

---

# Signifiers in the Political of Thai Public Movements: A Case Study of Fluttering Butterfly Group

Sarojn Boonsermwan<sup>a</sup>, Suebsawad Vutivoradid<sup>b</sup>, Keratiwan Kalayanamitra<sup>c</sup>,  
Sunhanat Jakkapattarawong<sup>d</sup>

<sup>abcd</sup>College of Politics and Government, Suan Sunandha Rajabhat University, Thailand  
Corresponding Email Address of Corresponding Author: sarojn.bo@ssru.ac.th

## Abstract

This research aims to (1) study the formation of fluttering butterfly group during 2018-2019 and (2) to analyze patterns of political signifier, creating the meaning and content of signifier used in political movements. This research is qualitative research based on four methods: (1) document analysis, (2) in-depth interviews with key informants, (3) participant observation of political movement, and (4) non-participant observation through tracking events, stories on media channels such as Facebook, YouTube, and Line. The findings revealed that the political signifier of fluttering butterfly group expands due to the following factors: (1) the group feels that Thai energy prices are more expensive than Malaysia's, and (2) The use of new technologies and communication tools in political movements. In terms of using political signifier, the group used the language 'Fair energy, gas and oil prices must be equal to Malaysia's.' The group also used 'green' to represent creating and defining political signifier associated with the suffering of the public sector from the price of oil, which affects the livelihoods of the people. The authors suggested those interested in political activism can use it as further research on political signifier, creating political signifier that affects emotions, collective feelings of the public sector and of the participants joining the political movement, and can be used in the next political movement.

**Keywords:** pattern of political signifier, political movements, new social movements

## 1. Introduction

People's politics in democracy is an open space for the people to participate in the government. city with exercise political freedom within the framework of the law while the constitution encourages People come to participate in politics to exercise their rights. more freedom of political expression, which This issue has scholars in political science. Prapas Pintobtaeng (2003) commented that people's politics started in the year 1987, during that time quality The deterioration of the people's life is suffering. as a result of the trade policy of the government entering to administer policies that eventually affect the poor, leading to people's politics resulting in the integration of The people of the upper sector have protested to convey the meaning to the government of the hardships of the people. People want to create bargaining power with the government because they see that the democratic system of government The problem is insufficient to protect the lives of the people. The people's movement was amalgamation of the Pak Mun network and later developed into the Assembly of the Poor. Become a people's movement for a just society

Later, Narong Boonsuaykwan commented that the people sector is part of society and can exercise their rights. Political rights awareness Freedom wants to solve problems on their own, participate in the activities of community for better life better political society To solve this problem, it is necessary to use social mechanisms, mobilization methods that build relationships with the community until the power that challenges the state power. Participating in the activities of The rally will be the benefit of the people in the political society. Both at the national and local levels (Narong Bunsuaykwan, 2009).

---

Citizens participate in the movement to express opinions about public policy. It is a movement by certain groups of people who want to exercise their rights. To customize the inhibition government work that affects the interests of the public sector It is the exercise of basic political rights. There is a public space for free expression of the press. freedom of expression of individuals regarding the collective interest have the right to participate in political activities of the public sector by Seksan Prasertkul, (2001) People's Movements Various Issues There is a movement requesting the state to come in and solve various problems that have not been ignored or there is a movement to check the use of state power or there is a protest against state power. Calling for action in the power of the state to the people. Critical cooperation with the state and constructive ties to seize space in the process of exercising power of civil society (Seksan Prasertkul, 2005).

As can be seen from the political situation in Thailand during May 1991-1997, there was political turmoil at the type level, becoming a force for attention and movement of the region. people, as well as economic and social problems that have been accumulated for a long time is a gathering of the public level poor grass distributed in the countryside The most obvious is the Waste Small Farmers Assembly. Weave is a combination of Farmers in the boiling waters in 1992 had to bite the stalks to change the form of rallies to pressure the government. During 1993-1995, there were many rallies There were marches from other provinces heading to Bangkok, Thailand. oppose the National Agriculture Act In December 1975, the Assembly of the Poor was born. Due to being affected by the building of the community, later in 1996, during the government of Banharn Silpa Acha, the People's Assembly was pressuring the government to correct the dam building wisdom. Slum communities as before. Later in the year 1997, rallies demanded the government of General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh to solve the problem of dam construction. The community examined the problem of land, resources, counting more than the number of people who suffered. Nearly two hundred thousand people, it can be seen that in the recent political movement Modify the movement pattern Society is a new trend for a long time. Abstain from the raw political context. commented that The new social movement is a large number of people, groups, and classes. The demanders participate in the movement by themselves because of lack of faith, lack of faith. Representation of the political party that the movement demands aims to create rules or New Rules to Make Life More Happy, Chaiyarat Charoensinolan, 2000)

Later in the year 1998, some businessmen and academics came together to name the group "Palan Sa". After that, there was a movement against Rule 11 that the Government was passing out to be in line with the IF, the Sanam Luang rally. During November 1998, there was an opening stage. public opinion During the Democratic government came to the election of 2001, where the Thai Rak Thai party was government and at the same time The CRC came out in a movement against globalization in 1998, calling for the government to Open the information agreed with the IMF, which Dr. Yan insists that the public must be aware and agree first. liberalization in various fields. The SKA rally the ground government in August. In addition, the picture of the economic problems after 1997 resulted in the formation of the People's Democratic Group. There was an open forum to gather intelligence to find a solution for Thailand at Thammasat University in July 2000 to have the parliament dissolved and to protest against the domination of transnational capital in the form of However, the anti-globalization movement is the activity of intellectuals and people's organizations. Only in the capital while the new constitution became the main law of the country was accepted open. Opportunities for people at the grassroots level to have the right to organize gathering political participation clearly until a united front Northern agriculture, which lacks land for arable land overwhelmed with debt Northern Farmers Alliance met to discuss rehabilitation

---

The movement demanded its own benefits. Later, the movement of the Northern Agricultural Coalition expand wake up The Northern Farmers' Federation was set up as a coordinating organization for northern farmers' groups. The upper eight organizations which include the Northern Agricultural Alliance. However, the Northern Agricultural Alliance still Sometimes moving outlandishly and joining other groups on behalf of the North Guy Farmers Union in some cases, leading a coalition of regional unions with debt and arable land problems, and also gathering to demand The right to livelihood of the people at the grassroots level and spread to other areas with the majority of groups. of citizens who are often a reaction to the encroachment on the interests of Go communities, the state and capital. These people clearly study the problematic conditions they face, which are active in the form of filings. Responsible government official letter submit a proposal to the government in writing Participate in negotiations with the government Or the other party, when there is no choice, they will use the method of protesting against the gathering of villagers to claim their rights. Outline in the shape of a frog Local Wisdom Pha Klom Bon arrived in March 2000 duty Excise raids and arrests of villagers who produce liquor which led to a protest of the villagers demanding The government allowed liquor to be free. It can be seen that the past movement is a new social movement. Raising the movement against the innovative form of assembly into a new form is People's movement against the government, according to Rong Bunsuaykwan (2014)

commented that People's movements are the exercise of their rights in the manner of non-violent actions or Characteristics of operations according to the concept of civil disobedience There were protesters gathering on the streets, closing roads, marching, showing 100 symbols in the form of language, discourse, color and sound that can be clearly seen in 2004. Shinawatra family businessmen coming up as a government to manage the country, there has been a movement of millions of people's alliances for Democracy has a symbolic expression in the form of discourse, color and sound. There is a discourse on "Reserve the Nation" with the production of yellow shirts and clapping hands. Chart came out to campaign against the 2007 draft constitution. There was a symbolic expression in the form of discourse, color and sound. There was a production of "Phra Amart" discourse, a "red" shirt and a foot slap. Later in the year 2011-2012, a group of people, colorful shirts, white masks white shirt groups that oppose the "Thaksin regime". The King is Head of State There is a symbolic expression in the form of discourse, color and sound. Donkey shirts are produced. national flag "and" whistle ", while the United Front of Democracy against National Dictatorship has a symbolic expression in the form of discourse, color and sound, producing a "high-speed train whistle (horn)" later in the year 2018-2019, the state The price of oil in Thailand has risen to the point that it has become an issue that people are interested in leading to Fighting about energy prices, walking, running, spinning, Bongkot Erawan must prove the truth. There is a fight about energy from will. to bring gas concessions Bongkot oil field and Erawan that will expire in the next 2-3 years to produce probably because the equipment must belong to Thailand want the public to know before then there will be an auction of the source Bongkot Erawan went out for another 16 years to bid for the butterfly group's flapping wings. Proving the truth why we didn't do it ourselves requires the fact that Thailand has a power source but why we need it. Expensive, gas, oil is the cost of life of every body, whether it is a consumable, must be in gas. Passed the auction from the rawan in the hands of the auctioneer for another 36 years, with the Thai people looking at it with their eyes wide open. With no understanding at all, taking the opportunity to continually say that in When receiving the treasure of the land worth about two hundred thousand million baht per year per year Can you exchange that asking price? fair energy In the middle that is the reunion of the brothers coming up, she takes from the ghosts. Nong flapping his wings,

because now he is growing up, he uses butterflies flapping his wings to express

---

symbolically in the form of language, color, sound, and language production. green shirts are produced There is a production of oil music, dear oil. Where are the finances on the road? Cho called on the government, political parties, and at the center to receive complaints. There is an effort with good intentions to see changes that are fair to the people. Fair energy prices are a matter of concern for everyone. Every business is the first step, it is the source cost of Thai people's lives. Thai businesses in all sectors It's very important, so I want to receive justice. I want to produce cheap oil like neighboring countries so research. making it semiotic politics in many dimensions I see the reason why Thai work is more expensive than Malaysia. use of available symbols variety of formats It is symbolically thick, resulting in the participants having the same opinions, having common beliefs, having shared experiences. have a common sense have common sense There is a bond, there is love, unity, there is a common goal. The sign affects the mind, emotions, feelings, thoughts, beliefs, attitudes, causing people in society to agree with the context of Thai society. It's a fight against a new form in terms of semantics. It is learning a new political movement. Therefore, semantic politics requires many things. more space democratically to be able to accommodate the social forces that are not brought into the elite. Additional elements in the use of power and formulation of state policies

## 2. Research Method

This study was a qualitative research. By specifying the method of collecting data as follows 1. Document analysis (document study) Survey and collect data from documents and analyze them. Various content issues from academic textbooks research report and dissertations, dissertations, publications, and pictures related to people's politics Political movements include the use of symbols. Politics in politics at different times 2. In-depth interviews for people's movements, groups providing important information.

(key informants) obtained by selection, namely: 2.1) The Fluttering Butterfly Working Group, consisting of Mr. Kan Chantirajnar, Mr. Wachiraphong Siripongmethee, Mrs. Anuch Pattarakulniyom, Mr. Wachiraphong Siripongmethee, Mrs. Kwanta Thiphanamchai, Mr. Somporn Pansa, Mr. Prathakorn Panpuet, Mr. Chakkrit, set up boundaries Mrs. Thipwipha Lertprasert. Mr. Suradej Surakul, Ms. Kanlayata Khemisrathitijirapat, Mrs. Nonglak Kruehong, Mrs. Sumoltha Thong-ngern, Mr. Chanthapat Akarameteenon 3.3. Politics consisted of Mrs. Jareerat Suksawat, Mr. Warah Kasiwat, Mr. Pisanu Jaidee, Mr. Decha, Lakfah Doctor, Mr. Chatri Naotheeranon, Mr. Chatchai Lekwongphaiboon, Ms. Namfon Phuaknak, Mrs. Panthira Chansorn, Mr. Mongkhon Dee Prom, and Somsak. Onthong Mr. Yan Tonmueng Mr. Chamlong Torupsom Mrs. Chamram Wimon Mr. Yuan Sukrueang Mr. Payao Maleesri Wichien Torupsom Mr. Komkham Torupsom Mr. Sanan Boonmee Ms. Sumol Sutawiriyawat Mrs. Chonnipha Poonphiphat, Mr. Sumrit Chinnawong, Mrs. Rungthiwa Chaikit, Mrs. Kimhang Pongnarai, Mrs. Boonchu Maneewong, Mrs. Thongbai Pudson, Mr. Chattawan Pansamrit

(3) Participatory observation of political rally activities by the researcher.

(4) Non-participating observation through event tracking through various media channels such as Facebook, Youtube, and Line.

## 3. Research Results

Based on information obtained from document reviews and interviews can be summarized as follows The semantic politics of fluttering butterflies has expanded due to the fact that fluttering butterflies. Wing felt that Thai energy prices were more expensive than Malaysia and that various symbols were created. giving meaning of the symbol for use in political rallies as follows

**3.1 Language / Political Signs** It was found that in organizing political activities, political

---

language was a form of sign that conveyed various ideas. The flapping butterfly group produced political language. diverse politics There is a language production, walking, running, spinning Bongkot-Erawan must prove the truth, waiting for Bongkot-Erawan, oil prices must be the same as Malaysia, butterflies flapping their wings in public sector operations, 1 car 1 energy for fair energy, gas prices, oil prices must be equal to Malaysia. Walk for gas prices, fair oil prices, oil prices are not about anyone or any particular color, but are about the problems of the living costs of the Thai people throughout the country, Expensive Thai oil, joining forces of butterflies for people, pure hearts To be used in political movements, which such language has a symbolic meaning, such as Butterflies flapping their wings for public action The semantic meaning that the people came down to act. Fieldwork to ask information from people in different provinces in different districts in communities. What are the people's needs about energy? Has it been fair? Language section 1 car | Power for fair power give a semantic meaning that is the use of a car to express By parking on the side of the road of each province, each community increases the mass at Use a car that agrees with this drive to reflect that energy is the starting point of all life. It's really about the basic economy for fair energy. Fair energy, gas prices, oil prices a must. equal to malaysia Gives a symbolic meaning that is a phrase that is easy to understand. It is a doll that Thai people know that uses the slogan " of fair oil prices Petrol prices must be the same as Malaysia. Saying that the price is fair will not be seen as fair. How about most Thai people will know how to compare the price of gasoline from what used to be cheaper in Thailand The idea is to make the public see where the oil price wants to target, how cheap it is, which Malaysia is. The model known to Thai people after Malaysian oil was set up as a doll to make it easier to understand. walk for gas prices The fair price of oil symbolically implies that it is an activity performed by the flapping moths because Want to talk and interact with the Ministry of Energy and the Minister who gave you the blame for the decision to open negotiations, solve problems, must do activities whether Cycling in each province, walking, running, cycling Bongkot Erawan proving the original truth The long distance from Phra Narai Roundabout, Lop Buri Province, to Bangkok for ten days has continued to produce rice. Especially, but it's a matter of stomach problems. The life force of Thai people throughout the country has a symbolic meaning that Starting from the walking group, Bongkot Erawan must prove the truth until the results were extended to each province. The brothers came to work with the group Visible Fluttering Butterflies. The stomach is important. It comes from brothers and sisters who support every political party. It comes from every brother and sister. The color that society is still divided But it turns out that the argument about the stomach of the people, the brothers and sisters, can be reversed to work together because Want to talk and interact with the Ministry of Energy and the Minister who gave you the blame for the decision to open negotiations to solve problems must do activities whether Cycling in each province, walking, running, cycling Bongkot Erawan prove the truth It is a long distance from the Phra Narai roundabout in Lop Buri province to Bangkok for ten days. News along the way The price of oil is not about anyone or any particular color, but is a matter of stomach problems. The life force of Thai people throughout the country has a symbolic meaning that Starting from a group of walking, running, cycling, Bongkot Erawan had to prove the truth until it was extended to each province. The brothers came to work with the group Visible Fluttering Butterflies. The stomach is important and comes from the brothers and sisters who support all political parties. Comes from brothers and sisters of every color that society is still divided. Xi, but it appears that the talk about the stomach of the people, brothers and sisters can join hands to work together because sees that energy is a matter of cost of living for all Thai people in the country, if energy problems can be solved, it will be Solve problems like the people's sector sees the problem of the foundation economy. The basic economy depends not on energy. Whether it's gas, oil, electricity, all energy determines the upstream, midstream,

---

and downstream of Thai people's lives. all sectors of business travel Everything depends on the total energy. If the problem of energy is solved Thai people's lives will definitely change in a positive way.

**3.2 Colors/Political Signs** It was found that organizing political movement rallies political symbol colors They are all symbols that convey the meaning that the flapping butterfly group has chosen to use green to convey the meaning that Green is a color that is easy on the eyes. is the color of the tree is the color of friendship a cool color is the color of nature nature is color green world needs trees Butterflies flapping their wings are dots of nature. It depends on nature. It's a color that looks comfortable. Green looks bright. It's a humble color like looking at trees, gardens, forests, refreshing, where a group of butterflies Flutter has chosen to use green as a symbolic color to promote every organization. creatively maintain kindness care for each other Each other is friendly with all organizations. police officer Building staff security guard Safe for all staff

**3.3 Political sounds/signs** It was found that in organizing political movement rallies, political symbolic songs were all symbols that conveyed the meanings of which the Fluttering Butterfly Group had composed a variety of songs, including the love song "Nam Man Phaeng". butterfly walk song Flying song (Butterfly flapping its wings) Bongkot-Erawan song want to convey the meaning of energy Power struggles tell, tell, information. Consoling the brothers and sisters of the butterfly flapping wings to encourage them to have strength, to stand up and strive to do their best.

**3.4 walk for fair gas prices political symbol** It was found that organizing political movement rallies and walking for a fair price of gas and oil is another sign that implies that it is an activity that I do this because I want to interact with the Ministry of Energy and the ministers who let you punish and make decisions. To open negotiations to solve problems, therefore, there are cycling activities in each province, walking, running, cycling Bongkot Erawan Tong. prove the truth walking, running, cycling Bongkot Erawan Tong. prove the truth.

**3.5 Hands joined together, thumbs intertwined to make wings / political sign.** It was found that organizing gathering activities Political activism. Hands join together. Thumbs together to form wings. It has a status as a symbol that conveys The meaning of the word fluttering butterfly It is the symbol of the organization, like the logo of the product, the symbol of the group of butterflies flapping their wings.

#### 4. Discussion

from the research A Study of the Semantic Politics of the Fluttering Butterfly Group Symbol pattern analysis Meaningful political symbols for fluttering butterfly groups can be used in political movements. Discuss the results as follows.

The study found that Semantic politics in the movement of the flapping butterfly group in the past 2018-2019 was caused by the fluttering butterfly group that energy prices in Thailand were higher than Malaysia, leading to The process of producing political symbols with Giang language forms and giving them a symbolic meaning for movement. Politics like walking, running, spinning, Bongkot-Erawan must prove the truth, wait, Bongkot-Erawan, oil prices must be equal malaysia, butterfly flapping wings public sector operations 1 car 1 power for fair power, gas prices, oil prices must be equal to malaysia Walk for gas prices, fair oil prices, oil prices are not about anyone or for Especially, but it's about the problem of the cost of living of Thai people throughout the country, expensive Thai oil, joining the force of the public butterfly, pure heart, green, expensive oil song dear, walking butterfly walking song, flying song ( Butterflies fluttering wings) Song Bongkot-Erawan, hands clasped together, thumbs intertwined to form wings. is a sign system one which conveys ideas, meanings such as the fluttering of a butterfly in public action. symbolically that Kong Fluttering clothes know better than any energy price than Malaysia. From the beginning,

---

green is political traffic. is the color of friendship a cool color As the color of nature is green, the world needs plants. Butterflies flapping their wings are dots of nature. It depends on nature. It's a color that looks comfortable. green is a bright color is a humble color Like looking at trees, gardens, forests, Ken, where butterflies flutter their wings, choose to use green as a symbolic color to use. Publicize corporate capital in a creative way. care for each other friendly to all organizations police officer Building staff Officers in charge of security, front, th, developed into a sound signal. Political songs such as the song "Nam Man Phaeng Darak", the song "Walking", the original shirt, the song "Flying the Butterfly Wings", and the Bongkot song. We today give a symbolic meaning to fight about telling energy. inform information News to comfort the butterfly brothers and sisters. Encourage them to have the strength to hold on, stand up and strive to do it to the fullest. which is consistent with the research results of Panithan Pichalai Study the political struggle of the People's Alliance for Democracy during the Thaksin Shinawatra government. political symbols for can be divided as follows: linguistic political symbols take back our country to show that they protect the institutions of the nation, religion, and the monarchy Political symbols are produced to support and thrive. belief in issues Politics causes people to lose their political beliefs, as if the government is looking for allied institutions. People for Democracy Protect the Institution. (Keratiwan Kalayanamitrac and Sunhanat Jakkapattarawongd, 2018)

## 5. Conclusion

According to the study of Thai politics in the past during the year 2018-2019 will see the emergence of Thai politics The problem of oil prices in Thailand which is more expensive than Malaysia and the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand BE 2540, chapter on freedom of political movement has made people's politics active. grew more and more, showing the overall picture of the symbolic politics in the people's movement until it was born The process of creating political symbols with various types of forms, types that give symbolic thickness. There was a creation of a symbolic meaning, causing a myth in Thai political society by a group of butterflies flapping their wings. Production of political symbols in the form of the original, we have to prove the truth 30 Bongkot Rao Day Oil prices must be the same as Malaysia. Butterflies flapping their wings, public sector operations, 1 car, 1 energy for fair power, price, oil price must be the same as Malaysia. Walking for gas prices, fair oil prices, oil prices are not about anyone or specifically, but are about the problems of the lives of Thai people throughout the country of Thai oil. join forces of the public butterfly pure heart A group of fluttering butterflies opts for green. Take the pattern Sounds like an expensive oil song, baby. butterfly walk song Bin Bin (Butterfly Fluttering Wings) Bongkot-Erawan Bongkot-Erawan Bongkot Fluttering Butterfly Group chooses to walk for a fair price of gas and oil. Use a hand-to-hand pattern thumb hooked together to form a unit for use in political movements clearly conveys political meaning.

## 6. References

1. Kanjana Kaewthep (1998), A Study of Mass Media with Critical Theory: Concepts and Research Examples. Bangkok : Printmaking.
2. Kanjana Kaewthep (2009), Media Analysis: Concepts and Techniques. (4th edition), Bangkok: Print.
3. Kanokwan Pongvilaisup (2008) Communication Strategies for Persuasion of the People's Alliance for Democracy, Master of Communication Arts Thesis Chulalongkorn University
4. Jiranda Kritcharoen (2010). An Analysis of the People's Alliance for Democracy Discourse and Discourse. Karma of the government after the people (May - December

- 
- 2008).Graduate, Chulalongkorn University.
  5. Chaiyarat Charoensin Oran (1999) A new social movement and the theory of Development of Democracy in Anuchat Phuangsamlee and Krittaya Archavanijkul (Editor), Thai Civil Society Movement: Civil Movement (pp. 62-63), Bangkok: Office of the Human Rights Fund. Research.
  6. Chaiyarat Charoensin Olarn. (2002), Witthaya Structuralism after structuralism, education Bangkok : Language, political science.
  7. Narong Bunsuaykwan (2009). An analysis of the concept and practice of challenging power. Politics in a representative system Political Science Center, Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University.
  8. Teerayut Boonmee (2008), Transformation: Science of Sosuri, Path to Thai Monia, Bangkok, Wisang Publishing House.
  9. Thirayut Boonmee. (2004). Road Map of Thailand: Roles and Contributions of People's Politics. Bangkok: Saitarn
  10. Nanthana Nantawaropas (2014). Political Communication: Theory and Applications, Bangkok: Mass Media.
  11. Nantawan Chuasiri (1998), State Policy and Interest Group Problems : A Case Study of Micha Poor, Master's Degree Thesis in Political Science. Chulalongkorn University.
  12. Isara News Agency (2015, July 21), "Praphas Pintabrob" criticized the design of the constitution to increase the power of the elite, reduce the power of the people, difficult to reconcile (online). Retrieved 29 October 2015 from <https://www.isranews.org/thaireform-other-news/40050-government-400501.html>.
  13. Panithan Pichang (2015) Political struggle of the People's Alliance for Democracy in support of Government Kaninwat Ph.D. Chulalongkorn University.
  14. Rong Bunsuaykwan (2014). Social Management: People's Organization Management. social organization management management of state-owned enterprises organization for the game Social Movements, Political Science Society of Kasetsart University.
  15. Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2540, Section 44, Section 45
  16. Seksan Prasertkul (2005), People's Politics in Thai Democracy, Bangkok, publisher Vilanga, pp.144 - 174.
  17. Sunhanat Jakkapattarawong and Keratiwan Kalayanamitra. (2018). The Participation of the Community in Cultural and Environmental Conservation for Sustainable Tourism. case study in samphanthawong district bangkok . *Journal Humanities and Social Science*, 13 (3).