

Political Symbolic Communication of Students and People's Networks in the Reform of Thailand*

Saroj Boonsermwan

Department of Political Science, Rajapark Institute, Thailand.

Email: master-2556@hotmail.com

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Abstract

The propose of this research are for study the origination and analyze the operation form of political symbols of The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) during 2013-2015. 2. To efficiently apply for the political movement of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT). It is the quality research that determines the method of data collection by document analysis and in-depth interviews which using interviews form as a tools and major informants are the mainstay of SNT and advisors who are operation team of SNT together with Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) and person concerned in political movement.

The research found that the symbolic politics of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform from the past have expanded more from these contexts and factors 1. Problems of non-transparency of country management of the government 2. The protest of legislation 3. The enfranchisement of public meeting for political movement under the constitution of Kingdom of Thailand 1997 and 5. The use of technologies and new communication instruments in political movement. In terms of using the political symbols form found that the Student and People Network for Thailand Reform create the language of political symbols as follows "Student" "People" Reform" "Fearless" "Love of Brotherhood and supporting" national flag, marching, canvas shoes, music, tear gas glasses and show barehand to the political moment meeting.

Keywords: Political; Meaning of Political Symbols; New Way of Social Movement

Introduction

People's Political in democracy generally is the openness space for general people to be able to participate in political and have a freedom of political under the law which the constitution opens the chance for people to participate in political about right and freedom and increase the political expression. The original of people's political in the past, people have to stay with problems conditions and suffered from government policy that managed massive project which influence lower class people and have affect to the creation of people's political and the meeting on the street to demand the government to solve the problems. There is the movement in the form of public meeting and protests on the streets to create bargaining power with the government during 1988. Therefore, it is clearly see that democracy in representative's form cannot be resolved the people's problems. There is the use of state power to corrupt which creates big issues and lead to the movement of people's political and there is the assembly

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of the poor Pak Mun Pattaya Network and expanded to people movement for fair society (News agency Isara, 2015).

People's political able to use their own political right which resulting from the awareness of right and freedom, need of self-problem resolve, need of sake of social and need of better life quality. There should have the better political social but need the social space to have political movement meeting and must create the relationship of people in the community to have move power to challenge the state power. There is the power interaction in representative democracy, participate the political meeting to create the benefits to people in local politics society (Narong Boonsuaykwan, 2009, pp.17). People's political is the citizens movement to public in order to express, offer the public policy as the move of some group of people that use their own right to determine their life style and restrain government practices that effected to people benefits as the using of basis right in the political form that open public space to express the opinion, media freedom, personal freedom about public and including the right to participate political activities of people by peace and right to participate the protest. The movement to call for the government to resolve the unresolved problems, the movement to audit state powers, the protest to call for state power transfer to people section.

In case of Thailand from the study of research of Seksan Prasertkul show the political phenomenon after the situation in May 1992 which create the political crisis of Thailand in the national level that have affect to increase the political movement of people. For example, in the case of Thai farmer integration in 1992 to against the bill of National Farmers Council, there is the setting of organization and movement the protest to Bangkok. Then in 1996 the assembly have made the long terms meeting to push pressure to the govern-ment of Prime Minister Banharn Silapaarcha at that time and call to resolve the problems (Nabatean Cheunsiri, 1998, pp. 160). There is the meeting to called for same problems until 1997 when Prime Minister General Chaowalit Yongjaiyut (Prasertkul, 2005) and it is a trend of people to call for political reforms and finally people's political was filled in the constitution edition of 1997 for the first time that the participating of people's political was accepted by legislated about right and liberty in law section 44 mentions that the political meeting is allowed with peace and non-weapons and in law section 45 mentioned that people have a right to set up public meetings (Constitution of The Kingdom of Thailand 1997 section 44 section 45). At the end the constitution is the tools for people to refer as the frame for political movement widely and effect to political movement in Thailand to adjust the new form of movement because they need the political movement to be more corroborate with political context as the process of the new movement is the movement of demand from many people, many group and many social level. The claimant has a part in movement by themselves as the lack of faith with political party representatives to resolve the problems. By having the clear goal that desires to create the new regulations and rules and wanted to have more peaceful in life (Charoensinolan, 1999) as of the case in 2541 which the businessman and academics have meeting to movement to against the economic restrictions law 11 (Prasertkul, 2005). The group of Assembly of the Poor have the meeting to claim for the government to resolve all problems in year 2000 when Chaun Leakpai was the Prime Minister at that time, after government committed that the problems propose by Assembly of the Poor will be considered to find the solution, the group of people from Saiab was set the group to movement to claim for the against of the Kang Sue Ten Dam Project after that is the information that the government support to have the construc-tion in order to prevent the flooding however the propels believed that the area to build the Dam located far from Wangchin district that effected by the wild water floods and the dam should not able to prevent the flooding, past to the 2002 the lawyer councils participate and debuted the book of against 11 editions (Seksan Prasertkul, 2005). The time past to 2003, The Assembly of the Poor called to The National Human Right Commission of Thailand to check the government order about Pak Moon Dam that had the meeting beside the Office of Civil Services Commission and propose the book to Charan

Dissathaaphichai the Committee of Human right at The National Human Right Commission of Thailand that they wanted to called for the investigation the government order to revive the shelters of Assembly of the Poor on the footpath and claim that Assembly of the Poor offed the law of constitution section 44 or not. The representative of people agreed that Taksin Chinnawat interviewed to the press that the shelters of the Assembly of the Poor must be revive to stop the meeting is the infringe of personal human rights. The infringement has the effect to image and make the other people misunderstand and detested The Assembly of the Poor. This can be see that each point of problems of protestors is getting more and more every day. The new way of social movement has changed by increasing the level of movement and arrange the new form of meeting as the movement of people versus the state like (Boonsuaykwan, 2014) give the idea that the movement of people is the using of people right as “non-violence operating” or can be say as Civil Disobedience which mean public meeting, protest, close street for more symbolic express through the language, color and sound which can be seen during 2013-2014 at the age of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform. There is the use of important symbolic language “Student” “People” “Reform” “Fearless” “Brotherhood” “Nation Flag” “March” “Canvas” “Tear has glasses” and “Barehanded”. All are the symbolic expression which increasing more every day in Thai society including at the middle-class people and lower-class people.

Therefore, this research shows the phenomenon of symbolic politics movement in many ways. There is the use of variety symbol as the meanings of symbols has influence to the protestors who have the same thoughts, same beliefs, same experiences, same awareness, same feelings, same relationship, same unity and same goals. Symbols has direct effect to mind, emotional, feelings, thoughts, beliefs and attitudes. That cause the people in same society has the same agreement under the social context as the new way of fight in terms of symbolic. People learned about the new form of political movement so the symbolic politics is need to be expanded area of democratic to be able to absorb the powers of social from the part of non-upper class people to be the additional basis elements to use the power and to direct the state policy.

The purpose of research

1. To study the creation and origins of symbolic politics of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) during 2013-2014.
2. To analyze the form of political symbols. The creation of meaning and contents of symbols that use for the political movement of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform.
3. To study the production procedure of “meaning” and language of symbolic politics that can be use in the political movement of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) efficiencies.

Scope of the Study

The study of symbolic politics is the study during 2013-2014 which has the scope and content that study specifically to The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT).

Literature Review

Sign is whatever that give the meaning to compare the difference from the other things and people in the social has same understands (Chairat Charoensinolan, 2002).

De Saussure et al. (1959) see that the language is one of the form in symbolic system that can be connect to each thought which no different from literature, Pictorial Symbol for Deaf People, Symbolic Worship, Rule and Regulation about social manners and Military Symbols and so on, just language is the symbols system that has the most important when compared to other sign systems.

Roland Barthes (1967) provide the meaning of “sign” is everything that surrounds us in the social and has the meaning as the code and rule of each social and culture “As soon as the social has begun, the using of all objects in the social has become the sign”.

Karnchana Kaewthep (1998, pp. 80) has described that “sign” is the the thing that create for the meaning (Meaning) to replace the object (Object) in text (Text) and each context (Context).

Nantana Nantawaripas (2014) give the meaning of “sign” that mean something that was created to communicate and replace the object in each context. The things that use to be the sign an be anything such as language, objects, things, instrument, pictures and clothing.

De Saussure et al. (1959) has described that symbols is the base unit of language. Sign has relation connect between (1) Sign or Conductor signifier with (2) Meaning of symbols or thoughts that symbols wanted to signified. These two parts are concluded as sign and cannot be complete with each other's.

Peirce (Refer to Kanchana Kaewthep, 2009, pp. 78) describes that sign will complete when there are two elements that are 1 Signifier and part 2 signified. Which the conclusion of both parts will count as sign.

Roland Barthes Barthes (1972) describes that in the system of semantics, meaning will be complete when the three combinations are completed that are (1) Form of Sign (2) Meaning of sign and (3) Sign and when all the three combinations are complete that can be count as sign.

Sign and Symbol, human able to use everything things to communicate the meaning in different way. For example, use the color as the Communication tools (Theerayut Boonmee, 2008, pp. 55) which sign and symbol that use the color to communicate the meaning in generally will not have relationships with its own character such as black is the sign of mourning however black has nothing connect and relate with sorrow and sadness. The libra mean justice and balance, equality of two side make Libra represent the justice. Red always stand for warships and fearless because red is the blood color. In the same way with red flag and red light inform the meaning of readiness, carefully and dangerous which white is suitable to be the sign of religious, virgins, equality and liberty (Theerayut Boonmee, 2008).

Tilly (1993) explained the meaning of the word “Method of Movement” is the tools for people to use and applied for calls to the people or group of people that are the goal of demand. It is the movement that has no violence or peaceful movement.

Niti Eawsriwong describes the meaning of people political is the politics that people can direct participate in making decisions of public policy of the state both local organizations and private organizations with freedom, efficiency and peacefully (Matichon, 1997).

Attachak Sattayanurak give the vision that people political is the people who aware or use this word to communicate and can be imagine to the area of new political style that has the movement of many group of people and in the power relation that every group have participate in policy decisions which this imagination create the righteousness that support the movement of people (Bangkok Business, 2000).

Theerayut Boonmee (2004) has explained that 0 People's politic includes of many parents such as inde- pendent organizations as in the constitution, presses, academic institutions, Independent intellectual, group of human right, group of social activities and private development organizations in the global level and local level. So people politic has so many names follow the different goals such as the study of political in the dimension of “Public sphere of political” that focusing on create the public sphere and public state to use for debate the important topic and expanded the right and authority that can be benefits to social and political study of “people's politics” or new social movement focusing on the people movement for create common- sensical of people in the point of benefits for humankind.

Seksan Prasertkul (2005) provides the meaning of people's politics that People's politics is the political that people come for “Assembly” movement with consciousness of political has

the intention to call the government to decrease domination and transfer some part of the power return to the people to resolve problems by themselves.

The social movement and new form of political with the use of sign

The research of Kanokwan Phongwilaisap (2008) which study the communication and methods of protest management of People's Alliance for Democracy found that The People's Alliance for Democracy has created the sign to use in the meeting such as Yellow, Hand, Sign and The Song of People's Alliance for Democracy to convey the meaning of political.

The another research of Panithan Pichalai (2012) has study the method of political struggles of People's Alliance for Democracy during the age of Prime Minister Taksin Chinnawat and the research found that goal of the political struggle of People's Alliance for Democracy that want to eliminate government of Taksin Chinnawat and they were successful because they can have created the political sign in many forms such as motto, song and shirt to support and emphasize.

While the research of Kema Somchai (2008) study the constitution of People's Alliance for Democracy that has the form, content and discourse in the communication of People's Alliance for Democracy. And the results of research found that the core leader of People's Alliance for Democracy has created the discourse of "Save the nation" and "we will fight for The King", shirts, scarves and head bands. The yellow color makes the People's Alliance for Democracy has the power and right to movement against the government which all are the sign that use to fight that has the speech on the state, performance, music and song in order to communicate with the demonstrator together with entertaining people and finally all the sign that the group of political movement demonstrator has created become the political goods in the place that has political protest. It is the market for the polo products which appear in the piece of research of Sujikarn Wathathiyaporn (2010) which study the original of goods and symbols market in network of the political movement of People's Alliance for Democracy.

Language and Political Discourse

The research of Praweenuch Harnchana (2012) study and analyze the strategy of political communication of Prime Minister Taksin Chinnawat during 2006-2009 to interpret the political discourse of political communication. The research results found that government of Khun Taksin Chinnawat has communicate by using the persuaded discourse in order to agitate and systematic create the opposite meaning until cause the occurrence of "Red Shirt Group of People".

While the research of Thidarat Eankawieng (2005) has study the political discourse of Sonthi Limthongkul and research result found that Kanmeung Thai weekly has the issue that on air totally 299 issue. There are political discourse total 169 issues and can be categorized into 5 categories and Sonthi Limthongkul has the conclusion and build the reality from the discourse in the political dimension such as 1) Discourse about the procedure of Democracy is the political in the real condition completely different from political in the constitution. 2) Discourse about policy and government project is the try to government emphasizing specific economic policy to lead the country to authoritarian. 3) Discourse about problem resolve by the government is the government has no sincerity in resolving problem. 4) Discourse about self-behavior of the good governors moral and 5) Discourse about police in Thai society is the Thai police must change behavior of working and must possible to declare and audit.

The research of Yanisapak Karn-janawiset (2004) study the meaning of discourse in the TV program of "Prime Minister Taksin Chinnawat talking with people" to study the procedure of building the discourse, analyze role of discourse procedure in the program and the research results found that the emphasizing has send the positive effect to identity creation of Prime Minister Taksin Chinnawat and effect to the relationship between the creator of discourse to people and the opposite party who was refer lead into the building of righteousness to

administrative power. 2) The procedure to create discourse of “Prime Minister Taksin talking to the people” TV program has shown the interaction between procedure of discourse and procedure of social cultural. 3) The form of communication that chooses to use the solo live presentation. 4) The target group that focusing on the accessibility to large number of people which mean the group of middle-class people to lower-class people.

While the research of Jiranda Krischaroen (2010) study the discourse strategy of People’s Alliance for Democracy and government. Which the results found People’s Alliance for Democracy use the discourse strategy 35 strategy and the government use the discourse strategy 31 strategies to communicate to the public and have the meaning in both direct and indirect meaning in the content that both side show the reason of production of political sign.

The Political Cartoon

From the research of Parkin Chotivessil (2010) study the political communication through the cartoon Phuyaima and Tungmhamaen by Chai Rachawat which study during the political crisis 2006-2009. The study of this research work found that various pictures of political cartoons have the political points that show the strike to the government in the context of that time. There is the criticism of politician behavior and the method that political cartoonist uses to communicate are the metaphorical comparison and use the personal code, object code, social code and cultural code. Political cartoon plays the key role in the political and reflect the pictures of political situation more than the political lecture. If the cartoonist put the details and knowledge content about political in their works, the reader will be able to get more knowledge of political and that will cause the development of political for people in the nation as well. Moreover, found that the context of Thailand during 2006-2009 there is the crisis of political conflict and there is the protest of several groups that cause the military to get involved and start to coup on 19 September 2006. From these political context Chai Rachawat use the situational of each political events to reflect through the cartoons “Phuyaima and Thongmamaen”. He has written the fairness line pattern and interesting form of cartoons to all cartoons reader “Phuyaima and Thongmamaen” for 1,032 pictures. The majority of content are about the political points of corruption. Main of the readers are adults which are I’m working age, merchants and provincial politician whose have more accessibility to newspapers compare to others type of people. And including the students who study in the political field. Political cartoon also provides the political knowledge, political news, political ideals, political values and including alertness in political as well.

The method of research procedure

This research is the quality research by specific the data collection as follow

1. The documents analysis (document study). The survey and collected the information from documents and analyze sorts of key content from academic textbooks, research work, thesis and dissertation, printing media and pictures that concern with people’s political and political movement which includes the use of political sign of political in the certain period of time.

2. In-depth interview has the research form as a tools to check the right of content of questions from three persons. The result is follow in propose of the research. In the political movement of people which the group of key informants come from the election as 1) SNT leaders and consultants are Mr. Niti Lamleau and Mr. Uthai Yodmanee. 2) SNT operation includes Rachtayuch Siriyothinpakdee or Amornthep Amornrattanon, Kittichai Saisaard, Nasser Yeemha and Jaturan Boonbenjarat. 3) The persons who have experienced and concern with the political movement event includes Mr. Surasit Seangsangchan, Mr. James Maneerat, Mr. Thananarin Sajjakajornkit and Mr. Wasan Sitthiket.

Research Result

From the information from the document review and interview can be concluded as follows.

The creation of variety form of sign and provided of sign meaning for using in political movement.

Language/sign of the political found that the arrangement of political movement activities is political language that equal to one form of sign that communication meaning to several thoughts which Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) creates many political languages such as Student, People, Reform, Fearless, Brotherhood, Loves and never leave each other. These languages are using in political movement which these languages have meaning in sign as follows. The Student give the meaning of sign that pre-university education student, higher education, métier, college courses and people provide the meaning of sign that people in every occupation, sex, age and reform provide the meaning of sign that the change for better is to ready to sacrifice and face to every situation that the state will does. And must resist to the time in movement, must resist with scarification no matter job, family or something that can be obstacle to participate the movement. Moreover, must sacrifice money, energy and many factors. All of these including the cooperation of many activities such as toilet cleaning, cooking, safety and security and that because brotherhood will never leave each other. It is providing the meaning of sign that brothers are the masses or everybody who participate in the political movement because we all have the same heart, share the love, love nation, love community, love of justice, love under the democracy, we join the protest, we join the movement, we never leave each other and we will always walk together no matter what obstacles that we will meets, we will get through it together because we all have the same heart.

Color / Political symbols found that the arrangement of political movement activity. The color can be communicating sign of political that send the meaning which The Student and People for Thailand Reform (SNT) choose to use National flag color to send the meaning that every see the national flag and no matter what they will do, they must thing of the nation and thing of country first. Everyone does for the nation and must really sacrifice which The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform choose the color of national flag to be the sign color of the group in order to make everyone who join the protest able to feel the same way deep down into their heart and realize that they are doing for the nation.

Sound / Political symbols found that in the arrangement of political movement, the song of political sign all can be the sign to communicate which The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) write many songs such as the Uruphong fighter and Wake up Thailand all these song need to communicate the meaning to show that the story of Thailand and no matter how hard is the situation, it all can be resolve, can be change and come back to be fine if every people wake up and participate.

March / Political symbols found that the arrangement of political movement activity, March is another form of sign that communicate the meaning. Which The Student and People for Thailand Reform (SNT) think that this movement may be blocked from many ways to restrain the protest. So if they waiting for the people to join the protest, that may be too late so they do marching to show the ideology and approach everyone to tell the story, call for attention and inviting which stipulates that activity must walk to see the people.

Canvas and Fearless/ Political symbols found that in the arrangement of political movement activity. Canvas and Fearless heart all are the sign of political that send the meaning that The Student and People for Thailand Reform (SNT) use the canvas and create sign language that Fearless heart give sign meaning that canvas is easy to wear, easy to walk because they need to walk all the time and canvas good for healthy, never tried to wear canvas, comfortable and low cost. And Fearless heart give the sign meaning that ready to sacrifice and face to every situation that the government may do, patients to the time that may never end, sacrifice no matter

their job, family or other things that they have to fade away to participate the protest. In the same time, they must sacrifice their money, energy and many factors. Also need to do all activities together such as toilet cleaning, cooking, safety and security.

Rise the hands / Political symbols found that the arrangement of political movement activity. Rising the hands is one of the sign meaning that The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) use hand rising as the political sign which provide the sign meaning that they have no weapons, no violence and come with peace whenever they have to come to government office or some situation that the government might use tear-gas to stop them they will use this sign "Rising the hand" to communicate with the government to not use violence with The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform.

Discussion of the research results

From the research results found that the study and analyze of sign form and the meanings of political symbols and sign to use in political movement of The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform can be say as follows.

The study results found that the symbolic politics in the movement of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) during 2013-2014 was created varieties of symbols and there is the symbolic meaning for use in the political movement such as symbolic language that are Student, People, Reform, Fearless, Brotherhood, Love and never leave each other. Which all these words convey the meaning that Student and People Network for Thailand Reform do the movement because they can see that the government cannot manage the country with transparency and they wanted to oppose the legislation which make them come out to called for change and reforms the country, protect the country, glorify the core institution Nation, Religion and Monarchy. Moreover, they want to create the feeling of accessibility of the group so the develop the national flag color to use in the protest to give the meaning that everyone see the national flag, national come first in all activities they do, aware that everyone must do for nation and really sacrifice. The Student and People Network for Thailand Reform choose national flag color to be the symbolic color of their group in order to get together, feel the deepest feelings of group, get through the inside of everyone, aware that they do for nation and really for the nation not for personal reasons. So the state of Student and People Network for Thailand Reform (SNT) will always have the National flag to create the power of political and then develop to be the song such as Wake up Thailand which convey the message that What is the background of Thailand and no matter how hard the situation is now, everything can be resolve, can be change and can be return on track if there is the corporation of every people to create the new thing. Which is conform to the research results of Panithan Pichalai who study about the method of political struggle of People's Alliance for Democracy in the age of Taksin Chinnawat government and can be concluded that People's Alliance for Democracy produce the political symbols to spread to people which can be divided as follows 1) Language of Political symbol-discourse such as Return our Country to show that they try to protect national, religious and Monarchy institutes 2) Political symbols was created for support and emphasizes the belief in the political points and make the people has the deeply belief that the government trying to destroy the People's Alliance for Democracy Institution so they have to come out to fight for the institution.

Suggestion for the next research

The response this topic the person who interesting in political movement can apply to use as the information to study more about the form of political symbols, meaning of political symbols that effect to people who participate in the protest and can be apply in the future political movement.

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