

## INDEX

*Note:* Page numbers followed by “n” refer to endnote.

### A

Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, 65, 72, 77

Abdul Rasyid, 50

activism

    blosphere and, 147–49

    social media and, 168–75

“ADHOC 5”, 138

Ahok, 12, 49, 53

Alex Au, 170, 175

Aljunied-Hougang Punggol East  
Town Council (AHPETC), 177

Andrew Loh, 171

Anh Ba Sam, 148

“anti-Barisan Nasional”, 64, 67

anti-coup activists, 109

anti-establishment forces, 116

anti-establishment sentiment, 109

Anti-Fake News Act, Malaysia, 74

Anti-Fake News Centre, Thailand,  
105, 111

anti-Formosa movement, Vietnam,  
154–55

Anti-Muslim, 97

    hate speech and fake news, 100

anti-Najib sentiment, 68

anti-Single Gateway proposal,  
Thailand, 119

anti-Thaksin networks, 108

Anwar Ibrahim, 65, 67, 71, 74

Arab Spring, 66, 152, 194, 200

*Architects of Networked Disinformation*  
(2018), 29

*Asalkan Bukan UMNO* (Anyone But  
UMNO), 66

Aung San Suu Kyi, 88, 93, 98, 204

authoritarian control, 202–4

authoritarian regimes, 200, 207–8

authoritarian resilience

    causes of, 198–200

    in Southeast Asia, 192–93, 200–207

    democratic regression and

        authoritarian resilience, causes  
        of, 198–200

    global trends, 193–97

autocratic regression, in Myanmar,  
199

autocratization, 119, 192

### B

*Balik Undi* (return home to vote), 67

Bangkok.com, 108

Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI), 52

Bannok.com, 108

- Barisan Nasional (BN)  
*Bersih*, 66  
 coalition, 80n1, 197  
 cybertroopers, 77  
 disinformation campaign, 78  
 election, 67, 76  
 electoral system, 65  
 engagement in disinformation practices, 80  
 fall of, 77  
 GE14, 64  
 GE12 in 2008, results, 71  
 government, 63  
 internet, 69  
 national election campaign, 63–64, 67  
 online disinformation strategy, 76  
 responds, 69–74  
 rule, 64  
 ruling coalition, 12  
 social media campaigning, 75  
 trust deficit in, 79
- Baswedan, Anies, 53
- Bauxite Vietnam blog, 151
- “The Beginning of Online Social Movements in Vietnam” (2017), 154
- Benjamin Lee (Mr Miyagi), 170
- Bersih*, 66–68, 79, 80n3  
 “Clean Elections” movement, 2  
 rallies, 68, 71, 76  
 “biased” liberal media, 27  
 “black campaign”, 10, 48  
 “Black Monday” campaign, 130
- Blackout 505, 67
- “blogfather” of Singapore, 169
- bloggers, 171, 178, 201
- blogging communities, 160
- blogosphere, and activism, 147–49
- blogs, 172  
 decline of, 175–79
- Bongbong Marcos, 33
- Breakfast Network*, 176, 178
- Broadcasting Act 2013, Singapore, 13–14, 175
- Buddhist extremist pages, removal from Facebook, 87
- Buddhist nationalist sentiment, 93
- Budi Purnomo Karjodiharjo, 52
- Burma Media Association, 94
- BurmaNet, 92
- “Burmese Media Spring”, 93
- “buzzer *istana*” (the Palace’s buzzers), 54
- “buzzers” in Indonesia, 9, 50
- C**
- Cambodia, 126–28  
 cyberspace, 127  
 “digital democracy” in, 127  
 digital transformations in, 128  
 emergence of digital platforms, 128–31  
 political system, 197  
 social media  
 and decline of political opposition, 137–40  
 networks, 202–3  
 and political activism, 131–37
- Cambodia Development Resource Institute, 134
- Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP), 127, 131–32, 138
- Cambodian People’s Party (CPP)  
 cyberspace, 140  
 Hun Sen, 13, 127–28, 131, 197  
 re-election incentives, 136  
 ruling party, 126  
 slogan of “change”, 131  
 SMS messaging, use of, 130  
 social media, 132
- The Cambodia Daily*, 130

- Cambridge Analytica, 28  
celebrity endorsements, 25  
censorship  
  methods, 146  
  of online public sphere, 204  
Central Youth Union, 153  
Centre of Digital Security, 112  
Chatter Party, 127  
China, 145–46  
  aggressive foreign policy, 199  
  authoritarianism in mainland  
    Southeast Asia, 199  
  ban Facebook, 155  
  government's policy on, 151  
Chinese-based platforms, 181  
Chinese model, 199  
civil society, 120n7  
  cyberspaces by, 118–19  
  groups, 89, 139  
  nascent cyber activism, 108  
  organizations, 15  
  sector, 94  
  Thailand, 205  
clicktivism, 200  
closed messenger groups, 78  
Coalition for Free and Fair Elections  
  (BERSIH), 205  
coarse political discourse,  
  amplification of, 26–28  
“Coins for Prita”, 45  
Colours Rainbow Yangon, 2  
communal violence in Myanmar, 87,  
  98  
Communications and Multimedia Act  
  1998, Malaysia, 73  
Communications Authority of  
  Thailand (CAT), 107  
Computer Crime Act (CCA),  
  Thailand, 109, 114, 118, 205  
Computer-Related Crimes Act,  
  Thailand, 109, 120n3  
Constitutional Court, Thailand,  
  105–6, 120n1  
contemporary Thai politics, military  
  in, 111  
“context collapse” phenomenon,  
  178–79  
Covid-19 pandemic, 183–84  
“cures” of patient zero, 20  
“cyber activists”, 70  
Cyber Centre, Thailand, 112  
cyber defiance, 106  
cyber mobs, 205  
cyber repression, 205  
Cyber Scouts, 115, 116  
Cybersecurity Bill, Thailand, 112, 115  
Cyber-Security Law, Vietnam, 145,  
  203  
cyberspace, 111, 127  
cyber terrorism, 115  
cyber-*tokhang*, 30–32  
cybertroopers, 70–72  
  Barisan Nasional, 12, 74, 75, 77  
  conversation spaces, 78  
  disinformation practices, 72  
  election, 79  
  emergence of, 64  
  in Malaysia, 9  
  Najib, 76  
cyber unit, 116  
cyber warfare, 111
- D**  
“Daddy Duterte” (*Tatay Digong*), 32  
Declaration on a Framework to  
  Minimise the Harmful Effects of  
  Fake News (2018), 4  
Decree 97 on the Management,  
  Supply, and Use of Internet  
  Services and Electronic  
  Information on the Internet  
  (2008), 150

- democracy
- activists, 151
  - autocratic rule and, 107
  - Corazon Aquino, 32
  - death of, 20
  - in electoral authoritarian regimes, 193
  - and human freedom, 192
  - human rights and good governance, 26
  - in Indonesia, 196
  - Jokowi, 206
  - lower support of, 198
  - new digital totalitarianism, 200
  - and political discourse, 13
  - “promissory coups”, 207
  - prospects of, 194
  - reforms for, 16
  - social media, 79
  - in Southeast Asia, 2, 196
  - struggle for, 91
  - supportive of, 44
  - sustainability of, 199
  - threats to, 12
  - tools in, 56
  - veil of, 75
- democratic breakdown, in Thailand, 206
- democratic regression, causes of, 198–200
- Democratic Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 152
- Democrat Party-led government, 109
- Dengvaxia scandal, 35
- Department of Health’s immunization programme, Philippines, 34
- de-securitizing disinformation, 118
- digital activism, phase of, 91
- digital authoritarianism, 127
- “digital democracy” in Cambodia, 127
- digital disinformation, 20
- Digital Economy and Society (DE), Thailand, 111
- digital era, 6
- digital media, 192, 205
- grassroots activism on, 15
- digital platforms, emergence of, 128–31
- digital politics, turning point for, 109–10
- digital public sphere in Philippines, 19–20, 35
- disinformation, 21–26
    - beyond elections, 30–35
    - 2016 Philippine elections, 26–30
- digital technologies, 22
- for political campaigns, 25
- digital transformations in Cambodia, 128
- digital workers, 23
- disinformation
- beyond elections, 30–35
  - grassroots activism to, 1–6
    - diverse social media landscape, 6–9
    - elections, 12–13
    - laws and crackdowns, 13–16
    - rise of, 9–11
  - in Indonesia, 43–44
    - industry and political buzzers, 47–51
    - production grows, 52–55
    - social media, 44–47
  - industry, professionalization of, 28–30
  - in Malaysia, 63–64
    - Barisan Nasional, 69–74
    - historic change of government, 75–78

- opposition campaigning and election battles, 67–69
    - social media activism and opposition politics, 64–67
  - in Philippines, 21–26
  - 2016 elections, 26–30
  - rise of, 3, 9–11
  - securitization approach to, 106
  - “distorted information”, 116
  - distrust, in Southeast Asian societies, 193
  - diverse social media landscape, 6–9
  - “divided disinformation”, 106
  - “divisive” political discourse, 43
  - draconian laws, Malaysia, 72–74
  - Dung, Nguyen Tan, 152–53, 155
  - Duterte, R., 198, 199
    - Asia’s oldest democracies, 19
    - campaign in Ilocos, 33
    - Death Squads, 28
    - drug war, 27
    - election victory of, 13
    - electoral outcomes, 25
    - media agencies, 28
    - in Philippines, 30, 196
    - provincial warlords, 36
    - on social media, 20
    - supporters of, 31, 206
- E**
- ecosystem of state agencies, Thailand, 112
  - election, 12–13
    - battles, 67–69
    - campaigns, 9
    - disinformation, 30–35, 52–55
    - 2006 General Election (GE06), 169–71
    - 2011 General Election (GE11), 171–74
    - 2012 General Election (GE12), 71
    - 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election, 43–44, 46, 49–50
    - 2013 General Election (GE13), 63–64, 67, 69, 71–73, 80n5
    - 2014 General Election (GE14), 64, 68, 72, 74, 78
    - 2015 General Election (GE15), 176–78, 184
    - Philippine elections, 26–30
    - political economy of, 47
    - of Rodrigo Duterte, 13
    - Singapore government, 13
    - “turning point”, 12
  - election disinformation grows, 52–54
  - Elections Advertising Regulations, Singapore, 170, 172
  - electoral authoritarian regime, 193, 196
    - Malaysia, 197
  - electoral authoritarian rule, 194
  - Electoral Commission, Malaysia, 68
  - electoral contestation, 45
  - electoral democracies, 15
  - electoral reform, 67
  - Electronic Information Transaction Law, Indonesia, 203
  - enhanced censorship, 193
  - environmental activism online, 160
  - exiled activist groups, 90
  - “explicitly political” content, ban on, 170, 172
- F**
- Facebook, 86–89, 115–18, 133–40, 148–55
    - Cambodia’s largest LGBT organizations, 129
    - citizens and activists, political parties, 173
    - co-opting Facebook, 155–59
    - disinformation campaigns, 146

- dominant social media platform, 128  
 Filipino internet users, 21  
 “free basics” in Philippines, 7  
 and Google, 10  
 groups, 23  
 LGBT communities, 2  
 live streaming, 69  
*Ma Ba Tha*, 96  
 Myanmar human rights groups  
   to, 99  
 “patient zero”, 19  
 silent protest on, 68  
 Southeast Asian countries, 8  
*Thinking Pinoy*, 35  
 and Twitter, 32, 45, 172, 174, 177, 179, 180  
 West Papua, 55  
 WhatsApp and, 12, 74  
 and YouTube, 97, 114  
 Facebook Free Basics in 2015, 88  
 “Facebook genocide”, 86  
 “Facebook Live” broadcasts, 25  
 Facebook Messenger, 8  
 fact-checking websites, 180  
 Fahmi Redza, 68  
 fake news, 27–28, 87, 112  
   disinformation and, 21  
   on Facebook, 19  
   Myanmar’s political transition, 86–100  
   political trolling and production of, 29  
   readers of, 36  
   rise of, 93–97, 206  
   social media and, 9, 20  
   Thailand, policy responses to disinformation in, 105–20  
   victims of, 139  
 Federal Constitution for Malaysians, 67  
 Filipinos, 21–24  
   communities, 28  
   migrant labour, 22  
   online, 21  
 Force 47, 156, 157, 158, 159, 204  
 Freedom House, 9, 194  
 Free My Internet movement, 176  
 #FREETHE5KH (Free the Khmer Five) campaign, 130
- G**
- 1969 General Election, 80n2  
 2006 General Election (GE06), 169–71  
 2011 General Election (GE11), 171–74  
 2012 General Election (GE12), 71  
 2013 General Election (GE13), 63–64, 67, 69, 71–73, 80n5  
 2014 General Election (GE14), 64, 68, 72, 74, 78  
 2015 General Election (GE15), 176–78, 184  
 Giap, Vo Nguyen, 150  
 Global Day of Action for Burma, 92  
 Global Inventory of Organised Social Media Manipulation, 4  
 Google  
   Facebook and, 10, 146, 157, 158, 168  
   and Yahoo, 147  
   government officials’, social media activism and, 135  
 Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, 56  
 grassroots activism  
   on digital media, 15  
   to disinformation, 1–6  
     diverse social media landscape, 6–9  
     elections, 12–13  
     laws and crackdowns, 13–16  
     rise of, 9–11  
 2017 gubernatorial elections, in Indonesia, 206

**H**

- Haque, Zulkiflee Anwar (Zunar),  
73–74, 78
- Hari Merdeka (Independence Day),  
Malaysia, 68
- hate speech, 87  
rise of, 93–97
- health disinformation, 34–35
- Hindu Rights Action Force  
(HINDRAF), 66
- “hoax news”, 9, 11
- Human Rights Film Institute in  
Myanmar, 97
- Hun Sen, 13, 127, 128, 132, 133, 135,  
138, 197

**I**

- “I am the Five” photo campaign,  
130
- Indonesia  
“buzzers” in, 9, 50  
civil society and pro-democracy  
activists, 2  
democracy in, 44, 195, 198  
disinformation, rise of, 43–44  
industry and political buzzers,  
47–51  
production grows, 52–55  
social media, 44–47  
online population, 7  
political buzzers in, 50  
2014 presidential election,  
Indonesia, 53  
2019 presidential election,  
Indonesia, 44  
research in, 43  
scholarship in, 8
- Indonesian Anti-Corruption  
Commission (KPK), 45, 54
- Indonesian digital sphere, 12
- Indonesian political landscape, 51

- information and communication  
technologies (ICT), 127
- Information Operation (IO), 115
- information security, 114
- Instagram, 201
- Internal Security Operations  
Command (ISOC), 111, 112, 115,  
116
- International Fact Checking Network  
(IFCN), 180, 185
- internet  
arrival and early digital activism,  
89–93  
censorship, 202–4  
development of, 107–10  
in Indonesia, 44  
social media and, 127  
in Southeast Asia, 202  
in Thailand, 205
- Internet Relay Chat (mIRC), 169
- internet service providers (ISPs), 92

**J**

- Jakarta gubernatorial election, 43, 44,  
46
- Jokowi, 2, 12, 43, 46, 49, 52, 54, 206
- Jokowi Ahok Social Media Volunteers  
(JASMEV), 49, 50

**K**

- Kem Sokha, 132, 137, 138
- Khe, Nguyen Cong, 149
- Ko Htike, 92
- ko-htike.blogspot.com*, 92
- “Kon Khmer” (Facebook page), 138

**L**

- Lee Kin Mum (mrbrown), 170
- Leong Sze Hian, 175
- lèse majesté* (monarchy offences),  
114–15, 120n2, 205

- Liberal Party, 30  
 LINE, 8  
 Little India case, Singapore, 182
- M**
- Ma Ba Tha*, 95–100  
 Mahathir Mohamad, 65, 68, 72, 73, 77, 197, 205  
 mainstream media, 176, 177  
 Malaysia, 2  
   “cybertroopers” in, 9  
   disinformation in, 63–64  
     Barisan Nasional, 69–74  
     historic change of government, 75–78  
   opposition campaigning and election battles, 67–69  
   social media activism and opposition politics, 64–67  
   electoral authoritarian regime, 197  
 Multimedia Super Corridor, 65  
 new communication technologies, 205  
 resilient electoral-authoritarian rule in, 198  
 scholarship in, 8  
*Malaysiakini*, 65, 72, 76  
*The Malaysian Insider*, 73  
 Marcos Cyber Warriors, 32  
 Martial Law, 33  
 “memefication” of satirical works, 78  
*The Middle Ground*, 178  
 “Midnightuniv.org”, 108  
 military, in contemporary Thai politics, 111  
 Min Htin Ko Ko Gyi, 204  
 Ministry of Information and Communication Technology (MICT), Thailand, 109  
 Multimedia Bill of Guarantees, Malaysia, 65  
 multi-user dungeons (MUDs), 169  
 Mulyasari, Prita, 45  
 “Muslim Cyber Army”, 53  
 Muslim minorities, 98  
 Myanmar  
   autocratic regression in, 199  
   civil society, 99  
   digital activism, 90  
   email service in, 89  
   internet penetration in, 90  
   media and telecommunications sectors, 88  
   military, 93  
   social media in, 14, 86, 87, 98  
   state-society relations online, 93  
 Myanmar-based dissidents, 91  
 Myanmar.com, 92  
 Myanmar Muslim community, 95  
 MyConsti campaign in 2009, 66
- N**
- Najib Razak, 64, 68–70, 72–79, 197  
 National Broadcasting and Telecommunications Commission (NBTC), 111  
 National Council for Peace Order, Announcement 12/2014, 120n4  
 National Council for Peace Order, Announcement 17/2014, 120n4  
 National Cyber Security Committee (NCSC), 112  
 National Electronics and Computer Technology Centre (NECTEC), 107  
 National League for Democracy (NLD), 88–89, 94, 98–99, 196, 206  
 National Science and Technology Development Agency (NSTDA), 107  
 National Security Council (NSC), 110



- NATO's StratCom Centre of Excellence, 10
- "negative campaigning", 9
- Network Enforcement Act, Germany, 14, 180, 183
- new communication technologies, Malaysia, 205
- new digital totalitarianism, 200
- "new" media in Malaysia, 65
- Nguyen Van Hai, 149
- Nguyen Viet Chien, 149
- 969 Buy-Buddhist campaign, 95–96
- 969/*Ma Ba Tha* monks, 96
- 988 FM, Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA)-owned Chinese-language station, 68
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs), 94, 117
- Nugraha, Pepih, 54
- O**
- Occupy Movement, 66
- 1Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB), 68
- corruption scandal, 75, 78
- online blogging, 149
- The Online Citizen*, 170, 172
- online disinformation services, 5, 28
- Online Freelance Workers (OFW 2.0), 24
- online public sphere, censorship of, 204
- online repression, 193
- online vigilante groups, 205
- opposition politics, social media activism and, 64–67
- opposition sympathizers, 138
- overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) Facebook groups, 23, 28
- P**
- Pakatan Harapan (PH), 69, 79, 197
- Pakatan Rakyat, 67
- Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP), 49
- "patient zero", 19–20
- for disinformation, 13
- beyond elections, 30–35
- in Philippines, 21–30
- People Power Revolution, 195
- People's Action Party (PAP)
- mobilization by, 177
- in Singapore, 197
- Tin Pei Ling, 173
- Philippines
- democracy in, 198
- development programme, 199
- digital public sphere in, 35
- disinformation in 2016 elections, 26–30
- economy, 33
- "free" internet environment, 201
- "trolls" in, 9
- Philippines' Commission on Human Rights, 19–20
- The Phnom Penh Post*, 138
- polarization, 119
- in Southeast Asian societies, 193
- policies
- control, legal repression and manipulation, 113–18
- implementing bodies, 111–12
- political activism, social media and, 131–37
- political buzzers in Indonesia, 50
- political campaigns, 43–44, 47–48
- digital technologies for, 25
- industry and political buzzers, 47–51
- production grows, 52–55
- social media, 44–47

- political culture, 24–26  
 political disinformation, 10  
 political economy, 22–24  
 political engagement in Singapore,  
   167–68  
   social media  
     and activism, 168–75  
     emerging disinformation, 179–84  
     regulation and decline of blogs,  
       175–79  
 political polarization, 87, 196  
 post-authoritarian democracy, 56  
 post-authoritarian technological  
   transformations, 46  
 post-2011 General Election, 176  
 Prabowo's campaign, 53  
 "Prachatai.com", 108, 114  
 pro-BN cybertroopers, 76  
 pro-BN social bots, 76  
 professionalization of disinformation  
   industry, 28–30  
 proliferation of digital disinformation,  
   20  
 pro-regime traditional media, 117  
 Protection from Online Falsehoods  
   and Manipulation Act (POFMA),  
   14, 183–84  
 pro-UMNO political bloggers, 77  
 Public Attorney's Office (PAO),  
   Philippines, 35
- R**
- Raden Nuh, 50  
 Radio Free Asia, 130  
 Rainsy, Sam, 132, 133, 139  
 Rakhine Buddhist mob, 94  
 rallies organized via social media,  
   growth of, 174–75  
*Reformasi Diary* (Zain), 65  
*Reformasi* movement, 45, 66  
 Remy Choo Zheng Xi, 171
- Reporters Without Borders, 94  
 repressive laws, 205  
 Reserve officer training corps  
   (ROTC), 120n6  
 resilient electoral-authoritarian rule,  
   198  
 Ressa, Maria, 20  
 Reza, Fahmi, 78  
 Robles, Raissa, 31  
 Rohingya minorities, 86, 87, 98  
 Rohingya Muslims, 94, 97, 100, 207  
 Rohingyas online, 88  
 Rojanapruk, Praiwit, 115  
 Roy Ngerng, 175  
 Russian fake news campaigns, 9
- S**
- Saffron Revolution, 87, 91–94  
 Sammyboy.com, 170  
*The Sarawak Report*, 73  
 Save Malaysia movement, 68  
 Section 66(d) of Myanmar's 2013  
   Telecommunication Law, 202  
 securitizing disinformation,  
   regulation and policies, 110–18  
 Security Offenses (Special Measures)  
   Act 2012 (SOSMA), 73  
 Sedition Act, 73, 74  
 "Sei Ha" (Facebook page), 137  
 The Select Committee on Deliberate  
   Online Falsehoods, 182  
 "Silent No More" (Facebook page), 31  
 Silicon Valley, 11  
 SIM cards, 89  
 Singapore  
   government, 13  
   People's Action Party (PAP) in,  
     197  
   political engagement in social  
     media, 167–68  
     and activism, 168–75

- emerging disinformation, 179–84
- regulation and decline of blogs, 175–79
- resilient electoral-authoritarian rule in, 198
- Singapore Democratic Party (SDP), 169
- Single Gateway, 119
- SingNet, 168
- SingTel, 168
- Siregar, Denny, 54
- slacktivism, 200
- social media, 192–93
  - anti-Barisan Nasional sentiment on, 64
  - capital, 21
  - “chilling effect” on, 72, 114
  - democratic regression and authoritarian resilience, causes of, 198–200
  - election, 171–74
  - global trends, 193–97
  - in Indonesia, 44–47
  - and internet, 107–10, 127
  - Myanmar’s political transition, 86–100
  - platforms, 43
  - and political activism, 131–37
  - political opposition, decline of, 137–40
  - role of, 192–208
  - Singapore, political engagement in, 167–85
  - in Southeast Asia, 1–6, 202
    - disinformation, rise of, 9–11
    - diverse social media landscape, 6–9
    - elections, 12–13
    - laws and crackdowns, 13–16
  - Vietnam, state information controls in, 145–60
  - volunteers, 46
  - social media activism, 45, 168–75
    - and discourse, 169–71
    - and government officials’, 135
    - and opposition politics, 64–67
  - social networking sites, 108
  - socio-political blogs, 172
    - decline of, 178–79
  - socio-political landscape, Singapore, 167
  - Sombat Boongnam-anong, 108
  - Southeast Asia
    - authoritarian resilience in, 192–93, 200–207
      - democratic regression and authoritarian resilience, causes of, 198–200
      - global trends, 193–97
    - internet and social media usage in, 202
    - internet penetration in, 129
    - key internet controls in, 203
    - social media trends in, 1–6
      - disinformation, rise of, 9–11
      - diverse social media landscape, 6–9
      - elections, 12–13
      - laws and crackdowns, 13–16
  - Speakers’ Corner, Singapore, 174, 176
  - Suharto’s New Order government, 49

**T**

  - Telegram, 78, 183
  - Telephone Organisation of Thailand (TOT), 107
  - Temasek Review Emeritus*, 172, 173
  - Thailand, 2, 87, 106
    - case of, 118
    - civil society, 205
    - Computer Crimes Act, 203
    - coups in, 199

- cyberspace, 106
  - democratic breakdown in, 206
  - digital economy, 114
  - digital openness to surveillance, 109
  - digital repression in, 113
  - digital space, 107
  - elections in, 196
  - information technology, 106
  - internet in, 205
  - LINE, 8
  - polarization, 106
  - politics of, 106, 119
  - securitizing disinformation, 110
  - society, 196
  - Thai Rak Thai Party, 108
  - Thai Rath*, 117
  - Thaksin Shinawatra, 108, 109, 198
  - Thanh Nien*, 149
  - Thein Sein, 87, 93, 98
  - Thida Htwe, 94
  - Think Big Indonesia, 53
  - Thinking Pinoy's* Facebook post, 35
  - Third-Party Fact-Checking Program, 168
  - "toxic information", 157
  - "trolls" in the Philippines, 9
  - turning point
    - for digital politics, 109–10
    - in social media production, 5
  - Twitter, 172–74
    - "bots", 9
    - buzzers
      - in Indonesia, 50
      - and Instagram, 11
    - digital research industry, 6
    - in disinformation studies, 8
    - Facebook and, 32, 45, 55, 69–72, 172, 180
    - Jokowi on social media, 54
- U**
- UN Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar, 207
  - Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), 87–88
  - United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), 80n4
    - Asalkan Bukan UMNO* (Anyone But UMNO), 66
    - Mahathir Mohamad, 73
    - New Media Unit, 70
    - split in, 77
  - UN Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Myanmar, 93
  - U Wirathu, 96, 97
- V**
- V-Dem data, 193–94
  - Vietnam, 1, 204
    - social media in, 15
    - state information controls in, 145–47
      - blogosphere and activism, 147–49
      - co-opting Facebook, 155–59
      - Facebook crackdowns fail, 151–55
      - traditional media crackdowns and Facebook's arrival, 149–51
  - Vietnamese authorities, 146, 151–52, 155–56, 159
  - Vietnamese Internet Service Providers, 151
  - Vietnamese netizens, 151
  - Vietnamese social media landscape, 148
  - Voice of America, 130

**W**

“weaponization” of social media, 20  
weblogs, 108  
Western media, 95  
WhatsApp, 133, 168, 184  
    and Facebook, 12, 69, 74  
    in Malaysia and Indonesia, 7–8  
    review of, 179  
    and Telegram, 78, 183  
White Paper Protest, 174  
Workers’ Party (WP), 173

**Y**

Yahoo!360 social network, 148, 150  
*Yawning Bread*, 170, 175  
YouTube, 21, 28, 30, 49, 157  
    Facebook and, 97, 114  
    *lèse majesté*, 109  
    pro-BN cybertroopers, 76  
    “revolution”, 87  
    videos on, 70

**Z**

Zuckerberg, Mark, 10, 99, 158