

THE ART OF SPEAKING ON THE LINE

#ICAS10 The 10th International Convention of Asia Scholars 22 July 2017 Chiang Mai, Thailand @bactArthit SuriyawongkulFoundation for Internetand Civic Culture



SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

- ➤ Continuing political confrontations since 2005, two coups (2006 & 2014)
- ➤ Criminalised speech: "Lese Majeste" (Penal Code Sec.112), "false info" (Computer-related Crime Act Sec.14 [introduced after 2006 Coup]), etc.
- ➤ Censorship: CCA (Sec.20), NBTC
- ➤ (Social) surveillance: Organised groups like "ลูกเสือไซเบอร์" (Cyber Scout, gov-support), "ราชนรรักษ์" (Rachanorarag), "ราษฎรอาสาปกป้องสถาบัน" (Civil Graruda), and "ยุทธการลงทัณฑ์ทางสังคม" (Social Sanction), and individuals
- ➤ After 2014 Coup, more "laws", like NCPO Ann. No. 97/2014

PLANETEROM THE SUN THEN ISN'T EVERY COL ATHIRD WORLD COUNTRY?

MEME

- "An idea, behavior, or style that spreads from person to person within a culture." — Merriam-Webster Dictionary
- ➤ A unit of cultural transmission
- "When a meme catches on, it may crystallize whole schools of thought." Mike Godwin, 1994

WEB OF MEMES



มานีมีแชร์ MANEE HAS CHAIR

- ➤ A Facebook page. 260K likes. Mimics
 Thai language textbook for Grade 1-6.
- ➤ Chapter 138: "โดน ยึดรถ มั๊ยล่ะ มึง" (Finished. Car seized. You're done.) [17 Jul 2016]
- ➤ "มานี สงสาร เจ้าโต ตุรกี" (Manee.
 Sorry. Chao-To. Turkey.)
 - ➤ Refer to Turkey's failed coup attempt in 2016
- ➤ "ไม่มี คนเซ็น ค้ำ" (No one. Signing. Guarantor.)
 - Refer to the King roles in previous coups



Nisarat Jongwisan ขอบัญชีระดมทุนค่าประกันตัวแอดมีนเพจไว้ล่วง หน้าเลยตีมั้ย

ถูกใจ - ตอบกลับ - 🔘 318 - 17 กรกฎาคม 2016 เวลา 11:26 น.

15 ข้อความตอบกลับ



Somehai Srion ไม่ต้องตีความให้ปวดหัวเลย เก็ตทันที คนค้ำนี่ค้ำมา หลายครั้งแล้วนะ เครดิตตีโคตรๆ 555+

ถูกใจ - ตอบกลับ - 🔼 163 - 17 กรกฎาคม 2016 เวลา 11:49 น.

6 ข้อความตอบกลับ



Noicharoen Kittichai เราจะทำตามสัญญา ขอเวลาอีกไม่นาน เราจะ ทำอย่างชื่อตรง แต่ชาวตุรกี เค้าไม่ยอม



ถูกใจ - ตอบกลับ - 🔼 104 - 17 กรกฎาคม 2016 เวลา 11:28 น.



Kasamon Nutdakul กำลังนั่งกินอยู่เลยครับ พิชซ่ากูแทบพุ่ง แตกที่ร้านไม่พอ ห่อกลับบ้านอีกต่างหาก.



ถูกใจ · ตอบกลับ · 🥥 95 · 17 กรกฎาคม 2016 เวลา 14:45 น. · มีการ แล้ไข

3 ข้อความตอบกลับ

USER COMMENTS / MORE MEMES

- "Can we have a bank account to raise fund in advanced for the admin's bail out?"
- "This guy is a guarantor for many times. Fucking good credit."
- "We will keep our promises. Just need a little more time...." (a song by NCPO, the coup maker)
- "I'm eating. My <u>pizza</u> is almost exploded. No only eat-in. Takeaway too."

"Suddenly. Get lucky. Pizza. From father."



<u>Pizza</u> — "The Pizza Company" — delivery phone number "1112"
 112 — A section in Penal Code for "Lese Majeste" — Offence to the Monarchy

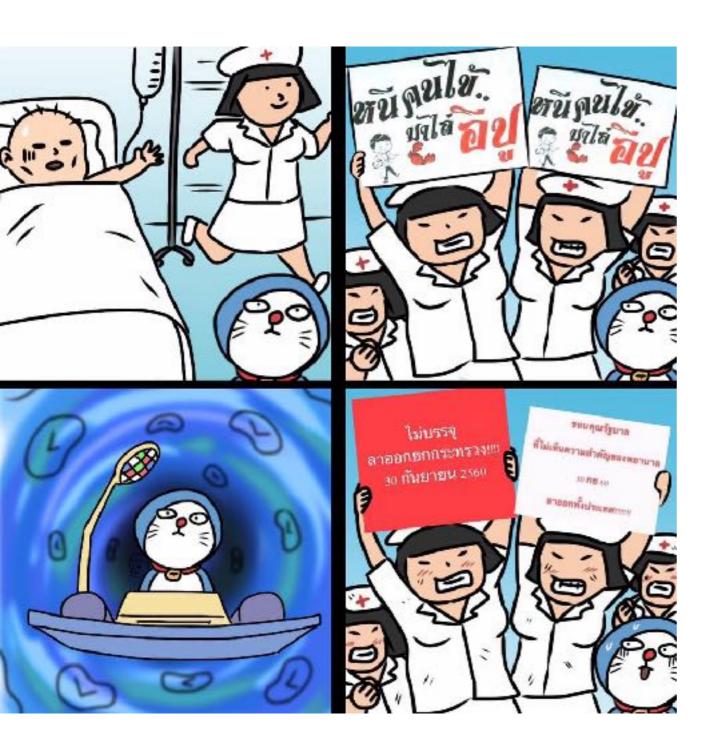
<u>Father</u> — King

"I'm orphan"





MIXED CULTURAL REFERENCES



ไข่แมว KAI MAEW "EGG CAT"

- ➤ A Facebook page. 337K likes. 4-act cartoon on contemporary issue.
- ➤ [1] A nurse run away from a patient
- ► [2] Nurses protest against PM Yingluck. "หนี คนใช้ มาใล่อีปู" (Get away from patients. To oust E-Pu.) ['Pu' is Yingluck's nickname. 'E' is to address a female, derogatory.] [Jan 2014]
- ➤ [3] Doraemon (a Japanese manga character)
 on his Time Machine
- ➤ [4] "No position assignment. Resign the entire Ministry. 30 September 2017."

 "Thanks the government for not recognising importance of nurses. 30 September 2017. Resign the entire country."







CROSS-CULTURE MEME (?)

- Wissanu ride a bike, jam his own wheel with Thaksin
- ➤ From "Bike Fall" meme



Wissanu Krea-ngam

Deputy prime minister under

General Prayut Chan-o-cha

(since August 2014)



Thaksin ShinawatraFormer prime minister,
self-imposed exile

Original meme "Bike Fall"





Whoever keeps posting this is a loser, no class.





"Mexicans"

"Thaksin"

PARTICIPATIONS

USER COMMENTS / EXPLANATIONS / REQUEST FOR IMAGE



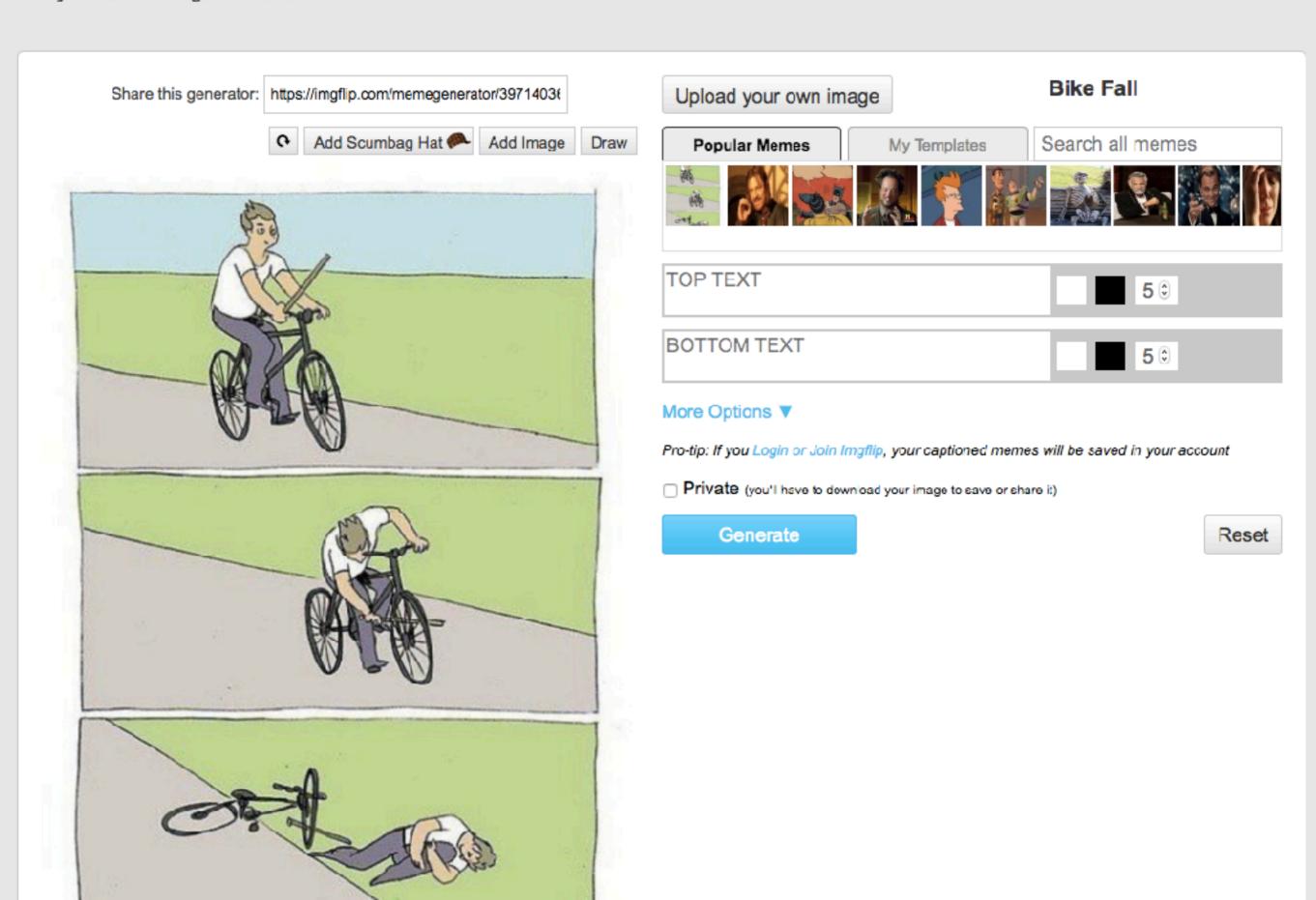


Explain the meme
Refer to current relevant issue

"Can I have a clear image of Thaksin character?"

Bike Fall Meme Generator

The Fastest Meme Generator on the Planet. Easily add text to images or memes.



RANDOM STUFFS







"ขอแชร์นะคะ" "ขอแชร์นะครับ" **Can I share [chair] this?** A chair as a symbol from October 1976 Massacre.

A Thai digit 9 (α) as a reference to Rama IX.







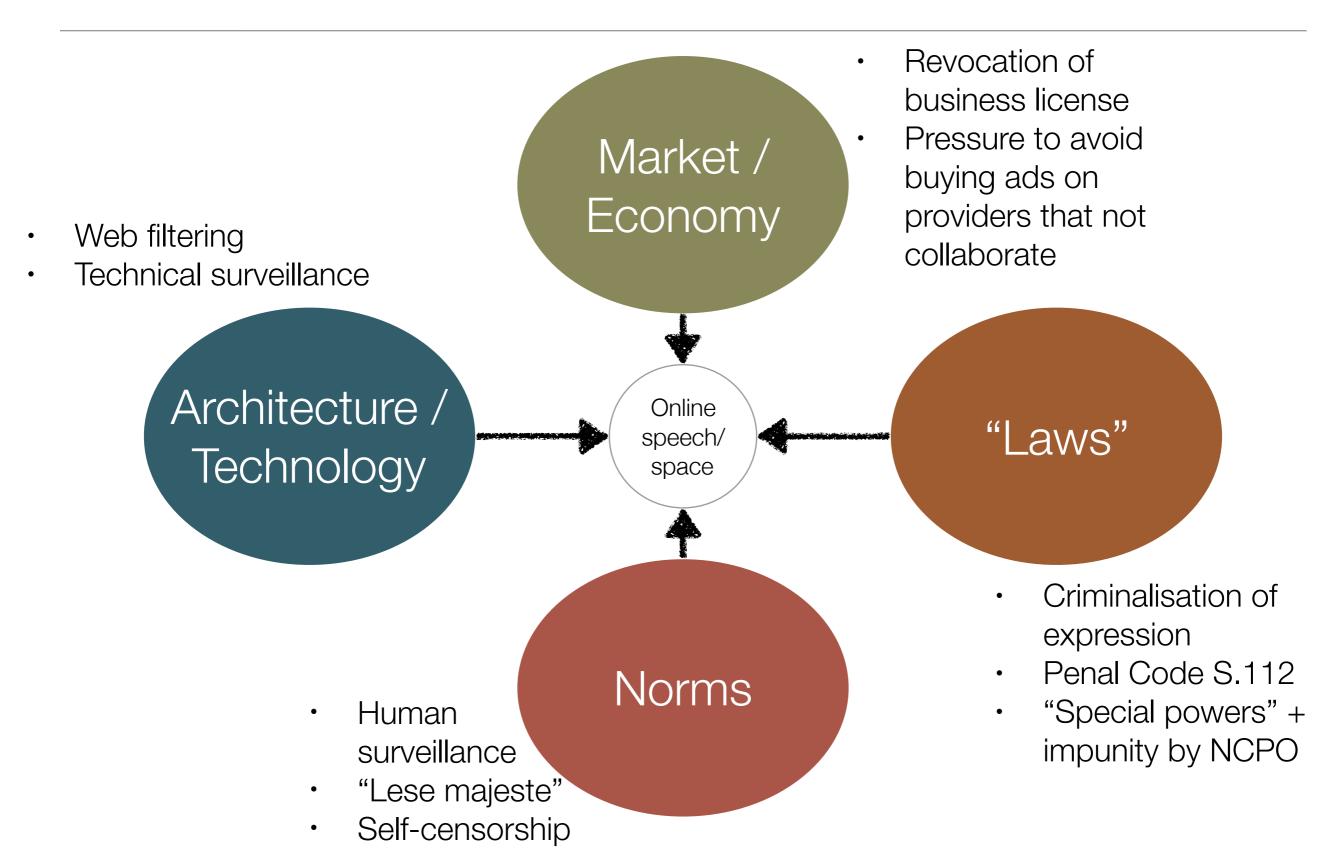
Combining different memes (112 and massacre chair) "น้ำตาจะไหลขอแชร์" (I'm about to cry, can I share?)

Increasing use of "lese majeste"

QUESTIONS / LOOKING FOR

- ➤ How this 'coding' affects quality of communication?
 - ➤ Higher cost/barrier to understand.
- ➤ How it affects level of participation? Political education?
 - 'Mini history lesson' or 'news update' inside the comment section?
- Does it really provide legal protection?
- ➤ If they don't have 'positive effects', what's the point? Fun? Laughter?
 - Political participation as entertainment?
- Memes that no longer convey their original political message. Only form survive.

Mapped to Lessig's Pathetic dot theory Mode of Controls vs "Resistant Plays"?



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