or any other issues.

### **4.3.3 Opinions on Reliability of Information Regarding Overthrowing the Monarchy**

The key informants provided opinions regarding overthrowing the monarchy that was presented in “Top Secret” Facebook as follows:

Tanom Onketpol commented that

This issue is sentimental; when we like content, we choose to believe it, but when we do not like, we stop sharing and begin criticizing. Nobody could judge if the content is true. I always read “Top Secret” page. “Pookem” fanpage, however, has identity and he continues working on his page. “Top

Secret” page, however, does not disclose real identity. If you ask me whether the content was true, I have no answer, I just listen, neither believe nor disagree. I saw a trace of overthrowing the monarchy issue. It was clear that this was planned. It was all true or untrue. There has been a manipulation of voice clips and instigate stories to get people together (Tanom Onketpol, personal communication, August 5, 2020).

In addition, Sermsuk Kasitipradit remarked that

This issue is not allowed to talk in professional media. Ten demands from the protesters are not allowed to publish. I am not sure if some media published, but it was not appropriate.

To get more followers, writers must have credibility and data. If you want to get followers, you must have something nobody could find. You have to have exclusive content.

They might have inside information about Popcorn issue. Several still debated who Popcorn was. Police have worked together to find out, but still have no evidence” (Sermsuk Kasitipradit, personal communication, August 11, 2020).

Praweemanai Baicloy added that

Overthrowing the monarchy issue is sensitive to present on television as there is NBTC law and regulations which do not allow us to talk about this topic. Thai PBS also has to strategically planned how to present this topic. Other channels are unlikely to present this topic at all because it was too risky. Audience of this topic has to find the way to alternative underground pages. For example, Thai PBS has been criticized when organized a talk show by inviting Somsak Jaemteesakul (when he was still in Thailand) and Sulak Sivalaksa. Later on, it was too risky and nobody would like to report on this issue” (Praweemanai Baicloy, personal communication, July 22, 2020).

From these comments, the issue on overthrowing the monarchy is too sensitive to be published by professional media; however, there might be some inside information.

Overall, it was found from the in-depth interviews regarding the role of information flowing through social media that agenda-setting was the role of traditional media. Some key informants believed that online media also exercised the agenda-setting role due to likes and shares on social media received. Moreover, when traditional media picked up issues from social media, the role of agenda-setting of social media was emphasized. Some informants, however, believed that social media did not have agenda-setting power because there were so many media reporting many stories and in some issues, for example, military and army. If it was not professional journalists, it was nearly impossible for ordinary people to access to insiders' information.

To promote diversity of perspectives in a democratic society or echo chamber issue, social media can enable the diversity. However, because of the filtering system of Facebook algorithm, there was only certain content could be shown to users according to their beliefs, resulting in a creation of echo chamber.

To users, the information flowing through social media of "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook fanpage were reliable due to using the real name and identity. On the other hand, "Top Secret" page, which used a pseudonym, was found to be accurate at certain level. If there was no reliability at all, nobody will follow that page. Some issues were just analyses. People chose to follow pages according to the content consistent with their beliefs. The positive point of social media was the speed of information that enabled people to get information faster. "Top Secret" Facebook fanpage offered sensitive content, like overthrowing the monarchy, when professional media would not be allowed to do the same. Key informants believed that there was some factual information about such issue.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study entitled “The Flow of Information through Social Media: A Case Study of the People’s Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC) Movement from 2013-2014” aims to study the flow of political information through social media based on the PDRC movement of 2013-14 in the areas of:

- 1) The flow of information through social media during the movement;
- 2) Creation of an online public sphere to support the movement; and
- 3) The roles and reliability of the information flowing through social media

A content analysis was used to analyze both social-media content and transcriptions from in-depth interviews with communicators of both traditional and new media. Information regarding the PDRC movement from 2013-14 on Facebook was selected based on a purposive sampling method. Samples of information were obtained from the Facebook accounts of 1) “Suthep Thaugsuban” and 2) “Top Secret”, an individual using the alias of Seh Namngoen. Six individuals who worked as communicators in both old and new media were purposively selected to include mass- and social-media communicators and academics.

#### **5.1 Conclusion**

Results can be summarized as follows:

##### **5.1.1 The Flow of Information through Social Media During the Movement**

This study focused on the period when PDRC was mobilizing people for the major rallies, spanning six occasions in total; and the time PDRC was opposing the general election on February 2, 2014.

#### 5.1.1.1 The First Rally on November 24, 2013—Day of the Million

##### 1) Pre-rally period

Thai mass media reported information about the PDRC movement and the major assembly. Foreign mass media presented the reasons behind PDRC's rally which was to protest against the Draft Amnesty for Those Who Committed Offences as a Result of the Political Protests and Political Expression of the People B.E. 2556 (2013). They further analyzed that there would be no coup since the government and military shared a good relationship.

Majority of the “Suthep Thaugsuban” posts were intended to provide information and to mobilize. Comments and criticisms were offered on some occasions to encourage the people's participation. Posts were shared from other people's pages and quotes from Suthep Thaugsuban's speech were presented. The most liked post during this period was a mobilization post on November 24, “Day of the Million,” which received 110,000 likes, 8,600 comments, and 7,800 shares.

##### 2) During the rally

Thai mass media provided photos and lively reports of the major rally, including movements of an anti-PDRC group, namely the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship (UDD).

Posts from “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on mobilizing people. The page occasionally post content and photos to report the continue movement of the protest, concentrating on photos of the rally. The first photo set invited 153,147 likes, and 5,953 comments. Posts also included quotes from Suthep Thaugsuban's speech, one demanding that UDD and military join PDRC's rally.

##### 3) Post-rally period

PDRC movements attracted interest and media coverage from local mass media. This included reports on Suthep Thaugsuban's speech which formed the keystone of the political reform. There were reports on the government's attempt to terminate Bluesky Channel's broadcasting which was used to mobilize people and announced the founding of PDRC.

Manager Online offered a lesson learnt from PAD's protests, analyzing that however the people may have sieged government offices—the current



seize of the Financial Ministry, for example—hardly could any political reforms be achieved without the military’s support.

As presented through Thai mass media, foreign mass media mainly reported the situation with its massive crowd; the conflict concerning the number of protesters, reported to be one million by the PDRC and 200,000 by Thai police; various invasions of government ministries by protesters; and Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra’s refusal to resign.

“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page gave a report of the movement, intending to give information and to mobilize. The most liked post received 92,524 likes, showing a YouTube clip of Suthep Thaugsuban’s speech on November 24, the day of the major rally. Suthep stated that it was the day to be written into Thai history, having united the highest number of Thai people to fight.

#### 5.1.1.2 The Second Rally on December 9, 2013—On to Government House

##### 1) Pre-rally period

Thai mass media reported movement from both PDRC’s and UDD’s sides, PDRC rallies to various government buildings—most importantly, the Government House and the Metropolitan Police Bureau—and the clashes between PDRC protesters and police officers. Notable incidents from this period included the clash between Ramkhamhaeng University students and UDD protesters on November 30 and the Democrat Party’s en masse resignation.

At the same time, presentation from foreign mass media addressed Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra’s interview which insisted that she would not resign before the election; and the Democrat Party leader Abhisit Vejjajiva’s interview which demanded that the government accept responsibility for its draft amnesty bill.

Social media such as “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page instead focused on mobilizing supporters. It chronically presented the collision between Ramkhamhaeng University students and UDD protesters, and PDRC movements in which they marched to various free TV headquarters at the time to request that they reported news on PDRC’s rally.

Crucial events included Mr. Suthep's post, announcing his decision to wash his hands of politics when the movement reached its conclusion.

The most liked post is the one declaring Channel 7's agreement to cooperate with the people and that the channel had dispatched its outside broadcast vehicle in preparation to broadcast PDRC's statement. This post received 98,407 likes. At the same time, a post by Dr. Krisana Kraissintu, a pharmacist and winner of the 2009 Ramon Magsaysay Award for public service, stating her pride for being a part of the protest received 105,496 likes. A different post from December 8, saying that December 9 would be the greatest day in the history, received 114,386 likes.

### 2) During the rally

The major point presented by the press was Prime Minister Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra's resignation announcement in the morning.

"Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page focused on giving information and presented photos of the rally which received as high as 385,464 likes, and 14,376 comments. As for "Top Secret" Facebook page on its opening date, it discussed an interesting topic on anti-monarchy politicians.

### 3) Post-rally period

Reports from Thai press continued to focus on the resignation, the government's presentation of draft Royal Decree to dissolve the House of Representatives, and the PDRC movement. Foreign press addressed Ms. Yingluck's announcement of House dissolution, approximated the number of protesters to be merely a hundred thousand PDRC's, and reported PDRC movements to establish the people's council.

The crucial point was the statement from the Foreign Minister of New Zealand which requested that democratic process be respected and added that the best course to understand the citizen's will was an election.

"Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page focused on mobilizing people. A post meant to encourage stated that only one more step was needed to reform Thailand and demanded that Ms. Yingluck resigned from the role as an acting caretaker government. Posts were shared from others well-known individuals from society, stressing that PDRC had always won. Moreover, a different post demonstrated PDRC's guideline which aimed to a national reform before an election.

“Top Secret” Facebook page, on the other hand, focused on mobilizing people and giving information. It shared a post from another page which questioned red shirts on how they could accept Yingluck’s government. Concerning Mr. Suthep, it focused on his pledge to exit politics; therefore, with an opportunity for political reform within reach, why should the people not come out and help? It also reported the military’s summon of Mr. Suthep for a discussion and marked it as a strategic move by PDRC that Ms. Yingluck should fear.

#### 5.1.1.3 The Third Rally on December 22, 2013—Five Stages, the Opening

##### 1) Pre-rally period

The reports on the PDRC movement by the press concentrated on the rally on December 22 which involved the march to various sites to mobilize people; and DSI’s summons of 20 other PDRC leaders, including the freeze issued on their accounts.

An analysis by Post Today questioned when PDRC would win since it had already held three major rallies, with the rally on the upcoming December 22, being it’s fourth. It predicted many more major rallies in the future.

Most foreign press discussed how alternative media in the U.S. criticized New York Times and BBC on their reports concerning Thailand situation which, unlike their reports of the U.S.-backed protest in Arab, failed to accept PDRC’s protest.

Posts from “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on mobilizing people by quoting from Suthep’s speech to encourage protesters that PDRC would win. A post was shared from the Facebook page of Wallop “Kru Yui” Tangkananurak from the Foundation for the Better Life of Children. It asked that political parties refrained from fielding their candidates on February 2, for the general election. During this period, “Top Secret” Facebook page offered no post.

##### 2) During the rally

Thai press reported PDRC’s and Yingluck’s movement. Suthep Thaugsuban’s Facebook page instead concentrated on giving information and mobilizing people. Highly popular posts included the first post, showing photos of the rally at Asoke stage and receiving 168,608 likes; and a photo of Suthep’s having a

lunch break on the street which received 207,725 likes. Almost all the posts on the date of the rally received more than 100,000 likes. Nothing was posted on “Top Secret” Facebook page during the rally.

### 3) Post-rally period

Thai press recapped the rally, reporting PDRC’s announcement of 6,000,000 protesters, and accused either the Royal Thai Police or Office of the National Security Council of having manipulated the number of protesters to be less than it was. During this period, all reports from foreign press which were selected and repeated by Thai press concentrated on events from the rally on December 22, 2013, the march to Yingluck’s house, the people’s council proposition, and Democrat Party’s decision to boycott the election on February 2, 2014.

“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook fanpage focused on being informational. The post that received most likes was a quote from Suthep’s speech on the stage on the night of the rally, saying that if the government refused to resign, then the people and PDRC leaders would rise for the people’s revolution by themselves. This post received 208,363 likes. Another post that received high number of likes was shared from Apichat Damdee who wrote about Ms. Chitpas’s change of surname to her mother’s maiden family name, Kridakorn. The post received as many as 405,194 likes.

#### 5.1.1.4 The Fourth Rally on January 13, 2014—Shutdown

##### 1) Pre-rally period

Thai press reported the violence which had begun to take place. This included the clash that occurred on December 26, 2013 between the Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) and police officers at Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan) Din Daeng, the candidacy registration venue. This resulted in two fatalities, marking one civilian and one police officer. Sixty-six people were wounded. Other reports included an announcement from the government about its invocation of an emergency decree despite the military’s objection, and PDRC’s announcement to shut down Bangkok on January 13, 2014.

Foreign press like BBC analyzed that despite the violence, military continued to be impassive. This showed that the government did not gain the

support from the army. Other news agencies reported the proposal for postponement of the election which was made by the Election Commission to the government.

“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page was observed to focus on being informational as well as giving a situational analysis of the clash at Bangkok Youth Center (Thai-Japan) Din Daeng. Concerning the confrontation, the caretaker government claimed that protesters were armed and violent. This claim was countered by “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page which gave information about PDRC’s upcoming major rally on January 13, 2014 in addition.

Posts which received most likes during this period was shared from Captain Sorawit “Dr. Kong” Suboon (M.D.) which specified that, for someone to take on the role of a public administrator... not only must they possess the skills to perform their task, but also a moral character. It received 163,517 likes.

Despite the long period without any posts since “Top Secret” Facebook fanpage was first set up, it offered one on January 6, 2014 after the violence. The post concentrated on analyzing and explaining the situation—for instance, its elaboration of the possibility of a civil war. The post suggested that complete political warfare was impossible, but there was a chance for violence through terrorism; this was also expected by the government. Moreover, it anticipated that the army would use the opportunity to organize Thailand National Children’s Day on January 11 to also bring in military personnel and armaments. In addition, a post was shared from the army commander-in-chief, stating that the presence of the army was to protect and ensure the people’s safety. One crucial point was a post predicting that violence would break out after the major rally and a coup d’état was likely.

## 2) During the rally

Thai press reported the events of the major rally to shut down Bangkok throughout the day, and DSI’s summoning warrants to another 55 PDRC leaders.

There was no post from “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page. In contrast, “Top Secret” Facebook page criticized the group of people who lighted candles to show their support for the election, saying they were people from the province who had been tricked to come to Bangkok. It further urged that, because of the Bangkok Shutdown campaign, from January 15 onward, people should keep an

eye out. The red state would attack the people, possibly forcing the undercover green men to come out, and put an end to the situation.

### 3) Post-rally period

All local press reported events from PDRC's major rally, the Bangkok Shutdown campaign. This included the aim of PDRC's leaders which stated that Yingluck must resign from her role as a caretaker Prime Minister; only then that they were willing to negotiate. Furthermore, the press also presented Suthep's interview with BBC, saying that PDRC's occupations of various major roads and government offices in Bangkok would not trigger any violence or other confrontations. PDRC protesters fought peacefully; they were unarmed. Civil war was therefore impossible.

"Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page focused on giving information and mobilizing people. It quoted Suthep's stage speech, particularly concerning the reformation; and offered information on PDRC's procession to various sites in each day. The post that received most likes concerned Jetrin "J" and the song he sang on Asoke stage to Muan Maha Prachachon. It received 172,685 likes.

"Top Secret" Facebook page focused on giving information, analyzed and explained the situation. It assessed that the upcoming election would likely fail, instead becoming a waste of 3.9 thousand million baht of government budget.

#### 5.1.1.5 The General Election on February 2, 2014

##### 1) Pre-election period

Thai press reported multiple incidents of violence, including the occasion when a bomb was thrown at the PDRC procession at Banthat Thong Road. There were 36 injuries, subsequently leading to one death. The report covered a loud sound much like an explosion at PDRC stage on Chaeng Watthana Road.

The government declared an emergency decree beginning on January 22, and lasting 60 days. At the same time, it appointed "Chalerm" as the director of CMPO.

The clash between two groups of protesters, PDRC protesters and the red shirts, had resulted in explosions and heavy gun fires at Wat Sri Iam, Bang

Na. Pefot co-leader, Suthin Taratin, was killed and many were wounded at the pre-poll voting station in front of Wat Sri Iam.

On social media's front, "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook Page concentrated on giving information and commenting, offering explanation on the violent situation. Concerning the bomb at Banthat Thong Road, it selected the speech by Mr. Suthep on the stage, saying that he did not fear having a bomb thrown at him. He would continue his march to various locations in Bangkok. He would not back down, "may the soul of Mr. Suthin Taratin rest in peace." He would not accept the authority of this center that was appointed to suppress the people. In addition, he offered information about the people who had been shot at Thai Army Club during their campaign to chase Yingluck off. He insisted that reformation must precede any election.

The major point being brought up during this period was an invitation for the people to join the PDRC movement instead of voting in an election.

On January 19, "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook Page officially declared that it now had 1,000,000 followers.

The post with most likes was an impressive sight of Muan Maha Prachachon as they crowded Sukhumvit road. It received 189,959 likes.

"Top Secret" Facebook page focused on providing information and a background analyses of the escalating events. It had become highly popular during this period, receiving more likes and shares which amounted to more than a thousand in number. Its analytical account of the bombing incident at Banthat Thong Road began with "It is time to settle a score... I repeat!!!!," further suggesting that the attack made by the red state and men in black signaled the beginning of Operation Flower Picking. In addition, the man in green uniform demanded that the man in black keep his promise, when he said he had wanted to make up for his wrong. The author later stated, "Man in black, following the Red state's order, hurled bomb at Suthep in an attempted assassination. Numerous weapons discovered in the armory!!!!" The post received 5,100 likes and 6,135 shares. The author then elaborated that Suthep was safe and had been heavily protected by the men in green and white uniforms. As for Suthep's attacker, the man in black, he had spent days

laying in ambush. It was believed that the bomber was a commissioned police officer from a Border Patrol Division.

The assassination of Suthin was analyzed in an article titled, “A secret revealed...who ordered the murder of Suthin?” from the management level of political parties who opposed the red state.” The post received 3,400 likes and 2,582 shares. The author elaborated that the first and the second snipers under the red state’s command– each was wearing a black coat and a crash helmet, and was observed in a professional firing stance. Another post was published before an election titled, “A secret revealed...anyone visiting a polling station is one of the red shirts”.

### 2) During the rally

Situations as reported by the press included the clash between the PDRC protesters and the red shirts, and of the election.

“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page offered no post. On the other hand, “Top Secret” Facebook page provided an analytical outlook and an insight on the event. There could be observed in a post titled, “Secret unmasked... A traitor, one of the men in green uniform will join force with men in black to execute a cranky self-coup” which stated that the government’s planned self-coup would fail. As for PDRC protesters, not only have they been long protected by the men in green uniform and the men in black who cherished their ‘Father’, but also a force of mystery, colorless men. The post received 4,800 likes and 3,542 shares. Another post titled, “Unmasked... the next victim, Ko Tee’s gang from Pathum Thani who were tight with red state’s insurgent group” said that PDRC rallies were often targeted by Wuthipong “Ko Tee” Kachathamkun’s followers with heavy weaponry. This included an attack on SNT. However, they were always countered by an open fire from the mysterious, colorless man’s BB gun at every location. The post received 3,300 likes and 1,880 shares.

### 3) Post-election period

Thai press focused on the situation of the election, during which polling stations were closed in some provinces; celebrities’ stance on social media, stating ‘No Vote’; the call for a major PDRC rally. On the other hand, foreign press reported that PDRC had successfully impeded the election, resulting in an insufficient number of MPs that a government could not be formed.



“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook Page offered no post during this time. In contrast, “Top Secret” Facebook page analyzed Lak Si confrontation in a post titled, “A plan, dissected... Ko Tee was doubled back at Lak Si when what he had thought as a piece of cake turned out to be one tough nut to crack”. The mystery, colorless men with no tie to PDRC were well-prepared. Their deployment was planned, using an ambush tactic. When a group of red shirts was within range, he open fired at them with his BB gun, disguised with a farmer’s popcorn bag. Four red shirts were wounded. The post was highly popular, receiving 10,000 likes and 7,200 shares.

#### 5.1.1.6 The Fifth Major Rally on March 29, 2014

##### 1) Pre-rally period

Thai press reported the situation concerning the PDRC movement, PDRC’s seizure of Government House, and the violence that broke out between protesters and police officers. These incidents included the confrontation between SNT and the police at Phan Fa Lilat Bridge, resulting from CMPO’s attempt to retake the occupied area and killing one police officer and three civilians; and the grenade explosions at PDRC stage at Trat which resulted in the death of two children. The Constitution Court’s ruling to annul the February 2 election was as well presented.

“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page aimed to give information and to mobilize. Examples of post included one which advertised their march as being joyful, peaceful and without violence, a post shared from PDRC spokesman Akanat Promphan saying that “Fear is inevitable, but can be vanquished with courage and a firm, undeterred heart”. As well, it raised the subject: reform before election.

The post that received most likes was a photo post containing Kamnan Suthep’s bade of gratitude to Khunying Porntip Rojanasunan for taking a stand on Lumpini stage. It received 189,517 likes. Another post showed a photo of Suthep, sitting on a chair and bowing down to tie his sneakers. The post was captioned, “Are you ready? Let’s ready your ‘whistle’ and your ‘heels’. Be ‘seeing you’: 29 3 2557.” It received 124,063 likes.

“Top Secret” Facebook page offered an analytical outlook and an insight on the event at Phan Fa Lilat Bridge. This was elaborated in an article “A secret revealed... The true popcorn warrior. How truly humiliating for Ai Puet’s old man” which received 9,600 likes and 1,454 shares. To summarize the article, a black hooded popcorn warrior had showed up, began to fire from his position at Phan Fa Lilat Bridge at men in black, and then help protesters escape from them. Another article titled “A secret revealed... The final chapter: MH370 and outsmarting the terrible two” told a story about the falling out between the man from Dubai and Huai Seng of Cambodia who once formed a pact, promising to send in military support to induce a military coup, and to burn Thailand to the ground like the event from 2010. But something unbelievable, and absolutely unforgivable, had happened and severed the tie between the two completely. The post received 14,000 likes and 4,447 shares.

#### 2) During the rally

The posts on “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on providing information about the rally and received 336,504 likes. In contrast, “Top Secret” Facebook page offered no posts.

#### 3) Post-rally period

Thai press reported the event from the rally, saying that a great number of people had joined the movement. Mr. Suthep had led them to pay their respect to the statue of King Rama V. The Government House was also seized. Although, an unidentified individual had fired an M79 at the procession, no one was hurt.

### 5.1.1.7 The Sixth Major Rally on May 9, 2014—D-Day

#### 1) Pre-rally period

Thai press continued to report the situation concerning the PDRC movement, and Thai politics. One major event during this period was PDRC’s announcement, inviting people to join the D-Day rally on May 14, 2014.

“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on mobilizing people. It alerted people of the change in their schedule, moving from May 14 to May 9, 2014 instead. The post that received most likes was published on May 8, 2014 which said, “Tomorrow begins our last Muan Maha Prachachon’s great perseverance. This time, it is of the utmost importance... The time for lounging around is now past.

If you live in the provinces—and cannot join us in time—come anyway, because this battle will last days. For Bangkokians, let us unite. Let’s fill the streets with our numbers. We, the Muan Maha Prachachon, do not plan to form a political party. Once our goal is achieved—when Thailand is reformed—we will simply head back home...” The post received 130,000 likes.

“Top Secret” Facebook page continued to offer an analytical outlook and an insight on the event. The post titled “A secret revealed... Oak, and the anti-monarchy red shirts from Northern and North Eastern region—all will be wearing black and waving a black flag to oppose the monarchy” received 5,800 likes and 1,075 shares. The author revealed information from an intel, saying that the anti-monarchy group was being rushed into slandering the monarchy by suggesting violence would soon broke out during the interregnum. The red shirts should rise up and support His Royal Highness Crown Prince Maha Vajiralongkorn’s ascension to the throne. This was nothing but a false claim; the Crown Prince has no involvement in this affair. Another post titled “A secret revealed... All ye enter the age of the mass, an era of a new metropolis under the people” talked about the event on May 7’s early morning when two companies of unidentified, fully armed men had launched a raid on red shirts store. Heavy weapons, grenades, other lethal weapons including multiple sniper rifles, each fitted with a scope and 15 kilograms of the other essentials were confiscated. The author further discussed King Rama’s decision regarding the city’s astrological chart, and how its ascendant was accompanied by Mars, a horoscopic representation of the military. “All ye enter the age of the mass (Referring to the reform by Muan Maha Prachachon).” The post received 7,500 likes and 985 shares.

## 2) During the rally

The press concentrated on the repression by the police using tear gas, the government’s ban on PDRC broadcast, and its prohibition against assisting PDRC.

The posts on “Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page focused on providing information about the PDRC activities. On the other hand, “Top Secret” Facebook page offered no posts.

### 3) Post-rally period

The crucial points that were reported by the press included the prosecutor's decision to indict PDRC leaders on treason and other charges, and CMPO's announcing that selecting a new prime minister through section 7 of the constitution was not possible.

There was no post from "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page. "Top Secret" Facebook page chose to give information and to analyze. This was noted in a post titled "A secret revealed... A political aftershock, landed with punches, knives, spears, and swords" which discussed the Office of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) voted about finding ground for the case against Yingluck concerning the rice-pledging program, her subsequent removal from the office by the senates which stripped off her political right for five years. The post received 7,700 likes and 1,924 shares.

Overall, comparing between the flow of political information on mass media and on social media, a civic sector comprised "Suthep Thaugsuban" and "Top Secret" Facebook fanpages, during the PDRC movement, it was found that both local and foreign mass media had reported the events of the political movement as mediators. The two Facebook fanpages, which presented the information as stakeholders, performed different duties. "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page, as the movement leader, focused on providing information and mobilizing people. "Top Secret" Facebook page became of great importance during the violent circumstances against the PDRC protesters, from January to the election day in 2014, through providing information and background analyses of the situation.

## **5.1.2 Creation of an Online Public Sphere to Support the PDRC Movement**

### **5.1.2.1 The Roles of Individuals on Social Media to Support the PDRC Movement**

Findings showed that individuals used social media to support the PDRC movement in two ways:

1) Using the real name: Facebook page of the leader of the PDRC movement was selected in the study, "Suthep Thaugsuban"

(<https://www.facebook.com/suthep.fb>). It was found that 1) this Facebook fanpage was a personal page; 2) There was no official administrators; and 3) This fanpage was not an official PDRC page.

2) Using an alias: Facebook page “Top Secret” by an individual using the alias of Seh Namngoen was included in the study (<https://www.facebook.com/topsecretthai>) as a PDRC supporter and a popular fanpage during the movement. Findings based on media’s assessment: 1) This Facebook page used a pseudonym to disclose sensitive information that professional media cannot report; 2) Seh Namngoen was likely to be related to an internal security agency or army, working in a psychological operation. 3) This Facebook page reported movements of prominent figures both in the government and the PDRC with a vivid and amusing language. It was also found from the in-depth interviews that Seh Namngoen was a supporter of the PDRC.

#### 5.1.2.2 The Roles of Information on Social Media to Support the PDRC movement

It was found from in-depth interviews that information on social media from individuals was political-oriented intentionally to be published to public and was meant to foster political movement; particularly an alias was used when certain information was unable to report by mass media.

### **5.1.3 Roles and Reliability of the Information Flowing through Social Media .....**

#### 5.1.3.1 Role of the Information Flowing Through Social Media

1) Agenda-setting – Some key informants agreed that social media had an agenda-setting role but some disagreed. For those who agreed, they saw the number of likes and shares received on social media and the trend that professional media took issues from social media to distribute to public. On the other hand, key informants who disagreed said there were so many media presenting many issues; and some issues for example, military and army; only professional journalists can present those issues while ordinary people cannot.

2) Encouraging diversity of perspectives in democratic regime or echo chamber -- Social media supported the diversity; but the filtering system such

as by Facebook algorithm caused a visibility reduction to only followed pages or pages published consistent content to followers, resulting in a creation of a worrying echo chamber.

#### 5.1.3.2 Reliability of the Information Flowing through Social Media

Reliability of the information flowing through social media—“Suthep Thaugsuban” Facebook page, which used his real name, there is no question about reliability. “Top Secret” Facebook page, which used a pseudonym, was found to provide accurate information at certain level. If it does not provide any reliable information, there will be no followers. Some issues were analysed. People selected pages to follow according to the content which were consistent with their beliefs. The positive side of social media is its speed that can enable people to receive information faster, whether it is political decision or any other issues. Professional media would not present sensitive content, like overthrowing the monarchy; key informants, however, believed that there was some factual information about such issue.

Results of the study can be summarized into the following framework of the flow of information of the PDRC movement.

**The Flow of Information of the PDRC Movement**

**Traditional Media                      Social Media**

**(Television, Radio, Newspaper)**

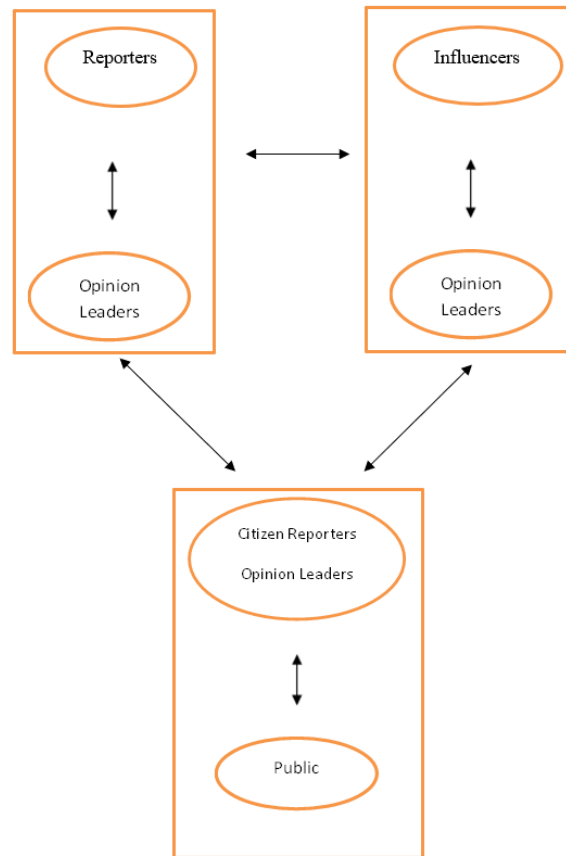


Figure 5.1 The Flow of Information of the PDRC Movement

## 5.2 Discussion

### 5.2.1 The Flow of Information through Social Media during the Movement

The following points will be discussed: The role of communication technology on social determinism and the role of social media in cultural domination

#### 5.2.1.1 The Role of Communication Technology on Social Determinism

The first aspect concerning the role of communication technology on social determinism is the speed of the communication, because social media has

greatly reduced the number of steps required to create information. Using the PDRC movement for an example, the information about a rally was given the night before the event. Not only was the spread of information far-reaching, but acting as a sender was simpler through social media.

Moreover, the flow of information in a public sphere as depicted in the above framework revealed that information no longer originated from mass media solely. Rather, each individual became a sender, transmitting a message to receivers across a broad spectrum. This information was not only presented by interested individuals to the public as political news, but also fueled and drove the movement.

The result from this research conformed to the idea of Everett M. Rogers (1931–2004), a theorist from the field so called soft technological determinism (Kanjana Kaewthep, 1998). Rogers believed that even though communication technology is considered a main social altering factor, it must also work in harmony with other social factors. The growing importance of social media, noted in this study of the PDRC movement, was likely bolstered by other factors such as the individual's fame on social media and the content's informational appeal.

Where fame on social media is concerned, Mr. Suthep Thaugsuban had turned his Facebook page into a communication channel between him and PDRC protesters. In turn, protesters felt they could communicate directly with PDRC leaders. With popular mass media such as TV stations taking little interest in the movement, PDRC protesters felt compelled to find other communication alternatives. For "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook page, this resulted in a huge growth in followers during the rally and a display of emotional connection through likes, especially for posts with photos of the rally attended by a great mass of people.

The fanpage of an individual under an alias was able to quickly gain popularity despite of the previous lack of fame. The appeal was likely to result from the page's military image, a character whose involvement in any protests, according to Thai political history, had always been constant, and was suspected to eventually put an end to the political conflict.

Lastly, the content's informational appeal is likely to be the other factor behind people's interest in social media. Regardless of "Top Secret" Facebook page's



high popularity, the press criticized the information posted by Seh Namngoen as confidential and unrepresentable.

In conclusion, communication technology has led to a change in communication speed. Since the technological development was moderately priced, it became accessible to most citizens, giving any individuals the opportunity to be a sender on social media. Concerning the role of technology in this study, the contributing factors included the individual's fame and how appealing the information was presented.

#### The role of social media in cultural domination

Whether or not technology, through mass media, is capable of causing a change in cultural domination was dictated by scholars from the field of technology like Harold Adams Innis (1894-1952), a former professor in Political Economy at University of Toronto. He was of the opinion that only nations or groups of people with power and efficient communication technology were capable of largely expanding their empires through space. At the same time, the farther the communication expands, the more dominated people living away from the center of power (or the marginality) will have become. Nevertheless, the birth of new media such as mobile phones, faxes, digital cameras, computers, or the Internet and their widespread distribution post-Innis period raised a new question: are these new media prone to concentrate or are they allowing decentralizing of power?

#### 5.2.1.2 Role of Mass Media

On a political dimension, elections are important to political culture under democracy system because an election is an expression of the people's will through majority vote. During the PDRC movement, reports by foreign press focused on issues such as the election and a coup d'état. Analyses by some foreign press during the first rally suggested that there would be no coup since the government and military shared a good relationship. An interview with Ms. Yingluck further revealed that there would not be any election before the government had completed its term. After Ms. Yingluck had dissolved the House of Representatives, a statement by the Foreign Minister of New Zealand was reported, asking that democratic process be respected in Thailand, and that all parties respect the democratic process. He then added that the will of Thai people could be best understood through election ballots.

Foreign press further analyzed that the decision made by Democrat Party of Thailand not to field their candidates for the election on February 2, 2014 was meant to put a pressure on Pheu Thai Party and gave the army the chance to seize the power. After the election, reports by foreign press shifted to PDRC's successful campaign to disrupt an election which resulted in an inability to form the government because of the insufficient number of MPs.

Thai press, particularly most news sites, focused the on-going situation, presenting the previously mentioned analyses by foreign press on the election and a coup d'état. However, mass media like TV stations failed to present information about the PDRC movement, an action which led PDRC leaders to organize activities to pressure various TV stations into reporting their movement.

The flow of information during political rallies in the past such as one by the People's Alliance for Democracy in 2008, or one by the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship in 2010 originated from mass media. Protesters relied on mass media to broadcast their information; hence, the People's Alliance for Democracy and the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship each had their own satellite TVs. Messages were also broadcast to mobile phones using SMS. Likewise, the PDRC movement was broadcast through Bluesky channel, a satellite television station.

Therefore, it is possible to say that communication through mass media continued to broadcast an ideology of Western democracy.

Such aspect conformed to the field of cultural imperialism which suggested that modern day imperialism schemed to recruit other countries into a global system which centered on the imperialist. Important mechanisms being used included various modern ideologies, especially mass media. As a result, third-world mass media adhered to its model like American or European mass media. For example, it

- 1) Commercialized mass media;
- 2) Trained local professional media to think and act like their model;
- 3) Establish a foundation, standards, and values for the profession such as professional neutrality (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2014, pp. 201-202)

With mass communication becoming an industry, mass media finds itself under capitalists' sole control. Moreover, the process behind media production such as defining news, or gathering information often results in local mass media adopting and broadcasting information from global mass media to local recipients. The PDRC movement was no exception; likewise, Thai mass media broadcast the view held by global mass media.

#### 5.2.1.3 Role of Social Media

Few deviations differentiated the PDRC movement from movements by other groups, including the advancement in communication technology which gave birth to social media. Popular at the time, social media such as Facebook and YouTube was a Western technology. While the PDRC movement relied on traditional mass communication—for example, PDRC leaders had held press conferences, intending to be broadcasted by mass media—they also communicated through social media at the same time. Despite the lack of an official PDRC Facebook page, PDRC leader Suthep Thaugsuban has a Facebook page which received a great number of followers and was used to mobilize people

Another Facebook page titled “Top Secret” offered an explanation and an analysis on the violence that took place from an “insider’s” view. The page projected itself as a military man and offered a different view on the protest-suppression unit of men in black, and the mysterious men of no color affiliation known as popcorn forces. The author’s practice contrasted with the usual mass media which merely gave a narrative of the event. The research discovered Seh Namngoen’s analyses to have helped fueling the movement forward.

Moreover, “Top Secret” Facebook page’s stance was an antithesis to the democratic ideology, featuring a slogan: “The happiness of the people ruled under a coup is preferable to their misery under an election.”

It was clear that social media allowed individuals the chance to participate in the informational flow. In addition, the result from this study conformed to ideas from other scholars and studies as follows:

Bruce Bimer, a political scientist from the University of California, Santa Barbara, hypothesized that communication over the Internet inspired two claims. The first was made by the populist, saying that the Internet emboldened

individuals with more power to influence the government and political systems. The direct communication channel through Internet between individuals and various people in the government means that, not only can individuals follow political news and updates, or pass their opinions to the government, but also lessen the dependency between each individual, and among political factions.

The second claim came from the community-oriented, saying that the Internet led to creations and increasing of communities. New communication technology caused a restructuring of the foundations of social order. In addition, new technology enabled communities to actively engage nationally in much the same manner neighbors would converse, and exchange opinions by removing distant and time limitations.

In such manner, populist focused on the change in communication from individuals to government and affected the vertical communication between society and government, in turn enabling a two-way communication. The community-oriented concentrated on expanding communication boundary between citizens and affected the horizontal communication within society. Both claims were results of the new communication technology that influenced social changes (cited in Issarachai, online 8-39-8-40).

The result from this study also conformed with the research by Wutthipol Wutthiworapong and Kingkan Jongsukklai (2019), stating that Facebook was the social media primarily, and heavily used by the movement to pressure Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra's government. The social movement on Facebook had compelled the bourgeoisie from the capital area to march out, protesting. Their number was large, totaling from several hundred thousand to one million. Reflected in the power of social media was the speed. Passing on message to any ordinary users using traditional communication may gain neither their interest, nor their understandings. In contrast, information perception through social media built an understanding on current social issues, and social networks based on similar political affiliation. Highly popular posts often belonged to Facebook page of political figure like Mr. Suthep Thaugsuban, Mr. Abhisit Vejjajiva, Mr. Thaksin Shinawatra and Ms. Yingluck Shinawatra. It can be surmised that some Thai politicians use social media

to communicate directly with their supporters, to a great effect (Wutthipol Wutthiworapong & Kingkan Jongsukklai, 2019, pp. 147-167).

In sum, social media added diversity to the flow of information in the society, being more than a flow of information that streamed through mass media in one direction. The next question to be considered is: how is cultural domination affected by this multi-directional flow of information?

#### 5.2.1.4 Cultural Domination

During the period when technology on digital media, radio broadcasting, television broadcastings, and the Internet were being developed, various scholars had criticized the role of communication as follows:

Herbert I. Schiller stated that free-flow of information is one part of the strategy to dominate third world countries and to give transnational media corporation the opportunity to easily occupy colonial countries' communication spaces. This leads to inequalities and a one-directional flow of information, usually from the US.

From the field of technology, Harold Adams Innis believed that every change in communication technology affects the power structure in society. Such change centralizes the power among the elites since only few senders have the ability to monopolize communication channels. In contrast, the aforementioned technology has the capacity to reach a wider audience. Innis developed this idea when there was an expansion in mass media technology; particular examples included printed media, and radio and television broadcasting. These of which are highly centralized media; thus influenced Innis's perception that media holds the power to centralize the power structure in the hands of the elites.

Marshall McLuhan mentioned that the second change to global communication system is propelled by digital media technology. McLuhan affirmed that one major element behind this second wave of change is speed. Human transportation and communication occurs at a quicker pace and expand human's experiences beyond that encountered during the first wave of change. For instance, television broadcasts or information is communicated via the Internet at a much quicker speed compared to newspapers.

McLuhan brought up an implosion in human's experience in which any individuals—no matter where they live globally—may simultaneously experience the

same event and various other stories over long distance through digital communication. This process will eventually facilitate a new world order, leading to the formation of a global village. Production of news and their consumption in a global village world share three unique characteristics, which are

- 1) Synchrony, or the synchronization of information and cultural perception;
- 2) Simultaneity, or the simultaneous occurrence of information and cultural perception; and
- 3) Instantaneousness, or the immediacy of information and cultural perception.

McLuhan believed that the culture of a global village has the tendency to become the culture of a global village under an American imperialism. For instance, everyone will be conversing in an American English; they will all stop visiting local libraries, but rather relying on knowledge from google.com; they will consume Hollywood movies; or they will grow more familiar with celebrities like Brad Pitt and Julia Roberts than people from their local neighborhood.

All these criticisms were developed before the conception of social media, during which printed media, radio and television broadcasting had centralized communication in the hands of few media producers. Communication through social media is more distributed in contrast.

The research discovered that social media allowed individuals to engage more frequently in a horizontal communication within the civic sector. As well, communication became more distributed. Pro-coup messages which, normally, would not appear on mass media except in gossip columns can be published anonymously on social media.

Seh Namngoen's view on coup d'état provided certain empirical data. The coup in 2014 which was led by Gen. Prayuth Chan-ocha, an army commander-in-chief at the time, was met with little resistance locally. In contrast, it must endure the pressure from other Western countries who denounced it. In turn, it was possible that a coup d'état, while appearing as an antithesis to the democratic ideology, could be accepted by the people when influenced by political situation. Moreover, for societies inheriting Western ideologies, there could also be other variables that influenced how

they respond. Examples of these variables are the society's political experience or culture, its political conflict, or an announcement about an upcoming election.

Whether or not the result of a technology, designed to expedite communication and to remove the space limitation, can stage a complete cultural domination likely depends on other factors as well. The idea is likewise supported by Everett M. Rogers who believed that even though communication technology is considered a crucial factor behind social change, it still functions in coordination with other social factors.

There are other points to be considered nonetheless. McQuail (2005, as cited in Kanjana Kaewthep & Somsuk Hinviman, 2010) explained the development of all technology as a three step process, including

- 1) The invention period when media invention are first experimented;
- 2) The application period when there is a widespread use of the technology after its invention was successful;
- 3) The control period when media technology becomes systematized and controlled by various interested groups after the widespread use.

Certain phenomenon emerged where control is concerned. On Facebook's part, there was a development which happened post-PDRC movement to set up rules on social media's use. Examples include the sign up process which requires user's real name (although, Facebook's system itself has failed to validate all the accounts) and other new features such as the ability to block a page, post notification, or News Feed Visibility. These features exist by Facebook's design which gives ordinary recipients the channel to report posts, or the type of offence the post has breached such as nudity, violence, threats, false information, hate speeches, and terrorism. Nevertheless, Facebook's administration provides a loose control at best. The question is this: will greater control be exercised to the extent it curtails social media diversity?

Still, a different observation emerged, having put other factors into consideration. The dissolution of the Soviet Union which ended the struggle between two ideologies during the Cold War saw a change in global communication. There were talks about borderless communication, influenced by the continually evolving

communication technology and the role of multinational corporations, either competing or cooperating in activities concerning global communication. The image portraying an informational flow between countries, therefore, is no longer one dimensional, systemically flowing back and forth. Instead, the association is highly chaotic, showing multiple senders all over the world and multi-directional flows of information in the changing global communication landscape.

Some post-1990 scholars view that America is no longer the only sender of messages. There are periphery countries like Brazil, Mexico, India, China and Egypt; and semi-periphery countries like Canada and Australia. Each is becoming an exporter of television programs to audiences from other regions with similar languages and cultures (Wipa Uttamachan, 1998).

However, it is not only the US and Western world that are capable of developing social media technology. Other countries from the Eastern world are as capable of developing said communication technology. China's QQ and WeChat; Russia's VKontakte (VK) or Odnoklassniki (OK.ru); or Japan's LINE are such examples. To give the people from most countries social media choices has made the owner of the technology cautious about their competition where control is concerned.

In conclusion, new communication technology introduced a change to the flow of information during a political crisis. No longer did information flow from only mass media, but also from social media, creating a horizontal communication between individuals. The study further revealed that even though an election, a political culture from a democratic concept, was being reasserted by mass media, social media revealed a conflicting thought on elections among individuals. On the other hands, others factors must be considered to determine if technological development has an altering effect on mass media's induced cultural domination. These factors included the political culture of that particular society and a diverse number of countries with the capacity to develop communication technology. This heterogeneity ensures that technological advancement is not wholly determined by any particular group of countries.



## 5.2.2 Creation of an Online Public Sphere to Support the Movement

Two topics are discussed as follows: Social media as public sphere, and using a pseudonym in social media

### 5.2.2.1 Social Media as Public Sphere

Findings yielded a communication map depicting information circulation on the PDRC movement. An analysis of the framework under Habermas's theory revealed that the 21st century has seen a development of communication technology, and social media in turn. As a public sphere, social media could be described as being:

- 1) Eligible for ordinary people who can access the Internet via computers, notebooks, mobile phones, and live in an area with Internet services. Activities were engaged on
- 2) Places like pages of social media platform such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube and included
- 3) Actions which normally were not face-to-face, and between people who either know each other or were complete strangers. These included independent, rational discussions on various states' laws; and were engaged under equality principles.
- 4) Goals were to build a stage where any ordinary citizen had the right to participate and make decisions concerning the public interests. Furthermore, such decisions were not made by any particular individual (or those in power), but were arrived at through meticulous debates. These were
- 5) Duties of public sphere to provide a political battlefield to interested individuals. In all, not only was it one of the channels people can participate, and exercise their right concerning their public life, but also a check and balance on the government.
- 6) Communications in public sphere were bidirectional and stretched in all directions. These were demonstrated by the likes, shares and comments on online pages.

Applying Habermas's perspective which described the public sphere during 19th–20th century, revealed that social media, as one of the 21st century public sphere, had certain characteristics as follows:

1) Converted public sphere back to a politicized area, known as politicised area, as observed when individuals use social media to communicate politically.

2) Social media platforms offered areas for political, economic, and social and cultural dimensions.

3) Citizens were both 'consumers' and 'senders'. In mass communication process, citizens were only political consumers. Social media had turned citizens into both consumers and senders. As observed in the findings, they could comment and share content.

4) Citizens actively participated in political activities. Citizens of mass media era were inactive audiences who only consumed news from mass media. In contrast, citizens of social media era actively participated in political activities, searched information, built online pages to comment, followed and commented on political pages, and shared posts which were consistent with their attitudes.

5) Not only knowledge brokers, but social media gave birth to influencers known as a group of people who could influence the attitudes and decisions of their target groups.

During 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century, Habermas proposed that the division of labor had given birth to knowledge brokers, a specialist who acted on behalf of people. People, or political consumers, had left public life be managed by political professionals, the so-called 'spatial-interest group' or 'knowledge brokers'. Examples of people from this group included professional politicians, lobbyists, senior citizens, and news analysts (newspapers, radio and televisions). These professionals would follow, analyze, criticize and offer comments on news through mass media whenever a situation demanded for decisions on public interest matters. The legitimacy of the coup, or what is the best path for country were such examples.

Beside knowledge brokers, the 21<sup>st</sup> century discovered an addition of influencers. Influencers can be anyone, politicians, celebrities, actors, or some already well-known artists from various fields (also known as knowledge brokers). As such, knowledge brokers could easily become influencers; Suthep Thaugsuban, a well-known politician, was one such example revealed by the

research's findings. Any ordinary people could also post and share political content in social media which will be shared, followed and liked by other people. Consequently, they became influencers; Seh Namngoan was one such example from this study.

Influencers needed not come from mass media institution. Rather, people could become influencers by representing themselves in social media and appealing to them with information that could interest them.

#### 6) The birth of pseudo public sphere or echo chamber

Habermas suggested that pseudo public sphere is the original public sphere manipulated by eliminating some important, authentic attributes. In turn, the 20th century public sphere is only a pseudo-public sphere. In pseudo-public sphere, political actions by political actors such as politicians, the government or their opposition focus mainly on the theatrical, fame, fashion, personality and images. Although, people as observers may have opinions, thoughts and feelings, they have no channels through which to participate publicly.

Social media nowadays enables users with multiple aliases, as many as their communication devices. Some of these were called 'avatar' and had been hired to give their opinions through likes and shares. The practices were engaged in both marketing and political realm to give an appearance of significant number of supporters. This scenario was only possible because of a non-face-to-face communication. Therefore, the birth of a pseudo public sphere was still possible.

Additionally, the research findings revealed that, in regard of social media, key informants felt concerned about 'echo chamber' because audience could be selective about which pages to follow. Facebook's algorithm also filtered pages and content for its users.

#### 7) Role of mass media in public sphere

Habermas concluded that the development of mass media – newspapers, radios and televisions– is one crucial variable which made debate on any issues possible since content in mass media are already public, and resources for rationale debate. The research findings discovered that mass media continued to be prevalent presence on social media as it delivered content that were debated on social media. This was because mass media reported news and movements in society

whereas most individuals on social media focused on criticize, comment and mobilize resources.

Next, Habermas proposed that during 19th -20th century, mass media had the potential as a status conferral agent. This means it can turn an “expert” into a “celebrity”. As a result, hardly is there any socially accepted experts whose status had not been previously conferred by various types of mass media. In this sense, mass media acts like public sphere where the intellectuals, academics, specialists from various professions, including mass media personnel themselves speak in the name of the “public.” Discussion programs are such examples.

Findings also found that 21st century mass media still had the capability of a status conferral agent, and promoted people’s status by distributing their content to the public. In turn, influencers were transformed into celebrities, becoming more widely known. This was observed when content from Suthep Thaugsuban and Seh Namngoen were presented. Reports by mass media about these public figures had made them more widely known to audience other than their Facebook followers.

#### 8) Role of communication and public sphere

Habermas believed that “public sphere” must exist as one main mechanism of a democratic society. The public sphere should have these characteristics.

Creations of public sphere must allow diversity. This is to ensure that people from all groups, each possessing different interest, can access different types of public sphere and truly profit from them. Essentially, certain groups of people may have found public sphere inaccessible, had there been only one type of public sphere.

As well, public sphere should not be turned into rigid organizations or institutions under the influence of bureaucratic system. Instead, public sphere should become a network which allows flow of information.

Public sphere should elicit communicative action, of which activities focusing on building new conscience and new feeling for the people so that they transcend “individualism”. This new feeling is called “ethic of compassion”

which means an understanding of other people's emotions, feelings and needs, asking individuals to wear someone else's shoes and empathize with their situation

Public sphere can be actively used to create democracy based on two factors: 1) quality of the communication and 2) quantity of participation. Habermas suggested that various forms of organizations or social groups be created to act as communication mediators for the participations.

Having considered the roles of mass media, social media as public sphere were found to be consistent with Habermas's proposal. That is to say, social media are a form of public sphere with the capability to foster democracy since it provided a large variety of people access. Ownership of communication devices like inexpensive mobile devices, computers, or notebooks was the only condition. Social media was neither rigid organizations nor institutions under bureaucratic influences. Rather, it was private area intending for commercial purposes and induce communicative action. Finally, social media was a public sphere in that it possessed two aspects. The first was the quality of the communication. The research revealed that social media was appealing because the information on social media were interesting. The second aspect was the quantity of the participation. Each Facebook pages used as sample group in this research has more than 100,000 followers and numerous comments, likes and shares.

#### 5.2.2.2 Using a Pseudonym in Social Media

Per this research, the individuals involved in the creation of social media as public sphere used either real name or pseudonym. Pseudonym means a name used to disguise or substitute the real name (Royal Institute Dictionary, 2011, online) There had been many journalists, poets and screen writers in the past who concealed their real name by using a pseudonym instead—for example, Sriburapha, Yacob, Nga-sang, Black Coffee, Silver Light and Lom Plian Tid. Pseudonyms appeared in literatures as much as print media.

However, the use of a pseudonym in print media might serve to hide the author's real identity as much as to help them avoid legal action which could affect the management of media business. The Printing Act 1941 which was enforced to control media required that someone be responsible for the content published in newspapers and that they have legal liability. Responsible person could be advertisers,

editors or the owners of the newspapers. Legal actions against mass media were often filed against advertisers, editors, or writers. As a result, journalists and columnists, in the past, have been using pseudonyms such that their real names can be kept confidential by the editing team whenever a lawsuit is filed against them. This practice of pseudonym use persists with social media.

Not only are pseudonyms used to hide identity for legal purposes, they also enable journalists to publish sensitive content. In the case of Seh Namngoen, sensitive content about the monarchy was presented online when it is impossible to publish this issue in mass media.

Wanichayachart (2001) also proposed that communication through the Internet enables channels to discuss taboo issues such as lesbian, monarchy and coup in public.

### **5.2.3 The Roles and Reliability of the Information Flowing through Social Media**

#### **5.2.3.1 Agenda-setting Role**

From the in-depth interviews, key informants had different views regarding social media's agenda-setting role. Findings were consistent with research on the same topic. It was not clear that social media had a role in agenda-setting. Pornthip Chanaka (2011) proposed that online news agenda originated from online sources such as news websites, other online individual, or online group. In term of content production, there were news selection, emphasis, leading and extension. This led to form of content that are either facts, emotional, or opinions. Lastly, the relationship formed among news exchanges on websites enables agendas to widely spread with high frequencies, much like a viral infection; and created online agendas in Thai society. It was also found no strong association between online agenda-setting to society and public opinion (Pornthip Chanaka, 2011).

Moreover, Sakulsri Srisaracam (2017) found that agenda-setting in social media were the result of both journalists and online media users. This was an opportunity to advocate agendas that were consistent with societal need. An agenda-setting process required awareness building, advocating trend to explain agenda in different angles, promoting certain behaviors in society, and campaigning for social

change or policy change. Mass media's role was to follow, select information to report, explain, and find solution for society. This is the way to advocate social issues for mutual change (Sakulsri Srisaracam, 2017).

#### 5.2.3.2 Promoting Diversity of Beliefs in Democratic Regime or Echo Chamber

Findings suggested that some key informants believed that social media enabled diversity of beliefs. However, there were concerns for an echo chamber. This is consistent with Sukamoto (2018) who stated that Facebook was a space for expressing opinion, sending news and responding to opposite parties at the same time. Facebook's algorithm — the systematic way to filter pages, friends or message to its users — had been criticized as a source of echo chamber which reduce diversity of news, opinions that differed from one's own. It was believed that this system destroyed marketplace of ideas and would likely create polarized politics (Sukamoto, 2018, pp. 81-82).

#### 5.2.3.3 Credibility of Information Sources in Social Media

In terms of individuals under pseudonym, key informant did not completely trust content from this Facebook source, saying they were opinions and emotions. This conformed to Peechapat who found that information presented and distributed on Twitter were unreliable because users presented and distributed information too quickly and without verification. Presentation of social news by mass media was more credible compared to Twitter as mainstream media always verify news. News sources in mass media are more concerned about ethics more than Twitter users. Twitter users, however, believed that Twitter and mass media were equally credible since they were both competing to publish news as fast as possible. This might harm the verification process as they are competing against each other. Motivation behinds sharing news in Twitter were success, power, intention to hurt others or oneself, and the need for friends among others.

Wattanee Phoovatis (2017) who conducted a qualitative study which collected data from 30 in-depth interviews with journalists and editors, and analyzed related documents, found that most journalists used Facebook, Google Plus, and Twitter. They looked up news, reported them and created online community to debate freely in public space. Most journalists rated reliability of social media as being

moderate because information was never verified by editors. Using social media brought about issues on credibility, created commotion during crises, caused a rift in society, and infringed on people's privacy and copyrights. Journalist should be careful about disguised political issues, fake news, and rumors. They have to decide at their own discretion.

From Tangprateep's survey research with 119 respondents, it was found that the level of credibility of information from Facebook users living in Bangkok was moderate. Similarly, news sharing behavior among Facebook users who lived in Bangkok was moderate.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

#### **5.3.1 Recommendations for Government Agencies**

1) Technological and communication development can contribute to both positive and negative impacts to society. The positive side includes a promotion of diversity of perspectives that enable civil society to take part in politics and become participatory consumers in political arena. This, in turn, fosters democracy and political regime. The negative side includes a widespread of fake news in a very short time.

To maintain online social media as a quality public sphere, apart from implementing the Computer Crime Act of 2007 upon fake news creators, related government agencies should provide a platform where people can verify whether news is fake or true. State agencies should notify people of this platform through public relations.

2) Government should also support the development of social media technology in Thailand. We have witnessed that the number of mass media, such as newspapers, radios and television stations, owned by Thai people has declined recently. Nowadays, social media such as Facebook, Youtube and Twitter, has become more and more popular; but most of these social media platforms and their technology belong to American business. To balance communication power, government should promote Thai scientists to develop this communication



technology. Thai society also needs to be informed about social media from other countries.

3) Government should support and develop Thai mass media. Freedom of expression and the role of accurate information providers must be ensured. Not only is mass media one of local industries, but also communicators of quality information for debates on online public sphere.

### **5.3.2 Recommendations for Media Organizations**

As shown on both Facebook fanpages in the study, individuals' role of on social media tended to be providers of information and opinion, but such information and opinion were limited to only what related to them. "Suthep Thaugsuban" Facebook fanpage, which distributed information about calls for rallies, speeches on stage and opinions of PDRC supporters, has the main goal to mobilize protestors. "Top Secret" Facebook page of Seh Namngoen, which positioned itself as an army's page, provided information and analyses regarding the army such as background of the violence, military weapons and security issues. These pages did not act as information seekers for society as much as mass media did. Mass media, or professional media as some key informants referred to, must recognize the changing flow of information that individuals and organizations can be either sources or influencers of information through social media. Mass media should be careful with their choices, ether to present or ignore facts, as well as should operate under their media ethics in order to maintain their reliability.

### **5.3.3 Recommendations for Educational Institution**

1) Reliability of information and impolite words use on social media are currently at the center of debates. News providers can be both mass media and ordinary people; educational institution should promote media literacy in their curriculum to enable individuals to be law abiding senders and receivers of social media. Social media ethics should be promoted in every level, particularly in high school and above.

2) Social media became popular channel of communications and its role in communications is better understood. Findings suggested that during the

PDRC movement, social media was in the developing period. Social media has been used as political communication channels, as much as mass media. Social media will play an important part as a communication channel in the long term. Educational institution, particularly at higher educational level, should promote education and research related to online social media: Behavior, popularity and the roles. This will enable higher education institutes to be a center for learning about communications at all levels.

#### **5.3.4 Recommendations for Further Research**

- 1) Future research should pay attention to the role of social media in other dimensions such as cultural and social dimensions.
- 2) The use and role of social media in other time periods, for example, recent development of Facebook's features such as live and filtering system are also interesting to investigate.
- 3) Besides Facebook, other social media platforms such as Youtube and Twitter should be further explored, since they are widely used in Thailand and other countries.
- 4) Future research should also study other roles and functions of social media, for example, agenda-setting, promoting diversity of views in democratic society and credibility.

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