

2003

Scratching protest: A study of graffiti as communication in universities in Thailand

Sirach Lapyai
Edith Cowan University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses>



Part of the [Graphic Communications Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Lapyai, S. (2003). *Scratching protest: A study of graffiti as communication in universities in Thailand*. Edith Cowan University. Retrieved from <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/1491>

This Thesis is posted at Research Online.
<https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/1491>

Theses

Theses: Doctorates and Masters

Edith Cowan University

Year 2003

Scratching Protest : A Study Of Graffiti
As Communication In Universities In
Thailand

Sirach Lapyai
Edith Cowan University

This paper is posted at Research Online.
<http://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/1491>

Edith Cowan University

Copyright Warning

You may print or download ONE copy of this document for the purpose of your own research or study.

The University does not authorize you to copy, communicate or otherwise make available electronically to any other person any copyright material contained on this site.

You are reminded of the following:

- Copyright owners are entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright.
- A reproduction of material that is protected by copyright may be a copyright infringement. Where the reproduction of such material is done without attribution of authorship, with false attribution of authorship or the authorship is treated in a derogatory manner, this may be a breach of the author's moral rights contained in Part IX of the Copyright Act 1968 (Cth).
- Courts have the power to impose a wide range of civil and criminal sanctions for infringement of copyright, infringement of moral rights and other offences under the Copyright Act 1968 (Cth). Higher penalties may apply, and higher damages may be awarded, for offences and infringements involving the conversion of material into digital or electronic form.

**SCRATCHING PROTEST: A STUDY OF GRAFFITI AS
COMMUNICATION IN UNIVERSITIES IN THAILAND**

BY

SIRACH LAPYAI

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, FACULTY OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES**

EDITH COWAN UNIVERSITY

2003

USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the production of campus graffiti as an alternative communication channel and opportunity for Thai students in three universities in three different parts in Thailand. The writing of graffiti is deemed an illegal activity in Thailand, which makes its prevalence on the Thai university campus an intriguing issue. To understand why Thai university students so readily indulge in an illegal activity this thesis investigates student graffiti through an analysis of graffiti as anonymous resistance from students to authoritarian power exercised on campus and as an escape from sociocultural taboos and cultural oppressions that Thai society places on youth in areas such as sexuality and cultural ideals. Foucault's theory of power is also applied in this analysis to demonstrate how student graffiti may be read as a significant form of rebellion and resistance. The authorities wish to portray this form of youth behaviour as anarchy. However, students wish to portray it as an expression of dissent by young people living in repressive situations and environments, where legitimate media outlets are unavailable or difficult to access, communicative chances are few and cultural barriers deny students of their communicative rights and freedom of speech.

This study relies on the qualitative content analysis technique to analyze and categorize the graffiti data collected from the three universities. Primary data used in this thesis include graffiti inscriptions recorded from male and female toilets, questionnaires and interviews collected from six anonymous students-as-graffitists. For secondary data, other genre of campus graffiti (e.g. desktop and classroom graffiti), 200 sets of questionnaire used with students, interviews with several groups of university instructors and focused group interviews with university students are used as supportive data for the study.

The findings in this study support the argument that while graffiti is an outlawed network of communication for Thai university students they continue to resort to writing on the wall to express repressed opinions and negative feelings, to reaffirm self-identity, to

intimidate others through hostility and violence and to gratify sexual needs. The findings reveal that there are two main groups of students as graffitiists: heterosexual male students and homosexual male students employing graffiti as communication but for essentially for different purposes. Homosexual male students use graffiti to interact and share information with other homosexual male students and reach out to sexual partners. Moreover, graffiti offers them anonymity, secrecy, enjoyment and thrills. Heterosexual students use graffiti to express negative feelings towards the authorities (e.g. teacher and university), insult rivals and graffiti readers, fulfil sexual wishes and confirm their self-existence. Similarly, both groups of graffitiists use graffiti to break social regulations, cultural oppression, authoritarian rules and issues Thais deem taboo or unwanted behaviours for youth such as disrespect for seniors and violence. This thesis reveals that graffiti, as practiced by Thai youth, acts as the voice of youthful dissent signifying the need of social status, space, communication rights and an escape from regulations and rules that graffiti attempts to defy.

The research findings re-examine some distinctive sociocultural characteristics in Thai society that are the cultural bedrock of graffiti. It challenges the notion of disciplinary power and authoritarian control over youth exercised in the form of regulations, cultural rules and social values youth are obligated to follow. It is pointed out that although the society believes the heavy-handed rules placed on youth and a decree shunning youth out of the adult world will lead youth to the positions of being the nation's intellectual leaders as the country expects, this notion is always met with resistance from youth. The study also reveals that although Thailand sets itself as a puritanical Buddhist society holding the ideals of peacefulness, social harmony and refined manners expressed through the ability to control and discipline oneself, this is an imagined one with masked hostility and violence underneath the peaceful scenario. The finding summarizes that it is through graffiti that Thai students, as young social members, subvert these ideals but reflect an unmasked facet of the Thai society.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i) incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

(ii) contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference:

is made in the text; or

(iii) contain any defamatory material.

Signature

Sirach Lapyai

Date

01-06-2004

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My research started out from a simple question that often struck me: why do students leave graffiti on the wall? To answer this question, I was perplexed by the graffiti phenomenon in Thailand that is contradictory in itself. Although graffiti inscriptions, in Thailand, are abundant and often remain untouched, people seem to overlook it or otherwise attempt to deny its existence by not noticing it or forget it is still there. When I started to question this phenomenon and firmly announced I was interested in writing a graffiti dissertation, the feedback from most Thais that I know puzzled me. It was not encouragement that I received but a strong discord based on a common belief that graffiti is filth not deserving any academic research and should be left unexcavated. Some voices put it bluntly that graffiti "is not communication because people do not want to read it". Some scholars point out "graffiti is not a communication act because graffiti writers do not have an intention to communicate, they just doodle because their minds are idle". However, this was not a setback, for me, but intensified my urge to probe into this phenomenon and to answer why do Thais react to graffiti with such attitude. Although many people, out of their kind suggestion, tried to persuade me to find a 'better' topic, I contrastingly found this graffiti topic the 'best'. If such attitude exists and people are advised to consider it as taboo, it is thus a striking phenomenon in itself.

My gratitude is to many people that have helped me in my graffiti quest. First of all, I feel mostly indebted to my 'best' supervisor, Associate Professor Dr. Brian Shoesmith, for all his help, encouragement, advice, thoughtfulness, driving force and guidance. I would like to express my gratitude and great appreciation to him in many ways, he always helped and guided when I was lost, he gave me valuable advice and suggestions, he brought out the best arguments that this study is based on, he always assured me when I felt uncertain, his immense knowledge on Asian culture helped me to put together this thesis. He helped to solve every problem and with his patience and efforts helped to make this thesis completed. Without his support, immense knowledge and guidance, I would not have gone this far. He will always be my 'best' supervisor forever.

I would like to thank my associate supervisor, Dr. Rodney Giblett, for his advice, suggestion and invaluable feedback. There are also many people here in Perth and in Thailand that I would like to thank. First, I would like to thank all of the students and teachers that took part in this study as interviewees and students as my research assistant team, they have done a great job and I have spent a very good time working with them. Collecting graffiti inscriptions with them is adventurous, exciting and fun. I would also like to thank all of my friends and some of my students in Thailand who keep sending their encouragement through emails and international phone calls that boosted up my self-confidence. I will not forget all of my Thai friends and non-Thai friends in Perth, so many that I am unable to name them here, who helped me in almost everything, they gave me consolation, friendship, inspiration and help. Many thanks to P'Sukree, Molly and P'Tom for being very helpful and remaining sincerest friends. Special thanks to Parnizza and Ruchi who helped me completing my writing during my last days in Perth and when I was away from Perth. Thanks to my three examiners for their guidance, feedback and suggestions, especially Prof. Dr. Cholthira Satyawadhana.

I would like to thank my family: mom, dad, my sister and brother and my dog "Gabby". I owe much gratitude to my parents for bringing me up with their care, protection and patience. They have invested and devoted their entire lives and so much time and energy to me. I have learnt to know how much I miss them when I was far away in Australia. My sister and brother also helped me in completing this thesis by finding books that I missed and helping with the computer work. I would also like to thank P'Kee, my 'most intimate friend', in helping me with everything, staying with me when I was hopeless and in distress, giving me encouragement, bringing back my self-confidence and always listening to me carefully in everything. Also for his cards, letters and daily overseas phone calls. He is always the wind beneath my wings.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	I
DECLARATION.....	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	V
LIST OF TABLES.....	VIII
LIST OF FIGURES.....	X
 CHAPTER ONE.....	 1
Introduction.....	1
<u>Graffiti, student and authority: power and resistance in Thai context</u>	5
<u>What is graffiti: the ambiguous view of the writing on the wall</u>	7
<u>Graffiti in Thailand: a 'cultural pollution' from the West?</u>	17
<u>The significance of the study: why campus graffiti in Thailand?</u>	29
<u>Research aims: what are to be achieved in this thesis</u>	30
<u>Structure of the thesis: how the thesis is organized</u>	31
 CHAPTER TWO.....	 34
Literature review.....	34
<u>Graffiti as communication and outlet of expression</u>	35
<u>A model of graffiti as communication</u>	39
<u>Marginalization, student and graffiti</u>	41
<u>Power and graffiti: a Foucauldian perspective</u>	45
<u>Graffiti in a Thai 'definition'</u>	53
<u>Conclusion</u>	57
 CHAPTER THREE.....	 58
Materials, methods and techniques.....	58
<u>Methodology</u>	58

Subject and setting: three Thai universities as sampling sites	58
Settings: A, B and C University	58
Methodological approach and research design	62
Data collection	68
Operational definition	68
Locations	68
Data collection procedures	69
Limitations and problems	72
Sampling considerations and units of analysis	73
Instruments and participants	74
Procedure and data analysis: phase 1-4	79
Validity, reliability and objectivity	84
CHAPTER FOUR	85
Thailand: a cultural understanding	85
A brief general background of Thailand: its socio-political formation	86
Buddhism-Brahminism and the monarchy as the national and cultural bedrock	88
Sexuality, aggression and seniority as taboos in Thai society	96
Thai ambivalence toward the West	103
Thai university: a contested terrain between students and authorities	107
Conclusion	113
CHAPTER FIVE	116
Data results and interpretation	116
The location of graffiti: campus environment and student graffiti culture	116
Breakdown of graffiti data	118
Graffiti material analysis: media, tool and writing pattern	124
Graffiti theme analysis: what do students reveal in their graffiti	129
Social themes	134
Personal themes: a need for self-reassurance	140

<u>Hostility themes</u>	<u>145</u>
<u>University themes: when students reveal the truth</u>	<u>147</u>
<u>Sexual themes: graffiti as communication for the 'outgroup'</u>	<u>150</u>
<u>Conclusion</u>	<u>156</u>
CHAPTER SIX.....	157
Students, power and homosexuality.....	157
<u>Homosexuality subculture, power and graffiti</u>	<u>157</u>
<u>Student graffiti usage</u>	<u>164</u>
<u>Graffiti as the safer media and social interaction for homosexual graffiti</u>	<u>166</u>
<u>Heterosexual students: graffiti as an outlet of expression</u>	<u>170</u>
<u>Self-identification</u>	<u>170</u>
<u>Coping with negative feelings and finding outlet of expression</u>	<u>171</u>
<u>Socialization in youth subculture</u>	<u>174</u>
<u>Conclusion</u>	<u>179</u>
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	183
Hostility: the essence of Thai graffiti.....	184
<u>Hostility in Thai society</u>	<u>184</u>
<u>Graffiti and the construction of hatred</u>	<u>188</u>
<u>The dog and the buffalo as inferiority</u>	<u>190</u>
<u>The father figure: father as power</u>	<u>192</u>
<u>Conclusion</u>	<u>196</u>
CHAPTER EIGHT.....	197
Conclusion.....	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
APPENDIX 1	
APPENDIX 2	

APPENDIX 3

APPENDIX 4/1

APPENDIX 4/2

APPENDIX 4/3

APPENDIX 4/4

APPENDIX 5

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.	<u>Breakdown of graffiti data by location in A, B and C University</u>	<u>119</u>
	<u>(written graffiti)</u>	
TABLE 2.	<u>Breakdown of graffiti data by location in A, B and C University</u>	<u>119</u>
	<u>(pictorial graffiti)</u>	
TABLE 3.	<u>Breakdown of the overall graffiti data</u>	<u>120</u>
TABLE 4.	<u>Breakdown of graffiti by location in A, B and C University</u>	<u>120</u>
TABLE 5.	<u>Breakdown of graffiti by location and frequency in A University</u>	<u>121</u>
TABLE 6.	<u>Breakdown of graffiti by location and frequency in B University</u>	<u>122</u>
TABLE 7.	<u>Breakdown of graffiti by location and frequency in C University</u>	<u>123</u>
TABLE 8.	<u>Graffiti themes and sub-categories with operational definition</u>	<u>129</u>
TABLE 9.	<u>Number and percentage of campus graffiti by category in A University</u>	<u>131</u>
TABLE 10.	<u>Number and percentage of campus graffiti by category in B University</u>	<u>132</u>
TABLE 11.	<u>Number and percentage of campus graffiti by category in C University</u>	<u>133</u>
TABLE 12.	<u>The graffiti use and gratification map</u>	<u>181</u>

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	1.	The SMCR model of graffiti as communication.....	40
Figure	2.	Theoretical map of graffiti as communication.....	67
Figure	3.	Data collection procedure.....	71

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

What is graffiti? Why do so many people, especially youth, have the habit of writing on walls and other public spaces? What is the importance of graffiti to its perpetrators in every culture where it occurs, but in this specific case Thailand? Could graffiti serve as society's mirror? What will the study of graffiti reveal to us about Thailand? What images of the country are reflected from 'the mirror'? These are some of the questions that arise when we begin to address the phenomenon of graffiti in Thailand that hitherto has been little studied and consistently misunderstood.

The first point to be made is that the youth graffiti phenomenon in Thailand arises in a conflicting situation. In fact, it is sustained by two contradictory forces: the government and authorities representing the establishment and students seeking an outlet in which to express their views. Despite the stringent control of the government and authorities directed at the conduct of Thai youth and the 1969 ministerial regulations enacted by The Ministry of Education decreeing that writing graffiti to be a seriously deviant act for minors, graffiti still proliferates in an uncontrollable manner. Not only does student graffiti appear in public places, it thrives in most Thai universities where students are subjected to university rules and regulations that approximate the needs and decrees of Thai government.

The rules and regulations governing Thai universities require submission from students in several forms, students have to wear uniforms otherwise they are not allowed into classrooms, students may not express their dissatisfaction with a university and students are required to show respect to authority by being submissive, receptive, obedient and docile in classrooms. Arguing with teachers or adults, for example, is extremely unacceptable in Thai culture. An extreme example of Thai universities as institutions under the direct control of the government occurred during the 1970s-1980s, when martial laws were used within universities (Lotrakul, 1985, p 51). Military officers were sent to administer universities according to government decrees Thai universities are

perceived to function as the sacred bedrock where the 'futures of the nation' is formed, but they are a highly-regulated places where the young struggle to come to terms with the official ideologies of nation building and youthful decorum. This leads to a remarkable contrasting scenario where the two groups compete in what appears to be a quiet and peaceful location of the Thai university. On the surface, the authoritarians appear to be in control but the resistance of students appears to be growing if the amount of student graffiti in most universities is taken as a measure of student unrest, as it can be seen as a signifier of youthful discontent over restrictive authority.

Students resist imposition of official power in several ways. Student protest, in the form of speeches and demonstrations, although strictly prohibited, are employed as youthful tools to resist and attack the university and the authority. Thanyaseth (1987, p. 137) reports that during the 1970s Thai students began to question authority and the manner in which it was exercised in the university, through their on and off-campus protests and demonstrations which were used to rally students against the dictatorial power of official authority. However, student attempts to achieve change and the uprisings could not overcome the authoritarian power because they were met with severe suppression through bans on assembly, expulsion from universities or even massacres (Asavapichayont, 1987, p. 122; Lotrakul, 1985, p. 153-154). These events are not limited to the immediate past. A recent example, where students took action against the university authorities of a university in a Northeastern province where students struck in protest against the university authority failed, with students being expelled from the university. When freedom of speech is banned, students turn to other outlets of communication. One such outlet is graffiti. Students in the above mentioned university, who prefer to be unidentified, report in an interview, after the protest is suppressed by police force, hateful graffiti attacking the university proliferates uncontrollably in the public and non-public areas in that university ("Unidentified students", personal communication, September 2, 2002).

My experience of graffiti is part of this study. The city Bangkok where I live and the university where I work have been bombarded by tagging and graffiti for decades, most of it made by students as anonymous individuals or as members of student gangs. In many universities in Thailand that I have visited, classroom walls and student toilets have been heavily plagued by graffiti scrawls. Graffiti, created pervasively by the 'futures of the nation' in universities, demonstrates youth's sentiment and their need for self-identification in a place where they are exposed to rigid control and regulations. Students are not expected to question, in deed, they are taught to obey. Universities hold the rights to rule for the sake of shaping the 'futures of the nation', paradoxically, the 'nation's futures' react to the nation-building purpose in the most unexpected manner. Some voices from some university instructors and many students echo this attitude. From the 200 sets of questionnaire collected from A and B University in the year 2001, 65% of the student respondents clearly articulate the feeling of disgust toward student graffitiists. Most voices agree the act of writing graffiti "could not be accepted by the university codes of proper conducts". However, the feeling of disgust from the respondents is not based on the fact that graffiti spoils the building but on a perception that the act of student-graffitiists destroys the university's 'dignity'. Although the 'codes of conducts' for students in these two universities do not appear much in student manuals, guidelines or in other written materials, students, generation after generation, constitute the 'codes of conducts' by themselves within their groups. The 'codes', primarily based on the belief in the university's dignity, fame and its long history, emphasis on upholding the university's 'name'. According to the 'invisible' codes, students are able to help upholding the university's dignity through their proper and 'clean' conducts; two among them are abstinence from premarital sexual relationships and gambling. This sentiment closely approximates and reflects the goals and nation-building duties Thai university places upon students. The respondents answer that student graffiti is the unacceptable production from students who do not realize their 'roles and duties' of being the 'nation's future intellectual leaders', but it presents as a phenomenon blighting the landscape.

Apart from classrooms, libraries, telephone booths, tables, stairways and bulletin boards in universities are major targets for student graffitiists who leave their message and exchange conversations with one another. One impressive graffiti image that I found in a university in Bangkok was a large, sprayed-on, stylized message on the ceiling of a classroom which demonstrated the effort taken by the writer who had climbed that high to express his attitude as well as his 'artistic' ability. Symbolically, this also implies an urge to write on whatever and whenever possible.

There have been very few, if any, Thai universities that have not fallen 'prey' to student graffiti. This suggests that student graffiti has a long and secret history, constituted anonymously, and maintained as a subculture within the Thai university culture. Such a phenomenon tells us that Thai students, from generation to generation, have continuously shaped, operated and 'lived' within a complex system of this 'outlawed' communicative subculture which underlies the Thai campus mainstream culture, literacy and practices. This is despite the fact that student graffiti in most Thai universities has either been demonized as nonsensical scribbling or left unnoticed by the authorities. Most importantly and ironically, as far as I am concerned, this form of student writing has never been documented or investigated in Thailand.

My encounters with student graffiti prompted me to ask myself some simple questions that have proved difficult to answer: why do students write graffiti? More specifically, why do Thai students choose graffiti to express their feelings and concerns? What does this mean? Most importantly, what causes this 'writing on the wall' to happen at on a nation-wide level?

Moreover, I have to ask, what type of social and cultural dynamics surrounding student communities predisposes Thai students to use graffiti as their secret communicative venue? If graffiti serves as such an important outlet of expression for students, there is a need to investigate this distinctive phenomenon.

Graffiti, student and authority: power and resistance in Thai context

It is best to understand the sentiments, the environment and the ideology that are visible within Thai universities before attempting to answer why students need graffiti as their communication outlet. The re-examination of what is going on under what seems to be a peaceful and orderly scenario in Thai universities becomes the framework for to analyze graffiti and its importance to Thai students.

Before the 1970s, there have been very few records of student protest or uprising in Thai universities, Lotrakul (1985, p. 15) concurs that during the 1920s-1960s Thai students still remained silent, it was during the 1970s that Thai students began to realize their power of resistance to power and dictatorial leaders. It is the specified functions of the Thai university that lead to the construction of an university ideology and philosophy that, in turn, shapes the stratified relationship between the university and its students. The Thai higher educational system was created in order to enhance the country reformation during the 1920s because the authorities saw education as a tool to re-make the country as comparable with the Western world (Education in Thailand, 1997, p. 12). Higher educational institution, in this respect, assumed the roles of building and shaping a new Thai generation to bring modernization and prosperity to Thailand, but these goals are not defined by an Asian term but by a Western one. Although the Thai educational system follows the Western educational model, the country sought to develop these in its own 'Thai' terms. Education is provided on the basis of competition and under conditions where students must submit themselves to be 'shaped and molded' by the university. This means the university set the rules and students followed them implicitly. The philosophy underpinning this process of modernization-westernization, assumed that students must be the nation's intellectual leaders. The spirit of rebellion from young people is not accepted and not tolerated as it is incompatible with their designated roles as the future leaders of Thailand and the bearers of Thai cultural identity. Breaking away from this

carefully constructed role for students is to break the ideology and, in turn, hinder one self's promised better future.

The rules the authority place on students mainly prevent students from dealing with what Thai society deems taboo, such as sexuality, gambling, vandalism drinking and protest. These rules are based on the assumption that these will corrupt youth and hinder the pathway to intellectual development and the modernization and stability of the country. Lotrakul (1985, p. 83-84) quotes voices from the government and authorities saying that "students must not stage protest or demonstrations because these are against our peaceful Thai culture and that these show disrespect for teachers and educational institutions". Lotrakul, moreover, cites a statement from the government that "students should not intervene with what adults and the government are doing, staying silent is the good character of a respectable Thai student" (p. 83). In this sense, the idealized image of a young intellectual that the Thai society creates for university students is based on the image of a very 'clean' youth who is, more or less, naïve and innocent, one who stays away from the 'unclean' adult world. This imagined 'cleanliness' is constructed from the image of a Buddhist monk's life that emphasizes a stage of being elevated above a layman's life, with an idealized morality (Kesten, 1997, p.8). Students, according to the ministerial regulations enacted in 1969 by The Ministry of Education, are not allowed to drink, smoke, going to department stores after class, wear long hair, gamble or having sexual relationship. In the context of the classroom, students are expected to display respect and 'good' characters be being obedient, receptive, moldable, yielding and docile to adults and authority (Sinlarat, 1983, p. 58). Siwarak (1988, p. 64) concludes that Thai educational system and philosophy is, more or less, authoritarian and totalitarian. Youthful good character, in the Thai context, is mainly based upon a degree of youth obedience, an ability to be a good follower and pay respect to adults. This authoritarian view of youth puts a degree of pressure on the young, providing them very little space to breathe. Aiewsiwongse (2003, p.21) concludes, the center of the Thai education, since

the time of King Rama V, relies on an authoritarian and paternal perspective: discipline, order, rule and obedience.

A repressed mind needs an outlet to release the stress and the tension in order to stay in balance as Abel and Buckley (1977, p. 27) suggest. Young people who feel oppressed but unable to express their feelings in public or openly might turn to something else as their outlets of expression that could vary from music to youth fashion. Nwoye (1993, p. 1) suggests one such outlet is through graffiti. Abel and Buckley (1977, p. 21) support this view because graffiti is an outlet that allows the perpetrators to break with social restraints. Drawing upon this assumption, youth graffiti is an escape from being repressed and oppressed by both sociocultural expectation and authoritarian control. This view is borne out by the high incidence of hateful graffiti attacking teachers and the university authorities found in campus toilets and on desktops. Graffiti, in this regard, functions as a tool that students use to resist, attack and challenge the authoritarian power practiced on Thai campuses, but in subtle ways: by leaving anonymous graffiti in the places that the authorities rarely go. The authoritarian power is, thus, challenged by an anonymous force, that also protects the students' subjectivity. Graffiti becomes an anonymous channel suitable for youthful communication in a social situation in which the young are given very little social space and are under stringent and heavy-handed rules. It is a communicative tool of protest and resistance that represents a voice from the unheard and it also indicates how a group of people with few chances and little choice are forced to re-create and find a voice of their own to both release the tension and to vent discontent against the higher power.

What is graffiti: the ambiguous view of the writing on the wall

This term 'graffiti' is derived from the Greek word 'graphein' and the Italian word 'graffiare', both of which mean to scratch or to write. The singular form is 'graffito'. In this thesis, however, I choose to use the term 'graffiti' as a singular form in order to represent graffiti as a singular entity. The term itself originally

refers to ancient marks found on ancient Roman architecture. In general, graffiti is word, picture, symbol and marking written on any surface. This also refers to drawing and inscription produced by tools and intended to be viewed by the public (Gadsby, 1995; Gross and Gross, 1993). The term also refers to casual writing, figure, design, crude writing and painting on walls or other surfaces. These can be scratched or made by a sharp instrument, written or drawn by pen, pencil, paintbrush, marker, paint roller or aerosol spray. A graffitist using pseudonym 'Schmoo' (cited in Farrel, 1994, ¶ 5) concludes the definition of graffiti that "graffiti are just writing on the wall as it got the name since the time of the Roman Empire".

Geason and Wilson (1990) report that graffiti material always includes paint, ink, dye and other chemical substance. Some literature suggest that graffiti tools can range from blood, lipstick, chalk, sticker and crayon to knife, and it has been reported that urban graffitists can 'attack' a range of public spaces such as a wall, a bus or a train and also personal properties such as a mailbox (Black, 1997; Dealing with graffiti, 1997; Whitford, 1992; Wilson, 1987). Such invasions have inevitably offended both property owners and city authorities. Although some might argue that graffiti nowadays has turned into art, fashion and commercials, a bulk of writing still refers to graffiti as an illegal activity and as a form of vandalism (Dealing with graffiti, 1997; Geason and Wilson, 1990; The anti-graffiti FAQ, 2000; Whitford, 1992; Wilson, 1987).

Researchers, however, demonstrate that graffiti has a long history. Examples of obscene graffiti excavated from ruined Pompeii reveal that graffiti emerged even in Roman and Greek times. Some observers hypothesize graffiti has existed since the prehistoric era when prehistoric people learned to draw on cave walls (Element, 1996; Geason and Wilson, 1990; Tobin, 1995). Because of the long history, the first alphabetic writing ever discovered is believed to be made by Semitic people in Egypt and dates back to 1800-2000 BCE and may be derived from graffiti (Svtil, 2000). It is believed this graffiti acted as a plea for safe passage. With respect to the idea that graffiti can be viewed as an historical

artifact, some observers have reconstructed graffiti found in ancient cities (e.g., Pompeii and Athens) as providing an insight into the cultural features of the cities and their inhabitants (Varone, 1991). Element (1996, ¶ 1) concludes that graffiti emerged in 'the dawn of early men'.

Over the last three decades, the graffiti phenomenon has experienced changes. It is important to understand that underlying these changes is a perceived change of attitude towards graffiti among youth groups who have, over time, developed different patterns of graffiti production and style. We might also say there are several 'genres' of graffiti. The classification of graffiti genres arises from varying perceptions and values different groups of people adopt towards graffiti. Although much has been written about graffiti, different, and extremely contrasting opinions on graffiti still exist and there is little consensus. This most extreme and contradictory perceptions of graffiti exist between two groups of people: youth and the authorities. Yet, it is necessary to acknowledge that even within the groups of people who advocate graffiti, toilet graffiti is frequently perceived as junk and nonsensical writing.

At the other extreme there is a view that graffiti may be regarded as art. This view is justified by the idea that graffiti contains artistic values. It may seem that this notion denies the illegal aspects of graffiti, to which a graffitiist named 'Lee' (cited in Tucker, 2000, ¶ 4) asserts "if art like this is a crime let god forgive me". Again, Tucker also confirms this idea. He writes:

Graffiti reaches out to people... But the way some see it, is just what is the point of having a brick wall? It's an eyesore! If the building has no architectural beauty and is a perfect place to display a mural, why not put one up? (¶ 5)

Evident in this argument is the acceptance of graffiti as an art form which can 'beautify' the city. However, among the groups of graffiti advocates, only graffiti that is painted on walls, trains or subways can be accredited as art or mural art,

while toilet graffiti and tagging is not the case because "both have little or no aesthetic appeal" (Stowers, 1997, ¶1). In regard to this differentiation and classification, Tucker (2000) reasons:

...there are many ways [graffiti] writers 'deface' things. One type is the individual marks, slogans.... usually found on bathroom walls... some just call it junk; this is the stuff that gives writers a bad name. (¶ 2)

Clearly, this idea of what is graffiti art and what is not is solely based on the 'artistic' values of graffiti one can perceive in the purposes of graffitiists. These artistic values, according to graffiti art admirers and graffiti art practitioners, are due to the visual presentation of graffiti painting which offers a colourful and vivid style in its bold expressiveness (Chalfant and Prigoff, 1987, p. 3). Paradoxically, the illegal origin and nature of graffiti has been trumpeted as the outstanding aesthetic quality of graffiti as art, Stowers (1997) asserts that the vandalistic characteristic of graffiti creates a uniqueness of graffiti as art. There is, however, a thin and blurred separate line between graffiti and graffiti art which can hinder the re-evaluation of the values and public acceptance of other types of graffiti. Still, this notion of graffiti as art is contradictory in itself, because of the wide divergence in opinions about graffiti. In short what is art to one viewer is visual pollution to another and deemed as only 'the ugly writing stuff on the wall'.

According to Chalfant and Prigoff (1987), graffiti as art first gained national acceptance in the United States in 1978 when two New York graffitiists were invited to exhibit their work in an art gallery in Rome. The art world began to accept graffiti as a new art form in the early 1980s, since then graffiti art has flourished in many other countries, although not in Thailand. It is not difficult to imagine that most so-called graffiti art practitioners have always been young people.³

Dennant (1997, ¶ 4) explains that there are seven fundamental forms of modern graffiti containing over a hundred different styles. The seven forms are:

- 1 tag: a tag is the graffitiist's signature or nickname.
- 2 throw-up: a throw-up is the evolved tag which is drawn by spray paint in two or three colours.
- 3 piece: a piece or 'mural' is a larger and more colourful piece of work.
- 4 top to bottom: a piece of work which covers the top to the bottom of a subway car.
- 5 end to end: a piece of work which one end of a subway car to another.
- 6 whole car: a piece of work which covers the whole subway car.
- 7 whole train: a piece of work which covers the whole subway train

Stowers (1997) also points out that:

... some forms of graffiti become art according to four criteria.

First, graffiti art is separated from graffiti markings by the artist's intention to produce a work of art. Second, graffiti art has an established history of development in style and technique.

Third, graffiti art has been recognized by the art world. A fourth criteria is that the public response to graffiti as art indicates that it is art. (¶ 5)

The definition of graffiti art analyzed here presents graffiti in a very specific way, in which toilet graffiti has been othered and excluded as an 'outcast', not even a subset of graffiti. This othering process is based on the arbitrary and speculative artistic criteria which are bound to set graffiti art apart from non-art graffiti. Although Stowers has established these four criteria under which graffiti might be classified, they still lack clarity and are questionable in their objectivity and validity. There have been, however, various arguments and definitions given on this issue for quite a long time but there is still none which has been widely accepted and used to distinguish between graffiti art and general graffiti.

Another genre of graffiti is gang graffiti. According to Kan (2001, p. 2), gang graffiti appeared in the United States in the 1950s and is "the most unacceptable form of public graffiti because of the notorious reputation of gangs". This is supported by Grant (1996), who shows that graffiti is often associated with gang activities and gang warfare and are used to send threatening messages to the community.

Other writers, however, claim that juvenile gangs and graffiti gangs or crews constitute the 'dangerous' youth groups who use graffiti as one of the gang rituals. Geason and Wilson (1990) offer an explanation that a graffiti crew is a graffiti gang with gang traditions and a complex hierarchical gang membership. Perceiving graffiti as a tool, both graffiti crews and youth gangs use graffiti as a youthful practice against hegemonic conditions and as signs of self-identification and gang membership (Austin, 1996). Through graffiti illegally painted on public properties, both gangs have transformed the urban space into a new subculture with meanings that announce their existence and resistance, a space in which the object of negotiation is contested between youths and authorities. Symbolically, this competition over space is about a marking territory that becomes a meaningful political struggle in which marginalized youths attempt to re-define the cultural space, rebel against the imposed boundaries and re-establish their own space, voice and control.

It is necessary to understand that graffiti crews and youth gangs have several similar characteristics which are represented through their philosophies and goals. Territory-marking, recognition, fame and self-identification draw a major part in establishing juvenile gang goals, which in turn shape the actions, styles and practices of each gang. Tagging graffiti on public space then becomes an effective strategy to announce their power and territory to both gang members, their rivals and the city authorities. As Grant (1996, p.13) contends, graffiti acts as a means to "communicate territoriality and as a means to send messages understood within the gang community".

The degree of occupying and exercising control over urban space is crucial to both groups of people; youth gangs and city authorities. Space is perceived as gang territory ideologically and geographically through the symbolic use of gang-related graffiti. Thus, competition over space is always high between gangs as well as between gangs and the authorities. In this case, as some observers argue, it is important to distinguish between graffiti crews and youth gangs whose activities are more threatening to life and could be considered criminal (Beatty, 1990; Grant, 1996). As Grant suggests, there is no exact separate line between the common youth gang and a graffiti crew, he even states that tagging graffiti can lead youths into gang affiliation, and other gang activities or even crime.

It is because of its 'against the mainstream' and rebellious nature, graffiti has mixed well with street music such as hip hop, which has rapidly developed into a global youth subculture (Collins, 1998). Ironically, with this anti-establishment credentials and illicit origins, graffiti art, with its own aesthetic rules and appeals, is recognized as an anti-art form. To summarize, every genre of graffiti shares some similar characteristics; it is mostly youths who engage in the graffiti cult, most modern graffiti originates from inequality and marginalization, and graffiti is an expression of youth resistance embedded in the alleged rebellious nature of youth.

In the graffiti context, it is necessary to know that the meanings and the images of graffiti are varied and ambiguous according to different points of view based on different subject positions. Consequently it is possible to view graffiti as a subject of artistic admiration and at the same time graffiti may be considered criminal.

Graffiti is viewed unfavourably in many cities worldwide because it poses serious problems in the form of visual pollution, vandalism and offensiveness. Moreover, graffiti prevention and removal requires money, labour, time and extra administration. According to some city authorities (e.g. in Western Australia), graffiti is a blight to the landscape that represents a disorderly community, failed

urban management and disturbed urban life (Dealing with graffiti, 1997; Piquero, 1999; Ross and Jang, 2000; Ross and Mirowsky, 1999). Architecturally, graffiti damages the surface of the attacked walls or buildings thus destroying the physical appearance and the structural strength of the attacked surface. Braga, Weisburd, Waring et al (1999) and Ross and Mirowsky (1999) point out that, graffiti symbolically indicates physical incivility, decay and the breakdown of social control. Piquero (1999) conceptualizes graffiti as a sign of disorder which indicates the absence of both formal and informal social control. The author suggests graffiti signals "a lack of adherence to norms of public behaviour" (Piquero, 1999, p. 794). Some writings, moreover, point out that graffiti can be more destructive and harmful to urbanization because graffiti will lead to other crime, and in turn, drive away businesses, corrupt neighbourhoods and instill a sense of fear among communities (Black, 1997; Garland, 2000; Kelling and Coles, 1996; Mansfield, 1996; Piquero, 1999). In this sense, Zalud (1998) asserts:

Graffiti paints an un-pretty picture... if left unchecked graffiti almost always lead to other crime problems.....there are 3 best elements in an anti-graffiti program...the 3rd is to concentrate on the organized gangs and graffiti artists, among the prolific vandals. (p. 2).

Soon after the rapid increase of graffiti in major cities, authorities came to reckon graffiti as misdemeanor, vandalism and juvenile crime. Senator Ian Campbell of Australia (cited in Dealing With Graffiti, 1997) writes about urban graffiti, he says:

I have also heard graffiti referred to as 'urban art'. The vandalism of private, community or government property should never be considered 'artistic'. In Western Australia, indeed across Australia, graffiti is and should be a crime. (p. 6)

From this perspective, graffiti is a public nuisance that city authorities and police wish to crack down on. Some cities, however, have tried to compromise with graffitiists by putting up legalized walls for their 'artistic' expression while many cities have launched programmes in order to both 'turn the graffiti offenders around' and eradicate graffiti. These methods, obviously, aim at youth as graffiti producers: As a 'fight' back to graffitiists, criminal law and ordinances in many cities worldwide become tougher, more arrests have been made, sales of aerosol spray cans have been regulated in some cities (e.g., Chicago, Illinois, Minnesota and California) and thousands of taggers have been put on trial (Geason and Wilson, 1990; Black, 1997; Grant, 1996). In some cities, moreover, there are cases of parents of young graffitiists being arrested in charge of contributing to graffiti production (Ferrel, 1995). However, the fact is graffiti is still illegal in many countries (Black, 1997; Dealing with graffiti, 1997; The anti-graffiti FAQ, 2000; Whitford, 1992; Wilson, 1987).

The 'war' between authorities and graffitiists is, symbolically, the battle over the physical and cultural space, boundaries and power. Within the systems of urban authority, some 'standards' and 'desirable' practices have been established which require obedience, conformity and order which, in turn, shape and reconstruct the practice of everyday lives. When youths begin to reclaim their space, ideologically and physically, their attempts to construct their own 'voice' are likely to be considered deviancy because these manifestations are justified by the dominant power (Ferrel, 1995). My argument is that this can be seen as a youthful struggle for self-identification, status and a search for an alternative cultural space and communication in the place they are denied power, expression and recognition. Several authorities, however, agree on this point that young people write graffiti in urban areas because of the 'hatred for authority and to challenge our power' (Dealing with graffiti, 1997, p. 31).

In recent years, researchers and city authorities have been trying to find the causes of youth graffiti writing in order to both explain it and eradicate it. However, it is recognized that this is a difficult task as there are multiple factors

which influence this youthful activity. Youth gang involvement and juvenile violence have been viewed as one of the major factors contributing to graffiti production. Moreover, youth maladjustment has also been considered to be one of the supportive factors. Consequently several authors reach similar conclusions that revenge and anger are the most common causes for this writing subculture and youths, especially gang members, who produce most urban graffiti (Geason and Wilson, 1990; Whitford, 1992).

Ferrel (1997) argues that the idea of perceiving youth as delinquents and youth culture as a crime against society is not new, but is highlighted by the image of youth portrayed in most media. This creates an image of youth as 'dangerous' and 'wild'. From this point of view, Magill (1998) explains, it is because youths have been othered as a public enemy since they do not possess power and status. Since culture is political and the ideology of social order has been fabricated by authorities, youths have been denied access to power and voice. Under this system, youths have been marginalized with a narrowing social status and acceptance (Austin, 1996; Nwoye, 1993).

There are several different varying reasons youth write graffiti. Gang membership, youth criminalization and youth socioeconomic status are not the only major causes. Lasley (1995) proposes that even youth from a high socioeconomic status or non-gang youth also write graffiti. This is supported by findings from several surveys showing there are multiple factors surrounding graffiti production. It also depends on the kind of events and circumstances that predispose different groups of graffitiists to produce graffiti (Abel and Buckley, 1977; Aguilar, 2000; Ferrel, 1998; Flanery, 1996; Gadsby, 1995; Kan, 2001; Phillips, 1996).

Many writers (e.g., Chalfant and Prigoff, 1987; Element, 1996; Ferrel, 1995; Nwoye, 1993) propose that young people are the major group who communicate through graffiti and use graffiti for several purposes such as threatening their rivals or to express their ideas. Then, we must ask why youths choose this writing

subculture. The worldwide existence of graffiti tells us that graffiti has been incorporated into a popular youth culture. Its existence suggests that there might be some similar reasons or situations among youth that predispose them to graffiti writing. If youths have been othered as juvenile delinquents who are responsible for this 'graffiti crime', in which the main purpose is to challenge authority, questions must be asked to explain such assumptions. Or could it be said that the graffiti writing cult is an ongoing ideological conflict between those who have power and those who have not? Alternatively it may be that this is just a fashion among youths or merely vandalism?

However, writers seem to have three main different approaches to graffiti: youth subculture, graffiti as sociocultural discourse and graffiti as criminal activity. Chalfant and Prigoff (1987), Dennant (1997), Ferrel (1997) and Kan (2001) reach similar conclusion that graffiti is a youth subcultural manifestation whereas Kelling and Coles (1996), Sampson and Scott (1999) and Piquero (1999) view graffiti as a signifier of social disorder. Abel and Buckley (1977), Brown (1995) and Crummey (1998) believe graffiti is an array of information concerning a society and contains social information. Some writing (e.g. Dealing with graffiti, 1997) firmly points out that graffiti is a crime. So far, the issue of what graffiti might be is still debatable and remains unresolved. My argument, however, is that graffiti is communication that might results from youthful resistance in some social situations that force or predispose youth to graffiti remains valid.

Graffiti in Thailand: a 'cultural pollution' from the West?

Whatever graffiti might be, it is obvious that graffiti knows no boundaries. It also represents itself in youth culture in Thailand but in a different manner to that found elsewhere. Thai youths, similar to Western ones, write graffiti. There is evidence of their production in public places. It could be assumed that students are the major groups who produce graffiti in public places since most public graffiti proudly announces school names and student gang names. However, the term graffiti in Thai discourse has a dubious meaning, it mostly identifies with

tagging and sprayed mural graffiti whereas this term in Western discourse includes graffiti painting, mural art, subway graffiti and toilet inscriptions. So far, no Thai word meaning graffiti in any sense nor any translated form of this word has appeared. When graffiti is spoken of, people refer to it in a vague term as 'that scratch on the wall'. The absence of graffiti taxonomy in Thai language does not mean that graffiti does not exist, rather it suggests to a graffiti dilemma in which graffiti is overlooked or rejected from the mainstream social discourse. This dilemma also raises a question of why graffiti is left overlooked or denied any status by Thai culture. Or could it be assumed that the society tries to avoid it by overlooking and denying that it really exists?

According to Thai law, graffiti writing is regarded as public vandalism, property destruction and public nuisance (Wattanasatien, n.d.).

It is the cultural barrier and negative attitude toward graffiti as filth and abnormality that prevents any kind of examination or study on graffiti although graffiti proliferates in many parts of major cities in the country. Thai graffiti phenomenon, therefore, has not been documented before and there has been very little or no research into this issue, and nothing has been said on the identification, the classification of Thai graffiti nor has graffiti been defined in Thai.

Unlike graffiti subculture in Western countries, there is no subway graffiti in Thailand since we do not have underground railway system at the present time. Although Bangkok has recently launched its 'sky train' system, there are less chances for graffitiists since the whole trains have been covered with large advertisements from top to bottom and the rail is over 15 metres from the ground level. This legitimization of large advertisements, that some Thai people consider as eyesore, covering all public vehicles in the country (i.e., bus, ground train, sky train, taxi) raises another question: is this because the Transit Authority is a highly paid form of official graffiti? This assumption is also echoed in a

statement from a graffiti writer 'Eskae' (cited in Tucker, 2000, ¶ 5), the writer reasons:

People with money can put up sign. If you don't have money
you're marginalized, you're not allowed to express yourself or to put up
words or messages that you think other people should see.

So far, there has been no report of graffiti of the above ground railway system in Thailand, possibly because there are guards on trains and trains are crowded at all times. Although the hip hop cult, especially hip hop and rap music, is gaining popularity in Thailand, hip hop graffiti and graffiti art is still rare in Thailand and the little that does exist duplicates its American counterpart, borrowing heavily from the pop or rap music videos sent from the USA.

Nevertheless, the origin and history of Thai youth graffiti is still unknown and is still in doubt, Vorapanyasakul (1996, p. 6) assumes that, Thai graffiti is the product of Western influence since "writing graffiti is not our [Thai] culture". However, she refers to the 'idiomatic sticker' which Thai people stick on cars as a 'bumper sticker' as a type of Thai graffiti. According to her study, the idiomatic sticker is a small sticker containing witty, political, sexual or humorous messages and are available at a low price. Through these stickers, people express violence and sarcasm against Thai authorities (i.e. government, politician, and police) and provoke sexual humour. It is noted that these stickers reveal some Thai social and cultural beliefs concerning sex, power, women and marriage. Typical themes in bumper stickers are issues of male extramarital sexual relationships, hatred against traffic police and men having 'second secret wives', the example messages translated from Thai bumper stickers are 'A good husband must have a mistress', 'I can get married only once but other women are the life's profit' and 'The worst things in my life are my old wife at home and the traffic policemen who want money'. Sexuality and the lower status of women and hateful comments on authorities are major topics in Thai idiomatic stickers. The Thai bumper sticker as Thai graffiti is described in Chapter Two.

Another source *Activity Cool*, claims that graffiti first came into Thailand ten years ago, at the beginning of the 1990s, through the proliferation of Western culture ("Activity Cool", 2002, p. 18). This source also reports that graffiti has been much recognized lasting the past two years. Graffiti mentioned in this writing are commercial graffiti for window display, in which the form and style exactly copy those of Western examples. According to this source, the writer does not mention that other type of wall writing could be called graffiti. In these two writing, the writers use the English term graffiti and 'graf' without any attempt to translate the word or create a Thai equivalent. The English word graffiti is used in Thailand to represent only the mural sprayed graffiti after the fashion from the USA. For toilet graffiti, there is no Thai word yet available to describe its form.

Although Vorapanyasakul (1996) and *Activity Cool* (2002) give a very brief and vague history of graffiti in Thailand by claiming Thai graffiti writing is influenced by Western culture. They do not, however, provide any evidence for this assumption. It is also unclear and ambiguous in these two articles whether graffiti has previously existed in Thailand or whether it is the by-product of the on-going contact between Thailand and the West in recent decades. This assumption is clearly debatable, besides, it leaves some questions unanswered; is it true that Thai graffiti is a 'product' of Western culture which specifically means American popular culture? This clearly suggests the idea that the Thai society does not 'create' graffiti but the society suffers instead from the corrupted by-product of the Western world. Or does this represents a biased view of Thai perception of graffiti that the society tries to ignore?

These two writings mentioned above similarly make a claim that Thai graffiti is influenced by American popular culture since the 1990s. Both refer to the term graffiti, especially 'non-art' one, as a "mindless work of people, especially teenagers who have psychiatric disorder or are pervert" (Vorapanyasakul, 1996, p. 6). *Activity Cool* chooses to 'other' toilet graffiti as "made by people who have

evil and destructive hands and mind" ("Activity Cool", 2002, p. 18). This claim prompts me to ask another important question: Why do Thais firmly perceive toilet graffiti as 'cultural pollution', representing the worst aspects of the 'undesirable' values and practices of the West?

The portrayal of Western values and morals as damaging Thai values and culture is not new. In recent years, there has been an on-going campaign, initiated by the government, promoting Thai values and culture while the country is gearing toward the next phase of modernization and industrialization, Tejapira adds (1996, p. 241). In order to achieve modernization, Thailand has embraced Western scientific and technological development, including Western language, lifestyle, entertainment and education. On the other hand, Kaewthep (1996, p. 82) suggests that the country blames the West for changing and 'polluting' Thai culture, tradition and lifestyle. She sees this as ironic because Thailand is looking for a 'cultural scapegoat' to explain:

The deterioration of Thai culture and Thailand believes the West has to be blamed and be 'responsible' for this (p. 82).

Such biased views of the West suggests two important points. First, it implies that Thai people perceive their country as easily vulnerable to the West especially American popular culture which Thais see it as damaging Thai youths. Pattarakulavanich (1996) also echoes this idea in his *Cultural Footnote* where he argues that American culture is always perceived by Thais as undesirable and corrupting. Secondly, it suggests a remarkable form of othering of the West. The West, in Thai discourse, is often portrayed as sexually obsessive, a society which lacks 'kindness' for others, having loose family ties, is immoral and a society which leaves its elders in nursing homes rather than in the family home, cared for by the family. By setting Thailand against these characteristics, Thai values and culture are perceived as superior and more spiritual than those of the West.

A good example representing this perception is the case of Michael Jackson's Dangerous World Tour in Thailand in 1993. Although Jackson was world-famous, Thailand still sees Jackson as setting a 'bad example' for Thai youths because the singer brings certain "undesirable Western values dangerous to Thai society through his dancing style and his on-stage performance" which denote a sexual implication (Pattarakulavanich, 1996, pp. 42-43). This clearly suggests the fear of a cultural challenge which turns out to be a cultural and moral panic against Western values and Western people which I argue is displaced onto graffiti.

Another question must be asked; why does Thailand choose to 'other' the West as having a 'powerful but destructive' cultural values, dangerous to Thailand, especially to Thai youths? This question is partially answered by my analysis of Thai university graffiti that is demonized as a 'bad by-product' of a corrupt and lax culture. Clearly, there is a need to further revisiting and re-evaluation for this situation.

From a Thai viewpoint, graffiti writing is the act of abnormal, mindless and deviant people (Vorapanyasakul, 1996). Student graffiti is addressed in the ministerial regulations enacted by The Ministry of Education in 1969 which states that this behaviour is deviant. We can safely assume that the behaviours classified as deviant or 'unwanted' closely approximate the sentiments and represent the concerns of, Thai authorities towards youth. Dulayakasem (1988, p. 17) asserts that since education management has been monopolized by the government since 1952, the government exercises an authoritarian control over educational institutions and over students as well. Such dictatorial control takes its root from the political system of the country. Boonmee, T. (cited in Chareonwongsak, 1996, p. 140) points out that Thai society and its political system relies on centralization that results from the fear the elites of losing power and sovereignty. The centralization system is embedded in a Thai ideology that emphasizes dictatorship and authoritarian power. Boonmee, T. (cited in Chareonwongsak, 1996, p. 140) concurs that the kind of power exercised in

Thailand has the purpose to harness the people under one rule by force and ensures that everyone stays in the line. Young people become another group of people that the Thai government perceives as needing 'strict' control. This is simply based on a Thai idea that punishment 'corrects' and 'protects' youth and that punishment represents a 'caring and paternal love' as portrayed in several Thai maxims, proverbs and sayings. Chareonwongsak (1996, p. 113) explains this Thai sentiment as a technique Thais legitimate and justify violence by linking it to some unrelated reasons to make it acceptable and approved. This ideology is used by the Thai government to 'correct' and 'protect' youth in several ways that all focus on imposing rules upon youth lifestyle, fashion, hairstyle, recreation and language. For examples, students, both male and female, are not allowed to wear long hair but are required to wear their hair as short as possible. The Ministry of Culture recently forbids female teenagers to wear singlets in public and The Ministry of Internal Affairs puts a night curfew on youth and attempts to drive youth away from pubs and discotheques. It is such a contradictory image of the country that while it subtly encourages the growing sex and night entertainment industry, at the same time, tries to prevent Thai youth from dealing with sexual issues by repressing youth. It is important to remember that the polite Thai society condemns sexuality as 'unclean' and improper conduct (Kesten, 1997; Klausner, 2000). Consequently it has developed barriers to protect youth from sexuality but at the same time supports the sex industry in the country as a tourist attraction.

The country demonizes sexuality in the same way it demonizes graffiti: by overlooking it, denying its existence and 'protecting' people from dealing with it through regulation, rules and punishment. Traditionally, being 'good' for young women is based upon their sexual innocence and purity and losing one's virginity before marriage is considered a sin (Vasighasin and Hemaprasit, 2002, p. 7). Bandhumedha (1998, p. 113) confirms this viewpoint, virginity is important to men and important for a patriarchal society and women should keep themselves 'pure'. The author also explains that, according to the Thai viewpoint, if a woman has many illicit sexual relationships, she may be

considered as 'losing a human being's status' (1998, p. 114). This Thai ambivalence toward sexuality contradicts the widely-held Western view that sees Thailand as the Asian landmark for sex industry. Although Thailand is infamous for its red-light districts that attract [male] tourists, the country is also seeks to maintain its puritanical morality regarding sexuality among its people. Thai morality concerning sexuality sets up a very high moral standards for Thai people by focusing on sexuality as 'unclean' and encouraging self-restraint, the overt sexually expression in public is extremely unacceptable for most Thai people. However, the sex industry, the country also believes, is another thing and is an exceptional case. Chareonwongsak states in *Evil Society* (1996) that, in Thailand, the sex business is illegal but it still flourishes because the government, sees that it brings in money, and thus overlooks it and accepts it in a way that contradicts traditional Thai morality (p. 108). The author simply concludes that this is a 'hypocrisy' widely practiced within Thai society (p. 105). In the case of youth deviancy concerning sexuality, the country needs to place the blame on something, thus the inflow of Western values and the ill effect of Western entertainment are perceived by Thais as the principle causes of a declining Thai morality.

It is necessary to understand why the Thai government has exerted a tight control on students and youths. Since the end of the Second World War, the Thai government has taken education management as a state responsibility and began a long tradition of using education for building a new 'modernized nation', according to Dulayakasem (1988, p. 18). Siwarak (1988, p. 45) states, that in order to achieve this 'modernization', or indeed westernization, the Thai government has transformed the country's educational system into a Westernized one and has exercised a strong control over it through several forms of regulations and rules. Therefore, undesirable practices and habits prohibited for students have been implemented and continuously administered since students and youths are 'the nation's tools toward modernity'. From this perspective and expectation, regulations have been set up to make sure that Thai students and youths are 'going the right [Thai] way'. Thai universities, through regulation and

state ownership, echo these decrees of the Thai government in the nation-building purposes by placing stringent regulations, rules and punishment on students and giving very little freedom and rights to students.

For authorities, graffiti written by young Thais is understood as a rebellion against the will of the government. Thai governments always exert control over youths and thus receive praises from the media, parents and schools when new policies and strategies to curb youth behaviours are launched. Governments and authorities, if being unable to control young people, will receive little support from the electorate. In Thailand, the ability to control young people is a political tool.

Since the Second World War, the relationship between Thai government and young students has been in great turmoil resulting in periodic protests, demonstrations and bloodshed on the part of students. Students and young people are seen as the government's enemies, holding the power to disturb the country. Thus, Thai governments understand the need to lessen youth power. The rigid control and censorship over youth arises out of fears that the loss of control means an opportunity for youth to challenge the power of the entrenched elites. However, the control has been effective. Students, once acted as political agents for democracy during the past sixty years, have completely lost these political roles and have remained passive since the 1990s after complete suppression. Young people must be controlled and suppressed at all times, according to a Thai belief. The first reason behind this belief is, youth are inclined to go astray if unchecked by adults constantly. The second, loosening the reins and giving freedom and rights is dangerous because youth will become demanding, aggressive and will not listen to or respect adults anymore, and this is deemed as dangerous to the power that adults possess. With this viewpoint as the foundation, Thai believe suppression in the first place, ignoring freedom and rights and keeping a close watch on youth will result in youth being docile, easy to control, innocent and stay in line without any idea of rebel or resistance. This is echoed in a popular Thai proverb "love your cattle, tie them. Love your child, thrash him".

It is evident that there is a gap in the public and academic knowledge of graffiti in Thailand which implies that graffiti phenomenon has been overlooked, marginalized and forgotten. This may stem from the disappearance of graffiti studies and exploration in Thailand. In United States, the importance of issues to do with graffiti in every genre has been periodically studied by researchers from several disciplines. Similarly, in Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, France and Spain, the issue of graffiti has been brought into many investigations. Recently, there has been some writing in Ghana and also in Brazil and Nigeria. In fact, campus graffiti has been broadly studied in many countries. In Thailand, there has been none or very little research or writing into this type of graffiti or any other genre of graffiti. This is despite the graffiti phenomenon which has existed in Thailand for decades. Again, it brings another related question: why Thai graffiti has remained 'out of sight' for such a long time?

In Thai universities, graffiti is noticeable, especially in student toilets. It can be said that young people have used the walls in university buildings to anonymously construct a system of tangled inter-group and interpersonal communication subcultures. The cultural space within universities has been occupied by students to negotiate their communicative power and to remove limits on the boundaries and barriers of communication. Feeling cornered, students turn to graffiti to re-define their presence and insert their self-identification, to find their own voices and make them heard.

Student graffiti, of course, has caused problems of defacement for school and university buildings since vandalized walls need to be repaired, replaced or repainted, which calls for extra expense and labour. Physical control has been incorporated by university authorities to eradicate graffiti from time to time. For example, in a university in Bangkok (university name withheld), student toilets are supervised several times a day by housekeepers to ensure that new graffiti is washed off. These people are armed with special imported chemicals to clean off graffiti. In some universities that I visited, where some student toilet walls are

covered by graffiti-resistant tiles, there is still evidence of graffiti written in permanent markers on doors instead. Graffiti, however, cannot be halted by these measures, rather it excessively increases the prospect of more graffiti as a retaliation and challenge to the curbing measures employed by the authorities. Apart from looking at graffiti as defacement, university authorities also see graffiti as smearing the honourable picture and image of a 'sacred' place [the university] with vulgarity. Therefore, graffiti should be eradicated to maintain the 'sacred' status. In this sense, graffiti directly attacks the university ideologies by making itself present in this restricted place. It should be noted that, in Thailand, 'private' university and 'state' university do not share the same status as higher educational institutions. Thais believe a state university is more privileged, 'higher' in the social order, aristocratic and honourable because it belongs to the government or the monarch. Private universities, by contrast are othered as 'lower' than state ones because private universities belong to a 'commoner' and have been set up to service students who fail the national entrance examination whereas state universities keep their seats for students who are 'crème of the crème' only. Thailand is a country in which the absolute monarchy has been the central force of the political system for seven centuries and creates one important element in this system which is the differentiation between the aristocrat as 'high' people and the commoners as 'low'. Moreover, the first university in the country was set up by the monarch. Thus, the honour and the sacred sphere that the state university holds directly results from the fact that it once belonged to the 'higher' class.

My argument is, Thai universities, despite the tight control by the government, have become a highly contested terrain where two competitive forces fight over territory and space. Thai students, under what appears to be tranquil and obedient manners, have long staged a silent protest against the authoritarian power of university administration through graffiti produced in the university space. Their inscriptions, function as student resistance, reveal unmasked sentiments, hidden facts and repressed wishes deemed taboo by the society and the university. Their writing discloses truths that are denied. From this perspective, there must be some

mechanisms preventing students from their legitimate communicative outlets and opportunities and predisposing them to graffiti.

From the perception of graffiti as defacement including authoritarian expectations toward proper conducts from Thai students, student graffiti has been demonized and largely ignored by educational authorities and academic circles. Graffiti, in the Thai context, relates to shame, sex and indecency, and these are taboo issues that Thai society sees a need to cover up. For Thai people, these topics should not be brought into the light or be subjected to any discussion but should remain hidden. Similar to a worldwide perception regarding graffiti, Thai also see graffiti as mindless writing done by mindless or deviant people. Thais have their own way to avoid things they need to cover up: they acknowledge the existence of graffiti but are unwilling to recognize it or pretend it has not existed before. By this mechanism, graffiti in Thailand has been kept 'hidden' for such a long time.

These attitudes deny the fact that student graffiti provides alternative source of information on social values and thoughts of students. Taking a closer look at student graffiti may reveal some strategies that help lessening student problems and understanding needs and frustration within academic institutions. The examination of student graffiti would be able to explain the cultural and ideological dilemma that occurs within the Thai universities and society.

During the years that I have spent in universities in different parts of Thailand I have created a large collection of student graffiti. Collecting this material led me to speculate; why do students select these unconventional channels as their venue of communication? What needs are satisfied by writing graffiti? What motivates them to engage with graffiti and what senses do they gratify through this forbidden communication activity? Why do the great majority of these writing deal with taboo subjects and finally, is there an interrelatedness between this writing phenomenon and Thai culture?

These questions above need an integrated answer that requires a re-examination of the Thai society and Thai universities as the bedrock of the Thai graffiti.

The significance of the study: why campus graffiti in Thailand?

The purpose of this research is to begin to explore and investigate the student graffiti subculture from a communication perspective. In particular, I have chosen to examine graffiti as an unsanctioned communicative opportunity and channel for Thai university students in three Thai universities. My major concerns in this study are; why Thai students choose to write graffiti and what needs they gratify through the writing. This study explores graffiti as a communicative opportunity and channel for student groups in three universities in three different parts of Thailand, considering student graffiti as channel of expression and communicative outlet. It clearly suggests that graffiti has long been used as a means of communication among student groups who are keenly aware of the communicative opportunities and freedom offered through graffiti. The campus graffiti phenomenon points out a need to a re-examination and a re-evaluation over this matter. This dissertation works to show the connection between the need to communicate and the sociocultural dynamics and taboos surrounding it.

The exploration of campus graffiti is a key to the better understanding of the communication process and needs relating to Thai student's life as a member of an organization where students are at the end of the hierarchical ranking and voices of students are always unheard. Campus graffiti examination reveals the struggle of an underrepresented group living under hegemonic conditions and culture.

Finally, this current study adds to a new body of knowledge as its central goal is to analyze student graffiti as a channel of communication which has been yet uncovered in Thailand.

Research aims: what are to be achieved in this thesis

Research aim 1: This study aims to examine the characteristics of campus graffiti in Thai universities, organized by category, theme, graffiti type, form, writing pattern, medium or tool used, content and interaction pattern, as to understand and illuminate the intricate ways of Thai students' graffiti experience.

Research aim 2: The understanding of the significance of campus graffiti in Thai universities must be achieved. The emphasis is on the study of the functions, the use and gratification of campus graffiti in order to understand how Thai students employ this medium and what do they derive from using graffiti as to release and unmask their feelings and desires.

Research aim 3: I aim to discern the underlying social, cultural and sub-cultural meanings in student graffiti. If graffiti serve as a release of suppressed thoughts and needs, the investigation of the underlying meanings of student graffiti could reveal some elusive aspects of Thai society yet remained undiscovered. The underlying meanings of student graffiti might reveal to us the answer of why graffiti is a punitive action in Thai society.

Each research question needs a distinct but integrated research method to address each aim and to formulate answers. These are accomplished through the use of three approaches namely; Berelson's framework of content analysis, semiotics and adolescent's media use and gratification methodology including the reviewing of key literature on graffiti. The three research goals offer this thesis an inspection on the main elements in communication, that are, the students as senders, graffiti inscriptions as message and channel and the Thai society and university as the communicative situations.

Structure of the thesis: how the thesis is organized

In order to show how graffiti acts as an avenue of youth expression, I have organized this thesis into eight related chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction, which describes and introduces graffiti from several perspectives. It raises important questions as it seeks to establish the framework of this study; why Thai students resort to graffiti, what communicative needs and goals are satisfied through graffiti and what life circumstances predispose students to reveal their sentiments in the most unlikely place such as toilet. In this chapter, graffiti is introduced as obscenity mostly unfavourable in Thai society that seeks ways to conceal it.

Chapter Two: Literature Review provides a review of the relevant literature. It looks at student graffiti and offer points of view researchers perceive this phenomenon. Since many scholars give different points of views of why people, especially student and young people, write graffiti, these are conceptualized in this chapter as well. It offers an examination on graffiti being communication and an outlet of expression since the aim of this thesis is to seek why students choose to use graffiti as an avenue of communication within educational institutions. Finally, a communicative model of graffiti as communication is concretized to explain and present student graffiti as a type of human communication.

The methodology used to conduct this research is described in Chapter Three. The content analysis framework developed by Berelson (1971) is also described in this chapter, this framework affords a theoretical and systematic guide to the categorization of graffiti data. This chapter also explains how graffiti data are collected. The Graffiti Record Index Sheet is introduced as the major tool to collect the data from three universities in Thailand. This chapter also discusses the measures, problems and delicate issues surrounding the conduct of

approaching and interviewing graffitiists as graffiti remain a taboo topic in Thai society. Apart from Berelson's framework of content analysis, Arnett's (1995) framework of six communicative needs among youth is adopted to explain student communicative needs in communication terms. I have relied on Fiske's (1991) construction of meaning in communication. It is applied to the examination of hostile graffiti inscriptions as the meanings in hostile graffiti thus created from some major characteristics and point of views of the Thai society that could perplex people who do not communicate in Thai.

Chapter Four is a narrative study of Thai cultural formation beginning with an analysis of the cultural bedrock of Thai culture that originates from Buddhist-Bhramanist philosophies that sustain the political system and later develops into the Thai characteristics. This chapter also describes the beliefs, social values and social taboos as a background of understanding the Thai graffiti issue.

Chapter Five reports and examines the findings and discussion on student graffiti from three Thai universities. The graffiti data from the three Thai universities in different parts of the country reveal the dominant issues found in student-graffiti. It is presented in five themes with sub-categories: hostility, university issues, social issues, sexual issues and personal issues. It shows that student graffiti in Thailand is mostly used as a student weapon to attack, insult and discriminate against the educational institutions, university authorities, individuals and the 'outgroups' such as homosexual males and ethnic groups.

Chapter Six studies the graffiti senders and receivers. This chapter seeks to answer why Thai students resort to graffiti and what their communicative purposes are. In this chapter, two groups of student-graffitists give their voices and their reasons they use graffiti and reveals their life and social situations, especially within universities, that predispose them to graffiti.

Chapter Seven examines the hostility found as a dominant issue in student graffiti in relation to the Thai society and some major Thai point of views. The finding

reveals that the Thai hostility center on three main elements: the father status, the dog and the buffalo as these represent power, superiority and inferiority and that Thai use these three elements as an insult and hateful discourse.

Chapter Eight draws together the argument, concludes the thesis and provides suggestions for future research. The conclusion of this thesis posits that graffiti will remain a communicative channel of Thai students despite the coming of communication technology such as the internet and that graffiti is a youthful tool used to break the taboos inscribed in Thai culture and at the same time attack and resist authoritarian power.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the key literature that specifically illuminates the student graffiti phenomenon in Thailand. However, the books relating to the study of the Thai cultural formation that underpins the Thai graffiti phenomenon is described separately in Chapter Four. The chapter is devoted to literature relating to graffiti and Thai graffiti in pursuit of my argument that graffiti is an outlet of communication for students who have several reasons for using graffiti as their preferred means of communication. This chapter is organised in three parts: graffiti as communication providing a graffiti-as-communication model as the framework of this study, the issue of youth marginalization and resistance on the part of students and the Thai graffiti phenomenon as an ignored social phenomenon in Thai studies. The first part of this chapter focuses on three studies devoted to graffiti, *The Handwriting On The Wall: Toward A Sociology And Psychology Of Graffiti* written by Abel and Buckley (1977), *Graffiti As Communication: Exploring The Discursive Tensions Of Anonymous Text* by Rodriguez and Clair (1999) and Rodriguez's *Graffiti As Organizational Communication: An Extension Of Organizational Culture Theory Illustrated At An Urban American University* (1994). Collectively these writings see graffiti as a type of communication, especially the two works by Rodriguez who pays attention to student graffiti which he sees as resulting from marginalization within educational institutions. The concepts developed in these writings are applied to the graffiti analysis in this study. The second part draws upon the concept of power and resistance proposed by Foucault in *Politics, Philosophy, Culture* (1988), *Governmentality* (1991), *Power/Knowledge* (1980) and in his *Discipline and Punish* (1995). This section also looks upon this concept of power and marginalization in Rodriguez and Clair's *Graffiti As Communication* (1999) and Nwoye's *Social Issues On Walls: Graffiti In University Lavatories* (1993) that relate student graffiti with the concept of communicative struggles of marginalized groups in mainstream society. A definition of marginalization is also analyzed in this part. The third part reviews the Thai graffiti phenomenon

that occurs within Thai society and seeks to explain why some writings mentioned in the first chapter: "*Activity Cool*" (2002) and Vorapanyasakul's *A Study Of Signification And Performance Of Idiomatic Sticker* (1996) see graffiti as cultural pollution from the West and not part of traditional Thai culture.

Graffiti as communication and outlet of expression

Abel and Buckley (1977) in *Handwriting On The Wall* and Rodriguez and Clair (1999) in *Graffiti As Communication* firmly point out that graffiti is a communicative and purposeful act. This contrasts strongly with the mainstream opinions that see graffiti as a criminal act, a form of vandalism and a form of social violence. Abel and Buckley's assumption is based on the theory of human communication and the psychological need to communicate and that individuals will seek an outlet for communication when freedom of communication is forbidden one way or another. This statement of graffiti as communication is also supported and detailed by many scholars such as Aguilar (2000), Cole (1991), Gross and Gross (1993), Nwoye (1993), Reisner (1974) and Scheibel (1994). These writers share one important point: graffiti acts as a venue of communication for some groups of people who have fewer choices and little communicative opportunities in their collective lives because of their social, economic or political status. Aguilar (2000) focuses on the Chicano, Spanish-speaking youth gangs who are an ethnic and minority group within American society. Cole (1991) proposes that female students who are considered the 'muted ones' in a male-dominated society turn to graffiti as their channel of communication to share intimate problems with other women. Nwoye (1993) studies Nigerian students who use graffiti to display their opinions when they are suppressed by political forces. Scheibel (1994) suggests that students write graffiti when they are faced with tension, alienation and loneliness in their lives. These writings all suggest that for young people, graffiti becomes their alternative when they fall into a stage of underrepresentation, or into situations where no other legitimate channels of communication are offered or available leading to a situation when their voices are unheard.

When discussing the communicative purposes of graffiti, Abel and Buckley (1977) show that even ancient Greek and Roman people, behaved in a similar fashion to their modern counterparts and used graffiti to communicate, to confirm their beliefs and self-existence and also to intimidate others. The authors elaborate that graffiti is used in some hospitals as a way to communicate between patients who share psychiatric problems and doctors (p. 12). Many writers share this assumption. Brongersma (1990), Reisner (1974), Tanzer (1939) and Varone (1991) similarly state that historical graffiti found in ancient cities (e.g., in Pompeii, Rome, Egypt, and Athens) functions as a means of communication. Clabaugh (2000), Fleming (1997), Mooney (1996), Muscat (1999) and Plesch (2002) show that, ancient graffiti could be found in ancient ships, windmills, tombs, prisons, chapels and churches throughout the world. All of these writers agree with Abel and Buckley's assumption that graffiti is communicative and purposeful. For example, Tanzer (1939) finds out that the people of Pompeii used graffiti as a greeting. Onyshkevych (1998) posits that ancient graffiti has magical and ritual purposes intended for animal hunting and religious ceremonies. Fleming (1997) and Plesch (2002) have both studied Medieval and Renaissance graffiti for its religious intent and concur that graffiti acts as a votive offering. Reisner (1974) suggests that the Roman, the Mayan, the Aztec and the Egyptians also produced graffiti in temples and tombs for religious purposes. Apart from serving religious goals, graffiti also functions as an emotional release. Brongersma (1990) and Tanzer (1939, p. 83) provide examples of ancient graffiti that contains obscenities, sexual insult, general insult and homosexual content, arguing that this constitutes a form of emotional release. These findings help to support the assumption of Abel and Buckley that people use graffiti to communicate and express their thoughts and feelings and that graffiti is meaningful. The most important point underlying this communicative phenomenon is that graffiti forms a basis for self-expression and delivers an opportunity and an outlet for people, who find walls as a medium of communication, to unload their minds and thoughts.

The long practice of graffiti writing activity affirms the creation of a sphere of communication necessary to all levels of social members. Not only does it show the striving of people to communicate but it also confirms that there is a deeply rooted need for it. Graffiti, by its very nature, exposes the compulsion to express uninhibited thoughts, desires and other interests usually forbidden for public communication by convention or regulation. Graffiti also plays an integral role in venting negative emotions when people are aroused by fear, anger and hatred, or live under some hegemonic conditions and cannot find legitimate outlets of expressions or are forbidden to do so by authorities or social custom. Petecet (1996) and Stein (1993) concur that people without political freedom tend to write graffiti as their way out of intolerable conditions, notable examples of graffiti were found on the Berlin wall during the repressive communist regime and in the Palestinian community in the occupied West Bank. People continue to echo their political struggle, grievances and anger through graffiti.

As a type of human communication, graffiti is closely related to its host society and its environment. Gross and Gross (1993, p.1) argue that graffiti is the visualization of the surroundings of those who produce it. Brown (1995), Crummey (1998), Klofas and Cutshall (1985), Reisner (1974) and Taylor (1999) share a similar idea that graffiti is important because it acts as a barometer reflecting the society it is produced in, in short it reproduces the conditions of everyday life. Significantly, graffiti offers a space for marginalized ideas, thoughts and attitudes or things that Abel and Buckley (1977) term "the hidden side of our society" (p. 21). The authors claim 'the hidden side' should be 'read' as social manifestations, thus, revealing the more rounded-picture of the society and its members.

The importance of graffiti-as-communication, according to Abel and Buckley's, is that graffiti, as human communication, is a social product. It reveals insights into the minds and concerns of social members, uncovering the nature of a society, its cultural and moral attitudes because graffiti is "no less a reflection of the character of a society than more polished artistic and literary works" (Abel

and Buckley, 1977, p. 14). The writing of graffiti suggests a need to be free from social prohibitions, ties and rules that confront people in their everyday lives. Gross, Walkosz and Gross (1997), Rodriguez (1994) and Rodriguez and Clair (1999) also recognize this importance of graffiti and share Abel and Buckley's opinion that graffiti, as a medium without protocols and rules, offers an unsanctioned chance to express any idea or feeling without fear.

Rodriguez and Clair (1999) conceptualize graffiti as communication that represents communicative opportunities through the production of anonymous texts. The key communicative benefit of graffiti is the anonymity and secrecy that allows communicators to discuss any topic they choose and, in turn, anonymity protects the communicators against any form of retribution (p. 2). Rodriguez and Clair state that graffiti bypasses the normal social communicative protocols that govern other media such as television, radio and newspapers. The writing of graffiti also challenges a number of other rules such as access, education, familiarity with rules, expertise, communication competence and social status to the benefit of groups who are normally disadvantaged by the social rules they challenge (p. 2).

Rodriguez (p. 209) suggests that an easy and anonymous access to the graffiti medium continues to facilitate interaction in graffiti, in turn, enabling graffiti to exist as a form of communication that underlies the mainstream literacy. To summarize, the most important assumption that Able and Buckley and Rodriguez share is that graffiti, as anonymous communication, is a channel and a communicative opportunity for a group of people who seek a medium or an outlet to express certain ideas, opinions, sentiments and discourses that are, more or less, forbidden, prohibited or sequestered.

Abel and Buckley first propose that graffiti is a product of a "less talented segment group of the society" (p. 14). Rodriguez and Clair elaborate this into a concept that relate marginalized group to graffiti writing. According to Nwoye (1993, p. 419), one such marginalized group is students but before dealing with

this I wish to set out the conditions of the model of graffiti as communication that I have discussed above.

A model of graffiti as communication

Graffiti is a complicated and tangled web of communication. Graffiti could originate in several varying factors such as frustration, anger, boredom, enjoyment or the need to express. The communicative goals of graffiti writers are also varied: fun-seeking, the affirmation of self-existence, sexual partner-hunting, emotional release or political involvement. Graffiti itself has few limitations, the medium is free and needs no communicative protocols, it can be easily accessed and it can offer unsanctioned chances to express any idea without fear and punishment.

In order to construct a model of graffiti as communication, I resort to the S-M-C-R model proposed by Burlo (cited in Mcquail and Windhal, 1993) elaborating the key aspects of the model:

S - M - C - R MODEL

SENDER	MESSAGE	CHANNEL	RECEIVER
Graffitiists could be anonymous but they may be identified by their tags, names and gang symbols. Their socioeconomic and demographic status can be varied.	Graffiti may be produced by several means: writing, drawing, painting, scratching or spraying. Most graffiti content covers most taboo topics and comes in several forms such as a single word, sentences, quotations, chained responses, pictures, poems, names and numbers.	Graffiti makes use of unconventional media such as door panels, walls, exteriors and interiors of buildings. Graffiti channels are highly flexible and within reach or easily accessed by graffiti writers.	Graffiti receivers may also be anonymous or they can be identified by tags, names or symbols. Graffiti receivers are highly interactive, they 'respond' in various ways such as replying, leaving names or telephone numbers, making chained responses, adding or crossing out words in the previous message.

Figure 1

The SMCR model of graffiti as communication

Rodriguez (1994, p. 217) concludes that there are varying reasons why people resort to graffiti writing, and in summary these involve the need to express some opinion, sentiment or feeling such as anger, boredom, frustration or a need to be noticed but these needs are not allowed to be released through the mainstream media. Rodriguez adopts symbolic interaction theory to explain that human beings are "symbol creating, using and misusing species" who create communication as a type of human interaction. Graffiti, thus, constitutes a process of human expression, communication and interaction that exists to replace a face-to-face interaction when this is not allowed or available (p. 228).

Marginalization, student and graffiti

Nwoye (1993, p. 419) cites in his *Social Issues On Walls* that, groups prohibited from avenues of public expression will seek other outlets. One such group that is often denied freedom of expression is the student population. The notion of university students as a marginalized group commented upon by Rodriguez and Clair (1999) who state that marginalized people resort to graffiti because "they are less apt to be provided with an open forum for their voices" (p. 2). These authors agree in the point that university students become marginalized for three reasons; they may lack access to mainstream communication outlets; they are underrepresented members within the structures of their educational institutions, or they are repressed under some hegemonic conditions. Rodriguez and Clair (1999), however, assert that this marginalized state is multi-layered. Within the student groups there are some sub-groups that become more marginalized and discriminated against by other less marginalized groups. These groups, Rodriguez and Clair state that are homosexual male students and ethnic groups.

Hall (1999, p. 88) defines marginalization as the stage of being pushed to the periphery of a culture or society. People that tend to be marginalized are mostly minorities and ethnic groups and tend to lack the freedoms and rights accorded to the majority of citizens comprising a society and thus tend to suffer from discrimination and alienation. Alfred (2001) states in *Reconceptualizing Marginality From The Margins* that the concept of marginality is used to describe "individuals and groups who are situated outside the margins of the majority culture" (p. 1). The marginalized people are often labeled and considered as subordinate, outsider, deficient and are classified as 'marginalized others' (Alfred, 2001, p. 2). Park (cited in Alfred, 2001, p. 3) conceptualizes a theory of marginality that defines the status of being marginalized as individuals and group that do not fit the mainstream culture. The social reasons for marginalization arise because marginalized people possess what Park terms a 'cultural hybridization' which means people who live between two cultures or two societies but are never completely fused in either of the two societies or are not accepted into one society

(p. 4). Pankhurst (1999) reasons that a group or an individual becomes marginalized because they are "put in their places" by a source of higher authority (p. 2). From this statement, the concept of marginalization is perceived to be based on one group possessing power over another group, and employs the power to 'other' that group as other or as an outgroup. Pankurst concludes that the relations between the 'dominant' group and the marginalized group is a dyadic patron-client relationship (p. 12). Hall (1999, p. 89) adds, marginalized people are differentiated from the mainstream society, they risk of being silenced and carry risks of alienation. Rodríguez and Clair assert that the relationship is about resistance and oppression between the dominant and the dominated (p. 4).

The notion of overpowering others is also mentioned by Alfred (2001), the author suggests that marginalization has certain social and psychological properties. The social properties include the factors of differences and situations in which two or more cultures share the same geographical area with one culture maintaining a higher status than the other, thus, creating psychological properties that are embedded in the marginal personality or feelings of inferiority (p. 4). The results of being marginalized are portrayed through the absence of rights, freedoms, access to rights and privileges and being socially segregated or excluded from the mainstream. As Hall (1999) mentions, marginalized persons, stay at the rim of the society, suffer from stress, stigmatization, ostracism and their needs are often denied. Pankhurst (1999, p. 12) elaborates that access and political and judicial rights are main elements that a marginalized group always lacks.

Student groups in a hierarchical and traditional culture like Thailand is another group of people that are often marginalized. This is also true of other cultures. Nwoye (1993, p. 419) argues that students, especially in Third World countries, are often denied rights, are prohibited from public communication and are excluded from decision-making even within their educational institutions. Students, in some countries, are othered by the authorities as agents who can destabilize the government, thus, students are not allowed to involve themselves in sociopolitical issues, are not allowed to make decisions in matters that affect

the educational institutions or their lives and are not allowed to contribute to public discussion on some topics such as politics (Nwoye, 1993, p. 419). The status of students as marginalized is portrayed through the way they are othered as 'social enemies' who can disrupt the social order and the way they lack freedom of speech and outlets of communication. Nwoye further suggests that the lack of channels of communications or access to any legitimate media, is caused by the authorities who decide to deprive the student's of these outlets in which to discuss their opinions and to articulate their sentiments.

In *Social Issues On Walls*, Nwoye (1993) makes an argument that graffiti, often dismissed by university authorities as vandalism and a danger to the status quo, is an avenue through which students as a minority group, denied other legitimate media, articulate their pent up social and political concerns (p. 419). The author argues that walls in university toilets all over the world and public places, are used extensively for this communicative purpose (p. 420). The marginalized status of students could be portrayed through several means, Nwoye asserts. In the Nigerian case, within educational institutions, students are not given legitimate media. If campus media exist, they are subject to a strict censorship by the university (p. 419). Students as young people are faced with punishment and fear if they freely articulate their opinions and political discussions in public and are always silenced by fear and victimization. Moreover, the author suggests that teachers may also be regarded as institutional authorities within university that always deny and overlook the needs of students and act as another oppressive group by using their power to silence students. The reason behind students' marginalization, according to the author, is because they are perceived as 'antagonists' of the university and authority, such as the government believe they will destabilize constituted authorities (p. 438). Moreover, it is because the educational institutions, in the Third World countries belong to the government, that they constitute a "master-servant relationship between the university and the government" (p. 421). Thus, students who are always in conflict with authorities and the government are oppressed and are not given rights and freedom both in and out of campus. Nwoye's main argument is that, in this oppressive situation

students resort to graffiti both on campus and in public places as a means of protest and resistance to the oppression, and also to articulate their opinions freely. Graffiti offers these chances in an anonymous way, thus, students can articulate their views without fear of punishment and sanction. By sharing the same oppressive situations, students become united through exchanging conversations in graffiti. Graffiti is an expressive mode adopted by subgroups that have been denied other avenues of self-expression that is the result of the political atmosphere students have to face (p. 438).

Rodriguez and Clair suggest that within a group of marginalized people such as students, may also employ graffiti to discriminate against other marginalized groups, and thus oppress and create another subgroup. The subgroups that often become the target of discrimination are homosexual males and coloured people. Clair (cited in Rodriguez and Clair, 1999, p. 2) argues that marginalized group use homophobic and sexist discourse in graffiti to oppress, abandon and intimidate others in order to silence other groups and gain a status of privilege among other marginalized members. Graffiti, thus, acts to perpetuate an intolerant system if minority members use graffiti to silence other marginalized group.

Rodriguez and Clair conclude from their study that university students, as a marginalized group, use graffiti for three reasons. One is for self-identity and representation, students use graffiti to establish identity and in turn contest and sustain relations of power. The second reason is to build a community to counter student's subordinate position. The third is to discipline others through hostility, violence and hatred (p. 17).

Other writers perceive youth graffiti in a different way. Graffiti echoes rebellion and the repressed state of mind of the youth groups (Ferrel, 1995). Element (1996, p. 1) recognizes this as well, seeing graffiti is the youthful searching for acknowledgement from peers and public, which includes the need to find a voice, fame, pride and fun. However, youth graffiti can be interpreted as a challenge,

especially by adults. Concerning this, authorities in many countries have declared war on youth graffiti. The reasons for this given by city authorities are that graffiti is blight on the landscape, graffiti is vandalism and graffiti is a crime that can intimidate other citizens. Authorities in many countries (e.g., in Australia, in England and in America) have formed alliances with social groups such as police, watch groups, communities and law enforcers who are incorporated into the graffiti wars (Cavan, 1995; Dealing with graffiti, 1997). Nevertheless, graffiti still proliferates, even in places where authorities are near such as in school and university. Central to the fight between adult and youth over graffiti is the competition over rights, spaces and the freedom of expression. Youthful resistance to oppression and controlling power is the main element embedded in youth graffiti. The need for the authorities to maintain power is paramount in this struggle with youth.

Power and graffiti: a Foucauldian perspective

The concept of power is explained by Foucault in his *Governmentality* (1991, p. 89) as related to the 'art of government' that the author bases his notion of the art of government and power on *The Prince* by Machiavelli that involves the issue of the maintenance of the ruler's sovereignty over the state. According to the author, it is in *The Prince* that the Machiavellian art of government is defined as it centers on the state, the reason of state and the Prince's ability to keep his principality. The principality of the prince, according to Foucault, is acquired by both inheritance and conquest but the ruler himself is not one part of his principality. Foucault (1991, p. 90) argues that the ruler remains external to his power but is linked to it through the use of violence, inheritance, treaty or alliance of the prince, however, the power is fragile and is constantly under threat from others who seek to capture the power from the prince and also from his subjects who see no reasons to accept the prince's power and rules. Therefore, power must be reinforced and its exercise must be strengthened and, in turn, must protect the principality of the prince (p. 90). The author asserts that, in order to develop the strengthening of power, the prince needs some mechanisms to ensure the

protection of his principality that will link him to his territory and his subjects. Foucault (p. 91) argues that the art of government is multifarious and that there are several forms of government such as within a family and the relations between teacher and student.

Foucault further elaborates the 'art of government' that relates to the concept of power in his *Governmentality* (1991) and in *Politics, Philosophy and Culture* (1988) that the art of government, began in early Modern Europe in early sixteenth century, is the reason of the state, is reflective of the nature of the state itself and is the manner of managing individuals or subjects. According to the author (1988), to enable the state to consolidate and exercise its power, an agent of power is needed. In *Governmentality* (1991, p. 87-88), the author states that the art of government is problematic because it concerns some important points relating to power: how to govern others, how to be governed, by whom the people will accept being governed, how to become the best governor and by what methods. To govern, according to Foucault (1991, p. 92) is to exercise power towards the subjects, the wealth and behaviour of the people. This exercise the author terms as a form of surveillance and attentive control. Foucault (1991) elaborates that the target of the prince's power are on two things: the territory and the inhabitants that are the foundations of principality and sovereignty. In order to protect the sovereignty and principality, it requires submission and obedience from the subjects (p. 95). In *Power/Knowledge* (1980), Foucault again asserts that power could be fragile and dangerous if it is exercised through repression, censorship, exclusion and blockage (p. 59). The author also emphasizes his idea of the use of power as a state apparatus to maintain itself, he notes that in order to establish a dictatorship, power must be kept sufficiently intact for it to be employed against the enemy and the power must be maintained. In his *Power/Knowledge* (1980, p. 59-60), the author explains that it requires 'specialists' who are acquainted with the use of power and that specialists are the bourgeoisie, but the power could be undermined by its counter-forces such as in the form of revolutions.

However, obedience and submission from the subjects under the prince could be difficult to achieve since Foucault proposes that power of the prince is fragile and could be under threat by his own subjects. In *Politics, Philosophy and Culture* (1988), Foucault raises the issue of resistance as the relation of power. The author posits, "where there is power, there is resistance" and "as soon as there is a power relation, there is a possibility of resistance" (1988, p. 122-123). Power, in this sense, is the law, or interdiction or institution and all are frequently met with resistance (1988, p. 123). The author proposes that resistance exists as a component in a power relation, resistance is rather coextensive with power or is the contemporary of power and functions to oppose power (1988, p. 122). Foucault proposes two important points about power, one is that power is not conceived as a 'property' or possession of a dominant class, state or sovereign but as a 'strategy' or mechanism they may deploy when needed. The other point Foucault asserts is, laws, decrees and regulations are perceived as the instruments of power that function as the weapons of sovereignty (1991, p. 98). According to Foucault (1988), power, domination and resistance are struggles between several forces and are dynamic. Resistance, in his sense, is a relation of power. Like power, resistance always exists in the same place as power, is multiple and is exercised through strategies or mechanisms as well (1988, p. 142). According to Foucault, power has mechanisms or strategies that make itself acceptable to the majority when exercised legitimately. Smart (1983, p. 79) elaborates this concept of the mechanisms of power that the mechanisms that legitimize power are embedded in local, regional and material institutions and that these mechanisms of power are articulated within the society and through the social order. Foucault concludes that relations of power between individuals or as termed the art of government of men could be seen in many forms whether large or small such as the power of the bureaucracy over a population, power of men over women or power of adults over children (1988, p. 84). In *Discipline and Punish* (1995), Foucault elaborates his concept of disciplinary power to a greater extent that power is also exercised on the 'body' of individuals as a strategy to govern people through the body, gestures and behaviours as well. This type of power can

extend and manifest itself in the form of punishment, torture, pain and rules directly imposed on the body of individuals.

Discipline, Foucault asserts, is a mechanism of power to manage the subjects or the population (p. 102). Foucault elaborates the concept of the disciplinary power as a technique to govern and control things and individuals. In *Politics, Philosophy and Culture* (1988), the author relates this concept of disciplinary power to the idea of the leader as a shepherd followed by a flock of sheep. The leader, according to Foucault, wields power over his flock by guiding and leading it to the grazing land under the condition that the flock has to obey to his will and follows his orders (p. 61). Foucault (1988, p. 102) suggests that discipline is intertwined with sovereignty and government, this triangle has its primary target as the subjects or the population and works as the mechanism of security to maintain the power. From the disciplinary power and its exercise, norms and rules are derived and legitimized. From the norms and rules, normalization is created as a strategy of power. To Foucault, school, family, hospital, factory and city are places where power is exercised, the exercise of power through disciplinary regime is to exert control over the body of individuals as human subjects (1980, p. 58). This notion is closely related to the concept of governmentality referred to in his *Governmentality* (1991) where he argues a government exercises power with the aim to "shape, guide and affect the conduct of persons" (p. 2). Foucault explains that it is the 'rationale of government' or the art of government to "observe, monitor, shape and control the behaviours of individual situated within a range of social and economic situations such as the school" (p. 4). According to Foucault (1980, p. 125) educational institutions are as a place where power is exercised in the form of discipline that succeeds in "making children's bodies the objects of highly complex systems of manipulation and conditioning". Power exercises itself through social order or social productions well as through the bodies of individuals and people's attitudes, acts and behaviours.

If we apply Foucault's argument, graffiti can be seen as a mechanism of power employed by youth groups as a form of resistance to authority that may be regarded as a power group that uses laws, social prohibitions and other institutions to exercise their power. The place where youth write graffiti is symbolically a contested terrain where two relations of power meet. The way Thai government places stringent rules and regulations upon students that center on narrowing their behaviours and censor their freedom of speech could be seen as the 'art of government' cited by Foucault. The prince, according to Foucault, requires submission and obedience from his subjects in order to protect his sovereignty and principality which is fragile, the authorities in the Thai graffiti case employ the same strategy. The underlying message in the strict rules placed upon Thai students is the awareness that power could be overthrown if the subordinates, here mean students, could also reach power. One such way to subdue the subjects and make sure they will stay in line is to give them few freedom, liberty and communication. Censorship and suppression has always been used as the mechanism to block freedom and rights of speech in Thailand. Lotrakul (1985, p. 5) confirms that during the 1960s-1980s, student's freedom and liberty in Thai higher educational institutions were restricted, political discussion and expression was banned, student's publications were censored or crushed and student's gatherings were suppressed by force. The suppression and censorship was legitimated by the conditions that student's movement destabilizes the government, tarnishes the image of the country and is against the government's policy. Lotrakul (p. 41-43) also asserts that, during the periods of military dictatorship, university students were likely to be killed by the government and lived with fear and university itself could expel students in the charge of being an antagonist to the government. This movement, however, is discussed in the next chapter.

Foucauldian concept explains this case that the art of being the prince is to be able to identify danger and to be aware that his power is continually under threat from both the external and the internal (Foucault, 1991, p. 90). The author (1991, p. 90) asserts that the prince must develop the art of manipulating relations of

forces that allow him to ensure the protection of his principality. Foucault terms this kind of relationship as the relationship between the master and his slave or disciple in which the master is the one who pronounces law, is the one who censors and forbids and exercises his power through the law of prohibition (1980, p. 139). The use of press censorship and ban on rights and liberty on Thai students by the dictatorial leaders could be explained by the Foucauldian perspective as the exercise of power through its mechanisms that function to control human bodies, acts and forms of behaviour (1980, p. 61). By disciplining others through the discourse of prohibition, the leaders believe the counter-forces from the subjects could be undermined. The student movement, according to this perspective, is the challenge of power and its transgression. Rodriguez and Clair (1999) elaborate Foucault's theory of power, they assert that communication hegemony theory is about resistance and that graffiti is the result of the construction of hegemonic relations. Graffiti is how marginalized groups resist the dominant relations of power that are exercised in the forms of rules, sanctions, prohibitions and punishment. Resistance in the form of revenge, as the reason behind youth graffiti, is well documented and explained by several writers. Geason and Wilson (1990, p. 12) posit that because youth have a tendency to stick together against the adult world. Ferrel (1995, p.1) hypothesizes youth graffiti as an attack and as a means to resisting constellations of legal and political authorities. In the author's opinion, this resistance and attack is both an ideological and physical one: youth graffiti directly 'destroys' property ownership and challenges authorities by disrupting the pre-fabricated visual scope of the society.

Marginalized people are often met with stress and feelings of inferiority (Hall, 1999). Thus, graffiti created by a marginalized group is a means to transcend the inferior feelings, the sense of powerlessness and vulnerability. Morrison, Young and Young (1998, p. 2) hypothesize young graffitiists re-create a sense of power and masculinity through writing graffiti so as to deny the neglect of parental nurturing and the lack of social inculcation. Lomas (1973), however, believes graffiti is the result of being neglected and is the expression of an angry protest.

Apart from these reasons, Proctor (1991) also notes that, thrill and excitement seeking is another reason young people use graffiti. Proctor (1991) hypothesizes graffitiists as having a lower level of ego development and tending to react with frustrations and aggression. The author expands this finding by considering fun and enjoyment in writing graffiti as a way youth deny and transcend feelings of worthlessness and defeat.

Cole (1991) theorizes that female students are often marginalized as the 'muted ones' in the patriarchal society. Although Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin and Gerhard (cited in Rodriguez, 1994, p. 43) report in 1953 that graffiti is the outlet of suppressed sexual desires for both men and women, women are less inclined to produce graffiti because they have greater regard for moral codes and conventions. Kinsey et al (cited in Rodriguez, 1994, p. 44) provide explanations: women can find other outlets to release pressures, women follow the social conventions and that erotic stimulation is less important to female sexuality than romanticism. These assumptions are favoured by several later graffiti scholars, including Arluke, Kutakoff and Levin (1987), Landy and Steel (1967), Loewenstine, Ponticos and Paludi (1982), Lucca and Pacheco (1983), Otta (1993), Rudin and Harless (1970), Otta and Teixeira (1998) and Wales and Brewer (1976). Their reports of graffiti indicate female students produce less graffiti, especially erotic graffiti. Graffiti by women tends to contain romantic themes instead. However, later graffiti observers in the 1990s (e.g. Cole, 1991, Gadsby, 1995 and Otta et al, 1996) defy previous studies that female students write more graffiti, both erotic and romantic content. For women, as Cole asserts, their status as the marginalized 'muted ones', where public communication is dominated by males, in graffiti functions as an open venue of exchanging experiences and challenging the patriarchal system (p. 403).

Abel and Buckley (1977, p. 28), Dundes (cited in Rodriguez, 1994, p. 45) and Gadpaille (cited in Proctor, 1991, p. 30) propose a Freudian psychoanalytic perspective that suggests graffiti is related to infantile desires: graffiti is the

release of repressed impulses since infancy and a vicarious substitution. With this theory in mind, Abel and Buckley (1977, p. 41) explain that writing 'dirty' words is the subterfuge for prohibited pleasures. Graffiti, according to the authors, is where the ego finds an outlet to discharge the repression and tension and, in return, gaining satisfaction. Discharging the negative emotions to other people is another way to gain a vicarious gratification.

Hateful graffiti among marginalized groups, apart from being an outlet of sexual or infantile repressions, could be triggered by other varying causes: powerlessness, boredom, protest, and the rigid campus environment. Sanfiorenzo (1987) states that the classroom environment is one of the major reasons for desktop graffiti because the rigidly structured environment of the classroom imposes restraints on students. Ahmed (1981), Goikoetxea (1998), Klingman and Shalev (2001) speculate that students use graffiti as a social and political protest. Rodriguez and Clair (1999) refer to the theory of power. According to the authors, within educational institutions, a stratification of power exists to segregate people, to empower some groups and to disempower other groups, especially students. As power is always met by resistance, students under hegemonic conditions react in several ways including graffiti, protest and riot. Nwoye (1993) agree with Rodriguez and Clair (1999), graffiti is an expressive mode of communication adopted by underrepresented groups with a need to release suppressed communication. However, the 'suppressed' topics in educational institutions that could create hatred might include the issues of grading, teachers and the academic system.

Kan (2001) and O'Peretti, Carter and McClinton (1997) adopt a matrix of youth psychological traits to answer the question of hateful student graffiti. They cite a combination of boredom, anger, rebellion and anti-social behaviours as the causes of student graffiti. Young people exhibit rebellious attitudes against the society by revolting against codes and orders and that schooling is 'boring' to most youth. It must be noted that homosexual male students also produce graffiti from a perspective of being marginalized and living as a minority group in the

mainstream society. Graffiti facilitates their need to communicate within their groups and functions as a coping mechanism (Innala and Ernulf, 1992).

To sum, many writers agree that student graffiti is a silent protest from marginalized members against both authority and educational institutions and that student graffiti reveals student preoccupations and their true feelings that they are not allowed to release through the mainstream media.

However, it must be noted that many writers view student graffiti differently. Wertham (cited in O'Peretti, Carter and McClinton, 1997, p. 32) maintains that graffiti is a part of youthful vandalism resulting from the desire to destroy. Raywid and Oshiyama (2000) and Lomas (1973) also suggest that graffiti comes from destructive wishes.

Graffiti in a Thai 'definition'

In order to look closer at the Thai student graffiti phenomenon and to understand how Thai students react to authority, control and power, it is better to first look at some literature that chooses to speak about graffiti in Thailand. The explanation of graffiti mentioned in these writings and the way Thai writers perceive graffiti and discuss its origin leads to an understanding of why graffiti is judged as 'demonic' in Thailand. The cultural conditions of Thai graffiti production, however, is described in Chapter Four.

There is little written about graffiti in Thailand. The two works that I refer to here are a journalistic article *Activity Cool* (2002) and Vorapanyasakul's study of the idiomatic sticker, *A Study Of Signification And Performance Of Idiomatic Sticker* (1996) where she also discusses graffiti. These two writings share two similar points: on the origins of Thai graffiti and the 'definition' of toilet graffiti that is considered to be a youthful production.

These two writings claim that graffiti in Thailand is a cultural influence from the continuous contact with the West, especially the USA. Vorapanyasakul (1996) reasons that Thai graffiti is of Western influence since "writing graffiti is not in our [Thai] culture" (p. 6). With regard to this assumption, she writes:

This writing behaviour we call graffiti is influenced by the Western societies and this practice is illegal in our [Thailand] country. Western adolescents write graffiti to express sexual needs. Those who write graffiti are called graffitiists in English language, to whom psychologists confirm graffitiists are deviants and are abnormal. Since this practice does not exist in our culture, therefore, Thai people do not write graffiti (p. 6).

Activity Cool agrees with Vorapanyasakul. The unidentified writer claims that graffiti was 'brought' into Thailand during the 1990s ("Activity Cool", 2002, p. 18). However, the writer makes a clear distinction between aerosol graffiti 'art' and 'non-art' graffiti: 'graffiti art' is art because it is called art in the Western world. The writer speculates that the 'non-art' wall writing that is usually found in toilets and public walls in Thailand is not art because it is 'vulgar' (p. 18).

However, the term "graffiti" in Thailand is still problematic. Vorapanyasakul refers to this term as toilet graffiti whereas in *Activity Cool*, this term refers only to the sprayed painted graffiti that is called graffiti art in the Western world. Another writer Sawangchot in his *Teenagers and Marginality* (in Goranandhakul, ed, 2002) chooses to make the term graffiti inclusive and include the sprayed painted one, as a cultural baggage influenced by the world hip hop cult that is promoted in Thailand as a youthful fashion trend. However, the writer says very little about graffiti as such and does not mention other genres of graffiti in Thailand.

The notion of looking at graffiti, especially 'non-art' one, as vulgarity in the two writings arises because graffiti involve topics and issues that most Thai people frown upon, especially sexual matters including homosexuality. According to

most Thais, these topics are considered as 'lowly', too low to be brought up for any kind of discussion. This notion is subtly represented in these two writings, *Activity Cool* refers to 'non-art' graffiti as "a work by cursed hands and minds" (p. 18). In this writing, the author argues, "young people should be advised that the scratches on the wall and the sprayed message in public places are junk and dirty, Thai youth should consider this well and choose not to be the cursed and evil hands" (p. 18). From this position, the vulgarity of graffiti mentioned in the two writings means 'dirtiness' or pollution. According to this notion, this 'dirtiness' is not something that is plagued by germs but signifies emotionally soiled situations characterized by 'lowliness, sexuality and obscenity that Thais deem as 'dirty issues'. Graffiti, as regarded in the Thai literature, is not 'dirty' because it is a blight on the city landscape but it becomes dirty because of the 'dirty' messages it exposes. The dirtiness in the graffiti message is that graffiti mainly revolves around sexual matters that most middle class Thais regard as 'dirty'. Thais notions of sexuality as dirtiness is analyzed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

The most important point in this review is that the two writings, apart from mentioning that graffiti is 'dirty', develop the argument that graffiti is a form of cultural pollution from the West. Vorapanyasakul writes, "this writing practice is not in our culture" (p. 6). *Activity Cool* agrees with this point, and claims that "although graffiti has been brought into Thailand around ten years ago but it only became popular recently, during the past two years" (p. 18). Readers are constantly reminded in these two writings that graffiti has been 'imported' into the country, and is not a Thai invention. This notion suggests a Thai ambivalence towards the West, although the country has developed itself according to Western developmental plans and models and relies on Western technological progress for its economic development. However it chooses to blame the West for the changes in the country that it does not wish to see. Since graffiti is regarded as dirty and vulgar, the country seeks an explanation to explain its existence. Vorapanyasakul makes it obvious that the West should be blamed for bringing graffiti into the country that was 'decent' before the coming of the Western cultural mores and attitudes. From the author's standpoint (p. 6) "graffiti writing is not in our culture

and Thai people do not do [write sexual graffiti] this", she clearly makes her argument on the common Thai belief that Thailand is a puritanical and morally decent country that is lured and destroyed by a sexual immorality imported from the West during the Modernization period. Graffiti, thus, is a cultural pollution that Thai youth imitate. Chareonwongsak (1996, p. 105) simply explains that this is typical Thai hypocrisy. He reasons that Thai society has a characteristic where "the country dares not to accept the truth that exists in the society and it tries to conceal it by cheating itself that the things do not really exist" (p. 116). One of the 'cheating' techniques that the author mentions is to create a substitute punishment on something else or blame someone that is unable to defend themselves (p. 116). For example, Thais tend to 'blame' spirits or other supernatural power when bad luck occurs, or when an accident, illness, catastrophe or misfortune befalls them. Thais seek to explain the misfortunes in a typical Thai way, these are caused by the doing or the vengeance of spirits, ghosts or deities. The belief that graffiti is the bad by-product resulting from the contact with the West is obviously a technique where Thai blame the West. The Thai ambivalence toward the West is detailed in Chapter Four.

However, it is because Thais perceive graffiti as lowly that they decide to cover it up both literally and figuratively, by preventing any attempt to study or examine it. The result of this neglect is that there is very little Thai graffiti literature and information on the subject despite the extent of the phenomenon, especially in universities and other places where youth congregate. The existing material is incapable of affording a rich data source on this phenomenon. Vorapanyasakul does not identify clearly the date when graffiti, as the by-product of the West, began to appear in Thailand but generalizes. *Activity Cool* briefly suggests graffiti was 'imported' during the 1990s. This statement suggests that there is a gap in the recounting of the history of graffiti: what happens to graffiti before the 1990s? It is difficult to be precise but many Thai people suggest that there was 'non-art' graffiti on public walls especially within Bangkok for many decades prior to the 1990s. Most of it is associated with the male vocational school students. The study of Thai male vocational school students by Wongthanapa

(1996, p. 21) confirms that technical school male students develop a habit of using aerosol spray to write graffiti on public walls to mark territory and to insult their rivals. However, the author does not elaborate much on graffiti. This lack of knowledge and literature clearly confirms the fact that graffiti has been overlooked, neglected or 'censored' in some ways for decades within the Thai society. Chapter Four narrates why graffiti is 'censored' in the Thai society.

CONCLUSION

This chapter provides three perspectives important in the understanding of Thai graffiti: the concept of graffiti-as-communication, the concept of marginalization, power and the student and the perception of graffiti in Thai literature which sees graffiti as a foreign cultural import that has polluted Thai society. These perspectives constitute the framing device for the analysis of Thai campus graffiti inscriptions. My argument is that graffiti acts as an outlet for communication for groups of people in a marginalized stage and that Thai university students are marginalized and disempowered in several ways.

The Thai student graffiti analysis, in the following chapters, draws upon the above concepts discussed in this chapter. In the next chapter, I describe Thai sociocultural characteristics that are the bedrock of the country that will lead to the explanation of its graffiti phenomenon and give an answer why graffiti, that mostly covers sexuality and aggressiveness is taboo in the society. The next chapter also details Thai student resistance to authorities that is the result from the sociopolitical climate and formation of the country.

CHAPTER 3: MATERIALS, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

This chapter outlines the methodology used in this study. It details the materials, tools and techniques employed in the data collection and reviews the literature relating to my methodological approach. This chapter also discusses the limitations and problem solutions during the data gathering procedure, as the issue of graffiti is delicate within Thai society.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects and setting: three Thai universities as sampling sites

As the study focuses on campus graffiti in Thailand, universities are chosen as data collection sites. I have selected, for this study, three Thai universities for three reasons: the accessibility for data collection within the three subject sites, all the subject sites could be representative of Thai universities and all the subject sites possess unique campus characteristics. For safety and ethical reasons, names of the three universities are not published, codes are used to refer to these subjects instead. I shall give a brief discussion on the three sites as follow

Settings: A, B and C University

A University is in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. A is a large, governmental university and is one of the leading Thai universities in academic, competence and reputation. B University is in a Northeastern province of Thailand (name of the province could not be revealed). This university is a large, governmental university that offers most seats to Northeastern students first. C University is a private university in a suburban province of Bangkok (name of the province could not be published).

Both A and B are 'limited admission public universities' among other eighteen public universities in the country. The 'limited admission public university' in Thailand means it accepts students annually and students have to successfully pass the national university entrance examination held annually in April by the Ministry of University Affairs. The admission depends on the score student-as-candidates achieve in the entrance examination which is highly competitive. Public universities have limited admission and seats are available for approximately 250,000 candidates throughout the country. The average score is 500 but students who fail the entrance examination or have low scores can enroll in private universities. Normally, it takes four years for a bachelor's degree after three years compulsory of upper secondary education. Higher education is under the responsibility of The Ministry of Education (MOE) and The Ministry of University Affairs (MUA). Universities, private and public, are under the MUA (Education In Thailand, 1997). It must be noted that 'public' universities, in Thai context, predominantly means 'limited admission universities'. There are two other 'open' public universities in Thailand, the 'open' public universities accept students at every age level without having to pass the national entrance examination. However, open universities do not meet the Thai society expectation that emphasizes on the value of 'good education in the best universities brings a successful life'. This social expectation is obviously based on academic competition and the 'name' of a few prestigious universities. Open universities, in Thai context, are for students who could not pass the national entrance examination and could not afford private universities. Most major limited admission public universities situate in Bangkok. To reduce the educational gap between Bangkok and other cities, there are major regional universities in major cities in the three parts of the country: the North, the Northeast and the South that have a quota system in accepting regional students first (Tangboongam, 1986).

Belonging to the state, limited public universities are financially supported by the government. Funding from the government is the main source of income whereas

the minor sources come from tuition fees, revenues from academic services and income from property. Thus, all fees in public universities are set as the minimum rate in order to offer chances for students from lower socioeconomic status (Educational In Thailand, 1997, p. 163). Private universities, rely fully on the income on tuition fees, thus they set the fees much higher than those in public universities. As a consequence, private universities offer better campus conditions and facilities to students (e.g., air-conditioned classroom, new and air-conditioned dormitory, more parking lots and more computer labs). Thus students in private universities have to pay a much higher tuition fees than open and public universities.

The three different subjects represent three different groups of students suitable for this study. Wales and Brewer (1976) comment on choosing different schools as study subjects: different locations represent different socioeconomic levels reflecting the communities the schools serve. However, the socioeconomic levels in Thai society are not confounded with race. Therefore, racial differences are excluded when the socioeconomic levels of the subjects are counted. The differences within the student groups in the three universities are that students in the three universities come from different socioeconomic background. Students in B University mostly come from Northeastern provinces, students in A come from Bangkok and from all over the country and most of the students in C come from Bangkok and its surrounding provinces. The socioeconomic level in Thailand differs from province to province. Bangkok, as the capital of the country, has the highest standard of living with the highest economic prosperity. Bangkok economy requires a large number of labour and people from all parts of the country migrate to Bangkok to be one part of its work force. Most of the blue-collar and low-paid jobs are met by people from the Northeastern part of the country known as having the lowest standard of living and the highest rate of poverty. Northeastern regional public universities, especially B University, offer most seats to Northeastern students first through the quota system with the purpose that education will enhance regional stability. The socioeconomic status

and level differ greatly among A, B and C University: C University students possess a much higher socioeconomic status and B has a much lower level.

Moreover, the settings and the environments of the three universities greatly differ from each other. B University is very large whereas C is the smallest and A is a medium-size university when compared to B. Both A and C situate in the city area. The campus life and student integration into campus life differ within the three subject sites. Students in A and B, especially in B, have a stronger fraternal relationship as the universities and senior students emphasize seniority and student relationships through rituals, sports and university ceremonies students have to participate. Younger students have a close relationship with senior students who are called as 'brothers' or 'sisters', they act as mentors for new students. It must be noted that there is a strong collective consciousness and a spiritual bondage within student groups in public universities. This relationship is formed by rites of passage organized by the university and senior students with the goals to integrate new students, create relationship within student groups and instill university ideologies. However, this is different in C University. As a private university where students do not have a collective and shared sentiments or ideology because these are not emphasized, students do not feel 'attached' to the university or peer groups. The 'brotherly' relationship rarely exists in private universities since the university does not emphasize or organize ceremonies or rituals that could tie students together. Students, especially in B University, mostly live in shared on-campus dormitories. Thus, their campus life and personal life is shaped much by peer influence and the university. The influence of peer groups does not have much effect on student life in C University as students spend little time in campus. However, it is in C University that some students form themselves into racing-car gangs because they come from well-to-do families different from students in B University. Students in A are more independent than B University students but also rely upon peer groups. Students in A and C University do not live in on-campus dormitories as both universities are in the city area.

These differences have been considered to ensure sampling variation. Some important details are discussed in the analysis chapter. However, it must be noted that some details of the three subject sites are exempted from discussion in this study for ethical and safety reasons. Regarding this, I shall not illustrate any specific detail that could lead to the names and locations of the three universities. Pictures that could be related to the disclosure of the names and locations of the three sites are not to be attached in this thesis.

Methodological approach and research design

This thesis focuses on three main research goals. The first one is to examine the characteristics and content of Thai campus graffiti organized by categorization. The second is to answer why Thai students use graffiti as their communication channel. The final aim is to study how graffiti portrays the picture of the Thai society by looking at the construction of meanings in the graffiti inscriptions. Thus, models of analysis allowing such examinations are required. The three purposes attempt to deliver an analysis of graffiti as a communication 'S-M-C-R' model that is constructed from the main argument of this thesis that graffiti is communication. The first goal of examining the graffiti content and graffiti phenomenon is the study of the 'M' and the 'C' elements of the communication model: the message and the channel. The second is the examination of the 'S' and the 'R': the senders and receivers of the graffiti, here means students who take both roles. The final goal answers to the society that creates and shapes the graffiti communication, it yields a closer analysis into the four elements of the model.

In order to analyze the graffiti content, I have chosen the content analysis framework mentioned by Berelson (1971) to analyze my graffiti data. Kaplan (cited in Berelson, 1971, p.15) refers to this technique as it "attempts to characterize the meanings in a given body of discourse in a systematic and quantitative fashion". Kaplan also confirms that the aim of this technique is to provide "a quantitative classification of a given body of content, in terms of a

system of categories devised to yield data relevant to specific hypotheses concerning that content" (p. 15). Content analysis is a research technique suitable for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. The main idea of this approach is that content carries meanings intended by the communicators and understood by the audience and the meanings are based on shared cultural and social background (Berelson, 1971).

According to Berelson (p. 15-16), there are three assumptions that the content analysis approach is based on:

- Content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made. Content analysis is done to reveal the purposes, motives and other characteristics of the communicators as they are reflected in the content.
- Content analysis assumes that study of the manifest content is meaningful. Content is accepted as a 'common meeting-ground' for communicators, thus the content analyst assumes that the meanings he ascribes to the content correspond to the meanings intended by the communicators. Thus, the manifest content can be taken as a valid unit of study. However, the latent content is given importance in the analyzing process as well since there are several levels of communication content.
- Content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication content is meaningful.

Berelson (1971, p.15) provides six characteristics of content analysis:

- It applies only to social science generalizations.

- It applies only, or primarily, to the determination of the effects of communications.
- It applies to the syntactic and semantic dimensions of language.
- It must be objective.
- It must be systematic.
- It must be quantitative.

The author illustrates three frameworks of analysis:

Framework 1: characteristics of the communicator or the S as sender

This framework requires a probe into communicator's environment and the position of the communicator in the society. Berelson suggests that this framework also searches into the communicative intentions and motives underlying the communication.

Framework 2: characteristics of the M and C as media-content

This framework focuses on the media characteristics and the content of the communication that Berelson (p. 15) terms as 'sign-vehicles'. The author states that categorization could be used to help systematically analyze the content, the categorization also looks at the categories found in the content, the writing pattern, the interaction pattern, traits, values, meanings and purposes of the content, the motives of the senders found in the content and medium used to create the content and how the content is communicated. This second framework is the study of the M in the S-M-C-R model or the message.

Framework 3: characteristics of the R as receiver

Berelson (p. 15) suggests this framework focuses on the reaction to the communication and the characteristics of the audience. The position of the

audience with respect to the social structure and the audience's environment is also given importance.

To answer the first research goal, I have chosen to adopt the second framework that focuses on the 'M' or the message-content for this study. Graffiti data are categorized into categories found prominent in the entire data and thus analyzed to see the meanings, characteristics and medium used.

To summarize, content analysis approach stands by its categories and frameworks of analysis by which the content of the communication is investigated. Content analysis is, according to Berelson, a system of categories that could be applied to communication materials.

For the second research goal, I have adopted the philosophy of youth media use and gratification to answer why Thai students use graffiti and what do they gratify communicatively through this medium. I choose to focus on youth media use and gratification concept proposed by Arnett (1995). This methodology sees late adolescent age in a life cycle as an important indicator of how young people choose and use media and what do they need from their media use. Arnett proposes six uses of media: entertainment, identity formation, high sensation, coping, youth culture identification and socialization. The main idea is that young people need different types of media from adults and that they use media to escape or to 'shut out' adults.

Sherry (2001) suggests that this use and gratification methodology, which remains one of the oldest continuous programs of research in the discipline of communication, offers an insight into the understanding of human communicative needs. One major focus of this methodology is that people turn to some media to release pressure or to escape from reality. Rosengren (cited in McQuail and Windhal, 1993, p. 135) believes that social situation is one factor that make people turn to media. Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch (cited in Baran and Davis, 1995, p. 123) support, social situations could cause tensions that lead to

pressure and social situations impoverish real life opportunities. People with suppressed tensions thus seek what Stephenson (cited in Baran and Davis, 1995, p. 224) terms as 'communicative pleasure' from the media that act as a substitute or a buffer against pressures of the real world. Stephenson states that people seek to free and please themselves from a degree of social control by using some media to achieve imaginative realities, new conditions or pleasure. This is also supported by Tsao (1996, p. 1), people turn to media to compensate for an impoverished real life. When focused on young people, Arnett (1995, p. 2) suggests that young people tend to face more pressure from the adult world and that they tend to seek sensational media to both release tensions and add enjoyment and pleasure. Chu (1997) asserts that when mainstream media are not available, young people tend to create their own self-made media such as self-made magazine and graffiti (p. 1-2).

By examining student's purposes of why they use graffiti and drawing conclusions about the roles campus graffiti play in student's life, the answer to the second research aim could be achieved.

Finally, I have chosen Fiske's (1991) concept of construction of meanings to apply with this study. Fiske's main point is that a message that is understood between communicators is created out of a sign system that is shared between the communicators and that the shared sign system is created from the culture and the society. Fiske's assumption is that, all communication involves signs that refer to something other than themselves and the transmitting and receiving of signs in the communication process is the practice of social relationships because communication is integrated into the culture and its society (p. 1-2). According to the author, signs can be understood in terms of the uses people put them to and are developed to meet the needs of each society and it is the society that gives the meanings understood through the signs (p. 42). Within a sign system, there is three elements: an index, an icon and a symbol, an index resembles the object it represents, an icon is related to its object but a symbol stands for something else than itself that is agreed on by the society (p. 46). It is the symbol that

communicators need to learn and understand its relation to its object because it is created by the consensus within a society. Words, according to the author, are symbols because they stand for something else and visualize the objects.

Graffiti, that is made up predominantly by words, is an indirect and symbolic communication that communicators are not in a vis-à-vis situation but exchange their conversation by leaving a message on a medium. Even though it is an indirect communication in which some senders are anonymous, the message left on the walls could communicate and is understood by the readers. Obscene, sexual and derogatory message in graffiti always creates further communication in the form of chained graffiti and hostile comments. It is because the communicators could understand and interpret the signs presented in the graffiti inscriptions that emotionally trigger them to create a reply or a comment to the previous inscription. This methodology helps to understand the construction of the symbols as sign system used in verbal communication as graffiti, in turn, helps to understand a part of the Thai society that creates the sign system.

To summarize, the three research goals and the three methodologies are interrelated and are linked together to study the S-M-C-R model of graffiti-as-communication as a whole. It could be represented diagrammatically as follow:

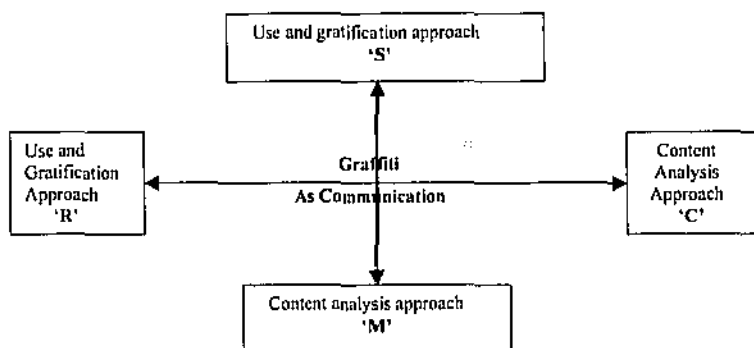


Figure 2.

Theoretical map of graffiti as communication

Data collection

Graffiti is collected from A, B and C university. Inscriptions are copied verbatim in designed graffiti record index sheets indicating where and when graffiti is found. Pictorial graffiti is photographed by camera. Graffiti here is classified as verbal inscription and picture inscription described in the operational definitions below:

Operational definition

Campus graffiti means written inscriptions marked, sprayed, written, scratched or drawn found within university area. This definition excludes formal and informal inscriptions produced by the university such as notice from university or university internal letter posted on bulletin board or on the wall.

Verbal inscription graffiti means graffiti that contains word, phrase, poem, story, sentence, name and number or email address.

Pictorial graffiti means graffiti containing drawing of any kind and symbol. Zigzags and lines that appear without any verbal inscription are not counted as graffiti in this study.

If both verbal and non-verbal graffiti appear together as one unit, they are photographed. If any pictorial graffiti is small, it is copied verbatim as exactly as the original. Several graffiti observers such as Arluke, Kutakoff and Levin (1987) and Otta et al (1996) choose to work with copying toilet graffiti verbatim in standardized recording sheet since the observers could record other details co-existing with graffiti such as the condition of the place where graffiti is found.

Locations

Graffiti is collected from these places:

- Male toilets in each university.
- Female toilets in each university.
- Lecture rooms where possible.
- Male student dormitories where possible.
- Female student dormitories where possible.
- Canteens.
- Libraries.
- Public walls in each university.
- Miscellaneous (bus shelter, sitting area, parking lot).

Data collection began in the second semester of the year 2001 (August) to the end of the first semester of the year 2002 (July).

Data collection procedures

The data collection procedure begins with setting up research assistant teams in May 2001. The teams include nine students from the three universities. They are instructed to record graffiti verbatim on record sheets. Each location needs to be re-inspected for new inscriptions regularly and systematically. Before collecting the data, assistants sign a confidentiality letter confirming they have no rights to use and release the data. During the pre-pilot study, the research assistant first task is to report of graffiti surveys within each building to see the quantity of graffiti inscriptions in each location in order to apply appropriate tools and methods to use for the collection. After the reports, teams are assigned to collect the data both by hand-recording method or by photograph according to the locations. Graffiti are recorded for a period of time. However, data collection stops during semester intermissions, examinations, national holidays and weekends. It is because university buildings are highly restricted to outsiders during these times or else are closed. During the intermissions that usually last for two months, walls, buildings, rooms and toilets in university are washed and repainted. Some graffiti are lost during this replacement. We have to wait for one or two months after each intermission before new graffiti appears.

Re-inspection of graffiti is needed twice a month in the place where graffiti is prevalent such as in some male toilets in B University and in C University. We re-inspect once a month in the place where few or none graffiti appears (e.g., female toilets in A University). I meet the assistants twice a month for discussion and travel to each university several times during data collection. After each session of graffiti collection and re-inspection, a discussion on graffiti samples is held. By this discussion technique, we compare former graffiti samples and recent ones to see chained-responses or any relationship and network of communication within the group of graffitiists. We compare the handwriting of graffitiists, their symbols and writing styles to see the writing and interaction pattern.

Data collection procedure could be diagrammatically illustrated in the next page:

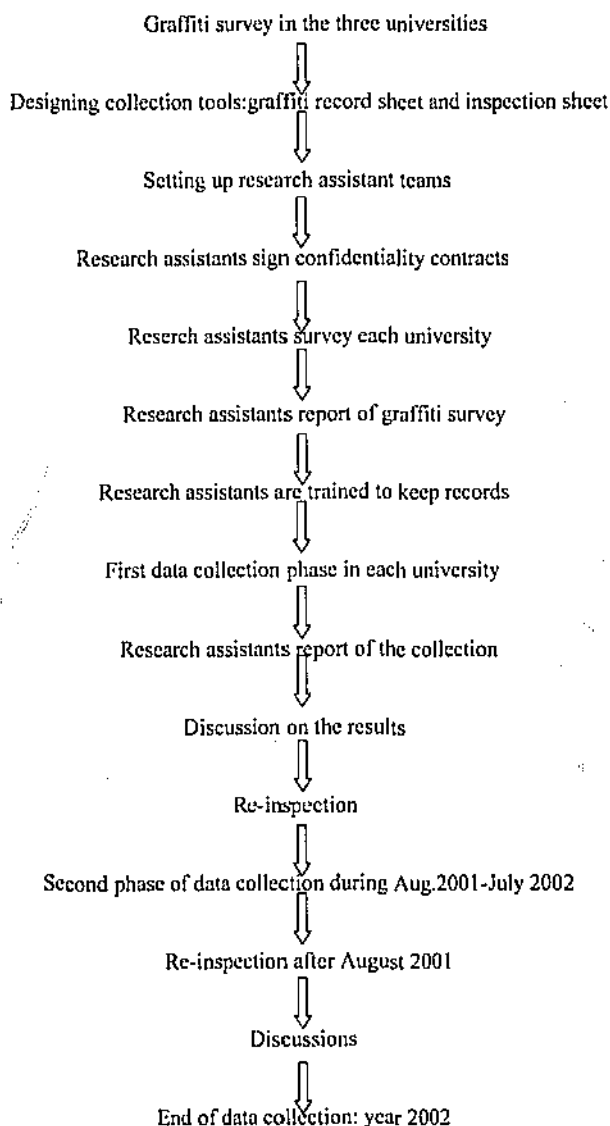


Figure 3.

Data collection procedure

Limitations and problems

This study faces some problems, as graffiti is a delicate issue in Thailand. There are three major problems in this study. The first problem is the restricted access in university areas. Several classrooms in A, B and C University as well as some dormitories are inaccessible. Classrooms are always locked immediately after use by guards who keep patrols in university buildings. In C University, we find guards patrolling every floor in each building almost every two hours. We could collect classroom graffiti in some rooms and in some male-dormitories toilets where possible.

Another problem is that some faculties in B University have a reputation of being 'unfriendly' to male strangers, especially male students from different faculties. It arises from inter-faculty fights that happen for a long period of time in this university. For safety reasons and because we do not wish to be identified, we do not visit these faculties (names of these faculties could not be published). Some students, feeling graffiti as vulgarity, deny interviews or deny giving important information to this study. For ethical reasons, we do not urge participants who are unwilling to participate but to respect their rights.

The third problem is the lost of graffiti during semester intermissions or long holidays because some toilets are cleaned or repainted during these times. The lost of graffiti because of toilet materials replacement could not be retrievable.

However, the graffiti samples in this study are reasonably representative of campus graffiti from each university since they are gathered systematically not randomly and cover as many places within each campus as possible. This data collection adopts an 'opportunistic' research technique that Hagen, Ender, Tiemann and Hagen (1999) use in their graffiti study in which they capture each given situation or chance as their opportunity to study graffiti in a flooded town. Moreover, each location is inspected in close proximity to ensure the collection is

completed with every graffiti inscription that could be found. Several university instructors and authorities acknowledge and allow the teams to inspect faculty toilet, staff room and inside some faculties after the purposes of the study are declared to them.

Sampling considerations and units of analysis

For graffiti unit analysis, I have used the same criteria as Otta et al (1996), Sechrest and Flores (1969) and Wales and Brewer (1976) use to identify a graffiti unit.

A unit is an inscription, a drawing, a marking, a scratching, a word or a phrase, a picture, a number, a symbol or a sign. Otta et al (1996, p. 872) refer to a unit of graffiti as "anything produced by what appeared to be one individual on one occasion". Therefore, a unit is not considered by number of words counted. For example, an email address of someone written on a wall is counted as one unit or a heart shape drawn on a table is a unit. Chain response or a reply or a comment to previous graffiti is counted as separate units but fall into the same unit group and should be analyzed as one cluster. Sechrest and Flores (1969) suggest that the cues in identifying chain graffiti are thematic consistency, proximity, location, reference and identifying signs such as an arrow pointed to the previous graffiti.

If a previous graffiti unit is filled with words, signs or drawing obviously made by other writers, this is counted as one cluster instead of a single unit. The cues, according to Sechrest and Flores (1969) are different handwriting, color, different writing tool and thematic inconsistency. Re-inspection could be of much help in this matter. If it is unidentifiable, I opt to count it as one single unit instead. However, I choose to follow Wales and Brewer that, in considering a graffiti unit, the thought content, handwriting and writing tool must be also considered. A short poem or a short story is, therefore, treated as a unit. Otta et al also find this method appropriate to differentiate a single unit, regardless of how long the

inscription is, from a chain response that should be regarded as a distinct but related unit.

In addition, research assistants also record other information surrounding the graffiti including the location of the data as to building, level, room and other information important for the data analysis. The collected surrounding information is considered the primary data source important in analyzing the implication of the graffiti data and to understand the relationship between the environment and graffiti. Snow (1983) hypothesizes that there is a relationship between person-behaviour and environment among people who write and do not write graffiti. Snow maintains that graffiti writers react differently to the same environment and might develop a stimulus to vandalize the environment. This is relevant to the findings of Alvi, Schwartz, Dekeseredy et al (2001), Braga, Weisburd, Waring et al (1999), Greene, Collins and Kane (2000), Kelling and Coles (1996), Piquero (1999), Ross, Mirowsky and Pribesh (2001), and Sampson and Scott (1999). They agree that graffiti signals violence and negative feelings people react to the environment and reflects the breaking down of the orders and civility in that place. The surrounding graffiti information would be able to help validate this in the Thai graffiti case.

Instruments and participants

I have used six instruments as discussed below:

Graffiti record index sheet: hand-written record

Each graffiti inscription is copied verbatim in a graffiti record index sheet I have designed for data collecting. This is a report-like form on A4 paper, data collectors need to write the code of the university (A, B, C) where they collect data at the head of the paper, alongside with the date and time they spend on collecting graffiti. Other details such as location of the data (e.g. building, room, toilet or floor level) are to be recorded. Collectors have to report handwriting,

writing tool, color, size, durability of the graffiti and other information. For example, a collector visits a toilet, the collector has to survey and record the conditions of the toilet and checks how often this toilet is cleaned or whether cleaners supervise it.

Chain graffiti is addressed as a cluster of inscriptions and need to be recorded in the same record sheet. If the graffiti message is in other language than Thai or Thai dialects, it is copied out exactly as the manuscript is. Error spelling is exactly copied as the original. If an inscription appears with small drawing (e.g., an arrow or a heart shape), these are copied as closest to the original as possible. The record sheets and the recorded information are not to be published or attached in this thesis as they contain the names, locations of the universities and names of persons.

Observation form

An observation form is designed to use in this study. This form is based on Srirasa (1989) who studies student life in B University and the work of Kaewnimitchai (1996) on Thai university students. They use this form to obtain important information on student lifestyle or conditions of student dormitories and classrooms. In their studies, both assistants and researchers co-operate to observe and record the needed information (e.g., the cleanliness of the campus or the canteen). My purpose is to observe the university environment, buildings and facilities provided for students such as canteen, classroom or sitting areas that could help constituting the clearer picture of the Thai campus life and student culture. Moreover, Srirasa (1989) suggests that university environment and climate is an important factor in the shaping and constructing student educational life, their feelings toward their institutions and their social life. Taweerat (1997) terms this as 'environmental data' or data which surround a person.

This observation form is to systematically observe and record the environment of each university, building and facilities, university landscape and other

information. This information is treated as data surrounding graffiti and student. Both the research assistants and I observe and record the data in each university and summarize the raw data after each discussion. With this technique, more information on student and universities has been obtained that help in assessing to the Thai student culture and lifestyle understanding. The reliability of this technique is also considered. Each research assistant and I choose to observe the same location several times and record the data on one's own observation form. Finally, we generalize all the data and make discussion to finalize it to achieve the information surrounding students and graffiti.

The observation forms are not to be published or attached in this thesis.

Photograph record

Research assistants and I take photographs of large pictorial graffiti by cameras. We are careful not to photograph building or signs carrying the name of the university. However, some pictures of campus graffiti are not to be published or attached in the appendix in this thesis as they are considered confidential and could lead to the disclosure of the names and locations of the three universities.

Checklist: re-inspection form

A checklist form is assigned to each research assistant to accompany the record index sheet. The function of the checklist is to re-check the locations of the data within each university in order to check for new inscriptions. In our discussions, the checklists and the record sheets are to be brought in for examination and discussion.

By relying on the index sheet and the checklist, we keep a systematic follow-up on new graffiti. This technique and materials are helpful in planning ahead for next surveys and see the rising number of graffiti inscriptions in each place.

Questionnaire

One set of questionnaire is designed to use in the study, its purpose is to probe into the perception of the students regarding the graffiti phenomenon. Thus, the questions are developed for Thai students as major participants in the campus graffiti subculture. For safety and ethical reasons, the questions and answers in the questionnaires could not be revealed and are not attached as an appendix in this study.

Questions in the questionnaire are both open and close-end and are divided into three parts. In the first part, questions ask the personal data of the informants such as gender, age and other information excluding names. For ethical reasons, informants are asked their consent before answering the questionnaire. Consent form and instructions stating that informants do not have to write their names and that they hold the rights to leave the questions unanswered are on the first page of the questionnaire. Participants are chosen by stratified random sampling technique based on age, gender and educational year of enrollment.

In the second part of the questionnaire, the informants are asked their perception on campus graffiti. Questions are both open and close-end. Checklists and Likert five rating scale are adopted to use in the questionnaire.

The third part of the questionnaire is a special one. A specific instruction different from the two previous parts guides the questions. This part is attached as the last page of the questionnaire set. The instruction states the purpose of the questions and consent of the respondents is asked again. If the respondent does not wish to participate, he or she could leave the questions unanswered. There are open-end questions asking whether the respondent writes graffiti and other information such as the location and the message the respondent writes.

This set of questionnaire is pre-tested with 120 students in B University in 2001 through the consent of students and B University instructors. The result is satisfactory because all students are willing to give information. The questionnaire are sent to three judges in A, B and C University to test its validity and reliability. It is re-edited in March 2001.

Research associates are directed to send the questionnaire to students in each university and 100% of the questionnaires return in sealed envelopes. Participants are students from A, B and C and the total are 200 students. The participants are 50% of male and female and are recruited by stratified random sampling technique, according to gender, age, faculty and enrollment year. The heterogeneity between strata is given importance in selecting participants in order to ensure sampling variation. The heterogeneity among student groups is based on the school, faculty, age, student grade average and year. Participants are asked their consent before answering questions.

Depth interviews

I use an open-end interview to access the perception of the graffiti writers as interviewees. An interview guide directs each interview, to ensure that the questions asked in each interview contain the same content and meet the same goals. Rodríguez (1994, p. 129) explains that an interview guide is a "list of questions or issues that are to be explored in the course of the interview" and it could ensure that the same information is obtained from respondents because the same material is covered (p. 129). I have conducted all the interviews and none research assistant is allowed to conduct the interview. All the interviews are conducted outside universities and some are conducted through telephone and email. Consent of the respondents is asked before each interview. I use the snowball sampling technique to reach the graffitiists-as-interviewees. This technique works this way: in fact, some research assistants know some graffitiists personally to whom I am introduced later. Some graffitiists know each other very well and they are willing to introduce their graffitiist 'friends' to me. I have

'tracked down' some homosexual graffitiists by calling their given telephone numbers in their graffiti message, this technique also works well and it is more direct to reach the writers. All the persons I call are willing to help and are able to provide information.

However, as graffiti writers who give their consent and are willing to share their experiences do not wish to be identified and since we need to protect their rights, safety and privacy, I have developed an interview protocol suitable for this study. Interviewing through telephone, via email and via MSN Messenger interactive conversations are adopted to use with writers who do not wish to be seen. Time span for each interview depends on the availability of each respondent.

The interview involves some open-end questions aiming to inquire the reasons writers write graffiti. Although some informants refuse to answer some questions, the obtained responses are useful enough. Many students choose to reveal their experiences of graffiti writing by answering the questionnaire (the third part) instead of giving interview. This technique also helps to facilitate the informants and provides them an easier way of disclosing their experience. The interviews are finished in December 2002.

I have used another set of interview in this study. I have interviewed 6 instructors from the three universities in November and December 2002. Questions involve perceptions on student graffiti, reasons the instructors believe students write graffiti, opinions about students-as-graffitists and how the university manages this matter. Their consent is asked before each interview and all of them are willing to participate.

All interviews and questions used in the interviews are not to be published and are not attached as an appendix in this study.

Procedure and data analysis: phase 1-4

Phase1: pre-pilot study

To ensure the possibility of the study and to survey graffiti, I have traveled to A, B and C University several times before beginning to collect the data. The aim of this procedure is to gather some primary information. The primary information (e.g., location of graffiti and university map) helps to plan for next surveys and in designing tools and methods suitable for the data collection in each place.

Research associate teams are set up during this procedure. They are also instructed how to record the data and how to use the record sheet during this procedure. This process is finished in February 2002.

Phase 2: pilot study

A pilot set of questionnaire is tested with students in B University in February 2002. The number of respondents is 120 students from 7 faculties and 60 % is female. The students are selected by random sampling according to age, faculty and gender. Most of the respondents answer they have seen a large number of graffiti in student toilets. Whereas only 3% report they have seen few graffiti. Of all the respondents, 5% confess they have written graffiti within the campus and outside campus for several reasons. Prominent among the reasons are that they need to see their names 'alive' on the walls. Only one of the 5% is female. Almost 100% of the respondents agree that graffiti writers are 'abnormal' people or 'psychopathic'. The respondents agree that writers produce graffiti because of their abnormality and that they lack other expressive outlet. Only 2% of the respondents said they think reading graffiti is 'fun' because they feel graffiti is witty and humorous. 80% of the respondents agree graffiti message is vulgar and obscene. All the respondents believe males write more graffiti than women because men are more expressive in nature. They also believe that another group of graffiti writers is gay men who want to seek sexual partners.

On being asked about their opinions on B University, most feel quite satisfied with the academic quality and they are 'proud' of their university being famous in the Northeastern region. However, 90% of the respondents are doubtful with the university administration and feel the university does not 'care much about the students'. Many respondents report scandals occurred in the university during the past years including student riots and protests. This information from the respondents is used to develop next questionnaires and interviews.

The task given to research associates yields a large pack of graffiti photographs and records. Group discussions are set up several times to sort graffiti content and improve new recording methods more suitable for each location. Three instructors from three faculties in B University are interviewed during the pilot study as a pre-test. The result is that they have seen very few campus graffiti or heard very little about this. The reason is that teachers seldom visit student toilets. However, they also notice that the university re-paint buildings and toilets often. The information obtained from this pre-test interview is used to develop further questionnaire and interview.

Phase 3: data collection

Graffiti have been recorded for two consecutive semesters from the year 2001 to the year 2002 with series of re-inspections and discussions.

Phase 4: data analysis and creating methodology

Rodríguez (1994, p. 136) suggests that previous research on campus graffiti often involves these following sequences: 1) assigning the data to either *a priori* or *a posteriori* schemes, 2) constructing a frequency distribution of graffiti types, and 3) conducting tests for statistical significance. Rodríguez posits that the focus of these research types is on the numeric value of the data instead of interpreting meanings of the data. He suggests that the numeric transformation of graffiti data dismisses the underlying meanings in the graffiti. Several graffiti studies choose

to rely on the numeric transformation of the graffiti data and distribute the frequency of the data according to its thematic content. This type of analysis is favored by many graffiti researchers more than content interpretation.

Each research question of this study requires a specific data analysis technique and protocol to afford the data interpretation. I shall describe each aim with appropriate analysis technique:

Research question 1: As Thai campus graffiti has never been studied, I need to investigate its unique characteristics first. Therefore, this study aims to examine the characteristics of campus graffiti in Thai universities, organized by category, theme, graffiti type, form, writing pattern, medium or tool used, content and interaction pattern.

The graffiti data collected from three Thai universities are analyzed by content analysis technique presented by Berelson (1971) in order to achieve the goals described above. The three frameworks of analysis proposed by Berelson help to analyze the S-M-C-R model of graffiti-as-communication, especially the M or the message as content.

The content of the campus graffiti-as-communication is categorized into five major categories: personal, sexual, hostility, social and university issues. Each category is composed of several sub-categories. The graffiti data are interpreted according to the categories. The categories and operational definitions are detailed in Chapter Five. The package of communicative framework analysis offers a means to characterize and interpret the graffiti data. Moreover, it provides a method to examine the communicative and social dimension of the data essential to answer the question that the research aim has raised. However, the quantitative aspects of the graffiti data could not be neglected. I have adopted some descriptive statistical techniques such as frequency breakdown, percentage and frequency list to analyze graffiti theme, category, data location, type of data and interaction scheme. Statistical descriptions are presented by tables and

frequency lists. The statistical efforts and breakdown of data help to contribute to the presentation of each graffiti phenomenon in each university by which data comparison and contrast could be made.

Research question 2: The understanding of the significance of campus graffiti in Thai universities must be achieved. The emphasis is on the study of the functions and why Thai students need graffiti as their venue of communication.

This research purpose is primarily based on the view of campus graffiti investigated from a communication perspective. I have hypothesized that university students produce campus graffiti for several reasons including social, psychological and environmental reasons. Thus, campus graffiti act as a means of communication and as venues of expression for marginalized and disempowered groups of people who lack channels of communication. This hypothesis requires interpretative data analysis and a philosophy of adolescent media use and gratification is appropriate for this. I chose to focus on adolescent gratification map developed by Arnett (1995), that is, entertainment, identity formation, high sensation, coping, youth culture identification and socialization.

Research question 3: I aim to discern the underlying social, cultural and subcultural codes, signs, meanings in campus graffiti production in order to understand the underlying subcultural meanings and the shared sign systems in Thai society.

I have used Fiske's (1991) concept of the construction of meanings to answer this question. According to the author, signs can only be understood in terms of the uses people put them to and are developed to meet the needs of each society. It is the culture and the society that gives the meanings understood through the signs (p. 42). Therefore, the communicators use the signs accordingly to the cultural context in which the communicators live. The study of the sign systems used and understood within graffitiist groups could be representative of some cultural appearances and perspectives of the Thai society. This methodology helps to

study the sign system represented in the graffiti inscriptions and analyze them in a systematic way.

To summarize, the purpose is to study the S-M-C-R model of graffiti-as-communication. The first aim seeks to interpret the M and the C. The second aim analyzes the S (graffiti writers) and the R (graffiti readers) whereas the last aim provides a deeper analysis of the four elements in the Thai social context.

Validity, reliability and objectivity

All the instruments mentioned above are pre-tested with students in B University during the pre-pilot and pilot study procedure. Tawceerat (1997) indicates that the content validity must be tested before implementation. The questionnaires and the interview guides are pre-tested and re-checked for validity by instructors within the three universities. They add a few more questions that could be more appropriate with students in each university. The instruments are tested for their consistency and objectivity with 120 students in B University.

The implementation of the instruments and analysis techniques are chosen carefully to be appropriate with this study and are of best help in shaping the analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 4: THAILAND: A CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Before starting to analyze graffiti produced in a Thai context, it is better to re-examine and understand the sociocultural bedrock and characteristics of the country that contribute to the Thai graffiti phenomenon. This examination will help to explain three questions important to this study: why the country chooses to overlook graffiti and demonizes it as deviant and vulgar behaviour, what roles, duties and conducts the society expects from students and what are deemed as taboos by Thai culture. It is because Thais attempt to conceal taboos that they often resurfaces in graffiti, which in turn helps to illuminate an understanding of the Thai graffiti content. As proposed in the preceding chapters, Thai student graffiti, although caused by various reasons, is the result of student resistance to authoritarian power within educational institutions. This chapter examines and explains such a relationship and the interplay between power and resistance in the Thai context. I have also mentioned that the graffiti phenomenon, although has existed for decades, has been overlooked by most analyses of Thai contemporary society, kept 'hidden' in the darkest corner of the society as it is considered as the 'bad by-product of the West'. I shall investigate this scenario in this chapter.

I have divided this chapter into four parts. The first part provides a brief general background of Thailand that focuses on the socio-political establishment that makes up the cultural formation and shapes many of the cultural characteristics of the country. The second part analyzes the major sociocultural characteristics of the country and links these with the Thai beliefs toward graffiti. The third part discusses the concept of power and resistance in the Thai context that embodies the relationship between student and educational institutions and the final part links all explanations to the graffiti phenomenon.

A brief general background of Thailand: its socio-political formation

Thailand is a Southeast Asian country with Buddhism as the main religion and Thai as the national language. The history of the country is believed to begin around 700 years ago but the origin of the country and its people is still in doubt. The country contains four main regions, the North, the Northeast, the South and the Central Plain that cover an area around 513,115 km. (Sacttho, 1989, p. 19). Nimmanahaeminda (1996, p. 221) writes, Thais are the majority but there are minority groups in each region such as overseas Chinese, migrants and indigenous people. The country, according to Sacttho, relies economically on agriculture. The population reached 62.87 million in the year 2001 ("Scoop Na 1", 2001, p. 2). The name of the country has been changed from 'Siam' to 'Thailand' in 1939, meaning a free and independent land to suggest its escape from being colonized by Western countries. The country has developed four kingdoms: Sukhothai (13th century), Ayudhaya (1350-1767), Thonburi (1767-1782) and Rattanakosin (1782-present), the present one with Bangkok as its capital. During the first three kingdoms and before 1932 in the Rattanakosin Kingdom, the country was an absolute monarchy. The Democratic Constitution was first drawn up in 1932, through a 'peaceful and silent' coup d'état by The People's Party or Phanaradth, which was a group of foreign-trained young intellectuals. Wun'Gaco (1996, p. 235) explains that the Party 'effectively' seized power from King Rama VII by relying on the military force. Nuechterlain (1967, p. 45) adds, the Party seized power from the King by sending him an ultimatum and the King 'peacefully' accepted it by deciding to leave the country in exile. However, Samudavanija (1997, p. 122) and Vallibhotama (1994, p. 47) similarly believe that the coup was 'silent' because it was done by only a small group of people, not with the consent of the whole country, which did not seek change and did not understand democracy. The purposes of the coup, according to the Party, were to 'reform' the country and create a liberal government like European countries (Nuechterlain,

1967). Therefore, after 1932, the country began its 'modernization' period or as Na Thalang (1994) and Siwarak (1988) argue, the 'Westernization' period. Vallibhotama (1994, p. 47) conclude that although the political system has been changed, the country was not prepared for the Western-style democracy. The authors posit that the citizens did not understand the need for 'change' and therefore, could not accept the concept of democracy that came to replace the old belief in the monarchy that had lasted for nearly seven centuries. Samudavanija (1997) proposes that this led to ideological and political splits and gaps in the country. For example, the so-called 'Western-style democracy' has been adapted into 'Thai-style democracy'. Samudavanija (1997, p. 89) explains that the new democracy was adjusted to follow the old Thai 'rules' that are based on centralism, authoritarianism and patron-client relationships. In fact, the author suggests, the new democracy was used to prevent the elitists to return to power. Paradoxically, the new democracy has been governed and censored by the military for many successive decades after the 1932 coup. During the period 1920s-1980s, military dictators, still ruled under the Constitution, and chose to use press censorship and other forms of control to make it unlawful to criticize the government, banned public discussion and opposed the formation of political parties. During this period people could be arrested under the charge of being communists (Asavapichayont, 1987, Sinlarat, 1983). Tejapira (2001) quoting from *The Politician* written by Srinawak, K. explains how common Thai people 'understand' the legitimisation of the series of coups after the 1932 as democracy;

They call it a democratic coup d'état, see. You have to have a lot of coups d'état. Otherwise it isn't democracy (p. 75).

The 1932 Democratic Constitution placed the Prime Minister as the leader of the government while the King was placed under the law and was no longer the head of the government. These developments highlight two important points that will be

elaborated next. The first is the Modernization period that is heavily based on Westernization and Western philosophy, which paradoxically leads to an ambivalence toward the West later. The second point is the concept of power that relies on authoritarianism helps to create the ideology that sees suppression as rightful has governed many of the political developments in the modernization period.

Buddhism-Brahminism and the monarchy as the national and cultural bedrock

The country developed its history and nation-building strategies over a 700 year period based on Buddhism and the strong belief in the absolute monarchy in which the king held the absolute power and remained above all laws. The belief in the absolute monarchy and practice reached its peak during the Ayudhaya period, which lasted for 417 years, and appears to be deeply engrained in the Thai political psyche. Largely influenced by Brahministic ideologies, Pongsapich (1996, p. 253) explains, kings are trumpeted as the 'Devaraja' or the divine bodies or the reincarnation of the supreme divinity and are believed to possess special god-like characteristics that demand an utmost high reverence and status. Wun'Gaeo (1996, p. 222-223) states that in the Thai nation-building strategies, that the monarchy is the only institution that stands as the centralized body of the nation, people and religion. Pongsapich (1996, p. 252) shares Wun'Gaeo's idea, the divine-king monarchy is supported by some teachings from Buddhism-Brahminism specific to Thailand. In other word, the ruling class has long used Buddhism-Brahminism-animism, acting as the Thai religion, as a political tool and national ideology (Siwarak, 1993, p. 46).

The belief in the monarchy is so pervasive and deeply rooted that The Democratic Constitutional Laws, paradoxically states that the monarchy must be considered sacred and it is against the law to criticize this institution. The Law, however, diminishes the role of the monarchy, as kings are to be under The Constitution and

can only exercise legislative power through the National Assembly to remain the constitutional head of the country.

Wun'Gaco (1996, p. 236) suggests that the cultural formation of the country relies on both the monarchy and Buddhism as reflected in the national doctrine 'The Nation, the Religion and the King' that is used in the shaping of the national culture. Buddhism, as the main religion in Thailand, is both specific and complex. Pongsapich (1996, p. 253) explains the complexity of Thai Buddhism because Thai Buddhism must be understood as a three-fold religion in which Brahminism and animism remaining important. Many important Thai scholars, such as Kitsuwon (1997, p. 65), Siwarak (1993) and Vallibhotama (1997, p. 71) seek to explain this phenomenon. Vallibhotama hypothesizes animism as being a custom common to most Southeast Asian countries and consequently has strong bearings on social structure and the psychological make-up of each Southeast Asian country. According to Vallibhotama, Thais developed the idea of animism and spirit-cult based on the existence of reincarnation and life after death as early as 10,000 years ago and it still remained central to common beliefs even after Thais accepted Buddhism as the main religion in the Sukhothai period. Kitsuwon shares Vallibhotama's assumption that the belief in animism is a part of an ancient civilization and that these beliefs in supernatural powers are "outside the realm of modern science" (p. 65). Among these beliefs are the notion of spirits, deities, demigods, demons and life after death seem most prominent. Kesten (1997, p. 2) explains that the belief in life after death is expressed in many forms in the country. One example of this notion of reincarnation is that it is linked to the divine kingship and supports its long-life span: the king is the reincarnation of the Supreme God.

The three-fold Buddhism in Thailand has an intertwined relationship with Thai politics that is based on centralism and traditional monarchy. Pongsapich (1996, p. 252) suggests, because the country has been relying on the Buddhism-Brahminism

philosophies, Buddhism has played a vital role in stabilizing Thai politics. Podhisita (1998, p. 37) states that the history of Thai culture is dominated by religion and that "if we take away the Buddhist component, there is little to say about it" because the orientation towards Buddhism is important and all-pervasive in the country. It is appropriate to mention that Thai political beliefs, during the absolute monarchy periods, are also strongly based upon religious cosmographic beliefs that men are born unequal and hierarchical. Siwarak (1993, p. 47) elaborates this into a concept of the supportive relationship between Thai Buddhism and politics. The author asserts that Buddhism-Brahminism has been used as a political tool by the ruling class to function as the national ideology. The main point in this relationship, according to the author, is that the belief in the reincarnation creates an illusion making the ruling class 'sacred' and places the rulers in a god-like position. Siwarak (1993, p. 47) explains, the invented sacredness and godliness demand a great degree of sacrifice, devotion and contribution from the ruled class in order to make itself totally accepted without skepticism and remains 'untouchable'. According to the author, the total acceptance without resistance and skepticism has its main function to force people to yield to the higher power. The Thai-style politics has remained unscathed for such a long period of time because of this technique that makes the common man yield to and believe with fear in the sacredness of the ruling class. Aiewsiwongse (1984), however, adds that the longevity of the Thai absolute monarchy also results from the creation of an elite and the nobility, who profit from the lands, manpower and farms given to them according to their official ranks uphold this elitist system. Thus democracy's emphasis on equality is largely unacceptable to Thais who have been acculturated into an hierarchical system. To sum up, Podhisita (1998, p. 38) posits that Buddhism and the monarch stand as 'strong pillars' of the society which together constitute the major parts of Thai culture.

As a strong national ideology and a tight control of manpower was needed during the Ayudhaya period and since the monarchical-style government needed to be

sustained, Buddhism was seen as an instrument to achieve nationalism (Nuechterlain, 1967). Wun'Gao (1996) argues that, apart from the fact that Buddhism has remained and survived as the only major religion and core value system for Thais, it has formed a close supportive relationship with both the state and the monarchy since the first kingdom. Moreover, the impact of doctrinal Buddhism-Brahminism teachings on certain aspects of the social order and social status helped support the ideology of divine kingship by setting up a boundary between two classes of people: the ruling and the ruled (Saihoo, 1988, p. 11). The core doctrinal teachings are the notion of 'boon' or merit and the idea of 'karma' or the actions from the past life influencing the present. In deed, the establishment of the nation and the success of the monarchy in harnessing the people under the totalitarian government resulted from these two core values: the boon and the karma that Thais accept as the core attributes of their life. Siwarak (1993, p. 46) supports this, by pointing out that Buddhism-animism in Thailand also serves as a tool for the ruling class to rule the country.

According to the Thai viewpoint, 'boon' and 'karma' are intertwined and work as a cycle. 'Karma' is the actions one has performed in the past life that affects the degree of 'boon' in the present life after one's reincarnation. Saihoo (1988, p. 12) explains it thus, as the present is conditioned by the past and, in turn, determines the future, a person becomes what he is as a result of his karma in his past life but one can improve this life's position by performing more 'boon' or good merit in order to achieve a better life in the next life. The merit and karma performed in the past life will yield benefits visible in the present life such as wealth, health, social status, fame and physical appearance (Klausner, 2000, p. 148). To put it simply, the attributes of a higher social status, good health, good fortune and wealth is a 'reward' from the good merits and karma done in the past life. By contrast, one who is wealthy, famous or possesses high social status but does not perform good merits in

this life would end up as a poor, unhealthy person or is born at the lowest social hierarchy when they reincarnate.

Many scholars, i.e., Saihoo (1988), Pongsapich (1996) and Podhisita (1998) share the same idea that Thais identify these attitudes as a coping strategy to explain both the unexplainable and explainable incidents such as death or illness and accept conditions of life as the result of 'boon' and 'karma' without question. Podhisita, however, comments that Thais use the concept of boon and karma as an alternative when they find scientific explanations are unsatisfactory (p. 46). Central to these attitudes is the view that Thais believe men are not born equal but into an hierarchy. These values, in turn, are functional in supporting and strengthening the monarchy, the 'sakdina' or the feudal system and the social structure of class in Thailand. They work towards preserving the ruling class by making it sacred and inviolable, and by, separating the rulers from the ruled. To explain it simply, the Law of Karma explains that the ruling elite class is born to rule because they have a better and higher set of karma and boon, thus, they are given the right to rule because of the higher karma that is pre-determined by the divine will (Chaisinghghananont, 2001; Saihoo, 1988). The common people on the contrary, are born as the ruled because they do not possess good karma. Thus, the common man, with lesser boon and possessing no divine karma, needs to accept the ruling power and totally believe in the ruling class. Chaisinghghananont (2001) asserts that this belief is directly derived from the Buddhist cosmography explained in length in the *Traibhumi of Phra Raung*. The *Traibhumi* or *The Three World of Phra Raung* compiled by King Lithai in 1345 is an influential document detailing descriptions of Buddhist cosmography, the consequences of boon on the next life and the past life are greatly emphasized in the book (Podhisita, 1998, p. 41-42). The social positions that are determined by the Law of Karma are beyond amendment in the present life, one can improve life's position by collecting more merit in this life to reward the future life after reincarnation. Saihoo (1988, p. 11-12) argues that by relying on the immutable Law of Karma,

Thais readily accept the unequal social position and the superior-inferior relations between the social hierarchies and have awareness that social mobility and changes are nearly impossible. Thais do not demand social equality. Chaisinghnanont (2001, p. 78) also agrees on this point, that the belief in boon, karma and that men are born unequal is very influential in the way that it suppresses social status mobility, makes people yield to the position and social status they are born into without resistance and leads people to accept those who have higher power without question. Siwarak (1993, p. 46-47) also suggests that the Law of Karma and the belief in the unequal social hierarchy help to construct the Thai national ideology that sees authoritarian power of the ruling class is rightful and acceptable. In fact, the Law of Karma legitimates the ruling power, according to Siwarak, makes the citizens accept the power and controls them by decreeing that resistance against the power is a sin (p. 48).

To elaborate further, these Buddhist-Brahministic-animistic notions of boon, karma and reincarnation are instrumental in forming social relations in that they decree commoners and the monarchy hold different sets of boon and karma. Kings and the nobility hold divine characteristics different from commoners because they have the 'divine boon' or the greatest merit that commoners can never possess. Moreover, they are born out of 'divine determination' or are 'sent' from the supreme god, thus, their political power, high status, influence and wealth cannot be questioned but must be obeyed, accepted and respected. As a result, the absolute monarchy and political power of the leading class has been legitimized and nurtured by these beliefs for almost seven centuries. Siwarak (1993, p. 48) suggests that one distinct Thai cultural characteristic is the acceptance of power through the religious-animistic belief system.

To make the acceptance without resistance more solid, another supportive mechanism and apparatus is needed. Saihoo (1988, p. 14) points out that the

'sakdina' of the feudal system is another tool that binds the common people under the ruling elite class. The author explains that the sakdina system, first legitimated in the Ayudhaya Kingdom and extended into the Bangkok period, is a feudal system decreeing that Thai males from the age of twenty has to register himself to a noble patron and works in the land of the patron (p. 15). The patron gives protection and some farm produce in return for the service whereas the noble patron himself is given lands by the king. Under the sakdina system, the Thai society is composed of four classes of people, the king, the nobility, the common man and the slave (p. 18-19) showing the influence of the Indian social system on Thai thought. Both the common man and the slave work for the nobility and could not free themselves from the patron. The sakdina system supported the authoritarian system by giving the ruling class privileges, special rights and totalitarian claims over the people. Moreover, Chaisinghghananont (2001) and Ghoranadhakul (cited in Chaisinghghananont, 2001, p. 82) contend that a set of codes was introduced to the public sphere in the form of laws and regulations, that worked as a state apparatus to execute the decrees of the ruling class. Ghoranadhakul (cited in Chaisinghghananont, 2001, p. 82) explains, that the set of codes include: aesthetic codes such as music and art, dress codes, codes of conducts and disciplines and a belief regarding how 'civilized people' behave that concludes that only royalty are civilized people because of the highest degree of merit they hold. According to these codes, commoners could not perform music, art and dance similar to those of the royalty, they could not dress or use the same kind of materials the monarchy use no matter how wealthy. The laws reinforce the codes by decreeing that commoners could not look directly into the king's face or speak with him, because kings possess the highest merit and the greatest sin occurs if kings are disturbed, touched or seen by commoners. Regulations, and severe punishment were employed as a means to harness and regulate people to follow the codes of conducts assigned to them according to different social classes.

Several writers, i.e., Chaisinghghananont (2001), Klausner (2000), Pongsapich (1996) and Saihoo (1988), similarly believe the outcome of this totalitarian phenomenon is pervasive, affecting the present Thai political formation. It contributes to Thai's passivity in political involvement and in their lack of agitation over the denial of political rights. Moreover, it makes Thai people accept their conditions of life without question, being submissive to authority and yield to superiority without resistance (Chaisinghghananont, 2001, p. 98). Suparb (2000, p. 30) contends, the long surrender to the absolute monarchy government without any urge to resist makes Thai people view changes as rather destructive to the status quo and difficult to accept. An obvious example is, throughout Thai history, there has been few records of coup d'état made by Thai commoners against the monarchy except the first 1932 coup d'état, which was the work of a small group of foreign-trained intellectuals (Wun'Gaeo, 1996). Klausner (2000, p. 377) concludes that Thais accept and justify the power structure in terms of the Law of Karma, the acceptance places the ruling class whose status that demands respect, obedience and fear.

The Thai philosophy of power is reproduced in the political climate of the country. Many scholars, i.e., Nuechterlain (1967), Samudavanija (1997) and Vallibhotama (1994) believe the 1932 coup is indeed a shift of power from the monarchy to the nobility and the military but not the vast mass of people. Vallibhotama (1997, p. 47-48) states, the political changes arising from the coup do not mean that the Western democracy was neither embraced nor it established and learnt among Thai commoners who did not perceive the need for a change and did not understand democracy in its modern, Westernised sense. After 1932, the country fell into a series of military dictatorships that demanded unquestioning obedience from the people (Thanyaseth, 1987, p.1). According to Tejapira (2001), the 1932 coup was a form of authoritarian constitutionalism that accepted 'democracy' as a necessary evil and the coups that followed led by Khana Patiwat or The Revolutionary Group (p.75-

76) should be seen as an attempt to undo the drift to democracy. Tejapira (p. 76) concludes, that politics in Thailand is characterized by the routine use of force. During the sixty years under military dictators, demonstrations, protests and publications against the dictatorial leaders are totally suppressed by force. To a large extent, the long periods of absolute-style politics and ideology resulted in certain Thai viewpoints about being submissive to authority, accepting censorship and power without resistance and of being able to remain 'patient' under rigid control were firmly established. Sacttho (1989, p. 81) asserts that by being forced to be receptive for so many centuries, Thais are politically inactive and always remain the 'silent majority'.

Sexuality, aggression and seniority as taboos in Thai society

Kesten (1997, p. 7) writes, to most Thais, the most important social value is the accumulation of merit. Apart from following Buddhist moral codes and performing meritorious acts to gain merit, Thais believe that being ordained as monks is another way to gain a greater degree of merit for the ordained person himself and his family (Kesten, 1997, p. 7). Since women are forbidden to be ordained, it becomes important to have son ordained in order to obtain merit. As the Thai phrase says women have to 'clutch to the end of the saffron robe of the son' to reach merit. The most important underlying message in this belief is the Thai's perception of morality and the role of 'vehicles' to reach merit.

Morality, within the Thai context, imitates the ideal morality that monks are deemed to possess through the application of discipline. The ideal morality, in monastic discourse, involves constant abstention from secular activities, one of which is a complete abstention from sexuality (Kesten, 1997, p. 7). The ideal morality of monks is constructed by the 227 rules of conduct. The four major sections are: 1) never to

have any sexual relationship, 2) never to kill or take even the smallest of lives, 3) live with no possessions and abjure luxury and 4) earn a living by accepting food made by layman as daily alms and eat only one or two meals a day (Kesten, 1997, p. 8). From the Thai viewpoint, monks deserve great respect and higher status because their conduct physically, ideologically and spiritually always remains 'clean'.

Crucial to this notion is the construction of what constitutes 'unclean' behaviour in the Thai context. Based on the monastic rules and Buddhist core teachings emphasizing abstention from life's passions, 'clean' conduct most prominently involves self-restraint from sexuality, luscious meals and other forms of luxury. It is echoed in many Thai proverbs and maxims, with most carry a similar message saying "winning one's self is a true victory". The construction of the 'unclean' is, in fact, shaped by a form of the othering process that draws a line between layman and monks by indicating layman conducts as 'unclean'. Being 'unclean' also, in this sense, means being immoral. Immorality, as a consequence, blocks the way to merit. Obvious in this notion it is the Thai perception on sexuality as being unclean, destructive, menacing and, most importantly, demonic that remains important and contradictory given Thailand's reputation as the destination for sex tourism.

It is necessary for Thais to find a 'vehicle' to reach merit, as it is the only way to ensure a better next life and make present life less miserable. Thus, Thais perceive the 'clean' conduct of monks as a vehicle to gain merit. By imitating the monk's conduct, laymen can also reach a certain amount of merit by practicing self-control and the greater the degree of self-control the more merit is gained. As a result, during the Buddhist Lent, Thai men choose to follow the monk's conduct as a pathway to gain merit by refraining from drinking, gambling, and sexual relationships and at the same time attempt to be truthful in their everyday conduct.

To provide an antidote against sexuality as being unclean and demonic conduct, Thai society attempts to implement a puritanical code of conduct to govern it, and people are reminded not to bring this topic into public conversation or discussion but rather they should 'leave it in the closet'. Social control and social sanctions in several forms are always operative to ensure people's practice sexual repression and self-regulation. Klausner (2000, p. 148) comments that in the past, the society itself does not approve of premarital sex and public expressions of affection. The study of contemporary Thai women by Vasighasin and Hemaprasit (2002), however, confirms that this belief still exists and that Thais have a dubious standard on sexuality. The society believes women should avoid premarital sex and women must be virgin before marriage whereas premarital or extramarital sex, for men, is acceptable. Thus, proper behaviour and good conduct, in Thai discourse, especially for youth and women is based on sexual innocence and purity. A good example in this case is the 1969 ministerial regulations enacted by The Ministry of Education that are still operative today, chief among these are regulations decreeing students at all levels must not engage in sexual relationships. Another example is that prostitution is illegal in the country. According to Thai viewpoints, sexual matters and issues must be confined to a very limited extent. However, it must be noted that Thailand holds a double standard upon sexuality. Although the country has a puritanical code of behaviour on sexuality for its people, it subtly encourages sex industry as a tourist attraction. Klausner (2000, p. 225) comments that sex industry in the country is disguised in several forms such as massage parlours or hotels. Chareonwongsak (1996, p. 109) argues that the country's double standard on sexuality is hypocritical, the sex industry flourishes in the country because it is 'protected' by some authorities. Through the protection by the authorities, the sex industry is legitimized (Chareonwongsak, 1996, p. 110). Charoensri et al (1996) and Vasighasin and Hemaprasit (2002) agree with the concept of the Thai double standard. The authors agree that the government encourages the sex industry because it brings in money and attracts more tourists into the country.

The attempts to regulate and control people are so effective that it gradually becomes a standard of conduct followed in Thailand, establishing sexuality as taboo and preventing public conversation involving this topic. However, sexual release often takes other quite subtle forms in several disguises and subterfuges such as folk songs and some local rites and rituals.

Seniority, is of a paramount importance in Thai society. As Thailand has been a hierarchical society under an absolute monarchy for nearly seven centuries with few political changes, the socio-political environment has accepted respect based on seniority as a core dimension of civilized behaviour. The *sakdina* or the feudal system, maintained in Thailand for over five hundred years, contributed greatly towards the importance of seniority. Saihoo (1988, p. 17) believes the relationship between commoners, including slaves, and patrons from the *sakdina* system forms itself into a patron-client group relationship in which seniority is the barrier between the patron and the client.

According to the Saihoo, the long years of the *sakdina* system leads to a feudal consciousness and values where seniority is a part of it that continues into the present. The belief in seniority is, in fact, another tool for the state to control its people and, thus, serves the nation-building purpose. Seniority, in this sense, has a political edge, it works to support the notion of *boon* and *karma*. It means that nobility, born with a greater *boon* and better *karma* than commoners, deserve respect and obedience from all. This also implies that seniority, in the Thai context, also means superiority.

The Buddhist-Brahministic teachings reinforce the impact of seniority within the family. Again, this conceptualization of family relations is based on the idea of *boon*, *karma*, *sin* and *merit*. Suparb (2000, p. 16) points out, the Thai family's

principal ties and rules are primarily based on respect for the elderly that involves around the notion of 'gha-tan-u' or obligation and gratitude. Similar to Confucian ideology, Thais believe children owe a 'debt' to parents because parents give birth to them and provide for them and children pay off this debt by achieving merit. Merit, in this sense, is being obedient and showing great respect as well as gratitude to parents, partly to repay the debt a child owes one's parents and partly because of their seniority. Sons, if ordained, can totally redeem this debt and thereby give the greatest merit to the parents. The issue of sin and the belief in torment and punishment in hell after death without being able to reincarnate are used to reinforce this practice: it is considered the greatest sin if one neglects his or her parents or does not treat them well. Seniority, in the family context, is established around the matter of age and gratitude. Approximating the sentiments and the needs of the larger society, an amount of regulation and control is exercised within Thai family: parents control and children obey. Klausner (2000, p. 147) comments, that in the past, Thai family relations were based on the pervasive control and authority of parents over children and children do not think to question such authority and seniority. Podhisita (1998) confirms that this pattern still exists in the contemporary society, within the kinship circle and outside. Thais regard parents as *Phu mi pra kun* or one who has done great favour and children are tied to them with social obligations. It does not, therefore, require a vast leap in the imagination to transfer this model to the Thai university system where the authorities are the parents and the students the children. Podhisita (1998, p. 48) posits that Thais also regard teachers as *Phu mi pra kun* and that students have to repay the favour.

Non-violence, non-aggression and peacefulness are deemed ideal behaviours in Thai society. Several scholars, i.e., Kesten (1997), Klausner (2000), Podhisita (1998) and Suparb (2000), suggest these ideal behaviours have Buddhist-Brahministic traits because Buddhist teachings emphasize peacefulness and harmonious living. Influenced by religious ideology, the 'good character' in the Thai context is most

importantly based on the ability to avoid expressing anger, hatred and displeasure and retain the capacity to remain calm without showing emotions in even the most trying of circumstances (Klausner, 2000, p. 150). In Thai, this quality is called 'chai yen' or as Podhisita (1998, p. 48) terms it, a 'cool heart'. The author gives an explanation of having a 'cool heart'; it implies a psychological ability of not being anxious when confronting problems, it means not getting angry easily and, thirdly, being able to suppress one's emotion (p. 49). Confrontation, thus, must be avoided and expressing anger or displeasure openly is considered vulgar and rude. Chaisinghghananont (2001, p. 122), however, argues in his work *A Matter of Taste*, that 'good character' has a political root. The ability to remain serene in spite of conflicts is a strategy the ruling class used to differentiate the nobility from the commoner. It stems from the notion of the 'civilized people' who are born with a greater and higher degree of merit and karma. In this sense, 'civilized people' are distinguished because of their higher degree of self-control, their self-discipline and their capacity to suppress negative feelings. Klausner (2000, p. 146), however, offers another explanation in his *Reflections on Thai Culture*. He suggests that since Thai society is an agricultural society with very little machinery and a reliance on manpower to perform tasks in negotiation become important in labour exchanges. According to Klausner, in such a closed community, if overtly expressed, feuding would make co-operation and mutual aid impossible. The avoidance of confrontation and the suppression of negative feelings are social strategies that meet the needs of an agricultural society.

Watson (1980), however, points out that by the need to suppress feelings and remaining polite, Thais show negative emotions in other ways such as reckless driving and watching bloody sports. This view is shared by Klausner (2000, p. 323), who argues Thai develop a variety of indirect outlets for their emotions. Chief among these, according to the Klausner, is the indirect verbal and non-verbal abuse in the forms of gossip, backbiting remarks, and a technique called 'prachot'. A 'prachot' is

an indirect verbal or non-verbal abuse spoken or done in front of the targeted person but aimed at another 'innocent' person or thing, intending to create uneasiness and more painful feelings than a direct abuse. It must be noted that Thais like to release negative feelings, especially hatred and anger, in an anonymous way with some specific 'tools'. The tools include unsigned anonymous letters sent out to the public, 'bombing' by Chinese firecrackers, garbage or waste matter in front of the house of the targeted person at night or even resorting to black magic. The 'bombing' method is often chosen when a younger person needs to express hatred towards a senior person or a person who holds a higher social rank. These methods bring more shame and embarrassment to the targeted person than the perpetrator as the abused person has lost his 'face', which means dignity. The secret ways Thais express hatred and anger approximates closely Thai ideal behaviour and the core values Thai deem important: the ability to suppress feelings in public, the avoidance of confrontation and seniority. Yet, it is important to understand the ambivalence toward the issue of confrontation in Thailand. Although Buddhism emphasizes peacefulness and Thai ideal behaviours echo this ideology, there are some certain social values common in some provinces in the Western part of the country that resorting to extreme violence. Klausner (2000, p. 326) comments that, in the past and in rural areas, confrontation with extreme violence such as killing, gun fighting and ambushing is deemed an indication of manhood and is heralded as a rite of passage for young men. However, a contemporary writing by Sudthisakorn (1999) confirms that this behaviour of men resorting to gun fighting and killing still exists. Wongthanapa (1996, p. 28) explains that this is because Thai youths perceive extreme violence as heroic. This perception, according to Wongthanapa is the major cause of inter-school fights between male students in Thailand.

To summarize, Buddhism-Brahminism-animism plays a vital role in shaping the political and socio-cultural shape of the country. However, the religious ideologies are utilized as the vehicle of the state as a political ploy for nation building purposes.

In turn, it sustains the ruling class and the absolute-style government by establishing itself as the national ideology and thus justifies and glorifies the differences and inequality between two social classes. It becomes a shared understanding and consensus that inequality cannot be amended and thus people must accept what they are destined to become without questions. The attempts to harness people might stem from the fear of the vulnerability of the absolute monarchy. In order to avoid the danger of people uprising against the ruling class and to insert a control without resistance, the notion of different forms of merit and karma that cannot be amended in the present life are used to dominate the people by influencing their minds and thereby affecting Thai people's attitudes toward life. The long periods under the totalitarian control gradually shaped Thai major attitudes and sentiments towards political passivity, submission without resistance or challenge and the perception viewing opposition as rather destructive and negative. Without labouring the point, it will be argued that the production of graffiti in Thai universities is shaped by these socio-political factors as I will show in this thesis.

Thai ambivalence toward the West

To understand better why Thailand chooses to treat youth graffiti in a very specific and contradictory manner by blaming Western culture, the country's ambivalence towards the West must be analyzed. The first recorded contact between Thailand and the West began in 1518 with the Portuguese and in 1600s with the Dutch, British and French respectively (Nuechterlain, 1967, P. 20). The Thai ambivalence toward the West, expressed as a form of cultural fear, arose in the early stages of the relationships with the West. In 1518, the country welcomed the West with abundant trading and religious freedom. After the 1600s, for fear of the West rising political power away from the established Thai elite of the time, the country put an end to the East-West relationships with a massacre in Ayudhaya Kingdom and excluded

Europeans from the country for over a century (Nuechterlain, 1967, P. 28). The re-contact with the West first appeared during the reign of King Mongkut (Rama III) in Rattanakosin Kingdom resulting from the fear of the encroachment of the British and the French. The King himself was convinced that the nation had to accommodate itself to the West, thus, starting the first phase of the Thai Modernization period which was indeed a form of Westernization. This ideology of accommodation echoed the needs of the Thai elite to be equal and compatible with 'civilized' nations, a view often portrayed in the National Economic Development Plans for decades. Tejapira (1996, P. 240), believes the country's desire to accommodate itself to the West has resulted in a 'blind following of the West' that corrupts the national culture, its people and the country's 'Thainess'. This gives rise to an ambivalence towards the West that is expressed in the country's wish to re-build the nation according to Western models and accepting Western technology, capital and expertise but at the same time to deny the Western cultural baggage that follows (Siwarak, 1993, p. 88). The so-called 'vulnerability' and the opposition to the West functions as the anti-modernization discourse important to the country and its attempts to 'save' the national culture because the country sees itself as being polluted by external forces. The notion of othering the West as damaging the Thai identity is, in fact, a cultural and moral fear and panic as the country chooses to 'blame' the West for the loss of its national culture and identity. Kaewthep (1996, p. 82) terms this ambivalence as finding a 'cultural scapegoat' to share the responsibilities for the loss of its national culture. Tejapira (1996, p. 247), agrees with Kaewthep, calling it a 'symptom of cultural schizophrenia'. The opposition against the West becomes a political and cultural ploy the country adopts to 'explain' contemporary cultural problems. It must be noted that the student graffiti phenomenon is no exception.

Siwarak (1998, p. 38) argues that the ambivalence toward the West is not new, especially in Asian countries. In the Bangkok period, between 1809-1851, the

ambivalence and hatred against the West, according to Siwarak, could be seen during the reign of King Rama III. The King himself declared that the West was 'The Mara' or The Devil (p. 34). This resentment has been linked to the Buddhist mythology about The Mara and Lord Buddha where The Mara tries everyway to corrupt, destroy the purity of Lord Buddha and attempts to block his way to reaching the Enlightenment. This comparison of the West to The Mara is to suggest that the coming of the West into the country causes the destruction of Thailand's alleged purity and morality. Although the country, during the reign of King Rama III, believed the change toward modernization to be crucial to the survival of the country in the face of Western colonization and thus began to 'improve' the country by following the Western models, education, lifestyle and culture, there lies a sense of othering and resentment towards the West beneath the acceptance of the West.

Thai modernization or Westernization was speeded up during the reign of King Rama V, the purpose was to re-create a new type of state that is defined by modernization according to Western standards to be 'equal and compatible with civilized nations' (Nuechterlain, 1967, p. 44). Accommodating the country to the Western standards was seen as a way of saving the country from being colonized. This ideology has been re-addressed several times; in the reign of King Rama VI (1886-1910), it was accelerated during the time of Prime Minister Pibulsongkram (1938-1957) and resurfaces in the early National Economic and Development Plans (1961-1970) (Nuechterlain, 1967). Phagaphasvivat (1999) agrees with this point, the early National Economic and Development plan closely follows the American model. The desire to modernize leads to the acceptance of Western culture, lifestyle, economic development models, technology and expertise often at the expense of traditional local models. The modernization period that relies heavily on Western models suggests that the country sees itself as 'uncivilized' when compared with Western countries that are 'civilized'. Siwarak (1998, p. 34) suggests that the modernization discourse clearly states that what is traditional and ethnic Thai is

uncivilized and that of the West is civilized. This was echoed in the writing of King Rama VI:

When young Siam [Thai] became obsessed with the idea of civilization at any price, it was natural for them to think that in order to become effectual civilized, we would have to turn our backs upon everything that belonged to the old order of things. Such people believe that we have only to ape European manners and European ways in outward things in order to be accounted civilized (Chaisingghananont, 2001, p. 114-115)

The tension between the modernization discourse and the anti-modernization discourse can be seen during the time of Prime Minister Pibulsongkram in the 1930s. In order to re-create a new state, the government believed that a new national culture, following Western models, was needed. A National Institute of Culture was established, its job was to define a new Thai culture in which the loyalty to the Leader was the first duty of Thai citizens. At the same time it was charged with finding ways of persuading people through propaganda to accept the 'new' culture which was based on a Western precepts (Phagaphasvivat, 1999, p.10). The national cultural policy of the 1930s was, according to Wun'Gao (1996, p. 235), pro-Western and anti-Chinese. Wun'Gao concludes that the 'new' Thai national culture promoted at the time provided a new cultural outlook, lifestyle, ethics, beliefs, manners, dress and behaviours that copied the contemporary Western ones. However, the Prime Minister believed, by making Thais behave like westerners, albeit superficially, the transformation of the country could be accomplished ("Follow The Leader", 1996).

However, the underlying resentment toward the West appears in the residual belief that the country was damaged morally and culturally by the external forces. This concept is not new as Nuechterlain (1967, p. 23) suggests, pointing out that the

notion of othering the West as damaging Thai identity and the people began in the 1600s. It appeared first as a political awareness and resentment toward influential Western people in Thailand but later turned into a cultural fear and moral panic. Tejapira (1996, p. 240) concurs with this argument and suggests that such concern dominates the 1990s, and has led the Thai government to launch a campaign 'Thai Culture Promotion Year' in 1994 to help restore the Thai culture. The underlying message in the campaign is a fear of Western cultural power that may be overcome by the awareness of the changing Thai culture that has strong traditional roots. Improper behaviour among youth and the cultural problems in the country are deemed the results of the cultural damages from the West. Notable examples of this damaging influence are Madonna and Michael Jackson. The government posits that they bring undesirable Western values, especially in regard to sexuality, into Thailand and thus destroy young Thais and the 'proper' Thai cultural values (Pattarakulavanich, 1996, p. 56). These proper values can be rebound by following traditional Thai cultural precepts. Kaewthep (1996, p. 82) suggests, this oppositional discourse has been adopted to help explain the changing culture in which the West, according to Thais, has to be responsible. Kaewthep explains that of the discovery of the 'cultural scapegoat' represents Thai cultural vulnerability that arises from the cultural instability (p. 82). The cultural scapegoat syndrome is visibly based on the idea of othering and superiority in which Thailand sees itself as spiritually, culturally and morally superior and spiritual to the West. The scapegoat syndrome also suggests that what comes from the West is corrupting and undesirable. This reveals a Thai viewpoint that sees Thai values and culture as authentic, unique, traditional and spiritually 'clean' whereas the Western ones are not.

Thai university: a contested terrain between students and authorities

Formerly, the Thai educational system began in the monastery (Education In Thailand, 1997, p. 5). The new educational system and educational reformation was

initiated during the reign of King Rama V during the country early modernization period when the view that sees education as a tool to re-make the country and that Western knowledge is trumpeted as the nation's life-saver was widely accepted (Somboon, 1991, p. 149). The first university was established in 1927. The aim of the modernized education is to produce a new generation to keep pace with the modernization (Education In Thailand, 1997). Dulayakasem (1988, p. 16) shows that education management in Thailand is a state monopoly under the Constitution which states that the state is the only entity to manages and control the educational system and that every educational institution within the country is answerable to the state, which is responsible in setting up rules and regulations used in educational institutions. Somboon (1991, p. 3) points out that the new 'modernized' educational reformation of the 1920s and 1930s followed closely the British educational model. Sinlarat (1983, p. 13) asserts that the new Thai educational system since the 1950s serves the aims of authoritarianism in the country by encouraging submission and respect to seniority and authority without question among students.

It is clear that the administration of Thai universities approximates the constructed totalitarian-style sentiments that underpin Thai society to 'shape' Thai youths. The reasons Thai youth appear to need to be controlled by the state are simple, if you subscribe to the traditional Thai view of life. It is because the education is state-controlled and centralized and nearly every educational institution is state-owned. Consequently students have an obligation to the state, which acts as the parent, although on a grand scale. Moreover, education has been heralded as a tool to civilize and modernize the country since the 1800s, making Thailand compatible with the West. Dulayakasem (1988, p. 18) believes the Thai route to Westernization-Modernization sees Western-style education as the tool to re-make Thailand. With the nation-rebuilding purposes in mind, the state sees youth as the future nation-builders and creates universities as the places to guide and shape the nation's future. Logically, it follows that the state has the right to control students because they have

the duty to prepare for the future. Control is exercised in the rules and regulations placed upon students. In 1969, the Minister of Education sets up a ministerial regulation to establish sixteen codes of conducts, decreeing what conduct is deemed proper and what is deviant. The sixteen codes of conducts are still operative today. The regulations closely approximate the sentiments and the needs of the government and reflect the Thai authoritarian and puritanical sentiments. According to the regulations, students cannot wear long hair, may never to engage in sexual relationships, may not visit department stores after class, never play snooker and never drink or smoke, write graffiti or commit any other kind of vandalism (Pattanapong, 1995, p. 95). The government believes that by excluding them from the adult world, youth will follow the right way that society expects and become a clean intellectual young person. Thai society emphasizes that the 'quality' of youth is measured by its sexual innocence, purity and the degree of respect youth play to adults, this need is reflected in regulations the government places upon students. Thanyaseth (1987, p. 109) concludes that one of the first aims of the government during the 1950s-1980s was to control and suppress student activities. Sinlarat (1983, p. 13) agrees, Thai education closely follows the authoritarian regime, suggesting the goals of the Thai education are to establish the 'good' people that are docile, receptive and are easy to control. Sinlarat (p. 59) gives an example that within classroom context, students are taught to 'listen' to teachers and 'memorize' from books rather than question and think for themselves.

During the 1960s-1980s, the golden age of military dictatorships, high-ranking military officials were sent to universities to take up the positions as university presidents (Lotrakul, 1985, p. 47; Thanyaseth, 1987, p. 108). Martial laws were used inside campus and students were banned from political involvement, public discussions, gatherings and were not allowed to have a voice of their own (Asavapichayont, 1987, Thanyaseth, 1987). The authorities clearly saw a need to suppress students resulting from the government's awareness of its own vulnerability

and at the same time perceiving the 'power' of young people (Lotrakul, 1985; Thanyaseth, 1987). The result was the rigid control of universities, which resulted in the production of 'underground' student publications and journals because students saw the official student media as tarnished and censored (Asavapichayont, 1987, p. 222). Strategies effective in tarnishing, silencing and suppressing student forces, academics and people's voice varied enormously. Ranging from the abolition of the constitutional regime, the ban on political parties and public gatherings, which led to a Thai censorship authority being founded, army troops were based on university campuses and people could be arrested or murdered under the charge of being 'communists'. To suppress alternative political and anti-government ideas, publications and printed matters were placed under strict surveillance and are constant confiscated on the charge of being "probably contrary to public order and morality" (Tejapira, 2001, p. 133). Students, during the 1960s-1970s, began to 'question' the university and teachers and started to oppose the educational system and the way universities were ruled under the military (Asavapichayont, 1987, p. 226). Asavapichayont (1987), Lotrakul (1985) and Thanyaseth (1987) all agree that students during the 1960s-1970s acted as political agents and student movements are crucial to the political climate at that time that was under military dictatorship. Lotrakul (1985, p. s) asserts that the important factors, apart from political suppression, are that the freedom and liberty within universities was restricted and the distant hierarchical relationship between teachers and students prevailed. Despite restrictions, political oppression and the fact that universities are under state control and therefore 'watchful eyes' from the country's leaders, Tejapira (2001) asserts that universities, at that time, were the most fertile breeding ground for new revolutionary political ideas and movements (p. 101). The government, however, chose to pass a law removing the word 'kanmeung' or politics from Thammasat University's full name (Thammasat University of Moral and Political Sciences) in order to depoliticize the university and its students who had acted as active political agents (Tejapira, 2001, p. 100). These attempts clearly suggest that the government

understood the force of student power and feared its being unleashed if freedom of speech was given to the students. This situation also gives us a clearer picture of Thai university campus being a contested terrain between two contrasting forces.

There were two students' attempts at bringing about the downfall of the military government in 1973 and 1976. These are seen as the most severe bloody political demonstrations in Thai society. Both student uprisings were met by mass shooting from troops of soldiers and were finally suppressed by the government. Student rebels were left with two options; they either had to remain silent or go into exile (Asavapichayont, 1987, Thanyaseth, 1987). Although the student uprisings were almost successful, this social phenomenon has never been clearly revealed to the public and still remains obscure. The missing phenomenon that has been excluded from being documented and clarified is a strategy Thai society adopts to deny and forget its existence by choosing to overlook and keep it buried and clouded. This 'suppression' and gatekeeping of the information is merely a reflection of how the society censors and seals off 'undesirable' social phenomenon. There are parallels between the graffiti phenomenon and the two student uprisings in that they are not recorded and are exempted from Thai history textbooks used in schools. Asavapichayont (1987) and Thanyaseth (1987) believe that this suppression, led to Thai students becoming political inactive at a later date and student movements failed to resurface.

Throughout the modernization period, Thai universities are the location where the two opposing powers, student and authorities, meet and contradict each other. The situation is that students need to express themselves and the authorities try to silence them. After all, universities state that rules and regulations are there to guide students to proper conduct so that they may become the nation's 'intellects'. Appropriate as it may seem, students seek to deny the control and manifest anti-establishment feeling in many ways. Like an underwater tide beneath a calm surface, the manifestations of

student feelings are carried out in an 'underground' fashion similar to the way former students during the 1970s-1980s published their own 'underground' journals and public letters (Thanyaseth, 1987, p. 142).

A more recent example of the attempt of students to oppose the authoritarian power of Thai education authorities is a student demonstration in B University where students opposed to the appointment of the university chancellor rebelled. They felt they could not find any other outlet of expression to discuss their dissatisfactions with the appointment. It must be noted that student publications in this university have always been suppressed. The student demonstration has ended, finally suppressed by police force and student leaders have been expelled from the university. Since suppression from the university is strong and no communication channels are available, students write hateful graffiti against the university and the chancellor in student toilets and in public places in the university.

Mackerras, Maidement and Schak (1998, p. 3) conclude that the Asian viewpoint on education diverges greatly from that of the Western. The authors explain that the West regard the role of the government in education as being restricted to providing finances and facilities whereas in Asian countries, education is seen as the vehicle of the state and the degree of control from the government is considerably higher than in the West (p. 4). In Asian countries, the emphasis is on nation-building purposes. The authors also assert that Asian education establishes a social hierarchy where students must respect teachers and treat them with deference whereas this is absent in the Western world.

This chapter emphasizes that, to understand the Thai graffiti phenomenon, one has to reconsider the notion of power and control within Thai society that, in turn, helps to constitute graffiti phenomenon as its resistance and opponent. As Mackerras, Maidement and Schak (1998, p. 4) compare the exercise of governmental control

over education in Asian societies as largely differs from that in the Western countries, the authors argue the degree of control and influence from the government in Asian societies is enormous. The authors posit that, in Thailand, the government decrees education to assist national economic development, making the country modern and strong. However, the emphasis of education is not to foster individuality or equality. The analysis in this chapter shows that the government seldom loosens their reins over university and students and never tolerates student resistance. The rigid rules, regulations and social expectations placed upon students, on the other hand, could be perceived as tools to retain control over them.

Conclusion

This chapter outlines the socio-cultural and political dimensions of culture discussing the Thai characteristics and sentiments and relates them to the production of graffiti by Thai students. The first part shows that the three-fold Buddhism plays an important part in supporting and strengthening of Thai politics and has become the tool of the state in imposing an authoritarian world-view on the people. Religious beliefs, especially those of reincarnation and the Law of Karma, also help to harness the people and thus prevent resistance and create an acceptance of an unequal social hierarchy. Thailand had to wait until 1932 for its first popular uprising to overthrow the absolute [and sacred] monarchy that had remained untouchable for nearly seven centuries. However, the 1932 coup was the work of a small group of people who lacked the support of the majority of Thais who still held a deep respect for and belief in the absolute monarchy. The political changes associated with the 1932 coup brought a short-lived democracy and established the basis for military dictatorships for decades afterward; the shift in political power was from the social elite to the military. The seven centuries of living under the absolute monarchy created an awareness and a notion of power that Thais still perceive as the natural order where there is absolute and authoritarian power, a monopoly of power and control is that is

rightful. An example of this belief could be seen in the way the government exerts control over universities and students. A good illustration of it in practice is the suppression of student movements during the 1960s-1980s, which has led to very few student movements appearing in public in later periods.

Graffiti, for young Thai people, functions as their alternative means of communication when they are under pressure. However, there has been little writing that records this function of graffiti during the student uprisings which in turn means that has been little studied. Gang graffiti, by contrast, serves several purposes: communication that understood within the gang membership, the marking of territory, the boasting victories and threaten outgroups. Students use graffiti to express rebellion, exhibit their forbidden thoughts, and challenge the authority that has been imposed upon them as well as share conversations within their groups. Young people, view popular graffiti as fashionable and have established graffiti as a youth cult in Thailand. The youth graffiti cult suggests two important points. One is another cultural import from the Western countries especially the USA. Another is youth's struggle to find their own social space. The way young people resort to deserted houses and petrol stations as their graffiti canvas indicates how the mainstream society gives few outlets for this activity, space and chances for youth expression in Thai society are quite limited. If we look beyond the social view of graffiti as a problem of cleanliness, Thai youth graffiti obviously reveals a fact of life of young Thai people: they are an underrepresented group are under constant control from a society that has developed a particular view of youthful development that hands youth limited opportunities for freedom of expression. The way they seek deserted house, toilets, public walls and bus shelters to produce their own voice shows how the society marginalizes them and their collective concerns. To sum up, the Thai graffiti phenomenon develops from a poverty of chances, inequality and youth being marginalized in Thai culture and society. As a consequence they have to re-construct their own freedom of expression and re-create spaces for expression. To

illustrate further, the way young people are cornered into writing graffiti in deserted places and toilets indicates their being isolated from the mainstream of Thai culture meaning that young people have to negotiate for rights to expression.

CHAPTER 5: DATA RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

In this chapter, the results of the study are presented. Graffiti data collected is sorted into five major themes according to the content of the inscriptions. The themes deal with personal issues, sexual matters, social organization, hostility towards society and university issues. There are sub-categories associated with each theme such as entertainment, humour, superstition and social issues since these sub-categories could be representative of the Thai society that is reflected through its younger members. The personal theme covers love, the perpetrator's name and self-identification because these reveal personal needs. University themes detail university issues and academic subject issues. The hostility theme contains insults, offensive words and hostility toward a variety of subjects. Finally, sexual themes cover all sexual issues including homosexual issues.

The organisation of this chapter is supported by a quantitative analysis of the graffiti data to give a picture of the entire topic. The three universities are briefly discussed here to establish a better and clearer picture of each location that constitutes the universe of its own graffiti subculture. The themes presented in this chapter are organized under four sub-headings: the location of the graffiti, the breakdown of graffiti data, material analysis of the inscriptions and the major graffiti themes expressed by the subjects. It must be noted that all names, email address and telephone numbers in graffiti inscriptions are not published in this thesis. All names of those involved are referred to by codes. All quotations from personal interviews maintain the anonymity of the interviewees.

The location of graffiti: campus environment and student graffiti culture

Many researchers see a causal relationship between the environment and graffiti. Kelling and Coles (1996), Piquero (1999), Ross and Jang (2000) and Sampson and Scott (1999) believe graffiti is the product of the decaying neighbourhood and, in turn, the uncivilized neighbourhood helps to produce graffiti. Snow

(1983) maintains another view: graffitiists react to the environment more aggressively than non-graffitiists do because they possess a stimulus to vandalize. Landy and Steel (1967) and Rudin and Harless (1970) find out that specific graffiti is related to specific types of buildings and the population utilizing the building and sexual graffiti tends to appear more in general use buildings.

In general, the graffiti data in this study is obtained from male and female bathrooms in as many buildings as possible. Although the research assistants and I collected graffiti in classrooms as well, classroom and desktop graffiti are not counted in the overall data in this study but are used as a context for the information on the campus graffiti subculture analysed.

Graffiti, however, does not appear in every building on campus; there are some buildings that are graffiti-free. Most of these exceptional cases are buildings where the offices of university authorities are located and maintenance is regularly ensured. This is relevant to the findings of Buser and Ferreira (1980) and Collins and Batzle (1970), who point out that the ease of writing graffiti helps to produce more graffiti. Rudin and Harless (1970) also support the view that the availability of writing spaces will yield more writing chances.

"A" University is in Bangkok. According to the surveys carried out by the research assistants and the collected information in the observation forms, the central library is crowded since a large number of students go to the library on a daily basis and use the library as their meeting point with friends. Classrooms are always occupied making the anonymous recording of classroom graffiti data impossible. Furthermore, academic buildings are restricted to outsiders and university caretakers lock classrooms after class.

"B" University is in a Northeastern province and is the largest when compared to A and C University. According to the surveys, the library of B University is not crowded but students gather at the central canteen that opens until late at night.

From the survey, tables and toilets in the library and in canteens show evidence of vandalism and neglect as well as graffiti.

“C” University is the smallest campus when compared to A and B. The academic buildings are crowded and classrooms are always occupied. Similar to B, tables and chairs in classrooms, walls and elevators are vandalized and show signs of graffiti and doodling. Although there is an effort on the part of the university to ensure maintenance in toilets, the finding of Salamad (1993), however, reports that students in C University are mostly dissatisfied with the school washrooms: they demand to see cleaner and better-equipped toilets.

To summarize, A University shows more maintenance and cleanliness than B and C. Many student toilets, especially in B and C, lack basic maintenance to keep them clean, functional and hygienic which has the effect of making them ideal targets for graffitiists. The places where students use as sitting areas are related to the frequency of graffiti. Graffiti tends to appear more in places where a large number of students gather anonymously such as canteen and library because these places offer more anonymity than in faculty toilets. In A University, students gather in the central library. In B, students are in the central canteen. In C, students stay in academic buildings. The reasons behind the graffiti production that relates to the campus environment are detailed in greater depth in the next chapter.

Breakdown of graffiti data

Of the 1,257 pieces of written graffiti and 223 pictorial graffiti collected from the three universities, the breakdown is as follow. To show the overall picture, Table 1 demonstrates the total number and frequency of written graffiti data sorted by university.

Table 1

Breakdown of graffiti data by location in A, B and C University (written graffiti)

University	Graffiti	Frequency (N)	Percent of total (%)
A	Male graffiti	232	100 %
	Female	0	0 %
Total		N =232	100 %
B	Male graffiti	573	93.48 %
	Female	40	6.52 %
Total		N =613	100 %
C	Male graffiti	504	98.30 %
	Female	7	1.70 %
Total		N =412	100 %
Overall total		N =1,257	100 %

Following Table 1, Table 2 shows the number and frequency of pictorial graffiti data sorted by university.

Table 2

Breakdown of graffiti data by location in A, B and C University (pictorial graffiti)

University	Frequency (N)	Percent of total (%)
A	25	11.21 %
B	82	36.78 %
C	116	52.01 %

When we combine all the data, another view of the situation emerges. Table 3 compares the frequency and number of the overall graffiti data, both pictorial and written, and shows the conclusion of the entire data.

Table 3

Breakdown of the overall graffiti data.

University	Written graffiti	Pictorial	Total	Percent of total
A	232	25	257	17.36 %
B	613	82	695	46.96 %
C	412	116	528	35.68 %
Total	1,257	223	1,480	100 %

The overall total of written and pictorial graffiti, as shown in Table 3, is 1,480 units. The overall total reveals that the largest proportion of graffiti comes from B University, followed by C and then A. My earlier surveys support that cleanliness is best ensured in A University. In C, caretakers supervise toilets several times a day to remove graffiti but new inscriptions are likely to reappear within a few days. It is different in B, graffiti is left undisturbed in many toilets through the semesters. Graffiti tends to appear more in secluded places such as toilets that offer more freedom, anonymity and a larger group of readers. The result of graffiti frequency in each location, as demonstrated in Table 4, supports the above statement. A closer analysis of each campus is presented in Table 5 and 6 respectively.

Table 4

Breakdown of graffiti by location in A, B and C University

University	Area	Frequency	Percent of total
A	Male toilet (MT) in general area (gen)	221	95.25%
	MT in academic building (acad)	11	4.75%
	Female toilet in gen.	0	0
	FT in acad.	0	0

Total		N = 232	100%
B	MT in gen.	506	82.05%
	MT in acad.	67	10.93%
	FT in gen.	34	6.03%
	FT in acad.	6	0.99%
Total		N = 613	100%
C	MT in gen.	1	0.24%
	Mt in acad.	404	98.6%
	FT in gen.	0	0
	FT in acad.	7	1.70%
Total		N = 412	100%
Overall total	A+B+C	N = 1257	100%

The results presented in Tables 5 and 6 are extensions of Table 4, the data reveal that male toilets in general-use buildings (e.g., canteen and library) in A and B university contain more graffiti than any other location in the universities which is clearly demonstrated in the two tables. Table 5 shows location in A university of the prevalent graffiti writing sites and also compares the frequency of graffiti inscriptions in each location. Table 6 shows the extent of graffiti production at B University. Both tables include data frequency in male and female toilets in every building.

Table 5

Breakdown of graffiti data by location and frequency in A University

General area	Academic building	Frequency	Total	Percent of total
MT in central library		149	149	64.22%

MT in central canteen		72	221	31.03%
	MT in X Faculty	10	231	4.3%
	MT in XX Faculty	1	232	0.43%
Total		N=232	232	100%

Table 6

Breakdown of graffiti data by location and frequency in B University

General area	Academic building	Frequency	Total	Percent of total
MT in central library		153	153	24.96%
MT in central canteen		123	276	20.07%
	MT in X Faculty	48	324	7.83%
MT in small canteens		184	508	30.01%
	MT in XX Faculty	18	526	2.94%
	MT in XXX Faculty	1	527	0.16%
MT in male dormitories		46	573	7.50%
FT in central library		7	580	1.14%
FT in small canteens		6	586	0.99%
FT in female dormitories		21	607	3.42%
	FT in XX	6	613	0.99%

	Faculty			
Total		N = 613	613	100%

However, as the data reveals, there is a different in C University. Since students do not have general spaces in which to congregate they assemble in academic buildings. Therefore, the amount of graffiti rises sharply in toilets in academic buildings as shown in Table 7 compared to the other universities but toilets in general-use buildings show smaller numbers of inscription.

Table 7

Breakdown of graffiti data by location and frequency in C University

General area	Academic building	Frequency	Total	Percent of total
	MT in X Faculty	22	22	5.33%
	Mt in XX Faculty	133	155	32.28%
	MT in XXX Faculty	18	173	4.36%
	MT in Y Faculty	10	183	2.42%
	MT in YY Faculty	12	195	2.91%
	MT in YYY Faculty	189	384	45.87%
	MT in XY Faculty	17	401	4.12%
	MT in XYX Faculty	3	404	0.72%
MT in the gymnasium		1	405	0.24%
	FT in YYY	7	412	1.69%

	Faculty			
Total		N = 412	412	100%

In summary, the breakdown of the graffiti data reveals that graffiti is commonly found in male toilets. The higher frequency of graffiti in general-use building suggests that they provide more freedom and anonymity to graffitiists compared to other spaces on campus. General-use buildings are more 'public' than academic buildings allowing larger groups of potential graffiti writers to assemble and thus also attract more readers or 'consumers' of their production. This factor is commented upon by several researchers, including Anderson and Verplanck (1983), Bess et al (1976), Lucca and Pacheco (1983) and Sechrist and Olson (1971), who collectively point out that there is a significant difference in the frequency of graffiti between academic buildings and non-academic buildings. Thus Thailand is little different to other nations in terms of where students write graffiti. Rodriguez (1994, p. 209) offers three explanations for this phenomenon: general-use buildings allow access to a more diverse audience, writers find more convenient opportunity to facilitate interaction and writers have more immediate access. The campus survey conducted at the same time as the data collection supports this claim. Faculty toilets are smaller and thus less prone to graffiti because the writers require considerable space in which to post their messages and further, outsiders mostly cannot locate toilets on campus. On the other hand, toilets in general-use buildings, with more toilet cubicles and are easy to find, offer more spaces and chances to write.

Graffiti materials analysis: media, tool and writing pattern

From the survey we can ascertain that graffiti is produced with a range of tools. The writing tools favoured by the writers vary and include pen, marker, pencil, spray paint, chalk, lipstick, correction liquid, cutter blade and burns made by cigarette butt. In the student graffiti subculture, the availability of the tools and the adaptability of materials is crucial. The most 'favourite' tool for the student graffitiist is the pencil because it can be used on almost every kind of surface. This

statement is supported by the fact that writers change to pencil to write on graffiti resistant walls after toilet walls replacement in C university. This strategy of replacement by the university authorities is simply based on the assumption that 'no place to write, no more graffiti'. However, students quickly subvert this view, using the pencil and other writing tools to produce graffiti on the glossy tiled walls. The result is, more graffiti appears as soon as the replacement is finished. This is contrary to previous Western findings on graffiti such as Cooze (1995), Gettleman (1998), Keating (2000) and Sandahl and Christensen (cited in Rodríguez, 1994, p. 108). These Western researchers point out that removal signs of vandalism in campus toilets and improvement of toilet materials help to reduce graffiti. The Thai finding, however, shows the reverse.

The sudden increase of graffiti after the replacements shows the Thai student's 'silent' reaction to the official attempt to prevent their rights to write. This reaction is, however, known to Thai people as a 'pra-chot'; a condition where Thais react negatively to orders and vent their anger in anonymous and subtle ways. Klausner (2000, p. 253-255) explains that pra-chot arises because Thais tend to avoid direct confrontation and "have refined indirect techniques of social expression to a fine art and one such form is referred to as prachot" that perplexes Westerners. A prachot is, according to Klausner (p. 255), an indirect expression of anger and annoyance that is turned towards another object with the purpose of causing more displeasure and more annoyance. The Thai technique of 'prachot' is one of the principal ways that students employ to react and resist to the changes placed on their environment by university authorities. According to Klausner, this social technique is a 'projected vilification' or another variation of the 'scapegoat syndrome' (p. 256). The incidents of graffiti and vandalism tend to rise sharply after each attempt at replacement by the authorities, clearly demonstrating that both may be seen as techniques where students vent their displeasure and anger at authority on the wall. They are a way of challenging indirectly and anonymously the authority Thai society invests in the university administrations. In short Thai students resort to traditional Thai social practices in order to express

overt feelings of anger towards seniors whom they perceive to be oppressive and tyrannical.

The writing pattern employed in Thai campus graffiti is also as varied as the writing tools. From the analysis of the survey results we find that writing patterns include inscription in the form of a single word, a sentence, a poem, a song, a story, or a picture and even numbers.

The diverse writing patterns suggest that graffiti is a communication that needs no protocols: one can write anything one wants on the wall. The writing pattern differs very little among the three universities. However, it is the language of the graffiti that differs. Although the language in most graffiti inscriptions is offensive and vulgar, students in B University choose to express their feelings in their dialect rather than standardised Thai language. This is because students in B University mostly come from the Northeastern provinces of Thailand they speak dialects as part of normal everyday discourse but speak the standardized version of Thai in more formal situations such as in the classroom. However, it is the sexual words that are most problematic in the Northeastern dialects as they are more 'direct' than the Central Thai, which is more 'refined' when talking about sexuality. The survey reveals that the bulk of the sexual words used in most graffiti inscriptions in the three universities are from the Thai dialect rather than the standardized Bangkok language. Kola (1991) suggests, when it comes to sexual matters, people resort to words in dialects because of their directness, expressiveness and bluntness. In the discourse of graffiti, refined and 'civilized' Central Thai language is unacceptable. This ideological gap between what is deemed civilized and uncivilized calls for further explanation.

In the Thai construction of 'civilization' as a part of modernization scheme, the government consolidates and centralized the country into one single unit: Bangkok was re-defined as the center of civilization as its name suggests 'the city of gods'. Siwarak (1998) and Wun'Gaeo (1996) share similar ideas about why Thailand saw the need to reform and modernize the country in the middle of 19th

century when the power of the West was tremendous in Asia. It was also the effect from the re-contact with the West and the signing of The Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Britain in 1855 that Thailand saw the need for a national reformation to accommodate itself to the West and to resist the Western power by aligning itself to the west by reconstructing itself as a nation state (Nuechterlain, 1967). The centralization was, therefore, part of the internal adjustment within the country to re-build itself. Thus a plan to develop Bangkok as the prototype of modernized society according to the Western development model was adopted. Apart from other tools, the government of the Prime Minister Pibulsongkram in the 1930s, saw that a new set of language norms could be used to centralize the country (Chaisinghghananont, 2001).

The adaptation of the new language began with the education that is monopolized and centralized by the government (Siwarak, 1988). Under this system, the 'national' language based on standard Bangkok language is inculcated in schools throughout the country to reunite the people and re-create a new sense of nationalism and national security. Chareonsri, Chanthieng and Taekhanmark (1996, p. 23) elaborate, arguing that this state policy also places a ban on the use of other Thai dialects. The government obviously perceives Bangkok and its metropolitan Eastern-Western culture as the national culture, and thus expressing a distinct form of Thai nationalism. To achieve this end the former Thai language was re-defined and reformed in order to create 'aesthetic' and civilized language suitable for new generations of civilized Thais. The alphabet, the spelling, the writing and speech were all changed, and people were forced by The National Institution of Culture to use the 'new' language. Kola (1991) suggests that the new Thai language, especially the one that was re-created after the 1932 coup, set strict rules and standards that determine and judge which discourse is acceptable and which is not. The rules and standards, according to Kola (1991), are based upon the standards and practices of the 'new bourgeois' who were European-trained intellectuals that became new elitists after the coup. The common and typical Thai discourse used by common people was thus considered impolite, vulgar and low. However, it must be noted that the 'typical and common' Thai

language, that was demonized as low, had been used since the first Kingdom during the 13th century. In fact, the new language established an ideal poetic and dramatic style that does not allow for any vulgarity or commonality.

The way the government 'unites' and centralizes the country through the introduction of a new language was undoubtedly a political strategy to strengthen the nation by excluding choice, denying diversity and making sure people conformed to the new behavioural codes. It can be assumed that since the new language forbids vulgarity, people breaks the taboo by resorting to dialects or 'common' Thai language that allows freedom through the use of offensive, swear words and sexual words as 'natural' emotions and as a part of everyday life. Therefore, in contemporary Central Thai language, 'direct' sexual words and words relate to sexual organs are 'borrowed' from dialects. The reasons are simple, sexual words in dialects, mostly monosyllabic words, come to represent closely to the original meaning and have what Abel and Buckley (1977) term as "cathartic or purging effect on the pent-up emotions" (p. 69). Using taboo words, according to Abel and Buckley, have a relief-giving effect and give an emotional release (p. 74). Kola (1991) concludes, the swear words and sexual words, in Thai dialects, are directly related to the actions or the sexual organs whereas sexual words in the 'new' language, that are borrowed from Pali and Sanskrit languages are very remote from the original meanings. The author elaborates. The vernacular word 'kauy' meaning male sexual organ is considered vulgar, low and obscene but is able to give a more direct visualization and representation of the object than the Pali-Sanskrit word "Jeung":its 'formal and official' counterpart that needed to be translated.

The writing pattern of the campus graffiti supports this view. The single words found in most graffiti inscriptions are sexual and swear words taken from the dialects. From the surveys, these words are often written in big letters or are circled so as to capture the attention of the readers and appear as stand-alone words with no further context because the words are strong enough to convey the

meanings and feelings. To summarize, Thai graffiti inscriptions are mostly short sentences and not descriptive but use direct, precise, expressive and pin-pointed words to directly convey meanings and feelings.

Graffiti theme analysis: what do students reveal in their graffiti?

To discover what students reveal in their inscriptions requires the systematic categorization of the graffiti data to find the campus graffiti themes. From the entire data, Thai campus graffiti may be sorted into five major themes: sexual matters, personal issues, social issues, hostility to society as well as other individuals and university matters. Each theme with its sub-categories is presented with an operational definition in Table 8.

Table 8

Graffiti themes and sub-categories with operational definition.

Graffiti theme	Operational definition
SOCIAL THEME	
Religion	Comments and items on religions.
Politics	Comments and items about politics.
Racial	Comments and items that center on ethnic group or racial group.
Social issue	Items that deal with social issues.
Philosophy	Comment and items on philosophy.
Superstition	Items that center on beliefs in superstition or supernatural powers.
Humour	Items that relate to humour or are meant to be humorous.
Entertainment	Items that center on sports, music, movie and other types of entertainment.
PERSONAL THEME	
Opinion/ help/ advice	Items that seek/ give advice/help or opinion.

Question and answer	Items that center on posing questions and answering posted questions.
Name	Items that are names without any identification.
Self-identification	Items that express self-identification such as name with email address.
Love	Items and comments that center on love.
Waste elimination	Items and comments that center on waste elimination.
HOSTILITY THEME	
Hostility	Items and comments that express hostility.
Graffiti	Items and comments that center on graffitiists and the action of writing/reading graffiti
General insult	Items and comments that express insult (excluding sexual insult).
Offensive word	Items that express offensive words.
UNIVERSITY THEME	
University issue	Items and comments that center on A, B and C University.
Academic subject	Items and comments that center on academic subjects.
SEXUAL THEME	
Sexual insult	Items and comments the express sexual insult to male/female/homosexual.
Sexual description	Items and comments that describe sexual activities and sexual organs.
Offering sexual service	Items that express sexual service to male/female/homosexual.
Homosexual appointment	Items that center on sexual appointment between homosexual.
Sexual humour	Items and comments that express sexual humour.

Sexual desire	Items and comments that express sexual desire.
---------------	--

The above categories and operational definitions are based on Bates and Martin (1980), Otta (1993), Rodriguez, (1994), Sanfioenzo (1987), Sechrest and Flores (1969) and Workman et al (1983). Bates and Martin suggest graffiti content categorization should be analyzed separately as sexual and non-sexual content categories. To see what student graffiti reveals and which topic mostly attracts students, Table 9 shows and compares the frequency of graffiti inscriptions found in each graffiti category in A University. Table 10 and 11 demonstrates that of B and C University respectively.

Table 9

Number and percentage of campus graffiti by category in A University

Category found	Frequency	Percent of total (%)
Graffiti	14	6.03
Sexual insult on gay	2	0.86
Politics	2	0.86
Academic subject	2	0.86
Humour	2	0.86
Opinion	5	2.15
Hostility	34	14.66
Racial	3	1.29
Social issue	1	0.43
Sexual insult on men	15	6.46
Self- identification	10	4.31
Name	2	0.86
Sexual insult on women	7	3.01
Sexual desire to homosexual	15	6.46
Entertainment	2	0.86
Homosexual appointment	107	46.12

Waste elimination	1	0.43
Sexual description	8	3.44
Total	N = 232	100 %

Table 10

Number and percentage of graffiti by category in B University.

Category found	Frequency	Percent of total (%)
Graffiti	28	4.57
University issue	22	3.59
Politics	2	0.33
Insult	23	3.75
Academic subject	21	3.43
Humour	5	0.82
Word	26	4.24
Hostility	62	10.11
Love	45	7.34
Offering sexual service	1	0.16
Sexual description	29	4.73
Name	23	3.75
Homosexual appointment	114	18.60
Sexual insult on men	7	1.14
Sexual insult on women	7	1.14
Sexual desire (m to f)	40	6.52
Entertainment	12	1.96
Waste elimination	7	1.14
Opinion	7	1.14
Sexual desire (f to m)	4	0.65
Female hostility	8	1.30
Homosexual desire	20	3.26
Homosexual love	6	0.98
Sexual humour	30	4.89

Q & A	5	0.82
Self-identification	42	6.85
Philosophy	4	0.66
Social issue	3	0.49
Homosexual description	10	1.63
Total	N = 613	100%

Table 11

Number and percentage of graffiti by category in C University

Category found	Frequency	Percent of total (%)
Graffiti	30	7.28
Insult on homosexual	8	1.94
Politics	1	0.24
Sexual description (f to m)	4	0.97
Academic subjects	25	6.07
Sexual humour	15	3.64
Hostility	20	17.00
Word	10	2.43
Religion	5	1.21
Sexual description	12	2.91
Name	14	3.40
Self-identification	60	14.56
Homosexual appointment	33	8.01
Sexual insult on woman	7	1.70
Sexual desire (m to f)	15	3.64
Entertainment	15	3.64
Waste elimination	7	1.70
Humour	8	1.94
Q & A	4	0.97
Superstition	4	0.97
Sexual desire (m to f)	28	6.80
University issue	30	7.28

Love	7	1.70
Total	N = 412	100%

To summarize, from the entire data, it is revealed that homosexual topics including homosexual desire and appointments between homosexual males rank highest in two campuses: A and B. Another topic that is also frequently used is hostility. These themes suggest two important points, one is that campus graffiti is used as an alternative communication between homosexual male students at the same campus. Another point to consider is that Thai students use graffiti to humiliate, intimidate and dominate other people including outgroups such as homosexual males, ethnic people and women. The reasons behind these two points are discussed next and also discussed in Chapter 6. What follows is the analysis of each graffiti theme.

Social theme

The social themes include eight sub-categories: religion, politics, racial, social issue, philosophy, superstition, humour and entertainment.

Contrary to some Western findings (e.g., Ahmed, 1981; Goikoetxea, 1998, Nwoye, 1993; Schreer and Strichartz, 1997; Olowu, 1983; Otta, 1993; Otta et al, 1996; Wales and Brewer, 1976), Thai campus graffiti from the three universities have very few political, racial, philosophical and religious inscriptions. The Thai political graffiti does not criticize, comment or address political events but is laden with a specific Thai sense of humour on political and international political events. One remarkable aspect of the humour concerns the events in the US on 9/11/2001 bombing case, where two chained inscriptions read: "We B Uni students will not let Bereden [Binladen] escape. Sure, a terrorist" and another replies underneath "I agree, friend, let's find him". Obviously, this is a Thai mocking feeling to the reaction of the Thai government after the bombing because the government believes 'terrorists' are migrating to Thailand. The 'panic' and fear of the government is represented in a mocking and jeering

sentiment seen in many comic strips in local newspapers. This graffiti seems to relate to the sense of scolding humour expressed in the local media. Other political inscriptions reveal only names of politicians with few other surrounding context. For example, a graffiti inscription reads "Hey, I am Thaksin Shinawatra". The above graffiti, although it looks simple clearly states the sense of mocking humour Thais feel toward the present Prime Minister who never hesitates to speak his mind. Although scholars such as Siwarak (1998) or Pongsapich (1996) suggest that although contemporary Thais have become more politically active, Thais still seem to involve themselves very little in politics and become what Saetho (1989) terms as 'the silent majority' in political movements or discussions. This needs further explanation. Open criticism and public discussion on politics has been suppressed for many decades in Thailand under martial laws and military regimes from the 1932 coup on, as Thanyaseth (1987) explains. The political passiveness among Thais partly results from this long suppression and partly because of the 700 years of living under the absolute monarchy system that decrees political power does not belong to the citizen. Moreover, Phongpaichit and Baker (1997) state, there have been much opposition from a variety of governments to the widening of political participation by Thai citizens and there have been successful attempts to censor the press that promotes open political debates. Lotrakul (1985) and Thanyaseth (1987) state that students, who may act as active political agents, give very little attention to political concerns after the suppressed student uprisings during the 1970s and students have been banned from political involvement. It can be assumed that, from these suppressions, Thais alter their needs to articulate political concerns in the indirect expression of opposition such as through humour and jokes.

Suparb (2000) firmly states that Thais are 'broad-minded' toward other races and give religious freedom and opportunities to other races living in Thailand. The author confirms that this broad-mindedness makes Thailand a peaceful nation and racial problems have never existed in Thailand (p. 67). Nuechterlain (1967), however, doubts this Thai broad-mindedness. The author said that Thais gave a 'friendly' reception including commercial freedom and religious freedom to

expatriates since the time of Ayudhaya period, in early 16th century, but ended this East-West relationship with a massacre and shut out all Europeans in later periods. Graffiti inscriptions obviously defy this broad-mindedness but reveal that there are racial and religious conflicts in a country that believes itself peaceful. Some examples read:

- A- Fucking the Christians, they are stupid and ignorant.
- B- That fucking Indian bastard named XXXX, death to the Indian race. Even if you and your fathers get married to Thais, your lowly Indian blood will still be low.

Writers use hostility and discrimination to attack other races and religions. Dominance is the key tool writers use to undermine and discriminate against the 'outgroups' or the ethnic people in the country. Indians migrated to Thailand a very long time ago and, similar to the migrant Chinese, became wealthier than the natives. It is because Thais, according to Saihoo (1988), prefer government jobs rather than commerce in order to have more privileges and could be a part of the nobility. The Chinese migrants came to fill the career gap by being merchants and later became influential in Thai economic and political circles (Samudavanija, 1997). The resentment and the fear of trading and political power of the Chinese, Indians and other races in Thailand exists. Racism seems to have occurred for the first time among Thais during the Ayudhaya period when Europeans arrived in Thailand and later spread to other races as well, especially the Chinese. (Nuechterlain, 1967, Samudavanija, 1997).

The resentment toward other races is represented through the feeling of superiority and ownership of the land. Thai chooses to "other" the other races as ones who are culturally inferior because they are 'exiles' seeking better lives and environment in Thailand. By holding this belief, Thais believe the natives excel because they possess a more refined culture that is expressed through refined manners, behaviours and language. The graffiti cited above reflect these notions clearly. Although the writer in graffiti B seems to express a more personal

conflict, rather than the endemic racial discrimination that is subtly embedded in Thai culture. As Rodriguez and Clair (1999) suggest, students use graffiti to defeat the outgroup that, in turn, helps sustain and preserve their sense of power and dominance.

Philosophy is another topic that receives very little attention from Thai students. However, some philosophical inscriptions that we find in the graffiti collected for this study mostly concern religious beliefs such as the shortness of life and mortality, both are common beliefs among Thais as Buddhists. Most writers produce philosophical graffiti in poems that are well-rhymed and reveal a fine selection of words. Philosophical graffiti, however, is found in B University only and are written in the Northeastern dialects. Since most students in B University come from Northeastern provinces, they might inherit a Northeastern characteristic in preferring to cite religious and vernacular philosophical verses in local tongue. The existence of Buddhist-philosophical inscriptions suggest that writers view graffiti as informative and use graffiti to advocate vernacular teachings. Tejapira (2001, p. 199-200) gives another explanation to answer why philosophical or political ideas, in Thai society, are conveyed through poetry, Thais are rhymers by habit and that Thai people have long used poetry as 'vehicles of thoughts' that are easier to recite, remember or sing.

Graffiti inscriptions in the entertainment sub-category reveal a reflection of the contemporary Thai society: an Asian society that follows the Western world. The graffiti inscriptions reveal names of Western, especially American, pop stars and English football players and football clubs, for example Beckham, Eminem, Owen, Liverpool and 'Man U'. Only one inscription cites the name of a Thai pop-music group 'Lo So'. These inscriptions reflect a contemporary Thai youth fad and the Western media influence in the country. Tejapira (1996) and Wongkul (1998) comment that it is because Thai youth culture has been hegemonized by the Western media that Thai youth have made heroes of western figures. Tejapira terms the Thai youth's appreciation of Western fashion as an example of cultural hegemony that reflects the "consumerist behaviour of the grown up fellow

country men" (p. 242). Siwarak (1998), however, points out that the following of the West is not new in Thailand but started since the 1800s when the country decided to reform itself in order to accommodate the Western countries and which required an acceptance of Western technology, expertise and development models. Thus, it may be hypothesized that youth graffiti acts as a mirror of today's society and youth culture that is the results from an acceptance of the subcultures of Western capitalist societies. The high degree of association with Western pop-stars in Thai youth graffiti could be an indication of the Thai society and its culture that chooses to develop itself according to the foreign power and Western capitalist ideology.

Social issues in Thai youth graffiti involve two topics: drugs and police. Drugs, in the Thai context, means amphetamine or as it is called in Thai the 'crazy pill' that has become fashionable among youth. The Thai student drug culture and the police are intertwined and inseparable in Thailand. As the 'black list' revealed by the present government shows, police and army officers are the ones involved in trafficking and contributing to the process of illegal drugs. The campus graffiti found on campuses does not advise other students not to use drugs but clearly announces where it can be purchased on campus through the police network. An example reads "If you need crazy pill, call Sergeant XXX at 01-xxxxxxx, safety guaranteed. 24 hrs". Other inscriptions recorded contain the similar content to graffiti A. This reflects another facet of a truth that underlies the Thai academic environment; that many university authorities claim that Thai higher educational institutions are 'drug-free' and 'clean' unlike their foreign counterparts. However the existence of drug graffiti clearly shows that Thai universities is prone to illegal activities as any other.

By contrast, superstition themes seldom exist in campus graffiti studies in the Western world but remain important in some other countries. Olowu (1983) finds superstition topic ranks at a significant level in Nigerian student graffiti but absent in British samples. The author concludes that this gap probably shows the difference in the socio-cultural milieu (p. 986). The superstition theme in Thai

campus graffiti draws a high degree of interaction. One inscription in a male toilet in C University attracts seven replies, such as:

- A- What about if I have my hair cut on Wednesday? Will it be ok?
- B- (Reply to A with an arrow) Don't. They say it will bring bad luck for the whole month.

Other writers seem to agree with the writer B and advise the writer A to "give it a trim but don't cut". This is a popular belief among Thais: cutting one's hair on Wednesday brings bad luck. This belief is inherited from Brahminism that *Ganesh* The God of Art is accidentally beheaded on Wednesday. These exchanges suggest that contemporary Thais still believe in supernatural powers because they actually see supernatural power as influential over life. Vallibhotama (1997, p. 55) explains that Thais developed the idea of spirit cult based on the existence of a soul after death as early as 10,000 years ago. Kitsuwat (1997, p. 65) considers the beliefs in spirits as a part of Thai civilization. The author, however, explains that the belief in supernatural power is a Thai way of coping with life's crisis and mishaps. The author writes:

Thais choose to explain the problems, tragic and crises in life in terms of the concepts with which they feel comfortable by referring to the power of supernatural who could manage the order of the universe or change people's life courses (p. 66).

The belief in superstition gives a more rounded picture of the Thai society that calls itself a modernized one. The Thai context of modernity is complex: it refers to the attempt of the country to modernize by accepting Western technology and standards but seeks to associate Western technology with spiritual attributes. Siwarak (1993, p. 14) questions this perplexed Thai term of 'modernity', by providing the example where Thais still places charms and amulets in cars for safety to show how thin the veneer of modernity seems to be. Spirit cults seem to

exert a control over almost activities in Thailand: people seek intermediaries or clairvoyants for advice, illness is associated with punishment from spirits and exorcism is needed to cure illness or render harm to people. Kitsuwat (1997) gives an explanation. Magic, according to Thais, is employed to force the nature to go against the law and is used to explain life's problems and crises such as illnesses that modern science and technology cannot explain (p. 68). It is the beliefs like these that act as the socio-psychological formation of the country where Thais explain modernity in their own term. Modernity, in the Thai context, is the industrialized country with modern technology that is governed by the influence and power from spirit cults. It could be explained simply that, according to Thais, even modern technology can malfunction unless protected by spirits.

Unlike the findings in Western graffiti studies, non-sexual humour theme receives little attention from Thai graffitiists. Freud (1976) asserts in his *Jokes And Their Relations To The Unconscious* that humour is a disguise of the repressed impulses that need to be free from the social censorship. Abel and Buckley (1977, p. 112) reason that jokes are the "least offensive way of discharging aggression" by giving pleasure in the form of an escape from the social taboos. The content of non-sexual humour found in the three universities revolves mainly around student's life. Three linked inscriptions read:

- A- Want to sleep all day, reading too much.
- B- (reply to A) Why don't you sleep all night?
- C- (reply to A and B) Go to sleep then both of you.

Although jokes, according to Freud and Abel and Buckley, discharge the need to cause someone harm in a disguised manner but Thai students realize they do not need such disguises. Students find that they can express aggression and insult easily through graffiti and hurl hurtful feelings toward others with ease. As a consequence, the non-sexual humour theme ranks very low in the three universities but hostile graffiti ranks very high. This finding supports the

assumption that Thai students use graffiti to attack and discriminate against each other and to release negative feelings rather than to support each other or to create unity among themselves.

Personal theme: a need for self-reassurance

Many writers agree that tagging exists from the need for self-identification and the search for acknowledgement among young people, graffiti constructs the meaning of one's existence and can be interpreted within a framework of self-identification and status (Austin, 1996; Collins, 1998; Element, 1996; Goldstein, 1998; Miller, 1993). Chalfant and Prigoff (1987, p. 7) support this view saying, graffiti is an "expression of the longing to be somebody in a world that it's always reminding you that you're not". Dennant (1997, p. 3) quotes a graffitist simply explaining that "it's a way of presenting yourself to the world, something like: here I am". This hypothesis is supported by the graffiti produced in Thai universities, where the name and self-identification theme ranks at a very high level in Thai campuses.

From the entire collection of data, there are eight writing patterns encountered in these two sub-categories:

- Nickname and full name without further self-identification
- Signature
- Name with tag, for example, 'XX Zippo'
- Name that uses faculty, school or department as self-identification, for example, 'XXX Engineer' or 'XXXX Faculty of Commerce'.
- Name with email address or telephone address, for example, 'XXX225@chaiyo.com'.
- Name and gang or group's name as self-identification, for example, 'XXX from The Bonk' or 'We are X, Y, Z, M, N, we love each other very much.'

- Name with name of a province, for example, 'XXX from Udonthani is here'.
- Name with secondary school's name, for example, 'I am from Sxxxxx School'.

The patterns embedded in this graffiti reveals that Thai students obviously have a high degree of attachment to their education institution and refer to this as a form of self-identification, they reassure themselves of their self-existence through the sense of belonging to a place or to a group. This can be explained within two intersecting frameworks: youth psychology and from the Asian society viewpoint.

Culturally, Asian people are highly-group oriented, a social characteristic that is opposite to the individualist Westerners (Mackerras, Maidment and Schak, 1998, p. 7). Fukuyama (cited in Mackerras, Maidment and Schak, 1998, p. 8) concurs, saying that Asian people possess a 'familistic culture' that makes kinship ties, family bonds and social ties very important to the individual. Orientation towards family and group, according to Fukuyama, is important for Southeast Asian people. Wongthanapa (1996, p. 21) establishes that Thai male students tend to form a specific brotherhood tie within male student groups in their educational institutions. This tie is based on the acceptance of seniority and 'groupness' practiced in Thai society. According to Wongthanapa, student's attachment with group and with the educational institutions become a reference to which students form their own self-concept and self-image. Findings by Jaruchainiwat (1998), Kaewnimitchai (1996) and Srirasa (1989) support this claim. The graffiti collected shows that students in A and B University are highly-group oriented, peer-oriented and possess a high attachment to their respective educational institutions. Another viewpoint that is based on youth psychology points out that the search for self-identity is probably the predominant concern of youth who tend to try several ways to define their own ideas and identity (Light, Keller and Calhoun, 1989, p. 148). Ferrel (1997, p. 97) and Chu (1997) recognize the narrowed social chances and social status youth possess as the cause for the

searching of youth identity. Moreover, many writers view tagging as a form of youthful protest. Ferrel (1995) recognizes it as an symbolic attack directed at the ideology of ownership that authorities place on space. Rushing (2000, p. 6) suggests youth think they have the potential to change their environment by leaving their presence through tagging because "their ability to actually change their world is limited, so they change what they can". Some writers (e.g., Aguilar, 2000; Alonso, 1999; Flanary, 1996; Kim, 1997) argue that writing one's name on the wall reflects a sense of belonging and a wish to occupy a territory.

The existence of graffiti in the form of questions and answers around general topics found on toilet walls is a good example of how students consider graffiti as their alternative form of communication. Two chained graffiti read "What is the English name of our uni? Can someone spell it here? I'll come to check" and one writer replies "It's XXXXX University". A number of inscriptions in the question and answer category reaffirm the preceding hypothesis that students use graffiti to communicate within their group and employ graffiti to seek what they need. Toilet walls thus become a notice board for Thai students to exchange conversations and information. The questions posted in this category do not relate to sexuality but mostly concern student life such as where to find a used bicycle or how to play computer games. Graffiti, in this sense, acts as the mediating agent providing communication and services that meet student needs. Thus students recognize graffiti as serving their need of daily communication with others.

Scholars give varied reasons and explanations as to why youths are attracted to graffiti writing, one is that youth needs to express their innermost feelings (Schwartz and Dovidio, 1984). One of the 'innermost feelings' is love, which is represented in a large number of graffiti inscriptions that both male and female write. However, with female graffiti inscriptions we find they mostly concern romanticism and the expression of lovelorn feelings. For example, "It's ok you found someone new, don't turn back to say goodbye" or "I wish you happiness with your new one with tears." Most graffiti inscriptions, written by both male and female, share similar writing patterns of 'X loves X' or 'I love X very much'.

However, romanticism is usually absent in male graffiti. Interactions in the form of chained replies are quite high in male graffiti. One unit reads "I love XXX" and another replies "Go and tell her, friend". Regarding love theme in student graffiti, results from Western studies differ in two main ways. One group (e.g., Cole, 1991; Hentschel, 1987; Lowenstien, Ponticos and Paludi, 1982; Lucca, and Pacheco, 1983; Sanfiorenzo, 1987; Roscoe and Evans, 1986 and Workman et al, 1983) find that love is one of the main topics in student graffiti, especially in female graffiti. Cole (1991) explains, women seek communicative participation and share their feelings with other women through graffiti. Another group including Gadsby (1996), Otta (1993) and Schreer and Strichartz (1997) report differently, explaining that romantic content is absent in most graffiti, especially in male graffiti. Schreer and Strichartz point out that men use toilet graffiti to express unconventional issues instead. Gadsby and Otta show that women produce more sexual and hostile inscriptions since the rise of feminism in the past decades.

Thai female students use graffiti to 'pour out' their minds and feelings. Thai women are considered to be the 'silenced' ones in public communication in the Thai society. In a patriarchal society, Thai men perceive their roles as the ones who dominate and women are perceived as subordinate, especially in sexual and romantic life (Vasighasin and Hemaprasit, 2002). Female students might find graffiti as their alternative means of communication and expression to 'speak out' their mind and some feelings they may not generally be able to share in public. In the Thai context, Klausner (2000, p. 85) explains that in the past women were not supposed to initiate the courtship but are expected to remain passive, shy and repress their feelings. A more recent study of Thai women by Visighasin and Hemaprasit (2002) echoes the same view, contemporary women are still reluctant to approach men and begin a courtship and married women find it unacceptable and difficult to express sexual needs openly even to their spouses. The authors conclude this results from the double standard Thais put on women and sexuality.

Contrary to Western findings, waste elimination theme does not rank high in the three universities. Abel and Buckley (1977, p. 10) concur that waste elimination is one of the main themes found in most male toilets and that the act of elimination is used in context to express hostility toward persons, races, religions, nationalities and institutions. The graffiti we find in this category does not express hostility but refers to humour relating to the act of defecation. One graffiti inscription reads "Don't read, it's a waste of time. Go on to shit, it's more fun". Other graffiti has the some content similar to graffiti A but differs from what Abel and Buckley (1977) in that Westerners regard toilet training in childhood as important, but as Chaiyavises (2002) explains, Thai people do not see the products of the waste elimination as 'forbidden'. The author states that it is because Thais perceive this as a 'natural' act that it does not equate with shame. Moreover, the author confirms that Thais see this act as an act of natural pleasure, which is widely reflected in vernacular humour in the form of jokes, story-telling and proverbs (p. 18).

Hostility themes

Hostility and insult graffiti constitute a sizable proportion of the entire data and resurface in other themes as well. It is obvious that hostility is one of the main elements in Thai student graffiti. Graffiti inscriptions in this category display an obvious anger, hostility and insult to unknown individuals and treat other students as outgroups and as enemies:

- A- This is me XXXX. I am the father of all students in this uni. Go to die now o!! of you.
- B- (reply to A) I am XXXX from The Faculty of XXXX. I am your father and your ancestor. Death to you.
- C- If you write something about my school, leave your fucking real name and your school. If not, you're a coward. Don't dare to touch me, you're a dog. From XXX, The Faculty of XXXX.

- D- (reply to C) I am not stupid enough to leave my name. Don't dare to teach me, you're a dog. I'm not so stupid like you. Go to hell both of you and your fucking school.

Although Thailand perceives itself as peaceful and as a 'land of smiles', youth graffiti subverts this ideal. Derogatory and offensive words are used as tools to hurl hostility and threats towards unknown persons and groups. As shown in the examples above, student conflicts are organizational rather than personal. Wongthanapa (1996) explains that it is because Thai male students attach their self-identity to educational institutions and groups, and any insult aimed at their educational institution thus becomes a direct offense to their identity and self-image. According to Wongthanapa, Thai male students unite under one shared belief: the school is above oneself. This communal identity and ideology is articulated through student rituals and values instilled by older students within a university or school. This shared identity and values set up a framework of 'dignity' by which students are bound together under one communal purpose and consciousness: 'our' school is the 'best' and it is compulsory to protect its 'dignity'. As students themselves are aware of the vulnerability and the frailty of their assumed self-existence, they feel an urge to defend it when they perceive an insult. Wongthanapa suggests that the need to protect the school's dignity is so crucial to Thai male students that it remains the major cause of inter-school fights, which are very common in the country. Relying upon this belief, students can achieve power within their group by overpowering, discriminating and undermining others in order to maintain the status quo and to reassure their power remains intact. Central to this practice is that students are aware that they are powerless. Expressing aggressive behaviour and seeking to dominate other males, becomes the means whereby they redeem their superiority and masculinity.

Foucault (1988, p. 83) suggests that "power is a certain type of relation between individuals and the characteristic feature of power is that some men can more or less entirely determine other men's conduct." Using Foucault's theory, Thai students, as young and voiceless members in the educational institutions, struggle

to find the 'mechanism' to reach their own power. Graffiti, as an anonymous discourse, could serve such need and could act as a mechanism through which students can intimidate others and thus gain power in turn. Rodriguez and Clair (1999, p.1) support the theory about power and oppression. Marginalized individuals perform acts that are intended to oppress other marginalized individuals and treat each other in terms of privilege and abandonment by using hateful and sexism discourse against others. Several graffiti researchers support this claim. Proctor (1991) concurs that graffitiists react to others with aggression and grandiosity to defend themselves and to deny their feelings of worthlessness and defeated. Solomon and Yager (1975) find out that campus graffiti is mainly about anti-outgroup as to release aggressive impulses.

University theme: when students reveal the truth

Students express negative feeling, boredom and hatred towards their university and teachers in their graffiti, they also vent anger, frustration and question their university's existence in their inscriptions:

- A- XXXX is the most boring teacher because he gives the most boring lecture.
- B- What do we study for? I hate it. Life is hell in this university.
- C- Attention! Attention! Being in C Uni is a wrong decision.
- D- Objection to B University going autonomous, the tuition fee will rise. Who cares about us?
- E- (reply to D) Agree. This is very selfish. The uni cares for itself only.

Students reveal dissatisfaction toward the university, the educational system and teachers in their graffiti. For example, they question the purpose of studying, they demand to see 'practical' and 'more relevant' academic subjects, they demand better services such as clean toilet or they need teachers who 'listen'. Student graffiti also reveals 'public secrets' that are known among students. Some

inscriptions, found in male toilets in C University, send a warning message to other students against a homosexual teacher who, according to the inscriptions, takes sexual advantage of students in return for better grades. Many inscriptions express anger and frustration over some teachers, exam results and question the pedagogic ability of teachers. Some express concerns over rising tuition fees and academic services fees, especially in C University. Several inscriptions cite a feeling of hopelessness and an uncertainty about studying especially in C and B University. Why Thai student express hateful feelings toward university and teachers through graffiti needs to be explained.

There are several mechanisms in Thai society that help young people remain silent and obedient. As the youngest members in the educational organization, students voices are usually unheard and unrecognized. University media such as campus newspapers or radio in the three universities in question are owned and controlled by the university and student publication needs to pass the censor system in order to publish. The university plays the role of the gatekeeper in managing campus media and is the only authority to set the agendas. Campus media, therefore, serve the purposes and interests of the university rather than those of students. In Thai universities, unlike Western ones, students do not have the right to make complaints and to evaluate teachers, the university and its services. Complaint against teachers, in Thailand, is still viewed as largely inappropriate and unacceptable. In line with Confucian ideology, Thais believe students, as younger person, have to pay a 'meritorious debt' to teachers, as well as to parents. The action of 'giving' to people of the higher age level by juniors, from the Thai viewpoint, demonstrates respect and gratitude. With this belief in mind, the relationship between teacher and student is hierarchical and is bound by unquestioning respect and obedience. Within the Thai context, the status of teachers should not be questioned or challenged. Many Western writers have commented upon this intricate relationship between students and teachers in Thailand. Mackerras, Maidement and Schak (1998, p. 4) observe that there is a strong tendency in Asian societies to regard teachers with respect and deference that differs from Western practices. Klausner (2000, p. 259) also notices that the

relationship between student and teacher in Thai society revolves around the notion of 'kreng-jai' or deference mixed with consideration, fear and respect that is considered a proper behaviour for young people to express towards their elders. Due to the 'meritorious debt', Klausner (p. 275) explains that the relationship between student and teacher is based on seniority and students are obligated to return or be aware of the 'debt' teachers incur through the giving of knowledge and advice that places teachers in a higher status. From such social and cultural restraints, young people have to repress and mask negative feelings when confronting teachers or adults. As a direct consequence, graffiti that attacks teachers might be a mechanism students release negative feelings and thoughts they are unable to vent in public or when confronting teachers.

If we look at this scenario from Foucauldian viewpoint "where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault 1988, p. 122), it is possible to see student graffiti as one of the student's major mechanisms of resistance and reaction to the control imposed by the university authorities and to the absence of the freedom of speech by constructing their own subculture and voice through their self-made media. Student graffiti subculture underlies the mainstream society and practice within the educational institutions, and survives from the involvement and participation of students as active and participating communicators. Its existence resists the mainstream culture by disrupting and contesting the authoritarian power in a subtle manner. Under the so-called peaceful scene of Thai universities, the educational institution itself becomes a contested terrain where students align themselves in secret against the adult world.

Rodriguez and Clair (1999, p. 2) also relate student graffiti to the theory about power, arguing that student graffiti arises out of the suppression of the right to communicate. Nwoye (1993) shares similar ideas, arguing that groups prohibited from or denied avenues of public expression will seek other outlets, this phenomenon always occur with students as the muted ones in educational institutions. Several graffiti observers (e.g., Bonuso, 1976; Dejulio, 1973; Klingman and Shalev, 2001; Obeng, 2000) agree, for students, graffiti functions

as a means of communication that reflects student concerns, their ideas, true feelings and shows what students like and dislike. When compared to the Thai case, Thai campus graffiti in this category actually express student's repressed feelings, unheard sentiments and concerns and 'true' feelings and points of views that students have toward their educational institutions that they cannot express in public.

Sexual theme: graffiti as communication for the 'outgroup'

Sexual graffiti makes up a large proportion from the entire data from the three universities. However, this Thai finding in this category differs from most Western studies in that there is a very high degree of homosexual graffiti found in the three campuses. In A and B University, homosexual appointment graffiti ranks highest among the entire data. Apart from students using graffiti to break the sexual taboos by releasing and expressing sexual desires, there are a number of homosexual male students who employ graffiti to find sexual partners or, in a sense, to find new sexual experiences. Other sub-categories, apart from homosexual issues, are few.

Heterosexual male graffiti inscriptions from the three campuses are similar, the focus of the message is always on the writer's sexual conquest of women and provides an account of their sexual experience. Most graffiti use direct obscene words, mostly in dialects, to visualize and express the visceral thoughts and experiences of the writers. The interaction is high in this sub-category. However, the reaction from other graffitiists is frequently hostile, where graffiti readers try to intimidate and insult previous writers by bragging about their own sexual conquests that are assumed to be 'better' than those of others, some examples are:

- A- I have fucked XXXX from The Faculty of XXXX, very good.
- B- (reply to A) Do you know, stupid, I've fucked this woman before you!

However, many students, male and female, report in the questionnaires that this type of graffiti does not contain any truth and that writers are just 'showing off'. Many writers try to explain this phenomenon (e.g. Abel and Buckley, 1977; Farr and Gordon, 1975; Rodriguez, 1994), arguing that men focus on sexual desire as the main topic in their graffiti. These writers cite Freudian psychoanalytic theory for their main explanatory system because, men are more concerned with male sexuality and that graffiti represents suppressed sexual desires and becomes sexual outlets. Freud (1974, p. 15) terms this need to seek outlets for repressed feelings as the vicarious substitution. Dundes (cited in Abel and Buckley, 1977, p. 33) concludes that by writing graffiti, graffitiists are "symbolically giving vent to their unconscious wish." Proctor (1991, p. 16), however, gives another opinion, writing sexual graffiti is a displacement of energy. The author speculates that graffiti that shows the desire for masculinity and grandiosity may be a denial of limits in life or a compensation for an underlying sense of low-esteem. Aggression toward females often resurfaces in male graffiti. When looking closer at heterosexual male graffiti, women are portrayed as helpless objects of sex and as victims. Examples are:

- A- Want to fuck XXXX of The Faculty of XXXX. Want to fuck this bitch hard until it bleeds. This woman wants sex badly.
- B- Any bitch in this uni and is good for me to fuck, come to meet me. It must be good-looking, ugly crippled bitch is unwanted.
- C- A good woman is a good whore.

Male writers treat females in their writing in a degrading manner that is portrayed through the choice of words they use: they call woman as 'it' instead of 'she'. The pronoun 'it' represents woman in a lowly state signifying inferiority to men, more or less, becoming inanimate objects in the graffiti inscription. Male students, as portrayed in graffiti, take the roles of sexual assailants toward females and do not show any sign of empathy in their writing. Lutze and Murphy (1999) and Norris, George, Davis, Martell and Leonesio (1999) term this as hypermasculinity or ultramasculinity trait that males perceive aggression as

manliness personified and accept the masculine sex-role stereotypes to devalue women. Pleck (1992, p. 20), May (1980), Kaufman (1992, p. 39) reach similar conclusion, suggesting that men have a deep-psychological need to assert their power over women. Pleck (p. 20) attributes it to a 'vicious cycle' because men have experienced women oppressing them in their childhood. In order to validate male power according to traditional masculinity, it "requires that women play their prescribed roles of doing the things that make men feel masculine" (p. 20). However, Kaufman (p. 39) has another opinion that male aggressiveness over women can be a compensation for male powerlessness in the society.

Culturally, Thailand is a highly patriarchal and traditional society where males have more advantages and a higher status than women. In fact, it is a male-dominated society (Vasighasin and Hemaprasit, 2002, p. 8). The authors assert that Thai society has a sexual double standard in place for both genders: males are encouraged to gain their manliness through premarital and extramarital sexual experiences whereas females should repress their sexual desires and remain virginal (p. 8). Knodel, Low, Saengthienchai and Lucas (1997) support the dual strategy that Vasighasin and Hemaprasit propose: women, according to men, have to play stereotyped gender role as sexual providers or an outlet for male sexual desire. The work of Srirasa (1989) on B University students reflects this belief: male students believe the validity of manliness, measured by sexual experiences, is a ritual of masculinity that should be maintained among male students. In the graffiti inscriptions male students write, women assume the roles of fantasized sexual partners, they are submissive and willing to become a sexual outlet for men or they accept the power of men in the form of sexual abuse. Bourgeois and Campagne (1971) observe that males abuse women to offset feelings of inferiority and weakened virility. Graffiti, therefore, functions as a sexual release mechanism that also transfers the feelings of being repressed, aggressiveness and the awareness of impossibility into reality on the wall.

Apart from women, men turn to validate their power over other men and over the outgroup, in this case, homosexual male. Central to the insult inscriptions that

males write to undermine other men is the 'bragging' over the size of male sexual organ. There is a very high degree of interaction in this category, however, readers often reply to challenge previous writers. An example reads:

- A- I am XXX from The Faculty of XXXX, I have the biggest than anyone. If you don't believe, come and see.
- B- (Reply to A) – I've seen it, yours is very small.
- C- (Reply to B) - So is yours.

Abel and Buckley (1977) apply Freudian theory suggesting this represents the male fear of castration to explain male obsession over the male sexual organ. Graffiti, according to the authors, symbolically expresses this fear in the form of exaggeration of one's sexual organ (p. 84). Kaufman (1992, p. 83) cites the theory of power, and suggests that the male sexual organ is the symbol of patriarchy and male power and that males need to prove themselves as 'real man'. Kaufman (p. 41) also refers to the castration anxiety theory proposed by Freud, representing it in a simple diagramme:

Male = penis = power = active = masculine

Female = castrated = passive = feminine.

Men, according to Kaufman, prove their power and masculinity by competing with other men and since the male sexual organ symbolizes manliness, they turn to brag over the size of the organ to reaffirm themselves. Srirasa (1989) and Chareonmeung (2000) also report that this notion is still prominent in Thai universities among male students.

Apart from women, males hurl aggressiveness and hatred toward homosexual males. The hatred and the feeling of male superiority is reflected both in humorous graffiti inscriptions and insult directed at homosexual males. Examples are:

- A- If you're a gay, you don't deserve at all to be born as a man. Remember this!! I will kill all you faggots in this uni if I see you.
- B- Question. How do we call a man who is a gay? Answer, an animal.

Many studies point out that male graffiti often focuses on anti-homosexual themes because homosexuality is a conflict and raises a level of concern in some societies (Sechrest and Flores, 1969). Many scholars agree that males react to homosexuality with homophobia and violence because homosexuality represents a challenge to masculinity and a deviation from the male system of gender beliefs (Bowen and Bourgeois, 2001; Herek, Gillis, Cogan and Glunt, 1997; Kerns and Fine, 1994; Madon, 1997; Rhoads, 1997; Schellenberg, Hirt and Sears, 1999; Seltzer, 1992; Whitley and Aegisdottir, 2000). Kaufman (1992, p. 90) cites Freudian theory of the fear of castration, stating that men hate homosexuals because homosexuality arouses the fear of losing male power and the castration anxiety. Sripanich (1999), Wongcharaskul (1990) and Wuttiroj (1991) explain this scenario within a Thai context, arguing that Thai society believes that being a homosexual means being a psychopath or one who is abnormal and deviant, who disregards the accepted social norms. There are some social mechanisms in Thai society that are used to check, regulate and suppress homosexuality. One such tool is religion. According to Sripanich (1999, p. 3), The *Tripitaka* or the Lore of The Buddha claims that homosexual males could not be ordained. Moreover, the laws enacted in the first period of Rattanakosin Kingdom decrees that being homosexual was illegal, this law was finally cancelled in 1956 (Sripanich, 1999, p. 3). The discrimination against homosexuality has been raised as a topic from time to time in Thai society and always causes a moral panic among authorities. For example, the government once decreed that homosexual males should not be offered jobs as teachers. The reasons for this are simple, the government see homosexual males are bad role models for young people. This is reflected in a broadcast interview given by a Thai famous person (name withheld) saying "Gay causes fear in our society, this is very dangerous to youth because they will imitate these people" (Wuttiroj, 1991, p. 42). More details of this contentious subject are discussed in the next chapter.

Obvious in this statement above is the belief that homosexuality represents a moral downfall that causes damage to society and this calls for restrictions to 'end' homosexuality. The fight to control homosexuality, morality and decency is used as a tool to defend society and its 'decent and normal' members. Through this mechanism and other, Thai society places homosexuals as the outgroup awarding them no status or place in society assigning them to stay at the margin. Being marginal in a highly-patriarchal and traditional society means powerlessness, without choice and being under a constant oppression. Being in a marginalized state and being stigmatized as abnormal people, young homosexual males have very few choices, they have to remain unopened (Wuttiroj, 1991). Sripanich (1999) asserts that it is because male homosexuals realize that their behaviour and sexual role preferences do not fit male identity norms, they become more internalized and marginalized. This oppression drives them to become more socialized and more dependent with other homosexual groups (Sripanich, 1999; Wongcharaskul, 1990). The need to hide from society could be one reason that homosexual male students use graffiti as a communication opportunity and an outlet for liberation. Graffiti inscriptions concerning appointments between homosexuals are, therefore, rank highest in the three universities. Most of the inscriptions share the same writing pattern that leaves contact address and time of the appointment:

- A- I am a queen but unopened. I want a king. Interest? Make an appointment. Call 01-XXXXXXX.
- B- I will come here and will wait in the second room. Knock 3 times and call XXX. I accept only handsome guy. This is my time- Tuesday 27 April at 17.00 and 28 April at 15.00.
- C- (Reply to C)- I have an exam on those days above. Can you come on Friday at 20.00?

The high degree of graffiti confirms that Thai homosexual male students choose toilet graffiti as their mode of communication where they exchange conversation

and seek new sexual partners. Above all, it indicates the marginalized positions of Thai students who are given no other legitimate media or any access to the media to express themselves. For Thai students, graffiti is a communication opportunity capable of giving them freedom of expression and creating a network of communication between themselves. Further analysis is presented in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

It is the social conditions and the cultural environment of Thai society that causes youth graffiti. Using Foucault's theory of power which shows that power is prohibitions and that power is always met with resistance, graffiti can be interpreted as the reaction of the powerless to the powerful through attempts to discuss or show things that the society deems forbidden, such as sexuality and hostility. Student graffiti reactions reproduce this resistance to the authorities by physically disrupting the well-managed social order and social aesthetic of universities, causing chaos and damage to the orderly and the idealized order of the adult world. Symbolically, regulations and prohibitions that the authorities employ to manage and control youth are challenged. Graffiti written by young people, not only defies university rules and regulations, but also breaks the Thai social taboos by expressing forbidden topics and neglecting ideal behaviours and discourses. Graffiti, in this regard, re-creates and re-locates youth environment from the margins to a space where they can take control over the environment. It, therefore, functions as a cultural and social protest and resistance to the dominant society. Graffiti, written by young people, is a form of anarchy.

At the same time there is a sense of the powerlessness of students involved in the way students turn to graffiti as a protest and many students echo this awareness and feeling through their graffiti. Students, as evident in their graffiti, are aware that they can express their feelings and concerns only in graffiti that can be washed off or left unrecognized.

CHAPTER 6: STUDENTS, POWER AND HOMOSEXUALITY

This chapter examines the relationship between homosexuality and power as expressed through graffiti found on Thai university campuses. The analysis in this chapter will show how homosexual male students and heterosexual students acquire a degree of power and rights of communication in their subculture of resistance.

Satsa-yuan (1995) explains that, in such a complex society like Thailand, there are several strata of subcultures surviving around the mainstream or the 'general' culture. The term subculture here is defined by Satsa-yuan as 'little tradition' which differs from the mainstream or the 'great tradition'. A subculture, according to the author, is definitely a part of the mainstream but differs in term of its cultural elements such as beliefs, behaviours or activities practiced within one group of people.

Foucault's theory of power will be explored through an analysis of the utterances of six students-as-graffitists, who voice their views as to how and why they turn to graffiti as their choice of communication. I also provide a brief background for each student that reveals their personal needs and lifestyle. The theoretical framework for my analysis is derived from the concept of youth gratification and the media proposed by Arnett (1995).

It must be noted that codes are used to refer to the interviewees. Personal details of the interviewees are limited to the material provided in this chapter.

Homosexuality subculture, power and graffiti

The findings in Chapter 5 reveal a striking fact: Thai campus graffiti is mainly about homosexuality. Analysis also shows that, underlying the mainstream culture and

norms in campus, Thai homosexual male students use graffiti in their network of communication to break the Thai social taboos and sexual norms. This phenomenon portrays homosexual male students as an underrepresented group struggling for rights and channels of communication in Thai educational institutions where the 'norm' rules, sexual discrimination persists and freedom of speech is limited.

In order to comprehend this homosexual graffiti phenomenon, the status of homosexuality, in Thai context, must be defined. As a male-dominated society, homosexuality is unacceptable in Thailand. It is, in fact, considered abnormal (Jackson, 1997). Writers (e.g., Jackson, 1997; Sripanich, 1999; Wuttiroj, 1991) suggest that homosexuality, in Thai society, is marginalized and is regarded with extreme bias and homophobia. This is clearly reflected in the terminology that Thais use to describe the homosexuality as the 'wrong sex' meaning that being homosexual is sexually and culturally 'wrong'. Thais, moreover, regard homosexuality as deviant and abnormal. The way the society blames homosexual people as possessing a sickness that plagues society and misleads young people is similar to the way Thai seeks other Western culture as the culprit for its own cultural crisis. Kaewthep (1998, p. 81) comments, this is a cliché excuse that Thais employ to find explanations for social problems. Central to this notion is Thai society's othering of homosexuality as a culturally and sexually inferior lifestyle. This view leads to the adoption of homophobic attitudes that are persistent in the society and suppression [in various disguises] of various homosexual groups. The result is, the homosexual group becomes vulnerable to social discrimination, assault, mistrust and lack of social acceptance (Sripanich, 1999; Wongcharaskul, 1990). These might push homosexual people to remain undisclosed in Thai society for fear of shame, guilt and social sanctions (Wuttiroj, 1991). Such attitudes and practices reflect a significant degree of disciplinary power the society exerts over the homosexual group in order to suppress, marginalize and limit the freedom of social expression of homosexual people. This exercise of power raises a question: why the society needs to control and suppress homosexuality?

In order to find the answer, we need to examine the core values of the society, its mainstream social values and how the Thai authority perceives and uses power. As I have argued above Thai society is, by western standards, authoritarian, collectively exhibiting the need to discipline and control the people to support the system. Many mechanisms have been implemented to dictate to the people, to establish values within the society what is and what is not acceptable behaviour. The process of differentiation that others, thereby creating the unacceptable in contrast to the norm, becomes a strategy of power. Thus the society maintains and consolidates its power by offering no other choices, excluding the unacceptable and giving limited freedom. This ideology of disciplinary power resurfaces time and again in several national agendas, state announcements, state practices and national cultural policies. Two cases may be given to illustrate this phenomenon. The first, during the 1930s when the Thai government demanded a new nation and consequently the acceptance from the people of this new construction. These goals were achieved, not by consent from the people, but by the law, punishment and censorship system strictly imposed on almost every aspects of daily life. For example, loyalty to the leader was decreed by the law as the first duty of Thai citizens (Phagaphasvivat, 1999). Diversity was not allowed but limited choices were given, Thais were obligated to speak the same Thai-Bangkok language whereas dialects were banned (Chareonsri, Chanthieng and Taekhanmark, 1996, p. 23). Apart from language, the re-created national history and the same national songs that emphasized the roles of the country leaders were mandatory for Thais to study. Moreover, Thais had to comply with the dress codes and wear the outfits the government deemed appropriate (Wun'Gaco, 1996, p. 232).

Another area where we can see the core values of a conservative culture being articulated is the media, where the agendas are set in the national media content becoming an influential source of information in Thai society. The ideology of disciplinary work is endemic to the media especially the press, which was put under the censorship system in the 1980s ensuring that papers followed the official

government line, discouraging them from striking a critical stance in respect to government social and cultural policy. The broadcast media, moreover, have belonged to the government and the army since the 1930s until the present (Pongsudhirak, 1997). The practice control of communication is nation-wide which means that even campus media in public universities are always under the surveillance (Thanyaseth, 1987). It is therefore no doubt this suggests to many critics that the agendas are pre-set and censored by authorities before they are released to the citizens, Pongsudhirak (1997) gives two examples of this media censorship. During the 1930s-1970s, the media was used as a state tool, by the military leaders, to support the military regime and its legitimacy. During the May 1992 uprising against the military leader, the electronic media did not report the street protest but its reportage became disinformation (p. 230). This ideology attempts to control the people, through several mechanisms, to accept one shared system and culture that is pre-chosen by the government. Samudavanija (1997) concludes, the core of Thai society is centralism. When a society relies on this ideology as its foundation, rebellion and autonomy is, therefore, little tolerated and is likely to be suppressed by force. The history recounted in the studies of Asavapichayont (1987) and Thanyaseth (1987) support this statement, student rebels and people's demonstrations are met by mass shooting throughout the history of Thailand, especially the 1973, the 1976 student uprisings and the 1992 people's demonstration.

When applying this to homosexuality, it could be hypothesized that Thai society cannot tolerate homosexuality because it is perceived to be related to deviancy and rebellion, behaviours that Thai official and traditional society does not wish to see or condone. The rising number of homosexual people in contemporary Thai society and the way these people became 'outed' irritates the authorities because it symbolically disrupts the orderly and the pre-fabricated social environments that has been constructed by the authorities through their control of the ideological apparatuses and it becomes a direct challenge to the norms, the shared beliefs that are representative of official Thai culture. A challenge is perceived as dangerous to

possession of social power and to those who possess it because it suggests that the power could be weakened and the discipline is no longer effective. When placed against the ideology of disciplinary power, homosexuality, in the Thai context, becomes an anarchist discourse. Therefore, homosexuality, in the eyes of authorities, needs to be marginalized, more or less, eradicated in one way or another. In order to accomplish this task, there are several state and cultural devices serving this purpose. Wuttiroj (1991, p. 42-43) quotes a statement from an official spokesperson indicating the country needs some mechanisms to 'put an end to the exaggerated and deviant expression of homosexual men in our society'. This resentment resurfaces time and again. In the past few years, the authorities have directly aimed at silencing homosexual men through various strategies. The Ministry of Culture, working as a state extension, has sent out 'warnings' to the media to ban homosexual males from the television and movie screen. Underpinning this strategy is the view that culture, in the Thai context, is political and functions as a state apparatus. Culture, according to the Ministry of Culture, has been pre-set, chosen and justified by the government. If we apply Foucauldian concept from *Discipline and Punish* (1995), this official attempt at suppression is a mere reflection of the governmental desire to exert ideological, physical and social control over the 'body' of individuals and also as a kind of 'punishment'. Foucault says quite explicitly;

...in our society, the systems of punishment are to be situated in a certain political economy of the body: even if they do not make use of violent or bloody punishment, even when they use 'lenient' methods involving confinement or correction, it is always the body that is at issue (p. 24).

In this sense, the Thai government acting through its Ministry of Culture, employs the justification of the 'pure and morally clean' Thai culture to harness and silence homosexual males and put them under the charge of 'destroying' the traditions of Thai culture and morality. According to the Foucauldian perspective, this is a

strategy to suppress the body and its force and to make it docile and subjected to punishment. The homosexual male body, including the homosexual expression and behaviour, that have a political edge in Thai culture, making them part of the contested terrain between power and dominion in which banning homosexual male from the television and movie screen is meant as a physical and ideological 'torture' and confinement.

The ideology of disciplinary power suggested by Foucault suppressing homosexuality is exercised through religion, as the main aspect of Thai society, employed to set up the standards of proper conduct and to negate the 'unacceptable'. According to the religious rules, men who are homosexuals or look like one cannot be ordained. In Buddhist mythology of *Vaggi*, who wanted to be ordained because he was attracted by the looks of The Lord Buddha Siddhartha, Vaggi was told to leave the monastery because of his homosexual preference. However, Vaggi was 'saved', by the Lord Buddha who taught him that a pursuit in bodily pleasure is ignorance, and Vaggi finally renounced his homosexuality and became an 'Arahanda' or an Enlightened monk (Sactho, 1989, p. 114). This mythology suggests that homosexuality is a moral danger to religion and an obstacle to reach salvation. Being shunned by the monastic order means that the pathway to merit is blocked and the individual is deemed a failure. It suggests to the Thai that homosexuality is a social nuisance and sickness, dangerous to the whole society and the social ideals. This perception has stirred a moral panic against homosexuality leading to other mechanisms that are active in undermining homosexuality. Some examples are: the military firmly states that homosexual males are not to be accepted as military officers. The Ministry of Education once announces that homosexual males should not be given jobs as teachers and the government sends out warnings to the broadcast media that homosexual males should be banned from the screen.

Using Foucault's concept of power, the ideology of disciplinary power widely practiced in Thai society could be explained as the 'art of government' (Foucault, 1991, p. 87). The core of the art of government, according to Foucault (1991), includes the idea of how to govern others, and the acceptance of being governed as well as actually how to become the governor. The problematic core of the art of government is the decision on what methods of rule, how to rule and how strictly to apply the rules. Foucault terms these 'mechanisms' or 'strategies' of disciplinary power that is exercised on the subordinate. To conclude, the art of government is to govern and exercise power over the inhabitants, the wealth and behaviour of each and all, it is simply a form of surveillance over the population whose duty is to serve the need of the government. Disciplinary power is also related to sexuality according to Foucault. In *Power/Knowledge* (1980), the author gives an example of the mechanism of power, it is the disciplinary and punitive apparatus that the society sets up, along with other systems, to separate the 'normal' from the 'abnormal', there are forms of sexuality that are permitted and forbidden and are deemed as normal and abnormal. Power, in this sense, is the control over the body and behaviour of an individual.

When applying Foucault's theory of power to Thai society, we find that Thai authority elaborates the 'art of government' into a practice that attempts to possess the mind as well as the body and govern the conduct and the attitudes of the people. The mechanisms devised to help to fulfil such purposes are mostly state owned and controlled, such as religion, media and the law, that function in tandem with other tools such as national agendas, cultural policies, established norms of behaviour and regulations. This approach was adopted during the 1930s when the government exerted its authoritarian power to control all conduct of the citizen to serve the needs of the government to re-create a new 'Thai nation'. The ideology of disciplinary power is now so embedded in virtually all aspects of Thai society such as in educational institutions that it now seems to be the norm. Sinlarat (1983, p. 13) comments on Thai institutions serving this ideology of power. When such ideology exists,

homosexuality is regarded as an anti-conformist discourse because it defies norms and codes of conduct that the majority of the people are obligated to hold and thus disrupts the social order.

Student graffiti usage

This study examines the discourse of six active graffitiists who practice their rebellion on the walls of Thai universities. Two of the group said they are 'heavy-users' of graffiti whereas the rest claimed to be 'occasional' or 'light-users', which means they write graffiti periodically or write graffiti only on some specific opportunities and occasions. Among the students, only one, who claims to be a graffiti 'light-user', is female. Codes are used to maintain to the anonymity of the students, thus:

- AA is a male student from A University who claims to be an 'undisclosed' homosexual meaning that he has known his sexual preference since his early adolescence but remains closeted to the public and to his family. AA is 22 years old, lives with his family and does not have a permanent partner.
- BB is a male student from B University. Similar to AA, he is an undeclared homosexual who acknowledges his sexual identity since he was 12 years of age. BB is 23 years old and does not live with family. He does not have a permanent partner.

The sexual position of AA and BB, who claim to be 'true' homosexuals, Kinsey et al (cited in Wongcharaskul, 1990, p. 7) term this as 'exclusive homosexuals' meaning that the person is a permanent homosexual. For both the students, their sexual orientation and identity was developed during their college years when they encountered the wider society within university. Before their college years, both of the students did not write graffiti. In the Thai context, AA and BB are called 'queens', a term that also refers to their being undisclosed or in Thai term meaning

'unopened' or 'hidden ones'. Both of them feel themselves marginalized by 'false beliefs' where society sees homosexual males as perverts. Both fear that if they are 'outed' it could drive friends away, bring disrespect and distrust, and lessen career possibilities as well as cause shame to their families. Being literally forced to 'hide' from the society, family and friends, both of the students report on the pressure, of being suppressed admitting they suffer from a high degree of stress and loneliness. AA and BB state that they began to get acquainted with homosexual graffiti subculture during their college years. Although they saw homosexual graffiti in higher secondary schools, they did not become involved in its production because they were not confirmed in their sexual preference and because the 'society' within school is very small and their identities could have been easily revealed. As their sexual identity became stronger and matured during their second college year they became more involved in graffiti.

- FF is a female student of 19 years of age from B University. She claims that she always pays close attention in class and she feels that many teachers treat students disrespectfully. She found some teachers 'boring' because "they read from the books to students and make students listen silently" (FF, personal communication, November 2, 2001). She also claims she does not write graffiti on campus. However, FF says she is capable of giving opinions and comments back to teachers if given the opportunities or if she wants to do.
- MM is a male student from B University. He is 18 years old. He confesses that he is "greatly dissatisfied with the educational system in B University" because teachers "do not care much about students" (MM, personal communication, November 2, 2001). He never gives any opinion in class and never argues with teachers. MM claims he always writes on desktops.
- CC is a male student of 21 years old from C University. Similar to MM, he is dissatisfied with teachers because, according to him, teachers "dictate too much" and need "too much respect" from students (CC, personal communication, November 2, 2001). CC says he argues with some teachers.

However, some teachers can give good reasons and explanations that he is willing to accept. CC writes on desktops and in some toilets and is always a graffiti active reader.

- DD is a male student from B University. He is 22 years of age. Compared to other interviewees, DD has the most negative attitudes toward teachers and university. He reports that some teachers are “inhuman because they only need money, they do not have spirit to be teachers although some are very good” (DD, personal communication, November 2, 2001). He also states that he feels some teachers are “very cold, aloof and oppressive” (DD, personal communication, November 2, 2001) to students. DD prefers to write in some toilets and is an active graffiti participant by replying to some inscriptions to reinforce his view on life.

These students, although do not feel much oppressed like homosexual students, resort to graffiti from time to time when they feel frustrated, angry and could not express negative feelings even to friends. The difference between homosexual and heterosexual graffitiists is that the homosexual group only write and read graffiti in toilets. The heterosexual ones write almost everywhere. For example, FF states that she always tags her name when she visits national parks or other tourist places. Their graffiti-as-communication usage and gratification is discussed next.

Graffiti as the safer media and social interaction for homosexual graffitiist

The graffiti usage of the homosexual students develops according to their sexual maturity and their exposure to graffiti in campus. A high degree of anonymity in campus environment and involvement with homosexual population in campus offer graffitiists familiarity with homosexual subculture and more freedom facilitating graffiti writing. From non-interactive participants, the two students change into active media users. They become graffiti distributors and interactive readers by replying to inscriptions, producing graffiti and participating in appointments

advertised in graffiti. Up to the present time, both of the students have written graffiti for three to four years, their graffiti motivations center on two points: graffiti is used as a channel of social interaction and for enjoyment.

Living in the society that offers little cultural tolerance to homosexuality, Saiphan (2002) suggests young homosexual males suffer more stress than matured ones because of less freedom, immaturity and fewer choices to express themselves. Homosexual males feel they need to hide and conceal themselves to self-protect their identity from social stigmatization and condemnation. AA and BB respond to this repressive situation where unopened homosexual males fall into the stage of being 'invisible', leading to more dependency among homosexual groups. BB reflects this view that "undisclosed life is the life behind a closed door because we are afraid of being discriminated, insulted and not accepted", this repressive life is the result of limited freedom and social status "we do not have other choices because there are very few choices given to us" (BB, personal communication, December 1, 2002). Saiphan (2002, p. 132) suggests, because of the oppressive society, Thai homosexual males are always struggling to find a space where they are accepted, gain their status and reaffirm their existence. Their attempt echoes a wish to be free from social restraints but reflects a need for social interaction. This is represented in student graffiti as well. For example, one inscription from A University reads "I am an unopened queen. I want someone, we can be friends or more than friends" and another replies "I understand us all. We can't deny ourselves but isn't it better to keep our love for someone very special?" This latter graffiti draws attention and participation from other homosexual graffitiists in A University, which suggests that graffiti serves as a communal and an indirect interpersonal medium of communication in the homosexual community. Since graffiti is sexually related and, sometime, anonymous, graffitiists seek sexual enjoyment invested in their graffiti writing. Inscriptions written by AA and BB support this statement:

AA-Unopened gay queen looking for a student in this uni. You must be clean, good-looking and unopened also. Please call 01-xxxxxxx.
BB-If you need sex and fun and if you're an unopened king, meet me in this toilet on 12 July at 22.00 pm, knock 3 times.

Media exposure is essential in graffiti production. To make sure that the message will reach the audience, AA and BB choose toilets in the central canteen and the central library as their hub of communication because a large number of students congregate there. Apart from leaving messages, both two graffitiists read and reply to other message as well or contact to the telephone numbers given in order to find friends, new sexual partners to 'widen our gay world' according to AA (AA, personal communication, December 1, 2001). The homosexual graffiti subculture in campus is, therefore, 'alive' by being maintained by participants who repeatedly re-check their message to receive feedbacks and are active media users. According to the interviewees, homosexual students read graffiti for new 'information' advertised in graffiti message such as new homosexual venues, new 'faces' or new appointments. Through graffiti, homosexual students could reach one another and could gain companionship, apart from sexual relationship, reaffirming their existence and dependency within their group. Other media and venue such as gay telephone service or visiting gay club could also yield the same purposes but, according to AA and BB, graffiti needs no money and no communication protocols, it is anonymous and it is safer to remain their contact only within university student group. Graffiti, with its anonymous nature, also helps them to remain unrecognized by the larger public and, according to AA and BB, sexual appointment gained through graffiti is less risky than venturing to gay bars to find one. In the case of BB, there is no such service in the province where he lives, therefore, he has to rely on graffiti to meet other homosexuals. However, both of them use other small media as well such as gay pornographic magazines. Both AA and BB confess that using graffiti as their media is more 'sensational' or 'thrilling' than other 'normal' media such as pornographic magazines or telephone services. BB reasons "because you don't know who will

reply to your graffiti, you can see him only once he arrives at the appointed date, it is the anticipation that makes it fun and appealing” (BB, personal communication, December 1, 2002).

When applying Arnett's (1995) concept of youth media use and gratification, which argues that youth simply and mainly use media for entertainment and only certain media can provide an intense and novel stimulation that appeals to youth because they tend to focus more on sensation than adults, we find that homosexual graffitiists mostly seek sexual pleasure from graffiti. Both of the students claim that they look for temporary sexual relationship and novelty in meeting new unknown sexual partners from their writing (AA and BB, personal communication, December 1, 2001). The anonymity of graffiti, although it helps them avoid self-exposure, actually provides a sense of thrill through its anonymous nature. BB suggests that graffiti communication adds 'flavour' to his life (BB, personal communication, December 1, 2001). Graffiti, like pornographic media, has an added value of being a sensual media for thrill-seekers as well. Rubin (1985) also supports the view that the appealing characteristic of some media can deliver fantasies that attract young adults who seek sensation and arousal through media consumption. According to Rubin, young adults gratify their voyeuristic needs through some media as well. Sherry (2001), however, offers another explanation based on a bio-behavioural approach to explain the media gratification concept. The author suggests that consumer who seeks thrills in media are people who possess an active temperament trait. It means that the person needs both the thrill and relaxation from the media to equilibrate their temperament.

To sum up, homosexual students use graffiti for mainly two reasons: seeking social interaction between homosexual groups and seeking sexual enjoyment. Their needs are shaped by the narrowed media opportunities available for the young unopened homosexual group in conservative Thai society who are marginalized as the invisible and cannot reveal and express themselves openly in public. Graffiti, being

anonymous can be easily accessed, and therefore plays an important role in the Thai homosexual subculture on the Thai campus because it yields an outlet of communication where homosexual students can reaffirm their self-existence and self-identity. Graffiti also gives opportunities for sexual pleasure as well.

Heterosexual students: graffiti as an outlet of expression

When considering heterosexual student graffiti we can identify four major categories of writing: self-identification, coping with negative feelings, finding outlet for expression and the sharing of information. It must be noted that there might be other motives for communication from other graffitiists that do not have a place in this thesis. However, the four uses of graffiti as media as given here can be seen to represent some common motivations for graffiti use among students. Moreover, as I will show that while there are similarities between the graffiti of homosexual students and heterosexual students there are also profound differences.

Self Identification

Self-identification as a motive for writing messages is clearly reflected in the way FF approaches graffiti. FF is the only student, among the interviewees, who states that she writes graffiti to 'memorize' herself in many places she has visited outside campus and on desktops in the central canteen in B University. Her inscriptions follow the same writing pattern: she tags her name with date and time. For example, she will write on a desktop "FF is here on June 12, 2000". Seeing her name on a wall or on a tree, it helps her to believe that she is 'alive' (FF, personal communication, November 2, 2001). Arnett (1995) explains this youth phenomenon thus; youth tend to identify themselves or reaffirm their self-identity through some media because media can be influential during adolescent years. Other writers such as Abel and Buckley (1997, p.16) suggest graffiti is an announcement of one's identity and is a kind of testimonial to one's existence in a world of anonymity. The search for self-

identity via graffiti, in FF's case, is nearly an obsession as she always leaves her tag almost everywhere. Proctor (1991, p.99) asserts that graffiti writing of this kind may be a denial of limits in life and a denial of helplessness, smallness and insignificance in the world. If we look at this phenomenon as related to age and socioeconomic status, then the concept of age and media use proposed by Rubin (1985) has to be taken into account. We can hypothesize that FF is very young and has just started her first year in a large university, away from home and family and has to work after class as a waitress in a coffee shop to gain more money since she receives little financial support from her family. She might feel lonely, stressed, unable to settle down in a new campus environment and has less time and money for self-entertaining than her peers. Seeing her name 'alive' on the wall may psychologically provides her with reassurance and reinforce her self-formation and her existence in such a large university like B University where first-year students have to develop and adjust themselves in order to be familiar with life in college. Thus FF's experiences can be seen as a metonym for the larger body of first year students who are struggling to come to terms with a new environment and tagging is a way of reaffirming their existence.

Coping with negative feelings and finding outlet of expression

Students resort to graffiti to release negative feelings to authority such as teachers or university authorities. Anger and frustration can be seen in the graffiti messages that writers leave on the walls. Most inscriptions express dissatisfaction toward teachers for several reasons such as boredom, hatred and the teacher's lack of pedagogic ability. MM, CC, FF and DD report of boredom if they have to sit still in class and 'pretend' to listen to lectures that they cannot understand and are not allowed or dare not to ask questions for clarification (CC, FF, MM and DD, personal communication, December 1, 2001). They report that, to escape and free themselves from boredom and dissatisfaction, they choose to write graffiti on classroom walls and on tables. Some of the examples are:

A – This is very boring, the teacher cannot say a word that anyone can understand.

B – The class of XXXX (teacher's name) is very boring. It's difficult and the teacher makes it more difficult. I hate it. Agree?

In ways similar to Confucian philosophy, Thais believe teachers deserve great respect, high social status and a major position in the social hierarchy because they offer a meritorious debt to students who are culturally obligated to repay that debt. The act of giving knowledge from an older person to the young, from the Thai perception, to giving the student a better life, better future and greater prosperity. The act, however, demands something from the person in return. Klausner (2000, p. 275) explains that in Thai terms this concept, known as 'bun khun' (meaning that one who benefits from another and must repay the favour in return) places the recipient under an obligation. If the person does not meet the obligation they will be socially condemned as an 'akatan-yu' or 'khon nerakun', meaning an ingrate person (p. 275). Podhisita (1998) terms the relationship between Thai student and teacher as 'phra kun' or the greatest favour, second to that given by parents. This notion is also applied to the relationship between parents and children as well as teachers and students. In order to repay the 'debt', the young can return the favour by being obedient, grateful and respectful. Moreover, Thais have cultivated the ability to repress negative feelings and dislike when in public and to hide their feelings under a smile as a mask of emotions (Klausner, 2000, p. 253). When placed under this kind of cultural restraint, Thais, especially the young, are unable to release negative feelings or find a suitable outlet for them. Podhisita (1998, p. 45) explains, the bun-khun or phra kun relationship is very important in Thai social life since it is obligatory and thus forms a basic social relationship between all segments of Thai people. Those who recognize bun khun and repay it will be praised by the society, by contrast, one who forgets is disliked.

In order to show respect, students have to be obedient in class, and speak only when they are asked or allowed. Moreover, they must dress properly, wear university uniforms and behave well. Many students in B University echo this situation in the interviews conducted, and a student sums it all up when they say:

I do not and will not argue with teachers for two reasons, it is useless because we could never win and the second reason is that the coming of teachers to teach us is meritorious enough (MM, personal communication, November 2, 2001).

Confronted by cultural inhibitions that do not encourage expression and confrontation but encourage repression, students believe a dispute or an argument with teachers will not yield any benefit to them but could bring harm and disharmony in the relationship. Many students are afraid of the after-effects of a confrontation with a teacher that could follow the argument. This view is echoed in a reply by DD in an interview. He quotes a Thai maxim: a small stick cannot lever a log meaning that younger persons have no chance in winning an argument with seniors, and he says:

I don't dare to argue with teachers even if I feel it. I have to be careful, I don't want the teachers to give me low marks in my exam results. Arguing with teachers is useless because a small stick cannot lever a log (DD, personal communication, November 2, 2001).

The lack of proper channels and the inability to handle negative feelings in such a strict and forbidding cultural environment permeates the campus where teachers and students share an unequal relationship. Srirasa (1988) reports that campus media, in B University, the place we could expect a student can find a proper channel for their voice and their opinions, are under strict surveillance and have been banned several times after students attempted to comment on university affairs. The campus

newspaper at C University serves as a self-advertisement for the university because it is produced by the university itself rather than as a student outlet. Graffiti, in such situations becomes the only media available to students where students feel safe, available, anonymous and secretive, the place that students can express any idea or feeling. A student in C University (name withheld) reports in the interview that many students in C University now turn to the internet, they search into the university website and post their hateful graffiti in the website without signing their names. Most of the messages attack directly the university, the educational system and services such as the high tuition fees or the lack of clean toilets. From the survey, toilet graffiti in B and C University express hateful feelings attacking the university and teachers, boredom and uncertainty in a teacher's ability to teach. For example, some inscriptions write "Life sucks in this uni" or "I'd rather be a gigolo than studying in this uni" and "XXX (name of a teacher) is nothing, if she reads from the book to students, I can go home and read them myself". This genre of hateful graffiti is much more prevalent in C University than the other two campuses, which might suggest that students in C University are mostly dissatisfied with their organization compared to students in A and B.

Arnett (1995) explains this phenomenon. Young people tend to use media to relieve and dispel negative emotion in a process of emotional self-regulation. The author terms this media gratification as a process of 'emotional self-regulation' pointing out then when youths face problems, conflicts and stresses, they purge these feelings especially anger by identifying with some media content. Graffiti, in this sense, serves to release student's negative feelings and sentiments, acts as an outlet for repressed minds and thus helps to balance the mental state of those with repressed minds by allowing the negative feelings to be released freely. This is also supported by Stepheson (cited in Baran and Davis, 1995, p. 224), people tend to use media as a buffer or a way to escape when they face a degree of social control they feel uneasy and stressful. Abel and Buckley (1977, p. 41) conclude that graffiti is a mechanism in the form of language that helps people to release the tension.

Socialization in youth subculture

Thai students use graffiti as their self-made media to free themselves from cultural restraints and oppression. Graffiti, in this sense, functions as a strategy and a tool to acquire a degree of power over the environment and also to resist authoritarian power at the same time. Students also use graffiti, in some circumstances, to unite and socialize with each other in a way that is quite different to the normal Thai socialisation patterns as we have seen with the homosexual students. In this regard, graffiti represents both forms of student power and personal power. For example, the hateful graffiti that arose during the student protest in B University drew a high degree of interaction from students who shared the same feelings as the protesters but were unable to express these views elsewhere for fear of punishment. The student graffiti then acts as a channel through which students send their messages for public consumption and recognition as they even reach the authorities when they are displayed in public. For example, some graffiti states quite explicitly "The money that you XXX (name of the chancellor) use is my semester fee" or "XXX (the chancellor) should go out" and "We want him XXX (the chancellor) out, we want a clean person".

Desktop graffiti and toilet graffiti that express hateful feelings and frustration against teachers and the university always attract participants and involvement from several other students who share the same experiences. CC reports that students use graffiti for self-expression to affirm their ideas, perceptions and beliefs when no one else listens to them or when there is a perception that there are no other outlets, students need to "say something to the world out there" (CC, personal communication, November 2, 2001). CC and DD report that school situations often create frustrations and dissatisfactions and the classroom relationship with teachers is mostly unenjoyable. According to CC and DD, some teachers are always bad-tempered, rarely listen to students and expect students to answer questions correctly although

students do not know the answers. Being expected to be receptive or when they are in stressful situations, students choose to remain silent in class. CC gives a reason of why students remain silent:

If you have a problem with teachers, you cannot survive in campus, they will hate you and other teachers will know you by the name of the 'trouble-maker' or an aggressive student. You will be unwelcomed in class and you risk to be underestimated that means you may receive a very low mark on your exam results (CC, personal communication, November 2, 2001).

In this kind of classroom situations, DD reposts of "feeling the instant urge to express" the feelings of boredom and dissent in desktop graffiti in classroom (DD, personal communication, November 2, 2001). DD claims he found out that his graffiti always draws participation from other students replying his inscription. The involvement and participation that students share their feelings and experiences through graffiti helps to create socialization within student groups, especially in some circumstances. For example, B University has decided to be a fully autonomous university according to the decree of Prime Minister Thaksin's government, this decision causes dissent among students who fear that the tuition fee will rise sharply and students will be unable to pay. After the breaking of the news, hateful graffiti attacking the university and the authorities was quickly 'published' attracting a large number of participants. Some inscription read "We have to make a loan to pay the fee if B University becomes autonomous" and "I can't afford to pay if B University is autonomous, why the uni is eager to be autonomous?" The first inscription attracts several replies agreeing with it. Writing hateful graffiti in toilet helps students to socialize in an anonymous and secretive way. The articulation of youth graffiti critically suggests how communication is crucial to students in situations where legitimate media are unavailable.

Arnett (1995) proposes that media consumption gives young people a sense of being connected to a larger peer network that is united by certain youth-specific values and interests. The author believes that the media provide a 'common ground' for all adolescents who may have similar preferences and share the same situations or interests. Young people use media to establish their own subculture (p. 6). Youth draw material from the media that contributes to their socialization. The author states, media are part of the process by which adolescents accept or resist beliefs of the social world and the culture in which they live. Youth subculture involves youth resistance to both the authority and the mainstream culture and values. Arnett posits, adolescents choose media as a symbolic rejection of adult values or some use media to 'shut out' adults. Young people select media that are 'attractive' to them and use them in diverse ways related to socialization in three ways. The first is to promote impulse control or legitimize the avoidance of it. The second is to learn the roles offered by adult society or to reject them and the third is to find sources of meaning or to declare their angst over the lack of meaning in their lives (p. 5). The author, however, suggests that the non-Western cultures have narrower socialization processes than the West and control over youth is tighter. In such a repressed society like Thai society, I shall argue, that media dependency and the need to communicate is much more intensive and students forcefully find their ways to create their own voice and world. In short, that while the graffiti is the product of adolescents in transition it nevertheless expresses a high degree of frustration on the part of the young in Thailand with the current situation they find themselves in.

One aspect of the youth subculture that is prominent in Thai society is the 'subtle' opposition to schooling and the educational institutions that is expressed in several forms including graffiti and vandalism by students. Student protests, in Thai universities, do not often occur. Apart from the graffiti that represents youth discontent toward social institutions, youthful vandalism seen in educational institutions directly portrays youth's negative feelings and disrespect to the institutions and the authorities. Roe (1995, p. 1), however, proposes a theory of

media delinquency in which youths have a strong attachment to socially disvalued or 'outlawed' media that the society perceives as deviant and problematic. Students, according to the author, who cannot 'play by the rules' and do not accept the school's values or do not have adequate school achievements and competences may become apathetic, react negatively to the school system they could not conform to and might develop a fierce antagonism to the school which will stimulate the formation of anti-school subcultures in which some media are involved (p. 2). Chu (1997, p. 1) views youthful media use patterns and gratifications in a different way. The author states, young people are rarely seen as agents in their own lives and do not own any media, thus they are constantly seeking a place for their voice. The author suggests graffiti, as forms of youth-initiated media, results from a need to create a forum or build a network and form a community (p. 2). Chu believes youth gain a pleasure in 'playing' as media initiator which represent their power in contesting existing environments and meaning and in constructing new meaning, youth also derive pleasure from being opposed to mainstream cultures and practices. Self-made media such as graffiti acts as youth social agendas and representations and is a youthful escape from the adult world.

Graffiti forms a youth subculture of protest and resistance. Through graffiti, students rebel against the cultural and social inhibitions and deny the cultural restrictions that the society expects, they also resist to the authority and the social institution especially the university by rejecting the university philosophy and ideology and revenging with hatred in return. In graffiti, students express hostility toward seniors, a behaviour that Thai society forbids. Youth subculture, in Thai context, is a revolt against the society and the ideals that the society aspires to. However, youth graffiti subculture offers a place and status to youth and provides an authentic voice of youth. Graffiti allows Thai students to share their unheard sentiments and information among the student members in the same organization. Graffiti often touches on organizational problems that are best understood within the institution under attack where graffiti secretly unites organization members to share their

feelings. Applying Foucault's concept, we find that student graffiti can be analyzed as a relation of power in the way that it resists the disciplinary power, thus, posing a threat to the 'art of government' exercised by the authority. This concept of disciplinary power relates to the Thai student-teacher relationship that Aiewsiwongse (2003) terms as paternalism; students are bound by a kind of paternal 'love' that discipline rules.

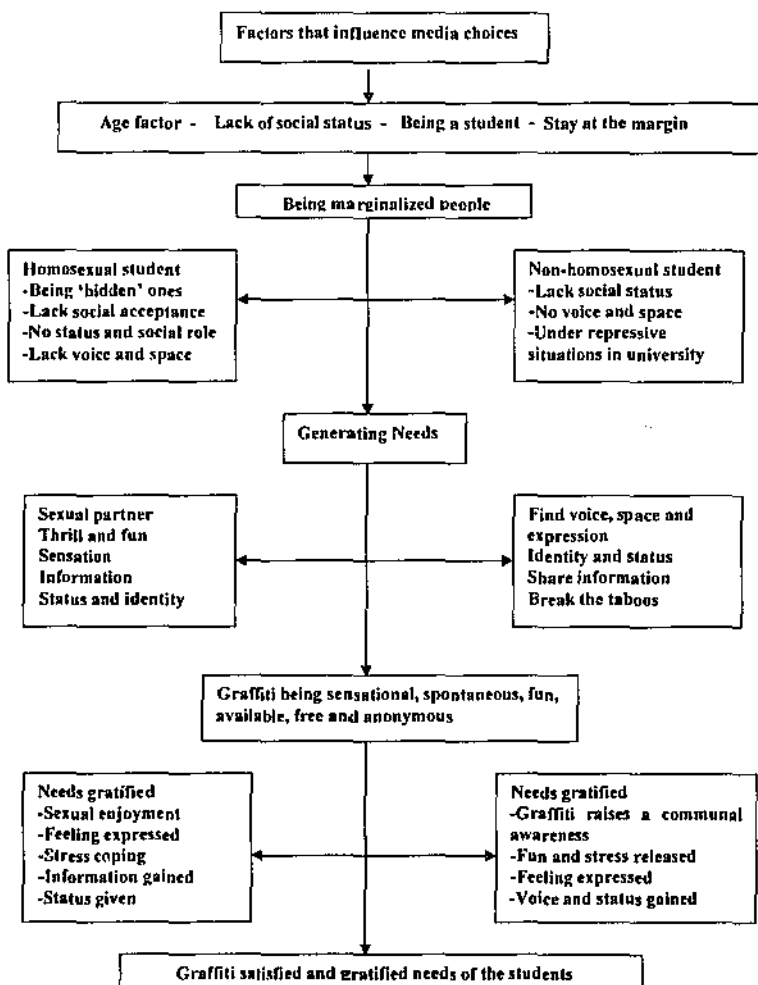
Conclusion

To summarize, the use and gratification of the graffiti media by Thai students can be analyzed within two main categories of needs: sexual and non-sexual needs. Students share the same life-events since they are of the same age and are in the same campus situations and environment. They have chances to be left powerless, marginalized and unheard because of their status as students in Thai society and universities that do not encourage the young to speak up to adults. Students share the same problems and situations when they are in classroom, they lack freedom and independence, they feel teachers are oppressive and schooling is stressful, frustrating and boring. Homosexual students face more problems than heterosexual ones because they lack social acceptance and are stigmatized and discriminated against meaning that they have no space and gender status within the society. Both groups are marginalized young people using graffiti as a taboo discourse to resist the mainstream power and also to reduce tensions and personal conflicts. Their use of graffiti thus varied accordingly to their needs. Homosexual students use graffiti to find new sexual partners and to self-advertise in order to reach to new consumers, they also use graffiti to gain and share new information concerning gay subculture. Graffiti, being a secret medium offers anonymity and secrecy, thus serves their sexual purposes as well. Heterosexual students, on the other hand, use graffiti to enact resistance and oppression by expressing and releasing their negative feelings toward the mainstream culture and power. They find their own voice and space in graffiti where they could 'purge' to help coping their emotional balance and express taboo topics that are not

allowed in public. Graffiti, as communication and a rhetorical form, acts as a communicative channel for marginalized people to have their own voices and to share information among them and invites further participation in the form of chained graffiti and participation in the same situation. Student graffiti serves as discourse of resistance against authoritarian control in Thai society. The use and gratification of graffiti media by Thai students could be represented diagrammatically as followed based on the gratification model by McQuail and Windahl (1993).

Table 12

The graffiti use and gratification map



This diagramme represents the graffiti use and gratification of two Thai student groups: homosexual and heterosexual one. It shows how Thai students have various individual preferences, experiences and needs that result in different media goals through the same graffiti medium. The findings in this chapter illuminates the fact that the graffiti use and gratification, among Thai student group, results from sociocultural and psychological factors effected student's life that contribute to student's choices in selecting and using media. This Thai finding is relevant to Arnett's study (1995) that youth mostly use media to divert themselves from problems and concerns but search for enjoyment, status and identity formation through their media choices.

CHAPTER 7: HOSTILITY: THE ESSENCE OF THAI GRAFFITI

The essence of Thai graffiti centres on hostility towards an abstraction of authority in several forms. Examples include insults directed towards authority figures, threats directed towards fellow students, offensive words directed indiscriminately, and attempts to discriminate against social outgroups. Although official Thai discourse constructs the country and its people as peaceful in propaganda epitomised in national slogans such as 'Thailand: The Land of Smile' Thai university student graffiti presents a darker version of Thai society, one characterised by hostility, resentment and thinly veiled violence.

Thailand is a country with numerous cultural and ideological conflicts. Its official discourse encourages submission, not by consent, but through force and the imposition of inhibitions and repression. It demonizes sexuality as evil and corrupt but overlooks the growing sex industry in the country, especially in Bangkok. It sets up the ideal behaviour as very puritanical and focuses on collecting religious merit as a pathway to a better life in the Buddhist model but the country is heavily plagued with a rising number of crimes, assaults, robbery and hostility in many forms. The country places strict rules on youth and limits the freedom youth and human rights by giving them very little social space, status and acceptance believing that these strategies will lead to docility and youthful submission. The consequence of this state of affairs is that, the more youth is repressed and forbidden psychological space, the more they struggle to release themselves from the strictures place upon them. However, the situation is, there are very few social outlets available within Thai society for youthful rebellion. Writing on the wall in a secretive and anonymous way seems to be a tool that young people use to negotiate the cultural restraints, and in turn, to release their negative feelings without the risk of social condemnation. From the youthful rebellion portrayed in youth graffiti, the concealed and masked hostility and violence Thais seek to keep buried is exposed in its full and bare form without any disguise.

From the graffiti inscriptions collected from the three universities, it is obvious that Thai students find graffiti provides an emotional release especially in hostility and violence. However, hostile discourse in the Thai context is very specific because it results from particular Thai cultural values and meanings that could perplex Westerners. The hostile discourse portrayed in student graffiti focuses on three specific elements: the dog, the buffalo and the father figure. These three elements construct in the Thai mind a sense of insult, inferiority and aggressiveness that are best understood as representing negative dimensions within Thai society. In campus graffiti inscriptions, these three elements resurface repeatedly thereby presenting the opportunity to visualize the writer's aggressiveness and need to overpower others. The mentioning of the three elements is a striking graffiti phenomenon in itself that calls for further examination.

According to Abel and Buckley (1977), graffiti deals with social restraints in all form and opens for all taboo topics forbidden in a society, thus, taboos find their way automatically into graffiti. Lindsay and Kohl (cited in O'Peretti, Carter and McClinton, 1977, p. 2) maintain that graffiti is the response to social environments and situations. Abel and Buckley (1977) support that graffiti, as the reflection of the society, gives us a more rounded picture of the society. The re-examination of hostility in campus graffiti provides a social indication of societal thoughts within Thai society.

This chapter explores how Thai students, as young members of Thai society, reproduce these attitudes through the construction of meaning and symbolization in their graffiti messages and how the three elements work on Thai perception. The concept of the understanding and construction meaning through communication proposed by Fiske (1982) constructs the framework of analysis in this chapter.

Hostility in Thai society

As I have argued in previous chapters Thailand sees itself as a puritanical Buddhist society with culture and ideology established around Buddhist philosophies that focus on social harmony, self-discipline and asceticism, thus confrontation and expression of

negative feelings are not encouraged. According to Kesten (1997), the physically and spiritually 'clean' behaviours of Buddhist monks where self-restraint from secular activities and needs such as possession of material goods, money and sexuality reflects closely the image of the idealized person the country mostly expects and wants to achieve. To Thais, being ascetic and able to practice restraint and self-discipline signifies a 'clean' person that deserves a degree of respect from the society. Moreover, the concept of self-discipline and self-restraint when applied to the expression of negative feelings has a political edge. Ghoranadhakul (cited in Chaisinghghananont, 2001, p. 82) points out that one of the achievements of the Thai ruling class is their ability to differentiate between the two social classes: the division between the ruling and the ruled comes from the development of a set of code of behaviours and a myth regarding how civilized people behave. The myth and the set of codes decree that only the ruling class are civilized people who articulate their civilization and noble birth through their delicate, aristocratic, serene and gentle manners and behaviours, one of which is the ability to self-discipline themselves when confronted by worldly temptation. Thus, the difference between the ruling and the ruled or one who has the noble birth and one who has not can be visibly recognized in one's behaviour and the degree of self-discipline displayed in public. To explain simply, shouting, speaking in unrefined language, swearing and expressing anger in public is deemed vulgar and is taken to signify one's lowly birth. Kesten (1997) concludes that peacefulness, non-violence and non-aggression are deemed appropriate behaviour for the elite and encouraged as ideal behaviour and as the representation of good character in Thai society. Good behaviour, according to Kesten (1997, p. 10), is the capacity to be serene in spite of temptations such as conflict, anger, greed and aggression and the ability to avoid expressing anger, hatred and displeasure openly. Thais have been taught and socialized by family, school and other institutions to be pleasant, friendly and polite to the public. Apart from religious-based explanation that Kesten proposes, Klausner (2000) views this in another way. In his *Reflection On Thai Culture*, the author states that it is because Thai society was an agricultural society based on labour exchanges and co-operation as its basic economic model because access to machinery was limited. In such a closed community, overt feuds would hinder economic output. The author perceives the belief in the avoidance of confrontation and the

suppression of anger as Thai social strategies suitable for a closed agricultural community (p. 171).

However, other scholars have different opinions. Watson (1980) points out that by suppressing negative feelings, Thais show anger and hostility in other ways such as in the appreciation in bloody sports or reckless driving. Chareonwongsak (1996, p. 24-25) proposes a concept of an evil society that is defined by the decline of morality, righteousness, justice and virtues because people have lost their belief in righteousness and the wrongdoings of the people are supported in one way or another by the society itself. The author suggests that Thailand is becoming an evil society because the country is 'anormic' or falls to the stage of being normlessness that is reflected in the rising violence in the society, educational institutions and family and that people are familiar with and accepting of social violence (p. 50). Violence and hostility in Thai society, according to the author, are found in four social elements: Thai sports, the media, a social belief in forgiveness and the struggle to find power.

The Thai sport that the author mentions is the most popular sport among Thai men is Thai boxing (p. 53). He argues that Thai boxing, largely differs from Western boxing by allowing the two opponents to use legs, elbows, head and feet to injure each other, thus unconsciously represents the repressed violence, aggression and hostility that are hidden from view by Thai culture that refuses to provide a legitimate outlet or release for anger and hostility. Through watching bloody and brutal Thai boxing where two opponents struggle to use force and ferocity to win by inducing as many wounds or injuries as possible, Thai people release their repressed violence, hostility, aggression and their pent-up emotions that is nearly impossible to be fully released in reality (p. 54). Thus bloody sports become a form of social catharsis. Chareonwongsak (p. 55) also states that the Thai media is another cultural institution that helps legitimize and promote violence in Thai society by delivering media content that is violent and aggressive in the form of television dramas, cartoons, news, headlines and movies. The author proposes that because Thai society that has been under an authoritarian system of rule for nearly 700 years a form of communal consciousness has been established that, legitimizes and the

acceptance of authoritarian power as the rightful power. The belief in accepting authoritarian power creates a sense of discrimination between people. Thai people believe that the wrongdoers should not be 'forgiven' nor given a chance but need to be 'destroyed' and eradicated from the society. This sentiment, according to the author, leads to revenge, more violence and even greater hostility towards the other.

Wongthanapa (1996) perceives violence as related to another Thai characteristic: Thai people are highly group-oriented. The group and peer-oriented tendency among Thais lead to the acceptance of group values and the dependency on the survival of the group or the gang rather than the individual. According to Wongthanapa, the orientation towards the group is highly visible in Thai culture and practiced in the workplace and in educational institutions. People in the same group or gang are united under one shared consciousness: the belief in the 'honour' of their group that acts as a bond within the group. The belief in the dignity and the honour sphere of one's group calls for maintenance and reaffirmation that group members strive to maintain. One of the mechanisms to reaffirm the feeling of dignity is to overpower others. Wongthanapa (p. 16) concludes that the need to overpower the others, especially among young Thai men and male students, leads to inter-school fights and gang fights that are endemic throughout the country. The violence involved in these cases, apart from fights, is retaliation between groups in the form of sporadic killing, ambush and attack with weapons. Gang graffiti is also employed to hurl insult at each other and, in turn, announces one's group territory. The only reason behind the fights is to preserve the honour sphere and the dignity of one's group. Sukha (cited in Scoop na 1, 2003) concludes, hostility and violence expressed in the form of inter-school fights or student gang graffiti has long been cultivated among Thai male students, thus, developed itself as a part of Thai student subculture and as youthful value students deem crucial to their manliness. In such a Buddhist country that relies on its ideal of peacefulness and tolerance, lies a great contradiction that violence is trumpeted as heroism. Violence, for young Thai men, is an indication of manliness. In order to prove one's manhood, Thai men resort to violence. Sudthisakorn (1999) reveals in her *Gunmen* that there is a communal value in some provinces in the Western part of the country where resorting to

extreme violence such as killing and gun-fighting is perceived as an indication to manhood. Thus, using guns and other weapons are heralded as a rite of passage for young boys to prove their 'coming of age' in this part of the country.

To summarize, the peaceful and non-violent image the country that has been constructed over time is an imagined one. In fact, under what looks like a peaceful and friendly society, violence is concealed. Thai people unconsciously accept violence in several disguised forms and release violence and hostility in several concealed and masked forms also. Chareonwongsak (1996) reasons, that because Thai society forbids, prohibits and oppresses its member not to release negative feelings is unable to provide legitimate or proper outlets for these emotions and is unable to teach its member to release negative feelings in more appropriate ways (p. 61). Rather the society legitimizes and supports the disguised forms of violence and hostility. One of the disguised forms of violence is the use of offensive, hurtful and abusive words to hurl hatred at other people. Klausner (2000) also supports this assumption. Thai people develop several direct and indirect ways to use words to hurt and manifest hostility, such as gossip, backbiting remarks, unsigned anonymous letters sent out to members of the public and to the targeted person. Relying on this argument, that the use of hurtful discourse and hatred, is an easy mechanism to vent hostility it should come as no surprise that graffiti is one of the main avenues where this occurs.

Graffiti and the construction of hatred

The signs that symbolize violence, hatred, hostility and the feeling of superiority for Thai males in particular are set up by three words in the Thai language: a dog, a buffalo and a father. The hostility and violence that exists in Thai graffiti discourse is very specific and consequently requires a culturally-specific decoding and encoding process to understand its significance. According to Fiske (1991), the sign system in each culture carries its own message organized and determined by the sociocultural milieu and its social members. The construction of meaning is, therefore, an indication to its society and visualizes its social sentiments. Fiske (1991, p. 171) concurs with this view pointing out that within the

sign system there is an embedded ideology maintained by social members through their shared values and beliefs. Therefore, interpreting the coding process is to understand the cultural and social interaction in Thai society and thus revealing the ideology of violence in the society as well.

Graffiti writers construct violence through the use of the three words as single-word graffiti inscription and also as main content in long and short sentence inscription. The using of the three words as stand-alone words or in phrases is powerful enough to cause anger to unknown readers. From the survey, graffiti inscriptions that contain the three words receive several hostile chained-responses simply because they could easily trigger anger and a feeling of insult that graffiti readers could not tolerate. Hostile graffiti inscriptions containing the three words are mostly about inter-faculty conflicts and student gangs. In B University, the inscriptions reveal conflicts between two faculties and in C the conflict is between racing-car gangs. Information from interviews and from the study of Srirasa (1989) support that there are persistent inter-faculty fights between two faculties (names withheld), originally the fight started from personal conflict later evolved into organizational conflict leading students in the two faculties feel it is their 'duty' to uphold the dignity of their faculty. Whereas in C University, students form themselves into racing-car gangs attempting to outweigh other gangs by exhibitioning expensive sporty cars. Graffiti inscriptions clearly express these conflicts and hatred through the construction of the three signs, for example:

A: The Faculty of XXX beware, you are only dogs. If you see me, you will be afraid and die.

B: XXX (name of a gang) is only dog and their cars are shit. If they meet XXX (name of another gang), they will die.

C: All students in the Faculty of XXXX are dogs.

D: My name is XXX from the Faculty of XXX, I am the father of all students in the Faculty of XXXX—they are only dust under my feet.

E: (reply to D)- Who do you think you are-bastard? I am your father-you animal!
From The Faculty of XXXX.

Apart from inter-faculty or gang conflicts, graffiti writers often humiliate unknown readers by their inscriptions containing the three words, for example:

A: The writers who write on this wall are buffaloes.

B : Anyone who reads this is a dog.

C (reply to A and B): Both of you are buffaloes. Don't you know, animals?

These examples lead to the discussion next.

The dog and the buffalo as inferiority

Making insults by comparing men to a dog or a buffalo might perplex Westerners, but to Thais, it could cause a fight because it signifies inferiority and lowliness. The words 'ma' or a dog and 'kwai' or a buffalo are used as signs to carry the offence, insult and humiliation greatly damaging and lessening one's dignity, pride and individualism Thais cannot tolerate. To understand why Thais feel greatly effected by this comparison, the construction of the two signs in Thai context must be examined.

The construction of the signs is a direct result from the perception Thais view animals. Thus, it is best to understand the status of these two animals within Thai society first. Thai society is an agricultural society where rice planting is the key element. In the past, farmers use buffaloes to plough the paddy fields and do other field work. Buffaloes have remained the main power source for Thai farmers, since machinery is limited, and because they could withstand the sun and hard work better than other animals. This animal has been used as labour all through the year and since it is such a large animal but yields easily to human hands without resistance, Thais thus perceive it as an object of humiliation as reflected in the Thai saying 'as stupid as a buffalo'. As for dogs, Thais keep dogs to guard the house, to ward off strangers and as hounds on hunting trips. If Westerners compare a dog as 'the man's best friend', this notion is still new to Thais that compare dogs to lowliness and vulgarity. A Thai saying 'yu meun ma' and 'ghin meun

ma' or 'living and eating like a dog' reflects this notion, it means dirtiness and unrefined or uncivilized manner and life. Kola (1991) suggests that Thais contrastingly devalue and discredit positive characteristics of animals and the way they serve men by comparing lowliness with animals. Such positive characteristic is that the two animals are loyal to men. But why Thais define loyalty as an unwanted behaviour deserving to be scorned?

Chareonwongsak (1996, p. 82) explains, loyalty, faithfulness and devotion, in Thai context, are considered as stupidity or lacking of wit. The author posits that Thais hold a value interpreting shrewdness, cheating and trickery as cleverness, creativity or cunning. This value, according to the author (p. 85), is inherited from a folk literature *Srithanonchai* in which the protagonist can deceive or punish other people with deceit and tricks. This folk literature has been very popular and, according to Chareonwongsak, has deeply instilled and cultivated the value and belief of seeing trickery and deceit as useful and creative rather than immoral or wrong. The author supports his statement by giving examples of deceit in Thai contemporary society: students always cheat in examinations, brandname products are copied or computer softwares are duplicated and sold illegally but in an indiscreet manner. Klausner (2000, p. 235) also supports that Thais identify with *Srithanonchai* as 'hero' honouring guile and deceit as 'good behaviour'. This scenario leads to the assumption that Thais give little value and appreciation to faithfulness and loyalty. However, Kola (1991) gives another view, this stems from a notion that Thais believe there is a stratification between human and animals. Animals are 'stupid' and are 'uncivilized' whereas human are civilized and 'enlightened' animals. Thus, from this notion, many Thai obscene and derogatory words directly relate to animals and are used to insult other people or to suggest how vulgar and lowly they are. Kola (1991) states that Thais choose to use words relating to the 'helpless' ones such as women and animals considered inferior and low in social status to insult and humiliate others especially to men. The function of the signs in insult words is to dehumanize other people and hurl them to the lower status similar to animals. The student graffiti approximates this sentiment closely, some examples are:

A (reply to previous inscriptions) – Shit! All of you are buffaloes. Can't you see yourselves, animals?

B – You-all graffiti writers, you have the brain of buffaloes and dogs. All of you are stupid.

C – XXXX (name of a person), you're a buffalo. Want to die? If you're brave enough, meet me at XXX (name of a place in B University).

In these graffiti inscriptions, the word 'buffalo', 'dog' and 'animal' are used to offend and insult others as being stupid and inferior, thus, reveals the need to overpower the others. The status of the writers, on the other hand, could be raised to a more civilized and superior by othering the others and rivals as animals. It reflects a high degree of how Thais dehumanize and verbally attack others in order to defend and protect their own sense of grandiosity and male machismo and also to express violence. By using words comparing humans to animals, the writers, in turn, create a sense of reassurance about themselves and their power, manliness, and superiority and at the same time release violence and feelings of hatred (Kola, 1991). The signs, according to Kola, are substitutes for power and the need to overpower others, which is impossible in real life.

The father figure: father as power

Apart from insulting words relating to animals, male graffiti writers often claim they are 'fathers' of rival students or of graffiti readers. Outside campus, street graffiti sprayed by vocational school and secondary school male students also contains this 'father' reference, the most frequent message is 'I am the father of all school'. Campus graffiti is similar to street graffiti in this regard, for example:

A: My name is XXX, I am the father of all students in C University.

B: Here I am, the father of everyone in B University.

C: The Faculty of XXX is the father of all schools in this uni.

D: I am XXX, the father of everyone who reads this.

Sukha (cited in Scoop na 1, 2003) said the purpose of this type of inscription is to humiliate and trigger fight among male students.

The image of 'father' in Thai society is important because it is related to power. The construction of this sign system is rooted in the Thai perception of power and father. Saihoo (1988, p. 15) explains the notion of power. In Thai society, power is determined by social hierarchy and the superior-inferior social relations. As preceded, the unequal social hierarchy directly results from the feudal system or the 'sakdina' that is used to centralize the manpower in the past (Saihoo, 1988, p. 16). However, the notion of the boon and karma, distinctive belief among Thais, is involved in the Thai perception of power, it works this way: the possession of power and the sakdina system are supported by the boon, karma and merit. Klausner (2000, p. 377) explains in a simpler term, the power structure is accepted and justified in term of one's collection of boon and karma. According to the belief, commoners are born as the ruled class because they do not have the divine characteristics that result from the greatest boon, karma and merit, thus, they could not possess power because they are not destined to hold it. Nobilities and the monarchy with their greater set of boon and merit, therefore, deserve the power. Their power and rights thus should not be questioned (Klausner, 2000, p. 377). The acceptance of unquestioning power forms a patron-client relationship, a distinctive characteristic in Thai society (Saihoo, 1988). In the past, this relationship works by decreeing that common man has to attach himself and works for a nobility who gives protection and exemption from corvée service in return. Klausner (2000, p. 279) explains this relationship in contemporary society, it is a person who has high social status and rank or has power, acts as patron providing support and protection to subordinates or clients who must return the favour with loyalty, respect and obedience. This relationship is widely practiced in business, office, gang, educational institution and in communities. This relationship is reflected in Thai terminology defining influential men or powerful spirits such as kings, monks, heads of community, deities, ghosts or mafias as 'fathers'. It signifies the patron-client relationship in the way that the powerful men or spirits have 'disciples' or clients who give them money, work and worship in return for help and

protection. It also signifies that the relationship is unequal, the 'fathers' are to be respected and feared whereas the disciples follow their rules and orders.

This relationship is clearly manifested itself in the word 'father', in Thai discourse, that denotes a sense of superiority and power that requires an absolute respect, submission, fear and worship. The inequality of the interrelatedness between 'fathers', regardless of human or spiritual one, and disciples is revealed in the terminology used in the relationship, the disciple is called a 'look nong' meaning 'children'. Therefore, the word 'father' in Thai discourse is meaningful and carries a sense of superior power that could not be questioned but obey.

The notion of 'father' could be also viewed another way. Since Thai society is patriarchal, Thais place a special importance on the status of father. According to the Thai gender roles, a man is the protector of the family because he is the 'front legs of the elephant' whereas woman or the 'rear legs of the elephant' holds the function to feed the family. Suparb (2000, p. 65) states that Thai men are raised with the notion that they are the leader of the family with women and children must be under their wings. According to this notion, a gender gap exists. It raises the status of men and father as superior. Therefore, the notion of the father in Thai discourse is associated with being powerful and being in control over the others.

Klausner (2000), gives another opinion, the author views the relationship between the image of father with male machismo. Klausner (p. 236) argues that, in the past, a Thai version of machismo is proved by being a 'naklaeng' or a man with 'tough' attitudes as an indication of manhood. Being a naklaeng means the man has to be fearless and is able to fight or kill rivals. A superior 'naklaeng' who can outweigh others is called 'father' by his followers. Thus, the father image in Thai discourse is defined by being powerful and being manly represented by being able to express violence and aggression toward others. Sudthisakorn (1999) and Wongthanapa (1996) agree in this point, contemporary Thai men, especially the young, still believe being 'naklaeng' is heroic. Men, who do not

appear as 'naklaeng', are deemed coward and are subjected to humiliation among male groups.

The notion of perceiving 'father' as the powerful and the most superior figure is reflected in male student graffiti. Examples include:

A – Who the fuck are you?

B (reply to A) – I am the father of your father, stupid!

C – XXXX is here! I am the father of all departments. You, XXXX (name of a faculty), beware!!

D – XX is the father of all universities.

E – I am XXX, father of every uni and every faculty.

Male writers often use the most common phrase 'I am your father' or 'the father of your faculty' to convey their wish to be superior. This type of 'father' graffiti inscriptions is mostly found in B and C University because there are conflicts between faculties and student gangs in these two campuses. In the inscriptions, an urge to be grandiose is portrayed through the hostile and homophobic discourse using the 'father' image as a sign to insult and offence readers. The word father, according to the concept of Fiske, is the sign that carries a meaning beyond itself it conveys a meaning of insult, hatred, inferiority and inequality that is shaped by the Thai cultural context. Thus, by referring to the notion of power understood within Thai society, writers choose to proclaim themselves as fathers to stress their overpowering and superior status as the focal point of these inscriptions. The use of the sign of the father in graffiti discourse facilitates the expression of power and the need of submission and machismo; it reveals a cultural interaction understood among Thais through the use of linguistic and sociocultural code. Graffiti is thus another venue, through the use of language that could visualize and communicate ideas, that writers express repressed violence and visceral wishes in an anonymous way.

Conclusion

- 11 To sum up, these symbolic signs work to exercise control over others by stigmatizing them as lower than the producers of the signs. The signs found in these graffiti work in a manner described by Fiske (1991) who assumes that signs rely on commonality which is an agreement between users of codes and the action of decoding and encoding meanings rely upon agreements within a culture and a society. Bloch (2000, p. 61) supports, the use of signs are intended for readers who understand both the language and its underlying cultural meaning, as such they are intelligible for 'insiders' not for 'outsiders' such as foreigners or small children. These signs might not be able to be understood outside Thai society and it is within the Thai society especially in graffiti that it is widely used. The functions of the signs are to release violence and aggression in the linguistic form that could visualize the object and could gratify the needs indirectly. Using insulting words in graffiti is the easiest way to attack and release hatred to others and also to avoid social condemnation and punishment that could follow the actions if done in public. In this regard and in Thai context, it could be a subterfuge way to hurl hatred and express anger openly toward other people or it is a mechanism through linguistic form to release aggressive and negative feelings. Klausner (2000, p. 279) views it another way, the author posits that because the Thai ego is so fragile that a slight and criticism can take on exaggerated proportion. This is the major cause that trigger most inter-school fights and gang fights in Thailand. Moreover, Thais give great respect to parents, thus, a criticism or insult relating to parents thus greatly affects Thais and could easily cause fight. Applying to the construction of the sign system, insult that is meant to greatly hurt and dehumanize others is carried through signs that directly attack the fragile ego and sentiments that Thais deem crucial to their individualism and survival such as male machismo and group-dependency since Thais highly attach themselves to groups. Kola (1991) concludes that insult and violence conveyed through linguistic signs is a release of unexpressed feelings and wish that could not be gratified in real life or in personal confrontation.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

In this thesis, my argument is, that despite the puritanical and stringent rules and regulations the educational authorities place on Thai youth and the high social expectations that university students accrue as the nation's future intellectual leaders, Thai youth continue to rebel and resist the authoritarian power and break the Thai social taboos in several ways with several mechanisms. One such tool is the writing of graffiti. The writing on the wall inscribed in the university areas, the places that are held to be 'sacred' and forbidden spaces for young people because the areas are segregated and pre-fabricated by totalitarian power and ownership, becomes a youthful tool to attack, revenge, challenge and negotiate with the authority. Relying upon Foucault's theory of power and resistance (1988) that power is always met with resistance, I have proposed, that by oppressing and controlling youth and allowing them no other choice than to accept and follow the order results in youth resistance in one way or another. This assumption is relevant to the Freudian psychoanalysis concept of graffiti employed by Abel and Buckley (1977), which argue that repressed and oppressed minds have an energy of their own that is constantly seeking avenues of escape. If not directly, it needs subterfuge to gratify the repressed needs.

The phenomenon of youthful graffiti in this thesis is presented through the perspective of seeing graffiti as communication. This communication perspective establishes a framework that this thesis relies on: graffiti as communication for Thai university students and that graffiti could gratify communicative needs and gratification for Thai students in several ways. Among those needs are that graffiti functions for students as an emotional release, graffiti delivers pleasure and enjoyment, graffiti acts as a communal notice board for students and sometimes unites the students through the act of sharing the same feelings. Above all, graffiti, for Thai students, is an escape from the authority and its power and is an outlet for thoughts, discourses and ideas that the Thai society deems taboo. Graffiti, although mostly left unheard or unnoticed, is a voice of students in a social space that they do not have their own voice or lack any access to get one. For

young Thai students, graffiti could serve their needs to reaffirm their self-identification and students acquire a status and construct meanings through graffiti. Most importantly, youth graffiti as communication is a youth subculture of rebellion, protest and resistance that underlies the illusive peaceful and orderly scenes in Thai universities. This argument relates to an important question that this thesis seeks to find an answer: why is graffiti so significant to Thai university students, then, what predisposes them to graffiti writing?

The attempt to answer that question needs a re-examination of Thai society itself as it is the social and cultural bedrock of the graffiti phenomenon. As Abel and Buckley (1977) propose, graffiti deals closely with its parent society because it is the society that produces graffiti as its social product, meaning that graffiti may be read as containing cultural and social information that reveals the elusive aspects and uncovers the nature of the society. According to Abel and Buckley (1977), graffiti reveals the customs, mores, feelings, social taboos and the preoccupations of the social members who produce it. The analysis in this study points to the relationship between the cores of the Thai society and the rise of graffiti as an anarchist discourse in the society that suggest that the carefully constructed image of a serene Thailand is deeply flawed. The core attributes of Thai society may be identified as authoritarianism based on the concept of the absolute monarchy that permeates almost every aspect of Thai society. These have been appropriated and exploited by a governmental system to develop a series of nation-building strategies. The authoritarianism and the absolute monarchy have existed for nearly 700 years, taking root in the first kingdom of Thailand. The system is a striking phenomenon in itself, throughout the history of Thailand, there have been very few, if any, successful revolutions, rebellions, political overthrow or coup d'état made by the peasantry. The failed student uprising of the 1970s is the exception that proves the rule. How does a system survive throughout the 700 years with very little resistance from the common citizens?

This thesis suggests that religious philosophy and belief is the key to the answer. Since the second kingdom, Buddhism has incorporated Brahmanism into its worldview and developed into a three-fold Thai religion: Buddhism that is based on animism and

Brahmanism. The three-fold religion is employed as the state apparatus for nation-building purposes because it stands as the centralized body of the nation, the one that unites the people. The Buddhist-Brahmanist philosophy delivers the people a set of beliefs in the notions of boon, karma, reincarnation and merit that are intertwined to work as a cycle. This belief simply asserts that the nobility and the monarchy as the rulers deserve and have the rights to rule because they have the divine sets of boon that have resulted from a past life characterised by exemplary behaviour. The higher and the greater boon and merit one collects in the past life results in a better life, a higher social position and special characteristics in the next life. The belief thus separates people into two classes: the rulers who have power and rights that allow them to rule and the ruled who have neither the power nor the rights because they are born with a lower set of boon. The most important point in this belief system is the acceptance of inequality between the two social classes since people believe this life and the conditions of this life, whatever it is, is beyond amendment. The only way to improve this life is to collect more merit and let it work into the next life after reincarnation. The legitimization of the ruling power through religious belief makes the system stable and has allowed it to operate within Thai society for centuries. I have argued that, it is obvious that the purpose, although seemingly religious, is actually political. The purposes of this system are to harness the citizens under one ruler and bind them with the sole belief that they are born to be the workforce and not the leader. These purposes lead to the ultimate goal: strengthening and supporting the monarchy and the ruling class, making it sacred, inviolable and beyond criticism or touch. The acceptance of the ruling power predominates in Thai society and expresses itself in numerous ways. One of which is the political passivity among Thais, a respect to seniority and the submission to power and superiority without resistance.

I have provided examples to support the assumption that the belief in the absolute power without resistance resurfaces continuously in Thai history and in several national policies, even after the overthrow of the monarchy by a group of foreign-trained intellectuals in 1932. It is most obvious during the 1940s-1950s when Prime Minister Pibulsongkram issued the state slogans 'Believe in The Leader' and 'Wherever our Leader goes, we will follow him', and the national agenda at that time emphasizes loyalty to the leader, not the

nation. Thai history after the reign of Prime Minister Pibulsongkram is plagued with a series of successive military dictators who were met with little resistance from Thai common citizens. This clearly shows that the belief in absolute power, leadership and the suppression of resistance is well-preserved and strong in Thai society.

This study works to show that there is a relationship between the educational institutions and the government. Thai universities, as a state apparatus, work towards the nation-building purposes that emphasize the cultivation of a new modernized nation built by new modern Thai generation. Thai universities approximate closely the needs, the sentiments and the practice of the typical Thai governmental and political system. For decades, Thai government have exercised a full and authoritarian control over universities and military officers are selected as university governors. Stringent rules, heavy-handed control and suppression are thus practiced as the guidelines of university. Under the strict authoritarian rules that leaves the people with only one choice, lies the fear of the vulnerability of the power and an awareness of any resistance that might arise. If the problem is the fear of resistance, the solution that the authority uses is to enhance its position is the imposition of more rules. Thus, Thai educational institutions become a place where power and the need to suppress are practiced in a highly refined manner. Apart from rules, suppression is somewhat disguised in the form of cultural beliefs and the expectation of 'good' manners that the society places on young people. In addition there is well-documented ability to suppress negative feelings and the capability to self-restrain and self-discipline of Thais. For young people, the belief in seniority and social protocols that dictate the relationship between youth and adults helps to restrain youth in a way. Expressing negative feelings toward adults or arguing with adults is extremely unacceptable in Thai society.

Central to this study is the perspective that young Thai people are under constant control from external powers and cultural forces. Young people in Thailand, apart from being seen as the largest market from businesses and industries, receive little social acceptance and have little social status because of their being 'young'. Thai society is the world of adult ownership and rules that leave very few social spaces for youths. It is based on the

simple belief that seeing freedom is dangerous and freedom of speech is alarming to the status quo, especially to the one that controls and takes the reins. Thus, freedom of speech is not encouraged in educational institutions and there are few legitimate media outlets for students. It could be said that almost all aspects of life of young Thai people are controlled by external power and forces that give them few outlets, social opportunities, voices and status.

My argument is, being enclosed by these forces, youths resist in several ways and one such way is through graffiti. The more youthful resistance appears, the more society perceives them as deviant and as social enemies. In the university where rules are enforced, the spaces expression are forbidden, seniority operates and authority controls, students turn to graffiti writing as their major outlet of release where they could express any non-normative views with little sanction except cleaning. By writing graffiti, students release negative feelings toward the university authorities that they are not be able to do in classroom or in the public, students express sexual and hostile feelings that they can not do elsewhere and students reaffirm their self-existence by tagging and writing their names in graffiti. The important factors in the student graffiti phenomenon are the lack of legitimate campus media, the lack of proper outlets for students and the need to release suppressed feelings.

I have also proposed that, campus graffiti in its existence functions as an anarchist discourse. It represents youth resistance in three main ways. The first is, students resist and attack to the authoritarian power that controls the university. The second is that students, as young people, break the Thai social taboos that emphasize social harmony and peacefulness and forbid sexual expression and hostility by writing and expressing what the society prohibits and wants to keep hidden. The third, youthful graffiti rebels and disrupts the social order, the ownership and the pre-fabricated environment and spaces of the university by smearing graffiti, which symbolizes an anti-dominant discourse and a need to reshape and reconstruct the environment. Graffiti is an ideological as well as a spatial attack on the university and an expression of struggle from students. Under the orderly and peaceful scenario of Thai university, there lie two

contradictory forces that are fighting and struggling over the only one shared space that represents power, territory and domination.

This study finds that the need to communicate predominates in the reasons students write graffiti. Based on the philosophy of youth using media for gratification, the finding shows that there are mainly two groups of students who resort to graffiti to serve their purposes: the homosexual group and the non-homosexual group. Central to my argument is that these two groups of students are marginalized people sharing the same environment and the same status. However, it is found that the homosexual group is likely to become more marginalized and underrepresented because of their sexual orientation. This thesis has established that social marginalization and media use and gratification are related. The homosexual student group is pushed to the rim of society because their being homosexuality is largely unacceptable in Thai society. To Thais, homosexuality is a form of deviant behaviour because it does not follow the norms and the social expectation on gender roles. Homosexuality symbolizes a rebel, resistance and a challenge to Thai society where deviation from the norms is considered a sin, thus, homosexuals deserve to be cast away from the rest of the society. Being othered as abnormal, in Thai society, also means being marginalized. The homosexual male students suffer from being an outcast in the mainstream society in several ways, they cannot disclose themselves because of the fear and shame they bring to their families, they are alienated from peers and the dominant society, they cannot lead a 'normal' life and they fall into the stage of being the 'hidden ones'. The study reveals that their media use and gratification through writing graffiti serves four main goals: sexual pleasure, self-identification within gay subculture, sharing information and social interaction within gay world.

Non-homosexual students, being marginalized in a different way because they are young people restrained by Thai sociocultural expectations to be submissive, docile, polite and obedient to seniors without resistance, resort to graffiti for four main reasons: seeking graffiti as an outlet of expression of negative feelings, using graffiti as a coping mechanism, self-identification and sharing information that can not reach the authorities.

Both groups share the same communicative and social situations, where they have no other legitimate communicative outlet or media, they are under a constant control from the authority and society and they have little social opportunity, chance and status. Graffiti gives these students a way out of this oppressive situation. Graffiti delivers them a voice and a space of their own, brings them a status and reassure their sense of identification and acts as an outlet for them to release negative feelings.

One important point in how graffiti serves Thai students as a coping mechanism and an outlet of emotional release is that hostility in several forms arises in graffiti inscriptions at a significant level. Hostility found in Thai graffiti comes in the form of insult, sexual insult, offensive words, threat and discrimination against the outgroups. Thai people have a way to insult and hurt other people's feelings by comparing them to animals especially dogs and buffaloes, this comparison is greatly exercised in student graffiti. I point out that to the Thai people these animals are the epitome of vulgarity. This comparison takes its root in the sociocultural belief in Thai society. As Thai society sets up the definition of the good manners and good character based upon monk's behaviour that emphasizes asceticism, discipline and self-abstention, thus, the unrefined and coarse manners seem unacceptably lowly and vulgar. This perception cultivates an anti-asceticism discourse that compares the vulgarity with the ideal: human against inhuman. It focuses especially on a dog and a buffalo that are the closest animals in the Thai household that Thais keep them as workforce. By having to work and serve human, these two animals are seen as vulgar and low. Thus, for Thai people, the most hurtful feeling could be caused by this comparison. The inscriptions of the students, as Thai social members, exactly represent this belief, students call others as dogs or buffaloes in order to insult others and discriminate them to the status of animals.

To summarize, in Thai educational institution where everything seems peaceful, calm and orderly, there are two contradictory forces fighting in a subtle way. The authoritarian power that is practiced in educational institution cannot be diminished but students protest and resist against the power in a way that they are able to do. One such way is to write graffiti in the forbidden space of the institution. Graffiti, in this sense, is purely an

anti-establishment act and is used as a means to resist and attack the authority. Graffiti is incorporated into student subculture that works as a tangled communication network underlying the mainstream society and practice. It suggests how communication is crucial to the survival of marginalized groups in a repressed environment. The placement of graffiti is the desire to find a terrain and self-identity by disrupting what the authority has created and shaped, youth graffiti re-creates it by ignoring the idealized order, breaking the rules and changing it by leaving their presence in a place that it is forbidden. The fighting between the two forces is continuous in educational institutions. When student graffiti is washed off, it does not stop graffiti but triggers more graffiti. The rise of more graffiti after each authoritarian sanction suggests how youth graffiti challenges the power. To Thai university authorities, however, campus graffiti is merely vandalism. This perception closely approximates the general Thai perception on graffiti: the society knows graffiti exists but tries to overlook its existence. The denial results from the perception that graffiti is a form of dirtiness, lowliness and vulgarity. To Thais, dirtiness and vulgarity are like a disease that can spread germs to the nearest person, thus, they should be left untouched and people are advised not to 'touch' them in order to remain 'clean'. This is why graffiti, although it exists in Thai society and is highly visible in many areas of the capital and in other provinces, has not been studied or examined before, even in academic circles. Its existence means nothingness within Thai society, rather, Thai society choosing to believe it does not exist.

Student graffiti is a cultural manifestation and a cultural expression representing a clear picture of significant parts of Thai society, it reveals the hidden and the darker side of the society that believes itself peaceful. It uncovers what the society has kept hidden or tries to deny these things do not exist, it discloses the vices not the virtues. Graffiti shows that the peaceful and gentle image that the society believes it has, is deceptive and it suggests that the Thai strong belief in absolute power that can suppress all to calmness and a complete submission is somewhat an imagined notion. The presence of sexual, hostile and critical student graffiti in the sacred and forbidden space like educational institution points to the fact that the belief in the absolute power that the Thai authority always holds is illusory.

It could be said that if a person needs to understand one's own society in depth and wishes to see the rounded picture of the society, it is better to take a closer look at the graffiti that the society has created. Ashbee (cited in Abel and Buckley, 1977, p. 13) reasons that it is because "the vices of an age, not its virtues, point out most strongly the moral of that age".

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Names of the three universities referred to in this dissertation are not published in this bibliography.
Codes are used to replace the names.

Abel, E., & Buckley, B. (1977). *The handwriting on the wall: Toward a sociology and psychology of graffiti*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Activity Cool. (2002, January 20). *Daily News*, p. 18.

A game of tag. (1991, July 13). *The Economist*, 320 (7715), p. 94.

Aguilar, J. (2000). *Chicano street signs: Graffiti as public literacy practice*. Paper presented at The American Educational Research Association Conference, Louisiana, USA.

Ahmed, S.M.S. (1981). Graffiti of Canadian high school students. *Psychological Reports*, 49, 559-562.

Aiewswiwongse, N. (2002). *Wa duay reung pet* [On sexuality]. Bangkok: Art & Culture Press.

Aiewswiwongse, N. (2003). *Nork rua rong rien* [Outside the school's fence]. Bangkok: The Children Foundation.

Aiewswiwongse, N., Vallibhotama, S., & Na Thalang, A. (1994). *Mong anakot; Bot wikreu peu pruppien tidtang sangkom Thai* [Looking into the future: an analysis for the better Thai society]. Bangkok: Poompanya Foundation.

Alfred, M. (2001, Spring). Reconceptualizing marginality from the margins: Perspectives of African American tenured female faculty at a White Research University. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 25, 1-11.

- Alonso, A. (1999). *Territoriality among African-American street gangs in Los Angeles*. University of Southern California, USA.
- Alvi, S., Schwartz, M., DeKescredy, W., et al (2001). Women's fear of crime in Canadian public housing. *Violence Against Women*, 7 (6), 638-661.
- Anderson, S., & Verplanck, W. (1983, Summer). When walls speak, what do they say? *Psychological Record*, 33 (3), 341-359.
- Arluke, A., Kutakoff, L., & Levin, J. (1987, January). Are the times changing? An analysis of gender differences in sexual graffiti. *Sex Roles*, 16.
- Arnett, J. (1995, October). Adolescents' uses of media for self-socialization. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 24 (5), 519.
- Asavapichayont, P. (1987). *Underlying causes of the October 14, 1973 Event*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Austin, J. (1996). *Taking the trains: youth culture, urban crisis and the 'graffiti problem' in New York City, 1970-1990*. University of Minnesota, USA.
- Authaiphon, T. (1987). *Opinions of administration and faculty members concerning the operation of private universities in Thailand*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Avery, R. (1978, November). Patterns in the life cycle: adolescents' use of mass media. *Paper presented at The Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association 64th*. Minnesota, USA.
- Baeder, J. (1996). *Sign and language*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc; Publishers.
- Bailly, J. (1988). *Paris graffiti*. London: Thames and Hudson.

- Bandhumedha, N. (1998). Thai views of man as a social being. In A. Pongsapich (Ed.), *Traditional and changing Thai world view*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Banning, J. (1997, Spring). Assessing the campus's ethical climate: A multidimensional approach. *New Directions for student Services*, 77, 95-105.
- Banning, J., & Bartels, S. (1997, Fall). A taxonomy: Campus physical artifacts as communicators of campus multiculturalism. *NASPA Journal*, 35, 29-37.
- Baran, S., & Davis, D. (1995). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment and future*. California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Barboza, S. (1993, July). A mural program to turn graffiti offenders around. *Smithsonian*, 24 (4), 62.
- Bates, J., & Martin, M. (1980, November). The thematic content of graffiti as a nonreactive indicator of male and female attitudes. *Journal of Sex Research*, 16 (4), 300-315.
- Beatty, J. (1990, September). Zap! You've been tagged! Many cities are trying to erase the writing on the wall. *Time*, 136 (11), 43.
- Beck, J. (1982, March). Graffiti: the vulgar blackboard's wit. *English Journal*, 71 (3), 73-74.
- Berelson, B. (1971). *Content analysis in communication research*. New York: Hafner Publishing Company.
- Bess, J., et al. (1976, Spring). College graffiti: clues to student frustrations. *Naspa*, 13, 19-20.
- Black, T. (1997, March). The handwriting's on the wall: Cities can win the graffiti war. *American City and County*, 112 (3), 22-26.

- Bloch, L. (2000, Spring). Mobile discourse: political bumper stickers as a communication event in Israel. *Journal of Communication*, 48-76.
- Blumler, J., & Katz, E. (1974). *The uses of mass communication: Current perspectives on gratification research*. Beverly-Hills: Sage Publications.
- Bonuso, C. (1976, September-October). Graffiti. *Today's Education*, 65 (3).
- Bourgeois, M., & Campagne, A. (1971, October). Tattooing and psychiatry. *Annales Medico-Psychologiques*, 2 (3).
- Bowen, A., & Bourgeois, M. (2001, September). Attitudes toward lesbian, gay and bisexual college students: The contribution of pluralistic ignorance, dynamic social impact, and contact theories. *Journal of American College Health*, 50 (2), 91.
- Bowen, T. (1999, Fall). Graffiti art: A contemporary study of Toronto artists. *Studies in Art Education*, 41 (1), 22.
- Braga, A., Weisburd, D., Waring, E., et al. (1999). Problem-oriented policing in violent crime places: A randomized controlled experiment. *Criminology*, 37 (3), 541-580.
- Brewer, D., & Miller, M. (1990, October-December). Bombing and burning: The social organization and values of Hip hop graffiti writers and implications for policy. *Deviant Behaviour*, 11 (4), 345-369.
- Brongersma, E. (1990). The Thera inscriptions: Ritual or slander? *Journal of Homosexuality*, 20 (1-2), 31-40.
- Brown, J. (1995, Fall). The writing on the wall: The message in Hungarian graffiti. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 29 (2), 115-119.

- Brown, W. (1978). Graffiti, identity and the delinquent gang. *International Journal of Offender Therapy & Comparative Criminology*, 22 (1), 46-48.
- Buser, M., & Ferreira, F. (1980, October). Models and frequency and content of graffiti. *Perceptual & Motor Skills*, 51 (2), 582.
- Byers, M., Purdon, C., & Clark, D. (1998, November). Sexual intrusive thoughts of college students. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 35 (4), 359-370.
- Canary, D., & Spitzberg, B. (1993, December). Loneliness and media gratification. *Communication Research*, 20 (6).
- Cash, C. (1993). *Building condition and student achievement and behaviour*. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Virginia.
- Cavan, S. (1995). *The great graffiti wars of the late twentieth Century*. Retrieved November 5, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/greatgraffitiwars.html>.
- Chaisinghghananont, S. (2001). *Rosniyom: Pasa nai sangkom Thai yook bariphok niyom* [The matter of taste: language in the Thai society in the age of consumerism]. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Chaiyavises, M. (2002). *Prawatsart sangkom ruen suam nai pratet Thai* [The social history of toilet in Thailand]. Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.
- Chalfant, H., & Prigoff, J. (1987). *Spraycan art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Chapin, J. (2000, Winter). Adolescent sex and mass media: A developmental approach. *Adolescence*, 35.
- Chareonmeung, T. (2000). *Warg nong: karn sang lae suebthod rabob padetkarn nai mahawitayalia* [The welcoming freshman rituals: The construction of authoritarianism in university]. Chiangmai: Chiangmai University Press.

- Charconsri, K., Chanthieng, S., & Taekhanmark, K. (1996). Wattanatham Thai: Karn dumneon ngam kong rut [Thai culture: the state policy]. In C. Narthupa & P. Lertwicha (Eds.), *Tidrang wattanatham Thai* [The directions of the Thai culture]. (pp. 43-91). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Charoenwongsak, K. (1994). *Mahawitayalai tee tangyak* [Thai universities at the crossroad]. Bangkok: Amarin Printing Publishing.
- Charoenwongsak, K. (1996). *Sangkom turachon: Yudithasart kwam lomsalai kong sangkom* [The evil society: the destruction of a society]. Bangkok: Institutes of Future Studies For Development.
- Christie, N. (1999). *Graffiti: What you know is what you get*. Mount Saint Vincent University, Canada.
- Chu, J. (1997, Fall). Navigating the media environment: How youth claim a place through Zines. *Social Justice*, 24 (3), 71-85.
- Clabaugh, P. (2000). *Graffiti: Vandalism or urban art form?* California State University, USA.
- Clement, A. (1999, July). Use and abuse. *American School & University*, 71 (11).
- Clofent, J. (1994). *Analysis of mural discourse: Towards a semiotics of graffiti*. Universitat De Valencia, Spain.
- Cole, C. (1991). 'Oh wise women of the stalls...' *Discourse & Society*, 2 (4), 401-411.
- Collins, A. (1998) *Hiphop graffiti culture (HHCG): Addressing social and cultural aspects*. Retrieved September 5, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.nsw.gov.au/HHCG.htm>.

Collins, T., & Batzle, P. (1970, December). Method of increasing graffiti responses. *Perceptual & Motor Skills*, 31 (3), 733-734.

Commissioner's report to the Education Committee of the Senate and General Assembly on violence and vandalism in the public schools of New Jersey. (1989). *New Jersey State Department of Education*. New Jersey, USA.

Cooper, M. (1984). *Subway art*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Cooze, J. (1995, Fall). Curbing the cost of school vandalism: Theoretical causes and preventive measures. *Education Canada*, 35 (3), 38-41.

Crummey, C. (1998). *Semiotics and graffiti in sectarian Belfast*. York University, Canada.

Dance, F., & Larson, C. (1976). *The functions of human communication: A theoretical approach*. USA: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Davison, W., Boylan, J., & Yu, F. (1976). *Mass media systems and effect*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Davison, W., & Yu, F. (1974). *Mass communication research: Major issues and future directions*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Dealing with graffiti. (1997). *Proceedings of The 1st National Conference on Graffiti Control*. Western Australia: Government of Western Australia.

De Fleur, M., & Ball-Rokeach, S. (1976). *Theories of mass communication*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc.

Deiulio, A. (1973, Fall). Desktop graffiti: scratching beneath the surface. *Journal of Research & Development in Education*, 7 (1), 100-104.

Dennant, P. (1997) *Urban expression, urban assault, urban wildstyle, New York City graffiti*. Retrieved October 16, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/pamdennant.html# conclusion>.

Discussion paper and recommendations: Security and graffiti minimisation. (1999). Western Australia: City of Stirling.

Dragicevic-Sesic, M. (2001, February). The street as political space: Walking as protest, graffiti and the student carnivalization of Belgrade (Student protest against the Balkan War). *New Theatre Quarterly*, 17 (65), 74-86.

Dulayakasem, U. (1988). Karn suksa Thai nai rob sam todsawas tee parn ma 2503-2530 [Thai education in the past three decades: 1960-1987]. In Phra Dusadee Methanguro (Ed.), *Buddhasasana gub karnsuksa Thai* [Buddhism and Thai education]. Bangkok: Komol Keemthong Foundation.

Easthope, A. (1999). *The Unconscious*. London: Routledge.

Edelstein, A., Ito, Y., & Kepplinger, H. (1989). *Communication and culture: A comparative approach*. New York: Longman.

Education in Thailand. (1997). Bangkok: The Office of National Education Committee.

Element, K. (1996). *Hard hitting modern perspectives on hip hop graffiti*. Retrieved November 15, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/element.html>.

Farr, J., & Gordon, C. (1975, May). A partial replication of Kinsey's graffiti study. *Journal of Sex Research*, 11 (2), 158-162.

Farrell, S. (1994). *Grffiti Q & A*. Retrieved October 16, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/graffiti.questions.html>.

- Ferrel, J. (1993). *Crimes of style: Urban graffiti and the politics of criminology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Ferrel, J. (1995, September). Urban graffiti: Crime, control and resistance. *Youth & Society*, 27 (1), 73-92.
- Ferrel, J. (1997, Winter). Youth, crime, and cultural space. *Social Justice*, 24 (4), 21-38.
- Ferrel, J. (1998, December). Fright train graffiti: Subculture, crime and dislocation. *Justice Quarterly*, 15 (4), 587-608.
- Fiske, J. (1982). *Introduction to communication studies*. New York: Methuen.
- Fiske, J. (1991). *Introduction to communication studies* (2nd ed). New York: Methuen.
- Flanery, C. (1996). *Dominance and resistance language in the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion/riot*. University of California, USA.
- Fleming, J. (1997, Winter). Wounded walls: Graffiti, grammatology, and the age of Shakespeare. *Criticism*, 39 (1), 1-30.
- Follow the Leader. (1996, August 1). *Bangkok Post*, p. 14.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Body/Power. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. (pp. 55-63). Great Britain: The Harvester Press.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Power and Strategies. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. (pp. 134-146). Great Britain: The Harvester Press.

Foucault, M. (1980). Truth and Power. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. (pp. 109-134). Great Britain: The Harvester Press.

Foucault, M. (1984). *The history of sexuality: An introduction*. (R. Hurley, Trans.). London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1988). *Politics, philosophy, culture*. (A. Sheridan and others, Trans.). New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in governmentality*. (pp. 87-105). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and punish: the birth of prison*. (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.

Freud, S. (1972). *Totem and taboo*. (J. Strachey, Trans.). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Freud, S. (1974). *The ego and the id*. (J. Riviere, Trans.). London: The Hogarth Press and The Institute of Psycho-analysis.

Freud, S. (1976). *Jokes and their relation to the unconscious*. (J. Riviere, Trans.). UK: Penguin Books.

Gadsby, J. (1995). *Looking at the writing on the wall: A critical review and taxonomy of graffiti texts*. Retrieved November 11, 2000 from <http://www.graffiti.org/fag/critical.review.html>.

Gadsby, J. (1996, February). Secrets of the women's and men's rooms. *Maclean's*, 109 (8), 13.

- Garland, A. (2000). *The context of fear as an indication of healthy community investment: 80 low-income neighbourhoods in Los Angeles*. Retrieved October 20, 2000, from <http://webspirs3.silverplatter.com/cgi-bin/customers/c31370c31370.gi>.
- Geason, S., & Wilson, P. (1990). *Preventing graffiti and vandalism*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- Gittleman, A. (1998, September). Protecting against vandalism. *American School & University*, 71 (1), 28-34.
- Giller, S. *Graffiti: Inscribing transgression on the urban landscape*. Retrieved October 17, 2000, from <http://www.graffite.org/faq/giller.html>.
- Goikoetxea, E. (1998). Mural communication: Content analysis of graffiti at the university. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 13 (1), 55-66.
- Goldmeier, H. (1974, Spring). Vandalism: The effects of unmanageable confrontations. *Adolescence*, IX, 33.
- Goldstein, R. (1998, January). Generation graf. *The Village Voice*, 3.
- Graffiti report to be investigated. (2000, August 15). *AAP General News (Australia)*.
- Graffiti from the Walls of Pompeii*. Retrieved November 5, 2000, from <http://www.smokeylake.com/Christy/graffiti.html>.
- Graffito*. Retrieved May 10, 2001 from <http://www.britannica.com/bcom/eb/article/printable/4/0,5722,38354,00.html>.
- Grant, C. (1996, August). Graffiti: Taking a closer look. *The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, 65 (8), 11.

- Greene, J., Collins, P., & Kane, R. (2000). Policing public housing in Philadelphia: Public safety perspectives of the police and the community. *Police-Practice-and-Research, 1* (3), 397-434.
- Greeson, L. (1990). Bus-stop graffiti: An index of media based cultural intrusion in a Scandinavian city. *Nordisk Psykologi, 42* (5), 358-369.
- Gross, D., & Gross, T. (1993, Fall). Tagging: Changing visual patterns and the rhetorical implications of a new form of graffiti. *A Review of General Semantics, 50* (3), 250-265.
- Gross, D., Walkosz, B., & Gross, T. (1997, Fall). Language boundaries and discourse stability: 'Tagging' as a form of graffiti spanning international borders. *Et Cetera, 54* (3), 274-285.
- Hagen, C. A., Ender, M., Tiemann, K., & Hagen, C. O. (1999, Fall). Graffiti on the Great Plains: A social reaction to the Red River Valley flood of 1997. *Applied Behavioural Science Review, 7* (2), 145.
- Hall, J. (1999, December). Marginalization revisited: Critical, postmodern, and liberation perspectives. *Advances in Nursing Science, 22* (2), 88.
- Hancock, R. (2000, June 11). Vandal to pay \$ 25 for 21 year. *The Sunday Mail*, p. 5.
- Hentschel, E. (1987). Women's graffiti. *Multilingual Journal of Cross-Cultural and interlanguage Communication, 6* (3). 287-308.
- Herek, G., & Capitano, J. (1999, November). Sex differences in how heterosexual think about lesbians and gay men: Evidence from survey context effects. *The Journal of Sex Research, 36* (4), 348.
- Herek, G., Gillis, R., Cogan, J., & Glunt, E. (1997, April). Hate crime victimization among lesbian, gay and bisexual adults: Prevalence, psychological correlates, and methodological issues. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 12* (2), 195-215.

- Hermer, J., & Hunt, A. (1996, October). Official graffiti of the everyday. *Law & Society Review*, 30 (3), 455-480.
- Herren, C. (2001, May-June). Killing freights, bombing, and piercing: graffiti's secret language of the city. *Dialogue*, 24 (3), 27-29.
- Hewison, K. (1997). *Political change in Thailand: Democracy and participation*. Western Australia: Murdoch University Press.
- Hunt, M. (1996). *Sociolinguistics of tagging and Chicano gang graffiti*. University of Southern California, California.
- Innala, S., & Ernulf, K. (1992). Understanding male homosexual interaction: An analysis of restroom graffiti. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 7, 503-510.
- Jackson, P. (1997, July). Thai research on male homosexuality and transgenderism and the cultural limits of Foucaultian analysis. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 8 (1), 52-86.
- Jaruchainiwat, V. (1998). *Problems and needs of "XX" University students*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Jarvis, B. (1998, October). Art space and the city. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3 (3), 384-385.
- Jefferson, R. (1976, January-February). Black graffiti: Image and implications. *Black Scholar*, 7 (5), 11-19.
- Jorgensen, D., & Lange, C. (1975, April). Graffiti content as an index of political interest. *Perceptual & Motor Skills*, 40 (2), 616-618.

Kaewnimitchai, N. (1996). *An analysis of college student culture in Thai higher education institutions*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

Kaewthep, K. (1996). Karn jup parb wattanalam Thai mue glai pee 2000: moom mong jark sue mual chon [The picture of the Thai culture in the year 2000: an analysis from a mass media perspective]. In C. Narthupa & P. Lertwicha (Eds.), *Tidtang wattanalam Thai* [The directions of the Thai culture]. (pp. 43-91). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.

Kan, K. (2001, January). Adolescents and graffiti. *Art Education*, 54 (1), 18-23.

Kaufman, M. (1992). The construction of masculinity and the triad of men's violence. In M. Kimmel, & M. Mesner (Eds.), *Men's lives*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Keating, T. (2000, October). Cleanup effort afoot: School restrooms a high-grime area. *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*. G5.

Kelling, G., & Coles, C. (1996). *Fixing broken windows: Restoring order and reducing crime in our communities*. New York: Free Press.

Kerns, J., & Fine, M. (1994, September). The relation between gender and negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians: Do gender role attitudes mediate this relation? *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 31 (5-6), 297-308.

Kesten, S. (Ed.). (1997). *Thai customs and beliefs*. Bangkok: The Office Of The National Culture Commission.

Kim, S. (1997). *Vital signs: Signage, graffiti, murals, and 'sense of place' in Los Angeles*. University of California, USA.

Kimmel, M., & Mesner, M. Eds. (1992). *Men's lives*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

- Kitsuwan, M. (1997). Thai folks beliefs in supernaturals. In S. Kesten (Ed.), *Thai customs and beliefs*. Bangkok: The Office of The National Culture Commission.
- Klausner, W. (2000). *Reflections on Thai culture*. Bangkok: The Siam Society Under Royal Patronage.
- Klingman, S., & Shlev, R. (2001, June). Graffiti-voices of Israeli youth following the "assassination of the Prime Minister. *Youth & Society*, 32 (4), 403-420.
- Klofas, J., & Cutshall, C. (1985, Winter). The social archeology of a juvenile facility: Unobtrusive methods in the study of institutional cultures. *Qualitative Sociology*, 8 (4), 368-387.
- Knodel, J., Low, B., Saengtienchai, C., & Lucas, R. (1997). An evolution perspective on Thai sexual attitudes and behaviour. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 34 (3), 292-304.
- Kohut, S. (2001, Spring). Graffiti: Handwritings on the classroom walls. *Southern Social Studies Journal*, 26 (2), 2-5.
- Kola, Y. (1991). *Kam yarp: teema lae bootbat korn kam yarp nai pasa Thai* [Vulgarity: the source and performance of obscene words in Thai language]. Bangkok: Smit Printing Press.
- Komin, S. (1998). The world view through Thai value systems. In A. Pongsapich (Ed.), *Traditional and changing Thai world view*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Kriegel, L. (1993). Graffiti: Tunnel notes of a New Yorker (social significance of graffiti as exemplified in New York, New York and London, England buildings). *American Scholar*, 62 (3), 431.
- Kurovath, P. (1997). *Silpa lae wattanatam Thai* [Thai art and culture]. Bangkok: Ruamsarn.

- LaGrange, L., Ferraro, F., & Supancic, M. (1992, August). Perceived risk and fear of crime: Role of social and physical incivilities. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29 (3), 311-384.
- Landy, E., & Steele, J. (1967). Graffiti as a function of building utilization. *Perceptual & Motor Skills*, 25 (3), 711-712.
- Larson, R. (1995, October). Secrets in the bedroom: Adolescents private use of media. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 24 (5), 535.
- Lasley, J. (1995, April-June). New writing on the wall: Exploring the middle-class graffiti writing subculture. *Deviant Behaviour*, 16 (2), 151-167.
- Lasswell, H. (1960). *The structure and function of communication in society*. USA: University of Illinois Press.
- Legendre, C. (1989, May). Le delire de la rue [Street delirium]. *Psychologie Medicale*, 21 (6), 727-731.
- Light, D., Keller, S., & Calhoun, C. (1989). *Sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Loewenstine, H., Ponticos, D., & Paludi, M. (1982). Sex differences in graffiti as a communication style. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 117, 307-308.
- Lohman, J. (2001). *The walls speak: Murals and memory in urban Philadelphia*. University of Pennsylvania, USA.
- Lomas, H. (1973, Spring). Graffiti: Some observations and speculations. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 60 (1), 71-89.
- Lomas, H. (1980). Graffiti; additional clinical observations. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 67 (1), 139-142.

- Lotrakul, S. (1985). *An analysis of the development of Thai student movement*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Lucca, N., & Pacheco, A. (1983, January). The study of graffiti as a source for research on developmental social psychology: A review of the literature. *Perspectivas en Psicología*, 2 (1-2), 57-82.
- Lucca, N., & Pacheco, A. (1986, December). Children's graffiti: Visual communication from a developmental perspective. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 147 (4), 465-479.
- Lutze, F., & Murphy, D. (1999, December). Ultramasculine prison environments and inmates adjustment: It's time to move beyond the 'boys will be boys' paradigm. *Justice Quarterly*, 16 (4), 709-733.
- Madon, S. (1997, November). What do people believe about gay males? A study of stereotype content and strength. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 37 (9-10), 663-683.
- Magill, S. (1998, January). Adolescent: public enemy #1. *Crime and Delinquency*, 44 (1), 121-127.
- Mackerras, C., Maidment, R., & Schak, D. (1998). Diversity and convergence in Asia-Pacific society and culture. In R. Maidment & C. Mackerras (Eds.), *Culture and society in The Asia-Pacific*. London: Routledge.
- Mansfield, H. (1996, November-December). Bring back respectability. *The American Enterprise*, 7 (6), 67-68.
- Matacin, M., & Burger, J. (1987). Content analysis of sexual themes in Playboy cartoons. *Sex Roles*, 17 (3/4).
- May, R. (1980). *Sex and fantasy*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

- McQuail, D. (Ed.). (1972). *Sociology of mass communication*. UK: Penguin Books.
- McQuail, D., & Windahl, S. (1993). *Communication models for the study of mass communication*. London: Longman.
- McMenemy, P., & Cornish, I. (1993). Gender differences in the judged acceptability of graffiti. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 77, 622.
- Mehnert, D., & Yule, G. (1996). The trouble with graffiti. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 24 (2), 123-130.
- Mehra, A., Kilduff, M., & Brass, D. (1998, August). At the margins: A distinctiveness approach to the social identity and social networks of underrepresented groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41 (4), 441.
- Miller, I. (1993, July-September). Guerrilla artists of New York City. *Race and Class*, 35, 27.
- Miller, I. (1996, July- September). Vandalised names: The search for a title. *Race and Class*, 38, 49.
- Moje, E. (2000, June). "To be part of the story": The literacy practices of gangsta adolescents. *Teachers College Record*, 102 (3), 651-690.
- Mooney, C. (1996, March). Slammer or shrine? How German students left their marks on the walls of a campus prison. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 42.
- Morrison, D., Young, D., & Young, J. (1998). 'From Kilroy is here' to the Jonesboro incident: A logical progression? *Journal of Instructional Psychology*, 25 (4).
- Mueller, M., Moore, J., Doggett, R., & Tingstorm, D. (2000, Spring). The effectiveness of contingency-specific and contingency-nonspecific prompts in controlling bathroom graffiti. *Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis*, 33.

- Muscat, J. (1999, Fall). Ship graffiti a comparative study. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 9, 74-105.
- Narthsupa, C., & Lertwicha, P. (1996). Wattanatam mooban Thai gub lokanuwat [Thai local culture and Globalization]. In C. Narthsupa & P. Lertwicha (Eds.), *Tidtang wattanatam Thai* [The directions of the Thai culture]. (pp. 43-91). Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Na Thalang, A. (1994). Polawat korn sangkom-watttanatam Thai: Kwam yoo rod rue hayana [The dynamics of the Thai society and culture: survival or death]. In N. Aiewsiwongse, S. Vallibhotama, & A. Na Thalang. (Eds.), *Mong anakot; bot wikreu pen pruppien tidtang sangkom Thai* [Looking into the future: an analysis for the better Thai society]. Bangkok: Poompanya Foundation.
- Nimmanahacminda, P. (1996). Thailand: an introduction. In E. Thumboo (Ed.), *Cultures in Asian and the 21st century*. Singapore: Unipress.
- Norlander, T., Erixon, A., & Archer, T. (2000). Psychological androgyny and creativity: Dynamics of gender-role and personality trait. *Social Behaviour & Personality*, 28 (5), 423-435.
- Norlander, T., Nordmarker, A., & Archer, T. (1998, December). Effects of alcohol and frustration on experimental graffiti. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 39 (4), 201-207.
- Norris, J., George, W., Davis, K., Martell, J., & Leonesio, J. (1999, July). Alcohol and hypermasculinity as determinants of men's emphatic responses to violent pornography. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 14 (7), 683.
- Nuechterlain, D. (1967). *Thailand and the struggle for Southeast Asia*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Nwoye, O. (1993). Social issues on walls: Graffiti in university lavatories. *Discourse & Society*, 4 (4), 419-442.

- Obeng, SG. (2000, May-June). Speaking the unspeakable: Discursive strategies to express language attitudes in Legon (Ghana) graffiti. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 33 (3), 291-319.
- Olowu, A. (1983). Graffiti here and there. *Psychological Reports*, 52, 986.
- Onyshkevych, L. (1998). *Archaic and classical cult-related graffiti from the Northern Black Sea region*. University of Pennsylvania, USA.
- O'Peretti, C., Carter, R., & McClinton, B. (1997, Spring). Graffiti and adolescent personality. *Adolescence*, XII (45).
- Otta, E. (1993, August). Graffiti in the 1990s: A study of inscriptions on restroom walls. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 133.
- Otta, E., Santana, P., Lafraia, L., Hoshino, R., et al (1996, June). Musa latrinalis: Gender differences in restroom graffiti. *Psychological Reports*, 78 (3), 871.
- Otta, E., & Teixeira, R. (1998). Restroom graffiti: A study of gender differences. *Estudos de Psicologia*, 3 (2), 229-250.
- Pattanapong, K. (1995). *Bangkok school students deviant behaviour: A social-psychological qualitative analysis*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Pattarakulavanich, C. (1996). *Chuang-at wattanatham* [Cultural footnote]. Bangkok: Matichon Publishers.
- Pankhurst, A. (1999, Fall). 'Caste' in Africa: The evidence from South-Western Ethiopia reconsidered. *Africa*, 69 (4), 485.
- Pennebaker, J., & Sanders, D. (1976, Summer). American graffiti: Effects of authority and reactance arousal. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 2 (3), 264-267.

- Peters, T. (1990, November). Student graffiti and social class: Clues for counselors. *School Counselor*, 38.
- Peteet, J. (1996, May). The writing on the walls: The graffiti of the intifada. *Cultural Anthropology*, 11 (2), 139-160.
- Phagaphasvivat, S. (1996). *Economic and political development in Thailand*. Bangkok: Institute of East Asian Studies, Thammasat University.
- Phillip, M. (1993, October). Campus vandalism: It's more than graffiti on the wall. *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 10 (16), 30-31.
- Phillips, S. (1996). *The politics of Los Angeles gang graffiti*. University of California, USA.
- Phongpaichit, P., & Baker, C. (1997). Power in transition: Thailand in the 1990s. In K. Hewison (Ed.), *Political change in Thailand: democracy and participation*. Western Australia: Murdoch University Press.
- Pinsker, S. (2000, March-April). Hate scrawls and the stampede to announce one's goodness. *Change*, 32 (2).
- Piquero, A. (1999). The validity of incivility measures in public housing. *Justice Quarterly*, 16 (4), 793-818.
- Pleck, J. (1992). Men's power with women, other men, and society: A men's movement analysis. In M. Kimmel & M. Mesner (Eds.), *Men's lives*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Plesch, V. (2002, Winter). Memory on the wall: Graffiti on religious wall paintings. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32 (1), 167-198.

Podhisita, C. (1998). Buddhism and Thai world view. In A. Pongsapich (Ed.), *Traditional and changing Thai world view*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.

Pongsapich, A. (1996). Development and culture: past, present and future trends in Thailand. In E. Thumboo (Ed.), *Cultures in Asian and the 21st century*. Singapore: Unipress.

Pongsapich, A. (1998). *Traditional and changing Thai world view*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.

Pongsudhirak, T. (1997). Thailand's media: Whose watchdog? In K. Hewison (Ed.), *Political change in Thailand: democracy and participation*. Western Australia: Murdoch University Press.

Proctor, F. (1991). *Graffiti writers: An exploratory personality study*. Pace University, USA.

Raywid, M., & Oshiyama, L. (2000, February). Musings in the wake of Columbine: What can schools do? *Phi Delta Kappan*, 81 (6), 444-449.

Reisner, R. (1974). *Graffiti: Two thousand years of wall writing*. London: Frederick Muller Limited.

Renaud, C., & Byers, E. (1999). Exploring the frequency, diversity, and content of university students' positive and negative sexual cognitions. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality*, 8 (1), 17-30.

Rhoads, R. (1997, July-August). A subcultural study of gay and bisexual college males: Resisting developmental inclinations. *Journal of Higher Education*, 68 (4), 460.

- Ritner-Heir, R. (1999, March). Automating a high school restroom. *School Planning & Management*, 38 (3), 19-21.
- Robinson, D. (1991). *Soho walls: Beyond graffiti*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Robshaw, B. (1996, September). Toilet seats of learning. *New Statesman*, 9 (420), 53.
- Rodriguez, A. (1994). *Graffiti as organizational communication: An extension of organizational culture theory illustrated at an urban American university*. Howard University, Washington, D. C.
- Rodriguez, A., & Clair, R. (1999, Fall). Graffiti as communication: exploring the discursive tensions of anonymous texts. *The Southern Communication Journal*, 65 (1), 1-15.
- Roscoe, B., & Evans, J. (1986, Summer). Desktop graffiti. *College Student Journal*, 20 (2), 221-224.
- Roe, K. (1995, October). Adolescents' use of socially disvalued media: towards a theory of media delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 24 (5), 617-632.
- Rosario, M., Meyer-Bahlburg, H., Hunter, J., Exner, T., et al. (1996). The psychosexual development of urban lesbian, gay and bisexual youths. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 33 (2), 113.
- Rosengren, K., Wenner, L., & Palmgrec, P. (1985) *Media gratifications research: Current perspectives*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ross, E., & Jang, J. (2000, August). Neighbourhood disorder, fear and mistrust: the buffering role of social ties with neighbors. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 28, 401-420.
- Ross, E., & Mirowsky, J. (1999). Disorder and decay: The concept and measurement of perceived neighbourhood disorder. *Urban Affairs Review*, 34, 412-432.

- Ross, E., Mirowsky, J., & Pribesh, S. (2001, August). Powerlessness and the amplification of threat: Neighbourhood disadvantage, disorder and mistrust. *American Sociological Review*, 66 (4), 568-582.
- Ruback, R., & Patnaik, R. (1989, March). Crowding, perceived control and the destruction of property. *Psychological Studies*, 34 (1).
- Rubin, A. (1985). Media gratifications through the life cycle. In K. Rosengren, L. Wenner & P. Palmgreen (Eds.), *Media gratifications research: Current perspectives*. London: Sage Publications.
- Rudin, L., & Harless, M. (1970, October). Graffiti and building use: The 1968 election. *Psychological Reports*, 27 (2), 517-518.
- Rus, M. (1989, April). The writing on the wall: The incidence of graffiti has become so widespread that interior designers of public spaces cannot help but confront the issue. *Interior Design*, 60 (6), 268-270.
- Rushing, R. (2000). *Illegal expression (Utah graffiti)*. Utah State University, USA.
- Saetho, R. (1989). *Kroangsang sankom thai* [The structure of Thai society]. Bangkok: Thai Watttanapanich.
- Saiboo, P. (1988). *The Thai cultural identity and way of life*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Saiphian, P. (2002). Gay: nai chak cheewit hang silom satam [Gay: their lives in Silom]. In P. Goranandhakul (Ed.), *Cheewit chaikorb* [Life at the margin]. Bangkok: Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre.
- Salamad, K. (1993). Undergraduate communication: *The image of "XXX" University*. Rangsit University, Thailand.

- Sampson, R. (1997). Collective regulation of adolescent misbehaviour: Validation results from eighty Chicago neighbourhoods. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 12 (2), 227-244.
- Sampson, R., & Scott, M. (1999). Tackling crime and other public-safety problems: Case studies in problem solving. *COPS Publication*, US. Department of Justice. Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.
- Samudavanija, C. (1997). Old soldiers never die, they are just bypassed: The military, bureaucracy and globalisation. In K. Hewison (Ed.), *Political change in Thailand: democracy and participation*. Western Australia: Murdoch University Press.
- Sanfiorenzo, N. (1987, May). Desktop graffiti in an English high school classroom. Retrieved November 12, 2001 from <http://www.edrs.com/members/ovid.cfm?ednumber=ED284139>.
- Satsa-yuan, Ng. (1995). *Lak manusayawitaya wattanatam* [Principles of cultural anthropology]. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Sawangchot, W. (2002). Wai roon lae kwam pen chai khop tham glang krasae wattanatam lok [Teenagers and marginality in the world culture]. In P. Goranandhakul (Ed.), *Cheewit chaikorb* [Life at the margin]. Bangkok: Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Center.
- Scheibel, D. (1994, March). Graffiti and 'film school' culture: Displaying alienation. *Communication Monograph*, 64 (1), 1-16.
- Schellenberg, E., Hirt, J., & Sears, A. (1999, January). Attitudes toward homosexuals among students at a Canadian University. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 40 (1), 139.

- Schreer, G., & Strichartz, J. (1997, December). Private restroom graffiti: An analysis of controversial social issues on two college campuses. *Psychological Reports*, 81 (3), 1067-1074.
- Schwartz, M., & Dovidio, J. (1984). Reading between the lines: Personality correlates of graffiti writing. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 59, 395-398.
- Scoop na 1 [First page]. (2001, August 18). *Daily News*, p. 2.
- Sechrest, L., & Flores, L. (1969). Homosexuality in The Philippines and The United States: the handwriting on the wall. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 79, 3-12.
- Sechrest, L., & Olson, K. (1971, February). Graffiti in four types of institutions of higher education. *Journal of Sex Research*, 7 (1), 62-71.
- Seltzer, R. (1992). The social location of those holding anti homosexual attitudes. *Sex Roles*, 26 (5).
- Shames, G., & Wiig, E. (1982). *Human communication disorder: An introduction*. USA: Charles E. Merrill Publisher Company.
- Sharp, L., & Rapaport, S. (1966, June). Stability and change in Thai culture. *Proceedings of the Conference at Burg Wartenstein*. New York: Cornell University.
- Sheehy-Toole, K. (1992). Writing on the door. *English Quarterly*, 24 (1), 15-16.
- Sherry, J. (2001, September). Toward an etiology of media use motivations: The roles of temperament in media use. *Communication Monograph*, 68 (3).
- Sicgl, N. *The Cultural phenomenon graffiti*. Retrieved December 24, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.netbase.org/kulture.html>.

Sinlarat, P. (1983). *Rabob karnsuksa Thai nai rob sarm tosawat 2490-2520: Karn suksa pue sanongtorp lea pentua kong tua eng* [Report: The Thai educational system in the past three decades 1947-1977: education for self-reliance]. Bangkok: The Office Of The National Education Committee.

Sittinew, K. (2000, July). Jark kunkao su bath withee [From the hill to the street]. *Feature Magazine*, p. 121.

Siwarak, S. (1988). Pattana karnsuksa korng Thai nai adeet padjaban lae anakot doi nen tee chong sarm tosawas nee [The development of Thai education: Past, present and future with an emphasis on the past three decades] In Phra Dusadee Methanguro (Ed.), *Buddhasasana gub karnsuksa Thai* [Buddhism and Thai education]. Bangkok: Komol Keemthong Foundation.

Siwarak, S. (1993). *Lorkrap wattanatam Thai* [An analysis on Thai culture]. Bangkok: KledThai.

Siwarak, S. (1998). Watttatnam meung tamlai lok, wattanatam pa sang dulayaparb lok [The destructive urban culture and the well-balanced local culture]. In P. Wongkul (Ed.), *Thai yuk watttatnam tard* [Thailand in the age of cultural hegemony]. (pp. 27-49). Bangkok: Poompanya Foundation.

Smart, B. (1983). *Foucault, Marxism, and critique*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Smith, M. (2000, October). *Assessing vandalism cues in an experimental setting: A factorial design involving state of repair, presence of graffiti, target vulnerability and target suitability*. Retrieved April, 13, 2001, from <http://webspirs3.silverplatter.com/cgi-bin/customers/c31370/c31370.cgi>.

Smithason, A. (1998). *Student development of private universities*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

- Smuckarn, S. (1998). Thai peasant world view. In A. Pongsapich (Ed.), *Traditional and changing Thai world view*. Bangkok: Chulalongkom University Press.
- Smutkupt, S., Kittiasa, P., Tikantikul, S., & Surapanich, J. (1996). *Song chao khao phae* [Spirit-medium cult discourses and crises of modernity in Thailand]. Bangkok: Institute of Social Technology, Suranaree University of Technology.
- SNAK PAGE. Retrieved November 10, 2002, from <http://www.angelfire.com/art/snak/html>.
- Snow, H. (1983). *Attitudes toward the environment and vandalism in relation to ego development during late adolescence*. Boston University, USA.
- Solomon, H., & Yager, H. (1975). Authoritarianism and graffiti. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 97, 149-450.
- Somboon, T. (1991). *The influence of the foreign education on the Thai national education schemes (B.E. 2441-2464)*. Chulalongkom University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Sprecher, S., & Regan, P. (1996). College virgins: How men and women perceive their sexual status. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 33 (1), 3-16.
- Sripanich, U. (1999). *Life histories of male transsexuals*. Chulalongkom University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Srirasa, S. (1989). *Student life at "X" University*. Chulalongkom University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Stein, M. (1993). *Berlin/Berlin: The wall in the expressive culture of a divided city*. Indiana University, USA.

- Stomber, J. (1994). *How do Southwest Detroit gang members communicate nonverbally?* Eastern Michigan University, USA.
- Stowers, G. (1997). *Graffiti art: An essay concerning the recognition of some forms of graffiti as art*. Retrieved November 5, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.org/fnq/stowers.html>.
- Sudthisakorn, O. (1999). *Mue peun* [Gun men]. Bangkok: Sarakadee Press.
- Suparb, S. (2000). *Sangkom lae wattanatam Thai: Khaniyom, krobkrua, sassana, praphenee* [Thai society and culture: values, family, religion and tradition]. Bangkok: Thai Wattanananich.
- Svitil, K. (2000, March 3). Dawn of the ABCS. *Discover*, 23, p 13.
- Tangboongam, S. (1986). *A study of student reactions to college in regional state universities*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Tanzer, H. (1939). *The common people of Pompeii: A study of the graffiti*. Massachusetts: The John Hopkins Press.
- Tawecrat, P. (1997). *Witeekarn wijai thang preutikammasart lae sankommasart* [Research methods in behavioural and social science]. Bangkok: Srinakharinwirot University.
- Taylor, C. (1999, June). Organizational graffiti: A different approach to uncovering issues. *Journal of Management Education*, 23 (3), 290-296.
- Tejapira, K. (1996). Cultural forces and counter-forces in contemporary Thailand. In E. Thumboo (Ed). (1996). *Cultures in Asian and the 21st century*. Singapore: Unipress.
- Tejapira, K. (2001). *Commodifying Marxism: the foundation of modern Thai radical culture, 1952-1958*. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press.

Terpstra, D., & Baker, D. (1987). A hierarchy of sexual harassment. *The Journal of Psychology*, 12, 599-605.

Thailand Social Monitor: Social capital and the crisis. (2000, January). Bangkok: Mahidol University, The Institute for Population and Social Research.

Thanyaseth, C. (1987). *Thai student movement and democratic development*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.

The anti graffiti FAQ: What graffiti advocates don't tell you about their culture of vandalism. Retrieved October 12, 2000 from <http://www.dougweb.com/faq.html#values>.

Thepsawasdi, N. (2000). *Witkrai panha samkan nai sangkom Thai* [The analysis of major social problems in Thailand]. Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.

Tiersma, J. (1999). *Reading the writing on the wall: Missional transformation through narrative in postmodern Los Angeles (California)*. Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Mission, USA.

Thomas, S. (2000. September-October). Ties that bind. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 71 (5), 591-615.

Thumboo, E. (Ed.). (1996). *Cultures in Asian and the 21st century*. Singapore: Unipress.

Tobin, K. (1995). *A modern perspective on graffiti*. Retrieved November 12, 2001 from <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/tobin/html>.

Tsao, J. (1996, Spring/Summer). Compensatory media use: An exploration of two paradigms. *Communication Studies*, 47 (1-2).

- Tucker, D. (n.d.). *Graffiti: Art and crime*. Retrieved November 15, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/tucker.html>.
- Una, O., & Fernandez, L. (1983, April-June). Youth and the significance of city spaces. *De Juventud: Revista de Estudios e Investigaciones*, 10.
- Vallibhotama, S. (1994). Cheewith wattanatam kab kwam chue nai sangkom Thai [Life, culture and beliefs in Thai society]. In N. Aiewswongse, S. Vallibhotama & A. Na Thalang (Eds.), *Mong anakot; bot wikreu peu prupplien tidtang sangkom Thai* [Looking into the future: an analysis for the better Thai society]. Bangkok: Poompanya Foundation.
- Vallibhotama, S. (1997). Spirits cult in Thailand. In S. Kesten (Ed.), *Thai customs and beliefs*. Bangkok: The Office of The National Culture Commission.
- Vandalized mailboxes seen as a cry for help. (September, 10, 2000). *New York Times*, 14 we 23.
- Varone, A. (1991, December). Reading Roman walls. *Harper's Magazine*, 283 (1699), p. 33.
- Vasighasin, W., & Hemaprasit, S. (2002). *Sangkom Thai kardwang yangrai gub pooying* [What does Thai society expect from a woman?]. Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.
- Venturini, J. (1982, October-November). A survey on causes of school vandalism. *High School Journal*, 66 (1), 7-9.
- Vorapanyasakul, J. (1996). *A study of signification and performance of the Idiomatic stickers*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.
- Wales, E., & Brewer, B. (1976). Graffiti in the 1970's. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 99, 125-123.

- Waln, B. (1987). Graffiti, identity and the delinquent gang. *International Journal of Offender Therapy & Comparative Criminology*, 22 (1).
- Watson, K. (1980). *Education development in Thailand*. Hong Kong; Heinemann Asia.
- Watson, S. (1999, spring). A prompt plus delayed contingency procedure for reducing bathroom graffiti. *Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis*, 29.
- Wattanasatien, K. (n.d.). *Pramual kotmai aya* [Thai criminal law]. Bangkok: Bandidthai Publishers.
- Wenner, L. (1985). The nature of news gratifications. In K. Rosengren, L. Wenner, & P. Palmgreen (Eds). *Media gratifications research: current perspectives*. London: Sage Publications.
- White, R. (2001, March). Graffiti, Crime Prevention & Cultural space. *Current Issues In Criminal Justice*, 12 (3), 253-268.
- Whitford, M. (1992). *Getting rid of graffiti*. London: E & PN SPON.
- Whitley, B., & AEgisdottir, S. (2000, June). The gender belief system, authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles*, 947.
- Wiery, S. *Graffiti and art*. Retrieved December 24, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.netbase.org>.
- Wilder. *The merits of art: Theatre and graffiti as beneficial to society*. Retrieved December 24, 2000, from <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/wilder.html>.
- Wilson, P. (1987). *Research brief: Graffiti and vandalism on public transport*. Australia: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Windahl, S., Signitzer, B., & Olson, J. (1992). *Using communication: Theory*. New York: Sage.

Wolfe, M. (1998, Spring). Shake, rattle and write. *Rapel Bulletin*, 35, 17-20.

Wongcharaskul, P. (1990). A study of the problems of homosexual male students. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

Wongkul, P. (1998). *Thai yuk wattanatam tard* [Thailand in the age of cultural hegemony]. Bangkok: Poompanya Foundation.

Wongthanapa, T. (1996). *Social conditions contributing to violence among technical college students: A case study of one technical college in Bangkok*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

Workman, J. et al. (1983). College student graffiti: Clues to student needs, conflicts, frustrations and preoccupations. *Paper presented at the fall Meeting of The California College Personal Association*, California, USA.

Wun'Gaeo, S. (1996). The making of Thai national culture. In E. Thumboo (Ed.), *Cultures in Asian and the 21st century*. Singapore: Unipress.

Wuttiroj, K. (1991). *Pha lok gay* [Gay world]. Bangkok: Krung Siam Press.

Zalud, B. (1998, January). Fighting graffiti. *Security*, 35 (1), 8-9.

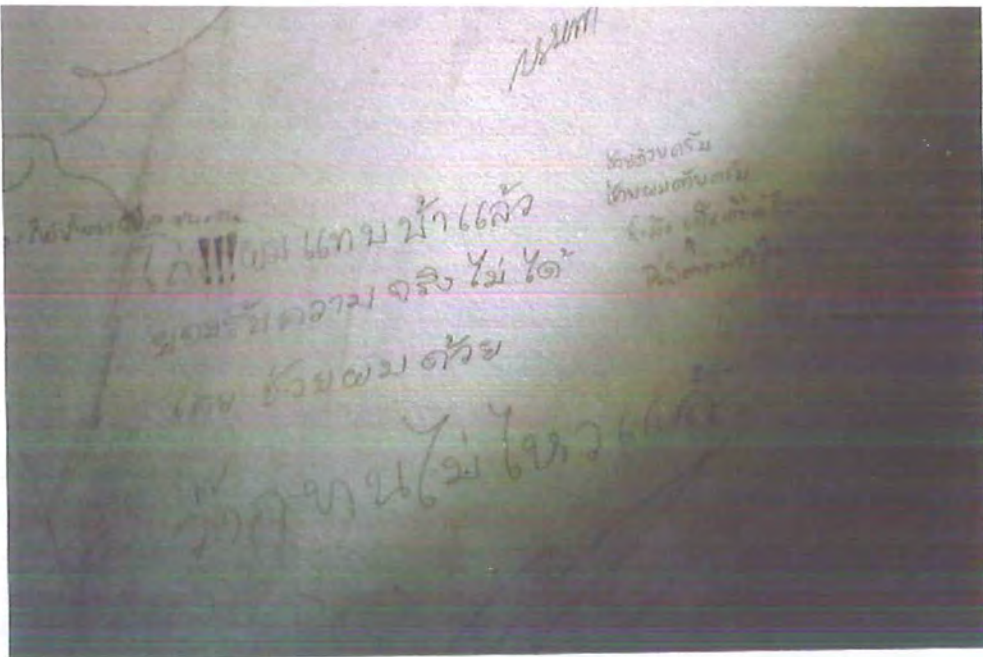
APPENDIX 1

Examples of Thai graffiti including campus graffiti, public graffiti, gang and 'popular' graffiti

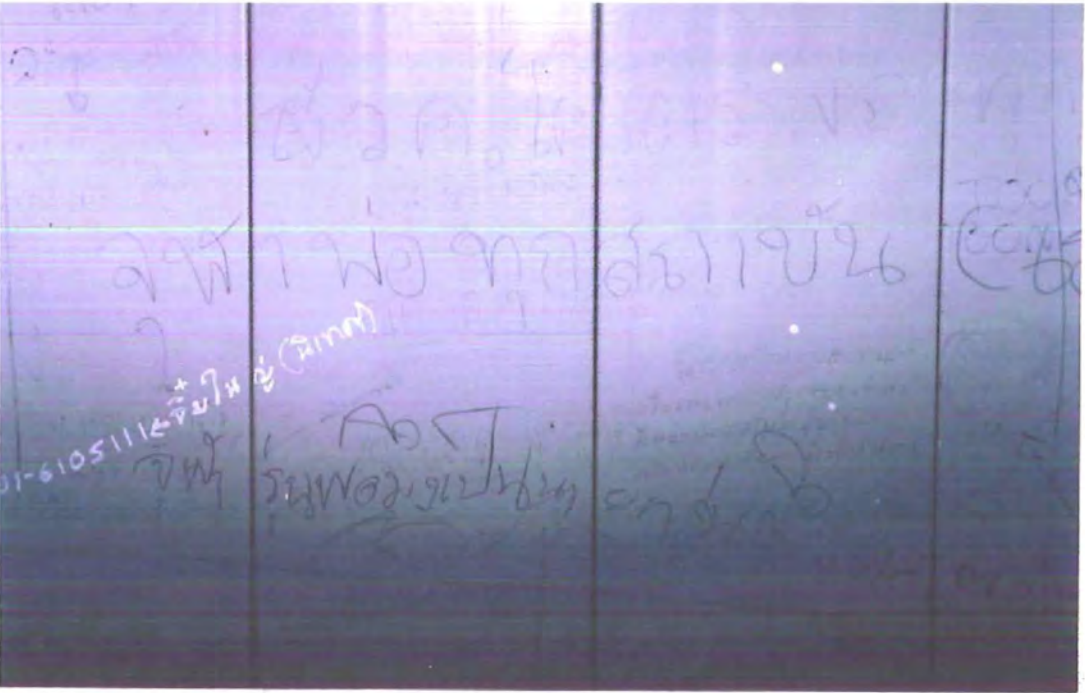
Example 1: campus graffiti in A, B and C University

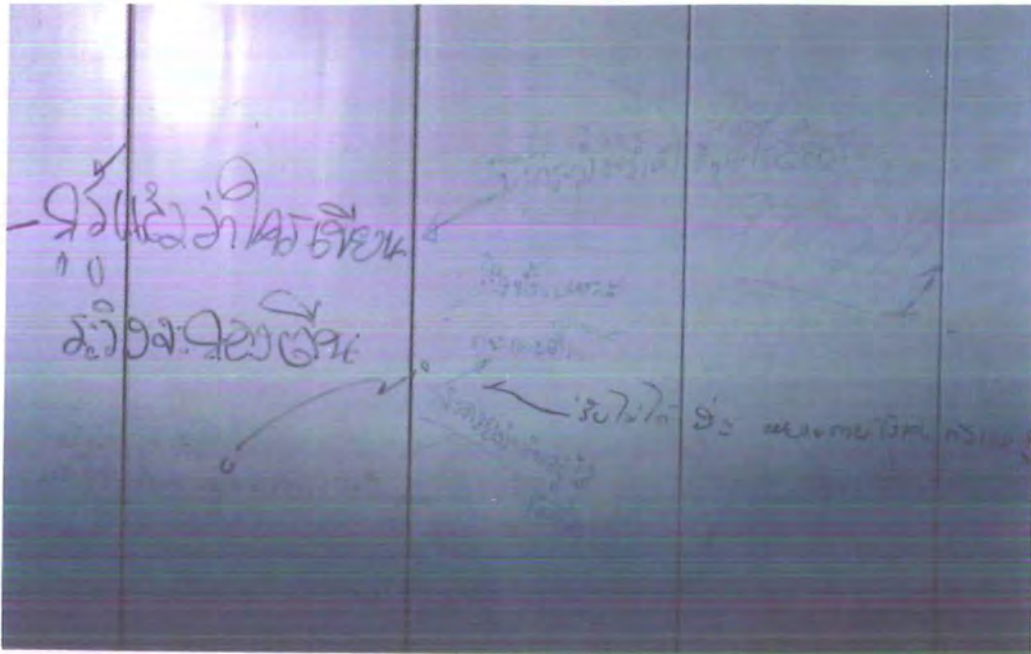


The picture above shows several graffiti inscriptions recorded from a male toilet cubicle in C university. The inscriptions show various graffiti themes including hostility and insult, names of faculties in C University, drug and sexual needs.



The picture above was taken from a male toilet in B University. The large inscription is a cry for help, the writer tells the readers that he “cannot accept the truth, please help me” and “ I can’t stand it any longer”. However, the smaller graffiti inscriptions shown in the picture reply with hostility.





The two pictures above were recorded from a male toilet in C and A University. Most inscriptions show hostility and insult. “Favourite” phrases such as “you animal”, “I am the father” and “feet” are repeatedly used to convey violence and insult.



This photograph was taken from a male toilet in C University . Inscriptions in the pictures show hostility, name of faculties, gangs and sexual issues. Some read ‘XX University is the father of all institutions’, you beware, you fucking animal’ and ‘Who wants to be sucked, meet me in male toilet fourth floor everyday’.

Example 2: public graffiti



This photograph was taken from a public area. The place is the northern Express Way Bridge in the northern suburb of Bangkok. One inscription reads 'Love XX' and others are names.

Example 3: student gang graffiti





All photographs were recorded from several different parts of Bangkok. All inscriptions in photographs are names of technical schools.

Example 4: 'popular' graffiti





The photographs were taken from a deserted petrol station in a northern suburb of Bangkok. Graffiti writers are mostly male teenagers. The graffiti above show a direct influence from the American graffiti style. Words used in the above graffiti are mostly English words especially names of graffiti gangs.

Note: all photographs were taken by the researcher.

APPENDIX 2

Examples of Thai idiomatic stickers or bumper stickers.



The sticker reads (in Thai) ‘Pua dee tong mee mia noy’, it means ‘a good husband must have a mistress’.

APPENDIX 3

CONSENT FORM

My name is..... I have been informed about every aspect of Ms. Sirach Lapyai's research project on Thai university graffiti and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and realize I have the rights to withdraw from this research activity at any time.

I agree that the information given for this research may be published provided I am not identifiable. I agree that all the information given regarding my personal information will be securely kept by Ms. Sirach Lapyai only and will be destroyed five years after the end of the research.

Participant-Interviewee:.....

Date/time.....

Researcher: Miss Sirach Lapyai
Faculty of Communications and Creative Industries
Edith Cowan University
Perth, Australia.

APPENDIX 4/1

EXAMPLES OF INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STUDENTS-GRAFFITISTS

The full questions used in this interview are not to be fully published or revealed in this thesis. All questions are in Thai language. The answers from the interview are not to be published in this thesis.

All interviews are not recorded by tape recorder.

Interviews with homosexual male students are conducted separately from other interviewees.

Example Questions

- Ask where student-graffitists write/leave their inscriptions.
- Ask the reasons male student-graffitists need to write/reply graffiti inscriptions.
- Ask the reasons female student-graffitists need to write/reply graffiti inscriptions.
- Ask the reasons homosexual-male student-graffitists need to write/reply graffiti inscriptions.
- Personal information of the interviewees (male/female/homosexual male): age, gender, academic achievement, family background, income etc.
- Campus information surrounding the interviewees (male/female/homosexual male): perception of the university, attitudes toward instructors, university rules and regulations etc.
- Ask the usual means of communication interviewees (male/female/homosexual male) use.
- Ask why and which type of communication interviewees resort to when faced with negative feelings caused by university, instructors and classroom environment and how to cope with negative feelings.
- Ask when and how interviewees become familiar with graffiti.

End of examples

APPENDIX 4/2

EXAMPLES OF INTERVIEW GUIDES FOR INSTRUCTORS IN UNIVERSITIES WHERE CAMPUS GRAFFITI EXISTS

The full questions used in this interview are not to be published
or revealed in this thesis.

All questions are in Thai language.

The interviews are not recorded by tape recorder.

These are only examples of questions conducted in the interview.

Examples of questions

- Ask where interviewees find/see campus graffiti inscriptions.
- Ask the reasons interviewees think graffitiists write/leave campus graffiti inscriptions.
- Interviewee's perception toward campus graffiti.
- Ask if interviewees have any discussion/complaint/talk with their students/colleagues regarding the existence of graffiti within their campus.
- Interviewee's perception toward student-graffitist.
- Ask if there is any strategy/rule/regulation university employed to manage with graffiti. If there are, what are the results.
- Ask how interviewees react to graffiti.

End of examples.

APPENDIX 4/3

EXAMPLES OF QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE CONDUCTED WITH NON- GRAFFITIST STUDENTS.

The full questions used in this questionnaire are not to be published
or revealed in this thesis.

All questions are in Thai language.

The respondents do not need to write their names and faculties in the questionnaire.
These are only examples of questions conducted in the questionnaire.

Questionnaires include 3 sections:

Section 1: general information such as age, gender, academic year of enrolment etc.

Section 2: questions for non-students who answer in Section 1 they have no experience
with writing/replying to graffiti.

Section 3: questions for students who answer in Section 1 they have an experience with
writing/replying to graffiti.

- Checklists
- Rating scale.
- Open-form questions.
- Likert's scale

Examples of checklists:

Instruction: please tick ✓ in the box for most appropriate answer.

- Have you ever seen graffiti in your university campus?
☐ Yes
☐ No

- Do you 'read' graffiti inscriptions?
☐ Yes
☐ No
- Have you ever written or replied to graffiti inscriptions?
☐ Yes. If yes, please turn to Section 3 of this questionnaire and please answer the questions in Section 3. Section 3 is for students who have an experience with graffiti.
☐ No. If no, please turn to Section 2 of this questionnaire and leave Section 3 blank. Section 2 is for students who are sure they do not have an experience writing or replying to graffiti.

Examples of rating scale:

- If you see graffiti in your campus, please indicate the place (s) you encounter graffiti by referring to one of the following rating scales:
 1 = graffiti usually appears in/on/at this place (usually means almost everyday).
 2 = graffiti often appears in/on/at this place (often means 1-2 times/a week).
 3 = graffiti seldom appears in/on/at this place (seldom means 1-2 times/a month).
 4 = graffiti never appears in/on/at this place.

Please rate your encounter with graffiti in these locations

Faculty male toilet (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	
Faculty female toilet (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	
Central Library male toilet (please indicate which floor, which wing etc.)	
Central library female toilet (please indicate which floor, which wing etc.)	
Faculty library male toilet (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	

Faculty library female toilet (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	
Central canteen male toilet (please indicate which floor, which wing etc.)	
Central canteen female toilet (please indicate which floor, which wing etc.)	
Faculty canteen male toilet (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	
Faculty canteen female toilet (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	
Walls in lecture room (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	
Chairs/tables in lecture room (please indicate which faculty, which floor etc.)	
University Office Building/instructor's office. (please indicate where).	
Gymnasium (male toilet/wall)	
Gymnasium (female toilet/wall)	
Exterior of building (please indicate which building).	
Stairway (please indicate which building).	
Interior of building EXCLUDE LECTURE ROOM (please indicate which building).	
Cafeteria	
Convention hall	
Bus shelter in campus (please indicate where).	
Telephone booth (please indicate where).	
Dormitory (male) (please indicate which building).	

Dormitory (female) (please indicate which building).	
Bulletin board (please indicate where).	
Tree/garden (please indicate where).	
Etc.	

Examples of open-form questions (for students who report of having no experience with graffiti).

- Ask what respondents perceive graffiti.
- Ask what respondents perceive graffiti writers.
- Ask what motives respondents think graffiti writers write graffiti.
- Ask how respondents feel about graffiti.
- Ask how the respondents perceive their university.

Examples of Likert's scale

Instruction: Please tick ✓ for most appropriate answer.

Scale	Definitely agree -4	Agree 3	Rather agree 2	Disagree 1	Definitely disagree-0
1. I always feel bored when I come to class					
2. I think students who write graffiti do not deserve our university's dignity					
3. Graffiti is ugly.					
4. Graffiti message is					

mostly about sex.					
5. People who write graffiti are sexually perverted.					

Etc.

Examples of questions in Section 3 (for students who report of having an experience with graffiti).

- Ask where respondents write/reply to graffiti.
- Ask what motives respondents write/reply to graffiti and why they need graffiti.
- Ask how long respondents have experiences with graffiti.
- Ask if respondents re-check their graffiti for replies/comments.
- Ask how respondents cope with negative feelings.
- Etc.

End of examples.

APPENDIX 4/4

FORM OF DISCLOSURE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FROM THE RESEARCHER

This is written in Thai language and is on every copy of questionnaire and interview guides sent to respondents.

194 Central Avenue
Inglewood 6050
Perth

Dear respondent

My name is Miss Sirach Lapyai. I am currently studying a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Media Studies at Edith Cowan University, Perth, Australia. I am undertaking a research project on campus graffiti in Thai universities. My research focuses on the communicative needs and gratification graffiti writers need from graffiti. Since there has been none research on Thai campus graffiti before and Thai university student needs are little understood, I hope my study can fill the gap and yield the benefits to our society.

The questionnaire and interviews conducted for this research ask your activity and experiences with graffiti within your campus and ask how you cope with negative feelings and dissatisfaction that could be caused by campus conditions and environment. I would highly appreciate your assistance in giving valuable information in the interviews/questionnaires.

To confirm highest confidentiality, you are not required to write your name and faculty, telephone number or contact address. If you prefer to use pseudonym in some part of the questionnaire, please feel free to do so. You can write freely, the information you give would not be sent to any instructor or any authority within university or to any third party. No photograph and no tape recording will be taken during interviews. All of your information will be destroyed after five years of the end of this project.

I thank you for your kind assistance.

Yours truly,

Sirach Lapyai

Faculty of Communications and Creative Industries

Edith Cowan University

Perth, Australia

APPENDIX 5

These are Thai-language graffiti inscriptions cited in this dissertation. The English version can be found in Chapter 5,6 and 7.

Graffiti Inscriptions In English and Thai

1. We B Uni students will not let Bereden [Binladen] escape. Sure, a terrorist"

2.(Chained reply) "I agree, friend, let's find him".

Thai original version = เราทรา..... (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย) ไม่ปล่อย Bereden ลอดนวลแน่ ชัวร์

ผู้ก่อการร้าย

(ตอบ) ตกตงเพื่อน ไปตามหากันเถอะ

3. Hey, I am Thaksin Shinawatra. = เฮ้ย ข้าคือ ทักษิณ ชินวัตร

4. Fucking the Christians, they are stupid and ignorant. = เช็ดแบ่งพวกคริส [คริสต์] โง่มาฆ ไม่
รับ

5. That fucking Indian bastard named XXXX, death to the Indian race. Even if you
and your fathers get married to Thais, your lowly Indian blood will still be low. = ไล่
ก๊วเหี้ยแขก..... (ชื่อ) ไปตายไข่แขกต่างดาว มีจะแต่งงานกับคนไทยก็ชั่วอายุคน เลือดแขกต่ำๆก็ยังมีอยู่

6. If you need crazy pill, call Sergeant XXX at 01-xxxxxxx, safety guaranteed. 24
hrs".

= อยากได้ยาบ้า โทรหาจ่า..... (ชื่อ) เบอร์01-..... รับประกันความปลอดภัย โทรได้ 24 ชั่วโมง

7. What about if I have my hair cut on Wednesday? Will it be ok?

8. (Reply) Don't. They say it will bring bad luck for the whole month.

= ตัดผมวันพุธจะเป็นไรเปล่าเป็นอะไร

(ตอบ) -ไม่สิ เก้นอกว่าจะขายไปตลอดเดือน

9. Want to sleep all day, reading too much.

10.(reply) Why don't you sleep all night?

11.(reply) Go to sleep then both of you.

= ว่าง อาบน้ำนอนทั้งวัน อ่านหนังสือมากไป

(ตอบ) --ทั้งคืน นิ่งเลือกไม่นอนของ

(ตอบ)--ดูว่า นิ่งไปนอนทั้งคู่หะ

12.XX Zippo=.....(ชื่อ) Zippo

13.XXX Engineer = (ชื่อ) วิศว

14.XXXX Faculty of Commerce. = (ชื่อ) บัญชี

15.XXX225@chaiyo.com. =(ชื่อ) 225@Chaiyo.com

16.XXX from The Bonk = (ชื่อ) จาก The Bonk

17.We are X, Y, Z, M, N, we love each other very much.' = เราคือ ก ข กง จ (นามสมมติ)

กลุ่มเรารักกันมากเลย

18. XXX from Udomthani is here. = (ชื่อ) จาก อุตร อยู่นี่ครับ

19.I am from Sxxxxx School'. = ผมมาจาก รร..... (ชื่อโรงเรียน) ครับ

20.What is the English name of our uni? Can someone spell it here? I'll come to check

21. (reply) It's XXXXX University.

=มหาวิทยาลัยชื่ออังกฤษว่าอะไร ใครสะกดเป็นบ้าง เราจะกลับมาดู

(ตอบ) ชื่อ..... (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย)

22.It's ok you found someone new, don't turn back to say goodbye

=ไม่เป็นไรถ้าเจอคนใหม่ อย่ากลับมามอบลากับเธอ

23.I wish you happiness with your new one with tears.

= ฉันขอพรให้เธอมีความสุขกับคนใหม่ทั้งนี้ตา

24.I love XXX

25.(Reply) Go and tell her, friend.

ผมรัก..... (ชื่อ)

(ตอบ) ไปบอกเขาสิเพื่อน

26. Don't read, it's a waste of time. Go on to shit, it's more fun.

=อย่าอ่านเสียเวลา จี๋ไปเถอะ หนูดีกว่า

27. This is me XXXX. I am the father of all students in this uni. Go to die now all of you.

=กูคือ (ชื่อ) พ่อนักศึกษาทุกคนในมหาวิทยาลัยนี้ พวกมันเตรียมตัวตายกันได้

28. (reply) I am XXXX from The Faculty of XXXX. I am your father and your ancestor. Death to you. = กูคือ..... (ชื่อ) จากคณะ..... (ชื่อคณะ) พ่อมันและเป็นโคตรมันด้วยไว้ย ำ

ตายเถอะมันนี่

29. (Reply) If you write something about my school, leave your fucking real name and your school. If not, you're a coward. Don't dare to touch me, you're a dog. From XXXX, The Faculty of XXXX. = ถ้ามันอยากเขียนถึง รร. กู ำให้บอกชื่อ กับคณะเหี้ยๆ ของมันด้วย ถ้ามันจ่งไม่จริง ำเข้าเขียน อย่าเข้ามาเขียนถึงพวกกู ำให้พวกหมา จาก..... (ชื่อ) คณะ.....

30. (reply) I am not stupid enough to leave my name. Don't dare to teach me, you're a dog. I'm not so stupid like you. Go to hell both of you and your fucking school. = นอกชื่อกูก็โง่ชิวะ อย่ามาเล่นกับกู ำให้พวกหมาจี้ร่อน กูไม่โง่เหมือนพวกมันหรอก ไปลงนรกทั้งมันทั้งคณะเหี้ยของมันเลย

31. XXXX is the most boring teacher because he gives the most boring lecture. = (ชื่อ) สอนน่าเบื่อที่สุดไว้ เลิกเซอรันน่าเบื่อมาก

32. What do we study for? I hate it. Life is hell in this university. = เรามาเรียนทำไรวะ กูเกลียดมาก อยู่มหาวิทยาลัยนี้ชีวิตตกต่ำ

33. Attention! Attention! Being in C Uni is a wrong decision. = ประกาศ ประกาศ อยู่..... (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย) ถึกคิดจนวันตาย

34.Objection to B University going autonomous, the tuition fee will rise. Who cares about us? = กัดกัน (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย) ออกนอกระบบ ค่าหน่วยกิตก็แพงขึ้นนะสิ ใครจะมาสนใจวะ

35.(reply) Agree. This is very selfish. The uni cares for itself only. = เห็นด้วย มหาวิทยาลัยเห็นแก่ตัว มันเห็นแก่ตัวมันเองคนเดียว

36.I have fucked XXXX from The Faculty of XXXX, very good. = ดูเซ็กซี่..... (ชื่อ) คนะ.....มาแล้ว มันมาก

37.(reply) Do you know, stupid, I've fucked this woman before you! = ใช้มันมันไม่ไ้หรอก ดูเซ็กซี่นี่ก่อนมันอีก

38.Want to fuck XXXX of The Faculty of XXXX. Want to fuck this bitch hard until it bleeds. This woman wants sex badly. = อยากเซ็กซี่..... คนะ..... ดูจะเซ็กซี่นี่เลือดออกเลย อีนี้มันต้องการมาก

39.Any bitch in this uni and is good for me to fuck, come to meet me. It must be good-looking, ugly crippled bitch is unwanted. = นังไหนพอเซ็กซี่ได้ในมหาวิทยาลัยนี้ มาให้ดูเซ็กซี่หน่อย มันต้องหน้าตาดี คนพิการจ้ะเหว่ดูไม่เอา

40.Good woman is a good whore. = ผู้หญิงดีก็คือกะหรี่ดี

41.I am XXX from The Faculty of XXXX, I have the biggest than anyone. If you don't believe, come and sec. = ดูก็อ..... คนะ..... ของกูใหญ่กว่าทุกคน ไม่เชื่อ มึงมาดูกันได้

42.(Reply) - I've seen it, yours is very small. = ดูเห็นแล้ว ของมึงโคตรเล็กเลย

43.(Reply) - So is yours. = ของมึงก็เล็กด้วยแหละ

44.If you're a gay, you don't deserve at all to be born as a man. Remember this!! I will kill all you faggots in this uni if I see you. = ถ้ามึงเป็นเกย์ มึงไม่สมควรเกิดเป็นคน มึงจำไว้กูพบพวกกะเทย จู๊ด เมื่อไหร่ในมหาวิทยาลัย กูจะฆ่าพวกมึง

45.Question. How do we call a man who is a gay? Answer, an animal. = คำถาม เราเรียกผู้ชายที่เป็นเกย์ว่าอะไร เฉลย เป็นสัตว์

46. I am a queen but unopened. I want a king. Interest? Make an appointment. Call 01-XXXXXXX. = เป็นกวิ้นไม่แสดงออก อยากเจอใคร ถ้าสนใจ นัดกันได้ ติดต่อ 01-00000000

47. I will come here and will wait in the second room. Knock 3 times and call XXX. I accept only handsome guy. This is my time- Tuesday 27 April at 17.00 and 28 April at 15.00. = จะมาที่นี่ คอยในห้องที่สอง เคาะ 3 ครั้ง เรียกชื่อ..... (ชื่อ) รับเฉพาะคนที่ส่งมาเท่านั้น นี่เป็นตารางเวลา วันอังคาร 27 เมษายน ตอน 17.00 วันที่ 28 เมษายน เวลา 15.00

48. (Reply) - I have an exam on those days above. Can you come on Friday at 20.00? = มีสอบวันนั้นพอดี ขอให้มาวันศุกร์ตอน 20.00 ได้ไหม

49. Unopened gay queen looking for a student in this uni. You must be clean, good-looking and unopened also. Please call 01-xxxxxxx. = กวิ้นไม่แสดงออกต้องการพบนักศึกษา มหาลัยนี้ ขอคนสะอาด หน้าตาดีไม่แสดงออกเหมือนกัน ติดต่อ 01-0000000

50. If you need sex and fun and if you're an unopened king, meet me in this toilet on 12 July at 22.00 pm, knock 3 times. = ถ้าไม่แสดงออกคนไหนต้องการเซ็กส์และอารมณ์ เจอกันได้ที่ห้องน้ำห้องนี้ วันที่ 12 กค. ตอน 22.00 น. เคาะ 3 ครั้ง

52. This is very boring, the teacher cannot say a word that anyone can understand. = น่าเบื่อมาก อาจารย์พูดอะไรไม่เห็นมีใครรู้เรื่องซักคนเลย

54. The class of XXXX (teacher's name) is very boring. It's difficult and the teacher makes it more difficult, agree? = วิชาอาจารย์..... (ชื่อ) น่าเบื่อมาก อีกทั้งยากแล้วอาจารย์ก็ยิ่งทำให้ยากไปอีก เห็นด้วยมั๊ย

55. Life sucks in this uni = เรียนแล้วห่วยมาก มหาลัยนี้

56. I'd rather be a gigolo than studying in this uni = ไปได้เป็นแมงคลึกกว่าเรียนมหาลัยนี้

57. XXX (name of a teacher) is nothing, if she reads from the book to students, I can go home and read them myself. = อาจารย์..... (ชื่อ) สอนไม่มีสาระ ถ้าอาจารย์อ่านจากในหนังสือ กลับบ้านไปอ่านเองดีกว่า

58.The money you (chancellor) use is my semester fee = เงินที่มึง (ชื่ออธิการ) ใช้คือเงินค่าเทอมกู

59.XXX (the chancellor) should go out=..... (ชื่ออธิการ) ต้องออกไป

60.We want him (the chancellor) out, we want a clean person. = เราต้องการให้ (ชื่ออธิการ) ออกไป เราต้องการคนมือสะอาด

61.The Faculty of XXX beware, you are only dogs. If you see me, you will be afraid and die. = ใต้พวกคณะ.....มึงระวัง มึงมันแค่ใต้พวกหมา ถ้ามึงเจอกูเมื่อไหร่ มึงกลัวจนตายแน่

62.XXX (name of a gang) is only dog and their cars are shit. If they meet XXX (name of another gang), they will die. = (ชื่อแก๊ง) เป็นหมา รถพวกมันขี้ๆทุกคัน ถ้ามันเจอ..... (ชื่อแก๊ง) มันตาย

63.All students in the Faculty of XXXX are dogs. = ใต้นักศึกษาคณะ.....ทุกคนเป็นหมา

64.My name is XXX from the Faculty of XXX, I am the father of all students in the

65.Faculty of XXXX—they are only dust under my feet. = กูชื่อ..... คณะ..... พ่อพวกมึงทุกคนในคณะ..... คณะพวกมึงจืดจางทั้งนั้น

66.(reply) - Who do you think you are-bastard? I am your father-you animal! From The Faculty of XXXX. = ใต้เหี้ย มึงคิดว่ามึงเป็นใคร ไอ้สัตว์ กู พ่อมึง จากคณะ.....

67.The writers who write on this wall are buffaloes. = ใครเขียนตรงนี้เป็นใต้กาย

68.Anyone who reads this is a dog. = ใครอ่านเป็นหมาไร้

69.(reply) : Both of you are buffaloes. = มึงทั้งคู่แหละเป็นใต้กาย

70.(reply) - Shit! All of you are buffaloes. Can't you see yourselves, animals? = ใต้เหี้ย พวกมึงจะแหละใต้กายกันหมด ไม่รู้อะไรเง โง่สัตว์

71.You- all graffiti writers, you have the brain of buffaloes and dogs. All of you are stupid. = มึง ใต้พวกเขียนค่น้ำ มึงสมองหมาปัญญาทึบ พวกมึงมันโง่ทุกตัว

72.XXXX (name of a person), you're a buffalo. Want to die? If you're brave enough, meet me at XXX = ไข่..... (ชื่อ) มึงมันไข่ควาย มีงอยากตายไหม ถ้ากล้าจริง ไปเจอกูที่..... (สถานที่)

73.Who the fuck are you? = ไข่เหี้ย มึงเป็นใครกันวะ

74.(reply) – I am the father of your father, stupid! = กูเป็นพ่อมึงเง ไข่โง่

75.XXXX is here! I am the father of all departmentis. You, XXXX (name of a faculty), beware!! = ที่คือกู..... (ชื่อ) พ่อทุกคนะโง่ พวกมึง คณะ..... ระวัง

76.XX is the father of all universities. = กู..... (ชื่อ) พ่อทุกมหาวิทยาลัยโง่

77.I am XXX, father of every uni and every faculty. = กูชื่อ..... พ่อทุกมหาวิทยาลัยและพ่อทุกคณะ

78.My name is XXX, I am the father of all students in C University. = กูชื่อ.....โง่ กูคือพ่อนักศึกษาทุกคนในมหาวิทยาลัย..... (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย) นี่

79.Here I am, the father of everyone in B University. = กูอยู่ที่นี่โง่ กูคือพ่อทุกคนใน..... (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย)

80.The Faculty of XXX is the father of all schools in this uni. = คณะ.....เป็นพ่อทุกคนในมหาวิทยาลัย.....

81.I am XXX, the father of everyone who reads this. = กูคือ.....พ่อคนอ่านทุกคน

82.I am an unopened queen. I want someone, we can be friends or more than friends.
=กวันไม่แสดงออก อยากได้ใครซักคน จะมาเป็นเพื่อนกันหรือเป็นอย่างอื่นก็ได้

83.(Reply) I understand us all. We can't deny ourselves but isn't it better to keep our love for someone very special?

=ผมเข้าใจพวกเรทุกคนนะครับ เราปฏิเสธตัวเองไม่ได้หรอก แต่ควรเก็บความรักแบบพวกเราได้ไว้สำหรับคนที่สมควรจริงๆ ไม่ได้ว่าหรือครับ

84. We have to make a loan to pay the fee if B University becomes autonomous.

=ต้องกู้หน้ยืมเงินมาเรียน ถ้า..... (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย) ขอถอนออกระบบ

85. I can't afford to pay if B University is autonomous, why the uni is eager to be autonomous?"

=ไม่มีคั้งเรียนเน ้า.....(ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย) ออกนอกกระบบ ทำไม..... (ชื่อมหาวิทยาลัย) ค้องเรียนออกนอก

ระบบ