COMMUNICATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES VIA ONLINE MEDIA IN THE INFORMATION OPERATIONS FRAMING

Soralak Pongpo

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
2020

COMMUNICATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES VIA ONLINE MEDIA IN THE INFORMATION OPERATIONS FRAMING

Soralak Pongpo
The Graduate School of Communication Arts and Management Innovation

---

..... Major Advisor
(Professor Yubol Benjarongkij, Ph.D.)

The Examining Committee Approved This Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Communication Arts and Innovation).

..... Committee Chairperson
(Associate Professor Asawin Nedpogaeo, Ph.D.)

..... Committee
(Professor Rungnapar Pitpreecha)

..... Committee
(Professor Yubol Benjarongkij, Ph.D.)

..... Dean
(Professor Yubol Benjarongkij, Ph.D.)

_____/_____/_____

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation	COMMUNICATION OF NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES VIA ONLINE MEDIA IN THE INFORMATION OPERATIONS FRAMING
Author	Soralak Pongpo
Degree	Doctor of Philosophy (Communication Arts and Innovation)
Year	2020

The research is a mixed-method study of both quantitative and qualitative research, aimed to 1) explore and analyze communication patterns used in communicating the content related to national security via the government's and the political dissidents' information operations through online media, 2) study and analyze the impact of the communication related to national security via online media on the government, mass media, and general people, and 3) recommend some guidelines for national security operations for the government sector, mass media, and general people. The research was conducted by content analysis, in-depth interview, and documentary study, i.e., from primary sources, such as the government's declarations, orders, announcement, etc., and secondary source, such as academic paper, websites, and official online channels of 1) the government/ government agencies, 2) political dissidents or activists, both supporters for and protestors against the NCPO government, and 3) media or news agencies. The time frame for the analysis was from the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014, up to the official election date on March 24, 2019. The information was searched purposively for the content related to national security, based on keywords by the Search Engine via Google website.

From the study, the following findings were found to answer the research objectives:

1) Communication patterns used in communicating the content related to national security via the government's and the political dissidents' information operations through online media.

The study found that the government and political dissidents had different purposes in communicating content about political policies, ideologies, concepts, and

attitudes. Information operations (IO) were used through online media channels as an important tool in presenting each side's content and concepts for supporting their missions mainly. From the analysis of IO, most of the government's operations were "passive operations," by emphasizing the chain of command or lines of authority. The most important tool of the government was to use an information source who was the supreme leader of the government or the concerned minister, including the spokesperson team to communicate with the public. On the other hand, political dissidents applied an "active approach" of IO by disseminating their disagreement and opposition against the government's administration via various kinds of online channels continuously and consistently in the form of networking with an effort of exerting their influence over the government's estimation of situations.

2) The impact of the communication related to national security via online media on the government, mass media, and general people.

From the study, it was found that the government sector gave very high importance to online communication as government officials still adhere to the traditional ways, i.e., focusing on the online media blockade or blackout policies, which cannot solve national security problems at present. Mass media lack caution in verifying information received from online media and become even victims of that false or misleading information by publicizing such information to the public without any prior information verification process. General people still believe that the transmitted information of online media has been screened. Particularly, it is the nature of online media that untrue information can be diffused more quickly than true information.

3) Guidelines for national security operations for the government sector, mass media, and general people.

For the government sector, plans must be well-prepared for coping with the new form of threats hidden in communication technology. Government personnel should be empowered to possess specialized expertise to catch up with technological changes, especially the modification of thinking patterns and attitudes in working with new media. Mass media should always be concerned about the well-roundedness and thoroughness of news or information before dissemination, including verifying sources of information and being able to confirm the credibility of information sources. General

people should learn to question themselves every time upon the receipt of online information. Without such questioning of the acquired information, they will become prey to information releasers easily.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been accomplished without the support and kindness of the following benefactors:

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my lovely family, especially my husband who provide me great encouragement and support in everything all through my life.

My high appreciation and sincere thanks are given for Professor Yubol Benjarongkij, my advisor who kindly gives me academic advice and encouragement. I also would like to thank Associate Professor Asawin Nedpogaeo, the chairperson, and Professor Rungnapar Pitpreecha, the committee of my dissertation, for their time and provide useful suggestions to make this dissertation more complete. I also thank all instructors of the Faculty of Communication Arts and Management Innovation for their knowledge and all Faculty staff for their facilitation during my studies and working on my dissertation.

In addition, I would like to express my thankfulness to the key informants who kindly gave their time and very useful information for my dissertation. Finally, I thank all class-6 classmates for their assistance and all my friends, including all Faculty colleagues and staff at the Faculty of Communication Arts, UTCC for their cares, support, and thought.

Soralak Pongpo

December 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vi

TABLE OF CONTENTS vii

LIST OF TABLES xi

LIST OF FIGURES xix

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Background and Significance of the Problem 1

1.2 Research Questions 9

1.3 Research Objectives 9

1.4 Research Conceptual Framework 10

1.5 Scope of the Study 11

1.6 Operational Definitions 14

1.7 Expected Benefits 18

CHAPTER 2 CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND RELATED STUDIES 19

2.1 Concepts of the National Security 19

2.2 Communication Theories from the Functionalist Approach 25

2.3 Theories on Online Media 29

2.3.1 Technological Determinism 30

2.3.2 Cybernetic Capitalism 31

2.3.3 Information Imperialism 32

2.4 Concepts of Information Operations (IO) 36

2.4.1 Definition 36

2.4.2 Important Principles of IO 38

2.4.3 Principal Components in Information Operations 39

2.5 Concepts of Conflict and Conflict Management 43

2.5.1 Conflict Theory 43
2.5.2 Concepts of Conflict of Different Fields of Study 44
2.5.3 Levels of Conflict 45
2.5.4 Conflict Resolution Approaches 46
2.6 Related Studies 48
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 52
3.1 Population and Samples Determination 52
3.1.1 Quantitative Research 52
3.1.2 Qualitative Research 55
3.2 The Construction of Research Instruments 56
3.2.1 Quantitative Research 56
3.2.2 Qualitative Research 58
3.3 The Test of Research Instruments 60
3.3.1 The Reliability Test of the Coding Sheet on the Communication Patterns Related to National Security in Six Domains Via Online Media 61
3.3.2 The Reliability Test of the Coding Sheet on the Information Operations of the Government and Political Dissidents 62
3.3.3 The Reliability Test of the Coding Sheet on the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting Information Related to National Security 62
3.4 Data Analysis and Presentation 63
CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH FINDINGS 64
4.1 The Communication of the National Security Issues via Online Media 66
4.1.1 Communication Patterns of the National Security Content Via Online Media of the Government and Political Dissidents 66
4.1.2 A Summary of the Analysis of the Information Operations of the Government and the political dissidents on the Content Related to the National Security in the Six Domains 157
4.1.3 The Analysis of the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting the National Security Information via Online Media 181

4.2 Recommendations and Practical Guidelines for National Security Operations…….....215

4.2.1 The Summary of Communication Problems and Weaknesses Amidst Rapid Changes in Communication Technology in the Online World Under the National Security Situation.....216

4.2.2 Recommendations and Practical Guidelines for Concerned Sectors of the Society in Communicating the National Security Issues via Online Media…….....220

4.2.3 Guidelines for Integrating the Collaborations of all Concerned Sectors in the Society towards the Threats from Online Media, Especially in the Issue Related to National Security 223

CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS OF THE COMMUNICATION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES VIA ONLINE MEDIA IN THE INFORMATION OPERATIONS.....226

5.1 The Impact of the Communication Via Online Media.....226

5.1.1 The Impact of Communication via Online Media on General People's Ways of Life.....227

5.1.2 The Impact of Communication Via Online Media on Mass Media Work…….....229

5.1.3 The Impact of the Communication Via Online Media on National Security Issues.....232

5.2 The Impact of the Information Operations (IO) Via Online Media 236

5.2.1 The Movements of Political Dissenters or Political Activists.....239

5.2.2 Single Gateway Policy 245

5.2.3 The 20-Year National Strategy Plan, Harmony, and the National Reform Policies 250

5.2.4 The Transformation of Thailand to be Government 4.0 Policy 253

5.2.5 The Insurgencies in the Southern Border Provinces 255

CHAPTER 6 RESEARCH SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....259

6.1 Research Summary.....260

6.1.1 ENDS…….....261

6.1.2 WAY……. 263

6.1.3 MEANS..... 267
6.1.4 FEEDBACK..... 272
6.1.5 The Summary of the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting News Related to the National Security..... 273
6.1.6 Watch Dog..... 274
6.1.7 Gatekeeper..... 276
6.1.8 Agenda Setter..... 276
6.1.9 Recommendations for Concerned Sectors in Communicating the Issues Related to the National Security Via Online Media..... 279
6.1.10 Guidelines for Integrating the Collaborations of all Concerned Sectors in the Society towards the Threats from Online Media, Especially in the Issue Related to National Security..... 282
6.2 Research Discussion..... 283
6.2.1 The Effect of Communication Via Online Media on Ways-of-Life Behaviors..... 283
6.2.2 The Effect of Communication Via Online Media on Mass Media Work..... 287
6.3 Research Recommendations..... 293
6.4 Recommendations for Future Studies..... 297
BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 298
BIOGRAPHY..... 302

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 4.1 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents Via Online Media Channels 71
Table 4.2 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents Via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source.....73
Table 4.3 The Main Theme of the Coup d'etat on May 22, 2014 73
Table 4.4 The Main Theme of the Consideration of the Main Content of the Constitution.....74
Table 4.5 The Campaigns of the Voting to Accept or not Accept the Constitution Draft, B.E. 2559.....75
Table 4.6 The Main Theme of the National Reform Policy, Harmony Establishment, and the 20-year National Strategy.....76
Table 4.7 The Main Theme of Election Roadmaps 78
Table 4.8 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of The NCPO Government and Government Agencies, Via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media79
Table 4.9 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, Via Online Media Channels 80
Table 4.10 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political

Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources 82
Table 4.11 The Main Theme of the Coup d'etat on May 22, 2014 83
Table 4.12 The Main Theme of the Consideration of the Main Content of the Constitution 84
Table 4.13 The Main Theme of the Campaigns of the Voting to Accept or not Accept the Constitution 86
Table 4.14 The Main Theme of the National Reform Policy, Harmony Establishment, and the 20-year National Strategy 87
Table 4.15 The Main Theme of Election organization roadmaps 88
Table 4.16 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Political Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels 90
Table 4.17 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels 91
Table 4.18 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source 92
Table 4.19 The Main Theme of The Overall Economic Problems, Earnings Problems, an Expensive Commodity, and High Cost of Living 93
Table 4.20 The Main Theme of Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) 94
Table 4.21 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media 96

Table 4.22 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels.....97
Table 4.23 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources.....98
Table 4.24 The Main Theme of the Overall Economic Problems, Earnings Problems, an Expensive Commodity, and High Costs of Living.....99
Table 4.25 The Main Theme of Thailand 4.0 Policy, Pracharat Project, and the Eastern Economic Corridor or EEC.....100
Table 4.26 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels.....103
Table 4.27 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels.....104
Table 4.28 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as Information Source.....106
Table 4.29 The Main Theme of Bombing Incidents.....107
Table 4.30 The Main Theme of Insurgency in the Southern Border Provinces (SBP).....109
Table 4.31 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media.....111

Table 4.32 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels.....113
Table 4.33 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources.....114
Table 4.34 The Main Theme of Bombing Incident 114
Table 4.35 The Main Theme of Insurgency in the Southern Border Provinces 116
Table 4.36 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels 118
Table 4.37 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels in the Case of the Submarine Purchase from China.....119
Table 4.38 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source.....120
Table 4.39 The Main Theme of the Submarine Purchase from China Project.....121
Table 4.40 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media, and Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media 122
Table 4.41 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels.....123

Table 4.42 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources 124
Table 4.43 The Main Theme of the Submarine Purchase from China Project 125
Table 4.44 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Military Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels 127
Table 4.45 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels 128
Table 4.46 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source 129
Table 4.47 The Main Theme of Single Gateway Policy 130
Table 4.48 The Main Theme of the Consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560 131
Table 4.49 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media 133
Table 4.50 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels 134
Table 4.51 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals,

Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources.....135
Table 4.52 The Main Theme of the Single Gateway Policy.....136
Table 4.53 The Main Theme of the consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560.....137
Table 4.54 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels.....139
Table 4.55 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Energy and Environmental Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels.....140
Table 4.56 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Energy and Environmental Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source.....142
Table 4.57 The Main Theme of the Government Sector's Projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province, and Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province and Thepha District, Songkhla Province.....143
Table 4.58 The Main Theme of E-Waste.....144
Table 4.59 Illustrates the top content presented by mass media and related to the national security in the scientific and environmental domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals, political supporters of the NCPO government, and government agencies, via the mainstream or online alternative media.....147
Table 4.60 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups Of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels.....148

Table 4.61 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources.....150
Table 4.62 The Main Theme of the Government Sector's Projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province; Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province 151
Table 4.63 The Main Theme of E-Waste.....153
Table 4.64 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels 156
Table 4.65 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Political Domain 160
Table 4.66 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Economic Domain.....161
Table 4.67 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Socio-Psychological Domain.....162
Table 4.68 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Military Domain 164
Table 4.69 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Scientific and Technological Domain 165
Table 4.70 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Energy and Environmental Domain.....166
Table 5.1 Illustrates the use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Political Domain.....243

Table 5.2 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Scientific and Technological Domain in Case of the Single Gateway 249
Table 5.3 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Political Domain in Case of the 20-year National Strategy 252
Table 5.4 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Economic Domain.....254
Table 5.5 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Socio-psycological Domain in Case of the Insurgencies in the Southern Border Provinces 257

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 1.1 Research Conceptual Framework.....10
Figure 2.1 Illustrates the Relationship Between Data, Information, and Knowledge 38
Figure 2.2 Illustrates Information Operations Systems 39
Figure 2.3 Illustrates the Cycle or Process of Information Operations.....43
Figure 4.1 Mascot “Nong Kiew Koy” 176
Figure 6.1 Model of Conflict Management Caused by Information Dissemination Under the Information Operations Framing 295

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Significance of the Problem

Since the world has moved into the 21st century, called the "information technology age", or "the information society," the phenomenon of globalization" occurs. Globalization means the diffusion of information throughout the world, which enables global communities, no matter where they are located, to perceive, experience, or be affected by such occurrence rapidly and widely. It is commonly agreed that information is an essential base towards all kinds of mobilization, i.e. social, economic, cultural, investment, industrial, medical, educational, public welfare, etc. via an important communication channel, which is information and communication technology. It leads to the currents of communication technology usage with knowledge as a critical mechanism in driving activities midst globalization.

Tracing back to this global village before the globalization era, information and communication technology has evolved continually and several well-known thinkers have been witnessed. For instance, in 1964, Marshall McLuhan, a Canadian mass communication scholar of Toronto School as a theorist in the Technological Determinism, mentioned "information society" the first time with his famous quote, a medium is a message." According to Technological Determinism, information technology is a determinant or indicator of changes in society, which affects the structure of people's and society's attention, thought, belief, and attitude, including communication behavior patterns. ((Kamolrat Intaratat, 2014)

Later, in 1991, Alvin Toffler states in his book "The Third Wave" the concept of evolution and changes of the world. He points out that "the third wave" originated approximately in 1955 upon the invention of computers. After that, the gigantic development of computer technologies led to a network system in which people

around the world can access information and information technology easily, or so called “information age”.

Since then, the world steps towards the new media era completely with leaping and continual development of communication technology, as shown in the book “The World is Flat,” written by Thomas L. Friedman in 2005. Friedman talks about the power that can flatten the world interestingly as follows. It appears a phenomenon of shrinking the world by the internet, www., web browser, website, etc. in combination with some supporting agents for strengthening the diffusion capacity of information technology. Examples of the agents are communication through digital systems, which are mobile or portable everywhere, virtual, and personal. On the other hand, people in online communities can also generate their content and upload it easily via weblog/blog with no time and space constraints. A new environment is introduced for connecting knowledge and wisdom from every corner of the world to be a united network in the form of the network society. Such phenomena are considered as positive forces towards maximal communication development.

Accordingly, the trend of rapid global changes caused by information and media nowadays enhances the power of information and media in determining people’s thoughts, ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and responses at all levels: individual, community, societal, national, and international. Besides, the completely connected world brings about very rapid information diffusion up to real-time. Such power also affects even the security-related circle, especially communication through the internet or online media. Apparently, the effects seem to be increasing since the internet users can be both senders and receivers through new media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Line, YouTube, etc. as main tools for transmitting their information, which often is paid a high attention by people in the society unexpectedly. Moreover, such effects become powerful forces in driving both positive and negative ideas, beliefs, and attitudes throughout the online world. As a consequence, they can cause changes in the offline or real-world surprisingly, starting from general subjects in daily life in all dimensions: society, economics, politics, culture and traditions, commerce, and lifestyles, including national security.

The book “The Concepts of the Security for Supporting the National Strategies” (2019) of the Division of Internal Security Operations Command (DISOC) specifies that present security problems are more complex and related to several issues in our daily life. Thus, the security concept has been newly defined by the United Nations from the old meaning of any threat affecting the states’ stability or state-centric to people-centric focus by emphasizing human security while expanding the scope to cover people’s daily issues, i.e., people’s welfare and safety, well-being, harmony, disciplines, etc., including decent culture. The changed definition reflects clearly that national security does not involve only the country’s independence, but also people’s ways of life enormously.

Since general people’s ways of life relate closely to the security issue that includes more human dimensions than in the past, security becomes an intimate issue inevitably. The next issue to be concerned then is the tight engagement of people with online or digital media. The change caused by communication technology development is so drastic and radical that people in the society are not aware of a new threat hidden in their new-media consumption without any immunity helping them to scrutinize and distinguish between true and untrue messages or fraud and fact appearing in online media.

Settapong Malisuwan (2011) identified trends of information technology usage that can affect world conditions in the future that digital media and communication technology will be used increasingly and more violently in social movements. As an example, the use of VDO Link including the fragmentation of digital media can generate and transmit information very rapidly and easily. News reports will be transmitted by mobile phones in the form of VDO clips through social networking, i.e., Twitter, Facebook, Blogs, etc. instantly by people who witness any happening in the society. Hence, it can surely affect national security severely and abruptly.

Therefore, this research intends to study the issues of communication phenomena related to national security through the use of online media and channels. As mentioned above, all that happens in society nowadays has security issues involved. Boonrod Srisomba (2012) defines “security” or “national security” as “the state in which a country or state can have independence, people can have welfare,

safety, and well-being. The country or state is united or harmonious, disciplined, and has a decent culture." The said definition reflects explicitly that besides national independence, national security also covers people's ways of life substantially. People must feel a sense of stability, safety, well-being, and happiness in a harmonious society, etc. Moreover, he classifies national security based on national power into six domains: 1) political, 2) economic, 3) socio-psychological, 4) military, 5) scientific and technological, and energy and environmental.

Thus, from the abovementioned signification, national security is no longer a distant issue, but something surrounding us in either dimension. Moreover, due to the power of information and communication technology which is a major agent of human beings in the 21st century, human beings can have freedom in their expression, especially via information technology, which can be both functional and dysfunctional. It is thus necessary for all concerned parties and people in the society to learn and understand the nature of social media and realize that national security is a matter of everyone in the country, not only the military or security-concerned offices.

Accordingly, the researcher, as a communication scholar, applies communication theories based on the functionalism approach, whose main concept bases on the assumption that a society is like a living creature comprising of a body and organs with specific functions. Comparatively, a society comprises institutions, organizations, offices, departments, divisions, etc. with specific roles, which have to be coordinated to enable the body or the overall social systems to have stability. Social orders thus need to be emphasized through the use of communication as a tool in socializing people in society to be harmonious.

For this research, the researcher gives importance to three sub-units of society:

1) Mass media institution. As a unit in society, mass media plays a role as a medium for transmitting information that has been filtered rightly and thoroughly before disseminating it to the public. While the world keeps changing, mass media has to adapt itself continually as well. Nowadays, several mass media adapt themselves by adding more channels for publicizing their content, such as through their websites and social media. Some examples are Thairath (www. thairath.co.th,YouTube: thairath), Dailynews (www.dailynews.co.th), Prachathai

(www.prachatai.com, YouTube: prachatai), NationTV (http://breakingnews.nationtv.tv), ThaiPBS (www.thaipbs.or.th, thaipbs.or.th, citizenthaipbs.net, YouTube: Thai PBS), Manager (www.manager.co.th), Krungthep Turakij (www.bangkokbiz news.com), Kom Chad Luek (www.komchadluek.net), Khao Sod (www.khaosod.co.th), Post Today (www.posttoday.com), Voice TV (voicetv.co.th, YouTube: VOICE TV), Isra Agency (www.isaranews.org), BBC Thai Agency (www.bbc.com/thai), etc.

Still, one critical and apparent problem witnessed nowadays is the role of mass media during the transitional period caused by their adaptation from mainstream media to the online media channel. Each media's adaptation has not reached its full capacity on the new landscape media owing to its focus on the time competition or on presenting news before others. Therefore, the transmitted information is not screened cautiously and thoroughly by each media's editorial board like in the past. On the contrary, reporters or journalists can publicize their news by themselves from the sites, i.e. live broadcasting or live via Facebook Live. On the other hand, page followers or non-followers can involve in live broadcasting simultaneously. It is thus very risky that media could fall victim to destroy the national security unconsciously. The rapidity of news reports therefore affects the functions of media. Especially, the reliability or credibility of the source of the publicized information is not guaranteed. Nor is the transmitted information proved if it is fake or true, deception, or truth. As a result, it is a challenging responsibility of mass media when the society is under the condition that is risky to the national security with the more severe impact caused by the driving power of online media. Thus, it raises the question if and to what extent personnel concerned with media organizations adapt themselves to understand and have literacy about their changing roles in the new media landscape.

2) The government or government agencies. The government or government agencies play a role as governors responsible for establishing national security, keeping the country's safety, and surveillance of people's peace. Under the changing condition of global communities, the country has to adapt itself and maintain stability through policies and projects, i.e., promoting online or E-government, etc. If successful, it will yield a new dimension for all government

agencies towards a one-stop service throughout the country. Typically, the main goal of a one-stop service is to be able to access and respond to people's needs as much as possible. It will then lead to the concept of development under the slogan "stable, prosperous, and sustainable," towards a happy society. Another example is the Thailand 4.0 project, which is an economic development model of the government. The project has been conducted through the country's reformation in several aspects to strengthen the national security and to make the country well-prepared for the new form of threats that cause drastic and drastic changes in the 21st century. A number of online channels have been used to present the government's and its offices' policies and performances. To illustrate this, the program "Thailand Moves Forward" was publicized via https://www.youtube.com/ channel/UCWmWSXif6XfVuNa OMTj6vzQ/, and the program "Our Home, Our Country, Stronger Together" via http://www.thaigov.go.th/ index.php/th, including other channels, such as the Department of Public Relations (http://nwnt.prd.go.th/ centerweb/), DPR news agency (https://thainews.prd.go.th/), the National Broadcasting Services of Thailand or NBST (YouTube: NewsNBT THAILAND), Thai News Agency (https://www.facebook. com/tnamcot YouTube: TNAMCOT Twitter: @tnamcot/), The Ministry of Digital Economy and Society (https://www.mdes.go.th Twitter: @PR_MDES), The Ministry of Industry (http://www.industry.go.th/industry/ index.php/th Twitter: @industryprmoi/), Royal Thai Army/ the Ministry of Interior Defence (Twitter: ArmyPR Center), including websites of all government agencies concerning the national security, etc.

3) Society or general people. As a sub-unit of the society, general people have to know and understand the nature of communication devices in the 21st century, or online media, whose communication power belongs to each individual. Everybody has his or her thought, belief, ideology, experience, and lifestyle or it is individual power due to the new media power, which enables every individual to access information sources with rapidity, insight, and variety, leading to unlimited perception. Therefore, it is dangerous if this power is used in the wrong way by transmitting deceptive or untrue information, or even partially true. It is also hazardous if even true information is conveyed by anyone with bad intent or a destructive goal against the opposite party or people with different ideas or opinions.

Notably, if general people, as receivers, have no knowledge nor understanding about the nature of new media, they will use online media without caution by posting or sharing the received information without realizing its effect on national security, secrecy, or safety. Thus, it will be risky if people with bad intentions use new media to implant negative attitudes and wrong ideas and beliefs against other members in the network society by generating fake news, rumor, and deceptive information, which can destroy the national security in either way without difficulties.

From the abovementioned trend of communication changes, the power of information and media has been augmented rapidly, especially because of the real-time rapid information diffusion facilitated by a complete digital- connection. Correspondingly, security dimensions have also been affected greatly. The United of America is the first country that realizes the influence and power of such power. The U.S. Army started to adopt new communication technology advancement for war operations by destroying, deceiving, and influencing network systems, knowledge-based systems, processing capacity, and decision systems of its adversaries while protecting its data and information systems. Such an operation is called “Information Operations” (IO). (Surachart Bamrungsuk, 2010). From the origin of the word “IO” that was used only in the war operations, the concept of IO has been applied to use in other circles in the 21st century. Settapong Malisuwan (2011) elaborates that besides being used only during the wars, IOs have been used also in both peaceful and crisis periods. IO is a process aimed to create information advantage over others through the use of online social networks as tools in searching and attacking opponents’ information, including interferences through propaganda or exerting pressure on the opponents to either support or destroy the adversaries.

One distinctive example was the ruling of the country by the government led by General Prayut Chan-o-cha from the coup d’etat on May 22, 2014, by the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) amidst Thai societal situation filled with fragmentation, discrimination, and disharmony. Each party strived to use all kinds of communication to keep their voters or followers. Online media, especially through an official online channel, is one kind of communication frequently used by all concerned: the government, the political dissidents, the affected politicians by the coup d’etat, political activists, NGOs, civic society who protested or opposed the coup

d'etat, etc., to communicate with people in the society. Examples of them are Pheu Thai Party (https://www.ptp.or.th Twitter: @PheuThaiParty/), Resistant Citizens Group (https://www.facebook.com/Resistantcitizen/), New Democracy Movement (https://ndmth.org Twitter: @NDMthailand/), League of Liberal Thammasat for Democracy (Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/LLTD.TU Twitter: @LLTD/) Young People for Social-Democracy Movement, Thailand (https://www. facebook.com/YPD.Thailand/) Internet Law Reform Dialogue Program (http://ilaw.or. th Twitter: @iLawClub @iLawFX/) Thai Lawyers for Human Rights Center (https://www.facebook.com/lawyercenter2014 Twitter: @TLHR2014/) Amnesty International (https://www.amnesty.or.th Twitter: @AmnestyThailand), etc.

It included individuals or groups of individuals whose goal was to publicize information or ideas for resisting and protesting the government's policy implementation by transmitting true message but full of bias, partial-true message, or distorted message in the form of rumors, fake news, or deceptive information. The main purpose was to find people with the same ideology to convey their dissatisfaction, disagreement, and distress via online media that is rapid, widespread, and insightful towards shared feelings and the impact on national security in various dimensions. The conveyed message may be the content about defaming the Monarchy institution, insulting religions, or ruining decent culture or tradition of the society. The message may be conveyed in the form of agitation, incitement, or distortion of sensitive public issues, i.e., the violation of human rights, the blockage of freedom of expression, etc. to discredit the opposite party, to cause chaos or panic, or to bring about disharmony and disunion in the society, etc.

The researcher views that only the theoretical concepts in communication may not be able to explain all dimensions of the national security issues completely and thoroughly, especially communication on such issues via online media. The issues are not related to only technological advancement, but also how communication is used as a tool in information operations. Idea battles and belief formation on any issues can occur through the content generated by anybody who just has some technologies in hand to pass by such idea and belief. Mostly, the communication purpose or goal is clear. On the other hand, communication is well-planned and managed with complex and profound content to convey to people in society. Information operations (IO) thus

are used to function as an influencer to persuade or attack the political dissidents or those with opposite opinions systematically. Accordingly, the researcher, as a communication scholar, intends to study the application of the concept of IO by using online media as communication tools. The results of the study are expected to provide some knowledge helping to update and catch up with changes of communication forms in the online world under the important concept, "information is a weapon."

The research entitled, "Communication of National Security Issues Via Online Media in the Information Operations Framing," aims to study and analyze the communication content related to the national security via online content to see what kind of communication patterns is used in the information operations and how it affects the government's operations, mass media, and general people. The findings are expected to provide some useful recommendations and guidelines for security operations, to immunize the society towards psychological stability, to enhance the ability in critical thinking, and in distinguishing received information when the society falls into a risky situation affecting the national security.

1.2 Research Questions

What kinds of communication patterns are used in communicating the content related to national security via the government's and the political dissidents' online media in their information operations? What are the effects on the government, mass media, and general people?

1.3 Research Objectives

1) To explore and analyze the communication patterns used in communicating the content related to national security via the government's and the political dissidents' information operations through online media.

2) To study and analyze the impact of the communication related to national security via online media on the government, mass media, and general people.

3) To recommend some guidelines for the national security operations for the government sector, mass media, and general people.

1.4 Research Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study was developed and integrated from a literature review of the related studies, principle communication theories related to online media, and the concept of the national security and the information operations, to search for suggestions for all concerned sectors in the society.

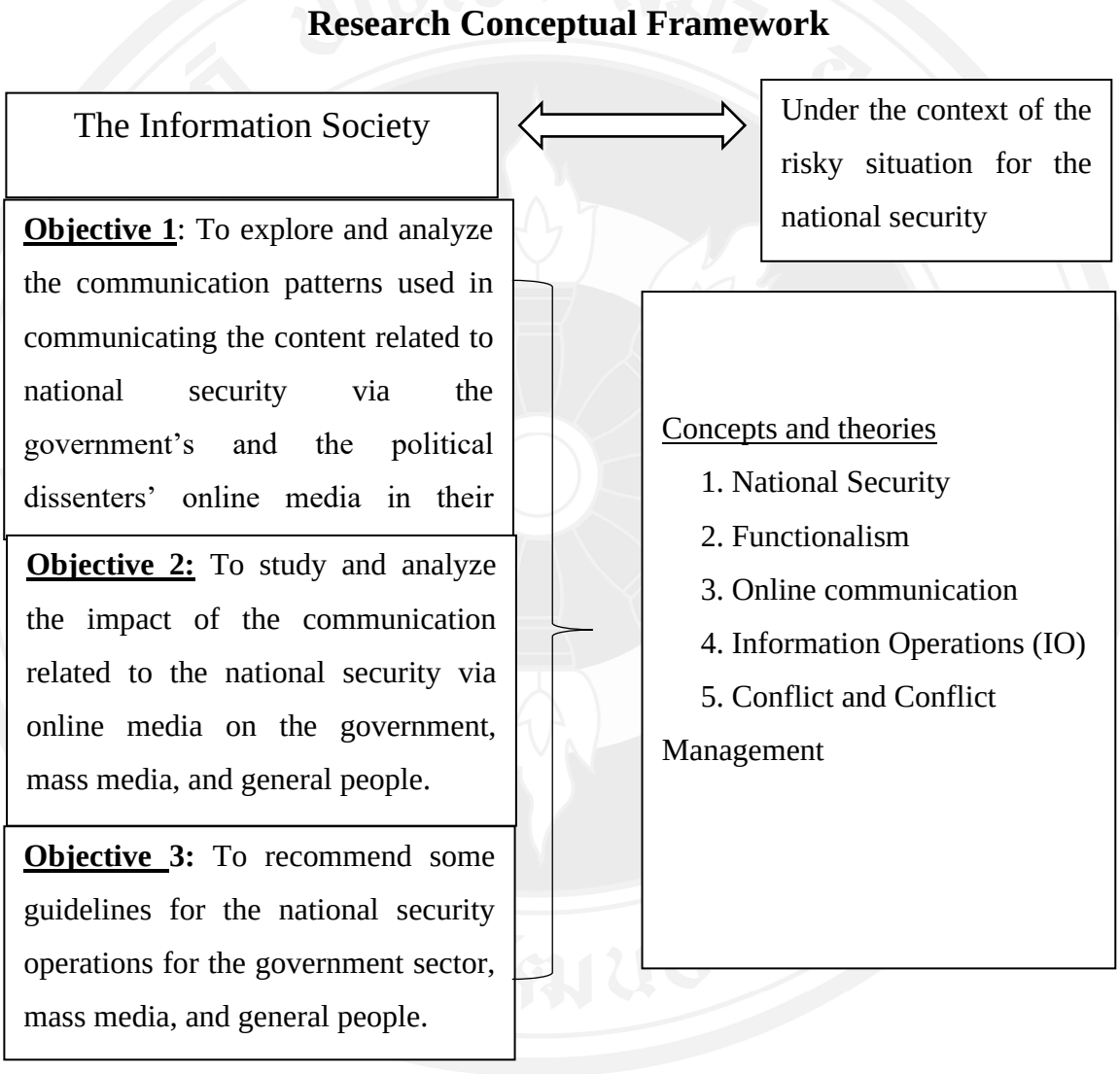


Figure 1.1 Research Conceptual Framework

1.5 Scope of the Study

1) The researcher limited the scope of this research by focusing on the content related to national security only, based on the six domains of the national security as follows: 1) political, 2) economic, 3) socio-psychological, 4) military, 5) scientific and technological, and energy and environmental.

2) The study focused on the content related to the national security publicized through online media channels, namely websites and social networking, i.e. YouTube, Facebook, Line, and Twitter, which were found to be used the most with reference to the findings from the survey research on the consumers' behavior and the Thai media industry, conducted by the National Broadcasting Telecommunications Commissions (NBTC), Thammasat University, Mahidol University, and Chulalongkorn University (2019). The results of the said research showed that

(1) Channels for following news: News agency (all channels) (45.2%), Shares on online media 20.5%), journalists' social media (16.6%), compiled news on applications/websites or bulletin board system (10.8%), and search engines on the internet (6.9%)

(2) New generation's news following on social media: New generation followed the news from their friends' shares on social media, and from journalist's accounts on Twitter, Facebook, or Instagram respectively. Gen Y and Gen Z consumed TV content via internet signals more than other platforms.

Besides, the researcher gained information for the study from statistics and Internet Q3 users' behaviors in July from Flight 19 Agency (2019), which found that

(1) The website users visited or viewed the most was Google, followed by YouTube, Facebook, Wikipedia, and Twitter respectively.

(2) Information reception behavior: Via online media and social media (82%), TV (70%), Social media and chats (52%), printed media, and radio (32%) respectively.

(3) 55% of the internet users were worried about fake news that was diffused on online media. However, there was no fake news posted by Thai people.

(4) Approximately 64% of internet users around the world were worried about the use of personal information in the wrong way while Thai internet users were worried about the use of 58%.

3) The researcher searched information related to the national security from the following keywords by Search Engine via Google website:

(1) The national security: Political domain

a) The coup d'etat on May 22, 2014. The keywords used were "Coup d'etat 2014", "anniversary of the coup d'etat of NCPO," etc.

b) Criticism on the main content of the Constitution Draft. The keywords used were "the Constitution Draft 2017", "Constitution Drafting Committee," etc.

c) The Thai Constitution Draft 2016 referendum: Accept or not accept. The keywords used were "accept-not accept the constitution draft 2016", etc.

d) The national reform policies, the establishment of harmony, and the 20-year national strategy. The keywords used were "the national reform plans of NCPO," "the 20-year national strategy," "NCPO's harmony-establishment plans," etc.

e) Roadmaps for election administration or management. The keywords used were "election roadmaps of NCPO," etc.

(2) The national security: Economic domain

a) The overall economic problems: Earn of living problems, an expensive commodity, high costs of living. The keywords used were "economic policies during the period of NCPO," etc.

b) Thailand 4.0 policy, Pracharat project (Civil state project), and the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC). The keywords used were "Thailand 4.0," "Pracharat Project," "EEC," etc.

(3) The national security: Socio-psychological domain

a) The bombing, i.e., Center Point Market, Ruen Rom Road, Muang District, Trang Province, Big C Supermarket, Muang District, Pattani Province, the Government Lottery Service (old), the 80-Year Chaloem Phra Kiat Building, Phramongkutklao Hospital, and area near the national theatre, Bangkok. The keywords used were "Bomb during the period of NCPO," "bombing Phramongkut Hospital," "bombing Big C, Pattani," "bombing the national lottery office," etc.

b) Insurgencies in the southern border provinces. The keywords used were “insurgency in the southern border provinces,” “unrest situation in the southern border provinces,” etc.

(4) The national security: Military domain

The project of submarine purchase from China. The keywords used were “submarine from China in the period of NCPO,” etc.

(5) The national security: Scientific and technological domain

a) Single Gateway Project. The keywords used were “Single Gateway,” “Protest against Single Gateway,” etc.

b) Consideration on the Computer Crimes Act B.E. 2560 Draft. The keywords used were “the Computer Crimes Act B.E. 2560,” etc.

(6) The national security: Energy and environmental domain

a) The government’s projects, i.e., Pak Bara Deep Sea Port Construction Project in Satun Province, Clean Technology Coal Power Plant Project (electricity-generating) Thepha (Songkhla) – Krabi, etc. The keywords used were the protest against the construction of a coal power plant, Pak Bara Deep Sea Port construction, etc.

b) Electronic Waste or E-Waste. The keywords used were e-waste, global waste, etc.

4) The researcher selected only the content appearing in official online channels of the government, the political dissidents, political activists of both supporter and protesters against the NCPO government, including those of media and news agencies publicizing the national security issues. The reason was that unofficial online channels, i.e., Facebook, Line, Twitter, or YouTube, have some limitations, such as a source of information that cannot be publicized, the use of vulgar, violent, and emotional words against the opposite side rather than reasoning, etc.

5) Time frame for analyzing the national security issues started from the coup d’etat of General Prayut Chan-o-cha on May 22, 2014, to the official election day on March 24, 2019. Besides, the national security content or issues appearing on official online media were under the information operations framing. The main focus was to study the communication of the national security phenomena via online media as a

major channel in publicizing different information and ideas of the government and the political dissidents, including those of mass media and general people.

1.6 Operational Definitions

1) National Security means the state in which a country or state can have independence, people can have welfare, safety, and well-being. The country or state is united or harmonious, disciplined, and has a decent culture. People must feel a sense of stability, safety, well-being, and happiness in a harmonious society with the democratic form of the government under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand. With reference to the frame of the National Power, national security is classified into six domains as follows:

(1) Political Domain focuses on the power of ruling the country. It means the stability of the government and political systems, which can confront and solve both internal and external threats. The main indicators of internal political security are faith in the democratic form of the government, human dignity, equality, and individuals' rights and freedom. People can have freeways of living without being directed or manipulated, while they have faith in the government and are ready to cooperate with the government. Besides, they must adhere to and have faith in the monarchy institution towards their lives, society, and Thai-culture inheritance.

Critical incidents related to the political domain are: 1) The coup d'etat on May 22, 2014. 2) Criticism of the main content of the Constitution Draft. 3) The Thai Constitution Draft 2016 referendum: Accept or not accept. 4) The national reform policies, the establishment of harmony, and the 20-year national strategy. 5) Roadmaps for election administration or management.

(2) Economic Domain focuses on the economic strength of the country. It means a country with good economics. People have well-being with a fair income. The gross national product can grow consistently with high national income, which can be used towards further economic growth with stability and righteousness for people and society.

Critical incidents related to the economic domain are 1) The overall economic problems: Earn of living problems, an expensive commodity, high costs of living. 2) Thailand 4.0 policy, Pracharat project (Civil state project), and the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC).

(3) Socio-Psychological Domain focuses on the safety of people's lives and property. It means that people are well protected and live confidently without fear of any harm nor anxiety. It also includes the righteousness or justice people receive from the judicial process. In other words, when people have disputes, the disputes should have proceeded promptly and rightly without interference or coercion of any interest group.

Critical incidents related to the socio-psychological domain are 1) Bombing, i.e., Center Point Market, Ruen Rom Road, Muang District, Trang Province, Big C Supermarket, Muang District, Pattani Province, the Government Lottery Service (old), the 80-Year Chaloem Phra Kiat Building, Phramongkutklao Hospital, and area near the national theatre, Bangkok. 2) Insurgencies in the southern border provinces.

(4) Military Domain means a country with military security with well-equipped armaments for national defense and peace. Besides, the troops and armed forces have to be effective, idealists and disciplined with good morale and high motivation. Furthermore, they must be united, and have strategic and tactical operations systematically to overcome both internal and external threats.

A critical incident related to the military domain is the Chinese submarine purchase project.

(5) Scientific and Technological Domain means the consideration of the components of the national technology to see how much growth it has and whether a country can produce scientific and technological creations by itself or it has to depend

on foreign technologies. To rely on others' technology lessens the security in this domain.

Critical incidents related to the scientific and technological domain are 1) Single Gateway Project. 2) Consideration of the Computer Crimes Act B.E. 2560 Draft.

(6) Energy and Environmental Domain means the consideration of the components of the national energy and environment, which may cause severe natural disasters or calamity in the future. It may be caused by a toxic environment that damages or destroys natural resources. Hence, the energy and benefits the country should gain from nature are demolished.

Critical incidents related to the energy and environmental domain are 1) The government's projects, i.e., Pak Bara Deep Sea Port Construction Project in Satun Province, Clean Technology Coal Power Plant Project (electricity-generating) Thepha (Songkhla) – Krabi, etc. 2) Electronic Waste or E-Waste.

2) Communication related to the national security via online media means the communication of content: statements, still pictures, VDO clips, symbols, etc., related to the national security in various aspects via websites or social media, i.e., Facebook, Facebook Live, Twitter, YouTube, etc. It composes of the following:

(1) Official Online Channels of the government or governmental offices. They are the official websites, social media, and PR channels of the government presenting the content of the national security issues related to policies and implementation of projects of the government led by General Prayut Chan-o-cha.

(2) Official Online Channels of individual political dissidents or groups of political dissidents. They are the official websites and social media of the political dissidents presenting content about any movements related to national security.

(3) Official Online Channels of Media or News Agencies. They are the official websites and social media presenting the content of the national security issues.

3) Communication Elements Related to the National Security Via Online Media mean communication elements in information operations, comprising four main elements:

(1) END means the tentative goal to be achieved, expected to yield some impact or influence decision-making process in the information processing system of the opposite party or target groups, including one's own information protection operations and information systems.

(2) WAY means the determination of the target, theme, message, and activities.

(3) MEAN means tools or instruments used for driving the information operation concept. For this study, it means online media channels.

(4) FEEDBACK means continual examination and evaluation by evaluating if the result is as planned. Two kinds of measurement are used in this study: Measurement of Performance (MoPs) by quantitative data, and Measurement of Effectiveness (MoEs) by qualitative data.

4) Information Operations (IO) means the integration of all operations, either human or automatic, aimed to yield some impact or influence over information, information systems, information processing, planning and decision-making process of the opposite side or any target group. Likewise, it means one's operations to protect the aforementioned from the information operations of others. Information operations compose of

(1) IO methods mean the analysis of how individuals or groups of individuals operate their information or information system in the situation related to national security.

a) IO of the NCPO government/ Governmental offices/ individuals or groups of individuals supporting the government means the use of a channel for communicating to the general public via online media in two ways: 1) direct channels: posting a message via official online channels, and 2) appearing on the online media as a source of information. The analysis frame comprises 1) the intent of IO, 2) IO missions, 3) goals or purposes of IO, 4) theme and message production, i.e. for which target audience or what kinds of channels or communication devices used, etc.

b) IO of individual or groups of political dissidents/ political activists means the use of a channel for communicating to the general public via online media in two ways: 1) direct channels: posting a message via official online channels, and 2) appearing on the mainstream media as a source of information. The analysis frame comprises 1) the intent of IO, 2) IO missions, 3) goals or purposes of IO, 4) theme and message production, i.e. for which target audience or what kinds of channels or communication devices used, etc.

1.7 Expected Benefits

1) To bring about knowledge and understanding of how communication is used and how it affects national security, including having media literacy on the national security issues via online media in the information operations framing.

2) To provide guidelines related to national security, aimed to make all concerned sectors in the society, i.e. the government, concerned governmental offices, mass media, people in the society, etc. understand their common roles and responsibilities. Hence, such guidelines can lead to coordination in accordance with the information operations in case the society falls into a situation risky or harmful to national security.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTS, THEORIES, AND RELATED STUDIES

The research entitled, “Communication of National Security Issues Via Online Media in the Information Operations Framing,” applied the following concepts, theories, and related studies:

2.1 Concepts of the National Security

2.2 Communication Theories from the Functionalist Approach

2.3 Online Media Theories

2.4 Concepts of Information Operations (IO)

2.5 Concepts of Conflict and Conflict Management

2.6 Related Studies

2.1 Concepts of the National Security

The state or nation comprises the following essential features:

1) Population means all people living in the nation or state as a part of it automatically. What considered in the population is as follows:

(1) The size of the population or the number of people in each state or nation. Despite no precise figures, the number of people in the nation has to be large enough to determine the relations between a governor and the governed.

(2) Population demographic variables or people’s attributes, i.e. race, religion, language, and culture, which are not necessarily identical since each state or nation composes of a diversity of races, languages, and cultures.

(3) Population quality depends on people’s education, health, attitude, all kinds of technological advancement for development.

2) Territory. A nation cannot exist without definite borders or a fixed territory. Nations are divided by boundary lines that are acceptable or officially

approved by all other nations, based on facts or by any kind of treaty. Some remarks are:

(1) The location of each nation's territory means land territory, territorial or jurisdiction waters, territorial sea, territorial air or sky, subterranean, maritime boundaries, etc.

(2) The size of the land. No certain criterion specifies the size of what is called "a nation", but at least the size should be large enough and appropriate to the size of the population.

3) Government means an organization or a unit responsible for governing and ruling the country domestically by determining and implementing policies for social order and for all kinds of missions to keep the nation's benefits. Thus, the government is the one who uses power to rule the nation or country.

4) Sovereignty is the last essential feature of a nation. Sovereignty is the utmost governance power. There are two kinds of sovereignty: 1) Internal sovereignty means supreme authority within one's territory. It is the right of a nation to be free of internal forces of disruption to its rights & freedoms to exercise the internal governance of its society and territories or to execute its power to govern a country independently.

2) External sovereignty means the relationships between sovereign power and other states. It is the right of a nation to be free from external forces of interference that would challenge, disrupt, or remove the rights & freedoms of that nation to exist & to govern its territory and society.

All four features of a nation or state are equally essential. If a nation misses any of these features, it cannot be considered as a nation at all.

The Meaning of "National Security"

Based on the aforementioned features of the nation or state, the meaning of "national security" is related to or involves those features, as illustrated in the following definitions.

"National security" means the state of a nation that can exist by safety, independence, sovereignty, the integrity of the land, security, and people's happiness, including the governance system and lifestyles of a country.

"National security" means the sovereignty of the nation, the integrity or completeness of the land, people's welfare, security, and safety, including the existence of the country in the democratic form of governance systems under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand.

From the meanings of "national security" defined by individuals and the concerned acts, the national security comprises four main features:1) sovereignty 2) integrity of land 3) people's welfare, and 4) democracy under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand.

Furthermore, for being secure and stable, a nation must be free from what is called "threats," which are divided into two kinds:

1) External threats means any intrusion from all kinds of enemies, either directly or indirectly, with or without declarations of war.

2) Internal threats may occur from the terrorism or insurgencies caused by a group of people with different political ideologies, or by groups of people who are dissatisfied with the government's administration. Chaos and calamities can occur in different ways, i.e., sabotage, the assassination of important persons, subversion, etc. All of these actions are to protest the government's administration, with the ultimate goal to overthrow the sovereign power of the government and control over it eventually.

Because of the sequential evolution of the world, the study of national security in the past that focused on the war and military was too narrow and limited. Its meaning was inappropriate for the situation of the world, which has been changing rapidly. Thus, the scope of national security has been extended. Besides, according to the old definition, the military was only one feature of national power while other features are as essential as the military.

Accordingly, the subsequent meaning of the word "national security" occurred after countries agreed widely that the word contains much wider meanings and domains, i.e., economics, socio-psychology, politics, etc.

Boonrod Srisombat (2012) indicates that the term "security" has been defined in many different and diverse meanings and dimensions. In brief, the overall meaning of "national security" means the condition in which a nation or state possesses sovereignty or independence and safety with decent culture, while people have

welfare and well-being. Besides, people are harmonious and disciplined. National security can be classified into six domains based on the frame of national power as follows:

1) The National Security in the Political Domain. Political security is a major power for national security as it is the central power of ruling the country towards economic and social security. In a nation with secure political systems, the government will have stability, can confront and solve both internal and external threats. Political security can be categorized into two types:

(1) National security at the national level.

The main indicators of internal political security are faith in the democratic form of the government, human dignity, equality, and individuals' rights and freedom. People can have freeways of living without being directed or manipulated, while they have faith in the government and are ready to cooperate with the government. Besides, they must adhere to and have faith in the monarchy institution towards their lives, society, and Thai-culture inheritance.

(2) The national security at the international level

A nation is like a person who cannot live alone by himself or herself but has to associate and live with others. Likewise, a nation has to associate and live with other nations in the world. A country that has good relations with its neighboring countries has no territorial disputes nor conflicts with them, and are not threatened by any more powerful country that can be considered as fairly secure. Nevertheless, each country needs to connect with other countries or groups of countries for the national benefits: economic, social, and cultural.

2) The National Security in the Economic Domain means the economic strength of the country. It means a country with good economics. People have well-being with a fair income. The gross national product can grow consistently with high national income, which can be used towards further economic growth with stability and righteousness for people and society.

3) The National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain means safety in people's lives and property. It means that people are well protected and live confidently without fear of any harm nor anxiety. Any nation that can protect its people's lives and property well, such a nation will have good stability. Besides, it

also includes the righteousness in the society, namely the justice people receive from the judicial process. In other words, when people have disputes, the disputes should have proceeded promptly and rightly without interference or coercion of any interest group.

4) The National Security in the Military Domain means the degree of a country's security does not only depend on the military troops and well-equipped armaments for national defense and peace, but also the troops and effective armed forces, idealists, and disciplined with good morale and high motivation. Furthermore, they must be united, and have strategic and tactical operations systematically to overcome both internal and external threats.

5) The National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain means the consideration of the components of the national technology to see how much growth it has and whether a country can produce scientific and technological creations by itself or it has to depend on foreign technologies. To rely on others' technology lessens the security in this domain.

6) The National Security in the Energy and Environmental Domain means the consideration of the components of the national energy and environment, which may cause severe natural disaster or calamity in the future. Besides, it can reduce the effectiveness of human resources that may be caused by a toxic environment and can damage or destroy natural resources. Hence, the energy and benefits the country should gain from nature are demolished.

Briefly, national security means the condition in which a nation can exist safely by its sovereignty and completeness of land with people's safety and happiness under the governance system of the country and people's ways of life. When combining its definition with the national benefits as mentioned above, the national benefit that is affected is the effect on national security. In other words, national security means a nation is stable and free of all dangers or what are called "threats."

One of the critical threats in the information era to national security is "information threat." Colonel Associate Professor Settapong Malisuwan, Ph. D., Military Intelligence Department, Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters, and a committee on the regulation and allocation of new frequencies of the National Telecommunications Commission (NTC), specifies in his article called, "Information

Threats to the National Security" that over a decade ago, thinkers and futurists anticipated that patterns of the threats to the national security will be changed radically. It will be like asymmetric warfare threats by the adversary or terrorists who will attack the focal points of the country without using any military troops, but using digital media and information and communication technology (ICT) as their driving tools.

In Thailand, overseas political mainstays introduced the sedition across the country to protest the government through the use of VVO-link technology and satellite teleconference systems, or by multimedia broadband internet. Such uses reflect the impact on the national security caused by media and ICT evolution, which had never happened in the country in the former days. Besides, because of the digital media fragmentation that can be generated very quickly and spread very easily, any social phenomenon information can be reported and diffused by civil journalists in the form of VDO clips on the social networks, i.e., Twitter, Facebook, Blogs, etc. instantly through their mobile phones. Consequently, it affects national security severely instantly or in real-time as well.

Moreover, futurists also forecasted that approximately ten years ahead, individual power will be very apparent. Individuals can have their idea, experiences, and lifestyles. The power of new media can enable everybody to access information sources in all dimensions with high speed, depth, and diversity; thus, the perception will be unlimited. In the future, groups of intellectuals of the new generation will spend their lives in online communities. They can exert their network-society power in implanting wrong political ideologies to the community members or to incite people to protest the power of the government. Therefore, the media strategy is vital for national security operations and will have an impact on changes in the communication of people in the nation. Correspondingly, it also affects cultural beliefs and causes an impact on other domains, i.e., social, political, and national security

2.2 Communication Theories from the Functionalist Approach

Functionalism is a theory used for developing concepts. The main issue or the heart of the theory is “functions.” Functionalism is an influential school of thought in the field of sociology and anthropology. Since the nineteenth century, it has been used in the field of communication. (Kanjana Kaewthep, 2014). The fundamental concept of this theory is based on the biological model of living creatures or organism, which composes of sub-organs with specific functions for maintaining stability and unity of the overall main system, if a problem occurs in the system, i.e., some bacteria get into a body, the system will find a way to adapt or maintain itself towards equilibrium again.

Such a concept is applied by a comparison between human organisms and social systems. Sub-institutions in society are like different organs of a body. Typically, functionalism gives importance to the assumption that society is the structure of rules and orders at the macro level. Each institution, including communication or media institutions, are a mechanism or sub-units playing a role in establishing stability for the society as a whole, by emphasizing a social order process. Communication is used as a tool for socializing people towards harmony and unity. Nevertheless, functionalism focuses on the roles and functions that change in each period. Besides, it is believed that when periods change, functions of sub-systems in mobilizing a society change too.

Since functionalism has been applied in the field of communication, it is called “Functionalism of Communication,” by emphasizing the roles or functions of communication mainly, especially social functionalism. Social functionalism gives high importance to the question “how communication can function to respond to the needs of society or which are the functions of communication in a society.”

The key theorists in Functionalism of Communication are

1) Harold Lasswell
2) Wilbur Schramm

Three roles of mass media:
(1) Give information/ surveillance for the society
(2) Coordinate relationships/ establish unity and harmony
(3) Inherit culture

3) Charles Wright

One additional role
(4) Entertain/Inspire

In addition, Malee Boonsiriphan (2007) states that as a social institution, mass media plays the role of an information medium, the role of which is concretely apparent and widely accepted as follows:

1) Watch Dog. It is the role of mass media in examining, surveillance, and finding some abnormalities that happen in society and reporting it to the general public to be acknowledged. Mass media thus is like a watchdog, barking to awake its owner to see such abnormalities or some burglars breaking into the house. It is a crucial role in the democratic system in which mass media plays a part in power balance by examining the transparency of the government, digging out and unveil any implied corruption, dishonesty, concealment, etc. to let the public be informed. Mostly, it focuses on matters involving persons who are expected to be responsible for protecting public benefits, i.e., government officers, politicians, etc., but exploit their authority unrighteously.

2) Gatekeeper. It is the role of mass media as a sender in the mass communication process. Primarily, gatekeepers are individuals or groups of individuals responsible for regulating information transmission. In other words, mass media will either let the news flow or prevent it to be diffused. D.M. White (1950) applied the concept of the gatekeeper to study the activities of an editorial board of a U.S. local newspaper. Decision-making of mass media is an activity of selecting news to be published in the newspaper; thus, mass media is like a gatekeeper. Normally, there is a large amount of information transmitting to the press or radio or TV stations; therefore, news editors must select only some pieces of news to be publicized or broadcasted. A lot of pieces may be thrown away. The selected news or

information will be edited to suit time, space, or kinds of media before transmitting to readers, listeners, or viewers.

White explains simply that in reality, the role of mass media as a gatekeeper may be more complicated. (Pira Jirasophon, 2014). For instance, before transmitting any piece of teletype news, it has to be edited by a news agency. Even reporters or journalists are also gatekeepers as they have to select which news should be reported. For all teletype news from a press, radio, or TV stations, the news is not only edited by the editor of each press or station, but also by executive editors or editors at a higher level. Moreover, when the published or broadcasted news is delivered to receivers, receivers are also gatekeepers as they will select what kind of news and which part of the news they want to transmit to others, i.e. family members, relatives, friends, etc. Accordingly, news from mass media tends to flow through several steps of gatekeeping.

3) Agenda Setter. The concept of agenda-setting was introduced by Water Lippman who coined the word “picture in overhead.” According to Lippman, mass media plays an important role in helping people be informed and learn about the situations outside, which they might not have a chance to experience by themselves. Lippman says that mass media thus helps to create images or pictures in people’s heads. Other scholars who have great contributions to the concept of agenda-setting are M.E. McCombs and D.L. Shaw (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, 1976, as cited in Pira Jirasophon, 2014). McCombs and Shaw believe that receivers do not only acknowledge the public and any other issues via mass media, they also learn to what extent they will give importance to each particular issue emphasized by mass media. The ability to exert power over individuals’ cognitive changes is a very significant feature of mass media power. Furthermore, McCombs and Shaw constructed the agenda-setting model based on the principle that the issue paid a high attention by mass media will be perceived as the most important.

From the aforementioned roles and functions of mass media, it accords with the saying that newspaper (as a branch of mass media) is a mirror reflecting the picture of a society. The reports of newspapers on what happens in society to the pubic are thus compared with a mirror that can reflect pictures from various angles. Thus, it depends on what and how the person who holds the mirror wants to portray to

others. He or she can also distort an ugly picture to become beautiful or vice versa without difficulties. Hence, it depends greatly on mass media people's conscience, their awareness of the righteousness, and concern about public and national benefits more than business benefits.

Roles of Mass Media in a Democratic Society

The roles of mass media in a democratic society can be divided into two levels: 1) Individual level 2) Societal level

1) Roles of Mass Media at the Individual Level

(1) A chain connecting an individual to the outside world. It means mass media functions as a channel for individuals to contact other human fellows and enables them to establish relationships among members of society.

(2) A harmony builder. It means mass media has a role in creating a conscience for each individual to have a sense of firmness, stability, and harmony.

(3) An arouser of feelings. It means mass media can arouse intended feelings, i.e., patriotism, love for the King, or any other emotions, such as anger, hatred, sympathy, fear, craziness, stress, etc. via their content presentation. The content can be either right or wrong, create value, or implant some beliefs.

2) Roles of Mass Media at the Societal Level

(1) Establishing democracy for society. Mass media can play a role in creating democracy for a society by functioning as a public sphere for people to communicate, interact, or discuss political or social issues at a certain time. On the other hand, members of a society can also examine the communicated issues, i.e., political issues, and push them towards transparency. Typically, the public sphere is categorized into three types:

a) The physical public sphere means a physical place for meeting and interacting among community members, i.e., a tea house, a barber shop, retail stores, or any other public places.

b) Public sphere as a democratic stage means an area or stage for group communication in the form of a new social movement (NSM), i.e., civil political groups, including a merge of several networks to call for some rights and events, such as a merge of agriculturists' networks and poor people to be "Assembly of the Poor," women networks and AIDS groups, labor unions, etc.

c) Symbolic or mass media public sphere means the area for presenting political, social, or economic content via mass media, i.e., newspaper, posters, leaflets, etc. to criticize the government's operations. At present, this kind of public sphere comprises several kinds of media, such as mainstream media, or official media of the government to manipulate political communication, and alternative media, or media used in a new form of social or political movements for internal communication within a network or communication with the public

(2) Creating Common Knowledge. It means mass media needs to search for well-rounded information and publicize it insightfully to create common perception leading people to decide to participate in civil political activities. An example of this is the information about the Constitutional Referendum, etc.

(3) Providing Free Marketplace of Ideas. It means mass media opens an opportunity for the public and every party to access the media and employ it as a stage for presenting their standpoint or opinion to other people.

(4) Reflecting an Accurate and Non-Biased Picture of a Society with Multi-Perspectives. It means mass media has a role in transmitting social reality, while the content reflects a diversity of people around the world and let receivers know other culture correctly without bias.

(5) Surveillance of a Society or Being a Watch Dog. It means the surveillance function of mass media in watching any harm or danger to the society, including any abnormalities, happening in society, and warning or sending signals for people to be aware, i.e., corruption detection, etc.

2.3 Theories on Online Media

Online media or new media theories have been introduced in the 21st century by scholars of several schools. However, the distinguished and well-known theory was developed by Marshall McLuhan, a Canadian thinker from Toronto School in the field of Technological Determinism, in 1964. McLuhan coined the word "information society" and a famous phrase "the medium is the message." He points out that information technology is the determinant and leads to changes in society. He

believes that technological changes affect people's attention, ideas, beliefs, and attitude, including communication behavior patterns of people and society.

Thinkers of this theory agree that information and communication technology, society, and culture have a close and inevitable relationship. They believe that information and communication technology, i.e., information processing, internet, and mass media, is both phenomenon and a change, which can affect the overall society. It is related to people's ways of life, culture, and traditions. Thus, information and communication technology can determine or lead a society, including culture in a society.

2.3.1 Technological Determinism

McQuail (1994, as cited in Kamolrat Intaratat, 2014) proposes the overall concept of this theory, which indicates a connection between the potentials of information and communication technology and the principle structure of a society in each period. To illustrate this, webs are examples of information and communication technology nowadays. The nature of this technology is the ability to broadcast or to spread information while it is also a non-broadcast media without borders or with no barriers across countries. In general, the distinguished notions of this group of theories are as follows:

1) Information and communication technology (ICT) is a fundamental tool or mechanism of every society.

2) Each ICT is suitable for each kind of social structure differently.

3) The production and application of ICT can cause changes in society.

4) Each ICT revolution brings about subsequent social revolutions and changes.

Two Thinkers of the Technological Determinism

1) Harold Innis (1950). Innis is a thinker in the group of political-economics and a scholar from Toronto School. He was interested in the power of information technology and published two books about information technology, namely 1) The Empire and Communication,1950, and 2) The Bias of Communication, 1951. The main notions of Innis are as follows:

(1) He indicates the relationship between the civilization of society and modes of communication since the old days in human history.

(2) He proves the relationship between modes of communication and the structure of power in a society. He concludes that from the past studies in communication, it is found that the wider the communication system is, the more people out of the center of the communication will be dominated and the less chance they have to access information.

(3) He believes that no matter how much ICT is developed, the power of ICT usage and control is still in the hand of some elites. These elites will exploit their political power in parallel to the use of information systems and ICT, including bodies of knowledge in society. They will also obstruct any competition in any form of a communication system.

2) Marshall McLuhan (1960). McLuhan is a Canadian thinker from the same school as Innis. McLuhan perceives ICT positively and believes that ICT can change a society. His main ideas are as follows:

(1) ICT helps to broaden the human experience. All kinds of media bring about the extension of experience, especially electronic media, which leads to a new phenomenon called “a global village.” Large numbers of people around the world can know what happens somewhere very rapidly or simultaneously. Despite people living in different hemispheres or different sides of the planet, they can know things in real-time via new media, such as webs and the internet. Thus, the barriers caused by distance and time are meaningless and cannot obstruct human experiences.

(2) The Medium is The Message. This phrase indicates that a communication medium itself, not the messages it carries, is more important. Thus, only a change of media can cause changes in experiences in human society.

(3) Media Innovation or ICT can mobilize society to keep changing with no space and time limit.

2.3.2 Cybernetic Capitalism

This theory is another theory that believes in ICT’s power and influence in changing and leading society, especially in economics. Accordingly, information is considered as a substantial capital of all production processes in society.

Such a tendency has yielded diverse and continual information revolution. Adaptation and other revolutions are thus required in people's daily life. Information becomes valuable assets towards prosperity and power. It also becomes something that can determine human ways of life from the individual to the overall societal level. Every mechanism or sub-systems in a society have to adapt themselves towards qualitative competitive systems. Some examples are a new working system using a robot or artificial intelligence, the use of office technology for facilitating work, etc. Likewise, political and governance systems, including management, require speedy and modern information systems that can boost information, military, and banking policies, including tax and customs systems so that they can catch up with changes in their society and around the globe.

2.3.3 Information Imperialism

Information Imperialism is invented by another group of thinkers who agree with the assumption that ICT is a pointer or determinant of a society. They explain that information flowing from the western media to diverse places around the world causes domination, especially the free and continuous flow of information from the western countries to developing countries. Notably, it is a one-way flow. Thus, what happens is the domination of western culture over developing countries.

Thinkers of this group of theories assume that such an information flow will gradually dominate receivers' thoughts, leading to a phenomenon called "Information Imperialism or Cyber-Imperialism or Neo-Colonization. It is a new form of possession used by western countries through their application of ICT, which gradually transmits new ways of living to people of the developing countries, who are not aware of the effect of such information flow. This gradual information transmission can be subtle imperialism, while the whole process of information flow is called "information colonization." Eventually, after time, people in developing countries may realize what happens in their society or something that is missing or disappears. For instance, western apparels gradually replace traditional costumes, living culture may be adapted to be more westernized, i.e., food, music, films, objects. Besides, there might be some imitation, such as manner, spoken language, body language, ideas, etc.

Still, in the ICT era, ICT may be perceived in two ways: positive and negative. Specifically, ICT's power and potential can empower people, but on the contrary, it may lead to domination or colonization by replacing or adapting the old ones. Therefore, it depends on how each developing country prepares to cope with the coming ICT to make it congruent or appropriate for its traditional culture. It is a new alternative developed in 1990 where all countries were aware that the integration of any must concern about the balance between "globalization" and "localization" as much as possible.

In short, the theorists realize the power of media, especially in the ICT era in which every country around the world tries to compete towards being No. 1 through the use of ICT as the essential mechanism. Therefore, information presentation requires competition in both time and quality dimensions. In the former days, the competition was day-based, but now online systems lead to real-time news reporting, so the news or transmitted information must be adaptive and rapid. The competition is thus a-minute or a-second based.

Nowadays, popular online social media are blogging, Twitter, Microblogging, social networking, media sharing, etc. (Pichit Wijitboonyarak, 2011).

1) Blogging. The word "blog" comes from Web + Log. It is a type of content management for facilitating bloggers to publicize and share their articles. Mostly, articles posted in a blog express bloggers' personal opinions. The distinctive feature of blogging is the ability to communicate informally between bloggers and readers via comments. Websites: Blogger (http://www.blogger.com), and WordPress (http://wordpress.com) are the top two websites people visit to create their blogs.

2) Twitter and Microblogging. Microblogging is a kind of blogging with limited capacity for each posting. Twitter is a microblogging that has a limit of no more than 140 characters for a posting. It is easy to use and does not take a long time. Besides, it is preferred by organizations that like to use Twitter for business activities or movements to maintain contact with society. In case a Twitter account is needed, one can apply on the website of Twitter: http://twitter.com.

3) Social Networking. Social networking is the website that users can contact online with their friends, known before or after the use. Each social networking has different features, but with some common features as well, namely

profiles (for displaying personal information of account users), connecting (for finding old and new friends online), and messaging (for sending a personal or public message). Facebook (http://www.facebook.com) is the most popular social networking at present.

4) Media Sharing. It is a website that provides online sharing. Users can upload multimedia on the website for sharing information with general users. Nowadays, it is very popular due to its multimedia function: images, slides, or VDO. Besides, digital and VDO camera makes it easier to use. The popular websites of this kind are YouTube (http://www.youtube.com) for sharing VDO files, Flickr (http://www.flickr.com) for sharing image files, and SlideShare (http://www.slideshare. net) for sharing presentation files.

Kamolrat Intaratat (2014) summarizes three levels of communication at present as follows:

1) Individual level. The impact of ICT on human lives nowadays is called “digital life.” It means new ways of living that are connected by a digital system or ICT. Lifestyles, ways of living, ways of working, and culture have been changed from the past. For instance, someone may use the internet at any available time for leisure or for chatting with their friends. On the other hand, he can also use the same device for working or for their profession, etc. He can do such activities, such as E-commerce, at home, at his office, or even in the public sphere.

The use of ICT at the individual level focuses on its ability to enhance human wisdom from the continual and free flow of information and knowledge without time and space limit. It helps human beings to learn all the time, create new knowledge and experience, and augment human wisdom that has never happened before.

Furthermore, ICT helps to broaden people’s worldview, diversify types of human interaction in a virtual world, and in real-time. Particularly, in the area of news communication, the ICTs used widely are Notebook computers, Modems, and Smartphones, a basic device reporters use for working at the site all through the country or around the world. Besides, it can connect the news reporting from the site to a newsroom or broadcasting station at the same time.

2) Societal level. For the use of ICT at the group or societal level, many people agree that amidst the flush of ICT leads to the transcultural phenomenon, borderless culture, and global culture. Under all these kinds of cultures, people seem to have similar ways of living and information consumption. Consequently, although different sub-cultures exist in the real world, they have similar lifestyles and language, namely, the common language used on the internet. Thus, it appears the gathering in groups in the virtual world, i.e., groups of the same internet networks, same-interest groups, same-activity groups, same-needs groups, etc. However, it seems that group cohesiveness in the virtual world is rather low. People gather together to gratify some of their needs. Notably, while persons can maintain their group membership, they can also exist as an individual and can connect to other groups or even join in an opposite group.

Moreover, ICT covers and can be used to manage political and governance forms, management, business enterprises, and all transactions, i.e., E-commerce, E-government, E-banking, E-education, E-society, E-entertainment, etc.

Nevertheless, among the common usage of cyber groups in various circles, what follows is the violation of individuals' rights, the destruction of computer systems or computer data, the release of computer viruses to cause problems to organizations' networks: financial, marketing, or even safety organizations, both domestic and global organizations.

3) National and global level. Changes all over the world: commerce, finance, production, education, and new technology, including free-trade commerce induce gigantic movement towards the new era, so-called "the era of wisdom and learning," in which economic systems rely on the use of knowledge primarily. Information and knowledge are counted as one kind of capital factors since these mechanisms can stimulate all countries to be one-world or "one global village." The global village is thus a consequence of globalization and its effect on ICT in all parts of the world at all levels.

Since 1990, economic operations and people's ways of life in countries around the world have been adapted towards a "new economy," which is a network economy. The major characteristics of the new economy are to focus on the use of ICT, to fuse diverse technologies widely in commerce and industries, and to use

information systems via widespread computer networks. All of these give rise to immediate or instant communication with no space and time limit.

The following consequence is that countries all over the world, either big or small, have tried to adapt themselves to catch up with the changing trend by accelerating the empowerment of their potentials towards the competition, such as the investment for rapid construction of information and communication infrastructure, the issuance of rules for facilitating the development of ICT, and the accelerated development of the competitiveness capacity, such as the application of ICT for managing national education of all levels, the empowerment of human resources' capabilities, the support for research and development in each level to develop innovations continually, etc.

2.4 Concepts of Information Operations (IO)

The term "information operations" (the abbreviation is Info Ops or IO) means the integration of many military operations to affect the adversary's thinking and decision-making or the thinking and decision-making from the adversary's information operations. Although the Royal Thai Air Force and Royal Thai Army use the term in Thai differently, the meaning of "IO" is still the same. "IO" is a part of "Information Warfare" or "Cyber War" or "Net War."

2.4.1 Definition

Surachart Bamrungsuk (2010) defines "information operations" in the Security Studies Newsletter as follows:

Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) of the U.S. Army defines information operations as the operations aimed to have some influence over the opponent's information or information system. On the other hand, they are the operations for protecting U.S. information and information systems as well.

U.S. Army defines IO as offensive and defensive operations using new technologies to devalue, destroy, reject, deceive, influence, or magnify the outcome of network systems, knowledge-based systems, processing capacity, and decision-making system of the opponent during the unrest situations or a war. On the other

hand, the U.S. Army also protects and saves its information, information systems, and decision-making systems.

Royal Thai Army defines IO as operations aimed to yield some effect or influence over the adversary's decision-making systems, information, and information systems, including other target groups while protecting Thai information and information systems.

From the aforementioned definitions of both the U.S. Army and Royal Thai Army, the definitions contain similar core content with slightly different details. In general, IO is divided into two kinds:

1) Offensive Information Operations

It is the exploitation of the adversary's information (knowing the adversary's secret) in combination with the destruction or the decreases of the potentials of the adversary's information or information systems, that may be harmful to one's side. The purposes of offensive IO are 1) to degrade the potentials or competitiveness capacity of the adversary's operations. 2) To withhold the adversary's operations or operation plans. 3) To withhold the adversary's ability in giving command of general military operations. 4) To lower the potentials of the adversary's decision-making system. 5) to slow down the adversary's operations. 6) To influence the adversary's s estimation of the situation.

In short, the competitiveness capacity of offensive IO contains the following keywords: 1. Destroy, 2) disrupt, 3) degrade, 4) deny, 5) deceive or mislead, 6) exploit, and 7) influence.

2) Defensive Information Operations focus on protecting the safety of the information and information systems of one's side, and preventing the adversary from making use of, destroy, or degrade the information or information systems. The ultimate goal of defensive IO is to maintain the information superiority and to facilitate superiors to use such superiority usefully for coping with the untrusted situations, threats, or risks timely and effectively. The goals of defensive IO are 1) to strengthen preventive measures to degrade the adversary's operation against one's commanding and controlling systems. 2) To protect one's command systems and to prevent some mistakes caused by some interfering operations.

In short, the competitiveness capacity of defensive IO contains the following keywords: 1. protect, 2) detect, 3) respond, and 4) restore.

2.4.2 Important Principles of IO

According to Settapong Malisuwan (2011), IO comprises "data," which is the compiled or collected content, figures, statistics, and facts with no concern about sources of data in the first place. However, after the process of analyzing, synthesizing, interpreting, and evaluating the data, including sorting out the mistakes or unwanted data. At this stage, data is upgraded to be "information." After the information is combined with the experience, cognition, learning, and expertise of each individual, information then becomes "knowledge," as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

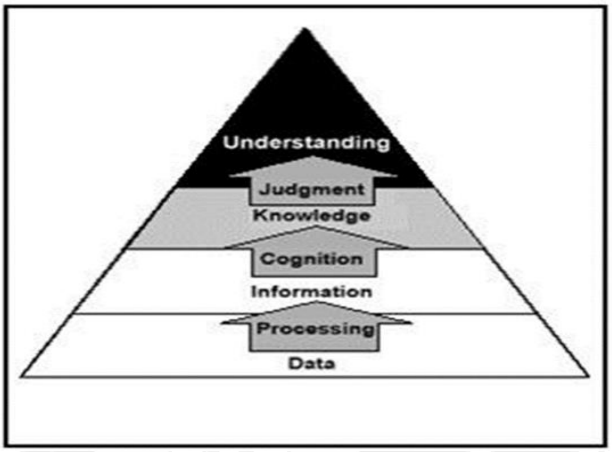


Figure 2.1 Illustrates the Relationship Between Data, Information, and Knowledge

Monwadee Tangtrongharuthai (2016) summarizes the main concept of IO that IO is operations aimed to attack the opponent's command systems and influence over its decision-making systems. At the same time, one's side has to protect its command systems from the opponent's operation. An effective information operation must contain both offensive and defensive in parallel to increase the information competitive advantages over the opponent at the breaking point.

Settapong Malisuwan (2011) further defines IO that IO must cover operations during the peaceful time, crisis, and warfare or hostilities. Besides, IO must involve operations at all levels: strategic, operational, and tactical, as illustrated in Figure 2.2.

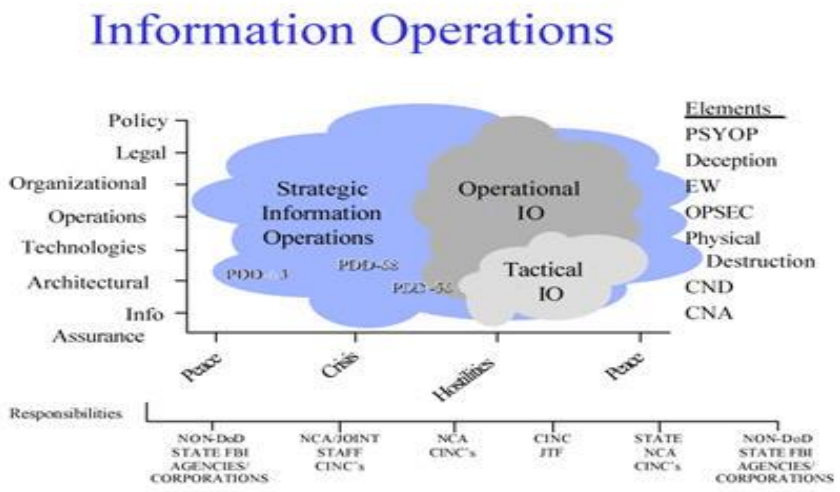


Figure 2.2 Illustrates Information Operations Systems

Moreover, IO does not cover only the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence, but also requires collaboration with other security offices in all dimensions, i.e., policies, laws, organizational management, technology, information technology, etc.

2.4.3 Principal Components in Information Operations

IO comprises ends, ways, means, and feedback as follows:

1) END. Ends mean the accomplishment of the intended goal that can cause some effect or influence over the adversary's information and decision-making systems, including other targets. Ends also include the achievement of defending the information and information systems of one's side.

2) WAY. Ways mean how to conduct IO, which composes of the following sub-components:

(1) Determination of the Target. The target of the adversary and one's side, which is expected to cause some impact or results as determined in IO, is considered.

(2) Determination of the Theme. It is the need to have the adversary or one's side operate or believe in the way as planned.

(3) Determination of the Message Conveyed to the Target. It means the instruction of the operations, signs, or content needed to convey to the target group, which enables the target group to interpret the message as planned.

(4) Determination of projects /activities. It means the operations that are determined as a channel to transmit the planned message to the target group.

3) MEAN. Means are tools determined to be used for mobilizing the concept of IO.

Tools used in IO can be called "capabilities," which are classified into three groups. After the IO start as planned, it requires continual and accordant coordination and operations. Capabilities are as follows:

(1) Core Capabilities: There are five domains of operations related to core capabilities.

a) Psychology Operations (PSYOP) means the capabilities to create affective changes or changes in attitude, emotion, and feeling of the target as we needed to create morale and motivation for our side. On the other hand, it can destroy the adversary's morale and effectiveness.

b) Military Deception (MILDEC) means the capabilities to make the adversary misunderstand our capabilities or operations by placing confusion on the adversary's information compiling systems.

c) Operations Security (OPSEC) means the capabilities to determine which information on our side is needed by the adversary, and then defend it and prevent the adversary to get that information.

d) Electronic Warfare (EW) means the capabilities to attack, defend, and support electronic warfare by adapting, destroying, or exploiting the electromagnetic wave area of the adversary. On the other hand, we have to prevent the adversary from using our electromagnetic wave freely at the same time.

e) Computer Network Operations (CNO) mean the capabilities to attack, defend, and exploit the concerned computer networks for supporting our operations. CNO consists of three parts: 1) Computer Network Attack (CAN) to destroy the adversary's network systems to fail or be unusable. 2) Computer Network Defense (CND) to defend our computer network from being attacked by the

adversary. 3) Computer Network Exploitation (CNE) to hack information or break into the adversary's computer networks.

(2) Supporting Capabilities. There are seven kinds of supporting capabilities:

a) Physical Destruction (PD) means the capabilities in attacking and destroying the physical place, etc.

b) Security means the capabilities to issue measures to prevent other people from accessing our documents without permission, to prevent espionage, and to sabotage.

c) Counter Intelligence (CI) means the capabilities to defend our information and information system from the adversary. From the analysis of intelligence resistance, it helps to know strategies the adversary uses in collecting information.

d) Counter Deception (CD) means the capabilities in destroying and causing confusion and a nuisance on the adversary's operations.

e) Counter-Propaganda (C-PRO) means the capabilities in refuting the adversary's propaganda. For doing so, it requires three main measures against propaganda and rumors: 1) protection 2) counteraction 3) manipulation

f) Information Assurance (IA) means the capabilities in assuring the use of our information with insightful protection measures.

g) Combat Camera (COMCAM) means the capabilities in using our and the adversary's combat camera for public relations, psychological operations, and evaluation of the damages, including being evidence for any possible argumentation that might occur afterward.

(3) Related Capabilities. There are five kinds of related capabilities

a) Public Affairs (PA) mean the capabilities in spreading information to the targets of our side to know what we have done to reduce any distortion or hesitation they might face. Otherwise, they might turn to support our opponent instead.

b) Civil Military Operations (CMO) mean the capabilities in enhancing the collaboration between people and the military to support our military or other operations.

c) Defense Support to Public Diplomacy (DSPD) means the capabilities in spreading the disclosed information of the government to other countries for their understanding, including influencing the target, through domestic and foreign channels.

d) Strategic Communication (SC) means the capabilities in conducting systematic and integrated communication towards the target mainly.

e) Key Leader Engagement (KLE) means the capabilities in communication or persuasion for meeting or negotiating with any concerned leader directly.

4) FEEDBACK

It is continual monitoring and evaluation of the results or accomplishment of the operations. Normally, success indicators are set up for each plan and activity. For the evaluation of IO, the criteria or indicators are as follows:

(1) Measures of Performance (MoPs). It is the evaluation by quantitative data, namely the number of activities that are accomplished as planned.

(2) Measures of Effectiveness (MoEs). It is the evaluation by qualitative data, i.e., if each activity yields an effect after the operation on the adversary as specified in the main theme.

The results of the evaluation will be analyzed and used for improving or adjusting plans to suit the changing situations. Such a cycle is thus a continuous operation and will be repeated until reaching the ultimate goal as desired. The diagram of the IO Cycle or process is illustrated in Figure 2.3.

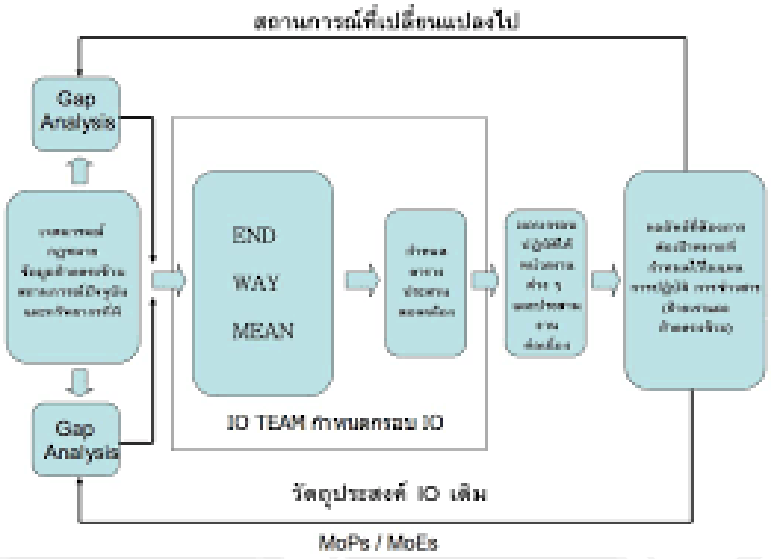


Figure 2.3 Illustrates the Cycle or Process of Information Operations
Source: http://www.rtni.org/th/library/

2.5 Concepts of Conflict and Conflict Management

2.5.1 Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is based on the assumption that society is a complex system of imbalance or inequality, leading to social changes. Stenner (2005, p. 67) states that a society is not harmonious, but filled with separation caused by social inequality in various dimensions, i.e., social classes, race, ethnicity, sex, and age, including valuable resources dispersing in society, such as money, power, education, social prestige, etc. Besides, social conflicts induce competition among groups of people who obtain benefits and returns unequally. Notably, people of different social statuses and positions gain different returns. Accordingly, it causes society to move and be changed.

Stern and Druckman (2000, p. 146) cite major causes of conflicts as follows: 1) Conflicts caused by organizational structure and functions that require competition towards limited resources. As a result, related responsibilities and decision-making are unclear. 2) Conflicts caused by interpersonal relations that affect expected benefits, i.e., miscommunication or unclear communication, a lack of trust, etc. Generally, persons who are high self-monitors will be well aware of their

performance to other people and tend to use creative approaches for solving conflicts, i.e., by compromises or collaboration, etc.

Schmidt (1974) views that conflict means people of two parties or more have different information, value, opinions, and feelings. Conflict is perceived as a struggle to lose or win among groups, or a contradiction between different benefits. Typically, causes of conflict are differences among people in 1) received information or facts. 2) goals, 3) value, 4) beliefs, 5) opinions and knowledge. Besides, causes of conflicts include other causes, such as 6) organizational structure, 7) organizational changes, 8) ineffective coordination, 9) individuals' behaviors in a group, i.e., dissatisfaction with the assigned roles or status, 10) perceptual differences, 11) difference between an individual's and a group's needs, 12) limited resources, forcing each party to scramble for it as much as they can.

2.5.2 Concepts of Conflict of Different Fields of Study

Robbins and Judge (2007) identify conflict from different approaches as follows:

1) Psychology. Conflict means a situation in which a person is stimulated to involve in two or more activities that might occur at several levels:

(1) At the observed or manifest behavioral level; for example, persons are stimulated to accept or reject some prohibited things, i.e., bribery, etc.

(2) At the verbal level; for example, a person wants to tell the truth but is afraid of offending others, etc.

(3) At the symbolic level; for example, a person may have several thoughts towards the same thing, but those thoughts are incongruent.

(4) At the emotional level; for example, bodily response related to fear does not go along with digestion.

2) Politics. Conflict is an intermingling dual process, such as disunion or separation and harmony. Examples of harmony are collaboration, support, and agreement. Primarily, politics aim towards social harmony; thus, their alternative measure or tool is either compulsion or volunteering, intentionally or non-intentionally. In a conflicting situation, if one side or party uses forces and the other party surrenders, the surrender represents an agreement to comply for harmony

because of coercion. At present, the Constitution is a tool used for creating harmony and peace. However, it is often created by the powerful governor under two main conditions: 1) how long the powerful one can stay in power or how long both parties with no power can tolerate all occurring dissatisfaction, and 2) how long the harmonious relationship can last. Generally, how long it can last depends on the situation or to what extent both parties are satisfied with their prior agreement.

3) Sociology. Conflict means a struggle towards valued things or towards a person's or a party's claim of possession by adhering to one's status, power, or limited resources. Notably, conflicting groups do not aim to acquire what they need, but they also want their adversary to be destroyed or eradicated. Conflict can occur between two persons, groups, or between a person and his or her group within a group. Conflict is manifest and can be witnesses all through a person's lifetime. According to the sociological approach, conflict is based on social structure and the different needs of different groups. It is caused by the distribution or allocation of some valuable or limited resources, i.e., income, compensation, status, position, power, ownership, etc.

4) Anthropology. Conflict is a consequence of competition among parties or sides, i.e., individuals, families, race, communities, or schools of thought, political organizations, tribes, or religions, etc. Conflict may occur because of incompatibility between needs and goals, especially when collaborative or coordinated acts are used as indicators of social stability. Consequently, conflict is the aftermath of conflicts and aggression in social systems. However, since human adaptability has been evolving for a long time ago, present ways of life are much different from the past. Therefore, the evolution of human behaviors may require an interpretation of a cultural or biological selective process.

2.5.3 Levels of Conflict

Hellriegel and Slocum, Jr. (2009) in their book, "Principles of Organizational Behavior," specify that conflict can be perceived at several levels:

1) Intrapersonal conflict
2) Interpersonal conflict
3) Intragroup conflict

4) Intergroup conflict

5) Organizational conflict

Therefore, for the top management or executives to resolve conflicts successfully, they must understand conflicts clearly and be able to manage them properly and effectively through an analysis process of the conflict, which comprises the following:

1) Potential opposition or incompatibility is the first step leading to conflicts and often is related to the issue of communication, organizational structure, and personal factors in organizations. The process of perception and understanding of any inequality or incompatibility can yield conflicts, that affect a party's emotion or feeling.

2) Feeling. Negative feelings can reduce trust in the other party. On the other hand, positive feelings will lead to satisfaction and help to develop proper approaches for solving problems.

3) Intention is a desire to decide to do something when a conflict occurs. Thus, executives must know the intention of the other party to communicate appropriately.

4) Behavior is an effort in revealing what each party wants, that may be at a different degree of violence, i.e., to challenge the adversary, to use aggressive words, to threaten or to deliver an ultimatum, to assault, or to destroy the opponent explicitly.

5) Outcome. If a conflict is at a manageable level, then it will be beneficial for organizational development and for innovations, including leading to the use of proper management techniques for solving conflicts.

2.5.4 Conflict Resolution Approaches

1) Mediation is a process in which a person plays a role as a mediator to help people under a conflicting condition to help them find solutions that are satisfactory for every party. This method is based on the win-win approach. Thus, a mediator functions as a facilitator for both sides without any bias or prejudice. Typically, good mediators should have qualified characteristics. They must be able to create and maintain their credibility by remaining neutral, manage effective

communication with both parties, and help both parties to determine, analyze, and understand all the truth by listening to conditions leading to harmony. Correct information must be presented to both parties, while, importantly, they can maintain righteousness with thorough scrutiny on what they hear from both parties.

2) Negotiation is a process in which more than two parties exchange their offers and respond to the matter in which both parties have benefits. Both parties try to lessen their requested conditions mutually to find the conclusion or settlement acceptable for every party. Thus, persuasion, compromises, and tolerance are used in a reciprocal way to reach an agreement without any physical coercion. The negotiation emphasizes a win-win, not win-lose approach, or the approach aimed to gain all benefits solely, which can make them turn to be enemies. Hence, a negotiator must possess such characteristics and be equipped with the art of persuasion.

3) Dialogue is a means of resolving conflicts peacefully. Dialogue is widely accepted and plays a more significant role nowadays. Especially, one of the major causes of conflicts in society is a lack of sincere or heartfelt communication and listening. Therefore, a resolution dialogue requires the art of listening, particularly profound listening, in parallel to genuine openness.

It should be noted that conflict management is executives' direct responsibility; thus, they have to understand and find ways to manage conflict before it becomes larger and too late to be solved. However, there are many other approaches to manage conflicts properly and effectively.

In brief, the conflict management process and techniques are as follows:

1) Confront the conflict. Such a mission belongs to executives who dare to face and manage conflicts in a proper way by reducing their personal bias. Besides, integrated concepts are also applied in finding solutions for oneself and the other party.

2) Understand each other's position, i.e., finding the truth of conflicts, studying each party's emotion and feeling, etc. Executives need to point out if each party does not collaborate in problem-solving, conflicts will never be solved successfully.

3) Identify the problem. Each party must make the problem explicit together, which is the most difficult step because each party tends to strive to

overcome each other to achieve its needs. Accordingly, it results in a win-lose situation and leads to more complicated conflicts. Therefore, executives are required to use human relations principles to facilitate both parties' collective problem-solving. They should respect themselves and the other party, including letting each party perform its roles.

4) Search for appropriate alternatives and evaluation. Both parties search for various approaches to solve the problem. However, any selected alternative must be consented to and satisfied by both parties to let every party win.

5) Conclusion and implement the appropriate alternatives. Each party makes a contract with clear specification and details as agreed and let other people or the third party acknowledge such agreement and contract. Each party applies the agreement into action and verify if each party performs as specified or not. Amendments can be added, including a new negotiation process and collective problem-solving to improve their agreed alternatives towards more satisfaction of every party. Thus, the process can go back to the fourth step again.

2.6 Related Studies

Chanchai Chaisukkosol (2009) studied "Technology and Political Struggle Without Violence: A Case Study of the Internet in Thailand" by studying the relationship between political movement by non-violent operations based on hegemony theory and large technological systems of the internet as the structural power. The research aimed to answer two main questions: 1) What are the characteristics and dynamism of non-violent struggle through the use of the internet in Thailand? 2) How is the Thai internet of the concerned sectors employed as a tool of power? To what extent does it facilitate the non-violent struggle?

From the study, it was found that the non-violent operations used by three studied groups during the rally of Thaksin's government period emphasized the protests and persuasion. For some non-collaboration, campaigns via websites were used. The non-violent intervention was composed of both disclosures of technical information about secret operations and culture jamming, which were well-known techniques among cyber activists around the world. Besides, the use of the internet

caused the activists to confront with technological dynamism of non-violent operations, especially technical and institutional counteracting measures issued by persons in authority, who also had technological and structural power in hand. Amidst such dynamism, some cases had been developed to become technical non-collaboration and non-violent intervention. All of these were called technical methods of non-violent operations.

Direk Deeprasert (2019) studied “Forms of the Interception of Incendiary Concepts from Educational Institutions in the Three Southern Border Provinces” by qualitative research through an in-depth interview, focus group interview, and non-participant observation. The purposes of the research were to study the process of cultivating the concept of insurgency from educational institutions and to present the patterns of intercepting the cultivation of insurgency concept in three southern border provinces. One of the interesting findings was the patterns of intercepting the cultivation of insurgency concepts from educational institutions as follows: 1) the building of relationships and the establishment of common understanding among personnel in the educational institutes and the nearby communities to access insightful information. Good relationships to increase people’s trust in government officers. 2) Consistent determination, earnestness, and sincerity to help people solve the problems and to search for empirical collaboration. 3) Explosion from insiders. All government officers should be only a stimulator of ideas. The search for solutions and development should be started from insiders or people in the education institutes. 4) Clarification by providing timely and well-rounded information that helps to open people’s worldview and new perspectives while letting academic people decide by themselves in which direction they should move their community. 5. Joint creation of peace by driving all concerned, especially the young generation in the area, under the support of governmental sectors, towards the community’s prosperity.

Prangtip Manthorn and Nattakant Akarapongpisak (2018) studied “People’s Perceptions on the Application of Thailand’s Reform Concept as the Legitimation of the NCPO (2014-2016)” by an in-depth interview with two groups: people who used to participate in symbolic movements against the coup d’etat and NCPO’s policies and those who supported them. The study found that the supporters perceived that the national reform led to the eradication of conflicts and corruption. They also

appreciated the presentation of NCPO's policy implementation performance via public relations to create people's acknowledgment. For the dissenters, they perceived that the "Thailand Reform" was just the creation of discourse as rationales for NCPO's righteousness in governing the country and for gaining people's acceptance.

Prayut Chan-o-cha (2008) studied "Royal Thai Army and Non-Traditional Threats" by an in-depth interview. The study found that Thailand had faced some new or non-traditional threats that affected national security directly in the economic, socio-psychological, and military domains. Besides, the degree of violence of the threats had been continuously augmented, especially because of the effect of globalization, free trade, finance, investment, information, and communication advancement, including the increased migration and immigration across countries. Nine types of new or non-traditional threats affecting the national security of Thailand were found. 1) the clash of ideas 2) no confidence in political systems and institutions 3) a lack of balanced national resources and environment management 4) disasters caused by natural environment changes and epidemics 5) security in three southern border provinces 6) terrorism and transnational crimes 7) alien or migrant labors and illegal immigrants 8) drugs 9) poverty.

Somchai Saenphumi (2019) studied "The Political Movement of Students with Regards to the First Anniversary of the Coup d'etat d'état of General Prayuth Chan-o-cha" by qualitative research. The main objective of the research was to explore the patterns and strategies of students' political movements in the activity called "On Friday 22nd, Will We Celebrate Together?" From the study, it was found that the factor influencing students' political thought the most was their studies at the higher education institutions, rather than family socialization. Most of the key informants were activity leaders, activity organizers, and students believing in democratic ideologies. Besides, the restriction of their rights and freedom was a major factor in implanting their resistance force and leading them towards political movement activities. Online media, such as Facebook, was used the most as a crucial tool in publicizing political information.

Thanasta Rojanatrakul (2019) studied "Creative Conflict Management," and found that conflict can be both advantageous and disadvantageous. Thus, it is essential to understand it as it is inevitable as long as people have to live with others

in society. When individuals or groups do not get what they need, they will behave in the ways of obstructing the other party to achieve what it needs. Examples are an effort for seizing ownership, an ill-intention confrontation, incongruent actions, an expression of discontentment because of different attention, thought, or acts, and coercion to prevent or obstruct the other party to reach the goal. All of these behaviors, both verbal and nonverbal, are manifest or observable. Besides, they cover an expression to convey an obstruction, compulsion, harm, and opposition against the other party, which may lead to a quarrel, fight, and war. However, conflict management is different in each situation. Accordingly, those, who are responsible for conflict management directly, have to apply proper strategies towards the utmost benefits for every party. By doing so, conflict can be managed sustainably.

Wacharin Kaenthong (2017) presented his research paper entitled, “Information Operations Threats That Affect Security of the Royal Thai Army.” The objectives were to study the development and changes in the patterns of information operations that were threats against the security of the Thai Army and to explore practical guidelines for dealing with threats caused by information operations, to draw a framework of preparation for coping with threats and defending information security of Royal Thai Army.

The study found that offices and troops with more advanced technology and better information system management had higher competitive advantages in counteraction. Particularly, if the superiors obtained well-rounded information from the battle area, they could make decisions correctly. Therefore, security offices and troops need to adapt themselves and increase their capability potentials in cyberspace dimensions, which can support the battle significantly. Besides, all concerned must have determination in planning information operations strategies, including tactics for using and striking back information warfare and media towards concretely successful and efficient information operations.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research entitled, “Communication of National Security Issues Via Online Media in the Information Operations Framing” is a mixed-method study of both quantitative and qualitative. It aims to study and analyze the communication of national security issues via online media to see what kinds of communication are and what are the effects on national security. Content analysis and in-depth interviews were conducted with documentary research from primary sources, i.e., declaration, announcement, official commands, etc., and secondary sources, i.e., academic paper, websites, and official online channels related to national security. The details of the research are as follows:

3.1 Population and Samples Determination

3.2 The Construction of Research Instruments

3.3 The Test of Research Instruments

3.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

3.1 Population and Samples Determination

This research used mixed methods of both quantitative and qualitative study with the following pollution and samples:

3.1.1 Quantitative Research

Content analysis was applied by analyzing six national security issues (as specified in the scope of the study) during the governance period of General Prayut Chan-0-Cha, the Prime Minister and the chief of the National Council of Peace and Order or NCPO, from the coup d’etat date on May 22, 2014, to the official election date on March 24, 2019.

The national security content in various domains was purposively selected by searching from the following keywords from Search Engine Program via Google Website:

3.1.1.1 The National Security: Political Domain

1) The coup d'etat on May 22, 2014. The keywords used were "Coup d'etat 2014", "anniversary of the coup d'etat of NCPO," etc.

2) Criticism on the main content of the Constitution Draft. The keywords used were "the Constitution Draft 2017", "Constitution Drafting Committee," etc.

3) The Thai Constitution Draft 2016 referendum: Accept or not accept. The keywords used were "accept-not accept the constitution draft 2016", etc.

4) The national reform policies, the establishment of harmony, and the 20-year national strategy. The keywords used were "the national reform plans of NCPO," "the 20-year national strategy," "NCPO's harmony-establishment plans," etc.

5) Roadmaps for election administration or management. The keywords used were "election roadmaps of NCPO," etc.

3.1.1.2 The National Security: Economic Domain

1) The overall economic problems: Earn of living problems, an expensive commodity, high costs of living. The keywords used were "economic policies during the period of NCPO," etc.

2) Thailand 4.0 policy, Pracharat project (Civil state project), and the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC). The keywords used were "Thailand 4.0," "Pracharat Project," "EEC," etc.

3.1.1.3 The National Security: Socio-Psychological Domain

1) The bombing, i.e., Center Point Market, Ruen Rom Road, Muang District, Trang Province, Big C Supermarket, Muang District, Pattani Province, the Government Lottery Service (old), the 80-Year Chaloem Phra Kiat Building, Phramongkutklao Hospital, and area near the national theatre, Bangkok. The keywords used were "Bomb during the period of NCPO," "bombing

Phramongkut Hospital," "bombing Big C, Pattani," "bombing the national lottery office," etc.

2) Insurgencies in the southern border provinces. The keywords used were "insurgency in the southern border provinces," "unrest situation in the southern border provinces," etc.

3.1.1.4 The National Security: Military Domain

The project of submarine purchase from China. The keywords used were "submarine from China in the period of NCPO," etc.

3.1.1.5 The national security: Scientific and technological domain

1) Single Gateway Project. The keywords used were "Single Gateway," "Protest against Single Gateway," etc.

2) Consideration on the Computer Crimes Act B.E. 2560 Draft. The keywords used were "the Computer Crimes Act B.E. 2560," etc.

3.1.1.3 The national security: Energy and environmental domain

1) The government's projects, i.e., Pak Bara Deep Sea Port Construction Project in Satun Province, Clean Technology Coal Power Plant Project (electricity-generating) Thepha (Songkhla) – Krabi, etc. The keywords used were the protest against the construction of a coal power plant, Pak Bara Deep Sea Port construction, etc.

2) Electronic Waste or E-Waste. The keywords used were e-waste, global waste, etc.

Besides, another consideration for selecting national security content was that the content is the content presented through three main channels as follows:

1) Official Online Channels of the government or governmental offices. They are the official websites, social media, and PR channels of the government presenting the content of the national security issues related to policies and implementation of projects of the government led by General Prayut Chan-o-cha. Besides, they include official online media and websites of other concerned government agencies, i.e., Department of Public Relations (https://www.prd.go.th), National News Bureau of Thailand (https://thainews.prd.go.th), the National Broadcasting Services of Thailand (NBT) (Youtube: NewsNBT THAILAND), Thai News Agency (https://www.facebook.com/tnamcot Youtube: TNAMCOT Twitter:

@tnamcot), the Ministry of Digital Economy and Society (https://www.mdes.go.th Twitter: @PR_MDES), the Ministry of Industry (http://www.industry.go.th/ industry/index. php/th Twitter: @industryprmoi), Royal Thai Army (Twitter: ArmyPR Center), etc.

2) Official Online Channels of individual dissidents or groups of dissidents. They are the official websites and social media of the dissidents presenting content about any movements related to national security. Examples of them are Pheu Thai Party (https://www.ptp.or.th Twitter: @PheuThaiParty/), Resistant Citizens Group (https://www.facebook.com/Resistantcitizen/), New Democracy Movement (https://ndmth.org Twitter: @NDMthailand/), League of Liberal Thammasat for Democracy (Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/LLTD.TU Twitter: @LLTD/) Young People for Social-Democracy Movement, Thailand (https://www.facebook. com/YPD.Thailand/) Internet Law Reform Dialogue Program (http://ilaw.or.th Twitter: @iLawClub @iLawFX/) Thai Lawyers for Human Rights Center (https://www.facebook.com/lawyercenter2014 Twitter: @TLHR2014/) Amnesty International (https://www.amnesty.or.th Twitter: @AmnestyThailand), etc.

3) Official Online Channels of Media or News Agencies. They are the official websites and social media presenting content of the national security issues. Some examples are Thairath (www. thairath.co.th, YouTube: thairath), Dailynews www.dailynews.co.th), Prachathai (www.prachatai.com, YouTube: prachatai), Nation TV (http://breakingnews.nationtv.tv), Thai PBS (www.thaipbs.or.th, thaipbs.or.th, citizenthaipbs.net, YouTube: Thai PBS), Manager (www.manager.co.th), Krungthep Turakij (www.bangkokbiznews.com), Kom Chad Luek (www.komchadluek.net), Khao Sod (www.khaosod.co.th), Post Today (www.posttoday.com), Voice TV (voicetv.co.th, YouTube: VOICE TV), Isra Agency (www.isaranews.org), BBC Thai Agency (www.bbc.com/thai), etc.

3.1.2 Qualitative Research

An in-depth interview was conducted with personnel who worked in or were responsible for national security, including experts. Purposive sampling was used for selecting people with specific knowledge and expertise related to the study as key informants, i.e., government officials, scholars in Political Science, experts in new

media, and representatives from media organizations. The names of the key informants are as follows:

1) Tanat Suwannanon, Director of Bureau 1, National Intelligence Agency (interview on June 26, 2018).

2) Colonel Boonrod Srisombat, Commandant, Command and General Staff College (interview on July 17, 2018).

3) Mana Treerayaphiwat, Ph. D., Dean of the Faculty of Communication Arts, Thai Chamber of Commerce University (interview on July 2, 2018).

4) Assistant Professor Jessada Denduangboripant, Ph. D., lecturer of the Faculty of Science, Chulalongkorn University (interview on July 4, 2018).

5) Professor Surachart Bamrungsuk, Ph. D., lecturer of the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University (interview on July 24, 2018).

6) Pikul Chantawitchayasut, Managing Director of Online News Providers Association (interview on March 2, 2019).

The data from the in-depth interview are classified by the main themes, summarized, analyzed, and discussed to answer the research objectives.

3.2 The Construction of Research Instruments

This mixed-method research used a coding sheet as a tool for analyzing data of the quantitative research and a semi-structured interview protocol as a tool for qualitative research. The details are as follows:

3.2.1 Quantitative Research

The tools for the quantitative research are a coding sheet, which the researcher constructed to answer the research objective no. 1 and no. 2 or to study and analyze the patterns of communication of the national security issues online in the information operations and their effect on the national security. The details of the construction of the coding sheet are as follows:

3.2.1.1 Coding sheet for analyzing the patterns of communication of the national security issues via online media.

1) Coding sheet for analyzing the main themes. Content related to the national security in six domains: political, economic, socio-psychological, military, scientific and technological, and energy and environmental (as shown in the operation definitions) that were presented via websites or online media of the government or government agencies, mass media, individuals, groups of individuals, organizations, and any other offices related to the national security was analyzed to see which domain the content is about.

2) Code sheet for analyzing key issues. Key issues appearing in the message of each channel were analyzed to see to which target receiver and to which direction the message was transmitted, i.e., agree or support/ disagree or protest the government's policies, etc. Besides, they were analyzed to see what kind of effect they caused on society, etc.

3) Code sheet for analyzing the frequencies (numbers of postings), which is divided into two aspects:

(1) Direct: via official online channels

(2) Indirect: appearing on online media as sources of information.

3.2.1.2 Coding sheet for analyzing the information operations (IO). Communication approaches used in IO from the book "Diverse Opinions on IOs: 10 Distinguished Information Operations" (Boonrod Srisombat, 2016, p. 185) were analyzed in parallel to the analysis of IO content related to the national security presented via online media channels. The details of the analysis are as follows:

1) Coding sheet of IO of the NCPO government, government agencies, and supporting individuals and groups of individuals. The content of IO presented through online media channels to communicate to the public in two ways: directly through official online channels and indirectly through the appearance via online media as sources of information or news. The frame of the analysis contains the following:

(1) What is the intent of IO?

(2) What is the mission of IO?

(3) What is the goal or objective of IO?

(4) Theme of the generated message or content: who is/are the target receiver(s)? and through which channel or instrument?

2) Coding sheet of IO of individuals/groups of individuals/ dissenters or political activists. The content of IO is presented through online media channels to communicate to the public, either directly through official online channels or indirectly through the appearance via mainstream or alternative online media as sources of information or news. The frame of the analysis contains the following:

(1) What is the intent of IO?

(2) What is the mission of IO?

(3) What is the goal or objective of IO?

(4) Theme of the generated message or content: who is/are the target receiver(s)? and through which channel or instrument?

3.2.1.3 Coding sheet for analyzing roles or functions of mass media. Roles and functions of mass media related to national security were analyzed in the following dimensions:

1) The selection of a source of information

2) The selection of the principal themes in the national security content.

3) Roles or functions of mass media in presenting news related to the national security, i.e., providing information, coordinating, uniting people in a society, inheriting a society's culture, surveillance like a watchdog, screening like a gatekeeper, prioritizing news, or being an agenda-setter, etc.

3.2.2 Qualitative Research

For the qualitative research, a semi-structured interview protocol was used to answer research objective No. 2: to analyze the effect of communication of the national security issues via online media, and research objective No. 3: to provide recommendations or practical guidelines for the national security operations. Broad guideline questions were used for interviewing key informants so that they could give information fully, while the researcher could adjust the questions flexibly. The questions were developed from the reviewed literature and previous studies. They

were also developed by considering their congruence with the research conceptual framework. Then, the correctness of the questions was examined by the advisor.

The guideline questions for the in-depth interview are as follows:

3.2.2.1 Guideline Questions: Government Officials/Officers

1) Scope of the responsibility related to national security.

2) The extent of knowledge/understanding of other government agencies, including society and general people. The roles or involvement of the interviewee in creating perception or awareness to people.

3) Operational steps in collaboration with other offices/sectors when some situations affect the national security

4) Problems/obstacles/limitations in national-security work, especially mass media as a medium to report what is happening in society.

5) Main issues of information operations (IO), i.e., definitions, the involvement with IO, the nature of involvement, etc.

6) Opinions towards communication phenomena appearing on social media nowadays, which affect national security directly and indirectly.

7) The planning and preparation of the interviewee's organization or office against the new form of threats or non-traditional threats via online media, which affect national security.

3.2.2.2 Guideline Questions: Mass Media

1) The overall organizational management, roles, and directly responsible work.

2) Steps of mass media's operation upon an abnormal situation, i.e., bombing at Ratchaprasong area, chaos during the rallies, disasters or natural disasters, etc.

3) Knowledge/understanding/ awareness about national security as mass media plays a part in strengthening national security in various ways, including problems, obstacles, and limitations in working on the issues of national security.

4) Advantages and disadvantages, including differences of news work in the past and at present regarding the use of the information

disseminated on social media in the news process. Ways and methods of verifying information on online media.

5) Knowledge/understanding/awareness of "information operations" (IO), i.e., the invention of fake, fraud, and deceptive news, aimed to attack the adversary or dissenters.

6) Opinions towards the future of communication technology and its impact on the news process.

7) The planning and preparation of media organizations or other professional organizations to cope with the new form of threats or non-traditional threats hidden in online communication. Recommendations of guidelines for preventing them or to enhance receivers' media literacy in the future.

3.2.2.3 Guideline Questions: Scholars and Experts

1) The analysis of the present situations that might affect national security in each dimension.

2) The evaluation of the readiness (i.e., knowledge, understanding, literacy, and awareness of sensitive situations affecting the national security) of all concerned sectors: government, civil, and society.

3) Problems, obstacles, and limitations in publicizing knowledge and understanding or in creating people's awareness of what national security is.

4) The direction of social condition in the future. The extent of communication technology growth. Recommendations for the concerned offices in preparing to cope with the new form of threats or non-traditional threats, especially through communication via online social media.

5) Recommendations for integrating operational collaborations of all concerned sectors in case the society falls into a risky condition that might affect national security.

3.3 The Test of Research Instruments

The reliability of the content analysis was tested with some content samples from 40 pieces of the studied content in six domains of content related to national

security. An external intervention was used or external coders were asked to code the content sample to check the researcher's coding as a peer method. The number of external co-coders (n) for this study is three instructors in the field of communication or mass communication. Then, the content was analyzed by the determined criteria and calculated based on Holsti's formula (1969) as follows:

Formula of reliability test $R = \frac{N(C1,2,3,...n)}{(C1+C2+C3... +Cn)}$

Whereas R = reliability value

N = the number of coders

C1, C2, C3 = the number of coding decisions made by coder1, 2, and 3 respectively.

C1+C2+C3+…+Cn = the number of coding decisions agreed by coders

The calculated value should not be lower than 0.75 to assure reliability. From the reliability test of all coding sheet, the following results were found:

3.3.1 The Reliability Test of the Coding Sheet on the Communication Patterns Related to National Security in Six Domains Via Online Media

1) The coding sheet of the main theme (to explore in which domain the content is related to national security)

The result was as follows:

3 (C1,2,3) = 3 (37)

C1+C2+C3 = 40+40+40

Substitution into a formula $R = \frac{111}{120} = 0.925$

From the analysis, the Holsti coefficient of inter-coder reliability was 0.925. Thus, the reliability value is acceptable.

2) The coding sheet of the key issue (to explore to which target receivers the issue was communicated and in which direction the response of the target receivers was, i.e., agree/ support with, or disagree/protest against the government's policies, etc.)

The result was as follows:

3 (C1,2,3) = 3 (40)

C1+C2+C3 = 40+40+40

Substitution into a formula R = $\frac{120}{120}$ = 1.00

From the analysis, the Holsti coefficient of inter-coder reliability was 1.00. Thus, the reliability value is acceptable

3) The coding sheet of the type of online channels, either direct official online channels or indirect channels by appearing on online media as an information source.

The result was as follows:

3 (C1,2,3) = 3 (40)

C1+C2+C3 = 40+40+40

Substitution into a formula R= $\frac{120}{120}$= 1.00

From the analysis, the Holsti coefficient of inter-coder reliability was 1.00. Thus, the reliability value is acceptable.

3.3.2 The Reliability Test of the Coding Sheet on the Information Operations of the Government and Political Dissidents

The result was as follows:

3 (C1,2,3) = 3 (35)

C1+C2+C3 = 40+40+40

Substitution into a formula R = $\frac{105}{120}$ = 0.875

From the analysis, the Holsti coefficient of inter-coder reliability was 1.00. Thus, the reliability value is acceptable.

3.3.3 The Reliability Test of the Coding Sheet on the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting Information Related to National Security

The result was as follows:

3 (C1,2,3) = 3 (40)

C1+C2+C3 = 40+40+40

Substitution into a formula $R = \frac{120}{120} = 1.00$

From the analysis, the Holsti coefficient of inter-coder reliability was 1.00. Thus, the reliability value is acceptable.

The Test of the Coding Sheet's Validity

To test the validity of the coding sheet, a tool in collecting, classifying, and analyzing data in this study, the researcher consulted it with a professional expert and a communication scholar, in combination with experts in national security. Besides, in terms of language, it was advised and improved by a scholar in the Thai language before using it as an actual tool for further data collection, classification, and analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis and Presentation

For the qualitative findings, the researcher analyzed and summarized based on the research objectives, research conceptual framework, and related concepts and theories. The meanings of the found issues were explained in descriptive statements, and supported by examples and related interviews.

For the quantitative research, the data were analyzed and presented in frequencies from the content presented via online media as determined in the coding sheets and within the determined research scope. The findings answering research objectives were also displayed in the form of tables, supplementing the description.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research entitled, “Communication of National Security Issues Via Online Media in the Information Operations Framing,” presents its findings by research objectives and research methodology of both quantitative and qualitative research as follows:

Objective No 1. To explore and analyze the communication patterns used in communicating the content related to the national security via the government’s and the political dissidents’ online media in their information operations (by quantitative research)

Objective No 2. To study and analyze the impact of the communication related to national security via online media on the government, mass media, and general people. (by both quantitative and qualitative research) (For this part, the research presents it in Chapter 5: The Findings of Communication of the National Security Issues Via Online Media in the Information Operations Framing)

Objective No 3. To recommend some guidelines for the national security operations for the government sector, mass media, and general people. **(**By qualitative research)

Research Findings from the Quantitative Research

Part 1: The Communication of the National Security Issues via Online Media. The findings are divided into two parts as follows:

Part 1.1 The communication patterns used in communicating the content related to national security via the government’s and the political dissidents’ online media in their information operations.

The researcher chose to analyze only the national security issues in six domains (based on the specified research scope) that were posted with the top three frequencies. The results were as follows:

1) The national security issues in the political domain
   (1) Of the government (Table 1-3)
   (2) Of the political dissidents (Table 4-6)
2) The national security issues in the economic domain
   (1) Of the government (Table 7-9)
   (2) Of the political dissidents (Table 10-12)
3) The national security issues in the socio-psychological domain
   (1) Of the government (Table 13-15)
   (2) Of the political dissidents (Table 16-18)
4) The national security issues in the military domain
   (1) Of the government (Table 19-21)
   (2) Of the political dissidents (Table 22-24)
5) The national security issues in the scientific and technological domain
   (1) Of the government (Table 25-27)
   (2) Of the political dissidents (Table 28-30)
6) The national security issues in the energy and environmental domain
   (1) Of the government (Table 31-33)
   (2) Of the political dissidents (Table 34-36)

Part 1.2 A summary of the analysis of the information operations of the government and the political dissidents on the content related to the national security in the six domains

The findings were divided into two parts:

Part 1.2.1 The analysis of the information operations guidelines of the government and the political dissidents. (Table 37-42)

Part 1.2.2 The analysis of Information operations of the government and the political dissidents

Part 1.3 The Analysis of the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting the National Security information via Online Media.

The findings were divided into three parts:

Part 1.3.1 The selection of information sources

Part 1.3.2 The prioritization of the main themes in presenting the national security content.

Part 1.3.3 The summary of the roles of mass media in presenting the national security news

The Findings of the Qualitative Research

Part 2: Recommendations and practical guidelines for national security operations.

The findings were summarized in the following topics:

1) The summary of communication problems and weaknesses amidst rapid changes in communication technology in the online world under the national security situation.

(1) Weaknesses of communication between the government sector, mass media, and general people of different groups in society.

(2) Problems in mass media roles via online media under the national security situation.

2) Recommendations and practical guidelines for concerned sectors of the society in communicating the national security issues via online media.

(1) Recommendations for government agencies

(2) Recommendations for mass media.

3) Ways for integrating the collaborations among concerned sectors of the society towards the threatening situations via online media, especially those related to the national security issues.

4.1 The Communication of the National Security Issues via Online Media

4.1.1 Communication Patterns of the National Security Content Via Online Media of the Government and Political Dissidents

From the study of the communication of the national security content via online media of the government and political dissidents via online media, the overall findings can be summarized as follows:

1) The most important tool or capability of the government used for communicating to the general public was “the use of information sources,” who was

the top leader of the government, including the ministers responsible for each particular issue, the spokespersons or vice-spokespersons.

The overall findings showed that General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO was the information source found the most in the study, followed by Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO, and Lieutenant General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister. Regarding security issues, it was found that the ministers responsible for each security task were the direct information sources found the most.

Regarding the national security issues, the concerned ministers of each function were found to be direct information sources the most as follows:

(1) General Chatchai Sarikalaya, the Minister of the Agriculture and Cooperatives as the information source in the economic domain.

(2) General Ekachai Srivilas, Director of the Office of Peace and Governance. King Prajadhipok's Institute/ General Chalermchai Sitthisart, Commander of the Army/ and Chakthip Chaijinda, Commissioner-General of the Royal Thai Police, as the top information sources in the socio-psychological domain, especially in the bombing incidents

(3) Pralong Damrongthai, Director-General of the Pollution Control Department as the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (TSR), responsible for being a direct information source in the energy and environmental domain.

For the important tool or "information source of political dissidents or activists in the content related to national security in the political domain, it was found that Chaturon Chaisang, a mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, and Phumtham Wechayachai, the secretary-general of Pheu Thai Party were the persons who posted their content via their official online channels the most. Besides, Yingluck Shinawatra and Lieutenant Colonel Thaksin Shinawatra also used their official online channels the most.

Other political activists who mobilized regularly through their official online channels were Rangsiman Rome, New Democracy Movement, Thai Lawyers for Human Rights, Resistant Citizen, Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights, etc. For the issue related to the national security in the scientific and technological

domain, Hackers, Anonymous Group, #opSingleGateway, and Thai Netizen Network were the direct information sources found the most, followed by F5 Cyber Army, Internet Law Reform Dialogue, and Thai Lawyers for Civil Rights. Regarding the national security issue in the energy and environment domain, the groups who expressed their movements the most were ENLAWTHAI Foundation, Seub Nakhasathien Foundation, Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw), the Network of Songkhla-Pattani People Against Coal, Narak Ban Kerd Group, Loei Province, the Assembly of the Poor, The Andaman Protection from Coal Network, Penchom Saetang, the director of the Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH), etc.

2) The determination of the themes communicated in the national security content in six domains can be summarized as follows:

4.1.1.1 The Coup d'etat on May 22, 2014

1) The government

The main themes of the government were the distinguished security performance of the government, the decreased disharmony and disunion in the society, the increased happiness of people, the country's peace and order, and no political conflicts, especially political rallies. Most of all, it also emphasized that people were not stressed in their living and felt safer in their lives.

2) Political dissidents

The main theme of the political dissidents aimed to attack the government the most were the NCPO's use of laws for threatening political dissidents, the arrest of students and activists protesting against the coup d'etat or calling for the arrested students from their political expressions as they are people's rights so the arrest was the deprivation of people's rights and liberty.

4.1.1.2 Thailand 4.0 Policy and Pracharat Project

1) The government

The main themes that the government wanted to communicate were "to explain that Thailand 4.0 is a model for mobilizing the country towards the goal of stability, prosperity, and sustainability, and to inform the policies of strengthening Thai enterprises, raise intellectual infrastructure, and spread the growth throughout the regions and communities."

2) Political dissidents

The main themes that the political dissidents tried to attack the government were “the meaning of Thailand 4.0, which is the mobilization of the country by capitalism. It is economic dynamism aimed towards future growth but leaving people behind; thus, it will increase the inequality in Thai society.”

4.1.1.3 Explosions at Several Places

1) The government

The main themes of the government officers were to reinstate the information operations and tactics used to decrease the loss, including creating correct understanding to people in the affected area. Besides, they wanted to condemn people with bad intention, and rush the security officers to prosecute the perpetrators and all involved with full charges.

2) Political dissidents

The main themes the political dissidents wanted to attack the government were to urge the NCPO and the government to assure people that they would try every way to stop the violence that affected people’s lives and peace of the country as soon as possible.

4.1.1.4 The Purchase of a Submarine from China Project

1) The government

The main theme was to confirm that the approval of the submarine “Yuan Class S26T” purchase from China was proceeded by legal procedures, without any corruption, and every step was inspected like the purchase process of every Ministry.

2) Political dissidents

The main theme was the non-transparency of the government’s approval, especially when all concerned officers claimed that the approval was confidential due to its involvement with national security.

4.1.1.5 The Consideration on the Draft of the Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560

1) The government

The main theme of the government was the Act was not related to or involved with the Single Gateway Policy at all, and it would not violate people's fundamental rights certainly.

2) Political dissidents

The main theme that the political dissidents tried to attack the government was the enactment of the Computer Crime Act might leave room for misinterpretation and misuse, especially in violating people's rights and liberty. Particularly, it could allow the violation of people's freedom of expression, including in the online world. Besides, it might be misused for punishing individuals and information service providers unfairly.

4.1.1.6 The construction of a coal-fired power plant: Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province Project.

1) The government

The main theme in the government sector's communication was that the project of the coal-fired power plant construction was confirmed to be proceeded to increase the electricity-power security in the southern area. The main goal of the project was to enable people in the south to have sufficient electricity, while the construction would be based on the environmental concern in parallel to the concern of the local people's ways of life.

2) Political dissidents

The main theme the political dissidents conveyed to the government was to ask the government to be open and listen to people in the area, but only to the Ministry of Energy and Environment and the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand. Besides, they criticized the government's decision to support the fossil or coal capitalists instead of supporting the regions to generate alternative power. Their decision reflected the government's concern for the capitalists more than local people. Besides, it indicated that the government did not listen to people, show no concern for the environment, local economy, and people's health.

The above findings are illustrated in Table 4.1-4.36

Table 4.1 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents Via Online Media Channels

The Postings of the Government Via Direct Official Online Channel	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO.	5	-	-	9	1	**15**
Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson, and a team of the NCPO	3	-	1	-	1	**5**
Lieutenant General Kongcheep Tantravanich, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Defence	-	-	-	2	-	**2**
Total	**8**	**0**	**1**	**11**	**2**	**22**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
General people	9	5	9	3	1	**27**
Government sector, i.e., #TPTV/ @NECTEC/ @SenateThailand/ @TPchannel10/ @weloverta/#ConstitutionDraftingCommittee/ #HarmonyBelongsToPeople, #MilitaryNews, etc.	0	3	1	6	1	**11**
Total	**9**	**8**	**10**	**9**	**2**	**38**

Note: (1) means the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014 (2) means the consideration of the important content of the Constitution Draft (3) means the campaigns of the "accept or not accept" referendum in 2016 (4) means the national reform policy, the harmony establishment, and the 20-year national strategy (5) means roadmaps for election arrangement

Twitter (1) (#Coup d'etatAnniversary #NCPOanniversary)

(2) (#ConstitutionDraft) (3) (#ConstitutionReferendumAcceptOrNotAccept

(4) (#NationalReform#Harmony #20YearNationalStrategy)

(5) (#ElectionRoadmap)

From the study, it was found that the content related to the national security in the political domain posted by the government via official online channels the most was the National Reform Policy, the establishment of harmony, and the 20-year national strategy (11 frequencies), followed by the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014 (8 frequencies), and the election roadmaps (2 frequencies). Besides, it was found that General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO, was the direct information source found the most (15 frequencies), followed by Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO (5 frequencies), and Lieutenant General Kongcheep Tantravanich, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Defence (2 frequencies) respectively.

For Twitter, it was found that general people posted their supports or agreement with the government sector the most (27 frequencies). The number of posts on the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014, and the referendum votes for "accepting or not accepting" the Constitution were found to be equal (9 frequencies), followed by the consideration of the main content of the Constitution Draft (5 frequencies), and the campaigns of the referendum for "accepting or not accepting" the Constitution Draft, B.E. 2559 (3 frequencies) respectively. For the Twitter of the government sector, it was found that the content on the National Reform Policy, the establishment of harmony, and the 20-year national strategy was posted the most (6 frequencies), followed by the consideration of the Constitution Draft (3 frequencies) respectively.

From analyzing the appearance of posted content via the mainstream or alternative online media as the information sources, it was found that the issue on the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014, was presented the most (20 frequencies), followed by the national reform policy, harmony establishment, and the 20-year national strategy (8 frequencies), the election roadmaps (6 frequencies), and the campaigns of the voting to "accept or not accept" the Constitution, B.E. 2559 (3 frequencies) respectively. General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO was posted as the information source the most (20 frequencies), followed by General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister, and the Minister of Defence (9 frequencies), Nida Poll, and Suan Dusit Poll (4 frequencies) equally, as illustrated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents Via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source

The Postings Via an Indirect Online Channel, Appearing in the Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO	7	-	2	7	4	**20**
General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence	5	-	1	1	2	**9**
Nida Poll	4	-	-	-	-	**4**
Suan Dusit Poll	4	-	-	-	-	**4**
Total	**20**	**0**	**3**	**8**	**6**	**37**

From the study, it was found that the top content related to the national security in the political domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals, political supporters of the NCPO government, and government agencies responsible directly for the incidents via online media channels was the following content:

1) The coup d'etat on May 22, 2014

Table 4.3 The Main Theme of the Coup d'etat on May 22, 2014

The Main Theme	**Frequencies (Time)**
The distinguished performance of the government was the national stability, the decreased disharmony or separation, people's increased happiness due to the peace and order of the country with no political conflicts, especially political rallies. People were not stressed in their lives and felt safer.	**16**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The NCPO had strong determination and endeavor of working for the country and the general public with timeliness, concrete consequences, and continual reports being informed to people regularly.	**7**
The NCPO had monitored the peace and order of the country based on its legitimate authority and confirmed that police officers and soldiers would not use any violence or overaction against political dissidents, but use laws mainly. Besides, the government emphasized consultation or making understanding with people. Section 112 had never been used as a tool to arrest political dissidents.	**6**
Twitter: (#Coup d'etatAnniversary, #.NCPOanniversary)	
General people posted their opinions the most on Twitter (9 frequencies) and the most-posted issues were the support or agreement with the coup d'etat by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the peacefulness of the country without any political rally, the serious enforcement of the laws, the bettered social order with people's increased happiness, etc. However, **no post** was found on **Twitter of the government sector**.	

2) The consideration of the main content of the Constitution

Table 4.4 The Main Theme of the Consideration of the Main Content of the Constitution

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
250 senators of the National Legislative Assembly (NLA) and 150 members of the National Reform Council were all assigned by the NCPO.	**1**
To invite Political representatives and dissidents to join in providing recommendations for the Committee did not violate the NCPO's order regarding the prohibition of political activities.	**1**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The government organized a process for providing understanding to people and civil society about drafting the Constitution and invited all sectors to participate in sharing ideas officially.	**1**
Twitter: (#ConstitutionDraft)	
Twitter of the general people was found the most (5 frequencies). The posted issues expressing their support and agreement found the most was the content about the drafting of the Constitution, especially the issues about uplifting women's rights and decreasing inequality in the society, etc., followed by Twitter of the government sector (3 frequencies) and the posted issues were the publicity of Constitution Draft of the Committee via its website, E-Constitution Draft for the visually impaired, etc.	

3) The campaigns of the voting to accept or not accept the Constitution Draft, B.E. 2559

Table 4.5 The Campaigns of the Voting to Accept or not Accept the Constitution Draft, B.E. 2559

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The preparation for organizing the referendum to accept or not accept the Constitution as per the government's roadmaps. The election was confirmed to be organized within 2017.	**4**
The field trips of various working groups to explain the Constitution Draft, including the questions attached to the Constitution, to people, received good responses from visited people with better understanding. Besides, it presented that the government and the NCPO were open and willing to listen to all parties' opinions.	**3**
The government expected the Constitution to be accepted from the referendum. However, if not, or if any	**2**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
turbulence occurred, the process would be over. Still, the government insisted on doing it for the country. Some movements were trying to distort the information and make people misunderstand; thus, members of the National Legislative Assembly (NIA) had a field trip to explain it to people.	**2**
Twitter: (#ReferendumVotingtoAcceptOrNotAcceptConstitution)	
Twitter of general people was found the most (9 frequencies) and the posted issues expressing their support and agreement found the most was the support for voting to accept the Constitution, the congratulations on the result of the referendum after the Constitution was accepted from the votes, the satisfaction with the content of the Constitution Draft that diminished politicians' power or so-called the Constitution for suppressing corruptions, etc. It was followed by **Twitter of the government sector** (1 frequency), and the posted issues were the publicity of the Constitution Draft to the general public, etc.	

4) The national reform policy, harmony establishment, and the 20-year national strategy

Table 4.6 The Main Theme of the National Reform Policy, Harmony Establishment, and the 20-year National Strategy

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The important policy of the government was to plan and drive the policies for mobilizing and reforming the country systematically by the 20-year National Strategy as drawn in the roadmap with a certain timeline. The main purpose was to organize an election and then pass it to the next government for administering the country to comply with the democratic principles.	**5**
Some groups of politicians, scholars, and political	**4**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
activists accused the government of having no accomplished work. However, they should understand that the national reform and the establishment of national harmony were not easy and required time. Therefore, they did not want people to be fooled by those distorted, insincere, and irresponsible accuses.	
The government publicized people to acknowledge and understand the process of establishing harmony and unity through a mascot called, "Nong Kiew Koy," a symbol of the harmony process. Besides, the document entitled, "Social Contract and Promises by All Thais' Heart" was distributed as a part of such a process.	**3**
Twitter: (#NationalReform/ #Harmony/ #20nationalStrategy)	
Twitter of the government sector was found the most (6 frequencies), and the posted issues expressing the support and agreement found the most was the public relations on the harmony establishment by installing a hashtag #HarmonyBelongsToPeople/ #20YearNationalStrategy based on the vision of "stability, prosperity, and sustainability," etc., **followed by** Twitter of **general people** (3 frequencies). The posted issue found the most was the statement that to have different ideas were common and could exist in society, and the harmony plans would not destroy those differences, etc.	

5) Election roadmaps

Table 4.7 The Main Theme of Election Roadmaps

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The government confirmed to have an election as drawn in the roadmap. It had been postponed several times because of some necessities.	**6**
There was a movement of political dissidents and activists, including some political parties, to press the government for a sooner election.	**3**
The issue of prolonging power.	**2**
Twitter: (#ElectionRoadmap)	
Twitter of both the government sector and general people were found equally (1 frequency), and the posted issues were the explanation on the roadmap by the National Reform Steering Assembly and the watching on the election in 2019, etc.	

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most were thaipbs.or.th, citizenthaipbs.net, and YouTube: Thai PBS (11 frequencies), followed by bangkokbiznews.com (8 frequencies). All of these channels reported the case of the coup d'etat the most as well. thairath.co.th appeared (7 frequencies), and presented the case of the mobilization for voting to accept or not accept the Constitution, B.E. 2559 the most.

For Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels, it was found that the incident of the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014, was posted the most (17 frequencies), and the issue posted the most was people's agreement and support of the coup d'etat as a solution for the political crisis, the findings from the survey on people's opinion on the governance of the NCPO's government, etc. The next issues posted the most were the assurance of the roadmap for organizing the election within February 2019, the joint meeting among political party representatives, the NCPO, and the government to unlock the obstacles of the political parties, (16 frequencies, equally), national reform, harmony establishment, and the 20-year national strategy

(14 frequencies). The sub-issues posted the most were the progress of the national reform and national strategy, including the public relations for establishing national harmony, etc. The details are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of The NCPO Government and Government Agencies, Via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
thaipbs.or.th, citizenthaipbs.net, YouTube: Thai PBS	8	-	1	1	1	**11**
bangkokbiznews.com	5	-	1	1	1	**8**
thairath.co.th	2	-	3	2	-	**7**
Total	**15**	**0**	**5**	**4**	**2**	**26**
Twitter of the Mainstream/Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
	17	3	6	14	16	**56**
The issues expressing agreement and support **that were posted the most** were **#CoupAnniversary #NCPOanniversary.** (17 frequencies) with the issues on people's agreement with the coup d'etat as a solution for the political crisis, the findings of a survey on people about the government's administration, **followed by (5) #ElectionRoadmap** (16 frequencies) with the issues on the assurance of an election within February 2019, the joint meeting among political party representatives, the NCPO, and the government to unlock the obstacles of the political parties, and **the least posted issue** was **(2) #ConstitutionDraft** (3 frequencies) with the issues on the provenance of the Prime Minister, the power structure in the Constitution Draft, the clarification of the Constitution Drafting Committee about the distorted and fraud documents, etc.						

Note: Twitter (1) (#Coup d'etatAnniversary #NCPOanniversary) (2) (#ConstitutionDraft) (3) (#ConstitutionReferendumAcceptOrNotAccept) (4) (#NationalReform #Harmony #20YearNationalStrategy) **(5)** (#ElectionRoadmap)

Political Dissidents/Activists

On part of political dissidents, both individuals and groups of individuals, the study showed that they posted the national security content via direct and official online channels the most (14 frequencies). The issues posted the most were the coup d'etat (14 frequencies), followed by the national reform policy, harmony establishment, and the 20-year national strategy (8 frequencies), and the campaigns of the voting to accept or not accept the Constitution, B.E. 2559 (2 frequencies) respectively. In the posted issues, it appeared Chaturon Chaisang and Phumtham Wetchayachai of Pheu Thai Party as the direct information sources the most (10 frequencies), followed by the Resistant Citizen Group (6 frequencies), Thai Lawyers for Human Rights, Yinluck Shinawatra, the former Prime Minister, and Rangsiman Rome of New Democracy Movement (4 frequencies equally).

Regarding Twitter, it was found that general people used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement with the government sector the most (38 frequencies) in the issues of the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014, the most, followed by people's network, NGO, and civil society organizations (16 frequencies). Political dissidents/activists used Twitter for such purposes the least (7 frequencies), as illustrated in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, Via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Media Channel or the Posting Via Official Online Channel	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
Pheu Thai Party, Chaturon Chaisang: the mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, Phumtham Wetchayachai, Secretary-General of Pheu Thai Party	4	2	-	4	-	**10**
Resistant Citizen Group	5	-	-	-	-	**6**
Thai Lawyers for Human Rights Center	4	-	-	-	-	**4**
Yinluck Shinawatra: the former Prime	-	-	-	4	-	**4**

Via Direct Online Media Channel or the Posting Via Official Online Channel	Frequencies (Time)					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
Minister Rangsiman Rome of the New Democracy Movement	1	1	2	-	-	**4**
Total	**14**	**3**	**2**	**8**	**0**	**27**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
General people	22	2	11	2	1	**38**
People's networks (NGOs)/civil society organizations @IlawFX/ @iLawclub/ @iLawFX/ @iLaw/ @Thainetcitizen, etc.	1	7	2	4	2	**16**
Political dissidents/activists, i.e., @NDMthailand/ #PeopleWantAnElection/ @LLTD_TU, etc.	6	1	0	0	0	**7**
Total	**29**	**10**	**13**	**6**	**3**	**61**

Regarding the posting via indirect online channels, it was found that the posted content appeared in the mainstream or online alternative media the most was the content on the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014 (9 frequencies), followed by the consideration on the main content of the Constitution Draft (8 frequencies), the national reform policy, harmony establishment, and the 20-year national strategy (7 frequencies equally), election organization roadmaps (5 frequencies), and the campaigns of voting to accept or not accept the Constitution, B.E. 2559 (2 frequencies) respectively.

Chaturon Chaisang the mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, appeared as the source of information the most (5 frequencies), following by Jatuporn Prompan, president of UDD, Sirawith Seriwat or Ja New Rangsiman Rome, Professor Theerayut Boonmee, and Professor Surachart Bamrungsuk (4 frequencies equally), Internet Laws Reform Dialogue (iNew) and Professor Nidhi Eawsriwong (3 frequencies equally) respectively, as illustrated in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Political Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources

Via Indirect Online Channel, or Appearing via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
Chaturon Chaisang, the mainstay of Pheu Thai party	1	1	-	2	1	**5**
Jatuporn Prompan, President of the National Coalition for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD)	-	1	1	1	1	**4**
Siriwith Seritiwat (Ja New)	2	1	-	-	1	**4**
Rangsiman Rome, New Democracy Movement	1	-	1	-	2	**4**
Professor Theerayut Boonmee	1	-	-	3	-	**4**
Professor Surachart Bamrungsuk	1	2	-	1	-	**4**
Professor Nidhi Eawsriwong	1	2	-	-	-	**3**
Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw)	2	1	-	-	-	**3**
Total	**9**	**8**	**2**	**7**	**5**	**31**

The top three main themes related to the national security in the political domain that were posted the most by political dissidents, both individuals and groups, were as follows:

1) The Coup d'etat on May 22, 2014

Table 4.11 The Main Theme of the Coup d'etat on May 22, 2014

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Laws have been used as a tool in intimidating and threatening political dissidents; thus, the NCPO was requested to cancel the orders that limited academic freedom. The arrest of students and activists against the coup d'etat has been perceived as a sign to signal that the military who governed the country will not allow a peaceful demonstration. Therefore, the dissidents demanded the government to release the previously arrested students being charged with their political expressions since it is people's fundamental rights. The arrest in this way is a deprivation of people's rights and liberty.	**15**
The dissidents do not accept the coup d'etat, which is perceived as a short-term problem-solving while damaging democratic society in the long term. Therefore, the government has to return sovereign power to the people immediately. If the army does not draw itself from politics, the transition to democracy in Thai society cannot be accomplished at all.	**12**
The coup d'etat is authoritarian power belonging to only one person. The dictatorship can be exempted from being audited and investigated. Therefore, the coup d'etat can be free of any malice or misconduct. Consequently, all the laws and orders, especially the use of Section 44 of this temporary Constitution fall into the hand of the NCPO	**9**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
chief's administration decision-making solely. Hence, it makes Thailand becomes a military-dictatorship state.	
Twitter: (#CoupD'etatAnniversary, #NCPOanniversary)	
Twitter was used the most by **general people** (22 frequencies), and the posted issues expressing opposition or disagreement **the most** were the opposition against the coup d'etat and rejection of the NCPO's government, a call to return democracy to people urgently, the promise-keeping by the NCPO government, the termination of the use of violence on people through coercion and intimidation, and the lengthy oppression of the NCPO government, etc. Besides, the **next** group who used Twitter the most after general people were **political dissidents and activists** (6 frequencies). The issues political dissidents posted the most were the surrender case, the arrest of the leaders and demonstrators of "People Want an Election," a recall of political movements on the occasion of the coup d'etat's anniversary, etc. The group that used Twitter for protesting the government the least was NGOs or civil society organizations (1 frequency), and the issue it posted the most was "the period of the coup d'etat is the period of confusion," etc.	

2) The Consideration of the Main Content of the Constitution

Table 4.12 The Main Theme of the Consideration of the Main Content of the Constitution

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The NCPO's mechanism laid for "prolonging its power," i.e., a room for an external or appointed Prime Minister who does not come from the election, including the provenance of 250 senators assigned by the NCPO with 6 occupied seats for the leaders of the Army, who could participate in voting to elect a Prime Minister. Besides, during the first five years, the distributive-allocation election system was used, which weakened the political	**11**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
parties. On the other hand, a mixed government was incompetent since the political party that gained the highest votes could not form a government. The frequently posted themes included criticism of the 20-year national strategy and the national reform plans.	
The government has executed overlapping benefits to facilitate benefits for the elites and military leaders. Rules, conditions, and laws were set up to press political parties and people under the control of the military so that the country is in the state of being controlled while the politics will be under the power of the military leaders.	**7**
The execution of many laws restrained the dissidents' arguments on the Constitution essence, including the process of referendum and objections proposed by several groups in the society during the period of Constitution drafting.	**5**
Twitter: (#ConstitutionDrafting)	
NGOs)/ civil society organizations used Twitter the most (7 frequencies). The posted issues on the opposition and disagreement found the most were the summary of Constitution Draft related to education, public welfare, environment, independent organizations or NGO, decentralization to a rural area, the decreased participation of people, election systems, origins of the senators, the provenance of the external or appointed Prime Minister according to the Section 272 (transitory provision) for prolonging the power, etc. The **next group** was **general people** (2 frequencies), and they posted the following issues the most: a recall of the new draft of the Constitution, which has never reached people's hand. The group who posted on Twitter the least was political dissidents or activists (1 frequency), and the posted issue was the rejection of the Constitution draft by the National Reform Council members, etc.	

3) The campaigns of the voting to accept or not accept the Constitution

Table 4.13 The Main Theme of the Campaigns of the Voting to Accept or not Accept the Constitution

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The use of the referendum act obstructed the dissidents. Dissidents also disagreed with the order of the Office of the Election Commission that prohibited people's activities that conveyed any intention of rejecting the Constitution.	**4**
The designation of penalties in some measures of the referendum act, i.e., expressing any anti- behaviors against the referendum, etc. tended to cause increased political conflicts.	**3**
Voting in the referendum of the Constitution Draft is the NCPO's mechanism for posing its power network. Accordingly, the NCPO had a high expectation to have the Constitution Draft passed to assure that within the 5-10 years, the NCPO can control the direction of Thai society.	**2**
Twitter: (#VotingReferendumAcceptOrNotAcceptTheConstitution)	
Twitter was used the **most by general people** (11 frequencies), and the issues expressing their opposition and disagreement posted the most were the rejection of the Constitution Draft originated from the dictatorship and non-democracy, the majority's acceptance of the Constitution Draft without reading or understanding of the Constitution Draft, the rejection of the Constitution Draft caused by the disagreement of the provenance of the senators who were appointed by the NCPO, etc. The **next** groups that used Twitter the most were NGOs/ civil society organizations (2 frequencies) and the issue posted the most was the standpoint of the Constitution rejection, etc. However, no posts from the political dissidents and activists were found.	

4) The national reform policy, harmony establishment, and the 20-year national strategy

Table 4.14 The Main Theme of the National Reform Policy, Harmony Establishment, and the 20-year National Strategy

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The failure of the NCPO government in the national reform and harmony establishment was caused by no listening to people's voices. The government should use a mechanism or public sphere to draw more power or reform current from people and society as its alliances, not just by suspicion and doubt. The heart of the national reform is to let all in the society participate in the rules or treaties, which is universal.	**11**
There had been no studies finding the actual causes of the conflicts, no consideration of the past recommendations, and no consultation with those concerned with the conflicts or experienced people. Therefore, the process was not open and yielded no substantial outcome despite several committees had been appointed, i.e., the National Reform Council, Center for Reconciliation for Reform. It was just a ritual that cannot expect anything. The problems of the NCPO government were caused by its thinking pattern, procedure, and a working culture that is too bureaucratic.	**9**
The crux of disunion still exists in Thai society but has been repressed by the NCPO's special power. However, when the time comes, such crux will come back again. The NCPO was thus demanded to return people's rights, liberty, and freedom, including resolving all conflicts instead of returning happiness, which is the repressed discomfort.	**8**
Twitter: (#NationalReform, #harmony, #20YearNationalStrategy)	
NGOs or civil society organizations used Twitter the most (4 frequencies), and the	

issues expressing their opposition and disagreement the most were the ineffective mobilization of the national reform, the appointment of several sets of committees composed of old faces, etc. The group used Twitter the most after NGOs was **general people** (2 frequencies) and the issues posted the most was "the more the government raised the national harmony, the more separation appeared," etc. No posts of political dissidents or activists were found.

5) Election organization roadmaps

Table 4.15 The Main Theme of Election organization roadmaps

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Retrospectively, the roaming cabinet is a political activity that distributes money to people in the target area. The suction of politicians for winning the election and prolonging power was not different from the past political practices. Thus, many parties perceived that it was the sign indicating that the military wanted to maintain its power despite having the new election.	**9**
Most people wanted the government to rush solving the political conflicts before the election and to organize an election hurriedly to return democracy to the people.	**6**
Since the government could not specify the definite election date, it made people question the reasons behind the extension of the election roadmap to assure the formation of the new government, new cabinet, with a new (or old) Prime Minister.	**5**
Twitter: (#ElectionRoadmap)	
NGOs or civil society organizations used Twitter the most (2 frequencies). The issues posted the most were the designation of the election date following the roadmap within November 2018, mechanisms that might cause no meaningful election, etc., followed by **general people (**1 frequency). The issue posted was the	

frequent postponement of the roadmap, which reflected no genuine democracy since General Prayut Chan-o-cha kept postponing the election. However, **no posts** of the political dissidents/activists were found.

The mainstream and online alternative media channels presented the news of disagreement with the government's policies and administration while supporting the movement of political dissidents the most were thairath.co.th, Youtube: thairath (14 frequencies), isaranews.org and prachatai.com, Youtube: prachatai (9 frequencies equally). The news presented about the coup d'etat the most. The channels presented the news the least were voicetv.co.th, Youtube: VoiceTV (6 frequencies), presenting the major content of the Constitution Draft the most.

For posting, the issues posted expressing opposition and disagreement the most were (1) #CoupD'etatAnniversary, and #NCPOanniversary. (10 frequencies), i.e., warning the NCPO not to forget its promise given to people, the case of having some people report themselves, the failure of the NCPO in every domain, the diverse relationship between people's happiness and the number of the NCPO's governance years, etc. The next issue posted the most was (5) #ElectionRoadmap (6 frequencies), and the content posted was "Roadmap towards an election is hard to happen, but what is harder is the exit route for the NCPO," "3 tough barricades that new political parties must pass: 1) primary vote, 2) one-ballot election system, and 3) members of one same party but different numbers," "crisis of confidence in the election roadmap and the NCPO government, etc. The issue posted the least was (3) #VotingReferendum ToAcceptOrNotAcceptConstitution (4 frequencies). The posted content was "disagreement with the referendum act, which restricts people's rights of expression," "international reaction towards the restriction of right and liberty of people's expression through the referendum," etc., as illustrated in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Political Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
thairath.co.th, Greenhead news agency, Thairath Online, YouTube: thairath	6	-	1	4	3	**14**
isaranews.org	6	-	-	1	2	**9**
prachatai.com/ YouTube: prachatai	3	2	-	3	1	**9**
voicetv.co.th, YouTube: VoiceTV	2	3	-	1	-	**6**
Total	**17**	**5**	**1**	**9**	**6**	**37**
Twitter: Mainstream/Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
	10	5	4	5	6	**30**

The issue posted **the most** to express the opposition and disagreement was **(1) #Coup d'etatAnniversay, #NCPOanniversary** (10 frequencies). The content was "warning the NCPO not to forget its promise given to people, the case of having some people report themselves, the failure of the NCPO in every domain, the diverse relationship between people's happiness and the number of the NCPO's governance years, etc. The **next** issue posted the most was **(5) #ElectionRoadmap** (6 frequencies), and the content posted was "Roadmap towards an election is hard to happen, but what is harder is the exit route for the NCPO," "3 tough barricades that new political parties must pass: 1) primary vote, 2) one-ballot election system, and 3) members of one same party but different numbers," "crisis of confidence in the election roadmap and the NCPO government, etc. The issue posted **the least** was **(3) #VotingReferendumTo AcceptOrNotAcceptConstitution** (4 frequencies). The posted content was "disagreement with the referendum act, which restricts people's rights of expression," "international reaction towards the restriction of right and liberty of people's expression through the referendum," etc.

Table 4.17 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister, and the NCPO chief.	-	5	**5**
General Chatchai Sarikalaya, the Minister of the Agriculture and Cooperatives	-	1	**1**
Total	**0**	**6**	**6**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General people	1	6	**7**
Twitter of the government sector, i.e., @SmartNews_FM905, radio station of the Department of Military Energy/@bankofthailand/ @PR_MDES/ @industryprmoi/ @news1005fm/ @DIPTHAILAND, etc.	1	5	**6**
Total	**2**	**11**	**13**

Note: (1) means the overall condition of economic problems: earnings problems, an expensive commodity, and high cost of living, (2) Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC)

Twitter (1) (#EconomicProblem, #EarningsProblems), (2) (#Thailand4.0, #PracharatProject, #EEC)

From the study, it was found that the content related to the national security in the economic domain posted by the government via official online channels the most was Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) (6 frequencies), and General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the

NCPO was the direct information source found the most (5 frequencies), followed by General Chatchai Sarikalaya, the Minister of the Agriculture and Cooperatives (1 frequency) respectively. For Twitter, it was found that both general people and the government sector posted the content on Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) the most (6 frequencies and 5 frequencies respectively).

From analyzing the appearance of posted content via the mainstream or alternative online media as the information sources, it was found that the issues on the Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) were presented the most (8 frequencies). General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO was presented as the information source the most (4 frequencies), followed by Colonel Witnthai Suwaree and the spokesperson team (3 frequencies), and Somkid Jatusripitak, the Deputy Prime Minister and Commerce Minister (2 frequencies), as illustrated in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source

Via Indirect Online Channel or Appearing on the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the NCPO chief	-	4	**4**
Colonel Winthai Suwaree and the spokesperson team of the NCPO	1	2	**3**
Somkid Jatusripitak, the Deputy Prime Minister and Commerce Minister	-	2	**2**
Total	**1**	**8**	**9**

From the study, it was found that the top content related to the national security in the economic domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals,

political supporters of the NCPO government, and government agencies responsible directly for the incidents via online media channels was the following content:

1) The Overall Economic Problems, Earnings Problems, an Expensive Commodity, and High Cost of Living

Table 4.19 The Main Theme of The Overall Economic Problems, Earnings Problems, an Expensive Commodity, and High Cost of Living

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The government confirmed the national overall economics was good, compared with other countries	**2**
Some economic problems have been accumulated since the previous governments.	**1**
The government and its economic workforce have been trying to solve economic problems	**1**
The government tried to communicate with people by compiling the progress of the NCPO's performance into special episodes to be broadcasted on every TV channel weekly and continuously for 12 weeks. The examples of the episodes were "economic problem-solving," "the assistance for low-income farmers, etc. Each episode presented a special individual topic to make people understand more easily. The NCPO confirmed its seriousness in solving problems and sustainable management. Besides, people would receive benefits from such solutions.	**1**
Twitter: (#EconomicProblems, #EarningsProblems)	
There was one frequency posted to express the support and agreement on **Twitter of the government sector and general people equally.** The content was "4 years under the NCPO government's administration, people are still happy without any change. The main duty of the military is to make the country peaceful; thus, it is not strange if they may not perform their administration in economics so well," etc.	

2) Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC)

Table 4.20 The Main Theme of Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC)

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Thailand 4.0 and Pracharat Project	
Thailand 4.0 is a model for mobilizing the country towards the target goal of "stability, prosperity, and sustainability." The projects are divided into three types: fixing (taking 6-12 months), reinforcing or supplementing (taking approximately 12 months), and creating/constructing (taking 3-5 years). The ultimate goal is to push Thailand towards Number 1 of the developed countries within 2032 or another 15 years ahead. At the moment, it is in the stage of driving the government agencies to create perception and understandings to people at all levels within six months to change them to be "Thai 4.0." It means that Thai people will have increased knowledge and professional skills, more social responsibilities, Thai characteristics, and the ability in using new technology.	5
The empowerment of Thai enterprises, the upgrading intellectual infrastructure, the creation of widespread growth to the regions and local communities, the reinforcement of domestic economic strength, such as the classification and grouping of agricultural products towards a large agricultural plots scheme, the establishment of research centers for developing agricultural technology and innovations, the adoption of information and communication technology to develop agricultural applications, etc.	3
Arguments on the criticism that Pracharat projects facilitated the large capitalists.	2

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC)	
To widen the industrial area, not to be centralized at only some certain areas, to decrease the problems of transportation, which is the substantial cost of commodities, and to enhance good relations with neighboring countries.	1
Twitter: (#Thailand4.0, #PracharatProject, #EEC)	
General people posted their support and agreement on Twitter the most (6 frequencies), i.e., the response of Thai people on Thailand 4.0 Policy, Pracharat Project, and EEC; the Sufficiency Economics Philosophy has been adopted for proper use, etc., followed by the government sector's Twitter (5 frequencies), i.e., the policy of mobilizing the country towards Thailand 4.0, digital communities as grass-root economic network towards Thailand 4.0, etc.	

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most were thairath.co.th (4 frequencies), followed by manager.co.th and bbc.com/thai (3 frequencies equally). The channel that presented the news the least was news.ch3thailand.com, YouTube: Ch3Thailand (2 frequencies). The news presented the most was Thailand 4.0, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC).

For Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels, it was found that the issue posted the most was people's agreement and support of (2) (#Thailand4.0, #Pracharat Project, #EEC) (21 frequencies), i.e., the progress of EEC projects, such as the double-track railway project, etc.; the progress and responses of people to the government's projects, the adaptation, and readiness of Thai bureaucratic systems towards Thailand 4.0 Project, etc.**,** followed by (1) (#EconomicProblems, #EarningsProblems) (7 frequencies). The content posted the most was the proposal of economic restoration of political parties in the 2019 election competition, economic mobilization policies focusing on the grass-root level, etc. as illustrated in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media

Mainstream and Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
thairath.co.th	2	2	**4**
manager.co.th	-	3	**3**
bbc.com/thai	-	3	**3**
news.ch3thailand.com, YouTube: Ch3Thailand	1	1	**2**
posttoday.com	1	1	**2**
Total	**4**	**10**	**14**

Twitter of the Mainstream/Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	7	21	**27**

The issue that was posted **the most** on Twitter to express the support and agreement was **(2) #Thailand4.0, PracharatProject, #EEC** (21 frequencies), i.e., the progress of EEC projects, such as the eastern double-track railway and concerned business, the adaptation of Thai bureaucratic systems to be ready for Thailand 4.0 Policy, the progress and response of the civil sector towards Pracharat Project, **followed by (1) #EconomicProblem, #EarningProblems** (7 frequencies), and the content posted the most was the proposed policy for restoring the economics of political parties during the 2019 election battle and policies for stimulating economics at the grass-root level, etc.

Political Dissidents/Activists

On part of political dissidents, both individuals and groups of individuals, the study showed that they posted the national security content via direct and official online channels the most. The issues posted the most were “the overall economic problems, earnings problems, an expensive commodity, and high costs of living (3 frequencies), followed by Thailand 4.0 Policy, Pracharat Project, and Eastern

Economic Corridor or EEC (1 frequency) respectively. In the posted issues, it appeared Chaturon Chaisang and Phumtham Wetchayachai of Pheu Thai Party as the direct information sources the most (3 frequencies), followed by Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights or TANC (1 frequency) respectively.

Regarding Twitter, it was found that general people used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement with the government sector the most (9 frequencies), followed by political dissidents/activists, people's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations (1 frequency equally), as illustrated in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Pheu Thai Party; Chaturon Chaisang, the mainstay of Pheu Thai Party; Phumtham Wetchayachai, Secretary-General of Pheu Thai Party	3	-	**3**
Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights	-	1	**1**
Total	**3**	**1**	**4**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General people	4	5	**9**
Political dissidents/activists, i.e., People Want an Election Group, etc.	1	0	**1**
People's network/ NGOs/civil society organizations, i.e., @BioThaiweb, etc.	0	1	**1**
Total	**5**	**6**	**11**

Regarding the posting as information source via indirect online channels, it was found that the posted content appeared in the mainstream or online alternative media the most was the content on the overall economic problems, earnings problems,

an expensive commodity, and high costs of living (9 frequencies). However, no posts on Thailand 4.0 Policy, Pracharat Project, and Eastern Economic Corridor or EEC were found. Suan Dusit Poll was found to be the information source being posted the most (4 frequencies), followed by Chaturon Chaisang the mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, and Phumtham Wetchayachai, Secretary-General of Pheu Thai Party (3 frequencies equally). The least posted information source was Pramual Aimpia, the spokesperson of the Democratic Party (2 frequency) respectively, as illustrated in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources

Via Indirect Online Media Channels or Appearing in the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Suan Dusit Poll	4	-	**4**
Chaturon Chaisang, the mainstay of Pheu Thai Party; Phumtham Wetchayachai, Secretary-General of Pheu Thai Party	3	-	**3**
Pramual Aimpia, deputy spokesperson of the Democratic Party	2	-	**2**
Total	**9**	**0**	**9**

For the main themes related to national security in the economic domain, the following content was posted by political dissidents/activists, both individuals and groups of individuals.

1) The overall economic problems, earnings problems, an expensive commodity, and high costs of living

Table 4.24 The Main Theme of the Overall Economic Problems, Earnings Problems, an Expensive Commodity, and High Costs of Living

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Due to pitfalls of economic policies, the country faced economic difficulties or lean economy in all dimensions: people's poverty, price decreasing of agricultural products, expensive commodities, debts problems, social inequality, depressing economy, high costs of living, insufficient expenditure, and a higher rate of unemployment.	**14**
Only a few giant business companies gained benefits, leading to the phenomenon of "clustered richness and dispersed poverty." Therefore, the government should support small-sized business sincerely, by not facilitating only large-sized business capitalists. The explicit weakness was inequality in connecting the macro with the grass-root economy.	**5**
The government had to execute a specific, not swinging, roadmap enabling the election, which could enhance investors' trust.	**2**
Twitter: (#EconomicProblems, #EarningsProblems)	
General people used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement the most, i.e., highly increased consumption commodities, low price of agricultural products, expensive costs of gas, gasoline, earning of living, and depressed economics all through the country. Investors lost their trust 4-5 years ago. The government truly kept everything in peace: economics, commerce, occupations, etc. It was very quiet everywhere. **The next group** posting on Twitter the most was political dissidents/activists (1 frequency). The content posted was "during these 4-5 years, a lot of business has been closed down. Now, people have to sell their house and car to pay for their business debts, etc. However, **no posts** of people's networks, NGOs, and civil society organizations.	

2) Thailand 4.0 Policy, Pracharat Project, and the Eastern Economic Corridor or EEC

Table 4.25 The Main Theme of Thailand 4.0 Policy, Pracharat Project, and the Eastern Economic Corridor or EEC

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Pracharat Project	
Cronyism for large capitalists affected minor or low-level agriculturists.	**4**
It was only a claim that "Pracharat Project" will lead to sustainable agricultural development, and community enterprises to decrease social inequality and strengthen communities.	**3**
The government used a "bureaucratic-system mechanism by having only a couple of people of a group calling itself as a "civil society sector" to participate as a supplementary part or like ornamental plants.	**1**
Thailand 4.0 Policy	
The meaning of Thailand 4.0 is the mobilization of the country by capitalism or capitalist groups. It means forwarding economic dynamism and leaving people behind. It thus causes higher inequality in Thai society.	**4**
From well-spoken words of the government, i.e., "we have to transcend social inequality," the government's administration seems to go in the opposite direction. The big problem of the NCPO is no listening to nor accepting the diverse opinions. It is not based on laws nor serves the country with people's benefits as a core concern.	**3**
It is a very tactful master plan for seizing the masses of people and creating new righteousness for the government's elites.	**1**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
It is a way to distort people that economics is moving ahead. Also, it defuses international pressure from some of their measures towards the rejection of authoritarian government.	**1**
Eastern Economic Corridor Project (EEC)	
It opens the country for foreign investors to grab prosperity from the national resources. The main worry is how much benefits will fall into the hands of the majority of people in the country. Nobody can guarantee it.	**2**
It is cronyism for large capitalists and leads to no competition. Therefore, the amount of money will not be spread to small-sized enterprises.	**1**
As long as the government still has absolute power and monopoly and does not listen to others thoroughly, it cannot move anything. Dissatisfaction and rejection will be continuously increasing because the poor are still in hardship. Consequently, it will lead to corruption.	**1**
Twitter: (#Thailand4.0, #PracharatProject. #EEC)	
General people used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement with the following content the most: “Thailand 4.0 is the most ridiculous because the leader still cannot catch up with the technology nor control it,” “Thailand4.0 is not just having computers and internets, but it includes the integration of all IT to reduce the steps and facilitate the use of online channels for all operations,” “Actually, the term Thailand 4.0 is just a boastful word, without any root or background,” “Industrial management is not always bad, but to change the environment and change agriculture to the industry should be designed and evaluated by local people,” etc. **The next users of** Twitter were people’s networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations. (1 frequency) and the content posted was “The economic team gave a discourse for developing the country called “Thailand 4.0,” etc. However, **no post** of the political dissidents/activists was found.	

The channels that presented the news of disagreement with the government's policies and administration, while supporting the movement of political dissidents the most were bbc.com/thai (5 frequencies), followed by YouTube: VOICE TV; thairath.co.th; manager.co.th; and prachatai.com (3 frequencies equally). The channel presented news the least was YouTube: thaich8.com (2 frequencies) respectively. The content of news being presented the most was the overall economic problems, earnings problems, an expensive commodity, and high costs of living (13 frequencies).

For posting on Twitter, the issues posted the most were (1) #EconomicProblems, #EarningsProblems, and (2) #Thailand4.0, #PracharatProject, and #EEC. (5 frequencies equally). The examples of the posted content of the issue (1) were "vendors in fresh markets passed their words to the government that they all were dying," "people expected better economics and supported the government to solve economic problems and organize the election quickly," "during the 4-year of the NCPO government's administration, the phenomenon of clustered richness and dispersed poverty was very clear, while the unemployment rate increased," "the well-known restaurant owner killed himself by jumping into the river as a result of bad economics," "echoes of the business sector's disagreement with the government's economic policies," etc. The examples of the posted content of the issue (2) were "a follow-up of the progress of the consideration on the objection letter related to new EEC urban planning in three provinces: Chachoeng-Sau, Rayong, and Chonburi," "digital economy of Thailand 4.0 was widely criticized," "the business sector must hasten its adaptation and new technology use; however, the government sector is still thinking and working by the analog system," "Thailand 4.0 is just a boastful discourse without any root," "corruptions on the Pracharat Project were found: 500,000 baht per each village. The budget had been approved for more than two years with no progress, etc., as illustrated in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Economic Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
bbc.com/thai	4	1	**5**
YouTube: VOICE TV	3	-	**3**
thairath.co.th	3	-	**3**
manager.co.th	-	3	**3**
prachatai.com	1	2	**3**
YouTube: thaich8.com	2	-	**2**
Total	**13**	**6**	**19**

Twitter on Mainstream/Online Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	5	5	**10**

Both issues of **(1) #EconomicProblems, #EarningsProblems, and (2) #Thailand4.0, #PracharatProject, #EEC** were posted to express the opposition and disagreement on Twitter equally (5 frequencies). The examples of the content were as follows: **Issue (#1) "**Vendors in fresh markets passed their words to the government that they all are going to die," "People expected better economics and supported the government to solve economic problems and organize the election quickly," "During the 4-year of the NCPO government's administration, the phenomenon of clustered richness and dispersed poverty was very clear, while the unemployment rate increased," "The well-known restaurant owner killed himself by jumping into the river as a result of bad economics," "Echoes of the business sector's disagreement with the government's economic policies," etc. The examples of the posted content of the **issue (2)** were "A follow-up of the progress of the consideration on the objection letter related to new EEC urban planning in three provinces: Chachoeng-Sau, Rayong, and Chonburi," "Digital economy of Thailand 4.0 was widely criticized," "The business sector must hasten its adaptation and new technology use; however, the government sector is still

thinking and working by the analog system," "Thailand 4.0 is just a boastful discourse without any root," "Corruptions on the Pracharat Project were found: 500,000 baht per each village", "Budget had been approved for more than two years with no progress," etc.

Table 4.27 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General Ekachai Srivilas, Director of the Office of Peace and Governance, King Prajadhipok's Institute	-	3	**3**
Deep South Watch Organization	1	2	**3**
Transborder News	-	2	**2**
General Chalermchai Sitthisart, Commander of the Royal Thai Army/ General Chakthip Caijinda, Commissioner-General of the Royal Thai Police.	1	-	**1**
Total	**2**	**7**	**9**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General people	4	13	**17**
The government sector's Twitter: @5forcenews01/, @CTP Front Section, @korportorsuann/, #PRD @prd_official/, @TNAMCOT/, @news1005fm, etc.	1	3	**4**
Total	**5**	**16**	**21**

Note: (1) means bombing incidents (2) Insurgencies in the southern border provinces.

Twitter (1) #BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutkhaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre), (2) (#InsurgencySouthernBorder)

From the study, it was found that the content related to the national security in the socio-psychological domain posted by the government via official online channels the most was "insurgencies in the southern border provinces (7 frequencies), and General Ekachai Srivilas, Director of the Office of Peace and Governance, King Prajadhipok's Institute", and "Deep South Watch Organization" were the direct information sources found the most (3 frequencies equally). For Twitter, it was found that both general people posted the content on Issue (1) #BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutkhaoHospital, #Bomb GovernmentLotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre) the most (13 frequencies).

From analyzing the appearance of presented content via the mainstream or alternative online media as the information sources, it was found that the issues on the bombing was presented the most (17 frequencies). General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO was presented as the information source the most (6 frequencies), followed by General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister, and the Ministry of Defence (3 frequencies). The information sources presented the least were General Udomdej Sitabutr, Deputy Minister of Defence, and the Chief of Special Government Representative Committee, General Chalernchai Sitthisart, Commander of the Royal Thai Army as the Vice-Director of ISOC, Police-General Chakthip Chaijinda of the Royal Thai Police, Lt. General Kongcheep Tantravanich, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Defence, Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO, and Pol. Lt. General Sanit Mahathavorn, the Commissioner-General of Metropolitan Police Bureau (2 frequencies equally), as illustrated in Table 4.28.

Table 4.28 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as Information Source

Via Indirect Online Channel or Appearing on the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO	3	3	**6**
General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Ministry of Defence	3	-	**3**
General Udomdej Sitabutr, Deputy Minister of Defence, and the Chief of Special Government Representative Committee, Lt. General Kongcheep Tantravanich, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Defence, Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO, and Pol. Lt. General Sanit Mahathavorn, the Commissioner-General of Metropolitan Police Bureau	2	-	**2**
General Chalernchai Sitthisart, Commander of the Royal Thai Army as the Vice-Director of ISOC	2	-	**2**
Police General Chakthip Chaijinda of the Royal Thai Police	2	-	**2**
Lt. General Kongcheep Tantravanich, the spokesperson of the Ministry of Defence	2	-	**2**
Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO	2	-	**2**
Pol. Lt. General Sanit Mahathavorn, the Commissioner-General of Metropolitan Police Bureau	2	-	**2**
Total	**17**	**3**	**20**

From the study, it was found that the top content related to the national security in the socio-psychological domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals, political supporters of the NCPO government and government agencies responsible directly for the incidents via online media channels was the following content:

1) Bombing incidents

Table 4.29 The Main Theme of Bombing Incidents

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Car bombs at Big C Supermarket, Pattani Province	
For government officers, the government emphasized the information operations and strategies to reduce the loss, especially making understandings to local people and condemning people with bad will or enmity. Besides, security officers were asked to locate the insurgents and all involved for final judgment.	**5**
Various organizations came out to condemn the bombing incident, which took place in a place filled with children and people. For instance, Unicef, Mara Patani, etc., proclaimed to support the establishment of safe zones.	**3**
Insurgents tried to create a situation as it entered the Ramadan period where people came out for shopping. However, if it was caused by the objection against the specification of safe zones offered by the Talk for Peace Organization or not was still unidentified.	**1**
Bombing at Center Point Market, Muang District, Trang Province	
From investigating explosive disposal parts, they are pipe-bombs, the same kind used in the three southern border provinces. At first, the cause of insurgency had not been specified, so it had to wait for the investigation of resolution	**3**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
teams to find its connection.	
Concerned offices were called for a meeting to find ways out and to call back economic trust, especially restoring the image of Trang province.	**1**
Bombing in front of the National Theatre/the old Government Lottery Division/Phramongkutklao Hospital	
Operation Units of the NCPO, the Army, and the Police hastened the process to be able to catch the right insurgents as quickly as possible. From investigating the connection between bombing in front of the old Government Lottery Division and the National Theatre, it was found that they were connected.	**13**
Regarding the bombing at Phramongkutklao Hospital, from the preliminary investigation, it assumed to be caused by political dissent, the creation of a violent situation for discrediting the government.	
As for the explosions in front of the National Theatre and the old Government Lottery Division, the improvised explosive device (or ISD) used for connecting the circuits and devices was the same kind as used in the three southern border provinces. The initial assumption was that the perpetrators learned the explosion methods from activists in the south, aimed for political goals.	
The notion if the bombing incident was connected to the third anniversary of the NCPO or not depended on the investigation of the police officers and concerned authority.	**4**
In case of presenting violent news, mass media were requested not to amplify the news too much. Instead, they were asked to present news as necessary only and be aware of presenting any news that might affect confidence in	**2**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
commerce, investment, entrepreneurship, and people's ways of life.	
Twitter: (#BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre)	
General people posted their support and agreement on Twitter **the most** (4 frequencies): encouragement to victims and officers in the case of the bombing at Big C, Pattani, etc., **followed by Twitter of the government sector** (1 frequency): The progress of arresting insurgents of the bombing at Big C, Pattani, etc.	

2) Insurgency in the southern border provinces (SBP)

Table 4.30 The Main Theme of Insurgency in the Southern Border Provinces (SBP)

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Most people in the southern border provinces (SBP) supported the negotiation as a resolution. They expected that the dialogue should better the climate. Only a few people disagreed and were not sure of the negotiation process.	**6**
The talk-for-peace process between predominant conflicting parties in the SBP was apparently a new dimension in solving violence problems through peaceful methods. The assumption was based on mutual understanding and reciprocal needs, leading to acceptable solutions. Importantly, the actions needed to be conducted with sincerity in finding solutions together by all concerned parties.	**2**
The talk-for-peace process had been continued through establishing supporting mechanisms concretely.	**2**
To solve problems in the SBP, it required compliance with universal standards through the talk-for-peace process. It was important that no negative information was reported to the global stage. If any government official was found to have	**2**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
any misconduct, i.e., violating human rights, etc., he would be punished severely.	
Twitter: Twitter: (#BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre)	
General people posted their support and agreement on Twitter **the most** (15 frequencies). The content posted was "to deliver encouragement and appreciation to all sacrificing soldiers who have an operation in the three SBP," "please stop any violence and give safe zone for everybody," "to report insurgencies happening in the area," etc. **The next** posted was on the **government sector's Twitter** (5 frequencies). The content posted was "The Special Government Representatives for Driving Integrated Tasks for Facilitating Justice and Healing Those Affected emphasized the same standard of justice for everyone that could access local people genuinely," "a report on insurgencies in the area," etc.	

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most were mgronline.com, YouTube: MGR Online, and khaosod.co.th (6 frequencies equally), followed by thaipbs.or.th, news.thaipbs.or.th, YouTube: Thai PBS News, and bangkokbiznews.com (5 frequencies equally). The channel that presented the news the least was thairath.co.th, YouTube: Thairath, nationtv.tv, and YouTube: NationTV (4 frequencies equally). The news presented the most was bombing incidents.

For Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels, it was found that the issue posted the most was people's agreement and support of Issue (1) (#BombBigCPattni, #BombPhramongkukklaoHospital, #BombOldGovernmentLottery Division, and #BombNationalTheatre) (14 frequencies), i.e., the progress report of bombing incidents in several places, the verdict on car bombers at Big C, Pattani, etc., followed by Issue (2) (#InsurgencyInSBP) (8 frequencies). The content posted the most was "The strict surveillance of the security officers," "the hastened actions to resolve violent situations after insurgencies took place in the area," "The process of talk-for-peace process," "safety zone between the governments", "BRN," "Mara Patani," "images and

texts conveying good relations between soldiers and people in the three southern border provinces," "the expression of disagreement and opposition against violence in the affected area," etc. as illustrated in Table 4.31.

Table 4.31 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media

Mainstream and Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
mgronline.com/ YouTube: MGR Online	5	1	**6**
khaosod.co.th	5	1	**6**
thaipbs.or.th/ news.thaipbs.or.th/ YouTube: Thai PBS News	5	-	**5**
bangkokbiznews.com	4	1	**5**
thairath.co.th/ YouTube: Thairath	4	-	**4**
nationtv.tv/ YouTube: NationTV	4	-	**4**
Total	**27**	**3**	**30**
Twitter of the Mainstream/Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	14	8	**23**

The issue posted **the most** on Twitter to express the support and agreement was Issue (1) **#BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre** (14 frequencies). The content posted was, "., the progress report of bombing incidents in several places, the verdict on car bombers at Big C, Pattani, etc.**, followed by** Issue (2) (#InsurgencyInSBP) (8 frequencies). The content posted the most was "The strict surveillance of the security officers," "the hastened actions to resolve violent situations after insurgencies took place in the area," "The process of talk-for-peace process," "safety zone between the governments", "BRN," "Mara Patani," "images and texts conveying good relations between soldiers and people in the three

Mainstream and Online Alternative Media Channels	Frequencies (Time)		
	(1)	(2)	Total
southern border provinces," "the expression of disagreement and opposition against violence in the affected area, etc.			

Note: Twitter (1) (#BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre), (2) (#SBPinsurgency)

Political Dissidents/Activists

On part of political dissidents, both individuals and groups of individuals, the study showed that they posted the national security content in the socio-psychological domain via direct and official online channels the most. The issues posted the most were "bombing incidents (6 frequencies). However, no post was found in the content on the insurgency in the southern border provinces. In the posted issues, it appeared Pheu Thai Party as the direct information sources the most (2 frequencies), followed by the Democratic Party, Amnesty International (Thailand), Mr. Brad Adams, the Director of Human Right Watch's Asia Division, and Southern Border Civil Society Council (1 frequency equally) respectively.

Regarding Twitter, it was found that general people used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement with the government sector the most (5 frequencies), followed by political dissidents/activists, people's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations (2 frequencies equally), as illustrated in Table 4.32.

Table 4.32 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Pheu Thai Party	2	-	**2**
Democratic Party	1	-	**1**
Amnesty International	1	-	**1**
Mr. Brad Adams, Director of Human Right Watch's Asia Division	1	-	**1**
Southern Border Civil Society Council	1	-	**1**
Total	**6**	**0**	**6**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General people	3	2	**5**
Political dissidents/activists: @PravitR (Prawit Rojanaphruk), etc.	2	0	**2**
People's network, NGOs, and civil society organizations: @iLawclub, @the101_world, etc.	0	2	**2**
Total	**5**	**4**	**9**

Regarding the posting as information source via indirect online channels, it was found that the posted content appeared in the mainstream or online alternative media the most was the content on the bombing incidents (3 frequencies), followed by the resolution of insurgency in the southern border provinces (1 frequency) respectively. The information sources being posted the most were Pheu Thai Party**;** Democratic Party; Mr. Thomas Davin, Representative of UNICEF Thailand, and Mr. Kraisak Choonhavan, former Deputy Leader of the Democratic Party, the Office of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), Advisor to the Subcommittee on Civil and Political Rights (1 frequency, equally), as illustrated in Table 4.33.

Table 4.33 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources

Via Indirect Online Media Channels or Appearing in the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Pheu Thai Party	1	-	**1**
Democratic Party	1	-	**1**
Thomas Davin, Representative of UNICEF Thailand	1	-	**1**
Kraisak Choonhavan, former Deputy Leader of the Democratic Party, the Office of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)	-	1	**1**
Total	**3**	**1**	**4**

For the main themes related to national security in the socio-psychological domain, the following content was posted by political dissidents/activists, both individuals and groups of individuals.

1) Bombing Incident

Table 4.34 The Main Theme of Bombing Incident

The Main Theme	**Frequencies (Time)**
Bombing at Big C Supermarket, Muang District, Pattani Province	
The NCPO and the government had to rush establishing a trust for people that they would do every way to prevent violent incidents that would affect people's living and the country's peacefulness.	**5**
It was a sign of the utmost violence of the secession, aimed to attack the civilians. It was considered a cruel and unrighteous action. The government agencies had to find the	**3**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
wrongdoers to be punished by the juridical process rapidly.	
The Thai government was urged to investigate urgently based on universal standards to bring in the insurgents to the court. The incident did not only violate the laws, but also human rights and humanity under international laws.	**3**
This was a mishap happening during the negotiation process between the Thai government and "political dissidents. All parties, trying to push the undertaking peaceful process at all levels, had strong determination and adherence to what they were doing to reach the agreed solution in the future.	**2**
It was necessary to open and expand the "political sphere" to let dissidents appear to voice out their distress and common expectation. It should be a space for the civilians who were affected by the calamity as well.	**2**
Bombing in front of the National Theatre, the old Government Lottery Division, and Phramongkutklao Hospital	
The incident occurred indicated that it was "a political explosion."	**2**
Calamities happened in various spots, i.e., at the National Theatre near Sanam Luang, seemed to connect with the bombing in front of the old Government Lottery Division on Ratchadamnoen Road, within a few days apart. The insurgents intended to condemn the NCPO government's security standards.	**2**
Twitter: (#BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre)	
General people posted on Twitter the most (3 frequencies) on the content about the condemnation against insurgencies, even in the hospital, etc., **followed by** the posting	

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
of the political dissidents/activists (2 frequencies). The content posted was "The government's denial of the involvement with the explosion at the hospital reflected the collapse of people's trust in the government," "The bomber at Phramongkutklao Hospital confessed that the coup d'etat made him hate soldiers," etc. However, **no post** was found from the Twitter of people's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations.	

2) Insurgency in the Southern Border Provinces

Table 4.35 The Main Theme of Insurgency in the Southern Border Provinces

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The reason why the Thai government negotiated with Malaysia's government, but still could not accomplish the goal was that it did not negotiate with the BRN authorities directly.	**1**
Many parties used to be confident that the NCPO should have solved the national problems successfully because of the plenty of capable soldier leaders, who should have higher capabilities than a civilian government to create a unified transformation of policies into operations. However, it seemed that the aftermath was opposite to what general people criticized in social media, especially because of severe unrest situations happening lately.	**1**
The expected success in solving insurgencies in the southern border provinces went in the opposite direction to the budgets allocated by the NCPO.	**1**
Twitter: (#SBPinsurgency)	
People's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations, and general people posted on Twitter the most (2 frequencies equally). The content posted was "within the past 15 years, southern border provinces faced unrest situations for more than	

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
20,000 cases. It reflected non-transparency of the power exploitation of officers in the SBP," "The problem-solving that did not go in the intended direction," "The talk-for-peace process proceeded slowly," "A call for ending insurgencies in the SBP," "The unrest situations in the three SBP were still unsolved problems that were hidden under the carpet, waiting to be exploded," The Army force and budgets delivered to the area could not solve the problems genuinely," etc. However, **no content** from the political dissidents/activists was posted	

For posting on Twitter, the issues posted to express the opposition and disagreement the most were (2) #SBPinsurgency. (15 frequencies). The examples of the posted content were "Insurgents opened fire to the police and local people," "Insurgents bombed and committed arsons at several places in Pattani and Narathiwat," "Statistics on the violence in the SBP in 2018 showed that during the past 14 years since the emergence of violence, there had been 3949 people killed and 10,501 injured while 300 thousand million baht was spent," "Stop the violence," "A call for peace in the southern border provinces," "Stop insurgencies against religious leaders and children," etc. The next issue being posted the most was Issue (1) (#BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLottery Division, #Bomb NationalTheatre) (5 frequencies). The content posted was "The bomber at Phramongkutklao Hospital revealed that he committed such a crime was because of his hatred against the coup d'etat," "A report on the bombing incidents at Big C, Muang District, Pattani Province, etc., as illustrated in Table 4.36.

Table 4.36 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Socio-Psychological Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
mgronline.com	1	-	**1**
prachatai.com	1	-	**1**
matichonweekly.com	1	-	**1**
thairath.co.th	1	-	**1**
prachachat.net	1	-	**1**
bangkokbiznews.com	1	-	**1**
posttoday.com	-	1	**1**
isranews.org	-	1	**1**
Total	**6**	**2**	**8**

Twitter of the Mainstream/Online Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	5	15	20

Issue **(2) #SBPinsurgency** was posted to express the opposition and disagreement **the most** (15 frequencies). The content posted was “Insurgents opened fire to the police and local people,” “Insurgents bombed and committed arsons at several places in Pattani and Narathiwat,” “Statistics on the violence in the SBP in 2018 showed that during the past 14 years since the emergence of violence, there had been 3949 people killed and 10,501 injured while 300 thousand million baht was spent,” “Stop the violence,” “A call for peace in the southern border provinces,” “Stop insurgencies against religious leaders and children,” etc. **The next** issue being posted the most was Issue (1) (#BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #Bomb GovernmentLotteryDivision, #Bomb NationalTheatre) (5 frequencies). The content posted was “The bomber at Phramongkutklao Hospital revealed that he committed such a crime was because of his hatred against the coup d’etat,” “A report on the bombing incidents at Big C, Muang District, Pattani Province, etc.

Table 4.37 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels in the Case of the Submarine Purchase from China

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**
Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters	1
Total	**1**
Twitter (#ChineseSubmarine)	**Frequencies (Time)**
General people	**1**
The government sectors (no posts)	**0**
Total	**1**

From the study, it was found that the content related to the national security in the military domain posted by the government via direct online channels or official online channels the most was “The submarine purchase from China project” (1 frequency), and “Royal Thai Armed Forces Headquarters” was the direct information sources. For Twitter, it was found that general people posted the content on the issue of #ChineseSubmarine (1 frequency). No post was found in the Twitter of the government sector.

From analyzing the appearance of presented content via the mainstream or alternative online media as the information sources, it was found that the issues on the submarine purchase from China were presented (12 frequencies). General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO; General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Ministry of Defence; Admiral Kraisorn Chansuvanich, the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Navy; Admiral Chumpol Lumpikanon, the spokesperson of the Navy; and Wissanu Krea-Ngam, Deputy Prime Minister were the information sources posted the most (2 frequencies equally). The next information sources presented the most were Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister; and Somsak Chotirattanasiri,

Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Office of Prime Minister (1 frequency equally), as illustrated in Table 4.38.

Table 4.38 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source

Via Indirect Online Channel or Appearing on the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO	2
General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Ministry of Defence	2
Admiral Kraisorn Chansuvanich, the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Navy	2
Admiral Chumpol Lumpikanon, the spokesperson of the Navy	2
Wissanu Krea-Ngam, Deputy Prime Minister	2
Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister	1
Somsak Chotirattanasiri, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Office of Prime Minister	1
Total	**12**

From the study, it was found that the top content related to the national security in the military domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals, political supporters of the NCPO government, and government agencies responsible directly for the incidents via online media channels was the following content:

Table 4.39 The Main Theme of the Submarine Purchase from China Project

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The submarine purchase from China Project	
The government confirmed the approval of the purchasing of the submarine "Yuan Class S26T from China had proceeded in the legal process without any corruptions. Every step in the process could be inspected like other procurement of every Ministry.	**6**
The technical justification was given as to why the Navy chose the S26T submarine from China.	**4**
The Royal Thai Navy approved by consensus to buy three submarines from China by G-to-G contract, spending the budget of 360 thousand million baht. The Navy assigned the committee to inspect submarines in six countries and the votes were as follows: 14 votes for Chinese submarines, 2 for Germany, and 1 for Swedish. They confirmed nobody involved in directing the votes. The purchasing of submarines from China should be considered as the smartest and the most worthwhile decision.	**3**
Twitter: (#ChineseSubmarine)	
General people posted their support and agreement **the most** (1 frequency), and the content posted was "Support Thailand to have a submarine for the national maritime security. However, **no post** on the government sector's Twitter was found.	

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most were bbc.com/thai (6 frequencies), followed by manager.co.th (5 frequencies). The channel that presented the news the least was bangkokbiznews.com (4 frequencies) respectively.

For Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels, it was found that the issue posted the most was people's agreement and support of the issue

#ChineseSubmarine (9 frequencies), i.e., “A report of the budget for purchasing submarines from China,” “The Navy explained the advantages of buying Chinese submarines, such as camouflage, complete armed sets, safety,” “The Prime Minister confirmed the submarines were necessary for creating higher potentials for the Navy,” etc. as illustrated in Table 4.40.

Table 4.40 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media, and Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media

Mainstream and Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**
bbc.com/thai	6
manager.co.th	5
bangkokbiznews.com	4
Total	**15**
Twitter of the Mainstream/ Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**
Total	**9**
The issue posted **the most** on Twitter to express the support and agreement was the issue #ChineseSubmarine (9 frequencies), i.e., “A report of the budget for purchasing submarines from China,” “The Navy explained the advantages of buying Chinese submarines, such as camouflage, complete armed sets, safety,” “The Prime Minister confirmed the submarines were necessary for creating higher potentials for the Navy,” etc.	

Political Dissidents/ Activists

On part of political dissidents, both individuals and groups of individuals, the study showed that they posted the national security content in the military domain via direct and official online channels the most. The issue posted the most was “the Project of Submarine Purchase from China (2 frequencies). In the posted issues, it appeared Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights and Srisuwan Chanya, secretary-

general of the Thai Constitutional Protection Organization Association as the direct information sources the most (1 frequency equally).

Regarding Twitter, it was found that general people used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement with the government sector the most (8 frequencies). However, no post of the political dissidents/activists nor people's network/ NGOs/ civil society organizations was found, as illustrated in Table 4.41.

Table 4.41 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**
Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights, via www.facebook.com/permalink.php	**1**
Srisuwan Chanya, secretary-general of the Thai Constitutional Protection Organization Association, via www.facebook.com/thaisgwa	**1**
Total	**2**
Twitter (#ChineseSubmarine)	**Frequencies (Time)**
General people	**8**
Political dissidents/ activists (no post)	**0**
People's networks/NGOs/civil society organizations (no post)	**0**
Total	**8**

Regarding the posting as information source via indirect online channels, it was found that the posted content appeared in the mainstream or online alternative media was the content on the Submarine Purchase from China Project (7 frequencies). The information sources being posted were Admiral Bannawit Kengrian, former Deputy Permanent Secretary for Defense, and former Chairman of the Special Advisory Committee of the Navy; Watchara Petchthong, former MP's list of

the Democratic Party; Pisit Leelawachiropas, former Governor of the Auditor-General or OAG; Pramual Aimpia, Deputy spokesperson of the Democratic Party; Srisuwan Chanya, secretary-general of the Thai Constitutional Protection Organization Association; Suan Dusit Poll, and Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights. (1 frequency, equally), as illustrated in Table 4.42.

Table 4.42 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Military Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources

Via Indirect Online Media Channels or Appearing in the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**
Admiral Bannawit Kengrian, former Deputy Permanent Secretary for Defense, and former Chairman of the Special Advisory Committee of the Navy	**1**
Watchara Petchthong, former MP's list of the Democratic Party	**1**
Pisit Leelawachiropas, former Governor of the Auditor-General or OAG	**1**
Pramual Aimpia, Deputy spokesperson of the Democratic Party	**1**
Srisuwan Chanya, secretary-general of the Thai Constitutional Protection Organization Association	**1**
Suan Dusit Poll	**1**
Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights	**1**
Total	**7**

For the main themes related to the national security in the military domain, the following content was posted by political dissidents/activists, both individuals and groups of individuals.

Table 4.43 The Main Theme of the Submarine Purchase from China Project

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The Submarine Purchase from China Project	
The government's approval of the project, claimed by the involved parties as "confidential," was not publicized through any news conference after the government's meeting like others. Therefore, it was perceived as the non-transparency of the government. Such abnormality thus made the society more doubtful about the hidden benefits, especially commissions, which were believed to be common for arms procurement of every period. Accordingly, the transparency problem had made the NCPO government more notorious.	**10**
Considering the principal mission of the Navy in protecting the country against the intrusion of the neighboring countries in terms of maritime security, it should focus on the Thai Gulf rather than the Andaman Coast. Notably, the Thai Gulf is a shallow sea where it is suitable for using any submarine.	**6**
At the moment, the condition of the country was not ready for lump-sum investment for equipping the Navy with high protection tools. The country was still facing drought and depressing economics. Besides, under the economic recession, to buy submarines with thousands of million baht would put the country into long-term debt. Of course, such expenditure or budgets came from people's tax; thus, the government needed to reconsider	**4**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
it thoroughly. The NCPO government desired to establish intimate relationships with the Chinese government, due to the worsened relationships between the Thai government and the western countries, especially the U.S.A., after the coup d'etat.	**4**
Twitter: (#ChineseSubmarine)	
General people posted their opposition and disagreement **the most** (8 frequencies). The content posted was "If people are still suffering, economics is tough, and educational systems stay unchanged, submarines cannot lead to the national development. Instead, the government should establish a strong foundation for people first," "Due to the secret approval for purchasing 2 submarines with one free submarine, costing 13,5 billion baht, the government should let people be informed of the information," etc. However, **no post** from political dissidents/activists and people's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations, was found.	

The mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news of disagreement with the government's policies and administration, while supporting the movement of political dissidents the most was bbc.com/thai (4 frequencies), followed by mgronline.com (3 frequencies) and the least were isranews.org และ bangkokbiznews.com (2 frequencies equally). The Submarine Purchase from China Project was presented in the news. (11 frequencies).

For posting on Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, the issue posted to express the opposition and disagreement the most was (1) #ChineseSubmarine. (9 frequencies). The examples of the posted content were "the necessity of Thailand to have submarines," "Objection against the submarine purchase," "Rushing the OAG to inspect the submarine purchase," "the government should solve people's earnings problems first," and "the information on the submarine, Yuan Class S26T, from China should be revealed," etc., as illustrated in Table 4.44.

Table 4.44 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Military Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**
bbc.com/thai	**4**
mgronline.com	**3**
isranews.org	**2**
bangkokbiznews.com	**2**
Total	**11**
Twitter of the Mainstream/ Online Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**
	9
The opposition and disagreement with the issue **(1) #ChineseSubmarine** were posted. (9 frequencies). The content posted was “the necessity of Thailand to have submarines,” “Objection against the submarine purchase,” “Rushing the OAG to inspect the submarine purchase,” “the government should solve people’s earnings problems first,” and “the information on the submarine, Yuan Class S26T, from China should be revealed,” etc.,	

Table 4.45 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Public Relations Division of the Royal Thai Army, via Twitter: @armypr_news	1	-	**1**
Website of Royal Thai Government Gazette, via www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th	-	1	**1**
Total	**1**	**1**	**2**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General people	-	2	**2**
Twitter of the government sector, i.e., #NBT2HD, etc.	-	1	**1**
Total	**0**	**3**	**3**

Note: (1) means the Single Gateway Policy, (2) means the Consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560
Twitter (1) #SingleGateway, (2) #ComputerAct

From the study, it was found that the content related to the national security in the scientific and technological domain posted by the government via official online channels were “Single Gateway Policy,” and “Consideration on the Draft of Communication Crime Act, B.E. 2560,” (1 frequency equally). Public Relations Division of the Royal Thai Army and the website of the Royal Thai Government Gazette were the direct information sources. For Twitter, it was found that general people posted the content on Issue on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560 the most. (2 frequencies).

From analyzing the appearance of presented content via the mainstream or alternative online media as the information sources, it was found that the issues on the Single Gateway Policy was presented the most (8 frequencies), followed by the consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E., 2560 (3 frequencies). Police Major General Pisit Pao-in, Consultant of the Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Head of the working group on investigating social media, and Extraordinary Committee of the Computer Crime Act Drafting was presented as the information source the most (4 frequencies), followed by Colonel Winthai Suwaree and the NCPO's spokesperson team (3 frequencies), and the least were Pichet Durongkaweroj, the Minister of Digital Economy and Society (DE); and Surachai Liengboonlertchai, Vice-President of the NIA. (2 frequencies equally), as illustrated in Table 4.46.

Table 4.46 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source

Via Indirect Online Channel or Appearing on the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Police Major General Pisit Pao-in, Consultant of the Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Head of the working group on investigating social media, and Extraordinary Committee of the Computer Crime Act Drafting	3	1	**4**
Colonel Winthai Suwaree and the NCPO's spokesperson team	3	-	**3**
Pichet Durongkaweroj, the Minister of Digital Economy and Society (DE)	1	1	**2**
Surachai Liengboonlertchai, Vice-President of the NIA	1	1	**2**

Via Indirect Online Channel or Appearing on the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	Frequencies (Time)		
	(1)	(2)	Total
Total	**8**	**3**	**11**

From the study, it was found that the top content related to the national security in the scientific and technological domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals, political supporters of the NCPO government and government agencies responsible directly for the incidents via online media channels was the following:

1) Single Gateway Policy

Table 4.47 The Main Theme of Single Gateway Policy

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
During the period in which people could not use Facebook, it was noted that the Thai Army decided to shut down or block Facebook, or possibly at the Gateway level. It was possible that Facebook users on a PC, smartphone, mobile phone, and tablet via Information Service Provider (ISP): TRUE, TOT, 3-Broadband (3BB), including mobile-phone networking operator in Thailand, could not use Facebook.	**7**
The government prepared to cope with the attack on the government sector's websites by hackers by monitoring the websites and coordinating with agencies responsible for regulating websites to have close surveillance for 24 hours.	**5**
The NIA approved the Draft of Computer Crime Act per section in the second agenda before voting with consensus, 168 votes, and 5 abstentions, to approve it in the third agenda as a statutory declaration. The approval made many parties worried that such an act might be	**2**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
related to the Single Gateway Policy.	
Twitter: (#SingleGateway)	
No post of content expressing support or agreement with the Single Gateway Policy was found on the **Twitter of the government sector and general people.**	

2) The Consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560

Table 4.48 The Main Theme of the Consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The hackers' claim of being able to hack the government agencies' systems was just to create confusion in society and decrease the creditability of the government agencies. The government confirmed that there had been no damage to the database related to the security of the nation and people.	**4**
The said act did not involve or relate to the Single Gateway Policy. It did not violate the fundamental rights of people either.	**3**
The opposing groups or activists against the Computer Crime Act were warned to think more carefully or stop their movement as the rally might be charged as incurring unrest situations in society.	**2**
Twitter: (#ComputerAct)	
General people posted their support and agreement on Twitter the most (2 frequencies). The content posted was "the explanation what are the benefits of the new Computer Act," **"**The Ministry of ICT is confident that the digital laws will help to raise the national economy," etc., **followed by** the posts on the Twitter of **the government sector** (1 frequency), and the content posted was "the provision of main essence and penalties in the case of fraud information," etc.	

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most was bbc.com/thai (11 frequencies), followed by manager.co.th (6 frequencies). The channels that presented the news the least were thairath.co.th, and news.mthai.com (3 frequencies equally). The news presented the most was the Single Gateway Policy.

For Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels, it was found that the issue posted the most was people's agreement and support of Issue (1) (#SingleGateway) (11 frequencies), i.e., "The Prime Minister emphasized that the Computer Act did not violate people's rights," "The arrest of the youth participating in pressing F5 was just for modifying their attitudes," "The government prepared to invite all concerned to share ideas about the Single Gateway Policy creatively," "The Ministry of DE confirmed the Draft of the Computer Act was not related to the Single Gateway Policy," etc., followed by Issue (2) (#ComputerAct) (7 frequencies). The content posted the most was "The Prime Minister confirmed the Single Gateway would not be adopted, but it was necessary to have Computer Act for preventing negative information," "The government sector warned the expressions on the cyber world that might be charged by-laws, "The quick investigation on website threats was urged as they affected people more than the government," etc., as illustrated in Table 4.49.

Table 4.49 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media and Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media

Via Indirect Online Media Channels or Appearing in the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
bbc.com/thai	4	7	**11**
manager.co.th	6	-	**6**
thairath.co.th	2	1	**3**
news.mthai.com	-	3	**3**
Total	**12**	**11**	**23**

Twitter of the Mainstream and Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	12	5	**17**

The issue expressing the support and agreement **the most** was (1) **#SingleGateway** (12 frequencies). The content posted was "The Prime Minister emphasized that the Computer Act did not violate people's rights," "The arrest of the youth participating in pressing F5 was just for modifying their attitudes," "The government prepared to invite all concerned to share ideas about the Single Gateway Policy creatively," "The Ministry of DE confirmed the Draft of the Computer Act was not related to the Single Gateway Policy," etc.**, followed by** Issue (2) **(#ComputerAct)** (7 frequencies). The content posted the most was "The Prime Minister confirmed the Single Gateway would not be adopted, but it was necessary to have Computer Act for preventing negative information," "The government sector warned the expressions on the cyber world that might be charged by laws,"The quick investigation on website threats was urged as they affected people more than the government," etc.,

Political Dissidents/Activists

On part of political dissidents, both individuals and groups of individuals, the study showed that they posted the national security content in scientific and technological domain via direct and official online channels about the consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560 the most (8 frequencies), followed by the Single Gateway Policy (6 frequencies) respectively. In the posted issues, it appeared Anonymous Hackers, Citizen Against Single Gateway, and Amnesty International (Thailand) as the direct information sources the most (3 frequencies equally), followed by Thai Netizen Network (2 frequencies), and the least were F5 Cyber Army, Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw), Thai Lawyers for Human Rights Center (1 frequency equally) respectively.

Regarding Twitter, it was found that general people and political dissidents/activists used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement with the government sector the most (22 frequencies equally). The content posted the most was (1) #SingleGateway (30 frequencies). However, no post on the Twitter of people's network/ NGOs/ or civil society organizations was found, as illustrated in Table 4.50.

Table 4.50 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels

	Frequencies (Time)		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Anonymous Hackers	3	-	**3**
Citizens against Single Gateway	2	1	**3**
Amnesty International (Thailand)	-	3	**3**
Thai Netizen Network	-	2	**2**
F5 Cyber Army	1	-	**1**
Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw)	-	1	**1**
Thai Lawyers for Human Rights Center	-	1	**1**
Total	**6**	**8**	**14**

Twitter	Frequencies (Time)		
	(1)	(2)	Total
General people	13	9	**22**
Political dissidents/ activists, i.e., @LLTD_TU/ #OpSingleGateway/ Anonymous @GroupAnon/ #Anonymous/ Anonymous @blackplans/ @anonymousAsia, etc.	17	5	**22**
People's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations (no post)	0	0	**0**
Total	**30**	**14**	**44**

Regarding the posting as information source via indirect online channels, it was found that the posted content appeared in the mainstream or online alternative media the most was the content about the consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560 (11 frequencies). However, no post on the content of the Single Gateway Policy was found. The information source posted the most was Amnesty International (Thailand) (4 frequencies), followed by Thai Netizen Network (3 frequencies), and the least was Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw) and Free Internet Society of Thailand (FIST), as illustrated in Table 4.51.

Table 4.51 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources

Via Indirect Online Media Channels or Appearing in the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	Frequencies (Time)		
	(1)	(2)	Total
Amnesty International (Thailand)	-	4	**4**
Thai Netizen Network	-	3	**3**
Internet Law Reform Dialogue (ILaw)	-	2	**2**
Free Internet Society of Thailand (FIST)	-	2	**2**

Via Indirect Online Media Channels or Appearing in the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	Frequencies (Time)		
	(1)	(2)	Total
Total	**0**	**11**	**11**

For the main themes related to national security in the scientific and technological domain, the following content was posted by political dissidents/activists, both individuals and groups of individuals.

1) The Single Gateway Policy

Table 4.52 The Main Theme of the Single Gateway Policy

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
"The government agencies' systems, i.e., the Office of Immigration Services Commissioner, etc., had been successfully hacked," "The Ministry of Defence's systems at the confidential level had been hacked, including other government agencies, i.e., websites of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Army's budgets Administration, House of Representatives, NIA, and CAT information service provider, etc.," "The purpose of the hacking was to oppose the internet control systems of Thai government	**7**
The Single Gateway Policy was protested because it decreased people's freedom of expression, and violated rights and liberty in people's expressions in the online world.	**4**
There was a threat to hack websites of government agencies as a symbolic expression. Any company or individual played a part in supporting the Single Gateway Project might be attacked by electronic methods as well, i.e., the pressing of F5 for attacking government	**3**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
agencies, etc.	
Twitter: (#SingleGateway, #OpSingleGateway)	
Political dissidents/ activists posted their opposition and disagreement the most (17 frequencies). The content posted was “hashtag #OpSingleGateway,” “the successful hacking of the government agencies’ websites,” “the arrest of suspects being charged with supporting the movement against the Single Gateway Project,” “Almost no news presentation of mass media about the disagreement with the Single Gateway Project, while online media could do it more easily,” “The government started to pay attention to the Single Gateway Project and expressed its dissatisfaction with the symbolic movement against the Single Gateway Project, etc., **The next group** who wanted to oppose to the Single Gateway Project was **general people** via @ChangeThailand or http://change.org/singlegateway. The content posted was “the opposition against Single Gateway,” “joining in signing against Single Gateway via @ChangeThailand, or http://change.org/singlegateway,” “the disadvantage of Single Gateway is the violation of rights and liberty,” “the disagreement with what the government claimed as the security matters,” etc. However, **no post** was found from the Twitter of people’s networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations.	

2) The consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560

Table 4.53 The Main Theme of the consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The Act might open a room for misinterpretation and enforcement in violating people’s rights and liberty, especially those of free expressions in the online world. Besides, it could be used for punishing individuals and information service providers unfairly.	**7**
NIA was urged to review its consideration on the	**4**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Draft of Computer Act.	
It had to be assured that laws would protect computer security, people's privacy, rights, and liberty for expressions, including mass media's roles, with no negative impact on economic growth and financial institutes in the digital era.	**4**
The adversary raised the level of their attack for protecting their freedom by hacking the government sector's information systems, i.e., websites of the government agencies related to financial administrative systems, procurement systems, including websites of the Ministry of Tourism and Sports, etc.	**3**
Military officers were authorized to inspect, arrest, and investigate suspects, including suing them to the court. However, such a process did not have a balanced investigation based on universal principles. Thus, a lot of people were arrested and investigated secretly without a lawyer.	**3**
The NCPO government adopted military operations, i.e., information operations (IO) for coping with a new form of security and political threats on online platforms.	**3**
Twitter: (#ComputerAct)	
General people posted their opposition and disagreement on Twitter the most (9 frequencies). The content posted was, "If people cannot express any opinion, it means that democracy does not exist, especially their criticism against the NCPO," "People rejected the Draft of Computer Crime Act because it is the new name of Single Gateway," "People disagreed with the approval votes for the Draft of Computer Crime Act of NIA," "People were invited to sign for opposing the Act," etc.	

The mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news expressing the opposition and disagreement with the government's policies or administration and supporting the movement of the political dissidents/activists the most was bbc.com/thai (11 frequencies), followed by bangkokbiznews.com (2 frequencies) respectively. The content about the consideration on the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560 was presented the most (9 frequencies).

Opposition and disagreement the most were (2) #ComputerAct. (5 frequencies). The examples of the posted content were "the report on the voting of NIA for passing the Computer Act Draft," "a call for signing to oppose the Computer Act," "rights and liberty in the age of social media," "the hacking of the government agencies' systems by the opponents against the Computer Act," "the warning of the Ministry of Digital Economy and Technology on the sharing of information on social media that might be charged with disseminating distorted information," etc. The next issue posted the most was Issue (1) (#SingleGateway) (3 frequencies). The content posted was "computer failure of the government agencies," "the tough test on the NCPO in the case of symbolic movements by the Anonymous Hackers," "Citizens against Single Gateway," etc., as illustrated in Table 30.

Table 4.54 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
bbc.com/thai	4	7	**11**
bangkokbiznews.com	-	2	**2**
Total	**4**	**9**	**13**

Twitter of the Mainstream/Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	3	5	**8**

The issue **(2) #ComputerAct** was posted with the opposition and disagreement on Twitter the most (5 frequencies). The content posted was "the report on the voting

of NIA for passing the Computer Act Draft," "a call for signing to oppose the Computer Act," "rights and liberty in the age of social media," "the hacking of the government agencies' systems by the opponents against the Computer Act," "the warning of the Ministry of Digital Economy and Technology on the sharing of information on social media that might be charged with disseminating distorted information," etc. **The next** issue posted the most was Issue (1) (#SingleGateway) (3 frequencies). The content posted was "computer failure of the government agencies," "the tough test on the NCPO in the case of symbolic movements by the Anonymous Hackers," "Citizens against Single Gateway," etc.

Table 4.55 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Energy and Environmental Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO	-	1	**1**
Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the Spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister	1	-	**1**
Pralong DamrongThai, Director General of the Pollution Control Department, and the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (TSR).	-	1	**1**
The Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (TSR)	-	1	**1**
People's networks in Krabi area.	1	-	**1**
Deep South Watch Center	1	-	**1**
Total	**3**	**3**	**6**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**

The government sector's Twitter, i.e., @EGAT.Official @EGAT_Official/ @greennewsagency/ #NBT2HD/ @TNAMCOT, etc.	2	6	**8**
General people	1	-	**1**
Total	**3**	**6**	**9**

Note: (1) means the government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province, Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province, etc., (2) means E-Waste
Twitter (1) **(**#DeepSeaPortSatunProject, #CoalPowerPlant), (2) (#GlobalWaste, #EWaste, #ToxicWaste)

From the study, it was found that the content related to the national security in the energy and environmental domain posted by the government via direct official online channels the most was "the government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province; Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province; and E-Waste (3 frequencies equally). General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO; Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister; and Pralong Damrongthai, Director General of the Pollution Control Department, and the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (TSR), People's Network in Krabi area, and Deep South Watch were the direct information sources found the most (1 frequency equally). For Twitter, it was found that on the Twitter of the government sector, the content was posted on the E-Waste the most (6 frequencies), followed by the government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province, Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province, etc., (3 frequencies) respectively.

From analyzing the appearance of presented content via the mainstream or alternative online media as the information sources, it was found that the issue of the government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province, Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province and Thepha District,

Songkhla Province, etc., was presented the most (11 frequencies). General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO, was presented as the information source the most (5 frequencies), followed by Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister (4 frequencies). The information sources presented the least were people's networks and community leaders of Nua Khlong District, Krabi Province; Supporters of Coal-Fired Power Plant Project, Krabi Province; Pralong Damrongthai, Director-General of the Pollution Control Department and the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment; and Krisada Chinavichitana, Director-General of the Customs Department (2 frequencies equally), as illustrated in Table 4.56.

Table 4.56 Illustrates the Top Content Related to the National Security in the Energy and Environmental Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Supporters of the NCPO Government, and Government Agencies Responsible Directly for the Incidents via Mainstream or Alternative Online Media as an Information Source

Via Indirect Online Channel or Appearing on the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO	5	-	**5**
Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister	4	-	**4**
were people's networks and community leaders of Nua Khlong District, Krabi Province, and supporters of Coal-Fired Power Plant Project, Krabi Province	2	-	**2**
Pralong Damrongthai, Director-General of the Pollution Control Department and the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment	-	2	**2**
Krisada Chinavicharana, Director-General of the Customs Department	-	2	**2**
Total	**11**	**4**	**15**

From the study, it was found that the top content related to the national security in the energy and environmental domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals, political supporters of the NCPO government, and government agencies responsible directly for the incidents via online media channels was the following content:

1) The government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province, and Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province and Thepha District, Songkhla Province

Table 4.57 The Main Theme of the Government Sector's Projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province, and Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province and Thepha District, Songkhla Province

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The Coal-Fired Power Plant Project, Krabi Province	
The government sector confirmed that the government was aware of the electricity security of the southern area as well as local people's quality of life. Since it is based on the principles of environmental protection in parallel to the maintenance of local people's ways of life.	**7**
The reason why the coal-fired power plant project in Krabi province was supported because the coal power plant project was assured to be clean technology and supporters trusted EGAT as a government agency that could enhance the electricity security in the south, including helping to develop economics and society in the area	**6**
The Prime Minister reinstated the Ministry of Energy and Environment and other agencies responsible for communicating with people to create a better	**4**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
understanding of the southern people and people of other regions throughout the country continually so that everybody could participate in determining the direction of the sustainable national power in the future.	
Coal-Fired Power Plant Project, Thepha District, Songkhla Province	
It was an important project for developing the generating-power capacity in the south and of the country to be able to carry the increased demand of electricity in the future. However, this project caused 150 households to expropriate their land. Thus, a lot of people were worried that their natural environment and lifestyles might be changed. Still, some groups of people supported the project and believed that it would bring prosperity to the area.	**2**
Twitter: (#DeepSeaPortSatun, #CoalPowerPlant)	
On the **government sector's Twitter**, the content was posted **the most** to express the support and agreement (2 frequencies). The content posted was "the Minister of Energy and Environment confirmed the MOU of both opposing and supporting the construction of coal-fired power plant projects was under the SEA's study for one year. Besides, a new committee was assigned to avoid any cronyism, etc. However, **no post** on the **general people**'s Twitter was found.	

2) E-Waste

Table 4.58 The Main Theme of E-Waste

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The problem of imported E-waste was solved and handled correctly and appropriately by collecting it and returning to the management system by the stipulated	**7**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
measures and guidelines at all levels: policy, management, and practice. E-waste was classified by academic principles without causing any pollution or harm to public health and the environment. E-waste had been defined as "any unwanted or discarded electric product or part (excluding parts of an electric generator), and classified as a prohibited imported product."	
The government appointed a sub-committee for integrating the management of imported E-waste and plastic-waste systematically with a regular and continual meeting for solving problems.	**4**
The government assigned all concerned offices towards serious enforcement to be able to manage E-waste and plastic-waste practically by stipulated rules, laws, and regulations with public concern in all dimensions: economics, society, and environment. Besides, some measures were set to fill up some gaps in importing, returning, and transiting to the destination. The measures on additional penalties for any violation were also determined.	**3**
Twitter: (#GlobalWaste, #EWaste #ToxicWaste)	
The content expressing support and agreement was posted on **the government sector**'s Twitter **the most.** (6 frequencies). The content posted was "people's petition on finding a smuggling place for disposing the waste," "contaminated waste," "the police's extended investigation on the import companies of E-waste," "the appeal of people's networks affected by E-waste to the Prime Minister requesting for prohibiting the import of E-waste," "correct and proper inspection of the license for classifying, disposing, and recycling the waste was urged," etc. However, **no post** on the **general people'**s Twitter was	

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most was thairath.co.th (8 frequencies), followed by manager.co.th, and mgronline.com (6 frequencies equally). The channels that presented the news the least were prachatai.com, khaosod.co.th, and prachachat (4 frequencies equally). The news presented the most was the government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province, and Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province. (22 frequencies).

For Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels, it was found that the posted issue expressing people's agreement and support most was Issue (2) (#GlobalWaste, #Ewaste, and #ToxicWaste) (15 frequencies). The content was i.e., "a progress report on the inspection of waste factories at site in different areas, If any violation was found, government officers would issue a warning letter to correct it within 15 days; otherwise, they would be prosecuted," "ASEAN countries joined in returning the waste to the host country and claimed ASEAN was not global garbage.", the government was going to execute the Section 44 for stopping imported waste if necessary and assigned a working group under the responsibility of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment by integrating all concerned offices," "the government would open a high-tech recycling center expected to get rid of toxic waste," etc., The next posted issue was Issue (1) (#DeepSeaPortSatun, #CoalPowerPlant) (12 frequencies). The content posted the most was "to postpone the construction of coal-fired power plant in Krabi and Songkhla," "the committee for regulating the study on area strategies for coal power plant in Thepha-Krabi," "Krabi people confirmed their support on the construction of the coal power plant," etc. as illustrated in Table 4.59.

Table 4.59 Illustrates the top content presented by mass media and related to the national security in the scientific and environmental domain posted by individuals, groups of individuals, political supporters of the NCPO government, and government agencies, via the mainstream or online alternative media

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
thairath.co.th	8	-	**8**
manager.co.th mgronline.com	5	1	**6**
prachatai.com	4	-	**4**
khaosod.co.th	4	-	**4**
prachachat.net	1	3	**4**
Total	**22**	**4**	**26**

Twitter of the Mainstream/Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	12	15	**27**

The issue (2) **#GlobalWaste, #Ewaste, and #ToxicWaste** was posted the most (15 frequencies). The content posted was, “a progress report on the inspection of waste factories at site in different areas, If any violation was found, government officers would issue a warning letter to correct it within 15 days; otherwise, they would be prosecuted,” “ASEAN countries joined in returning the waste to the host country and claimed ASEAN was not global garbage.”, the government was going to execute the Section 44 for stopping imported waste if necessary and assigned a working group under the responsibility of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment by integrating all concerned offices,” “the government would open a high-tech recycling center expected to get rid of toxic waste,” etc., **The next** posted issue was Issue (1) (#DeepSeaPortSatun, #CoalPowerPlant) (12 frequencies). The content posted the most was “to postpone the construction of coal-fired power plant in Krabi and Songkhla,” “the committee for regulating the study on area strategies for coal power plant in Thepha-Krabi,” “Krabi people confirmed their support on the construction of the coal power plant,” etc.

Political Dissidents/Activists

On part of political dissidents, both individuals and groups of individuals, the study showed that they posted the national security content in the energy and environmental domain via direct and official online channels the most. The issue posted the most was “the government sector’s projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province; Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province (6 frequencies), followed by E-Waste (2 frequencies) respectively. The direct information sources found in the posts were the following: EnLAWTHAI Foundation, Seub Nakhasathiern Foundation, iLaw, the Network of Songkhla-Pattani People Against Coal, Narak Group, Loei Province, the Assembly of the Poor, Coordinator of Isan Land Reform Network, Social Innovation Students Club and Rural Development Volunteer Club of Rangsit University, the Andaman Protection from Coal Network, Penchom Saetang, director of Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH) (1 frequency equally)

Regarding Twitter, it was found that general people used Twitter to post their opposition and disagreement with the government sector the most (31 frequencies), followed by people’s networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations (7 frequencies), and political dissidents/activists (2 frequencies) respectively, as illustrated in Table 4.60.

Table 4.60 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups Of Individuals, Political Dissidents, or Activists, via Online Media Channels

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channel	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
EnLawTHAI Foundation	1	-	**1**
Seub Nakhasathiern Foundation	1	-	**1**
iLaw	1	-	**1**
the Network of Songkhla - Pattani People Against Coal	1	-	**1**
Narak Group, Loei Province, the Assembly of the Poor,	1	-	**1**

Via Direct Online Channel or Posting via Official Online Channel	Frequencies (Time)		
	(1)	(2)	Total
Coordinator of Isan Land Reform Network			
Social Innovation Students Club and Rural Development Volunteer Club of Rangsit University; the Andaman Protection from Coal Network	1	-	**1**
Environmental and academic organizations network; representatives of the affected communities.	-	1	**1**
Penchom Saetang, director of Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH)	-	1	**1**
Total	**6**	**2**	**8**
Twitter	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
General people	16	15	**31**
People's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations, i.e., @Seub Nakhasathien, @greenpeaceth, @iLawFX, @iLawclub, and @NakhonSiThailand, etc.	7	-	**7**
Political dissidents/ activists, i.e., @LLTD_TU/ @SuwitKhunkitti, etc.	1	1	**2**
Total	**24**	**16**	**40**

Regarding the posting as information source via indirect online channels, it was found that the posted content appeared in the mainstream or online alternative media the most was the content on the E-Waste (11 frequencies), followed by "the government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province; Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province (3 frequencies) respectively. The information source posted the most was Penchom Saetang, director of Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH) (4 frequencies), followed by M.L. Rungkhun Kitikayara, the Anderman Protection from Coal Network, iLaw, Tara Buakamsri, Director of Greenpeace Southeast Asia, Sonthi Kotchawat, Secretary-General of Thai Environmental Health

Association, and Greenpeace Southeast Asia (2 frequencies equally), as illustrated in Table 4.61.

Table 4.61 Illustrates the Top Content Related to National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain Posted by Individuals, Groups of Individuals, Political Dissidents or Activists, via the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as Information Sources

Via Indirect Online Media Channels or Appearing in the Mainstream or Online Alternative Media as the Information Source	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
Penchom Saetang, director of Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH)	-	4	**4**
M.L. Rungkhun Kitikayara, the Andaman Protection from Coal Network	2	-	**2**
iLaw	1	1	**2**
Tara Buakamsri, Director of Greenpeace Southeast Asia.	-	2	**2**
Sonthi Kotchawat, Secretary-General of Thai Environmental Scholars Club	-	2	**2**
Greenpeace Southeast Asia	-	2	**2**
Total	**3**	**11**	**14**

For the main themes related to national security in the scientific and technological domain, the following content was posted by political dissidents/activists, both individuals and groups of individuals.

1) The government sector's projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province; Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province

Table 4.62 The Main Theme of the Government Sector's Projects, i.e., the Construction of the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, Satun Province; Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
The Project of Coal-Fired Power Plant, Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province	
The government was urged to listen to the local people's information, not only to the Ministry of Energy and Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT). The way the government chose to support fossil or coal capitalists, instead of supporting the communities to produce alternative energy from palms, illustrated that it took the side of the capitalists, not people. The government did not listen to people, showed no respect nor concern for the environment, local economy, and people's health.	**6**
The construction of the power plant was under study and analyzed for a report on its impact on the environment and people's health (EHIA). The process of both EIA and SHIA should be conducted transparently and all concerned should participate in decision-making, especially people's participation.	**5**
The movement of the Anderman Protection from Coal Network aimed to stop the government's continuing construction of the coal-fired power plant. It was a democratic expression and did not violate or affect national peace at all.	**3**
The area for constructing the coal power plant and deep-sea port is significant for the ecological system. It is the living area of birds, dolphins, whales, and manatees, all of which are protected and conserved wild animals of	**3**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Thailand. Besides, they are in the process of being registered as ones of world heritage. Therefore, it is very inappropriate to have a coal power plant constructed.	
EGAT gave fraud information and created a deceptive discourse that coal is the safest substance with low production costs. It was truly propaganda. Krabi has sufficient potentials in generating electricity from alternative power certainly.	**3**
The project of the construction of a deep-sea port at Pak Bara, La-ngoo, Satun Province	
The army facilitated business owners and capitalists despite the opposition of people in the area.	**1**
The construction destroyed the local economy and traditional community lifestyles.	**1**
Other environments	
Local people were restrained from expressing their fundamental rights and participation. There had been power misuse and cronyism for capitalists. The government should allow people to participate in presenting their information and offering recommendations to protect their benefits equally.	**3**
Natural resources problems were the major problem in the northeastern part, affected by coup d'etat.	**2**
The NCPO's rules, regulations, and orders caused difficulties for the movement of the affected people, especially people in the affected area.	**2**
Although the NCPO established some mechanism for people's appeals, those appeals had not been taken into actions. Therefore, the government had to create trust and confidence in its earnest problem-solving ways to people.	**2**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Twitter: (#DeepSeaPortSatun #CoalPowerPlant)	
General people posted their opposition and disagreement on Twitter **the most** (16 frequencies). The content posted **the most** was "I want everybody to protect the beauty and richness of Thai sea," "the southern activists' summons to report to the police by the Public Assembly Laws," Local people disagreed with the construction of deep sea port," "The announcement of UNESCO on approving "Satun Geological Park" as one of thirteen world geological parks for conserving the geological variety of the world. Thus, the government was demanded to cancel the Pak Bara Deep Sea Port, etc." **The next group** who posted the opposition and disagreement on Twitter was **people's networks, NGOs, and civil society organizations** (7 frequencies). The content posted was "The situation of local people's protest against the construction of coal-fired power plant," "a stage opposing the construction of Pak Bara deep-sea port," "the prosecution of the protestants and people's networks." The group being posted **the least** was political dissidents or activists.	

1) E-Waste

Table 4.63 The Main Theme of E-Waste

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Since the Chinese government issued measures for annulling the hazardous imported waste on July 18, 2017, developed countries then exported a huge amount of waste to other developing countries with no-limit control and vulnerable environmental protection laws. Recycling and disposing of wastes in Thailand thus have been growing rapidly. The commerce in plastic and E-waste emerged under the loose laws in the disguised form of "recycled" and "reusable" products. Thailand thus becomes a country of importing these wastes from other countries, as witnessed in the amount of smuggled E-	**9**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
waste in the past years.	
Related laws and regulations should be modified towards more strict protection for the environment and public health, especially the order of the NCPO No. 4/2559, which cancels the enforcement of laws on urban planning for energy and waste business, or other new laws, i.e., Factory Act, B.E. 2562, which facilitates an easier application for requesting a Factory Establishment License or Factory Business License for Waste Recycling Business. On the other hand, the measures for protecting the environmental impact are very loose or not so strict. Hence, it has brought about enormous trouble for people in the nearby area, caused by the polluted waste from these factories.	**8**
The problems of E-waste across countries, or from developed to developing countries, especially in Asia and Africa, have increased the amount of E-waste continuously. Considering some gaps in the existing laws it was found that the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal or Basel Convention contains no rules prohibiting the transfer, import, and export of broken electronic products or appliances. It is believed that such products can be reused or fragmented despite its non-usability or expiry. Accordingly, many Asian countries have no prohibitions regarding this. Consequently, what the Department of Customs has to do is to push these wastes back to the country of origin, while not letting them remained in Thailand and making Thailand world garbage.	**5**

The Main Theme	Frequencies (Time)
Twitter: (#GlobalWaste, #Ewaste, #ToxicWaste)	
General people posted their opposition and disagreement on Twitter **the most** (15 frequencies). The content posted **the most** was "we are becoming world trash because our government corrected the laws to be more flexible and did not enforce it seriously. On the contrary, it let huge amount of E-waste entering the country," "Thailand let foreign waste into the country while allowing investors to establish an illegal waste processing plants. Who gained the benefits?" "the government must stop imported plastic and E-waste because we are not a garbage country," "please join by signing to protect our home at http://act.gp/2x7mpTd, #NoSpaceForWaste, #ASEANnotWorldTrash, etc. **The next** group who posted the most on Twitter was political dissidents/ activists (1 frequency). The content posted was "Malaysia sent back E-waste to the country of origin, i.e., U.S.A, Canada, Saudi Arabia, etc. How about Thailand? What kind of measures will we have before becoming a garbage hole for foreign countries?" However, **no post** of people's networks, NGOs, or civil society organizations was found.	

The channels that presented the news of disagreement with the government's policies and administration, while supporting the movement of political dissidents the most were isranews.org (4 frequencies), followed by voicetv.co.th, mgronline.com, komchadluek.net, and thaipost.net (3 frequencies equally), and the least were greennews.agency, and posttoday.com (2 frequencies equally). The content of the news being presented the most was E-waste (13 frequencies).

For posting on Twitter, the issue posted to express the opposition and disagreement the most was (1) #DeepSeaPortSatun, #CoalPowerPlant. (16 frequencies). The examples of the posted content were "a report on the opposition and urge to the construction of coal-fired power plant in Thepha-Krabi by hashtags #CheerThepha, "a stage of opposition against the deep-sea port project at Pak Bara, and a request for the government's reconsideration on the project, which would affect the environment and the community's lifestyles by hashtags #DeepSeaPortPakBara," "the arrest and release of the mainstays," "etc. The next issue posted the most was Issue (2) (#GlobalWaste, #Ewaste, and #ToxicWaste) (9 frequencies). The content

posted was “The smuggle of contaminated waste into Thailand,” “Civil society organizations demanded the government to correct the laws before Thailand becomes a world garbage,” Thai activists requested ASEAN leaders to annul waste commerce,” etc., as illustrated in Table 4.64.

Table 4.64 Illustrates the Top Content Presented by Mass Media Related to the National Security in the Scientific and Technological Domain of Political Dissidents via Official Online Channels

Mainstream/Online Alternative Media Channels	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
isranews.org	3	1	**4**
voicetv.co.th	1	2	**3**
mgronline.com	1	2	**3**
komchadluek.net	-	3	**3**
thaipost.net	-	3	**3**
greennews.agency	-	2	**2**
posttoday.com	2	-	**2**
Total	**7**	**13**	**20**
Twitter of the Mainstream/Online Alternative Media	**Frequencies (Time)**		
	(1)	**(2)**	**Total**
	16	9	**25**

The issue **(1) #DeepSeaPortSatun, #CoalPowerPlant** was posted **the most (**16 frequencies). The content posted was “a report on the opposition and urges to the construction of coal-fired power plant in Thepha-Krabi by hashtags #CheerThepha, “a stage of opposition against the deep-sea port project at Pak Bara, and a request for the government’s reconsideration on the project, which would affect the environment and the community’s lifestyles by hashtags #DeepSeaPortPakBara,” “the arrest and release of the mainstays,” “etc. **The next** issue posted the most was **Issue (2) (#GlobalWaste, #Ewaste, and #ToxicWaste)** (9 frequencies). The content posted was “The smuggle of contaminated waste into Thailand,” “Civil society organizations demanded the government to correct the laws before Thailand

becomes a world garbage," Thai activists requested ASEAN leaders to annul waste commerce," etc.

4.1.2 A Summary of the Analysis of the Information Operations of the Government and the political dissidents on the Content Related to the National Security in the Six Domains

Since the concept and theory of "information operations" (IO) is a sensitive issue and very profound in the military circle. Thus, the researcher as a communication scholar pays attention to the issue of IO in the communication context mainly. IO-related concepts, theories, studies, and articles were applied as a conceptual framework for analyzing the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in various domains. The findings are summarized in the following parts:

Part 1.2.1 The analysis of the information operations guidelines of the government and the political dissidents. (Table 4.65-4.70) to see how both parties presented or disseminated their different political ideologies.

Part 1.2.2 The analysis of Information operations of the government and the political dissidents

4.1.2.1 The analysis of the information operations guidelines of the government and the political dissidents. (Table 4.65-4.70)

Table 4.65 illustrates the summary of the analysis of the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the political domain.

Table 4.66 illustrates the summary of the analysis of the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the economic domain.

Table 4.67 illustrates the summary of the analysis of the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the socio-psychological domain.

Table 4.68 illustrates the summary of the analysis of the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the military domain.

Table 4.69 illustrates the summary of the analysis of the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the scientific and technological domain.

Table 4.70 illustrates the summary of the analysis of the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the energy and environmental domain.

From the analysis of the IO of the government and the political dissidents via the national security issues in the six domains, the overall findings were as follows:

For the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the political domain, the findings showed that the government had the main objective of making people understand, accept, and trust the government in governing the country. On the other hand, the political dissidents did not accept the coup d'etat and requested the government to give power back to the people as soon as possible. Besides, they insisted to accept the government that comes from the election by people only.

For the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the economic domain, the findings showed that the government had the main objective of expressing the government's potential in economic administration of the country via economic stimulus measures to upgrade the overall economics of the country, including agriculture and low-income people. On the other hand, the political dissidents aimed to point out the government's failure in solving the national economy and people's earns of living problems. The launched policies were perceived as not focusing on general people's problems since most benefits fell into the capitalists' hand, etc.

For the information operations of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the socio-psychological domain, the findings showed that the government had a main objective of assuring people of the government's determination to create morale and motivation of people that the government would do everything to prevent using the violence that caused any impact on people's ways of living. While the political dissidents aimed to decrease the credibility of the military government that cannot solve the violence problems.

For the information operations of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the military domain, the study indicated that the main purpose of the government was to make people confident of the army's missions and decisions on using budgets in arms and weapons purchase worthily for the benefits of the country. On the other hand, the political dissidents aimed at the issue of the restricted people's rights and freedom in expressions and in inspecting the spending of the army's budgets.

Concerning the information operations of the government and political dissidents via the national security content in the scientific and technological domain, it was found that the main goal of the government was to assure people that the new laws, i.e., Computer Act, etc. would not endanger good people since they would affect only those with misconducts. Besides, the laws were issued for preparing to deal with threats of new forms in the future. On the other hand, political dissidents focused on the violation of people's rights and freedom in expressions in the online world of the NCPO government.

About the information operations of the government and political dissidents via the national security content in the energy and environmental domain, it was found that the government tried to assure people of the electricity security and people's security in the southern border areas. Such securities would surely be based on the environmental concern in parallel to the quality of local people's living. For the political dissidents, they directed to the point of being obstructed by the government towards participation in studying the impact of any projects on local people and the issue of the government's use of power in benefiting capitalists. All details are illustrated in Table 4.65-4.70.

Table 4.65 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Political Domain

NCPO Government/Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/Political Activists
The intention of IO: To accept the government from the coup d'etat. **IO mission:** to assure people that the government will hold people's and the nation's benefits as the most important. **Goal or objective of IO:** to make people understand, accept, and be confident of the government's administration.	**The intention of IO:** Not to accept the coup d'etat. **IO mission:** to confirm the acceptance of the the government elected by people only. **Goals or objectives of IO:** - To urge the coup d'etat party to return power to people as soon as possible - To end the suppression of dissenters' peaceful expression and rally. - To revoke the use of special laws, i.e. Section 44. - To reinforce the existing disharmony.

Table 4.66 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Economic Domain

NCPO Government/ Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
The intention of IO: To prepare Thai people 4.0 by accelerating technological development and increasing their competitive capabilities with innovations to transit towards the industry of the future. **IO mission:** To encourage Thai people 4.0 would be able to adapt themselves in harmony with global culture for entering the digital economy in the borderless world. **Goals/objectives of IO:** - The strength of NCPO is to induce the increased overall domestic gross product and average individual income. - The government can lubricate economic pressures for administering the national overall economics, including agriculture and people with low income. - "Pracharat Collaborative Project" is the collaboration between the government sector, private sector, and general people to revive the local economy towards stability and sustainability. - The government introduced the "Thai	**The intention of IO:** To inform people that the most distinct failure of the government was the economic problem-solving for people. **IO mission:** To reinforce economic problems, especially those of grassroots and to illustrate the government's support for large-sized capitalist /business organizations. **Goals/objectives of IO:** - To reflect the failure of economic policies in all dimensions, which caused people's poverty, and higher costs of products, while the agricultural prices dropped. - To point out that all policies were not directed to solve people's problems, since most benefits belonged to capitalists. A state of "tufted richness, but dispersed poverty" - Thailand 4.0 is a drive of Thailand by capitalism or capitalist groups and abandoning people behind, which leads to inequality in Thai society.

NCPO Government/ Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
Niyom Sustainable Project" aimed to support budgets to grassroots business groups for strengthening community enterprises.	

Table 4.67 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Socio-Psychological Domain

NCPO Government/Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/Political Activists
Intention of IO: To create morale and assurance for people that it would do every way to prevent using violence that might affect people's ways of living **IO mission:** To create understanding to people of all areas, and to condemn people with malevolent intentions to cause some loss and fear. **Goals/objectives of IO:** - To have the Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC), Region 4, increase their awareness in news operations and tactics to reduce the loss. - To inspect the strict surveillance of the operational units in the areas: soldiers, policemen, and volunteers. - The negotiation on peace between the	**The intention of IO:** The government was urged to create confidence in people that it will not use violence, causing trouble and affecting the national peace, any longer. **IO mission:** To reduce the military government's credibility because of its inability to solve violence in the country despite several capable soldiers and their higher potential in transforming policies to be actions than civil government. **Goals/objectives of IO:** - It was the political bombing that aimed to destroy the credibility of the government's safety measures. - Urgent investigation was called

NCPO Government/Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/Political Activists
Thai government and its dissenters tended to be in a better direction, which was a new dimension for solving problems through peaceful methods concretely.	based on the universal standards and humanitarian principles without violating human rights to put perpetrators into the justice process - The peaceful process being used by the government was expected to reach common agreement and worth huge budgets allocated into the target areas. - The insurgencies were created to make people afraid and unconfident of their safety in daily lives. - The insurgents needed to raise the level of violence in both Bangkok and southern border provinces.

Table 4.68 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Military Domain

NCPO Government/ Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
Intentions of IO: To confirm that the budgets will be used transparently, proceeded by legal steps, and based on the national benefits. **IO missions:** To make people confident of the army's missions and decisions on using budgets in arms and weapons purchase worthily for the benefits of the country **Goals/objectives of IO:** - The Royal Navy and the government confirmed that the purchase of a submarine from China is the wisest and the most worthwhile decision. - Thailand had the first submarine since the World War. In the future, all Thailand's neighboring countries will be equipped with submarines, except Thailand. When the time comes, Thailand will not be able to catch up with them. Besides, the price will be increasing until the country cannot afford to buy it in time. - The reasons why Thailand wants to buy submarines from China are that they are cheaper, have quite a high potential, and their ability to launch missiles from	**Intentions of IO:** People's rights and freedom in the expression of ideas were restricted, and people were not allowed to inspect the army's use of budgets. **IO missions:** Is Thailand necessary to have submarines or to strengthen their military forces by purchasing a large number of armaments? **Goals/objectives of IO:** - The coup d'etat might lead to a shift of military and political strategic location since all agreements can have an impact on international relations. - The weapon purchase project was specified as confidential because of its involvement with the national security so it was not allowed to be inspected. - Since the government came from the coup d'etat, its decision on submarine procurement/purchase made the creditability unstable and shaky severely. Due to the worse economic condition, the limited available budgets should be spent on

NCPO Government/ Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
underwater to surface and then to the coast. The reasons why Thailand has to buy three submarines because one is for operations, another one for standby, and the last one is to replace the repaired one. - The government confirmed the approval of the submarine purchase was transparent. Parts of information that had not been informed during the press conference because of their "confidentiality" and involvement with national security.	something useful for the country.

Table 4.69 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Scientific and Technological Domain

NCPO Government/ Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
The intention of IO: To confirm that new laws will not affect good people, since it covers only wrongdoers only. **IO mission:** It is the preparation for coping with a new form of threats; thus, to amend the computer laws is essential. **Goals/objectives of IO:** - NCPO confirmed that there are no policies of closing Facebook and the use of social networks, or social media. If there	**The intention of IO:** To indicate that NCPO violated the freedom of expression of people in the online world. **IO mission:** To decrease the credibility of the government and the government sector of being unable to protect the safety of server systems or people's data. **Goals/objectives of IO:**

NCPO Government/ Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
will be any blockage, it will cover only the webpage of persons under close supervision, ordered by NCPO, i.e., disseminating the content of lese majesty or defaming the King, incitement towards disharmony of the country, etc. - The government confirmed that this computer act is not related to the Single Gateway project and does not violate people's fundamental rights. - The claim of hackers that they were able to hack the government agencies' system was just an IO, that tried to confuse the society and discredit government agencies.	- NCPO blocked access to Facebook temporarily to obstruct and restrain the dissemination of criticism against the Army after the coup d'etat. - The F5 Cyber Army continued its attacks on the government. - The NCPO adopted information operations and psychological operations, including the establishment of "cyber warriors" to present information to the public, aimed to destroy the image of political dissidents, the information operations war in the online world, or political threats.

Table 4.70 The Summary of the Analysis of IO of the Government and Political Dissidents via the National Security Content Presentation in the Energy and Environmental Domain

NCPO Government/Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
The intention of IO: To proceed with implementing projects as specified in the national electricity generation development plan, by seizing the national benefits as the main focus. **IO mission:** To confirm that the	**The intention of IO:** The construction of the coal power plant project and the area for E-waste was studied and found that it will be harmful and affect both environment and people's health. **IO mission:** To end the

NCPO Government/Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
government was aware of the electricity security of the southern area as well as local people's quality of life. Since it is based on the principles of environmental protection in parallel to the maintenance of local people's ways of life. **Goals/ objectives of IO:** - The process of consideration on EHIA and EIA reports continues without postponing or stopping the project. People in the possibly affected area were confirmed to participate in such reports. - From the field study, two problems were found: local people wanted to continue the electricity plant project while people out of the area did not. Such disagreement made the concerned government officers as the mediator hesitate to take any move. - The reason why the electricity plant project was supported because the coal power plant project can enhance electricity security in the south, including helping to develop economics and society in the area. - Previously, the government tried to listen to people's opinions consistently, but still has not seen any clear suggestions	implementation as planned and cancel all concerned projects affecting the environment and local people immediately and permanently. **Goals/objectives of IO:** - The expression of the network was the expression based on the principle of democracy. - The construction site of the coal power plant is important for ecological systems. It is a conservative place for wild and protected animals and is in the process of being registered as one of the world heritage. - EIA and EHIA should proceed with transparency and all parties should involve in the decision-making process. - Local people were obstructed from participating in the issue, while the state exploited its power to facilitate benefits for capitalists. - The claim that coal can yield the lowest cost with the highest safety is just a deceptive discourse and contradicts the direction of the world, which mobilizes the abolishment of using fossil that is limited.

NCPO Government/Government Agencies/Supporting Individuals and Groups	Dissenting Individuals and Groups/ Political Activists
on how to operate it. Thus, it was requested that protesters express their ideas creatively in finding the solutions together and avoiding any juridical violation. - In the case of the E-waste, it was required to report the process to people continuously with transparency and audibility. Besides, concerned offices were assigned to enforce the laws seriously by concerns about the overall impact: economic, social, and environmental.	

4.1.2.2 The Analysis of Information Operations of the Government and the Political Dissidents

For the analysis of the information operations of the government and political dissidents, the researcher analyzed them by applying the IO concerned theories and concepts and the findings from 4.1.1 (Table 4.1-4.64) and 4.1.2 (Table 4.65-4.70) as references. Their information operations are summarized as follows:

The government's IO: From analyzing the government's information operations presented in the national security content in the six domains, it was found that mostly, the government tended to use "active" information operation by focusing on the protection its information and information system security to be in an advantageous position useful for its decisions in coping with threatening and risky conditions correctly. The government still emphasized the sequential and orderly commanding systems by the line of authority or assigned chain of command to avoid any mistake caused by overlapping missions or self-interference.

Examples. From the findings of Part 1: Communication patterns of the national security content via online media of the government and political dissidents," it was found that the government posted its content related to national security via official online channels mainly. The sources of information were the supreme leader of the government and all concerned ministers, including spokespersons and vice spokespersons, responsible for communicating the national security issues to the public. Thus, according to the information operations theory, the government focused on active goals to protect the commanding and controlling systems to avoid overlapping missions or self-interference. Besides, it aimed to detect or prevent any harms or calamity, including restoring the affected situation to return people's stability and safety. People had to be protected and looked after by government officers of all levels.

For the overall findings, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO was the most appearing information source, followed by Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO, and Lieutenant General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister, who were direct information sources consistently.

Regarding the national security issues, the concerned ministers of each function were found to be direct information sources the most as follows:

1) General Chatchai Sarikalaya, the Minister of the Agriculture and Cooperatives as the information source in the economic domain.

2) General Ekachai Srivilas, Director of the Office of Peace and Governance. King Prajadhipok's Institute/ General Chalermchai Sitthisart, Commander of the Army/ and Chakthip Chaijinda, Commissioner-General of the Royal Thai Police, as the top information sources in the socio-psychological domain, especially in the bombing incidents

3) Pralong Damrongthai, Director-General of the Pollution Control Department as the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (TSR), responsible for being a direct information source in the energy and environmental domain.

For the activists supporting the government's policy on energy and environment, the groups that organized their supporting activities via official online

channels continuously were People's networks in Krabi, and Deep South Watch Organization (DeepSouthWatch.org), etc.

Besides, from the analysis of timeline of the interviews or press conferences of all concerned people from the government in some sensitive issues to the national security, i.e., bombing incidents in many areas, such as in front of the National Theatre, in front of the Government Lottery Division, or at the Phramongkutklao Hospital, the researcher noted that when any incident occurred, the first operational unit that reached the incident cites were police officers, and Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) officers. Mostly, the interviewees or providers of information to mass media or detailed information of the incidents were the Commander of the Metropolitan Police Headquarter, the superintendent of EOD, including the NCPO spokesperson and vice spokesperson.

After the criticism of individuals or groups of individuals on the incidents, the government would find out or anticipate who tried to cause any impact and what was their goals, or if the occurrence connected with political situations or not. Then, the concerned government agencies, especially the top commanders, gave an interview to express their sorrow on what happened and condemn the perpetrators. For example, the Commander of the Army, the Commissioner-General of the Royal Thai Police, the NCPO spokesperson, and vice spokesperson, launched a press conference on the order of the Prime Minister towards the incidents. However, before such press conferences, if questioned by journalists, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of NCPO, and General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of the Defence, gave only short or brief opinions.

Example 1

When a journalist asked about the incident of the loud noise like bombing taking place in front of the National Theatre near Sanam Luang and the Grand Palace on May 15, 2017, the following interviews took place:

May 16, 2017: General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO, gave a short interview, "no, it's not a calamity." (siamrath.co.th)

May 16, 2017: General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of the National Defence confirmed that the responsible officers and government had investigated the incident that seemed like a bombing in front of the

National Theatre, Bangkok, on the previous night, without cease. (newtv.co.th, YouTube: NationTV)

After the dissolution of the incident and knowing or arresting who were the perpetrators, the Prime Minister gave an official interview.

May 23, 2017: General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO gave an interview in the case of bombing in the area of Phramongkutklao Hospital that he could not reply to the perpetrators why they did so or whether it involved with the third anniversary of the NCPO or not. It depended on the investigation of the police and concerned officers. However, he reinstated that in presenting news on the violence, it should not be elaborated too much. Instead, only essential information should be presented. On the other hand, one should be cautious that news presentation might affect commerce, investment, enterprises, and people's ways of living. (prachachat.net, khaosod.co.th)

Example 2

Many parties gave a remark about the Cabinet meeting that approved the purchase of a submarine named, "Yuan Class S26T" from China, costing 13,500 million baht without any press conference afterward. The government clarified that it was because the specified issue was considered a "red-corner" document, which was the confidential information or document that could affect national security. For this incident, the government gave a continuing interview sequentially.

April 24, 2017: Lieutenant General Sansern Kaewkamnerd confirmed that the approval of the submarine purchase was transparent and the reason for having no press conference was that it involved the utmost confidential information related to national security. (bbc.com/thai/, manager.co.th, today.line.me/th)

April 26, 2017: General Prawit Wongsuwan explained the notions of many parties who questioned why no news report to let the public be informed about the approval of the submarine purchase. He informed that such document was confidential and related to the military strategies and tactics. (bbc.com/thai/, manager.co.th, isranews.org)

April 27, 2017: Wissanu Krea-Ngam clarified that the ordering of the state's confidential document had been classified since 40-50 years ago, and it depended on the responsible offices, especially those for the national security. Thus, the purchase

of armament was included under such a category. (bbc.com/thai/, manager.co.th, isranews.org)

May 2, 2017: General Prayut Chan-o-cha confirmed the approval of the submarine purchase had proceeded legally. Besides, the cabinet meeting required legitimate documents based on the national budgets act, without any corruption. It was the Royal Navy's budget expenditure of which had to be inspected in every process like the purchase of every Ministry. (bbc.com/thai/)

The Information Operations of the Political Dissidents

From the analysis of the information operations of the political dissidents via the presentation of the national security content in six domains, it was found that they used "active operations" distinctly. The content or sets of ideas presented to express their disagreement or objections against the policies and administration of the NCPO government continuously reflect their struggle to have a power or influence over the government's estimation of the situations.

The example of the issues related to the national security in the political domain was the case in which Chaturon Chaisang, a mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, and Phumtham Wechayachai, the secretary-general of Pheu Thai Party were the persons who posted their content via their official online channels the most. Besides, Yingluck Shinawatra and Lieutenant Colonel Thaksin Shinawatra also used their official online channels.

Other political activists who mobilized regularly through their official online channels were Rangsiman Rome, New Democracy Movement, Thai Lawyers for Human Rights, Resistant Citizen, Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights, etc. They posted their opposition and disagreement about the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014, the most. The main themes of the political dissidents against the government the most were the NCPO's use of laws as a tool for threatening political dissidents, the arrest of students and activists against the coup d'etat, and the demand of freeing the arrested students because of their political expressions. They perceived that it was people's rights so the arrests deprive people's rights and liberty.

For the issue related to the national security in the scientific and technological domain, Hackers, Anonymous Group, #opSingleGateway, and Thai Netizen Network

were the direct information sources found the most, followed by F5 Cyber Army, Internet Law Reform Dialogue, and Thai Lawyers for Civil Rights.

The issue they opposed or disagreed the most was the consideration on the draft of the Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560. The main theme that political dissidents opposed the most was that such an act might leave a room for the interpretation and enactment that violated people's rights and freedom in expressions, including expressions in the online world. Besides, it could be exploited unfairly for punishing individuals and internet service providers who expressed opinions by their rights.

Regarding the national security issue in the energy and environment domain, the groups who expressed their movements the most were ENLAWTHAI Foundation, Seub Nakhasathien Foundation, Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw), the Network of Songkhla-Pattani People Against Coal, Narak Ban Kerd Group, Loei Province, the Assembly of the Poor, The Andaman Protection from Coal Network, Penchom Saetang, the director of the Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH), etc.

The opposed or disagreed issues of the government sector were the Projects of the Construction of Pak Bara Deep Sea Port in Satun Province, the Construction of Coal-Fired Power Plant: Thepha-Krabi were presented the most. The main themes the political dissident used to attack the government were a call for the openness of the government to listen to people in the affected area, not to the Ministry of Energy and the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT) only. The government support of fossils or coal capitalist groups instead of supporting the communities to generate alternative energy or renewable energy from palms was perceived as taking the side of the capitalists, not people. It reflected its ignorance of people's voice, environment, local economy, and people's health.

The ways the political dissidents showed that they seemingly could penetrate the government's confidential information and make use of it to illustrate the unrighteousness of the government can be considered from the information operations theory as an active IO approach. They utilized active strategies by deceiving the government of the misleading message, magnifying it, and making it influential over the government. For instance, Citizens Against Single Gateway Group claimed that it could access the confidential information of some government agencies successfully.

Similarly, Thai Lawyers for Human Rights Center claimed that the government used IO for struggling against the image of its political dissidents.

"I want to pass our words to the government teams that we could access the confidential information of the Ministry of Defence. A large number of confidential information is being dugout. It is some partial evidence of the investigation on the Ministry's corruption. If this law will still proceed, be prepared to get the full document." (Citizens Against Single Gateway Group, Twitter: #OpSingleGateway, facebook.com/OpSingleGateway, December 19, 2019)

"The NCPO adopted several military operations, i.e., Information Operations (IO), Psychological Operations (PO)) for its political operations. For examples, such operations were used to destroy the image of the political activists, to make an information war in the online world, or to produce some political threats via the prosecution, etc." (Thai Lawyers for Civil Rights Center, tlhr2014.com, June 4, 2018)

Briefly, both the government and political dissidents focused on a major tool called "capabilities" as a component in their information operations for mobilizing their ideas and beliefs to their target groups. The following tools or capabilities were as follows:

The Government

From the study, it was found that the government used the following important tools or capabilities as its components of information operations:

1) Public Affairs (PA) is the capability to disseminating information to our target groups to let them be informed of what we have done. It is to reduce any distortion or hesitation that might turn to support our adversary instead. The online channels the government used for their public relations were as follows: https://www.facebook.com/Returninghappinesstothethaikingdom/

(1) https://www.facebook.com/LiveNBT2HD/

(2) Websites of the Department of Public Relations, i.e., http://nwnt.prd.go.th/

(3) Online channels, i.e., YouTube, etc.

Additional Information:

May 31, 2014: “Returning Happiness to People in the Country” or “Our Home, Our Country” Program was broadcasted every Friday at 8.15 p.m. through the Television Pool of Thailand (TPT) to communicate to people about the reasons for the coup d’etat, the government’s administration, the problem-solving of the country, reports of the government’s performance, and the activities organized by the government.

January 15, 2015: “Thailand Moves Forward” Program was broadcasted every day, except Friday, from 6.00-6.30 p.m., to present the NCPO’s performance. The first part of the program is an interview with the Ministers. After that, it portrays the image of the interviewer and a minister or government officers at the site or in the responsible area.

October 21, 2016: “Science of the King Towards Sustainable Development” Program is a new name of “Returning Happiness to People in the Country.” The content talks about the government’s performance that relates to the Royal idea of King Rama IX, and under the principle of Stability, Prosperity, and Sustainability. (The last broadcasting was on Friday, March 29, 2019).

February 25, 2018. “Thailand Moves Forward: Teenagers” Program was modified to be more modern and accessible for teenagers, and hosted by a teenager. Still, it was criticized for being an outdated program.

July 21, 2018: “Thailand Moves Forward” Program was improved by having artists and actors participate in the program. The last broadcasting was on July 16, 2019, after General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister, announced to resign from being the chief of the NCPO. Thus, the status of the NCPO was ended as specified in the Constitution.

(4) Mascot “Nong Kiew Koy”: A Symbol of the Harmony for Creating People’s Good Conscience

At the end of 2017, the Ministry of Defence introduced and publicized a mascot called, “Nong Kiew Koy”: a symbol of the harmony for creating people’s good conscience in Thailand of what they should or should not do. Also, it mobilized the creation of harmony through the distribution of the document entitled,

“Social Contract, and Promises by All Thai’s Heart, which could be scanned by QR code at the back of Nong Kiew Koy to be able to read the full social contract conveniently and rapidly.

Figure 4.1 Mascot “Nong Kiew Koy”
Source: “Defense launches "Nong Kuk Koi",”, 2018, “'Defense' launches,”, 2019.

2) Operations Security (OPSEC) It is the identification of which of our information needed by the opponents and the acquisition of methods for obstructing the opponents to receive our important information. Besides, it covers the installation of the interception system to block the opponents’ dissemination of information that will harm our party.

The example of the operations security found in this study was the establishment of the Royal Thai Armed Forces Cyber Center (RTA), as a government agency reporting directly to the Royal Thai Army since October 1, 2016, with the following distinctive missions:

Cyber operations function as the center of the operations for surveillance, warning, protecting, and solving the problems caused by cyber threats, including developing capabilities in operating active cyber operations to counterattack and attack the adversary if necessary.

(1) Cybersecurity is a function of enhancing knowledge and understanding, creating awareness, following, and monitoring an agency's operation based on security measures. Besides, it covers the surveillance, warning, following, searching, and inspecting defects of the system, including the conduction of evidence investigation or digital forensic science.

(2) Cybersecurity support was established for supporting the information operations of the Royal Thai Army and concerned offices by surveillance and warning against any information in the cyber world that might affect the institutions and the national security Other responsibilities are to collect and analyze the direction, trends, information relational networks, types of media used, and target groups, including following up, searching for sources and targets, and determining protective measures to counterattack, obstruct, and coordinate the operations to conform with legal procedures.

3) Psychology Operations (PSYOP) are the capabilities for changing attitude, emotion, and feeling of the targets as desired by our party to create morale and motivation of people of our party/side. On the other hand, they are expected to weaken the spirit, discourage, and decrease the effectiveness of the adversary's targets.

Examples were the operations of the Ministry/Department/Division and other government officials in which some measures were issued to prevent cyber-attack of hackers. Another example was the press F5 or F5's security through the use of psychological security to encourage and assure our people, while discouraging the adversary (i.e., to claim that hackers could not penetrate or access our information systems. Detailed examples were as follows:

Commissioner-General Chakthip Chaijinda disclosed one of the nine suspects as hackers who penetrated or drilled into and attack the information systems of several government agencies' websites to protest against the Draft of Computer

Crime Act. The government also confirmed that the hacking did not cause any severe effect on any government agency. (bbc.com/thai, December 26, 2016).

4) Physical Security is the prevention of any access to the armaments, facilities, and documents without authorized permission. It also prevents espionage and sabotage against our information-containing devices and information systems.

Some examples: There were several doubts on the Cabinet's approval of the purchase of a submarine "Yuan Class S26T" from China valued at 13,500 million baht, without any press conference. Thus, many people in the government gave an interview in the same direction, i.e., General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO; General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence, Wissanu Krea-Ngam, Deputy Prime Minister Lieutenant General Sansern Kaewkhamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister. They all explained that such an issue was classified as a "red-corner document", which meant the information or document at the "highest layer of confidentiality" that could affect the national security.

Political Dissidents

From the study, it was found that political dissidents used the following capabilities or tools as the major components of the information operations:

1) Public Affairs (PA) is the capability to disseminating information to our target groups to let them be informed of what we have done. It is to reduce any distortion or hesitation that might turn to support our adversary instead. The online channels the political dissidents used for their public relations were as follows:

League of Liberal Thammasat for Democracy

Posted on Facebook in the first-anniversary occasion of the coup d'etat, "the activities we did are not illegal, but legal in every aspect. Instead, what they did is illegal." (facebook.com/LLTD.TU/, May 23, 2015)

Students in the Dao Din Group, New Democracy Movement, and Resistant Citizen Group

Announced to continue the aim of the struggle for democracy and resist the coup d'etat. (https://ndmth.org, facebook.com/Resistantcitizen, June 25, 2015)

The Democracy Restoration Group

Organized a symbolic activity called, “Joining Forces to Remove the NCPO Roots.” The activists dragged an imitated tank and narrated, “4 years ago, the NCPO grew a toxic tree whose roots now are just fibrous roots. However, if we let it grow, it will become the taproot in a couple of years. Thus, today is our day for uprooting and abolishing it from Thai society.” (https://www.facebook.com/democracyrestoration/, March 10, 2018)

The New Democracy Movement Group, led by Rangsiman Rome

Arranged an activity entitled, “To Find Fault in the Constitution Drafting Committee: Who Are the Distorters?” (ndmth.org, May 15, 2016)

F5 Cyber Army Group

Invited people to join in the rally against the Single Gateway Project by pressing F5 as appointed to attack the websites of government agencies. (F5 Cyber Army Group, facebook.com/anon.thailand, October 23, 2015).

Seub Nakhasathien Foundation and Southern People Network

Gathered in front of the Government House to express their opposition against the construction of a coal-fired power plant as per the National Development of Electricity Generating Plan, aimed to drive the government to cancel the project. (seub.or.th, February 16, 2017), etc.

2) Computer Network Operations (CNO): are the capabilities in attacking, protecting, and using the concerned computer networks to support our operations.

Some examples: The Anonymous Hackers Group announced their opposition against the Single Gateway Policy by claiming that they would hack the government agencies’ websites as their symbolic expressions, i.e., the pressing of F5 to attack many government agencies’ websites, etc.

They announced to protest against the Single Gateway Policy and threatened that they would drill into the government agencies’ websites as their symbolic expressions because of the people’s decreased freedom in expressions. Moreover, they bluffed that any companies or individuals helping to boost the

project might be their next targets by electronic attacks. (bbc.com/thai, facebook.com/anon.thailand, October 23, 2015)

3) Physical Attack is the capability to cause confusions, damages, and destruction of important places and buildings, which can affect the spirit of the adversary, but stimulate the boldness to one's party.

Some examples: Turbulence caused by bombings happened in many areas, i.e., in front of the National Theatre, near Sanam Luang, seemed to be connected with the explosions in front of the Government Lottery Division on Ratchadamnoen Road, as one happened just a few days ago after the other. Besides, the bombings seemed to revile the government's security measures intentionally. Another example was the insurgencies in the southern border provinces, etc.

4) Psychology Operations (PSYOP) are the capabilities of changing attitude,

emotion, and feeling of the targets as desired by our party to create morale and motivation of people of our party/side. On the other hand, they are expected to weaken the spirit, discourage, and decrease the effectiveness of the adversary's targets.

Some examples: Bombings took place in many places around Bangkok, including the car-bomb incident, to intimidate and frighten people in the safety of their lives.

It is clear that political bombs are not aimed to take someone's lives, as only unserious injuries. The goal is thus to cause chaos and calamity, including discrediting the government's safety measures. It does not mean only police officers, but also soldiers. The explosion sound symbolizes the recall of the third anniversary of the coup d'etat and three years of the NCPO's existence. (Matichon Online, matichonweekly.com, May 9, 2017)

The explosion at the 80th Chalern Phrakiat Building, Phramongkutklao Hospital injured a large number of people while discouraging and making them unconfident of their normal lives. It was an outrageous, violent, unrighteous act without an awareness of being Thais nor any concern about

the impact and danger happening to innocent people. The NCPO and the government were demanded to create people's morale and confidence by doing everything they could to prevent any violent and harmful incident to people's living and the country's peacefulness any longer. (Democratic Party, bangkokbiznews.com, facebook.com/DemocratPartyTH, May 23, 2017).

4.1.3 The Analysis of the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting the National Security Information via Online Media

From the research findings of Part 1 The communication patterns used in communicating the content related to the national security via the government's and the political dissenters' online media in their information operations (Table 4.1-4.64), the researcher used only the tables related to mainstream or alternative online media for analyzing the roles of mass media in presenting the national security issues via online media. The findings from the analysis were classified into the following parts:

Part 1.3.1 The selection of information sources

Part 1.3.2 The prioritization of the main themes in presenting the national security content.

Part 1.3.3 The summary of the roles of mass media in presenting the national security news

4.1.3.1 The Selection of Information Sources

1) National security in the political domain

The government

The research found that the mainstream or online alternative media presented General Prayut Chan-0-Cha, the Prime Minister and the NCPO Chief, as the information source the most, followed by General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence. Besides, the information sources were also from the opinion surveys, i.e., Nida Poll, Suan Dusit Poll, etc., on people's support and agreement with the NCPO government's implementation of political policies and administration respectively.

Political dissidents

From the study, it was found that the mainstream and online alternative media presented Chaturon Chaisang, the mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, as

the information source the most. The second most presented information sources presented in the media were Jatuporn Prompan, the President of the National Coalition for Democracy Against Dictatorship (UDD), Sirawith Seritiwat, or Ja New, Rangsiman Rome, Professor Theerayut Boonmee, and Professor Surachart Bamrungsuk (equal frequencies). The third most presented information sources presented in the media were Professor Nidhi Eawsriwong and Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw) with equal frequencies

2) The National Security in the Economic Domain

The government

The research found that the mainstream or online alternative media presented General Prayut Chan-0-Cha, the Prime Minister and the NCPO Chief, as the information source the most, followed by Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the Spokesperson of the NCPO, and the team, and Somkid Jatusripitak, Deputy Prime Minister and Commerce Minister respectively.

Political dissidents

From the study, it was found that the mainstream and online alternative media presented the results of the opinion surveys related to economics by Suan Dusit Poll the most. The second most presented information sources were Chaturon Chaisang, the mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, Phumtham Wetchayachai, Secretary-General of Pheu Thai Party, and Pramual Aimpia, the spokesperson of the Democratic Party.

3) The national security in the socio-psychological domain

The government

The research found that the mainstream or online alternative media presented General Prayut Chan-0-Cha, the Prime Minister and the NCPO Chief, as the information source the most. The second most presented information source was General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister, and the Minister of Defence. The third most presented information sources were General Udomdej Sitabutr, Deputy Minister of Defence, and the Chief of Special Government Representative Committee, General Chalernchai Sitthisart, Commander of the Royal Thai Army as the Vice-Director of ISOC, Police-General Chakthip Chaijinda of the Royal Thai Police, Lt. General Kongcheep Tantravanich, the spokesperson of the

Ministry of Defence, Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO, and Pol. Lt. General Sanit Mahathavorn, the Commissioner-General of Metropolitan Police Bureau respectively.

Political dissidents

From the study, it was found that the information source presented the most in the mainstream and online alternative media was Pheu Thai Party, followed by the Democratic Party, Amnesty International (Thailand), Mr. Brad Adams, the Director of Human Right Watch's Asia Division, and Southern Border Civil Society Council respectively.

4) The national security in the military domain

The government

The research found that the mainstream or online alternative media presented General Prayut Chan-0-Cha, the Prime Minister and the NCPO Chief, and General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence, as the information sources the most. The second most presented information sources were Admiral Kraisorn Chansuvanich, the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Navy; Admiral Chumpol Lumpikanon, the spokesperson of the Navy; and Wissanu Krea-Ngam, Deputy Prime Minister. The third most presented information sources were were Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister; and Somsak Chotirattanasiri, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Office of Prime Minister, respectively.

Political dissidents

From the study, it was found that the information sources presented the most in the mainstream and online alternative media were Admiral Bannawit Kengrian, former Deputy Permanent Secretary for Defense, and former Chairman of the Special Advisory Committee of the Navy; Watchara Petchthong, former MP's list of the Democratic Party; Pisit Leelawachiropas, former Governor of the Auditor-General or OAG; Pramual Aimpia, Deputy spokesperson of the Democratic Party; Srisuwan Chanya, secretary-general of the Thai Constitutional Protection Organization Association; Suan Dusit Poll, and Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights (with equal frequencies).

5) The national security in the scientific and technological domain

The government

The research found that the mainstream or online alternative media presented Police Major General Pisit Pao-in, Consultant of the Permanent Secretary of Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Head of the working group on investigating social media, and Extraordinary Committee of the Computer Crime Act Drafting as the information source the most. The second most presented information sources were Colonel Winthai Suwaree and the NCPO's spokesperson team, and the third most presented information sources were Pichet Durongkaweroj, the Minister of Digital Economy and Society (DE); and Surachai Liengboonlertchai, Vice-President of the NIA, respectively.

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, it was found that the information source presented the most in the mainstream and online alternative media was Amnesty International (Thailand). The second most presented information source was the Thai Netizen Network, and the third most presented information sources were Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw) and Free Internet Society of Thailand (FIST),

6) The national security in the energy and environmental domain

The government

The research found that the mainstream or online alternative media presented General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister, and the Chief of the NCPO as the information source the most. The second most presented information source was Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister. The third most presented information sources were people's networks and community leaders of Nua Khlong District, Krabi Province; Supporters of Coal-Fired Power Plant Project, Krabi Province; Pralong Damrongthai, Director-General of the Pollution Control Department and the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment; and Krisada Chinavichitana, Director-General of the Customs Department.

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, it was found that the information source presented the most in the mainstream and online alternative media was Penchom Saetang, director of Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH), followed by M.L. Rungkhun Kitikayara, the Anderman Protection from Coal Network, iLaw, Thai Environmental Health Association, and Greenpeace Southeast Asia

4.1.3.2 The Prioritization of the Main Themes in Presenting the National Security Content

1) The national security in the political domain

The government

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most were thaipbs.or.th, citizenthaipbs.net, and YouTube: Thai PBS, followed by bangkokbiznews.com., and thairath.co.th equally. The news presented the case of the mobilization for voting to accept or not accept the Constitution, B.E. 2559 the most.

Examples

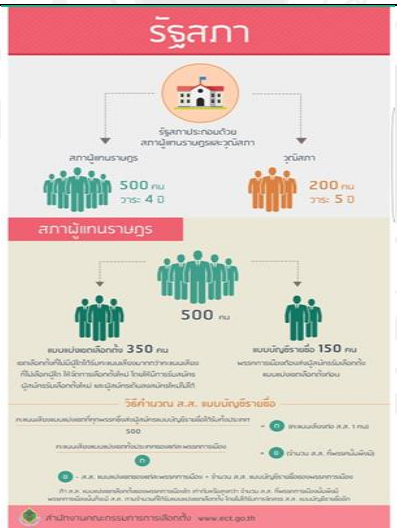
> The conduction on the referendum of the Constitution Draft has proceeded as planned in the roadmap. However, in the case of any chaos, if it could not move forward, then it would be over. The government confirmed to do it for the national benefits. After that, an election will take place under good governance. People with previous convictions can get into this election. (General Prayut Chan-o-cha, thairath.co.th, May 16, 2016)

> The prosecution with young students needs to create a correct understanding and ask for their cooperation mainly. For the news on social media that the police officers injured students, we want to confirm that no officers ever injured any student. People should be cautious with the delivered information, and we want to warn those with bad intent who disseminated a hostile image or message against the officers. (General Udomdej Sitabutr, citizenthaipbs.net, May 24, 2015)

From the survey, most people are happier because the NCPO says the truth and takes actions seriously. The country is more peaceful and in better condition, while political chaos has been decreasing. (Nida Poll, bangkokbiznews.com, nidapoll.nida.ac.th, May 21, 2015)

For Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels, i.e., #ThaiPBSOnline, #NationTV, #BrightTV, #KomChadLuek, @TNEWSTV, #VoiceNews, @TNEWS TV, with the hashtags of #CoupAnniversary, #NCPOAnniversary for support and agreement the most, i.e., “people’s agreement and support of the coup d’etat as a solution for the political crisis.” The second most-posted hashtags were #ElectionRoadmap, #NationalReform, #Harmony, and #20YearNationalStrategy), i.e.

The assurance of the roadmap for organizing the election within February 2019,” “the joint meeting among political party representatives,” “the NCPO, and the government to unlock the obstacles of the political parties,” “The clarification of the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) about the forgery and distorted documents.



Structure of “Parliament” #ConstitutionDraft is on the way to the referendum on August 7, 2015 #ThaiPBS

Summary #ReferendumResults 94% was informally counted. 61.4% accepted the Constitution, 38.6% not accept, 58.11% accepted extended questions, 41.89% not accept #Thairath.

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the opposition and disagreement with the NCPO government's policies and administration, or the support for the political dissidents' movement the most were thairath.co.th, YouTube: thairath, followed by isaranews.org and prachatai.com, YouTube: prachatai, and voicetv.co.th, YouTube: VoiceTV (with equal frequencies). The news presented the most was the opposition against the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014.

Examples

> In the declaration entitled, "a university is not a military camp, and Thailand is not a concentration camp," the NCPO was asked to stop threatening instructors who expressed their political opinions earnestly and stop interfering with the instructional systems of a university as designed by the NCPO. For instance, it was asked to contain content about military glory in the civics textbooks, which violates the principles of rights and liberty completely. (Thai Academic Network for Human Rights, thairath.co.th, November 23, 2015)
>
> The civic sector, civil society, students' network, NGOs, and Lawyers for Human Rights Organizations launched nine declarations to reject the coup d'etat and accept only the government from people's election. They urged the coup d'etat committee to return democracy to people urgently. (Isra News Agency, isranews.org, May 24, 2014).
>
> After the coup d'etat, 626 people were reported, while 340 were convicted. Among these people, 68 people were prosecuted in the military tribunal, and 107 were arrested after their peaceful rally. 38 public activities were canceled and 24 political websites were closed, one of which was that of Human Rights Watch (Thailand)." (voicetv.co.th, December 27, 2014)

Regarding Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media, i.e., #NationTV, #PPTVOnline, @MthaiNews, @thaiCh8, #SpringNews, #KomChadLuek, @Prachatai, @Thairath_News, etc. Hashtags were used with the

posts #CoupAnniversary, and #NCPOAnniversary the most. The examples were, “the NCPO was warned of not forgetting its words to people,” “the individuals summoned by the NCPO,” “the failure of the NCPO’s performance in every dimension,” “the reversion between people’s happiness and the NCPO’s number of years in the power,” etc. The second most found hashtags were #ElectionRoadmap (i.e., “A roadmap to the election is hard to happen. However, what is harder is the exit route of the NCPO,” “crisis of faith in the election,” “crisis of faith in the NCPO government,” etc. The third most found hashtag was #VoteReferendumAccept OrNotAcceptConstitution (i.e., the disagreement with the referendum act, which limited people’s right of expressions,” “international reaction towards the restraint of rights and liberty in the referendum,” etc.

3 tough gates a new political party has to pass: Gate 1) Primary vote (copying others, but not all), Gate 2: A single ballot, and Gate 3: One same party but with different numbers, #Election, #Roadmap, @prachatai

2) The national security in the economic domain

The government

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the support of the NCPO’s policies and operations the most were manager.co.th, and bbc.com/thai, followed by news.ch3thailand.com, YouTube: Ch3Thailand. The news presented the reports, articles, and reviews or critics on the projects of Thailand 4.0, Pracharat, and the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) the most.

Examples

Regarding the opinion of Sondhi Limthongkul that Pracharat Project facilitates elite business capitalists, I don't care and I'm confident of what I have done. Again, I want to repeat that Pracharat Project will strengthen small-sized entrepreneurs, and it does not facilitate private business. (General Prayut Chan-o-cha, thairath.co.th, manager.co.th, prachachat.net, May 3, 2016)

We are the only country whose economic status is in green figures, compared with other countries' economics. (General Prawit Wongsuwan, thairath.co.th, May 23, 2016)

For economic and labor problems, we want to ask media and people to analyze the concerned factors thoroughly, especially the intention and determination, since some problems have been incurred before the NCPO and this government. (Colonel Winthai Suwaree, news.ch3thailand.com, May 26, 2016)

Regarding Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., #Tnews, @DailynewsTwit, #prachachat, @MatichonOnline, #SentangsedteeOnline, etc., the most popular hashtags were #Thailand4.0, #PracharatProject, #EED. The examples were, "the progress of EEC projects, such as the double-track railway project," "the progress and responses of people to the government's projects," "the adaptation and readiness of Thai bureaucratic systems towards Thailand 4.0 Project," "the proposal of economic restoration of political parties in the 2019 election competition," and "economic mobilization policies focusing on the grass-root level," etc.

Watch economic policies of political parties in the 2019 election, #EconomicPolicy, #PoliticalPartyEconomicPolicy, #2019Election, #Election19, @sanookmoney.	High-speed train connecting three airports making EEC boom, #HiSpeed, #EEC, # @Thansettakij.

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the opposition and disagreement with the NCPO government's policies and administration, or the support for the political dissidents' movement the most was bbc.com/thai. The second most presenting channels were YouTube: VOICE TV, thairath.co.th, manager.co.th, and prachatai.com. The third most presenting channel was YouTube: thaich8.com. The news presented the most was the opposition against the government's problem-solving of the overall economic condition, earnings, expensive commodities, and high costs of living.

Examples

Economic or earnings problems are paid a high attention by general people. From the polls of several academic institutes, i.e., AU Poll, Suan Dusit Poll, and Nida Poll, during the three past months (March-May 2017), it was found that the NCPO government still fails. What people thought to be this government's failure, which needs to be improved immediately the most is "economic or earnings problems." (bbc.com/thai, May 21, 2017)

Most people perceived their economic condition and ways of life after three years under the administration of the government led by General Prayut

were worse." (ABAC Poll, Suan Dusit Poll, NIDA Poll, bbc.com/thai, YouTube: VoiceTV, May 20, 2017)

Pracharat Project is a very horrible project. It facilitates cronyism for leading businessmen's offsprings, or so-called it is a transfer of business monopoly from fathers to sons." (Sondhi Limthongkul, manager.co.th, May 3, 2016)

Regarding Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., @prachatai, @thestandardth, @SpringNews_TV, @nationweekend #PPTVHD36, etc., the most popular hashtags were #EconomicProblems, #EarningsProblems, and #Thailand4.0, #PracharatProject, #EEC. The examples were "vendors in fresh markets passed their words to the government that they all were dying," "people expected better economics and supported the government to solve economic problems and organize the election quickly," "during the 4-year of the NCPO government's administration, the phenomenon of clustered richness and dispersed poverty was very clear, while the unemployment rate increased," "digital economy of Thailand 4.0 was widely criticized. The business sector must hasten its adaptation and new technology use; however, the government sector is still thinking and working by the analog system," "Thailand 4.0 is just a boastful discourse without any root," "people asked mass media to investigate the corruptions on the Pracharat Project," etc.

A vendor in a fresh market left her message to the government, “economics is bad, we are all dying.” (#KhaosodPpolitics, #BadEconomics, @KhaosodOnline)	Northeastern People Network came to the EEC office at Bangrak District to follow up on the progress of their objection against the new urban planning scheme in three provinces: Chachoengsao, Rayong, and Chonburi. (#VoiceOnline, #EEC)

3) The national security in the socio-psychological domain

The government

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the support of the NCPO’s policies and operations the most were mgronline.com/ YouTube: MGR Online และ khaosod.co.th. The second most presenting channels were คือ thaipbs.or.th/ news.thaipbs.or.th/ YouTube: Thai PBS New; and bangkokbiznews.com. The third most presenting channels were thairath.co.th/ YouTube: Thairath; and nationtv.tv/ YouTube: NationTV. The news presented the government’s problem-solving on bombing incidents the most.

Examples

The declaration on the bombing incident in Pattani Province identified a news report on the bombing incident at a department store in Pattani Province. From such bombing, over 10 people were injured, including a young child. UNICEF condemned this bombing incident since the incident took place in a place full of children and people. It is completely unacceptable. No

children should fall into such a hazard. (Thomas Davin, prachatai.com, mgronline.com, May 9, 2017)

General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister, expressed his concern about people's welfare and safety, including all military forces. After receiving the report of bombings in several areas in Phatthalung and Satun Province, the military, police, and civil security offices were ordered to jointly monitor and operate to maintain peace and safety strictly. Besides, insurgents had to be located and punished quickly. Regarding the causes of bombings, the security officers had been collecting information and evidence to identify the real cause. It might be possible that the ill-intentioned persons wanted to create the unrest situation before the election. People should not be panic since the officers could control the situation and monitor the movement of the insurgents continuously. (Colonel Weerachon Sukhonthapatipark, news.thaipbs.or.th, March 10, 2019)

The loud noise like an explosion in front of the National Theatre, Bangkok, last night has been under the surveillance of the concerned offices and the government all the time. However, it can be confirmed that such a happening is not related to the third anniversary of the NCPO. Whether the request for opening CCTV to monitor the incident is possible or not, the officers are considering it. However, so far there has been no evidence showing any sign or effort of any group. Only the media keeps asking to let it happen. (General Prawit Wongsuwan, YouTube: NationTV, newtv.co.th, May 16, 2017)

Regarding Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., #NationTV, #SmartNewsTH, #newtv18, #MGRonline, #brighttv20, #PPTVNews, @VoiceTVOfficial, #benarnewsthai, etc., the most popular hashtags were #BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutkhaoHospital, #BombGovernment LotteryDivision, #BombNationalTheatre). The examples were "the progress report of bombing incidents in several places," "the verdict on car bombers at Big C, Pattani," etc.**,** followed by Issue (2) (#InsurgencyInSBP), i.e., "the strict surveillance of the security officers," "the hastened actions to resolve violent situations after insurgencies

took place in the area," "The process of talk-for-peace process," "safety zone between the governments", "BRN," "Mara Patani," "images and texts conveying good relations between soldiers and people in the three southern border provinces," "the expression of disagreement and opposition against violence in the affected area," etc.

Thrill! A loud noise like an explosion in front of the National Theatre. EOD officers inspected the site. (#Bomb, #NationalTheatre, #Channel8News	The old man said it unclearly "Son…get Rian (from Durian) to eat! Narration from the southern border, "Grandpa and the patrol." This image is good for your heart. (#Tnews, #SouthernBorder, #Patrol, @TNEWSTV

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, the mainstream or online alternative media channels that presented the news about the opposition and disagreement with the NCPO government's policies and administration, or the support for the political dissidents' movement the most were mgronline.com, prachatai.com, matichonweekly.com, thairath.co.th, prachachat.net, bangkokbiznews.com, posttoday.com, isranews.org. The news presented the most was the opposition against the government's problem-solving on bombing incidents.

Examples

It's clear that it was a political bomb, not aimed for life, but only mild injury to agitate and create situations for discrediting the government's safety measures. It was not aimed at only the police, not also the military officers. The voice of explosion means the welcome of May 15, the third anniversary of

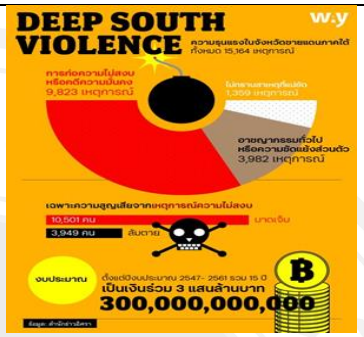
the coup d'etat' or three years of the NCPO's existence." (Matichon Online, matichonweekly.com, May 19, 2017)

Astonishingly, the scores that decreased were those of security performance from frequent calamities, like the latest pipe-bomb incident in front of the National Theatre near Sanam Luang. The incidents seemed to be connected with the bombing incident in front of the Government Lottery Division on Ratchadamnoen Road that happened few days apart. It also involved with the risky areas in three southern border provinces where a "car-bomb" in the Big C Supermarket at the heart of Pattani city happened to condemn the government's security standards." (Thairath Online, thairath.co.th, May 21, 2017)

Since almost three years ago, the NCPO has tried to solve the southern border problems, but not successfully; thus, it is one of the problems it cannot solve. Many parties used to believe that the NCPO should have accomplished this goal since in every part of the NCPO, there are lots of very capable soldiers. These soldiers should have higher potential to create a unity in transforming policies to implementation than the civil government. However, it seems to go to the opposite direction to what general people feel and criticize via social media. Especially, the gigantic insurgencies that happened recently ran counter to the budgets allocated by the NCPO. All through these three years, it was found that the figures have jumped up to 80 billion baht. (Isra News Agency, isranews.org, April 25, 2017)

For Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media, i.e., #PPTVNews, #nationtv.tv, #Ch7HDNews, #Channel8news, #KomChadLuek, etc., the most popular hashtag was #SBPinsurgency, The examples were "a report on violent situations, such as insurgents sniped at the police and people, the perpetrators dropped a bomb and committed arson at several places in Pattani and Narathiwat," "stop the violence and call for peace for the southern border provinces," "stop attacking religious leaders and children," etc. The second most popular hashtags were #BombBigCpattani, #BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BombGovernmentLottery Division, and #Bomb NationalTheatre**.** The examples were "the exploder confessed

the bombing at Phramongkutklao Hospital because of his hatred towards the coup d'etat," "a report on the bombing incident in front of Big C supermarket, Muang District, Pattani Province," etc.

	
Restricted all through Bangkok (#BombPhramongkutklaoHospital, #BrightTVChannel20, @BrightTodayTh).	SBP violence in 2018. During 14 years, there were 3,949 dead persons and 10,501 injured, spending the budget of 300 billion baht for solving problems (@way_magazine)

4) The national security in the military domain

The government

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most was bbc.com/thai. The second most presenting channel was manager.co.th, and the third most presenting channel was bangkokbiznews.com.

Examples

If the Navy is not approved to buy submarines, it is ok. We can buy other supplementary weapons or arms for strengthening the Navy's potentials; although, they are not replaceable. In fact, in naval warfare, it is three-dimensional or it encompasses sea surface, sub-surface (underwater), and air. Anyway, I will do the best of my responsibilities. Earlier, we used to proceed to purchase submarines several times, starting from the costing of 5,000,

8,000, 12,000, and 18,000 million baht. Prices have been increasing. Therefore, the more slowly we make our decisions, the more chances we will lose. Eventually, in the future, all of our neighboring countries will have submarines, except Thailand. By that time, we will not be able to catch with them. (Admiral Kraisorn Chansuvanich, bangkokbiznews.com, September 11, 2015)

The cabinet approved to purchase a Submarine "Class S26T" from China, costing 13,500 million baht. The Royal Navy evaluated it from possible threats of the countries adjacent to Thailand. Therefore, to have a submarine is to prevent threats with higher potential. The Royal Navy confirmed that the purchase approval was transparent. However, the reason there was no press conference revealing about this purchase was because of its utmost confidentiality and its security-involvement. (Lt. General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, manager.co.th, bbc.com/thai, today.line.me/th, April 24, 2017)

For the case in which several parties questioned why there was no announcement about the approval, it was because it was a confidential document, which involves military strategies and tactics. (General Prawit Wongsuwan, manager.co.th, bbc.com/thai, isranews.org, April 25, 2017)

The content accords with that on Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., #VoiceNews, @Thairath_News, @ThaiPBSWorld, @TNEWSTV, #tnews, etc. The most popular hashtags were #ChineseSubmarine, such as "the report on the budget of submarine purchase from China," "the Navy clarified the advantages of submarines from China, i.e., disguising ability, complete armed sets, and safety," "the Prime Minister confirmed submarines were for creating potentials for the Navy," etc.

 #ChineseSubmarine, #VoiceNews, @VoiceTVOfficial	 "Big Pom" insisted on no postponement and confirmed to purchase a second lot of submarines, as planned. (#SubmarinePurchase, @Thairath_News)

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the opposition and disagreement with the NCPO government's policies and administration, or the support for the political dissidents' movement the most was bbc.com/thai. The second most presenting channel was mgronline.com, and the third most presenting channel was bangkokbiznews.com, and isranews.org. The news presented the most was the opposition against the submarine purchase from China.

Examples

During three years of the NCPO's administration, the procurement of armament has been classified as "confidential" because of its involvement with "security," despite its seized power with the reason of creating transparency to solve corruption. However, from the investigation of the cabinet's resolutions tracing back from May 22, 2014, up to the present time, there have been approvals of 127 agendas proposed by the Ministry of Defence. However, no agenda mentioned about the armament procurement. From checking with the original affiliation of all forces: Army, Navy, and Air Force, it was found that there were at least nine striking projects of armament procurement with high budgets. Each project cost several thousand million baht. Some projects needed to be approved by the Cabinet's meeting;

however, it is difficult to examine if any project is approved or not because of being classified as confidential.” (BBC News Agency Online, bbc.com/thai, April 26, 2017)

The critical factor the Navy used as a criterion in considering the armament procurement was ‘threats’ and the worthiness for an operation, not the armament possessed by our neighbors only. Most importantly, what should be concerned is the effectiveness and cost estimation of submarines produced in China since China has no experience in producing anti-sea armament. It differs from those produced in Germany that is experienced or those of Japan that Thailand used to purchase before. Moreover, there might be a problem to have a submarine in the Gulf of Thailand since it is a shallow sea. Accordingly, it is better to select a small-sized submarine suitable for an operation in the Gulf, not a deep-sea submarine, which will cause a subsequent problem.” (Admiral Bannawit Kengrian , mgronline.com, April 4, 2017)

The opposition or support of people should be considered as good evolution of participative democracy. For the opposition via media, it contains some main issues, such as the disagreement with the purchase of Chinese submarines due to the quality of Chinese submarines experienced in the past.” “I do not believe that the selection of Chinese submarines was transparent.” “I do not believe that S26T submarines will be suitable for Gulf of Thailand”. “I disagreed with spending too high budgets.” “I do not believe that submarines are necessary for Thailand.” “King Rama IX used to mention about the inappropriateness for purchasing a submarine.” Because of these comments, the Navy and the government should explain about this approval clearly. Do not refer to the national security or to have it like other countries. They should not explain that the reason they had to buy from China because each country has different necessity. Don’t let the opposition against Chinese submarines become the opposition against the purchase of other submarines for the Navy, and then the opposition against the government finally.” (Isra News Agency Online, isranews.org, April 7, 2017)

The content accords with that appearing on the Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., #VoiceNews, @TNEWSTV, etc. The hashtag #ChineseSubmarine was used, i.e., “the necessity of Thailand to have a submarine,” “to accelerate SAO (State Audit Office of the Kingdom of Thailand) to audit the submarine procurement,” “the government should solve people’s earnings problems first and reveal information about the purchase of Chinese Yuan Class S26T submarine,” etc.

 A: How true is this news? B: It’s true. #ChineseSubmarine bought from China, bought 2 get 1 free. It’s approved last week.13.5 billion baht.	 “Ruangkrai” proceeded to force SAO to inspect the purchase of submarines (#PPTVHD36, #PPTVNews, #SubmarinePurchase)

5) The national security in scientific and technological domain

The government

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the support of the NCPO’s policies and operations the most was bbc.com/thai. The second most presenting channel was manager.co.th, and the third most presenting channels were thairath.co.th, and news.mthai.com. The news presented the support for the Single Gateway Policy the most.

Examples

The laws were amended to be more updated, i.e., Section 14(1) changed from using to sue the charge of defamation to more specific meaning covering

online disguise for cheating or phishing more clearly. Thus, in the future, defamation cases sued by this Section, approximately 50,000 cases, will be dismissed. The other example is Section 15, which allows information service providers not to be charged if they delete all illegal information. Regarding Section 20, the Computer Data Screening Committee will comprise three representatives from the private sector and the case must pass three steps of screening before reaching the court. The three steps compose of the sub-committee, committee, and the Ministry of Digital Economy and Society. (Paiboon Amornpinyokiat, bbc.com/thai, January 25, 2017)

ICT did not order to close the use of the general social network. It will block only the webpages of people who cause problems only. Besides, ICT did not close nor coordinate with ISP for the blockage. (Thanit Praphatanan, manager.co.th, May 28, 2014)

A declaration was broadcasted through TV pool to explain why Facebook could not be used for 40 minutes since 3.50 p.m. on the past May 28. As there has been a widespread rumor that the NCPO ordered to suspend the use of Facebook, the NCPO confirmed that the problem occurred because of the Gateway system and had coordinated with the Ministry of ICT and the entrepreneurs for fixing it. (Colonel Winthai Suwaree, thairath.co.th, isranews.org, bangkokbiznews.com, khaosod.co.th, komchadluek.net, manager.co.th, May 28, 2014)

The content accords with that appearing on the Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., #SpringNews, #ThaiPBSnews, @Kom_chad_luek, @TNEWSTV, @BrightTodayTh, etc. The most popular hashtag was #SingleGateway. The examples were, “the Prime Minister emphasized that the Computer Act did not violate people’s rights,” “the arrest of the youth participating in pressing F5 was just for modifying their attitudes,” “the government prepared to invite all concerned to share ideas about the Single Gateway Policy creatively,” “the Ministry of DE confirmed the Draft of the Computer Act was not related to the Single Gateway Policy,” etc., followed by Issue (2) (#ComputerAct). The content posted the most was “the Prime Minister confirmed the Single Gateway would not be adopted,

but it was necessary to have Computer Act for preventing negative information," "the government sector warned the expressions on the cyber world that might be charged by laws, "the quick investigation on website threats was urged," etc.

	The Prime Minister confirmed the control of social media was not related to the Single Gateway. (#SpringNews, @SpringNews_TV)

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the opposition and disagreement with the NCPO government's policies and administration, or the support for the political dissidents' movement the most was bbc.com/thai, followed by bangkokbiznews.com. The news presented the most was the opposition against the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2017.

Examples

An anti-Single Gateway message was announced and the adversary threatened to hack the government agencies' websites for their symbolic expressions against Thai people's decreased liberty. Besides, they threatened that any company or individual helping to drive the Single Gateway Project might be an attack victim via electronic ways in the future." (Anonymous Hackers, bbc.com/thai, facebook.com/anon.thailand, October 28, 2015)

The coordinator of Thai Netizen Network submitted a list of over 300,000 names via website change.org towards the Project "Stop Single Gateway, Stop Personal-information invasion chair to the Chairman of NLA, and asked NLA to review and amend the content of the Draft of Computer Act (amendment). The most worrying Section is Section 14(1) whose content is similar to that in the present Computer Act, B.E. 2550. Previously, it was used

as a tool for defamation charges. The other Section is Section 20(3) that might yield the most impact on general internet users. This section adds penalties for the content classified as "disseminating distorted information," besides deceptive or fraud information previously specified in the old laws. Such an amendment might lead to an interpretation that affects internet users increasingly. For instance, the charge includes the case in which internet users criticize products, service, or commerce via online media despite honest criticism. Thus, they might be sued more easily. (Thai Netizen Network, bbc.com/thai, thainetizen.org, December 15, 2016)

The Draft of the said amended Act does not comply with the international laws in human rights. The issue that is skeptical is that the National Legislative Assembly or NLA will finish its consideration this amended draft by the end of this October. However, a lot of people have not acknowledged about this. Therefore, the Drafting Committee is expected to assure people that the amended draft is accordant with the reality of the digital world, legal principles, and international laws standards nowadays. Otherwise, it possibly causes negative impact on the media's freedom of expression and economic growth in the digital era. (Amnesty International (Thailand), and Internet Law Reform Dialogue, bangkokbiznews.com, amnesty.or.th, ilaw.or.th, October 13, 2016)

For Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media, i.e., @TNEWSTV, @kapookdotcom, @Kom_chad_luek, @VoiceTVOfficial, etc. The most popular hashtag was #ComputerAct. The examples were, "a report on the votes of NLA for approving the Computer Act," "people were requested to sign for protesting the Computer Act," "the issue on the rights and liberty in the social media age," "protestants against the Computer Act hacked the websites of the government agencies," "the Ministry of Digital Economy and Society warned people not to forward texts on social media. If any distorted information was found, they might be charged of violating the Computer Act," etc. The next popular hashtag was #SingleGateway, i.e., "a report on the failure or crash of government agencies'

websites," "NCPO faced a tough lesson from a symbolic movement of Anonymous hackers and Citizens Against Single Gateway Group, etc.

 #SurelyApprovedIfNoOpposition, #JoinSignAgainstComputerActLastDay, @thematterco	 Please click on a hot-issue poll: if you support or oppose the policy #SingleGateway, @kapookdotcom

6) The national security in the energy and environmental domain

The government

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the support of the NCPO's policies and operations the most was Thairath.co.th. The second most presenting channels were manager.co.th, and mgronline.com. The third most presenting channel was prachatai.com, khaosod.co.th, and prachachat.net. The news presented the support of the government sector's projects, i.e., the construction of the deep-sea port at Pak Bara, Satun Province, the construction of a coal-fired power plant in Krabi Province and Thepha District, Songkhla Province.

Examples

A letter was submitted to support the construction of the coal-fired power plant of Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand (EGAT). We can make our own decisions. Thanks to people outside the area concerned about our communities. However, every community leader is confident of the plant that it is clean technology. Besides, we trust EGAT as a government agency. Moreover, we believe that energy security will play significant roles in

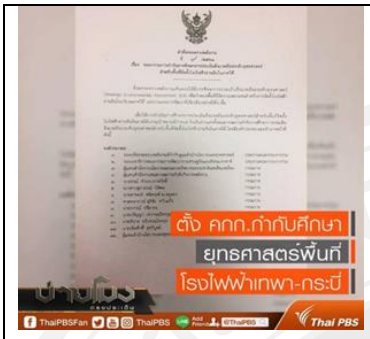
developing the south and the nation and establishing prosperity for the communities. Therefore, the government should make decisions quickly as the communities always support the plant fully. (People's Network Group, Krabi; thairath.co.th, January 5, 2017)

The protestants against the construction of coal plant in Krabi were asked not to have any movement as it will violate the laws and they will be prosecuted. The government has ordered the Ministry of Energy and Environment to discuss such opposition and also specify the protective guidelines in the case that the construction cannot proceed. Please concern about the public benefits mainly, especially, electric energy security in the south. (General Prayut Chan-o-cha, mgronline.com, prachatai.com, thairath.co.th, khaosod.co.th, February 16, 2017)

Waste has been one of the national problems. Earlier, the government declared to prohibit imported municipal waste. However, there is still a variety of waste: plastic, recycle, and electronics. Now, we start with E-waste first. The main goal of this announcement is to prevent the imported E-waste into Thailand. Don't perceive Thailand as a trash dump. (Kirati Ratchano, prachachat.net, December 23, 2019)

For Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., #DailyNews, #PPTVNews, #ThaiPBS, #MatichonOnline, #Ch7HDnews, #KomChadLuek, @thaich8news, the most popular hashtags were #GlobalWaste, #Ewaste, and #ToxicWaste. The examples were "a progress report on the inspection of waste factories at the site in different areas," "ASEAN countries joined in returning the waste to the host country and claimed ASEAN was not global garbage.", the government was going to execute Section 44 for stopping imported waste if necessary and assigned a working group under the responsibility of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment by integrating all concerned offices," "the government would open a high-tech recycling center expected to get rid of toxic waste," etc., The next hashtags were #DeepSeaPortSatun, and #CoalPowerPlant). The content posted the most was "to postpone the construction of coal-fired power plant in Krabi and Songkhla," "the committee for regulating the study on area strategies for the coal

power plant in Thepha-Krabi," "Krabi people confirmed their support on the construction of the coal power plant," etc.

 Assign the committee for regulating the study on area strategy for coal-fired power plant, Thepha-Krabi, (#CoalPowerPlant, #1PMRightIssue, #ThaiPBS)	 "Big Pom" posted a meeting of prohibiting imported toxic waste, aiming to use Section 44 to solve the problem if necessary. "Big Pok" also assigned a committee by ordering the Ministry of Natural Resources to integrate all concerned agencies to discuss approval regulations. (#TNews, #Ewaste, #ToxicWaste, #Section44)

Political dissidents/activists

From the study, the mainstream or online alternative media channel that presented the news about the opposition and disagreement with the NCPO government's policies and administration, or the support for the political dissidents' movement the most was isranews.org. The second most presenting channels were voicetv.co.th, mgronline.com, komchadluek.net, and thaipost.net. The third most presenting channels were greennews.agency, and posttoday.com. The news presented the most was the opposition against the E-waste.

Examples

The important thing for Thai people to do is to help to mobilize and activate the opposition against the E- or plastic-waste, including the unused second-handed waste that have been imported to Thailand and incurred

pollutions as these wastes are difficult to be decomposed. Thus, the government should pay attention to this problem and insist that Thailand is not the world's trash bin. Accordingly, the government must investigate and eradicate the origin or origin country who exports such waste to the country. Concerned people must be located. It is believed that there must be some latent benefits involved absolutely. (Kom Chad Luek Online, komchadluek.net, June 3, 2019)

From the recent report of the situation of human rights within one year after the coup d'etat in 2014, the fundamental rights or people's freedom of expression was violated. People were obstructed to participate in the issues in which they were affected. For instance, the invasion of natural resources without concern for the historical context, tradition, and community's culture. Power was exploited to support cronyism for capitalists. (Thai Lawyers for Human Rights Center, isranews.org, June 5, 2015)

One of the local representatives who was affected by the project specified that the Prime Minister never listened to local people; although, there were so many people affected by such a project. He begged the Prime Minister to listen to local people's voice, but the capitalists only. (Isra News Agency Online, isranews.org, December 1, 2017)

For Twitter of the mainstream and alternative media channels, i.e., @BrightNews20 #PPTVNews @Kom_chad_luek, ##VoiceOnline, etc. The most popular hashtags were #DeepSeaPortSatun, and #CoalPowerPlant. The examples were "the government was requested to cancel the construction of coal-fired power plant in Thepha-Krabi" by using the hashtags #CheerThepha, "a stage for opposing the Deep Sea Port Pak Bara Project and asking the government sector to review such a project because it affected environment and communities' ways of living by using the hashtag #DeepSeaPortPakBara, etc. The next hashtags were #GlobalWaste, #Ewaste, and #ToxicWaste, i.e., "the smuggling of imported contaminated waste into Thailand," "the civil society sector asked the government to amend the laws before Thailand becomes the world's garbage disposal place," "activists urged ASEAN leaders to end the waste-commerce, etc.

Anti-Coal plant in Thepha seized the place in front of UN for fasting and confirmed doing so until the government would stop the construction of coal-fired power plant in Thepha-Krabi (#CheerThepha, #CoalPowerPlant, #VoiceOnline)	#Malaysia declared to send back the smuggled waste to the country of origin and close over 200 illegal factories. How about Thailand? Don't we have any illegal waste nor factories? Why do we keep silent? What are the Ministry of Commerce, of Natural Resources and Environment, and the Police doing? (#GlobalWaste GlobalCitizen@Citizen2600)

4.1.3.3 The Summary of the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting the National Security News

From the findings of Part 1.3.1 and 1.3.2, the roles and functions of mass media in presenting news about national security can be summarized, based on Malee Boonsiriphan (2007), as follows:

1) Watch Dog. It is the role of mass media in surveillance, inspecting, and locating abnormalities or abnormal situations happening in society and reporting to let people be informed. It is one of the significant roles in the democratic political system since mass media can partly balance the government's power through the detection of its transparency, including digging out any fraudulent, non-transparent, concealing, and hidden behaviors.

From the study, it was found that mass media used online channels in presenting news related to national security in various domains, including

criticism, focusing on the surveillance of abnormal happenings in the society during the NCPO government's administration.

Examples

In the declaration entitled, "a university is not a military camp, and Thailand is not a concentration camp," the NCPO was asked to stop threatening instructors who expressed their political opinions earnestly and stop interfering with the instructional systems of a university as designed by the NCPO. For instance, it was asked to contain content about military glory in the civics textbooks, which violates the principles of rights and liberty completely." (Thai Academic Network for Human Rights, thairath.co.th, November 23, 2015)

After the coup d'etat, 626 people were reported, while 340 were convicted. Among these people, 68 people were prosecuted in the military tribunal, and 107 were arrested after their peaceful rally. 38 public activities were canceled and 24 political websites were closed, one of which was that of Human Rights Watch (Thailand). (voicetv.co.th, December 27, 2014)

Most people perceived that economic and living condition was worsened after three years of the government led by General Prayut. (ABAC Poll, Suan Dusit Poll, Nida Poll, bbc.com/thai, YouTube: VoiceTV, May 20, 2017)

The coup d'etat was criticized to govern the economics by government state. On the other hand, the NCPO monopolizes the market and Thailand 4.0 Policy. People have no participation, and the poor were alienated from the development, while the large capitalists take over all the economics. (Prachathai Online, prachatai.com, May 23, 2018)

The quoted advantage of Chinese submarines guaranteed by several supporters was its cheaper price. The government paid 36,000 million baht to get three Chinese submarines, while it would get only two if buying from other countries. The question is whether it is useless to present information about the doubtful specification and quality of Chinese submarines since this project has already been approved by the cabinet through commitment budgets

across the year. In other words, it can say that people's hands were tied or they had no choice. (Bangkok Business Online, bangkokbiznews.com, April 26, 2017)

If any citizen is arrested without identified places or in a secret place, he or she can be defined as "forced or enforced disappearance." If the government is sincere, it should train the government officers of all parts to understand that they must not conceal the address or condition of the arrested citizens. (Angkana Neelaphaijit, bbc.com/thai, December 31, 2016)

2) Gatekeeper. It is the role of mass media as a sender, so-called "gatekeeper," which means an individual or a group of individuals who regulate the information transmission or to decide if the information can be or cannot be further transmitted.

From the study, it was found that mass media used online channels in transmitting the information related to national security in various domains after considering which news or issues will be disseminated or not disseminated. It is based on the fundamental principles of mass media that each day, there are plenty of happenings, and every second they can be moved. However, mass media cannot report everything. Consequently, they can select some information to be presented as news or articles, or critics via media channels.

3) Agenda Setter. Since receivers or audiences do not only learn public issues or any other information from mass media, but they also learn to what extent each news or issue matters to them through the mass media's focused presentation. It is simply a principle that "what is paid the highest attention by mass media will be perceived as the most important issue."

Examples

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels presented the support and agreement with the NCPO government's policies and administration on the mobilization of voting to accept or not accept the Draft of the Constitution, B.E. 2559 in the referendum the most. Under this role, mass media provided information to people continuously, i.e., the government's preparation for organizing a referendum to follow the stipulated

roadmap, and its public relations to let people be informed of the voting or the referendum date.

Such role of mass media accords with the findings on the Twitter of general people who posted their agreement and support for voting to accept the Constitution Draft in the referendum the most. The examples of the posted content were, “encourage people to exercise their rights of votes for accepting the Constitution Draft in the referendum,” “congratulations on the results of the referendum to accept the Draft Constitution without problems,” “the reason why they like this Draft is that it can reduce politicians’ power,” “the Constitution for getting rid of the Fraud,” etc.

Besides, when analyzing the roles of mass media at the individual level, the findings showed that mass media used the online channel to communicate the issues related to national security in various domains to individuals in the society in different ways as follows:

1) A chain connecting individuals to the world outside. It means that mass media functions as a channel for individuals to communicate with their human fellows to establish interpersonal relationships among members of society.

Examples

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels, and Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels reported news related to national security in the economic domain by presenting the government’s economic policies regularly and continually. It thus enhanced the understanding of several parts of the society, i.e., private sector, community enterprises, large-sized business groups, SMEs, and general people in the rural and urban areas, on the policy of Thailand 4.0, Pracharat, and the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC). The examples of the posted content were, “the progress of EEC Project,”

“The Northeastern Double Track Railway Construction Project,” “The adaptation of Thai bureaucratic system towards Thailand 4.0,” “the progress and people’s feedback towards Pracharat Project,” etc.

2) Arousal of people's emotions. It means the role of mass media in arousing people's emotions, i.e., patriotism, love for the King, or other feelings, such as hatred, anger, sympathy, fear, passion, stress, etc., via its content presentation of both right and wrong information. It can also create values, and implant individuals' beliefs.

Examples

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels, and Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels presented news expressing its support for the government's policies and administration related to the national security in the political domain by presenting the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014, the most. The examples of the content posted by a variety of media the most were, "people agreed and supported the coup d'etat as it was the best solution to solve the national crisis," "the results of the survey on people's opinion towards the administration of the NCPO government," etc.

The results accord with what general people posted on Twitter, i.e., "general people's response and support for the coup d'etat of General Prayut," "the country is tranquil without any rally and laws have been enforced strictly," "all of the social orders seem to go to a better direction," "people are happier," etc. Besides, the posts of agreement and support for the Constitution Draft were also presented with the reasons that it would elevate women's rights and decrease the inequality in society, etc.

Another example was the content related to national security in the scientific and technological domains. From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels and Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media presented the disagreement and opposition against the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560 the most. The content posted was "a report on the rights and liberty in the social media age," "the hacking of the government agencies' websites by the protestants, etc. The posting accords with that on Twitter posted by general people who posted their opposition against such an act the most. The content they posted was "we cannot express any opinion as real democracy does not exist, especially the prohibition of criticism against the NCPO," "actually, Single Gateway is just a change of the name," "join in signing against the Computer Act," etc.

For the roles of mass media at the societal level, from the study, it was found that mass media used online channels to communicate several issues related to national security in various domains at the societal level as follows:

1) Creating democracy for society. Mass media plays a role in creating democracy for society by functioning as a public sphere or area where members in the society or community can communicate, interact, or discuss political and social issues at that time in public. Besides, members can inspect the politics and push it towards transparency.

Examples

An example is the case of the purchase of the submarines from the China Project, which was discussed and criticized widely. It is an issue related to national security in the military domain. Mass media used online channels as a mediating channel to explain the rationale and opinions of both supporters and dissidents. For instance, Nation TV Online presented an article called, “Open 7 Factors Leading to the Purchase of Chinese Submarines. So endurable! Can stay underwater for 21 days.” Furthermore, BBC News Agency (Thai) also presented its critic entitled, “the Navy confirmed S26T was the most suitable submarine for Thailand to let people obtain well-rounded information and to press the government towards the transparency as well.

Arguments against the Quality of Chinese Submarine	**The Navy Confirmed that S26T was the most Suitable Submarine for Thailand**
The summary is as follows: • **Size:** Too big so the safety level is over 60 meters; however, the depth of the Thai sea is only 25-40 meters • **Speed and operation distance:** The fastest speed of Chinese submarines is 18 knots in 10 minutes with a distance of only 8,000 miles whereas the fastest speed of other nations’	The summary is as follows: • **High capacity in disguising:** Can be underwater many times longer than others without emerging for breathing. • **Diverse and heavy armament system:** Consisting of 6 torpedo tubes with high-capacity of an

Arguments against the Quality of Chinese Submarine	The Navy Confirmed that S26T was the most Suitable Submarine for Thailand
submarines is over 20 knots in one hour with over 10,000 miles. • **Combat management system (CMS):** China offered very few torpedoes: 4 real and 2 for a rehearsal for three submarines, while other nations offered 16 real torpedoes for two submarines. • **Lifespan:** Chinese submarines can last approximately 25 years, while some others can last more than 40 years. • (Source: https://www.nationtv.tv/main/content/378544685/)	underwater and land navigation system. It is designed for setting up underwater mine. All are included in the package. • **Safety:** Small compartments are designed for an emergency case, so the troop can move to other rooms. • **Training:** Chinese Navy added training courses for Thai naval soldiers by taking two years and the quality will be inspected and confirmed at every step. • **Maintenance:** Guarantee for two years after the delivery and guarantee for changing damaged or broken parts in an 8-year round. (Source: https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-39815126)

2) Free Marketplace of Ideas. It is a function of mass media in providing an opportunity for everybody and every party to access and use media as a stage to express each person's or each group's standpoint and opinion to the public.

From the study, it was found that mass media used online channels as a stage for expressing standpoints and opinions of both supporters and dissidents. The example was a case of the construction of a coal-fired power plant, which is a policy related to national security in the energy and environmental domain. Both sides express their different standpoints and rationale as follows:

The channel, thairath.co.th, presented the news about the opposing declaration of Sasin Chalermlarp, Secretary-General of Seub Nakhasathien Foundation against the order of the NCPO no. 9/2559 dated March 7, 2016, on the amendment of the laws for promoting and maintaining the national environment. He proposed four requests. 1) To annul the order of NCPO no. 9/2559 to prevent and obstruct any increased conflicts in Thai society. 2) To hasten the reform of the structure and systems of conducting a report on the analysis of the impact on the environment to elevate the level of good governance, which can enhance people's trust and confidence. 3) To add content about rights and liberty (community rights) in the reform division of the Constitution Draft. 4) To apply the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) for implementation. (thairath.co.th, March 10, 2016)

Another case is the presentation of thairath.co.th about the collaboration between the Quality of Life Development network, religious leaders, and local people in handing a supporting document for the construction of the coal-fired power plant with the following requests. 1) Regarding the migration, the supporters confirmed that they had no worries about this and believed that people in the area would have work to do. 2) For the rumor that upon the construction of the coal plant, mosques and kubor would be removed, EGAT had consistently explained in written statements and people of Muslim communities understood it well. They were also confident that there would be no removal of any mosques and kubor as attacked by the protestants. 3) The group confirmed that the said project would be highly beneficial for the communities and they expected this government to proceed with the project as planned. (thairath.co.th, September 5, 2016)

4.2 Recommendations and Practical Guidelines for National Security Operations

The findings of this part from the qualitative research were for answering Objective 3: To recommend some guidelines for the national security operations for the government sector, mass media, and general people. An in-depth interview, whose questions were obtained from the literature review, was conducted with personnel who worked in or were responsible for national security, including experts. Purposive

sampling was used for selecting people with specific knowledge and expertise related to the study as key informants, i.e., government officials, scholars in Political Science, experts in new media, and representatives from media organizations. The names of the key informants are as follows:

1) Tanat Suwannanon, Director of Bureau 1, National Intelligence Agency (interview on June 26, 2018).

2) Colonel Boonrod Srisombat, Commandant, Command and General Staff College (interview on July 17, 2018).

3) Mana Treerayaphiwat, Ph. D., Dean of the Faculty of Communication Arts, Thai Chamber of Commerce University (interview on July 2, 2018).

4) Assistant Professor Jessada Denduangboripant, Ph. D., lecturer of the Faculty of Science, Chulalongkorn University (interview on July 4, 2018).

5) Professor Surachart Bamrungsuk, Ph. D., lecturer of the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University (interview on July 24, 2018).

6) Pikul Chantawitchayasut, Managing Director of Online News Providers Association (interview on March 2, 2019).

The data from the in-depth interview are grouped into the main themes, summarized, analyzed, and synthesized into the following topics:

4.2.1 The Summary of Communication Problems and Weaknesses Amidst Rapid Changes in Communication Technology in the Online World Under the National Security Situation

4.2.1.1 Weaknesses of Communication Between the Government Sector, Mass Media, and General People of Different Groups in Society

Mana Treerayaphiwat (personal communication, July 2, 2018) stated that the NCPO government and communication team intended and tried to explain the government's performance to let people be informed. However, their weakness was they used the old or traditional way of explanation, or by spoken channel, mainly. Such a method or channel might not be appropriate for communication in this age, especially in the situation related to the national security or during the sensitive and political transitional period. He thought that the government sector knew well about

the importance of information technology, but it may not be able to manage it effectively or seriously. For instance, in the program, “Return Happiness to Thai People,” and “Thailand Moves Forward,” including other programs, the government tried to communicate with the youth, which was the right way. However, the problem was the program’s organization and presentation methods. The youth did not watch or were exposed to television. Since the government still used the old management, old styles of explanation, and old methods of communication, it would not be successful no matter how much budget was spent.

From the perspective of governmental officers, Colonel Boonrod Srisombat (personal communication, July 17, 2018) specified the constraints of the national security work because while a few interviewees are available, people who want to know the information are everybody.

Particularly, as interviewees in the security work have to concern about their organization’s order and regulations, only those who involve directly with a certain situation can be authorized to say or give an interview only in the issues for which they are responsible. It is the limitations that they have to understand and agree in common.

To illustrate this, in the case of Tham Luang, it was the situation dealing with the work of the natural security agency almost entirely. It was an incident that everybody wanted to know every moment of what was happening. Nevertheless, in practice, every step has to be planned thoroughly and concisely. On the other hand, not everybody can give an interview since only directly authorized staff can. The information disclosure has to be revealed periodically, so interviewees have to wait to avoid any conflicting or inconsistent information, which can be confusing. The problem is that people in society want to know as much as the security officers know, which is impossible. In reality, some parts of the security work can be reviewed while some cannot as it will affect national security. Thus, security work will face more difficulties.

As for the National Intelligence Agency, Tanat Suwannanon (personal communication, June 26, 2018) explained about the distinctive operation of the agency that an interview on any issue can be done only by the government’s approval. As the spokesperson of the agency, he could personally indicate that he has to give the

news to mass media twice a month, but with prior approval from the editor first. Therefore, it is not an interview in general.

> It means when we want to communicate to society or provide correct information to society, we cannot communicate by ourselves directly. Instead, we have to communicate by giving a hint of what the issue is and what is the interesting point. Then, the media will search for additional information for their news report. (Tanat Suwannanon, personal communication, 26, 2018)

4.2.1.2 Problems in Mass Media Roles via Online Media under the National Security Situation

Mana Treerayaphiwat (personal communication, July 2, 2018) pointed out that the problem of mass media is the misunderstanding of their roles under certain situations related to national security. However, mass media still focus on their survival, i.e., to sell news or information, etc. To present dramatic stories is another factor in their agenda-setting. It includes the sharing of information, which shifts the role of agenda-setting from mass media to “Admin Page” or “online influencers,” who play more roles nowadays. On the other hand, mass media as the mainstream media also present the posted content or content from Pages. Accordingly, some issues can be disseminated more quickly.

> For instance, Ejan Page aims to seek investigative information, especially crimes. Many times, the media cannot access the source of information, so they use information from this page. It’s too easy. Media should do that part by themselves with their investigative power. Another example is the case of the watches, which was revealed by CSI Page. The questions are how they got such information if the information was true or untrue, and what their purposes were. These are not the roles of these unknown people. The information may have not been screened. In terms of Communication Arts, mass media must play the role of an opinion leader for the society. They must provoke people’s conscience. On the contrary, now

someone else performs those roles, not mass media. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018)

For instance, Mam Pho Dam (queen spade) Page posted that someone did something. When Channel 3 presented that story, the police came to prosecute the admin page, but not Channel 3 because Channel 3 claimed that it took it from other sources. This is a kind of mechanism created in social media. Therefore, there have been so many dark Pages in society (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018)

From the perspective of those in the news division of the security agencies, timing is very important, which leads to different definitions or significations. For them, the timing of the news affects security. Sometimes, they have to wait until the situation stays still or is calmed down to prolong the time for finding the truth or the most accurate information. Therefore, it differs from the news function of mass media, which emphasizes speed, hastiness, and timeliness, second by second, etc.

The work of media at present focuses on the speed and competition. On the contrary, the news work of the security agencies requires 3-4 days for screening so the news is stagnant, true, and filled with substance. Thus, we cannot analyze it by day or by the hour. We cannot find the truth that way. It is a very important thing and mass media must understand this point. (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018)

In the case of violence affecting national security, I think it is a territory conflict, i.e., conflicts and clashes in some area. If media work too much or too fast, it may cause some misunderstandings or become a victim to stir the violence for the adversary. Consequently, it will bring about more chaos. Therefore, a problem-solving process at the national level nowadays should apply “negotiation” or “dialogue” rather than physical attacks like in the past. Collaboration and common understanding should be enhanced with the integrated working among the government sector, mass media, and people

in the area. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018)

From the point of view of media professionals, what should be focused is an awareness of problems in making news in the present time, namely being a victim of illiteracy of some sensitive phenomena, which can augment the violence in the society.

> If we are journalists, but we have no literacy. We will easily fall into the trap of the shared or posted news, which is not true. Especially, if we highlight such an untrue issue, it will affect society increasingly. Typically, there are two kinds of sharing fake news: 1) sharing it unintentionally. Consumers receive any message and share it without knowing the fact. 2) sharing it intentionally with some purposes, i.e., to attack the adversary because of political or business reasons, or others. The hazard yielding huge impact is the websites or pages that imitate the mainstream media's websites, i.e., Thairat or Thaireth (from Thairath), etc, including using similar logos or tones of color. For example, Channel New18 was imitated by an online page by using its old logo and similar name of the news agency of the mainstream media. The purpose was to publicize fake news and to decrease the credibility of the mainstream media. (Pikul Chantawitchayasut, personal communication, March 2, 2019)

4.2.2 Recommendations and Practical Guidelines for Concerned Sectors of the Society in Communicating the National Security Issues via Online Media

4.2.2.1 Recommendations for Government Agencies

1) Classify or categorize target groups clearly: It is important to know to which group they want to communicate. The analysis of the target groups must be analyzed, especially the media consumption of each group.

2) Plan content creation. The content must be planned to communicate directly to the target group with the key message the government wants

to communicate in each topic or issue. For example, the key message about security can be explained or narrated differently to rural and urban people, etc. Especially, due to the very rapid changes in human behaviors at present, the old traditional communication patterns cannot always be used.

3) The management of intelligence systems must be able to catch up with the nature of new media. It is important to be aware that the new form of communication can be disseminated very rapidly all day 24 hours. For instance, for the private sector, whenever there is any negative news or posts, it can react or respond very quickly, i.e. within 10-15 minutes. The admin page will get the news or information first. Then, there will be someone in charge to take care of it in sequence. Still, at least an immediate response will be posted after a customer's post to alleviate people's emotions. Then, it is the next process of monitoring, criticizing, and organizing ways to solve the problems timely through some kinds of systems to avoid making the situation prolonged and widespread.

4.2.2.2 Recommendations for Mass Media

What the mass media must be cautious of working via an online channel, especially in the issue related to national security, is a threat, which always happens and appears in new forms increasingly every day. Examples of threats are fake, fraud, and deceptive news, including information operations (IO) in the online world. If mass media do not know and learn the importance of these threats, mass media will become an arouser of those information operations.

> What kind of situation mass media will fall into if they present online content as a part of their news reports without performing their duties in seeking more insightful or in-depth information. Especially, what will happen if there is IO with fake, fraud, or deceptive news created by some groups of people to affect national security? (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018)

For this case, if mass media do not pay attention to this awareness, they will jump to play with it, then they will become a stimulator of those IOs and a tool of people with bad intentions. In the future, it can be anticipated that such a phenomenon will be increasing. If mass media do not take their duty

seriously, they will become only a bypass or a facilitator helping online IO to be widespread more quickly. The information operations that happen nowadays are modified to make them interesting. After the modification, if mass media see that it can be sold, it will be sold immediately without screening if it is appropriate to be publicized or not. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018)

It is a kind of IO, or how to make people know. Dark pages then are created without knowing who is the page owner. Frequently, we see something only on social media, not in the general mass media. It thus is a new communication process that tears the old communication pattern. (Assistant Professor Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018)

Mass media is the mainstream media, but uses and disseminates information from Facebook, Instagram, or even from some unreliable sources, but with lots of followers. The question is if such power is gigantic. I think it's gigantic, but just temporary, and follows trends. The effect is short and then disappears. Still, people who want to work in the information operations or IO must learn and catch up with the behaviors of those people; otherwise, they will become their tool. It is like they want to make their prey to believe, and finally, you become their prey unconsciously. (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018)

In the future, the creation and forwarding of information look more realistic, while threats in the online world will become more violent. Therefore, if we have no workers to monitor it directly, people will believe it, especially in some periods, in which people are sensitive to the received information. Even mass media may make the news widespread without knowing what they are doing. It thus causes misunderstandings more easily and affects national security increasingly. Such a problem will cause more concern in the next 5-10 years. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018).

Mass media must catch up with technologies and be able to use them to support their screening capacity. Abroad, technologies are used for

> monitoring fake news; therefore, mass media must learn how to use these technologies, i.e., to monitor if a clip is real or fake, or since when a clip is publicized. Mass media need to learn and be well-prepared to use technologies to facilitate their news operations. (Pikul Chantawitchayasut, personal communication, March 2, 2019)

4.2.2.3 Recommendations for General People in Society

People in society must 'learn' and 'be aware' of being 'conscious,' which is an important thing to help to withhold and stop the spread of information the best.

> We want our people to be Citizen Sensor Network. This means that they must be people's network and be sensors of information. In other words, people in a community will look after one another, i.e., to surveillance if there is anything odd in our community or if anyone is behaving strangely, etc. We must notice what happens in our society. (Tanat Suwannanon, personal communication, June 26, 2018)

Such remark accords with the opinion of Pikul Chantawitchayasut (personal communication, March 2, 2019) who expressed opinions in the same direction that consumers, receivers, or people in the society are vital in withholding and stopping the dissemination of the untrue message. Especially, it will be very helpful if each individual is aware and discreet of how credible the disseminated information is and what will be its subsequent effect on society, individuals, and bystanders.

4.2.3 Guidelines for Integrating the Collaborations of all Concerned Sectors in the Society towards the Threats from Online Media, Especially in the Issue Related to National Security

1) All sectors in the society: broadcasters, journalists, media organizations, receivers, and the government, must have a common or congruent

understanding about the nature of new media platforms or social media, and jointly invent and give importance to the building of strong monitoring systems.

Surachart Bamrungsuk (personal communication, July 24, 2018) noted that Thai society is in the transitional period and moves towards globalization. Such a global trend came with modern cyber trends. The priority that every sector in Thai society had to do is thus to adapt itself to new information phenomenon. What they have to think together is how a strong monitoring system can be set up to monitor the information presented to people in society.

> Thai society needs to adapt itself. The old thinking was to control Thai society through the control of media and blocking media. However, the more the media are blocked, the worse the condition is, especially if it is challenged by information from new media. The explicit example of our society now is the government's self-advertisement or propaganda, which is attacked in every issue. In other words, no issue is not attacked. It is not a reaction by slanders, but by information with proofs and evidence. Therefore, the utmost things are information and fact. (Surachart Bamrungsuk, personal communication, July 24, 2018)
>
> The society also needs to acquire knowledge about it, i.e., to check information before sharing it and see how it will affect national security. If it should be shared or disseminated depends on the social condition as well. I think it's a good thing to learn how it is good or bad. In the future, it will become a social standard or sanction that if you do any unethical sharing, you will be condemned, etc. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018)
>
> If it concerns about the security, the information must be presented through a credible channel. The information must be true or facts. Then, people will trust or have confidence. Besides, it also helps people to learn and to increase their awareness of their advanced preparation. The faster we see how much it is important, the more everything in the society can be developed. (Pikul Chantawitchayasut, personal communication, March 2, 2019)

2) It is necessary for the government sector to give high importance to the media literacy policy for children and the youth, including providing knowledge for the top and middle management to understand the transition of the media landscape.

3) There should be a workshop on the preparation and the building of the media monitoring process at every level, including plans to deal with IO issues as a procedural process. The skill development related to information technology and the usage of modern or updated technologies should be trained consistently.

4) Concentrated, strong, and updated measures should be determined to deal with or determine the penalties on groups of people who imitate media and publicize news that causes damages to society and business sectors. It also includes some groups of people who intentionally create fake news for amusement or for increasing their income. The government sector or concerned agencies must take action to eradicate these problems earnestly.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS OF THE COMMUNICATION OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES VIA ONLINE MEDIA IN THE INFORMATION OPERATIONS

The findings of this part were gained from the quantitative and qualitative research to answer research objective No. 2: To study and analyze the impact of the communication of the national security issues via online media. The findings can be summarized as follows:

5.1 The impact of communication via online media

5.1.1 On general people's ways of living

5.1.2 On mass media work

5.1.3 On the national security issues

5.2 The impact of the information operations (IO) via online media

The impact of IO was studied on the following situations related to national security and information operations via online media:

5.2.1 Political movements of political dissenters and political activists

5.2.2 Single Gateway Policy

5.2.3 The 20-year National Strategy, harmony plans, and national reform.

5.2.4 Thailand 4.0 policy

5.2.5 Insurgencies in the southern border provinces.

5.1 The Impact of the Communication Via Online Media

The in-depth interviews were conducted by purposive sampling of key informants from government agencies related to national security, a scholar in Political Science, an expert in new media, and a mass media professional responsible

for generating online news. The names of the key informants or interviewees are as follows:

1) Tanat Suwannanon, Director of Bureau 1, National Intelligence Agency (interview on June 26, 2018).

2) Colonel Boonrod Srisombat, Commandant, Command and General Staff College (interview on July 17, 2018).

3) Mana Treerayaphiwat, Ph. D., Dean of the Faculty of Communication Arts, Thai Chamber of Commerce University (interview on July 2, 2018).

4) Assistant Professor Jessada Denduangboripant, Ph. D., lecturer of the Faculty of Science, Chulalongkorn University (interview on July 4, 2018).

5) Professor Surachart Bamrungsuk, Ph. D., lecturer of the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University (interview on July 24, 2018).

6) Pikul Chantawitchayasut, Managing Director of Online News Providers Association (interview on March 2, 2019).

The findings from the interviews were grouped according to the main themes of the study. Then, they were analyzed, summarized, and synthesized under the following topics:

5.1.1 The Impact of Communication via Online Media on General People's Ways of Life

1) Quite a number of receivers still adhered to the myths of the old media landscape. In other words, they believed that information transmitted on social media had been screened. One of the explicit examples was members in Group Line tended to believe that the received and transmitted information among groups in which they were members came from the same family members, friends, colleagues, etc. They trusted that such information was screened or edited like the information they used to receive from TV, newspaper, and radio in the past. Editorial boards or reporters had inspected and verified information thoroughly and correctly before their publicity.

> Nowadays, everybody can use technology. People can set an agenda, generate their message, and spread it very rapidly by themselves. This is a new form of disguised danger, hidden in the present communication. People may send true or untrue, benefit-oriented, or their expectation-focus message easily and smoothly. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018)

2) Trust in the information of one's small community and common interests make people gather in groups in "a virtual community." Despite no acquaintance, they can still know one another, and do activities together, without realizing the impact or effect that follows. Information is disseminated widely and rapidly without any verification. As mentioned above, they believe that the transmission and reception of messages on social media are all from acquaintances, i.e., family members, friends, old friends since childhood, colleagues, etc. Accordingly, they can trust and believe in the transmitted message instantly without checking if it is true or not. Besides, they are also victims by forwarding such untrue messages to others easily.

> A virtual society formed on social media induces people with similar ideas and tastes to gather together and communicate with one another without knowing one another before. Still, they can have common activities, even joining in terrorism. This is a very swift change coming with social media, which was never possible in the past. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

3) Due to the structure of Facebook, people can delete, block, unfriend, and unfollow some people or some friends. They can also add new friends and can choose to accept only people with a similar idea. Such a phenomenon emphasizes the extremity of people's ideas, beliefs, and attitudes towards certain directions unconsciously.

> From being neutral, we keep changing gradually. No matter the subjects are, we will be pushed continually towards people who have similar ideas like us

> more and more. This kind of mechanism is very dangerous because it will lead us to only one way. Thus, it is easy to persuade anyone through social media. People are more susceptible than in former days. Sometimes, we do not even know that we are moving into such a cycle and cannot tell since when we get such a move. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

4) One of the distinctive nature of social media is the negative or untrue message can be diffused much more swiftly than a true one. Although the truth is revealed afterward, all the information, including untrue or deceptive information, cannot be eradicated. It still moves around those people. The only thing that happens is that it moves from one platform to another.

> For me, as an influencer, I started to find information from Pantip first. Then, I found that in Pantip, people like to share distorted or incorrect information. Nowadays, from correcting information in Pantip, people turn to share distorted and incorrect information on Facebook instead. Now, it moves from Facebook to Line. In reality, all this wrong information never disappears, it still goes around like that, but only changes to other platforms. Positive information may be spread fast, but negative or untrue information goes faster. An untrue message may come from a person's intent or may be caused by the needs of a transmitter who wants people to believe in what he invents. On the other hand, receivers also are ready to share it instantly. The word ’viral’ was thus introduced, comparable to bio-virus. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

5.1.2 The Impact of Communication Via Online Media on Mass Media Work

1) Frequently, mass media as “gatekeepers” do not play their role in screening the information that appears on social media. Instead, mass media forward such information to be disseminated more widely. Social media is used as “sources of information” without being verified by the editorial board or committee. Most

importantly, sometimes, mass media do not even analyze if the information to be transmitted is useful for their receivers. What they are concerned about is how to deliver any information as fast as possible to seize the ratings. The consequences of the news will be the next priority. In fact, they should verify all information and consider if the information should be presented or not before disseminating it to the public.

> Many times, mass media are just too enthusiastic to get some news hurriedly because of the fear of leaving out the news. Therefore, they follow the trends appearing on social media. It then causes problems for the sender who does not know what should or should not be sent on social media. Even, as receivers, they also consume news without knowing what is right or wrong or deceptive. Is it a fact, opinion, or just a rumor? (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018).
>
> What is happening might be called a new form of news production that is changed by the trend of the new media landscape. To pick up any issue from social media to write needs to see if it can contribute anything to society or if induces receivers to have some social opinions. Although some clips may contain negative content, its benefit is to make consumers aware of some occurrences. Such a warning is worthwhile to be presented. (Pikul Chanwitchayasut, personal communication, March 2, 2019).

2) The pattern of news reporting of most media nowadays focuses on only what, where, when, and how. For example, they will report “there was a car crash and several people were dead.” They hardly provide an insightful analysis of what causes a happening or why it occurs, including offering preventive ways or ways for solving problems for receivers to learn and apply for their purposes. Notably, the most frequent criticism found is the copying of news from social media with a report “From the social media, it was found that……..” without searching for more information from other sources.

> Personally, I don't like the phrase ' please be discreet while viewing' since we have never taught Thai people to use their discretion or judgment. We may be familiar with some sayings used for a newspaper like 'bad news can sell but good news cannot', 'bad news is always on the front page', or 'good news is at the bottom or is inside,' etc. Such sentences are used again in the era of social media. They just move to a new platform from newspaper to TV and social media. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).
>
> Concerning Copy news, we have to see how the news is copied, i.e., all of the content, etc. Sometimes, it can be copied from other sources to get information about what is happening or has happened. Typically, we rely on the database called News Center, a business information provider or information source, of the whole content of newspapers, websites, or news from news agencies. As now for the real-time information, we don't have to be at the site, but we can use our connection and compile the information with what we get from an interview or from the fact we have faced. Sometimes, we can combine with disseminated or publicized information. Thus, this can be counted as a step of screening. Besides, for professional media, to extend some knowledge or useful content by searching additional information beyond the clips to find out if they are true, who is the source, or how they obtain the information. All of these can be done by contacting the affiliation directly or people involved in the clip or reviewing all matters, and then compile all together. (Pikul Chanwitchayasut, personal communication, March 2, 2019).

3) From the report from the Program for Top Executives of Mass Communication in Broadcasting Enterprises of Pikul Chanwitchayasut (2018) entitled, “the Study on Fake News Examination of Online News Editorial Board,” it was found that during the past 3-4 years, fake news has been widespread on online and social media: Websites, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Line, etc. by creating fraud websites or imitating websites of news agencies to disseminate fake news, parody, sarcastic information, or distorted news. The purposes are to make consumers

misunderstand, fool them, and induce them to forward it on social media. Consequently, it decreases the mass media's credibility.

5.1.3 The Impact of the Communication Via Online Media on National Security Issues

1) The term “national security” is rather abstract and has been debatable for a long time about to whom the national security belongs, what it is if the nation and state are identical and if the state and the government are the same. Frankly speaking, if the structure of the governance institutes, i.e., the present government, etc. changes or its popularity increases or decreases, many people will perceive that it is not related to the country. Instead, Thailand or being Thailand is the only structure of the country. On the contrary, many other people perceive that all concerned institutes and the country are related; thus, they are ready to protect such relations.

> Personally, I don't think that to use social media will make Thailand indented, or combine with other countries to be a new country. The state, as defined, is the government that is responsible for using governance power. Therefore, if anything affects those who govern the country, it will affect the country as well. Besides, the government itself also perceives the roles of online social media in providing knowledge and information, affecting ways of living, and affecting the government or whatever the government or governor wants people in the society to believe. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

2) Personnel, especially the concerned government agencies, must be aware and adjust themselves towards a new attitude that modern information systems make the security problems unstable. From the old perspective, information flow was never a major agent. However, nowadays owing to the change of the world to be a cyber or digital world, one of the major security dimensions is cybersecurity. Hence, Thai governmental sectors have not well understood this kind of security so they still adhere to the old perspective.

> In case of the heavy use of online media, the question is to what extent the government sector has the capacity in coping with the information flow in the online world, no matter if it will affect the security or not. I think this is a new question. Specifically, when we mention about Thai state, the Thai state is often perceived as falling behind. It cannot catch up with the advancement of technology. (Surachart Bamrungsuk, personal communication, July 24, 2018).

3) After the coup d'etat of NCPO, the first thing the state proceeded was to seize TOT, CAT, and satellite stations. This can be interpreted that the state gave importance to communication on social media largely. Accordingly, the security defined by the government as being able to control the situation by preventing conflicts and quarrels partly focus on the control of the online social media.

> I personally think that to block information is not a solution. We can never close down the system of what we see in the present world. It's impossible. Therefore, under this condition, the main issue is the adaptation of the Thai government sector, particularly the state or government itself. It must be able to confront a new question. How can it adapt itself? (Surachart Bamrungsuk, personal communication, July 24, 2018).

4) The constraint of government agencies is their passive working. They are not active enough to compete with the development or nature of new media or social media. For example, the government sector still adheres to the problem-solving process based on the old media landscape. Namely, they solve the problem by shutting down news, closing news channels, and blocking information flow.

> The big problems of government agencies' working nowadays are 1) too slow, or being unable to catch up with the new technology and its information flow, and 2) unpractical. Primarily, in the age of information where information can be disseminated very rapidly in real-time or second by second and everyone can be transmitters themselves. The government sector cannot close all information, especially if someone can post a message by a server abroad. It

thus is different from the old days in which only some channels were available. Therefore, it could close TV stations in case of TV or printing press in case of a newspaper. Then, the state could control the flow of information. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018).

Regarding the national security issues in the information operations amidst the powerful hit of globalization and social media, government officials reflected their perspectives as follows:

From the perspective of security units, whenever there is any situation happening in the society, especially the happening that might affect the national security, the important thing the government sector concerns the most is appropriate timing to inform the public. It must be under the condition that it can be controllable and can be transmitted without yielding any negative effect on the concerned offices and the country. However, because of the speed and depth of new media, the arranged issues on the national security offices, under the context involving the all benefits of the institutes, the Military, and the country, go in the opposite direction with the nature of new media. (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018).

Globalization has brought about speedy communication and introduced the information era. Consequently, people can disseminate their technology, ideas, and ideologies, which may cause threats to the world, including transnational crimes. We can see much terrorism nowadays that comes with the use of communication technology. Thus, the use of online media is very influential in fabricating the hatred current among people through hate speech, i.e., Muslimphobia. Muslimphobia started from discontentment, leading to a severe impact of terrorism, etc. (Tanat Suwannanon, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

The presentation of the news that is not crystallized, many issues of the news thus affects the national security, leading to some clarification repeatedly. Correspondingly, people are confused with the news presented on social media and the government's media. Hence, it can say that security

sectors have to adapt the patterns of their news presentation to catch up with the speed of new technologies nowadays. (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018).

5) In the period where we have to face the effusive flow of information via social media, the operation of the security units has been affected greatly. An eminent example is the case of the bombing at the Ratchaprasong area on August 17, 2015. The occurrence may be considered as the starting point of violent situations disturbing national security at all levels. The lessons learned from such a situation is that the occurrence would be calmed down and all the dispersing tension on online social media would be dissolved within 72 hours. To calm down means at that moment, everyone: a spokesman, leader, or whoever, etc., should not impede any current at that time. It is the power that is intangible and it is hard to catch it. It is the belief of people at that certain time, the belief that floats along the turmoil taking place in that situation.

No matter which points the government units touch, it will be counterattacked every time. Therefore, it is important to wait for the wind waves to be tranquil only. Most importantly, it is people's belief. Considering it thoroughly, I think it's very difficult to do, but we have to dilute such belief by presenting the truth or facts periodically, depending on each proper timing. (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018).

From the angle of news production, the first thing to do is to check the information with the contact group first, i.e., with crime reporters to check the primary incident information. Secondly, in case our journalists have not reached the crime scene, one should check the information with the network group who reaches the scene before them. Thirdly, in case any broadcasting or disseminating of any image occurs by whatever sources, it is necessary to check if it is the old or new one as, at present, forwarding and sharing photos are ubiquitous. (Pikul Chanwitchayasut, personal communication, March 2, 2019).

5.2 The Impact of the Information Operations (IO) Via Online Media

Political dissenters tend to publicize their different ideas from those of the government sector via online or new media. Boonrod Srisombat (personal communication, July 17, 2018) specified that in the period of the information society, information management means the struggle for media space to get a more competitive advantage over the opponent. However, what happens is that some sets of concepts are only feelings, pictures, or a few words, with little substantial truth. Such information management is aimed to spark some resistance. For example, in the case of urging for a quick election, the more we see the resistance or urges, the more we can feel that this can cause a political advantage. However, when we analyze it thoroughly, we can see that the issue presented by the political dissenters is only the acceleration of an election, so people will focus solely on that issue and choose to stand with the opposite party, without considering other reasons.

> I perceive that for the cognitive struggle, the mechanism people choose to use is online social media. (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018).

His notion accords with the opinion of Assistant Professor Jessada Denduangboripant (personal communication, July 4, 2018). He views that information operations (IO) have been conducted since the Vietnam War and World Wars. Information operations are the strategies of creating information to overcome the adversary. However, the ways of accessing the information now are different. In the past, two parties needed to have a face-to-face information exchange and negotiation. However, now it is unnecessary to meet one another by a face-to-face channel. IO conductors can only print texts to one another and use a much shorter time than before. However, the process of using online social media to convince or persuade people is not new. It is a common matter and causes not so many damages. However, if it causes any impact, but on the correct information base, it can be considered as good strategies at some certain levels.

From the perspective of the government sector, especially the intelligence unit, Tanat Suwannanon (personal communication, June 26, 2018), specifies that to follow the situations around the world and report to the government, we get information from open sources or general channels. On the other hand, we have skills in evaluating and analyzing trends by using past lessons and experiences to see how each situation yields further positive and negative impact. After the study, the findings will be reported to the government. Typically, intelligence is classified into two types: 1) the nature of intelligence related to the combination of media state and scholarship. It is comparable to a huge library since to write an intelligence report is like news writing of mass media. It requires a reliable reference to see what sources of information, theories, or knowledge are acquired. Thus, people who can work effectively in the intelligence work have to own the media capabilities and state in themselves. They must be able to write and analyze the intelligence based on what other people want to know. The main responsibility of the intelligence units is to evaluate what is the government's interest. 2) the other responsibility is to resist or counter others' intelligence, especially information hacking by foreigners, which might be in the forms of data breaches of our nation's secrets or searching information for the other nation. Therefore, the intelligence units must resist thefts, terrorism, sabotage, and undermining that damage political and economic security, including resistance of communication, etc.

> I think that IO can be used by every party. Every party can conduct IO because IO is a kind of war. In this period, it is the use of IO through social media or online media. IO can be white, black, or grey, depending on each party's invention. (Tanat Suwannanon, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

From the point of view of scholars, Surachart Bamrungsuk (personal communication, July 24, 2018) perceived the phenomenon of the struggle over the space on online media between the government sector and political dissenters that the Thai military government has the capacity of psychological operations only. What we see is Psychological Operations (PSYOP), with which the military is familiar or of which the military has more experiences than other government agencies.

Psychological operations have been conducted since the Communist war. Therefore, it is only the traditional or old psychological operations the military uses in the cyber world.

> The military government uses propaganda via cyber. It has not reached what is called IO genuinely. If considering the academic framework, it involves more than that and relies on several factors However, the Thai government does not have genuine IO. Contrarily, it is just a basic psychological operation in the cyber world. The only change is a new platform, but the conductors of IO are not changed. In my opinion, the government's IO is like old wine in a new bottle or old content by a new instrument. We have not reached the point of Information Warfare. It is still only quarrels in the online world. Despite the military's information management, people still argue and generate content or some ideas in the online world to prove that what the information presented by the military government is fraud or untrue, etc. At the same time, the military also does the same thing by responding back and forth. This is the information operations in the context of Thai society nowadays. (Surachart Bamrungsuk, personal communication, July 24, 2018).
>
> Many movement groups choose to use online media increasingly. They use more online IO in their movements towards some objectives. At the same time, the government cannot catch up with them. In this era, people have more chances to speak out, and to express or disseminate their opinions and belief through an important agent, namely online media. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018).
>
> The Five Steps to Tyranny Theory identifies five steps to Tyranny as follows: 1) people are divided into two groups or parties to create disharmony or disunion. It must have only two parties, not three absolutely. Whenever you disagree with one side or party, you will be pushed to another side or party instantly. This is an information operation that has been used since Hitler’s period during the second war. I view that the military government is equipped with too old-fashioned thinking patterns. If the government wants to attract

people to its side, it can exercise wiser strategies. Thus, when it does not use such tactics, it looks more suspicious. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

The impact illustrated in some situations related to national security and information operations via online media.

5.2.1 The Movements of Political Dissenters or Political Activists

At present, political dissenters or political activists use online media channels or social media for their movements to express their political standpoints. The numbers of followers or "likes" are enormous. Thus, the posting of movement texts or activities to express the opposition or disagreement with the NCPO government can make a high number of users see such posts in parallel. The transmitted information is thus widespread easily and swiftly to wide coverage.

Examples

League of Liberal Thammasat for Democracy posted on its Facebook on the first anniversary of the coup d'etat, "Our activities are not illegal and righteous completely. What they did is illegal instead." (facebook. com/LLTD.TU/, May 23, 2015). From the information search, it was found that there were 107,854 likes and 107,292 followers of such a channel. On the other hand, there were 13.7 K followers on Twitter@LLTD_TU.

People Want to Vote Group and Young People for Social-Democracy Movement (YPD) organized a symbolic activity, "the fourth anniversary of the coup d'etat recall: The disappearance of freedom and no-identity reform" via Facebook Live (Facebook Live YPD, May 22, 2018. From the information search, there were 2,166 likes and 2332 followers on the YPD Facebook, while there was a large number of likes and followers on hashtags of People who want to vote group as well.

Such phenomena are different from those in the past where protestors gathered in groups at a certain place, i.e., Ratchadamnoen Road, the Democracy Monument,

etc., for their symbolic expressions, especially through their concrete demonstrations. The phenomena examples can be analyzed as follows:

1) The starting point of the aforementioned phenomena via online media channel was introduced by the protest of political dissenters of “Arab Spring” in the cyber world. Their movements of political dissenters via online media were the struggles by information or conceptual sets. However, merely transmission of information could not yield an impact at a severe level or not so powerfully like that in foreign countries. Interestingly, in the case of Thailand, communication via infographic or through graphic works on only one single page could narrate everything thoroughly.

Examples: The infographic presentation of the government or its supporters and the political dissenters or political activists, including some mass media via Twitter channels in case of the coup d’etat and the 2017 Constitution Draft.

The Government

	# From the referendum, private sectors are ready to forward their investment to respond to the result of the referendum, which enables to continue the election at the end of 2017. #posttoday #referendum

Political Dissenters

	Education? Public Health? Environment? Anti-Corruption? NGO? Election System? Sources of Senators? #summary of the constitution draft per issue @iLawclub

2) Political movements of the political dissenters at present are a kind of identification and struggle for social space to voice out their different opinions in society. Besides, they are aimed to portray the power of the gathering in the virtual

world via online media, which can be transformed to be concrete movements in the real world.

Examples: The Opposition of Single Gateway Group used Twitter channels for its hashtag #OpSingleGateway to mobilize people to sign against the Computer Act.

	- #singlegateway #NIA #NCPO #tyrant #ThailandSingleGateway #OpSingleGateway #no opposition surely pass #join signing computer act last day @thematterco

> Net Citizens Network submitted a list of 300,000 people's names via change.org website towards the Project. "Stop Single Gateway. Stop Personal Data Breaches Law" to the president of the National Legislative Assembly (NIA) to review and correct the content in the draft of the Computer Crimes Act and its Amendment. (thainetizen.org, December 15, 2016)

From the interview with the scholars and experts, they specified that there would be a tendency towards more violence due to technological evolution. Therefore, if the government sector still applies its traditional ways of management, the widespread of information would be even faster.

> Generally, I view that they are threats against this government only, not the national threats. Once the government is changed or the leader of the nation coming from the coup d'etat is changed, the new government in the future may face another opposition. Political dissenters may show up again. Still, it has not been counted as the national threat yet, but only the threat against the government in each period. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018).

3) Assistant Professor Jessada Denduangboripant (interview, July 4, 2018) agreed that the weakness of the present government was to adhere to the old or traditional perspective in the military way, which focused on the old theory of communism. Therefore, it views political dissenters as its adversary, especially in combination with its predisposed bias, i.e., the movement of people against it comes from some political parties' support. Everything communicated by the government is based on their stereotyped predisposition that all political dissenters are hostile.

> As soldiers, they have only I and my enemies. Every opposite party is my enemy. Soldiers will not perceive an argumentation or dispute as a way towards common solutions of society. They have never been socialized in that way. For them, don't expect them to understand the word 'democracy' because soldiers must fight. Thus, once a soldier becomes a leader of the country, the negotiation or dialogues as the mechanism to solve problems collaboratively will never be in his mind. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

On the contrary, concerned government agencies perceive the movements of political dissenters, including students, who come out to protest the government, that are not a national threat or any dangerous threat. They are only a group of people who have different political ideologies from the government sector; thus, they will not cause any effect. The government also insists that they are not the adversary. However, when they have any movement through the use of online or social media perceived as harmful to national security, the primary eradication of such harm is to block their information. The reasons behind are that the dissenter's information via online media is something hard to control, whereas easy to be widespread, and have a tendency to be more violent.

> I personally feel sympathetic to the group of political dissenters. Now, it is the age where people have to express themselves to be socially accepted. Whoever is accepted can become famous. Nowadays, these groups of political dissenters possess both ideologies and desire fame. From the perspective of

the government sector, they are not considered as national threats, just a group of political dissenters. However, the government may pay attention to or follow only someone of some parties especially, i.e., Netiwit, who had a chance to go to Taipei, and Europe earlier. We perceive that he has a stage to perform, has some roles to play, but he is not dangerous. (Tanat Suwannanon, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

From the analysis of the study on the use of online media channels, i.e., Twitter, in communicating the content related to the national security of the government and political dissenters in the political domain in case of (1) means the case of the coup d'etat on May 22, 2014 (2) means the main content of the Constitution Draft B.E. 2560 (3) the campaign on Constitution Draft B.E. 2016 (4) means the national reform policies, the establishment of harmony, and the 20-year national strategy (5) means roadmaps for an election administration or management, the following is displayed in the Table.

Table 5.1 Illustrates the use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Political Domain

The Government

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
The government sector's Twitter, i.e., #TPTV/ @NECTEC/ @SenateThailand/ @TPchannel10/ @weloverta/ #ConstitutionDraftingCommittee/ #harmonybelongstopeople/ #militarynews, etc.	0	3	1	6	1	**11**
General people	9	5	9	3	1	**27**
Total	**9**	**8**	**10**	**9**	**2**	**38**

Political dissenters

Twitter	Numbers of Postings					
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**Total**
People's Network (NGOs)/ Civil Society Organization @IlawFX/ @iLawclub/ @iLawFX/ @iLaw/ @Thainetcitizen, etc.	1	7	2	4	2	**16**
Political dissenters/political activists, i.e., @NDMthailand/ # People Want to Vote Group/ @LLTD_TU, etc.	6	1	0	0	0	**7**
General people	22	2	11	2	1	**38**
Total	**29**	**10**	**13**	**6**	**3**	**61**

From the study, it was found that political dissenters, i.e., people's networks (NGOs), civil society organizations, political activists, etc., used Twitter for posting their disagreement/objection on the issues related to the political policies of the NCPO (22 times). Some examples were #SummaryOfConstitution, #Decentralization ToRurulAreas, #DecreasedParticipationOfPeople, @iLawclub/ PrasitchaiNoonual: what we must accept is transitory provision for prolonging power for sure, #referendum, #ConstitutionDraft, #August7@Thainetcitizen/ statistics, #FourYearsOfNCPO: so far, there have been over 525 declarations/orders, #Section44: 187 orders issued, #NIA291LawsSpendingBudgets, #Over2000millionsForNationalReform@iLawclub, etc.

The findings accord with general people's 38 postings of "disagreement/objection" via Twitter. Examples of the posts were #1yearCoup is like a boiling kettle waiting for bursting out/May222018/, #FourYearsOfTheCoup means 4 years of losing opportunities and 4 years of the failure of the country, etc.

On the other hand, the government used Twitter to post content related to the national security in the political domain 11 times, i.e., #BecauseEveryVoiceOfPeople is "important and equal," #HarmonyBelongsToPeople/ , 20yearNationalStrategy leading to the vision "stability, prosperity, and sustainability," forwarding to the value-added economics mobilized by innovations/ gives importance to the increased

productivity based on the development and the use of science technology, innovation, creativity, and, Thai identity, #20yearNationalStrategy@weloverta, etc.

For general people, they posted their "agreement/support" to political policies via Twitter7 times. The examples were "to have different ideas is common and possible," "the harmony plans will not destroy people's differences, #harmony/ #Constitution DraftingCommittee, #CDC, #DraftOfConstitutionOfTheKingdomOf Thailand via websites http://fb.me/L3 Y1 2 gzt/, what the military operates may not look to be democratic, but it can bring back the happiness of the country, #NCPO /without the coup d'etat a year ago, the country may have been collapsed, #OneYearCoup, etc.

5.2.2 Single Gateway Policy

The issues focus on the Single Gateway policy and the government's effort in closing online communication, accused of affecting the national security, consequences of the demands regarding the issue of the violation of freedom in expression, Section 44, the violation of human rights and liberty, the endeavor of the government sector in applying Single Gateway policies as parts in solving the flow of information via social media channels, evaluated by the government sector as affecting the national security, the disagreement of people or civil society sectors based on the principle of rights and liberty of a democratic country, etc. Each party (the government and political dissenters) struggles to seize media space for presenting its different ideas due to their different standpoints and ideologies through its attacks and movements in various ways via online social media. The examples were:

From the government sector's perspective. The government sector confirmed that the National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) had not authorized any order to block social networks yet, i.e., Facebook, Twitter, or Line, or any other orders to close online uses. In case that the government was necessary to restrain the use of Facebook and Line, only the online use of some individuals under close monitoring by the order of NCPO will be held back. Besides, if any page or Group Line portrayed the content of committing lese-majesty, incitement, or agitation, leading to disharmony among people in the country, it would be restrained instantly, etc.

	The Prime Minister confirmed the control of social media was not related to the Single Gateway Case. #SpringNews @SpringNews_TV

On the other hand, political dissenters, i.e., Anonymous Hackers Group, etc. expressed their ideas as follows:

> The official statement opposing Single Gateway Policy and threatening the government sector that their websites will be hacked is to portray their symbolic expression against any action that will decrease people's freedom in expressions. Besides, they menaced companies or individuals who helped to push the Single Gateway Policy that they might be the victims of being attacked by electronic operations in the future. (facebook.com/anon.thailand) (bbc.com/thai, October 23, 2015)

Citizens against the Single Gateway Project

Examples of the postings were Page against the Single Gateway Project, Page Facebook “Citizens opposing the Single Gateway Project: Thailand Internet Firewall #opsinglegateway, which invited people to jointly protest the Single Gateway Project by the appointed operation of pressing F5 to attack the websites of the government agencies once again on October 27, 2015. (facebook.com/anon.thailand, October 23, 2015)

From the above situation, the scholars and experts reflected their perspectives as follows:

1) Single Gateway was one of the propositions that had been tied with political problems and thus reflected conflicts in society. It was originated from the difference in political standpoints.

> For the Single Gateway Policy, I think it reflects the lag of military leaders' understanding of the online world. Accordingly, we will see the government coming from the usurpation perceive problems from the military perspectives. Specifically, Single Gateway is the condition imposed for threatening the information flow in the new world. Such thinking is not different from the belief that the government is authorized to close any system of everybody without realizing that servers of the new world may not be located in our country. (Surachart Bamrungsuk, personal communication, July 24, 2018).

2) To have a single gateway cannot solve the problems as desired by the government sector. According to the nature of platforms in the online world, there have always been new channels emerging and it is hard for the government sector to obstruct people who are keen on information from knowing technologies.

> One nature of online media that the government sector must try to understand that the more instantly the government obstructs the information flow, the more support the opposition will obtain. Moreover, many things that happened were not originated in the country. Therefore, it is impossible to cut a big tube-like Facebook or YouTube. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018).

3) According to Mana Treerayaphiwat (interview, July 2, 2018), the effort of the government sector to block information is not a problem because it is the government, led by General Prayut. The problem is in itself. To elaborate on this, no matter which government selects to solve the problem by blocking, it will face opposition. By principles, it depends on how the leader of the country will manage this problem at a certain time. Leaders in some era may choose to open and close the system alternatively, adapt it sometimes, or tend to adapt it more than open or close.

> When the government will select to use any method, the important thing is to be able to explain it to people and admit how such a method or process will bring about positive or negative consequences. If something has to be cut off,

> what is exchanged with it. If not, are there any other ways? For instance, why is it necessary to control this part? If the government can provide sufficient evidence or make the majority of people believe, I think the reliability of the other or opposite side will be decreased. (Mana Trheerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018).

Concerning the point of view of security officers, Boonrod Srisombat (personal communication, July 17, 2018), gave his idea that the Single Gateway Policy is what the government tries to use as a part of solving the problem. However, Thai people still stand on the demand for human rights and liberty. The belief that we cannot access information completely because we are not a democratic country might be a problem or a limitation based on the Thai people's ideology in rights and freedom.

> Sometimes our demand is beyond the security limit. Sometimes, human beings must accept some limited rights to make themselves safe; otherwise, there will be no shield for them. Security units should be a part of shields protecting people and assuring their safety. However, if you need freedom in everything, it is impossible. The nation is important for everybody while people keep changing all the time. No matter how much you adore democracy, the most important thing is the existence of the nation, and all involve national security. (Boonrod Srisombat, personal communication, July 17, 2018).

From the analysis of the study on the use of online media channels, i.e., Twitter, in communicating the content related to the national security of the government and political dissenters in the scientific and technological domain in case of the Single Gateway Policy, the following is displayed in the Table:

Table 5.2 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Scientific and Technological Domain in Case of the Single Gateway

The Government

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
General people	0
The government sector's Twitter, i.e., #NBT2HD, etc.	0
Total	**0**

Political Dissenters

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
Political dissenters/activists, i.e., @LLTD_TU/ #OpSingleGateway/ #Anonymous/ Anonymous @blackplans/ @anonymousAsia, etc.	17
General people	13
Total	**30**

From the findings, it was found that political dissenters/activists posted their opposition/disagreement with the Single Gateway Policy through Twitter 17 times. From the information search, it was found that on the Twitter: @LLTD_TU, there were 1 3 . 7 K followers, Twitter: #Anonymous @blackplans 3 6 . 1 K followers, and Twitter: anonymousAsia @anonymousAsia 1,490 followers.

The numbers accord with those of general people, who posted 13 times. However, no information on the support/agreement with the Single Gateway Policy was found from the Twitter of both the government sector and general people**.**

The examples of the postings of the disagreement/opposition (#SingleGateway) of general people, i.e., slow net-right violation/easily-attacked Single Gateway/ only 318 names to reach 50000, let's help; https://change.org/ oppose #SingleGateway, Stop #ThaiGovt, #SingleInternetGateway, http://change.org/ singlegateway/ Single Gateway few advantages but full of disadvantages, etc.

5.2.3 The 20-Year National Strategy Plan, Harmony, and the National Reform Policies

Concerning the 20-Year National Strategy Plan, the government stated that previously, Thailand had no explicit long-term national strategy plan so the country lacked the development direction. Therefore, it is necessary to have the planning of every system as the whole circle to avoid being a country without any development and falling behind. Earlier, the country passed the first phase of the Road Map to solve immediate problems first. Now, it is the second phase of the Road Map, which is the beginning of the structural reform and the conduct of the Road Map towards the future vision "Stability, Prosperity, and Sustainability." In the few years ahead, which is the third phase of the Road Map, it is the submission of the subsequent duties to the next government after the election. (Prayut Chan-o-cha, thainews.prd.go.th, September 15, 2016)

The important policies of the government in 2017 by driving the country in all dimensions through the harmony-establishment strategic plans emphasized the participation of all parties. Besides, they tried to communicate to the society and people that the NCPO government would accelerate the national reform and establish the national harmony to be more concrete and explicit. (Prayut Chan-o-cha, prd.go.th, Youtube: NewsNBT THAILAND, TNAMCOT)

From the interview with the scholars and experts on the NCPO government's policy implementation of the 20-year national strategy plan and national reform, it was found that at the moment every country paid high attention to the security problems. Importantly, the government or concerned offices must be clear and sincere in governing the country. They recommended that the leader of the country, especially the Prime Minister, must adapt his idea and management from the traditional or old ways. If the government sector still focuses on being a conservative country, eventually people will not believe and have less faith in him.

> The administration of the present government is a tough move. If we cannot change our governance, the problem is not the problem at the regional level, but it is the national level. It is the national strategy that the government has to adapt. Since such policies and plans are implemented by the

government officers while these people still have old-fashioned ideas, it means that we are creating too out-of-date strategies for the present world. (Surachart Bamrungsuk, personal communication, July 24, 2018).

I think the government should have evaluated that if it lets the problem be unsolved any longer, its popularity will be decreased continuously. However, the present Prime Minister has cool characteristics. He seemingly plays jokes, but people still love him because he looks funny, not because he is the leader who guides the country. Still, he can keep staying in his position. In my opinion, I believe that he can survive. He does not care for others since all the administrative structure has been planned. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

Another problem is the word 'the state.' People believe and have a bias that the government often provides one-side information, not all truth. Many times, the government said “yes,” but the results turned to be “no.” Once people started to unbelieve, they searched for information, watched the news, or let someone inform them. However, nowadays, general people can check from online information through keywords. It is thus easy for them to be persuaded towards the reception of information in certain ways. (Mana Treerayaphiwat, personal communication, July 2, 2018)

From the analysis of the study on the use of online media channels, i.e., Twitter, in communicating the content related to the national security of the government and political dissenters in the economic domain in case of the 20-Year National Strategy Plan, Harmony, and the National Reform Plan, the following is displayed in the Table:

Table 5.3 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Political Domain in Case of the 20-year National Strategy

The Government

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
Twitter of the government sector, i.e., @weloverta/ #harmony belongs to people/ #military news	6
General people	3
Total	**9**

Political Dissenters

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
People's networks (NGOs)/civil society organizations, i.e., @IlawFX/ @iLawclub/ @iLaw, etc.	4
General people	2
Total	**6**

From the study, it was found that the government used Twitter to communicate the national security issues in the political domain 6 times. The examples were the 20-year national strategy (2018-2037), #6Strategies towards the vision of "stability, prosperity, and sustainability to make Thailand be a developed country based on the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy development, #the20yearNationalStrategy, #StrategiesofThailand@weloverta/ "Hold hands and go together" the national harmony can happen only when Thai people are harmonious, #harmony belongs to people, #MilitaryNews, etc.

For general people, they posted their agreement/ support 3 times. The examples were "opinion differences are common and possible, and the harmony plan

will not destroy such differences, #PrivateSectors started to grasp the economic issues that lead to economic equality whereas community and private business can co-exist, #harmony, etc.

On the other hand, the Twitter of the political dissenters, especially People's Network (NGOs)/, civil society organizations posted oppositions and disagreement 4 times. The examples were statistics, #FourYearsOfNCPO so far, there were over 525 announcements/orders, # Section 44 was used 187 times, the laws issued by #NIA291LawsAndBudgetsUsed, #NationalReform spending over 2,000 million baht @iLawclub/ Survey of NCPO's new vehicle under logo #national reform 38% are old people from the old house of representatives @iLawclub, etc.

For general people, there were two posts of opposition and disagreement, i.e., #HarmonyOfMoreCracks because Thai people are divided into two parties: accept or not accept. After the coup d'etat, no harmony as claimed by NCPO, see all hatred tweets, #harmony, #NCPO, etc.

5.2.4 The Transformation of Thailand to be Government 4.0 Policy

In the case of Thailand 4.0 policy from the interview with the scholars, they stated that what the Thai government tried to push Thailand towards Thailand 4.0 reflects their out-of-date idea in this new world. Most of the government management and administration systems are still analog and face problems of empowering their personnel, including all concerned equipment and technologies, which cannot carry the capacity of 4.0 Technology or digital systems with complete operations by new information systems.

> In my opinion, I have been criticizing that 4.0 is untrue. Thailand can be 4.0 only when politics must be 4.0 as well, not 0.4. If Thai society or politics turn to be digital, it means we have to digitalize politics too. All of these reflect misunderstanding and insufficient endurance of the military leaders and elites who never realize that the new world or so-called the world in the 21st century, has been changed drastically. One major change that cannot be denied is the factors coming with online systems, which have changed people's ways of life

and thinking. (Surachart Bamrungsuk, personal communication, July 24, 2018).

From the analysis of the study on the use of online media channels, i.e., Twitter, in communicating the content related to the national security of the government and political dissenters in the economic domain in the case of Thailand 4.0, Pracharat, and EEC Projects, the following is displayed in the Table:

Table 5.4 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Economic Domain

The Government

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
The government sector's Twitter, i.e., /@bankofthailand/, @PR_MDES/, @industryprmoi/, @DIPTHAILAND, etc.	5
General people	6
Total	**11**

Political Dissenters

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
People's network (NGOs)/, civil society organizations, i.e., @BioThaiweb, etc.	1
General people	5
Total	**6**

From the study, it was found that the government agencies responsible for regulating economic policies used Twitter #Thailand4.0 5 times to communicate their support and agreement with people. For general people, six posts of support and agreement were found.

Twitter of the government sector, i.e., “digital community” local economy networks towards Thailand 4.0, decreasing inequality, upgrading living level, creating learning, extending E-commerce @PR_MDES/ EEC Strategy, create new future for Thailand, #industry, #EEC @industryprmoi, etc.

Twitter of general people, i.e. Department of Industrial Promotion (FSO) supports Thailand 4.0, buoys up electronic industry/, the government proceeds the national economic development plans, “Thailand 4.0,” emphasizing the adaptation of Sufficiency Economy Philosophy/, very pleased that the government did not come from the election, #PracharatProject, etc.

On the other hand, for People’s Networks (NGOs) and civil society organizations, 1 post of opposition/disagreement was found while 5 posts of general people were found.

For general people, the postings of disagreement were as follows: Thailand 4.0 is the most non-sense because we see the leader who governs the country has just emerged from the world of two decades ago. He cannot catch up with technology and is afraid of being unable to control it/ someone said that now we are in the period of Thailand 4.0 or 0.4. The word 4.0 is rootless and comes from nowhere. It is just a boastful discourse, etc.

5.2.5 The Insurgencies in the Southern Border Provinces

According to Information Operation (IO) Theory, IO means the possession of more advantageous information. IO focuses on the use of good news and dropping the bad news. However, for changing others' ideas or beliefs as we need, it is more difficult to operate information. It might require more concentrated strategies. For example, in the case of the insurgencies in the southern border provinces SBP), it is impossible to change SBP people to get along with Buddhists, or have faith in the military government or neutral government. They perceive themselves as Pattani-Malayu, from the land seized by Thailand. Their guns were taken. Therefore, if we are going to

transmit IO that now Thailand is fine. We have equality in the country. It is hard to be successful. (Tanat Suwannanon, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

To operate information on the target area through public relations by using only good news to chase away bad news may not be able to change the other side's idea as we wish. We almost cannot do that, especially in the present society where people take sides. Importantly, nowadays online media plays a powerful role in leading society. People tend to comply with what is transmitted online, especially new generations. They will watch Facebook, Twitter, etc., and compete in their postings. Therefore, deception news, fraud news, and any news causing disharmony in the society can be spread very easily. Thus, the security division must monitor and regulate the use of online media. (Tanat Suwannanon, personal communication, June 26, 2018).

Jessada Denduangboripant (personal communication, July 4, 2018) expressed his idea that the important thing is the intent of the government and those who have power at each time, especially under the situation where some issues are affecting the insurgencies in the border or affecting a religion. All of these also affect several organizational benefits. On the other hand, the encouragement towards collaboration will be harder. Everybody will turn to do the same war and the same media war. The chaos happening in the country now is caused by the use of media by both sides or parties.

In the future, the situation in which online or social media plays a role in raising violence will be very threatening. Media criticism or comments of scholars and experts may not be usable. This is because everyone has his or her benefits. None is neutral unless some new mechanism will be created to enable people to be truly neutral. If so, it may help people calm down, and we can set some facilitating systems. For instance, the border problem, if communication is ineffective, it will become a severe international issue. Thus, it requires the right mechanism and correct methods, including the appropriate organizations to be responsible for them. We have to know with

whom each issue will be involved. Then, things can be ended. However, without these factors, once anything happens, it can be a big problem. (Jessada Denduangboripant, personal communication, July 4, 2018).

From the analysis of the study on the use of online media channels, i.e., Twitter, in communicating the content related to the national security of the government and political dissenters in the socio-psychological domain in case of the insurgencies in the southern border provinces, the following is displayed in the Table:

Table 5.5 Illustrates the Use of Online Media Channels, i.e., Twitter of the Government and Political Dissenters in the Socio-psycological Domain in Case of the Insurgencies in the Southern Border Provinces

The Government

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
Twitter of the government sector, i.e., @korportorsuann/ @prd_official, etc.	3
General people	13
Total	**16**

Political Dissenters

Twitter	**Numbers of Postings**
Political dissenters/activists (no information found)	0
People's Networks (NGOs)/, civil society organizations, i.e., @iLawclub/	2
General people	2
Total	**4**

From the study, it was found that political dissenters and activists posted their opposition/ disagreement with the Single Gateway Policy through Twitter 17 times while general people posted 13 times. However, no postings of support and agreement

of such a policy of both the government and general people were found. of the support or agreement with such a policy.

The examples of the postings of the agreement/ support of general people: #SouthernBorderSituation, i.e., soldiers met their mother and son at #3 southern border provinces, encouragement to all soldiers/, encouragement to all staffs and officers in #three southern border provinces, wish all sacred things to protect them and let all bandits be defeated/, miss and concerned about southern border people, wish happiness and peace return to the provinces soon #southern border province as our beloved and motherland, etc.

The examples of the postings of the disagreement/ opposition of general people: #SouthernBorderSituation, i.e., why Thai people still do nothing about, #InsurgenciesInTheSouthernBorderProvinces, it is almost unbearable to #monks and #Buddhists, teachers, and local people to be invaded, injured, and killed for over years, but Thai people can stand still, #stop violence in the southern border provinces, #Narathiwat,#Pattani, #Yala/ insurgencies of3 southern border provinces are still problems hidden under the carpet by the government, waiting until the problems are too severe, military forces and budgets being spent cannot solve problems genuinely, etc.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research entitled, “Communication of National Security Issues Via Online Media in the Information Operations Framing,” aimed to

1) To explore and analyze the communication patterns used in communicating the content related to national security via the government's and the political dissidents' online media in their information operations.

2) To study and analyze the impact of the communication related to national security via online media on the government, mass media, and general people.

3) To recommend some guidelines for the national security operations for the government sector, mass media, and general people.

In order to accomplish the research objectives, the researcher used the mixed research methods as follows:

Objective No 1. To explore and analyze the communication patterns used in communicating the content related to the national security via the government’s and the political dissidents’ online media in their information operations (by quantitative research)

Objective No 2. To study and analyze the impact of the communication related to national security via online media on the government, mass media, and general people. (by both quantitative and qualitative research)

Objective No 3. To recommend some guidelines for the national security operations for the government sector, mass media, and general people. (By qualitative research)

6.1 Research Summary

From the findings of the following parts: Part 1: Communication patterns on the content related to national security via online media of the government and political dissidents. Part 2: An analysis of the information operations of the government and political dissidents via the presentation of the content related to national security in various domains. Part 3: An analysis of the roles of mass in presenting information related to national security via online media channels. Part 4: An analysis of the impact of communication related to national security via online media. Part 5: Recommendations and practical guidelines for the national-security operations, the researcher applied the concepts of Information Operations (IO) to summarize the overview of "the communication patterns related to the national security via online media" by analyzing the principal components of the information operations, which comprise four main components:

1) ENDS. Ends in the information operation circle mean the accomplishment of the intended goal that can cause some effect or influence over the adversary's information and decision-making systems, including other targets. Ends also include the achievement of defending the information and information systems of one's own side.

2) WAY. Ways mean how to conduct IO, which composes of the following sub-components:

(1) Determination of the Target. The target of the adversary and one's own side, which is expected to cause some impact or results as determined in IO, is considered.

(2) Determination of the Theme. It is the need to have the adversary or one's own side operate or believe in the way as planned.

(3) Determination of the Message Conveyed to the Target. It means the instruction of the operations, signs, or content needed to convey to the target group, which enables the target group to interpret the message as planned.

(4) Determination of projects /activities. It means the operations are determined as a channel to transmit the planned message to the target group.

3) MEANS. Means are tools determined to be used for mobilizing the concept of IO. In this research, they mean online media channels and what is called, “capabilities.”

4) FEEDBACK. It is continual monitoring and evaluation of the results or accomplishment of the operations to see if the operations can accomplish the planned goals, which can be classified into:

(1) Measures of Performance (MoPs). It is the evaluation by quantitative data, namely the number of activities that are accomplished as planned.

(2) Measures of Effectiveness (MoEs. It is the evaluation by qualitative data, i.e., if each activity yields an effect after the operation on the adversary as specified in the main theme.

The findings are summarized as follows:

6.1.1 ENDS

From the study, it was found that the government and political dissidents had different ends in communicating their policies, ideologies, concepts, and attitude, to create impact or influence over the decision-making process of each side, as illustrated in the following:

1) For the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the political domain, the findings showed that the government had the main objective of making people understand, accept, and trust the government in governing the country. On the other hand, the political dissidents did not accept the coup d’etat and requested the government to give power back to the people as soon as possible. Besides, they insisted to accept the government that comes from the election by people only.

2) For the IO of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the economic domain, the findings showed that the government had the main objective of expressing the government’s potential in economic administration of the country via economic stimulus measures to upgrade the overall economics of the country, including agriculture and low-income people. On the other hand, the political dissidents aimed to point out the government’s failure in solving the national economy and people’s earns of living problems. The launched

policies were perceived as not focusing on general people's problems since most benefits fell into the capitalists' hand, etc.

3) For the information operations of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the socio-psychological domain, the findings showed that the government had the main objective of assuring people of the government's determination to create morale and motivation of people that the government would do everything to prevent using the violence that caused any impact on people's ways of living. While the political dissidents aimed to decrease the credibility of the military government that cannot solve the violent problems.

4) For the information operations of the government and its political dissidents via the national security issues in the military domain, the study indicated that the main purpose of the government was to make people confident of the army's missions and decisions on using budgets in arms and weapons purchase worthily for the benefits of the country. On the other hand, the political dissidents aimed at the issue of the restricted people's rights and freedom in expressions and in inspecting the spending of the army's budgets.

5) Concerning the information operations of the government and political dissidents via the national security content in the scientific and technological domain, it was found that the main goal of the government was to assure people that the new laws, i.e., Computer Act, etc. would not endanger good people since they would affect only those with misconducts. Besides, the laws were issued for preparing to deal with threats of new forms in the future. On the other hand, political dissidents focused on the violation of people's rights and freedom in expressions in the online world of the NCPO government.

6) Pertaining to the information operations of the government and political dissidents via the national security content in the energy and environmental domain, it was found that the government tried to assure people of the electricity security and people's security in the southern border areas. Such securities would surely be based on the environmental concern in parallel to the quality of local people's living. For the political dissidents, they directed to the point of being obstructed by the government towards participation in studying the impact of any

projects on local people and the issue of the government's use of power in benefiting capitalists.

6.1.2 WAY

6.1.2.1 The Determination of the Target

From the study, it was found that the government and political dissidents determine the target in communicating their content related to national security in various domains differently. The researcher noted that the government gave less importance to the use of online media to communicate to people than the political dissidents. Such a notion can be proved by the number of posts via the government's online media, i.e., websites, Facebook, and Twitter are fewer than those of the political dissidents or activists distinctively. The government focused on the press conference or the report on their policy implementations via TV programs mainly. In the reality, in the communication world nowadays, people seldom expose to or watch television. Thus, the efficiency or expected results of making people acknowledge the government's performances unsuccessfully since most people at present exposed to online media the most.

6.1.2.2 The Determination of the Main Theme

1) The coup d'etat on May 22, 2014

(1) The government

The main themes of the government were the distinguished security performance of the government, the decreased disharmony and disunion in the society, the increased happiness of people, the country's peace and order, and no political conflicts, especially political rallies. Most of all, it also emphasized that people were not stressed in their living and felt safer in their lives.

(2) Political dissidents

The main theme of the political dissidents aimed to attack the government the most were the NCPO's use of laws for threatening political dissidents, the arrest of students and activists protesting against the coup d'etat or calling for the arrested students from their political expressions as they are people's rights so the arrest was the deprivation of people's rights and liberty.

2) Thailand 4.0 Policy and Pracharat Project

(1) The government

The main themes that the government wanted to communicate were “to explain that Thailand 4.0 is a model for mobilizing the country towards the goal of stability, prosperity, and sustainability, and to inform the policies of strengthening Thai enterprises, raise up intellectual infrastructure, and spread the growth throughout the regions and communities.

(2) Political dissidents

The main themes that the political dissidents tried to attack the government were “the meaning of Thailand 4.0, which actually is the mobilization of the country by capitalism. It is economic dynamism aimed towards future growth but leaving people behind; thus, it will increase the inequality in Thai society.”

3) Explosions at several places

(1) The government

The main themes of the government officers were to reinstate the information operations and tactics used to decrease the loss, including creating correct understanding to people in the affected area. Besides, they wanted to condemn people with bad intention, and rush the security officers to prosecute the perpetrators and all involved with full charges.

(2) Political dissidents

The main themes the political dissidents wanted to attack the government were to urge the NCPO and the government to assure people that they would try every way to stop the violence that affected people’s lives and peace of the country as soon as possible.”

4) The purchase of a submarine from China Project

(1) The government

The main theme was to confirm that the approval of the submarine “Yuan Class S26T” purchase from China was proceeded by legal procedures, without any corruption, and every step was inspected like the purchase process of every Ministry.

(2) Political dissidents

The main theme was the non-transparency of the government's approval, especially when all concerned officers claimed that the approval was confidential due to its involvement with national security.

5) The consideration on the Draft of the Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560

(1) The government

The main theme of the government was the Act was not related to or involved with the Single Gateway Policy at all, and it would not violate people's fundamental rights certainly.

(2) Political dissidents

The main theme that the political dissidents tried to attack the government was the enactment of the Computer Crime Act might leave room for misinterpretation and misuse, especially in violating people's rights and liberty. Particularly, it could allow the violation of people's freedom of expression, including in the online world. Besides, it might be misused for punishing individuals and information service providers unfairly.

6) The construction of a coal-fired power plant: Krabi Province, and Thepha District, Songkhla Province Project.

(1) The government

The main theme in the government sector's communication was that the project of the coal-fired power plant construction was confirmed to be proceeded to increase the electricity-power security in the southern area. The main goal of the project was to enable people in the south to have sufficient electricity, while the construction would be based on the environmental concern in parallel to the concern of the local people's ways of life.

(2) Political dissidents

The main theme the political dissidents conveyed to the government was to ask the government to be open and listen to people in the area, but only to the Ministry of Energy and Environment and the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand. Besides, they criticized the government's decision to support the fossil or coal capitalists instead of supporting the regions to generate alternative

power. Their decision reflected the government's concern of the capitalists more than local people. Besides, it indicated that the government did not listen to people, show no concern for the environment, local economy, and people's health.

6.1.2.3 The determination of what to be conveyed to the target (Message). Ways to convey the meaning to the target or "message" of the government and political dissidents via online media channels that is the most distinctive and can convey meanings or narrate with short, precise, and clear, but also thorough the most is communication with infographic or graphic image via Twitter.

Examples

The government	**Political dissidents**
 The Prime Minister insisted the control of social media was not related to Single Gateway. #SpringNews, @SpringNews_TV.	 #SingleGateway, #NLA, #NCPO, #Dictator, #ThailandSingleGateway #OpSingleGateway

6.1.2.4 The Determination of the Activity

The examples of the projects/ activity determined by the government and political dissidents via online media channel to communicate intended information to the target audience were as follows:

1) Government

At the end of 2017, the Ministry of Defence introduced and publicized a mascot called, "Nong Kiew Koy": a symbol of the harmony for creating people's good conscience in Thailand of what they should or should not do. Also, it mobilized the creation of harmony through the distribution of the document entitled,

“Social Contract, and Promises by All Thai’s Heart, which could be scanned by QR code at the back of Nong Kiew Koy to be able to read the full social contract conveniently and rapidly. Besides, it included communication via Twitter channel by using Hashtags #HarmonyBelongsToPeople, and Facebook https://www.facebook.com/prongdongTH/

2) Political Dissidents

(1) The arrangement of a campaign for signing against the Computer Act via https://www.change.org, including communication through Twitter via the use of hashtags, i.e., OpComputerAct, #OpSingleGateway

(2) The conduct of symbolic activities of political movement groups to express their standpoint for objecting or disagreeing with the administration of the NCPO government consistently and concurrently via platforms, i.e.,

a) The Democracy Restoration Group Organized a symbolic activity called, “Joining Forces to Remove the NCPO Roots.” The activists dragged an imitated tank and narrated, “4 years ago, the NCPO grew a toxic tree whose roots now are just fibrous roots. However, if we let it grow, it will become the taproot in a couple of years. Thus, today is our day for uprooting and abolishing it from Thai society.” (https://www.facebook.com/democracyrestoration/, March 10, 2018).

b) The New Democracy Movement Group Invited people to join signing against the Single Gateway Project by pressing F5 as appointed to attack the websites of government agencies. (F5 Cyber Army Group, facebook.com/ anon.thailand, October 23, 2015).

6.1.3 MEANS

From the findings of Part 1 (Table 4.1-4.64) and Part 2 (Table 4.65-4.70), the means used in the information operations of the government and political dissidents can be summarized as follows:

The Information Operations of the Government. From the analysis of the government’s information operations with the content related to the national security in six domains, it was found that mostly, the government used “active operations” by focusing on the protection of the government’s information or information system so

that the government leader could use it to create an advantage over its dissidents or opponents. Such an advantage will be useful towards timely decision-making to cope with threatening situations correctly. However, the government tended to give importance to the chain of command or line of authority as assigned to avoid any mistake from overlapping operations or self-interference. Based on the theory of information operations, the government emphasized “passive target.” The detection or prevention of any insurgency, including restoring the situation to ensure people’s safety, stability, and confidence from the protection of the government officers at all levels.

From analyzing from the communication perspective, the most important means or tool of the government was “the use of news or information source” who was the top leader of the government, including all ministers, depending on the concerned responsibilities, and the spokespersons or deputy spokespersons whose duty was to communicate to the general public. From the study, the overall findings showed that General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO was the information source found the most in the study, followed by Colonel Winthai Suwaree, the spokesperson of the NCPO, and Lieutenant General Sansern Kaewkamnerd, the spokesperson of the Office of the Prime Minister. Regarding security issues, it was found that the ministers responsible for each security task were the direct information sources found the most.

Regarding the national security issues, the concerned ministers of each function were found to be direct information sources the most as follows:

1) General Chatchai Sarikalaya, the Minister of the Agriculture and Cooperatives as the information source in the economic domain.

2) General Ekachai Srivilas, Director of the Office of Peace and Governance. King Prajadhipok's Institute/ General Chalermchai Sitthisart, Commander of the Army/ and Chakthip Chaijinda, Commissioner-General of the Royal Thai Police, as the top information sources in the socio-psychological domain, especially in the bombing incidents

3) Pralong Damrongthai, Director-General of the Pollution Control Department as the spokesperson of the Ministry of Natural Resources and

Environment (TSR), responsible for being a direct information source in the energy and environmental domain.

Moreover, from the analysis of the time sequence or timeline of giving an interview or news conference of some officers in the government, especially in the sensitive issue or in any situation affecting the national security, i.e., bombing incidents at several places, it was found that when any incident occurred, the first operational unit that arrived at the scene of the incident was the police or Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) officers. Then the person who gave an interview or gave details of the incident to mass media was the Commander of Metropolitan Police Bureau or the director of the EOD team. After the incident was dissolved or more information was acquired, the top commander would give an interview to express his sorrow on what happened and condemn the perpetrators. For examples, the Commander of the Army, the Commissioner-General of the Royal Thai Police, the NCPO spokesperson and vice spokesperson, launched a press conference on the order of the Prime Minister towards the incidents. However, before such press conferences, if questioned by journalists, General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of NCPO, and General Prawit Wongsuwan, Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of the Defence, gave only short or brief opinions.

From the concept of information operations or IO, means or the tools (or so-called “capabilities”) used by the government in the operations for conveying its ideology or belief to the target were the following:

1) Public Affairs (PA) via the government’s official online channels for communicating its PR news, such as

https://www.facebook.com/Returninghappinesstothethaikingdom/

https://www.facebook.com/LiveNBT2HD/

Websites of the Department of Public Relations News Agency: http://nwnt.prd.go.th/

YouTube, etc.

2) Operations Security (OPSEC), i.e., Royal Thai Army Cyber Center (RTA), Anti-Fake News Center (Thailand) via Twitter @AFNCThailand, Website: https://www.antifakenewscenter.com, and Facebook: https://www.facebook.com, AntiFakeNewsCenter, etc.

3) Psychology Operations (PSYOP) were the operations in which Ministry, Department, and other government agencies set up some measures to prevent a cyber-attack of hackers and used psychological operations to create morale and confidence to people, including destroying the adversary's motivation by presenting the news that hackers could not hack the government's information systems, etc.

4) Physical Security was the preventive measure against any accessibility to the armaments, facilities, and documents without authorized permission. For instance, the government explained that the document of the submarine purchase from China was classified as a “red-corner document”, which means the information or document at the “highest layer of confidentiality” that could affect the national security.

The Information Operations of the Political Dissidents. From the analysis of the information operations of the political dissidents via the presentation of the national security content in six domains, it was found that they used “active operations” distinctively. The content or sets of ideas presented to express their disagreement or objections against the policies and administration of the NCPO government continuously reflect their struggle to have power or influence over the government's estimation of the situations.

The example of the issues related to the national security in the political domain was the case in which Chaturon Chaisang, a mainstay of Pheu Thai Party, and Phumtham Wechayachai, the secretary-general of Pheu Thai Party were the persons who posted their content via their official online channels the most. Besides, Yingluck Shinawatra and Lieutenant Colonel Thaksin Shinawatra also used their personal official online channels. Other political activists also used their official online channels for their movements regularly, i.e., Rangsiman Rome of the New Democracy Movement, Thai Lawyers for Human Rights, Resistant Citizen Group, Thai Academic Network for Civil Rights, etc.

For the issue related to the national security in the scientific and technological domain, Anonymous Hackers Group, #OpSingleGateway, and Thai Netizen Network, were found to organize symbolic activities and movement to express their opposition against the policies of the NCPO government continuously the most.

Regarding the national security issue in the energy and environment domain, the groups who expressed their movements the most were ENLAWTHAI Foundation, Seub Nakhasathien Foundation, Internet Law Reform Dialogue (iLaw), the Network of Songkhla-Pattani People Against Coal, Narak Ban Kerd Group, Loei Province, the Assembly of the Poor, The Andaman Protection from Coal Network, Penchom Saetang, the director of the Ecological Alert and Recovery Thailand (EARTH), etc.

The ways the political dissidents showed that they seemingly could penetrate the government's confidential information and make use of it to illustrate the unrighteousness of the government can be considered from the information operations theory as an active IO approach. They utilized active strategies by deceiving the government with a misleading message, magnifying it, and making it influential over the government. For instance, Citizens Against Single Gateway Group claimed that it could access the confidential information of some government agencies successfully.

From the concept of information operations or IO, means or the tools (or so-called "capabilities") used by the political dissidents in the operations for conveying its ideology or belief to the target were the following:

1) Public Affairs (PA) were publicized in a process with clear communication plans through the online channels to communicate the movement and symbolic activities of the political dissidents. The process started from determining communication objectives to the main target audience in accordance with the main theme that needed to be communicated via networked channels continuously by the timeline with empirical frequencies.

2) Computer Network Operations (CNO), i.e., the Anonymous Hackers Group announced their opposition against the Single Gateway Policy by claiming that they had hacked the government agencies' websites as their symbolic expressions, i.e., by pressing F5 to attack many government agencies' websites, etc.

3) Physical Attack is the capability to cause confusions, damages, and destruction of important places and buildings, which can affect the spirit of the adversary, but stimulate the boldness to one's party. Some examples were bombings happening in many areas within a few days apart to revile the government's security

measures intentionally, including the insurgencies in the southern border provinces, etc.

4) Psychology Operations (PSYOP), i.e., bombings incidents in many places around Bangkok, including the car-bomb incident, to intimidate and frighten people in the safety of their lives.

6.1.4 FEEDBACK

This part was based on the findings from Part 4: The impact caused by the information operations or IO via online media in the situations related to national security in various domains. The impact can be evaluated by feedback from the communication of the content related to the national security of the government and the political dissidents as follows:

6.1.4.1 Measures of Performance: MoPs (Quantitative Measurement)

From the study, it was found that the political dissidents or activists expressed their movement on the online world or social media, which had a higher number of followers or likes than that of the government. Therefore, it means that the number of people who posted their opposition or disagreement with the NCPO government's policies is higher than that of people who posted their support or agreement. Thus, the dissemination of the dissidents' information was easily and quickly widespread. The evidence was

1) Facebook of League of Liberal Thammasat for Democracy (LLTD) had 107,854 likes, 107,292 followers, while Twitter@LLTD_TU had 13,000 followers.

2) Facebook of Young People for Social-Democracy Movement (YPD) had 2,166 likes, and 2,332 followers, while a lot of people added on the hashtag #PeopleWantElectionGroup.

6.1.4.2 Measures of Effectiveness (MoEs) (Qualitative Measurement)

From the study, it was found that although the government got fewer numbers of posts expressing agreement than those of disagreement from the quantitative measurement, the concrete accomplishment of the NCPO government all through the administration of General Prayut Chan-o-cha was also witnessed, especially in the dimension related to the national security in various domains.

Despite the continual opposition and disagreement of the political dissidents or activists, who claimed themselves as citizens being able to call for rights and liberty under the democratic system. Typically, under such a situation, the government should accept and be open to listening to dissidents' opinions. Nevertheless, under the administration of the NCPO government, it also kept its promise given to the people by organizing an official election and returning the sovereignty to the people eventually.

6.1.5 The Summary of the Roles of Mass Media in Presenting News Related to the National Security

From analyzing the communicated content related to the national security via online media of the mainstream or alternative media channels during the governance of the NCPO government, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media presented General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the chief of the NCPO as “information source” the most. Such a result accords with the findings in the part of the means the government used to communicate the content related to the national security to people by using information sources who were the top leader of the government, including all ministers, depending on the concerned responsibilities. Thus, the study showed that General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the NCPO was the information source of the government the most.

Pertaining to the political dissidents, the findings showed that most mainstream and online alternative media presented Pheu Thai Party as the information source the most, except in the cases related to the national security in the scientific and technological domain where Amnesty International (Thailand) was presented as the information source the most. For the content related to the national security in the energy and environmental domain, civil movement groups and NGOs were the information sources the most. Such findings accord with the important means used by political dissidents or activists. For instance, Pheu Thai Party and other protestants against the coup d’etat posted their opposition via their personal online channel, while having political movements via their groups’ official online channels consistently.

From the concurrent findings as mentioned above, the roles of mass media in presenting news related to national security reflect that they gave high importance to

the use of information sources who were well-known and in the social spotlight to help widespread the news. However, due to the new media landscape caused by the impact of social media, mass media faced some limitations or weakness in using online space for their news presentation amidst the competition towards newly fresh and speedy, or second by second, news, i.e. posting, sharing, live or live broadcast, etc. Accordingly, most media did not screen the correctness of the news before dissemination. Especially, they had no screening process from the editorial board to confirm sources of information. Therefore, it was easy for the media to become prey to individuals or groups who wanted to disseminate untrue, deceptive, or fake information without difficulties.

Besides, from analyzing the content appearing on the mainstream and online alternative media, the roles of mass media in presenting news relating to national security all through the governance of the NCPO government can be summarized as follows:

6.1.6 Watch Dog

It is the role of mass media in surveillance, inspecting, locating abnormalities, or abnormal situations happening in society and reporting to let people be informed. It is one of the significant roles in the democratic political system since mass media can partly balance the government's power through the detection of its transparency, including digging out any fraudulent, non-transparent, concealing, and hidden behaviors.

From the study, it was found that mass media used online channels in presenting news related to national security in various domains, including criticism, focusing on the surveillance of abnormal happenings in the society during the NCPO government's administration.

Examples

> In the declaration entitled, “a university is not a military camp, and Thailand is not a concentration camp,” the NCPO was asked to stop threatening instructors who expressed their political opinions earnestly and stop interfering with the instructional systems of a university as designed by

the NCPO. For instance, it was asked to contain content about military glory in civic textbooks, which violates the principles of rights and liberty completely.” (Thai Academic Network for Human Rights, thairath.co.th, November 23, 2015)

After the coup d’etat, 626 people were reported, while 340 were convicted. Among these people, 68 people were prosecuted in the military tribunal, and 107 were arrested after their peaceful rally. 38 public activities were canceled and 24 political websites were closed, one of which was that of Human Rights Watch (Thailand). (voicetv.co.th, December 27, 2014)

The quoted advantage of Chinese submarines guaranteed by several supporters was its cheaper price. The government paid 36,000 million baht to get three Chinese submarines, while it would get only two if buying from other countries. The question is whether it is useless to present information about the doubtful specification and quality of Chinese submarines since this project has already been approved by the cabinet through commitment budgets across the year. In other words, it can say that people's hands were tied or they had no choice. (Bangkok Business Online, bangkokbiznews.com, April 26, 2017)

If any citizen is arrested without identified places or in a secret place, he or she can be defined as “forced or enforced disappearance.” If the government is sincere, it should train the government officers of all parts to understand that they must not conceal the address or condition of the arrested citizens. (Angkana Neelaphaijit, bbc.com/thai, December 31, 2016)

In the case of the national security in the economic domain**,** the government was criticized “to manage economics by the bureaucratic system without people's participation. The poor were alienated from the development, while the large capitalists monopolized the economy.” (Prachathai Online, prachatai.com, May 23, 2018)

In the case of national security in the military domain. The advantage of Chinese submarines guaranteed by several supporters was its cheaper price. The government paid 36,000 million baht to get three Chinese submarines, while it would

get only two if buying from other countries. “The question is whether it is useless to present information about the doubtful specification and quality of Chinese submarines since this project has already been approved by the cabinet through commitment budgets across the year. In other words, it can say that people's hands were tied or they had no choice.” (Bangkok Business Online, bangkokbiznews.com, April 26, 2017)

6.1.7 Gatekeeper

From the study, it was found that mass media used online channels in transmitting the information related to national security in various domains after considering which news or issues would be disseminated or not disseminated. It is based on the fundamental principles of mass media that each day, there are plenty of happenings, and every second they can be moved. However, mass media cannot report everything. Consequently, they can select some information to be presented as news or articles, or critics via media channels.

6.1.8 Agenda Setter

Since receivers or audiences do not only learn public issues or any other information from mass media, but they also learn to what extent each news or issue matters to them through the mass media's focused presentation. It is simply a principle that “what is paid the highest attention by mass media will be perceived as the most important issue.”

Examples

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels presented the support and agreement with the NCPO government’s policies and administration on the mobilization of voting to accept or not accept the Draft of the Constitution, B.E. 2559 in the referendum the most. Under this role, mass media provided information to people continuously about the government’s preparation for organizing a referendum to follow the stipulated roadmap, and the public relations to let people be informed of the voting or the referendum date.

Such role of mass media accords with the findings on the Twitter of general people who posted their agreement and support for voting to accept the Constitution

Draft in the referendum the most. The examples of the posted content were, “to encourage people to exercise their rights of votes for accepting the Constitution Draft in the referendum,” “congratulations on the results of the referendum to accept the Draft Constitution without problems,” “the reason why we like this Draft is that it can reduce politicians' power,” “the Constitution for getting rid of the Fraud,” etc.

Besides, when analyzing the roles of mass media at the individual level, the findings showed that mass media used the online channel to communicate the issues related to the national security in various domains to individuals in the society by different ways as follows:

1) A chain connecting individuals to the world outside. It means that mass media functions as a channel for individuals to communicate with their human fellows to establish interpersonal relationships among members of society by presenting the government's economic policies regularly and continually. It thus enhanced the understanding of several parts of the society, i.e., private sector, community enterprises, large-sized business groups, SMEs, and general people in the rural and urban areas, on the policy of Thailand 4.0, Pracharat, and the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC). The examples of the posted content were, “the progress of EEC Project,” “The Northeastern Double Track Railway Construction Project,” “The adaptation of Thai bureaucratic system towards Thailand 4.0,” “the progress and people’s feedback towards Pracharat Project,” etc.

2) An arousal of people's emotions. It means the role of mass media in arousing people's emotions, i.e., patriotism, love for the King, or other feelings, such as hatred, anger, sympathy, fear, passion, stress, etc., via its content presentation of both right and wrong information. It can also create values, and implant individuals' beliefs.

Examples

From the study, it was found that the mainstream or online alternative media channels, and Twitter of the mainstream or alternative media channels presented news expressing its support for the government's policies and administration related to the national security in the political domain by presenting the coup d’etat on May 22, 2014, the most. The examples of the content posted by a variety of media the most were, “people agreed and supported the coup d’etat as it

was the best solution to solve the national crisis," "the results of the survey on people's opinion towards the administration of the NCPO government," etc. The results accord with what general people posted on Twitter, i.e., "general people's response and support for the coup d'etat of General Prayut," "the country is tranquil without any rally and laws have been enforced strictly," "all of the social orders seem to go to a better direction," "people are happier," etc. Besides, the posts of agreement and support for the Constitution Draft were also presented with the reasons that it would elevate women's rights and decrease the inequality in society, etc.

On the other hand, the mainstream or online alternative media channels, and Twitter also presented the disagreement and opposition against the Draft of Computer Crime Act, B.E. 2560 the most. The content posted was "a report on the rights and liberty in the social media age," "the hacking of the government agencies' websites by the protestants, etc. The posting accords with that on Twitter posted by general people who posted their opposition against such an act the most. The content they posted was "we cannot express any opinion as real democracy does not exist, especially the prohibition of criticism against the NCPO," "actually, Single Gateway is just a change of the name," "join in signing against the Computer Act," etc.

For the roles of mass media at the societal level, from the study, it was found that mass media used online channels for communicating several issues related to national security in various domains at the societal level as follows:

1) Creating democracy for society. Mass media plays a role in creating democracy for society by functioning as a public sphere or area where members in the society or community can communicate, interact, or discuss political and social issues at that time in public. Besides, members can inspect the politics and push it towards transparency. The case that was discussed and criticized widely was the purchase of Chinese submarines, which was related to the national security in the military domain. Mass media opened their space through the use of online channels as a mediator in presenting information of both supporters of and protestants against the project to let people be informed more thoroughly, while it was another force helping to push the government towards transparency.

2) Free Marketplace of Ideas. From the study, it was found that mass media used online channels as a stage for expressing standpoints and opinions of both

supporters and dissidents. The example was a case of the construction of a coal-fired power plant, which is a policy related to national security in the energy and environmental domain. Both sides expressed their different standpoints and rationale.

6.1.9 Recommendations for Concerned Sectors in Communicating the Issues Related to the National Security Via Online Media

6.1.9.1 The Government Agencies Responsible for Security Tasks

1) Personnel

(1) People who will work in the security tasks of the government sectors, especially of an agency requiring technological skills, must be equipped with communication technology knowledge, skills in catching the main points, skills in writing news, articles, and critics, etc., including knowledge about cyber technology. Therefore, the first thing the government sector should start is to search for capable personnel by reviewing some measures to increase compensation and working morale for government officials.

(2) People who will work in the security tasks of the government sectors must adapt their thinking and working patterns, including working attitude in relation to all new media. Notably, they must emphasize rapid verification through a workshop process to learn how to handle a certain situation quickly. For example, if any case occurs, who will be the first person to tell the public, or what kind of information should be sent out. Should it be on the same or different platforms?

2) Information Management Methods or Process

(1) The presentation process of the security agencies must assign the spokesperson of the Prime Minister, of each Ministry, or of the Army so that the authority in giving news is from the assigned one only to avoid presenting incongruent information, which will cause confusions.

(2) For the team behind, it requires having an editorial committee that works together for screening and editing the issues affecting national security. Skills in catching main issues swiftly are needed for considering the proper angle for information presentation and how to present it actively against the increasing counter-information.

(3) The government sector requires advanced techniques of presentation. For example, Concept No. 1 and 2 must be ready for use in Case X. Thus, , it helps the units concerned to be prepared to confront the new invasion that may occur upon the presentation of media.

(4) The nature of online media is the ability to transmit a message to an unknown person; however, such a person can choose to believe it unconsciously if it can make that person believe in that message. Besides, once the society believes in something, it is difficult to change the belief. Therefore, it was recommended that since the security officers cannot change people's beliefs, they must wait until the situation is pacified before giving any declaration against their belief.

6.1.9.2 Mass Media

1) In the case of excessive dissemination of fake or fraud news on social or online media, what mass media, especially an editorial board, has to pay high attention to is the verification of the information thoroughly by the following guidelines:

(1) The preliminary verification to find out if an incident really happens. At this initial stage, information can be verified with journalists or the network of information sources, i.e., for political issues, in some cases, crime journalists can help since they have the police as their information sources or rescue personnel who are always informed of any incident before others, etc.

(2) In case that a journalist has not arrived at the incident place, security officers can verify the truth with their networks before their arrival. If an incident really happens, but a journalist has not arrived yet, they can check information from other media that have reported such an incident previously, such as from the presentation of the mainstream media or from social media to see if the mainstream media has presented such news or not. It thus can be a verification of the trustworthiness of the information at a certain level.

(3) While something is happening, if there is any broadcasting of any image, no matter by whom it is shot, it is important to verify if such an image is the old or the new one. Especially, at present, there has been forwarded and shared information that is disseminated widely and quickly. If an

editorial board has it disseminated without prior verification, it will cause mistakes. Therefore, the first step is to use Google Image to verify if an image is true or not by searching for an image related to the occurrence from the photo or image that is available. If an image is the old one, it will be displayed as the old one as well.

2) In case of any copied news, what to start is to see how it is copied, or how much it is copied: all or parts, and from one or various sources. Basically, a database called "News Center," or an information service of the private sector in searching or compiling information of the whole newspaper, websites, or news agencies is used as another information source for verifying information.

3) Pertaining to the use of information from online media in the news production process, what happens may be considered as a new form of news making that is altered by changes towards the new media landscape. The advantage of using information or issue from online media in the news production process is the freshness and timeliness. However, what should be cautious is whether the selected issues play a part in supporting the society, or in arousing an awareness or useful idea for consumers or not. For examples, regarding a clip displaying negative content, such as crimes, robberies, murders, etc., if it can communicate to consumers to be aware of what can happen to them in a similar way, or to point out the punishment or penalties for a perpetrator to prevent any imitation, it can be counted as valuable news and worth being presented.

The recommendations for journalists and mass media in the age where online information base facilitates information searching rapidly are "to concern about the thorough and well-rounded information before dissemination all the time," despite the necessity of time competition in presenting news. Besides, the skill journalists should develop is skills in compiling information from different sources, i.e., from interviews, direct experience, searching from online media. The weakness that journalists must be cautious intensively is they cannot identify sources of information or confirm the truth. Such skills can help them from being victims of people with ill intentions.

6.1.9.3 General People

1) The government sector must accelerate knowledge management for people at all levels systematically, such as to contain updated content

into information technology subjects, including the content about social media literacy into the compulsory curriculum since the elementary-education level. Such knowledge will help children to understand that to access or consume social media is like a two-edged sword, which has both benefits and harms simultaneously.

2) People in society at all levels should be reminded to give importance to the verification of information received from social media by keep asking themselves about the trustworthiness of the received information from social media. Without such questioning, people tend to believe it instantly and this causes them to be the victims of those information releasers easily.

6.1.10 Guidelines for Integrating the Collaborations of all Concerned Sectors in the Society towards the Threats from Online Media, Especially in the Issue Related to National Security

1) All sectors in the society: broadcasters, journalists, media organizations, receivers, and the government, must have a common or congruent understanding of the nature of new media platforms or social media, and jointly invent and give importance to the building of strong monitoring systems.

2) It is necessary for the government sector to give high importance to the media literacy policy for children and the youth, including providing knowledge for the top and middle management to understand the transition of the media landscape.

3) There should be a workshop on the preparation and the building of the media monitoring process at every level, including plans to deal with IO issues as a procedural process. The skill development related to information technology and the usage of modern or updated technologies should be trained consistently.

4) Intensive, severe, and updated measures should be determined to deal with or determine the penalties on groups of people who imitate media and publicize news that causes damages to society and business sectors. It also includes some groups of people who intentionally create fake news for amusement or for increasing their personal income. The government sector or concerned agencies must take action to eradicate these problems earnestly.

6.2 Research Discussion

From the findings of the study, the researcher summarizes the main issues for further discussion by dividing them into three important topics as follows:

1) The effect of communication via online media on ways-of-life behaviors

2) The effect of communication via online media on media works

3) The effect of communication via online media on the issues related to the national security

6.2.1 The Effect of Communication Via Online Media on Ways-of-Life Behaviors

Changes in the technological environment in the digital era bring about drastic changes in each individual's ways of life. Especially, during the past decade, when the world moves, communication technologies in the form of new media has altered communication structure and process, including the flow of information. Communication via online social media has refuted the traditional communication theories totally. Pira Jirasophon (2014, pp. 12-17) compares the traditional mass media, which had significant roles in the past, and new media, which has powerful roles at present. Particularly, computers and smartphones with the internet as its communication network in the digital system lead to the creation of the social network and turn media space to be public space. Moreover, the advancement of digital communication induces the integration of channels or platforms to be media convergence. As a result, it is much harder to distinguish types of media than in the past. Generally, the main issues are summarized as follows:

1) Quite a number of receivers still adhere to the myth of the old media landscape, which believes that all information flowing from online media has been screened or filtered

Mana Treerayaphiwat (interview, July 2, 2018) as a scholar and an expert in new media pointed out an apparent example of communication in Line Group whose members tend to believe that the transmitted information between groups is screened by their intimate friends or people close to them. They believe that

most people are family members, friends, co-workers, etc.; thus, they trust that the information has already been screened like that they received from television, newspaper, and radio, which is verified and edited thoroughly by an editorial board or journalists before publicity or broadcasting.

Such a notion accords with the findings from the content analysis of this study on the content related to the national security in various domains during the administration of the government led by General Prayut Chan-o-cha, the Prime Minister, and the Chief of the NCPO, that was presented via online media. From the study, it was found that receivers who were general people conveyed their thought, attitude, and emotion by transmitting short messages, i.e., comments, tweets, or hashtags for their interesting issues. Normally, the communication was based on their information consumption via their favorite online channels or influenced by their trusted opinion leaders. Accordingly, it is quite risky for receivers or general people to become victims of a certain idea or ideology implantation without knowing what they are doing. Correspondingly, Prangtip Manthorn and Nattakant Akarapongpisak (2018) studied, “People's Perceptions on the Application of “Thailand's Reform Concept” as the Legitimation of the NCPO (2014-2016),” and found that the supporters of the NCPO government perceived Thailand Reform as the eradication of corruptions and appreciated the government's presentation on their performance, via the public relations for creating people's acknowledgment. On the other hand, protestants perceived Thailand Reform as simply a discourse for ensuring their righteousness and accepting the administration of the NCPO government.

2) Trust on information or sets of ideas communicated in one's small society in the online world

Jessada Denduangboripant (interview, July 4, 2018) cited the effect on individuals' behavior that the transmission of a message via social media from some intimates, i.e., family members, friends, classmates, colleagues, etc., can make receivers believe and trust the transmitted message instantly without verifying if it is true or not. Thus, they can become victims of those information releasers easily. Notably, the rapid changes in the virtual world bring people with similar ideas or preferences to gather in groups. The group formation may even lead towards violence, i.e. terrorism. Therefore, it is the phenomenon of change that comes with social

media, which had never been possible in the past. Kamolrat Intararat (2014, pp. 13-19) supports such remark and illustrates some phenomena of social interaction or social relationship via new media, i.e., a self-presentation through some signs, both intentionally or unintentionally, aimed to create a distinctive identity or to cause confusions, deception, mystery, or amusement, etc. Later, API (Audience-Personal Interaction) was developed from socio-psychological factors and introduced several new and various patterns of on-screen communication. Accordingly, people can communicate and interact with anyone, even someone they have never known before.

3) The structure of online media is equipped with an information screening mechanism by the algorithm by focusing on people with similar ideas

Jessada Denduangboriphan (interview, July 4, 2018) raised up an example, namely Facebook, which was created for us to delete, block, unfriend, and unfollow anyone whose idea or whose post we dislike. On the other hand, we can also add a new friend or accept friend request who has similar ideas to us. Pichitra Tsukamoto (2018" 140-141) mentions the explicit impact caused by the harm from receiving information via online social media. Especially, the invention of an algorithm enables the prediction of users' desire and needs; thus, it induces users to be exposed to only the information they want to see, or makes users receive an only one-sided message. The system will scope, reduce, and reject any information different from users' exposure. It also decreases the networks connecting with political dissidents' opinions. Eventually, it leads to extreme political polarization in the future.

Such explanation accords with Reeves and Nass (1996, as cited in Jira Jirasophon, 2014: 12-14) who presents a theory called "Media-Equation Theory." Reeves and Nass raise several advantages and strengths of new media. However, they also refer to one of the fearful weaknesses of new media, or the strength or power of new media in driving towards changes in the society that can cause chaos and confusion due to its incomplete, unclear, and inaccurate nature of diverse information. Thus, it can create social separation or disunity facilely.

4) The nature of online media is negative information and untrue information can be widespread more quickly than true information

Although sometimes true information is clarified or disseminated afterward, all information, including untrue information, does not disappear but is still circulated.

It is simply a transfer from one platform to another platform. (Jessada Denduangboriphan, interview, July 4, 2018). This observation accords with the findings in the report of Verizon (2014) entitled, “Data Breach Investigations, which specifies cyber threats from now on that, “No-one left to trust in cyberspace.” The reason is that everything in the cyber world is deceptive by all kinds of information via the internet, i.e., downloading information, counterfeit in social websites, etc. that is all unreliable. Hence, a tendency of having control or interception into the internet systems or closing some target channels of the country might be witnessed increasingly. As an example, China has created China's Wall in the cyber world to protect its citizens from confronting communication with the external world, while preventing outsiders to invade its cyber world as well.

In short, the presentation of the content related to national security nowadays may not be something far away from our life or be the military's or the security agencies' responsibilities anymore. Now, there has been plenty of online media as important tools used by every group or party in the society: the government or the government agencies, individuals, political dissidents, mass media, and general people, to present their content and activities that reflect their idea and political ideology clearly and easily. Everyone can post on Facebook, live, and share information. Twitter can be used for tweets with short messages, or hashtags can be added. All of these lead to criticism in the society or “talk of the town.” Accordingly, it corresponds to the concept of new media, which is the media of specific groups and is managed in the form of the creation and expansion of networks. The more users join a platform; the more other users want to join that platform. Thus, if we are not in that network, we will be out of the communication circle. That is the reason why both political dissidents and the government chose to present the content related to national security via platforms of the online media or as a tool in disseminating their information to the target audience.

What should be concerned next is the evolution of communication technologies that can develop more deceptive devices with higher or more profound capacity. For instance, the development of Deepfake, or a kind of editing technology, helps to edit fake clips to deceive people. Deepfake uses Artificial Intelligence (AI) that can learn an individual’s facial structure and expressions, gestures, and speech

tempo. The editing can be done in several ways, i.e., to paste one's face on another person's face, to display one's emotion with untrue words, to move one's body to become another person's body, etc. At present, Deepfake can be created easily by an application of ordinary computer devices for neat editing. It thus is another evolution of deception and forgery of message or texts, image, sound, video, or even articles. All these fake things live with us smoothly in the virtual world of social media.

6.2.2 The Effect of Communication Via Online Media on Mass Media Work

The significant turning point of communication technologies in the period of the information society, or so-called "the Age of Mobile First," is the situation where people in the society have mobile phones, social media, and smartphones. In other words, the power of social media enables everybody to be citizen journalists. At the same time, people can also be receivers of news without having to wait for news programs or wait until the broadcasting time. Whenever they want to know something or see something, they can access a reception channel immediately everywhere and every time. From such phenomena, mass media work can be affected as summarized below:

1) Mass media as a gatekeeper, but does not play a role in screening information

One of the mass media's problems that have been criticized is the use of information from social media as its information source, which normally does not pass a process of screening the correctness and well-roundedness by the editorial board. Importantly, it is short of analyzing what kind of benefits receivers will gain. What is concerned the most is to present the news as fast as possible to snatch popularity or ratings. Mana Treerayaphiwat (interview, July 2, 2018) stated that journalists often are too eager to present the news because they are afraid of being out of the loop, or sometimes they present the current news on social media. Thus, it causes problems on the part of senders who do not know what they should or should not deliver via social media. Even as receivers, they do not know which information is right, or what is a fact, an opinion, a rumor, or deception. From the findings of the study, it was found that mass media used information, i.e., message, still and moving

pictures, and clips that were posted and shared on online media to be broadcasted Sometimes, such information was found to be fraud or distorted. However, it had made people in society believe in the information already. Thus, receivers expressed their dissatisfaction and scolded the media with violent, vulgar, and aggressive words in the online world. Although the truth was found out and publicized later, it was too late because in general, people by nature tend to believe what they heard for the first time.

Pichitra Tsukamoto (2018, pp. 13-14) states in one part of the book called, "Thai Media in the Transitional Period of Political Crisis and Technology Disruption," that mass media is one of the main players in every transition and up to now mass media has been challenged once again with the confrontation of the disruption of digital technology and online media. It has become a public space for connecting information, ideologies, faith, and propaganda to receivers aimed to establish the mass foundation. It uses online media for presenting emergency situations once any violence occurs to report news or to warn people of any danger; thus, it functions as a platform for disseminating news rapidly and can access the audience or receivers at all times and places. Such phenomenon accords with the concept of Technological Determinism that information technology determines or directs changes in society. The well-known golden line under this concept is "The medium is the message." Marshall McLuhan (1996, as cited in Kamolrat Intaratat, 2014, p. 13) clarifies that it means the content or message of communication is very crucial and plays a significant role despite its relatively less impact than media or communication patterns since media in different forms can change our thinking about others, ourselves, and the world around us unconsciously.

2) The overwhelming widespread of fake and untrue information on online media

One interesting finding from this study showed that online media, especially on Facebook and Twitter, there were plenty of fake identities or profiles. From the preliminary observation by clicking to see some personal images, information, and previous posts, no other activities were found, except entering to comment. The intention was found to stimulate, disrupt, or stir some current issues or topics. The movement on such online media is for admiration, causing damages at the

page, or commenting under the posted texts only. The observation is congruent with the statement of Pichitra Tsukamoto (2018: 80) that social media is like “a digital forest” of political activists nowadays. Its major feature is the connectivity as a network without any hierarchy, but with a lateral or horizontal relationship, which is different from the networks of other media. Therefore, online media possesses special features facilitating social movements in which a movement can still continue by itself from the participation of members who join in that online activity despite the termination of the leader’s roles.

Furthermore, from the report entitled, “The Study on Fake News Examination of Online News Editorial Board: An Independent Study,” in the Program for Top Executives of Mass Communication in Broadcasting Enterprises, Pikul Chantawitchayasut (2018) specifies that during the past 3-4 years, fake news had been widespread on online and social media, i.e., Websites, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Line, etc. Fake and imitated websites from news agencies were created to disseminate fake, satirical, sarcastic, and distorted information aimed to make consumers misunderstand, misperceive, and forward them on social media to deceive that it was the information presented by news agencies truly. Such a phenomenon decreased the credibility of the mass media. This notion supports the concept of Robin and Webster (1999, as cited in Kamolrat Intaratat, 2014, pp. 13-20). Robin and Webster believe that the influence of new media transferring to online space affects the information management and censorship, including communication planning for specific groups since new media can bring about changes in the new structure of the society, i.e., the emergence of new citizen groups with specific characteristics, such as hacker groups, who can disseminate and control message to their desired target, etc.

The National Security

From interviews with experts and scholars, they agreed that the term “national security” was an abstract and fairly refutable term, especially in the world of new communication, the issue of security becomes more sensitive. The researcher summarizes the findings on the issue of national security as follows:

1) The argument on the meaning of national security: the nation's or whose security?

Jessada Denduangboriphat (personal communication, July 4, 2018) stated that he does not think that using social media will make Thailand ripped off or merge Thailand with another country to be a new country. However, the term “state” or “government sector” means that the government is authorized to govern the country. When any situation affects the power of the governors, the nation is affected as well. Thus, the governor often claims that it is an issue that affects national security. The abovementioned statement accords with the content analysis on the national security of this study. One notable remark was that the conflict between the government and groups of political dissidents has been witnessed since the starting of the governance of the country led by General Prayut Chan-o-cha for almost five years up to the official election date on March 24, 2019. When any group of political dissidents tried to reveal some information or criticize the policy implementation of the government, such as the use of special laws (i.e., Section 44) as a tool to prosecute the dissidents, the government would enforce the laws, claiming for maintaining the national peace and order.

On the other hand, from the perspective of those political dissidents or activists, the government tried to block the freedom of expression that is common in a democratic country. Therefore, they demanded the government to return sovereignty to the people as soon as possible, including releasing the dissidents being arrested or prosecuted and being called to the military camp for attitudinal modification. They also perceived that the government violated human rights and thus was discredited by several nations, etc. Such claims accord with the findings from the study of Somchai Saenphumi (2019), “The Political Movement of Students with Regards to the First Anniversary of the coup d’etat d'état of General Prayuth Chan-Ocha.” The study revealed that the roles of the university activist leaders or organizers were associated with their participative behaviors in a group of colleagues who believed in the democratic ideology. The restriction of rights and liberty was a major factor in implanting counter-force that led to political movement activities. Besides, online media, i.e. Facebook, etc. was found to be a major tool for communicating political information the most. The finding corresponds to the notion of Pichitra Tsukamoto (2018: 84-88), who mentioned factors inducing the predominant roles for online social media in communicating the content related to national security that can cause

an impact on society in several dimensions. The roles of online social media are as follows: 1) it is used as a communication tool to negotiate with the state's power. 2) it was used to create a communication network for connecting people from different areas and status. 3) leaders or mainstays, such as individuals or groups of individuals with political benefits, use a diversity of media tactically to reproduce their ideology and political ideology.

2) The governmental personnel working in the security area must be aware and adjust their attitude to be able to engage in the new information system since the security dilemma is changed

From the analysis of the content related to national security via online media in the information operations, it was found from the quantitative study that the government sector has not used online channels for communicating with people so much, compared with political dissidents or activists. The political dissidents or activists were found to express a movement towards their political standpoint in the online world with more frequencies and a higher number of posts than the government. Consequently, due to the higher number of texts and posts for expressing the opposition and disagreement with the NCPO government, the number of viewers or people who saw such posts was higher too. Thus, the dissemination of information was widespread easily and rapidly.

Moreover, from the perspective of information operations, the government tended to use "passive operations" by emphasizing the chain of command according to the line of authority to avoid mistakes of self-interception, while being able to fix the situations quickly. Hence, people would feel secure, safe, and be protected and looked after by the operations of the government officers at all levels. On the contrary, political dissidents or activists tended to use more "active operations." The transmission of information was in the form of networks, i.e., networks or alliances in the form of membership, being followers, pressing "following," or sharing information sequentially, etc.

Concurrently, Surachart Bamrungsuk (personal communication, July 24, 2018) specified that when changes occur in the cyber or digital world, the clear subsequence is the issue of cybersecurity. However, the government sector has not had a correct understanding and adhered to the old traditional worldview.

Accordingly, due to the increasing online usage behaviors of people in society nowadays, the circulation of information in the online world may affect or cause problems of national security, but to what extent the government sector has the capabilities to cope with them.

3) Communication blockade, especially in the online world, is not a solution for solving national security problems

Tracing back to the seizure of TOT, CAT, and satellite stations, including the effort of closing the dissidents' or protestants' online media channels (parts of them could not be closed as the movements were through foreign operation systems or servers), it indicates that the government gives high importance to the communication on social media. From the point of view of a professor in the security area, Surachart Bamrungsuk (personal communication, July 24, 2018) pointed out that communication blockade, especially in the online world, is not an answer. It is impossible to close all communication systems in today's world. Therefore, under this situation, the essential issue is the adaptation of Thai government sectors. They must know how to face a new dilemma in the cyber world and how they should adapt themselves.

Similarly, Mana Treerayaphiwat (personal communication, July 2, 2018) expressed his opinions in the same direction. He perceived that the limitations of the government agencies' work are their passive operation approach, which cannot catch up with the development or nature of new media. For instance, they still use a problem-solving process based on the old media landscape or solve problems by "closing" news channels or stopping information circulation, which is impossible. At present, in the information era, information can be disseminated very quickly or second by second. The pattern of communication in this decade is that everyone can be a sender of his or her message, and people can post their message by using a server in a foreign country. It is thus different from the past in which there were a few transmission channels, i.e., TV channels, etc. Thus, we could close TV channels, or we could stop the printing press in the case of the newspaper, then the government could control the information circulation, etc.

Such opinion accords with Settapong Malisuwan (2011) who states that in the future, people in the online community can exert their network-society power to

implant misbeliefs or fallacies to their members. They may mobilize their members to protest against the state's power even more increasingly. Correspondingly, the security agencies must have their media strategy planning as it can affect their communication with people, culture, and beliefs, including others, such as society, politics, and national security. Wacharin Kaenthong (2017) revealed the findings of his research that the security agencies and the army with superior technology and information management can reach higher competitive advantages in a counterattack. Hence, the security agencies and the army are required to adapt themselves and empower their competitive advantages in cyberspace, especially their information operation strategies and tactics in using and fighting back information and media wars to attain concrete success and efficiency of the information operations. Besides, in the future, information operations will be more complicated and will be a secret operational process that is more tactful owing to the development of communication technologies that will be much advanced progressively.

6.3 Research Recommendations

The effect of communication via online media in various domains leads all concerned sectors in the society to necessarily adopt their attitude and perspective to catch up with rapid changes in communication technologies since this second from now.

The government agencies responsible directly for regulating security missions must have well-planned strategies to cope with new forms of hidden threats coming with communication technologies. For instance, the organization structure must be more flexible to be proper with a sensitive situation, the government officers must be equipped with the specialized expertise that can catch up with technological changes. Particularly, they have to alter the ways of their thinking and working, including working attitudes related to new media. Besides, they must be aware of the effect caused by the use of online media channels of different groups in the society, i.e., unofficial online groups or unidentified groups, etc. Such online groups can comprise both supporters for and dissidents against the government's administration and operations. Notably, the number of these unofficial or unidentified groups is even

bigger than that of the official online groups and in many cases, these unidentified groups can create an enormous ripple to society unexpectedly.

Besides, from the synthesis of the study on communication-related to national security via online media under the information operations of the government and political dissidents, the researcher views that both the government and its political dissidents have their goal or end state; however, goals of both sides are extremely different. Such differences can be perceived as a form of conflict; therefore, the leader of the country or the government responsible for regulating national security has to manage such a conflict properly and effectively by understanding all concerned issues and conducting conflict management plans. Accordingly, the researcher proposes “the model of conflict management caused by information dissemination under the information operations (IO) situations, comprising the following steps, as illustrated in the below model.

Model of Conflict Management Caused by Information Dissemination Under the Information Operations Framing

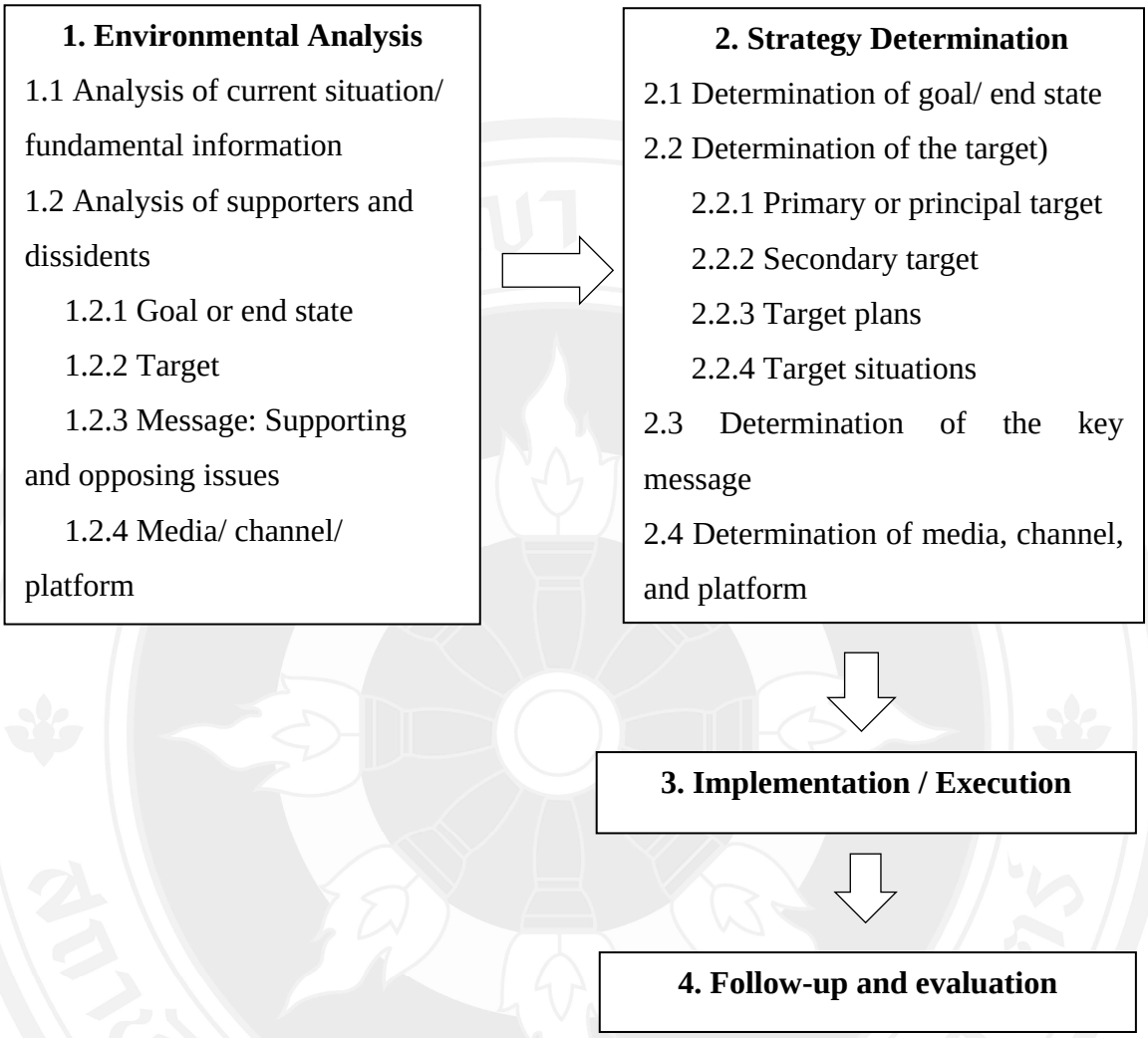


Figure 6.1 Model of Conflict Management Caused by Information Dissemination Under the Information Operations Framing

1. Environmental analysis means the evaluation and analysis of current situations and fundamental information related to the current problems, including the analysis of supporters and dissidents. The analysis composes of 1) goal or end state, 2) target, 3) message: supporting and opposing issues, and 4) media, channels, or platforms.

2. Strategy Determination. Strategies are planned to communicate with the target by applying different strategies suitable for each target group. The analysis contains the following:

2.1 Determination of the goal or end state, which means “to determine what each operation expects to achieve or which outcome is expected.”

2.2 Determination of the target or what needed to communicate precisely by studying background information, knowledge, thinking patterns, attitude, beliefs, and ideologies of each target group profoundly before any planning. Besides, practically, all plans cannot be implemented due to limited resources. Correspondingly, it is essential to determine the target by various groups depending on the occurring condition as follows:

2.2.1 Primary or principal target groups

2.2.2 Secondary target groups

2.2.3 Target groups as planned

2.2.4 Target groups by situations

2.3 Determination of the key message through storytelling that is suitable for the target’s information exposure behaviors.

2.4 Determinations of media and channels or platforms by emphasizing the message needed to disseminate or present to be accordant with the nature of each type of media and channels or platforms.

3. Execution or implementation means performance or an operation based on determined or specified plans and processes.

4. Follow-up and evaluation means the follow-up, investigation, and measurement to see if the working process is as planned or specified in the goal for further improvement of the capacity of the operation process continually in the future.

Professional media and mass media organizations must increase their caution in presenting credible information by verifying information before dissemination in every channel. Especially, the online news editorial boards must pay utmost attention to the preliminary verification before broadcasting or dissemination. For example, they must inspect or verify if a reported incident is true or happens, including finding the origin or source of information that can be identified. It is essential for them to always realize their principal roles as a mediator in news presentation and one of the

main institutions in screening correct and complete information for people in the society.

General people as media consumers should learn and be conscious during their media exposure and communication by analyzing, distinguishing, and verifying the credibility of received or transmitted information before forwarding or sharing such information. Besides, they should give importance and pay attention to the verification of information by learning to question themselves every time upon the receipt of any information from online social media. Without questioning the obtained information, they tend to believe in the information and become a victim of an information releaser easily.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Studies

1) This research aims to study the communication of the issues related to national security based on the definition and classification of six domains. However, nowadays there have been several kinds of classification that might be different than those six domains, especially to catch up with global changes. Thus, future studies on national security may apply other additional perspectives and domains.

2) The study analyzed communication by information operations (IO) framing and focused IO as a major communication tool based on communication dimensions mainly. However, IO is a very delicate, profound, and multi-dimensional mission. Accordingly, it can be further studied more extensively, i.e., the study of the use of IO among unofficial online channel users to obtain different points of view, etc.

3) Future studies can be extended by other research methodologies, i.e., survey research, focus group interview, etc. with receivers as persons who are affected or influenced directly by online communication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Asawin Nedpogaeo (2018). *Mediumology: Principles, Concepts, and Innovations.* Bangkok: Nakorn Media.

Boonrod Srisomba. (2012). *IO advanced documents for the executive program in developing knowledge on terrorism and insurgency*. Bangkok: Command and General Staff College.Chaiyaset Promsri. (2007). Organizational conflict management. Bangkok: Expernet.

Command and General Staff College. (2014). *Manuals of information operations.* Bangkok: Center for the Principles and Strategy Development, Military Education Department.

'Defense' launches new little brother! Wade through Victory Monument giving away "Community Contract. (2019, April 5). *Matichon.* Retrieved from https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_905682

Defense launches "Nong Kuk Koi" symbol for reconciliation. (2018, November 29). *Post Today*. Retrieved from https://www.posttoday.com/politic/527928

Directorate of Operations. (2004). A *draft of information operations guidelines of the army.* Supporting Documents for the Seminar.

Kamolrat Intaratat. (2014). *A collection of communication philosophy and theories*. Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University Press.

Kanjana Kaewthep. (2014). *A collection of communication philosophy and theories.* Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University Press.

Malee Boonsiriphan. (2007). *Introduction to journalism: Philosophy and concepts.* Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.

Monwadee Tangtrongharuthai. (2016). *A case study of strategic communication and information operations of thai armed forces.* Bangkok: Strategic Studies Center, National Defence Studies Institute.

Pichit Wijitboonyarak. (2011). Social media: Future media. *Executive Journal,* (2011), 99-103.

Pichitra Tsukamoto. (2018). Thai media in the transitional period of political crisis and technology disruption. Bangkok.

Pikul Chantawitchayasut. (2018). *The Study on fake news examination of online news editorial board: An independent study.* The Program for Top Executives of Mass Communication in Broadcasting Enterprises. Isra Institute. Thai Press Development Foundation.

Pira Jirasophon. (2014). *A collection of communication philosophy and theories.* Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University Press.

Settapong Malisuwan. (2011). *Information operations.* Retrieved from http://www.vcharkarn.com/varticle/42857

Surachart Bamrungsuk. (2010). Security Studies Newsletter. No. 78: Information Operations. Intelligence Institute. National Intelligence Agency.

Wasan Runsewa (Colonel) (2004). Information and Psychological Operations. Senathipat Journal. 54(3), September-December, 2004.

Chanchai Chaisukkosol (2009). Technology and Political Struggle Without Violence: A Case Study of the Internet in Thailand. Dissertation. The Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.

Direk Deeprasert (Colonel) (2019). Forms of the Interception of Incendiary Concepts from Educational Institutions in the Three Southern Border Provinces. The project of the forms of the interception of incendiary concepts from educational institutions in the three southern border provinces. Command and General Staff College.

Prangtip Manthorn and Nattakant Akarapongpisak (2018). People's Perceptions on the Application of "Thailand's Reform" Concept as the Legitimation of the NCPO (2014-2016). Governance Journal. 7(2), (July-December), 78-113.

Prayut Chan-o-Cha (General) (2008). Royal Thai Army and Non-Traditional Threats. Political Science Association of Kasetsart University. The Project for Promoting the Development of Democracy and Civil Politics, Kasetsart University.

Thanasta Rojanatrakul (2019). Creative Conflict Management. The Academic Journal of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nakhonsawan Rajabhat University, (July-December), 69-81.

Somchai Saenphumi (2019). The Political Movement of Students with Regards to the One-year Anniversary of the Coup d'état of General Prayuth Chan-Ocha. Thesis.

The Faculty of Social Science. Mahamakut Buddhist University.

Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy. National Security. Retrieved from http://www.crma.ac.th/msdept/e_bookmsd2012/strategyms4010/.../lesson4

Statistics and Behaviors of the Users of the Internet Q3. Retrieved from https://www.twfdigital.com/blog/2019/08/global-digital-usage-stat-and-behaviour-q3-2019/

Settapong Malisuwan (Colonel) (2011). Information Operations. Retrieved from http://www.vcharkarn.com/varticle/42857

Strategy Studies Center, the National Defence Studies Institute. National Security. Retrieved from http://www.sscthailand.org/index.php?option=com_docman...en

Wacharin Kaenthong. (2017). Information Operations Threats That Affect Security of Thai Armed Forces. Retrieved from https://awc.ac.th/awcdata/research/93.pdf

Wuttichai Saisathian (Captain) (2013). Information Operations and the Navy. Retrieved from http://www.rtni.org/th/library/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/นาวิกศาสตร์-พค 2556-งาน-IO-Information-Operations-กับกองทัพเรือ.pdf

Christopher J. Lamb. (2005). Information Operations as a Core Competency. Retrieved from https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a430074.pdf

Don Hellriegel, John W. Slocum, Jr. (1970). Organizational behavior. 13th edition. Retrieved from: http://anyflip.com/huyk/ytgt/basic

Grinberg (2019). Fake news on Twitter during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. Retrieved June 1, 2019 from https://science.sciencemag.org/content/363/6425/374.abstract

Huba Wass de Czege (Brigadier General). (2008). Rethinking IO: Complex Operations in the Information Age. Retrieved December 10, 2018, from: http://www.smallwarsjournal.com

Robbins, S.P., & Judge, T.A. (2007). Principles of organizational behavior. (13th ed). New Jersey: Pearson Education.

Schmidt. (1974). Conflict: A powerful process of change. Retrieved from https://www.iedunote.com/conflict

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2004). Functionalism. Retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/functionalism/

Stenner, Karen. (2005). Conflict Avoidance and Political Participation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stern, P.C., & Druckman, D. (eds.). (2000). International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War. Washington, DC: National Research Council.

Verizon. (2014). Data Breach Investigations Report. Retrieved from https://webfiles.dti.delaware.gov/pdfs/rp_Verizon-DBIR-2014_en_xg.pdf

BIOGRAPHY

NAME	Mrs. Soralak Pongpo
ACADEMIC BACKGROUND	Bachelor of Arts (Communication Arts) B.A. (Journalism) Bangkok University, Bangkok, Thailand in 1996
	Master of Arts (Communication Arts) M.A. (Journalism) Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand in 1999
EXPERIENCES	2002-Present Lecturer, School of Communication Arts University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce
	2014-Present Assistant Professor, School of Communication Arts University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce