

# **Delineating the Shaping of Asian Milk Tea Alliance: How Taiwan Enlightens Democracy through Activist Networking?**

Chittaworn *Wasiriphong*\*

\*Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies, National Chengchi University  
College of Interdisciplinary Studies, Thammasat University

## **Abstract**

Amid the democratic crisis in Asia, the Milk Tea Alliance emerged as a youth-led transnational movement advocating for democracy. It involved groups of young netizens from Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and became a symbol of democratic solidarity both within and beyond the region. The dynamics of the Milk Tea Alliance demonstrate that pro-democracy activists are increasingly connected through online social networks, which have facilitated their transition into offline engagement, such as protests and advocacy activities. In this context, cyberspace has served as a critical platform for pro-democracy activists to communicate, coordinate, and mobilize against authoritarian regimes. Furthermore, young activists have leveraged online communities to garner global attention, mobilizing netizens worldwide to raise awareness and support civil society efforts in opposition to authoritarianism. This article examines the formation of the Milk Tea Alliance by highlighting Taiwan's role and how its experience as a beacon of democracy in Asia has contributed to the development of democratic solidarity in Southeast Asia. Additionally, it argues that Taiwan's leadership in shaping the Milk Tea Alliance will foster the development of a new identity for Taiwan within Southeast Asian societies.

**Keywords:** *Milk Tea Alliance, netizens, authoritarianism, democracy.*

---

\* Doctoral Candidate at the Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies, National Chengchi University and Assistant Professor at College of Interdisciplinary Studies, Thammasat University. He can be reached at <chw\_pang@hotmail.com>.

## 1. Introduction

Since the 1980s, the rise of digital technology has facilitated the widespread use of the internet globally, and the advent of online social media platforms on smartphones in the 2000s further enhanced real-time communication and social networking, thereby creating a global community. Today, various online platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram are not only used by “netizens” — particularly the youth — for personal entertainment and everyday interactions, but also serve as crucial tools for public engagement, networking, and advocacy (Keohane & Nye, 2004; Nye & Joseph, 2012; Risse-Kappen, 2021).

The term “netizen” refers to individuals who devote a significant portion of their time to online activities, engaging in parallel with their daily lives. Cyberspace, in this context, serves as a virtual social space where netizens interact and communicate. Notably, cyberspace is characterized by its borderlessness, allowing individuals from diverse geographical locations to easily engage with each other on public and policy issues through various platforms, thus forming online communities for collective action (The 101. World, 2021; Temby, 2021). One prominent example of such an online community is the advocacy for democracy led by young netizens in Asia, particularly in Taiwan, Hong Kong, India, and Southeast Asia, under the banner of the Milk Tea Alliance. The co-founders of this movement are netizens from Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The Milk Tea Alliance originated as a transnational online movement, initially mobilized through the use of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag across social media platforms. Over time, the hashtag became a symbol of democratic solidarity and was adopted in street protests to demonstrate youth-led support for democracy.

Amid the widespread democratic erosion in Asia, including growing discontent with Thai democracy, the suppression of free speech in Hong Kong, the political coup in Myanmar, and China's authoritarian threats against democratic Taiwan, young people in these regions have played pivotal roles in fostering social solidarity in the fight for democracy and liberal values. These youth-led confrontations against authoritarianism and autocracy are evident both in mainstream media and among netizens' accounts. The emergence of the Milk Tea Alliance has become a symbol of democratic resistance across the region, and while the movement is fundamentally pro-democracy, it has also become associated with anti-China sentiment (Ting-Hsuan, 2020; Wang, 2021-22).

Thus, it appears that online social media have been utilized as a crucial tool by youth netizens in resisting the coercion and oppression of authoritarianism and autocracy. This article aims to delineate the formation and operation of the Milk Tea Alliance and explore its impact. First, it examines the power dynamics embedded within the Milk Tea Alliance movement, focusing particularly on the relationship between authoritarian governments and pro-democracy activists, including netizens and protesters. Second, the article highlights the outcomes of the Milk Tea Alliance movement, particularly in terms of online networks and on-the-ground street protests. Finally, the article discusses the collaborations and the materialization of the Milk Tea Alliance in Taiwan, considering its connection to the broader democratic climate in the region.

## **2. Confronting Power Relations Embedded in Milk Tea Alliance Movement**

Living in the internet era, the costs of cross-border communication have continuously decreased. The ease of information transmission has fostered interdependent relationships between various actors in global politics, both state and non-state. Amid the pursuit of diverse interests, power relations have evolved into asymmetrical and complex interdependencies (Keohane & Nye, 1971; Keohane & Nye, 1981).

Today, online social networks, especially those on smartphones, are widely used by youth groups. The flow of news and rumours in cyberspace has become much faster, both within domestic contexts and across national borders. In the pre-internet era, the power of governments, especially autocratic regimes, was characterized by absolute control and surveillance over media use within their borders. However, in the post-internet age, governments face significant challenges in monitoring virtual communities. Although the People's Republic of China (PRC) can block websites, citizens, including both Chinese nationals and foreign residents, can still access restricted content via VPNs (The 101. World, 2021).

The Milk Tea Alliance movement, a youth-led transnational initiative emerging from online advocacy by young netizens across Asia, has garnered widespread attention in the region. One notable example of its formation occurred during an online conflict between Chinese and Thai fans of a Thai actor, including Chinese trolls. In response, youth in Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong quickly mobilized on Twitter, creating and using the

#MilkTeaAlliance hashtag to express pro-democracy and pro-human rights sentiments against hostile online posts. This hashtag became a powerful tool for demonstrating free speech and resistance to dictatorship through sarcastic posts, memes, and counter-responses (Tuntiwisanusopit, 2021).

The use of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag has strengthened the interconnectedness of young internet users worldwide, creating mutual-support groups on online social networks. Many young netizens have used the hashtag to advance democratic demands in the face of authoritarian coercion, both domestically and internationally. For instance, during street protests in Thailand and Hong Kong, the hashtag was widely shared by netizens from Thailand, Hong Kong and Taiwan, garnering attention from global audiences. Additionally, many cyber-native users have observed authoritarian governments' coercion and threats against protesters through the posts associated with the #MilkTeaAlliance, and the protesters' responses. As a result, the global feedback surrounding the Milk Tea Alliance has created transnational mutual-help groups advocating for democracy against autocratic regimes abroad (Treesuwan, 2020).

The posts and shares of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag have become essential viral tactics, facilitating the transmission and exchange of information between pro-democracy activists and protesters across borders. For example, strategies like Taiwan's "Be Water" approach were adopted in Hong Kong and Thailand protests. Common symbols, such as the wearing of masks and yellow helmets, were shared among activists and protesters in these regions, as well as in Myanmar. Furthermore, real-time information sharing among protesters was facilitated by smartphone tools such as Apple AirDrop and Android Nearby, enabling more effective communication during street protests. The leaderless nature of the movement was evident in Hong Kong and Thailand, while the three-finger salute from *The Hunger Games*, symbolizing resistance to autocracy, spread from Thailand to Myanmar during protests (Ting-Hsuan, 2021).

The Milk Tea Alliance movement demonstrates the ability of young netizens to resist authoritarianism and autocracy virtually, while transforming into in-person street protests. However, as pro-democracy activists in Thailand, Hong Kong, and Myanmar faced challenges imposed by authoritarian regimes, they encountered internet access blocks, surveillance of online activities, and police intervention during protests, all of which hindered online mobilization (Solace Global, 2021).

To sum up, the evolution of the Milk Tea Alliance highlights how pro-democracy activists across the region have utilized digital tools to facilitate both online and offline engagement and mobilization for democracy. Although these movements lack a formal organizational structure or leadership and may not directly overthrow authoritarian regimes, they have fostered transnational civic consciousness and democratic solidarity. As a result, these movements are viewed by young people in Asia as positive and hopeful efforts for reform, helping to challenge human rights violations and democratic repression by authoritarian leaders.

### **3. The Origin of the Milk Tea Alliance Movement**

The Milk Tea Alliance movement emerged in early April 2020 on Twitter, initially fuelled by the widespread use of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag. This hashtag became a symbol of a collective ideology rooted in democratic values, anti-China sentiment, and resistance to authoritarianism. The movement was co-founded by netizens from Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, who used the online platform to express solidarity. The hashtag first gained traction during an online conflict between Chinese and Thai fans of the popular Thai actor Vachirawit Chivaaree, known as Bright, who starred in a Thai Boy Love series. Chinese trolls, known as “Little Pink” and “Wumao”, escalated the situation by spreading hate speech and rumours about Bright, the Thai government, and the Thai royal family. The online dispute quickly attracted the attention of Taiwanese and Hong Kong netizens, who supported the Thai netizens and helped popularize the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag, transforming it into a grassroots movement (Poetry of Bitch, 2020).

The conflict was sparked when Chinese fans discovered that Bright had retweeted a post mentioning Hong Kong as a separate entity, and they misinterpreted his conversations with his girlfriend on Instagram, viewing them as supportive of Taiwan's independence. The situation worsened when rumours claiming that COVID-19 originated in China were attributed to Bright and his girlfriend. Despite Bright's apology, Chinese fans remained outraged (Khosaviwat, 2020). The conflict escalated when Chinese fans began sharing hate speech and negative rumours about Bright and his girlfriend on platforms such as Weibo and Twitter. In response, Thai fans rallied online to defend Bright's reputation, using the hashtags #nnevvy and #StandingWithBright. The quarrels intensified as Chinese trolls continued

to attack both the Thai actor and the Thai royal family, while also asserting that Thailand owed a debt of gratitude to China for aid during the COVID-19 pandemic (Temby, 2020).

The derogatory remarks about the Thai government and royal family from Chinese netizens galvanized Thai netizens, who responded with sarcastic and humorous retorts. These online exchanges, which had initially focused on defending Bright, gradually evolved into a broader discussion about democracy and resistance to authoritarianism. The #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag quickly became a unifying symbol for netizens from Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, who shared common values of democracy and freedom of speech. The hashtag spread widely across online platforms, both as a tool for countering Chinese trolls and as a form of support for Thai netizens against authoritarian regimes. Additionally, the hashtag came to represent solidarity with Taiwan’s independence and the fight for freedom in Hong Kong. Over time, the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag became recognized as the symbol of a grassroots movement against authoritarianism and Chinese assertiveness in the region (Salam, 2022; Poetry of Bitch, 2020).

**Photo 1. The Ridiculous and Sarcastic Memes of War-of-Words between Thai and Chinese Netizens**



*Photo Credit: The author.*

The online solidarity among netizens from Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong attracted the attention of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) Embassy in Bangkok, which reiterated its stance on the One China Principle

and emphasized the importance of maintaining friendly relations between Thailand and China. The PRC Embassy responded on its official Facebook page, issuing a detailed statement reaffirming the One China Principle and stressing the notion of Thailand and China as “one family” (*zhongtai yijia qin*). However, the Embassy’s statement regarding the online dispute was met with widespread dissent from Thai netizens, who responded with a variety of dissatisfied, sarcastic, and humorous comments and memes. These reactions were shared by young netizens from Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, further intensifying the online exchange (Chinese Embassy Bangkok, 2020).

Initially, the use of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag was apolitical, primarily aimed at defending the reputation of the Thai actor involved in the online quarrel. However, the movement soon evolved into a transnational online solidarity platform advocating for democracy, human rights, and opposition to Chinese political influence. Netizens from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia increasingly used the hashtag to express shared values of democratic resistance and to challenge Chinese authoritarianism. The movement’s influence clearly resonated in both domestic and international political contexts, highlighting its significance beyond a mere online dispute.

#### **4. Lessons from the Milk Tea Alliance Movement**

The mechanism of the Milk Tea Alliance movement, as both an online solidarity and grassroots initiative, underscores the role of Asian youth in advocating for pro-democracy and human rights values in opposition to authoritarian regimes, particularly the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The operation and spread of the Milk Tea Alliance highlight the pivotal role of cyber natives, who leverage online platforms to challenge authoritarian coercion and oppression through innovative and collective approaches.

Although the Milk Tea Alliance initially emerged in cyberspace, it eventually transcended the digital realm, evolving into in-person engagement and mobilization. This transformation is evident in street protests and demonstrations of democratic solidarity on university campuses (see Photo 2). The shift from virtual solidarity to tangible social movement and activism has had significant impacts, illustrating the potential of online movements to catalyze into real-world political action.

**Photo 2. Poster of The Milk Tea Alliance in Support of Taiwan on Campus of National Chengchi University in Taipei**



*Photo Credit: The author.*

First, the Milk Tea Alliance movement, which originated in Thailand and sparked online cooperation across the region, represents an unprecedented phenomenon. The spread of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag triggered what has been referred to as “the first transnational geopolitical Twitter war”. Furthermore, the use of online social networks enabled Thai netizens to elevate domestic political concerns to the level of interstate politics.

Numerous Thai youths have long expressed scepticism regarding the legitimacy of the Prayut government’s 2019 election results. Many perceived the government as lacking transparency and were particularly concerned about the increasing influence of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) on Thai administration, including Thailand’s arms procurement from China and its reliance on Chinese-supplied Covid-19 vaccines. In response, Thai netizens utilized online social media platforms, such as Twitter and Facebook, to challenge the authoritarian regime and assert their democratic rights since 2019.

Amid this growing online movement against the Prayut government, the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag emerged. Initially used to defend the reputation of a popular Thai actor, the hashtag soon became a rallying cry for pro-democracy sentiments, targeting both local politicians and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). As Thai netizens, along with their counterparts



in Taiwan and Hong Kong, adopted the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag, the domestic political struggle between the Prayut government and Thai youth garnered widespread attention from the international community. Pro-democracy activists from around the world began to engage with and support the movement by sharing and promoting the hashtag, helping to amplify street protests and online activism in Thailand (Dedman & Lai, 2021; Ponglamjiak, 2021).

Second, the Milk Tea Alliance movement highlighted the collective power of non-state actors, particularly young pro-democracy netizens, who used online platforms to demand democratic reforms and to offer support to fellow netizens in other countries facing authoritarian oppression. Online social movements, particularly in repressive environments, can help activists avoid government surveillance and intervention. However, such movements also face the threat of government-imposed internet restrictions and censorship.

Third, following the military junta's coup in Myanmar and the subsequent declaration of a two-year state of emergency, widespread protests erupted across the country. As Myanmar's anti-coup movement gained momentum, activists and protesters sought international support via online platforms, once again utilizing the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag. This hashtag quickly re-emerged as a symbol of global solidarity with Myanmar's anti-coup movement, attracting attention from the international community. However, in response, the junta imposed internet blackouts and restricted access to social media, curtailing online collaboration and communication between Myanmar's activists and their international supporters. Consequently, Myanmar's anti-coup protestors had to face the junta's forces with limited external support (Solace Global, 2021).

Fourth, unlike earlier social movements, the digital era allows pro-democracy activists to use online platforms to share valuable information and strategies with one another. The use of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag facilitated the exchange of tactical knowledge across countries. For instance, Taiwan's "Be Water" strategy, which emphasized the fluidity and flexibility of protest tactics, was successfully adapted in Hong Kong and later in Thailand. Other tactics, such as wearing masks and yellow helmets to protect against tear gas and facial recognition, were similarly transferred between these movements. Additionally, tools like Apple AirDrop and Android Nearby Share enabled activists to exchange real-time information during protests. The principle of leaderless movements, to avoid arrests,

was adopted across these protests (Solace Global, 2021; Ting-Hsuan, 2021; Tanakasempipat & Chow, 2020).

Fifth, as the Milk Tea Alliance spread virtually, it not only reinforced pro-democracy and human rights sentiments but also fuelled anti-China sentiment, particularly in response to the PRC Embassy's intervention in the movement. The PRC Embassy in Bangkok issued a statement reiterating the One China Principle and stressing the importance of Sino-Thai relations, which provoked further dissatisfaction from Thai, Taiwanese, and Hong Kong netizens. Many Thai netizens criticized the PRC's interference in Thailand's domestic politics.

Finally, Taiwan's netizens closely followed the Milk Tea Alliance movement, and several political leaders publicly supported the pro-democracy solidarity in Thailand. Notably, Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-wen expressed solidarity with the Thai people by tweeting in Thai to celebrate the Songkran Festival, which coincided with the movement's rise in early April 2020. This gesture demonstrated Taiwan's solidarity with Thailand, especially given the travel restrictions due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Other Taiwanese political figures, including Vice President Lai Ching-te and Taoyuan City Mayor, Cheng Wen-tsan, also expressed support for Thailand and emphasized the importance of international cooperation during the pandemic. These acts of solidarity underscored Taiwan's commitment to democratic values and its relationship with Thailand amid the global health crisis (Khosaviwat, 2020).

**Photo 3. The Tweet of President Tsai Ing-wen**



*Photo credit: The author.*

**Photo 4. The Tweet of Vice President Lai Ching-te**



*Photo credit: The author.*

**Photos 5 and 6. The tweet of the Mayor of Taoyuan City, Cheng Wen-tsan**



*Photo credit: The author.*

## 5. Enabling the Milk Tea Alliance Activism in Taiwan

In Taiwan, the formation of the Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy (TATD) has successfully translated the #MilkTeaAlliance from an online hashtag into a tangible, cross-border network driven by young activists across Asia. Established in 2020, TATD was founded by a group of Thai residents and foreign activists living in Taiwan, in collaboration with Taiwanese youth activists. The core members of TATD have been actively advocating for democratic values, emphasizing the importance of solidarity for democracy and human rights as the foundation of their activities.

However, due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and the enforcement of the Emergency Decree, large-scale demonstrations were prohibited in Thailand. As a result, pro-democracy activists and protesters in Thailand, disillusioned with the legitimacy of the Prayut government, found it difficult to organize protests against the authoritarian regime. Despite some efforts to hold street protests, young activists in Thailand frequently faced surveillance and intervention by Thai authorities and police forces (Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy, 2020).

Amid these challenges, the TATD sought to forge partnerships with Taiwanese activists and NGOs to organise pro-democracy and pro-human rights rallies in Taiwan. These events in Taiwan were strategically coordinated to align with similar rallies in Thailand, demonstrating the transnational solidarity of the Milk Tea Alliance. For instance, one key event, titled “Stand with Thailand, Democracy Now!!”, was co-organized

by TATD and the Green Party Taiwan. It attracted Taiwanese politicians, journalists, NGOs, and foreign activists who rallied in support of the Thai pro-democracy movement. During this event, TATD publicly outlined three demands to the Prayuth government: (1) the dissolution of parliament, (2) the establishment of a new democratic constitution (as opposed to one framed by the military), and (3) the cessation of harassment towards government critics.

Additionally, the event served as a platform to call on Taiwan’s government, led by President Tsai Ing-wen, to formally engage in the Milk Tea Alliance movement. Speakers urged the Taiwanese government to take on a more active role in supporting regional democracy, particularly by passing a refugee law to provide shelter to foreign activists in need. Some activists further argued that President Tsai’s New Southbound Policy (NSP), which mainly focuses on promoting economic, educational, agricultural, and public health cooperation with partner countries, should also integrate efforts to protect and advance democracy and freedom across the region (Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy, 2020).

**Photo 7. TATD Event on “The Stand with Thailand, Democracy Now!!”**



Photo Credit: TATD.

The Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy (TATD) organized several rallies in Taiwan, which garnered significant attention from both Taiwanese and international participants and observers. Notable demonstrations were held at key locations in Taipei, such as Taipei Main Station, the National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, and in front of the Thailand Trade and Economic Office in Taipei (the de facto embassy of the Kingdom of Thailand). Many of these events were coordinated to coincide with protests taking place simultaneously in Thailand. Led by young activists from TATD, these rallies aimed to amplify support for the pro-democracy protests in Thailand, demonstrating the solidarity of the Milk Tea Alliance.

Additionally, TATD actively participated in other rallies and events in Taiwan that advocated for democracy and human rights in Asia. These included the rally for Myanmar's anti-coup movement, protests in support of Hong Kong, the "Stand with Tibet" campaign and the "Stand with Ukraine" campaign (Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy, 2020).

In sum, the transformation of the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag into in-person engagement through rallies in Taipei led by TATD highlights the effective operationalization of online solidarity. The youth-led activism of TATD exemplifies how online networking can be turned into tangible, on-the-ground action in support of democratic movements across the region.

## **6. Conclusion**

This article examines the origin, development, and operation of the Milk Tea Alliance, with a focus on its activities in Taiwan. "Milk tea" serves as a shared cultural symbol for the communities of the netizens involved. Initially, the online network had no political agenda, but after being politicized and misinterpreted by the People's Republic of China (PRC), it ignited criticism and controversy among netizens. As various countries faced democratic crises, young activists and netizens began to creatively leverage this online network to foster democratic solidarity in their societies.

While many critics argue that the Milk Tea Alliance only exists in the virtual world, this article highlights that in Taiwanese society, numerous rallies, activities, and forums organized by democratic activists and NGOs have gained support and participation from activists across Asia, including those from Thailand, Myanmar, and Hong Kong. On Taiwanese university campuses, Milk Tea Alliance-related posters are visible, and "anti-authoritarianism" walls created by students reflect the efforts of Taiwan's

youth to support democratic values and human rights in both Taiwan and the broader region. These actions underscore the tangible existence of the Milk Tea Alliance and its role in promoting democratic solidarity across Asia.

Furthermore, the article explores how the Milk Tea Alliance's commitment to safeguarding democratic values extends beyond Asia, with solidarity shown for Ukraine amidst the erosion of democracy due to the Russo-Ukrainian War. Overall, the article demonstrates how digital technology and the internet have empowered the younger generation to foster democratic solidarity, and argues that the continued growth of the Milk Tea Alliance will play a vital role in strengthening democratic resilience in Asia and beyond.

### Reference List

- Dedman, A. and Lai, A. (2021), “Digitally Dismantling Asian Authoritarianism Activist Reflections from the #MilkTeaAlliance”, *Contention*, No. 9, pp. 1-36.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S. (1971), “Transnational Relations and World Politics: A Conclusion”, *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, No. 25, pp. 721-748.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S. (1971), “Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction”, *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, No. 25, pp. 329-349.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S. (2004), *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization*, London: Routledge.
- Keohane, Robert O. and Nye, Joseph S. (1981), *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, London: Harvard University Press.
- Khosaviwat, Worrasamon. (2020). “Bubble Tea Allies since 2020: From BL Drama to a New Movement for Freedom”, *adaymagazine*, December 1, 2021. <https://adaymagazine.com/milk-tea-alliance/>.
- Matichon Online (2020), ผอ.เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา เผยเหตุ ‘จีน’ คอบได้ทุกประเด็นฮ่องกง-ไต้หวัน เชื่อพันธมิตรชานมไม่เปลี่ยนแปลงท่าทีไทยจีน [The Director of East Asian Studies Revealed the Reason Why China Responds to Every Issue Concerning Hong Kong and Taiwan, Believing that the “Milk Tea” Alliance Will Not Change Thailand's Stance toward China], May 1, 2022. [https://www.matichon.co.th/foreign/news\\_2206680](https://www.matichon.co.th/foreign/news_2206680).
- Nye Joseph S. (2012), *Power and Interdependence*, London: Pearson.

- Poetry of Bitch (2020), #สรุป มหากาพย์ศึกไทย-จีนในทวิตเตอร์ [Summary of the Epic Thai-China Battle on Twitter], December 1, 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/1093222840880948/posts/pfbid024Db1LqnAr QJmK4X14foEVG 29b814fxHbGP9pSFjVKhbJjCkaR877DYYCS147jpsYl/>.
- Poetry of Bitch (2020), สรุป 2 แชนแท็กร้อน [Summary of the 2 Hot Hashtags], December 1, 2021. [https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story\\_fbid=pfbid0 RrdZSMjSwtd6De43ooSe2YH42YvFHL5UKuB52Bd5DiGcF1EB4TnmNYy6SA9f3276l&id=1093222840880948](https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=pfbid0 RrdZSMjSwtd6De43ooSe2YH42YvFHL5UKuB52Bd5DiGcF1EB4TnmNYy6SA9f3276l&id=1093222840880948).
- Ponglamjiak, S. A. (2021), “Digital Solidarity Movement of Non-State Actors Against Authoritarianism: Milk Tea Alliance of Hong Kong and Thailand”, *Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues*, No. 24, pp. 1-7.
- PRC Embassy Bangkok (2020), “Statement by the Spokesperson of the Chinese Embassy in Thailand Concerning Recent Online Statement Related to China”, December 1, 2021. [https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story\\_fbid=2942654555781330&id=846555798724560](https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=2942654555781330&id=846555798724560).
- Risse-Kappen, T. (1995), *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Salam, J. (2022), “Milk Tea Alliance: From Meme War to Transnational Activism”, *Media Manipulation Casebook*, June 10, 2022. <https://mediamanipulation.org/case-studies/milk-tea-alliance-meme-war-transnational-activism>.
- Solace Global (2021), “The Milk Tea Alliance”, February 8, 2022. <https://www.solaceglobal.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Solace-Global-Milk-Tea-Alliance-July-2021.pdf>.
- Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy (2020), “Updates”, December 1, 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/tatdnow>.
- Tanakasempipat, P. and Chow, Y. (2020), “Pro-Democracy Milk Tea Alliance Brews in Asia”, *Reuters*, December 1, 2021. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-asia-protests-idUKKCN25E0ZU>.
- Temby, Q. (2021), “The Milk Tea Alliance and China’s Power Gap in Southeast Asia”, *ISEAS*, No. 42, pp. 1-11.
- The 101. World. (2021), ‘1 ปี Milk Tea Alliance’ กับวาทนา วงศ์สุวรรณ [Milk Tea Alliance] December 1, 2021. <https://www.the101.world/wasana-wongsurawat-interview-2/>

- Ting-Hsuan, T. S. (2020), “When Online Meme War Transformed into a Pan-Asian Alliance: Milk Tea as Shared Identity of Youth Against Authoritarianism”, *Asia Centre*, March 3, 2022. <https://asiacentre.eu/2020/11/04/when-online-meme-war-transformed-into-a-pan-asian-alliance-milk-tea-as-shared-identity-of-the-youth-against-authoritarianism/>.
- Ting-Hsuan, T. S. (2021), “Milk Tea Alliance 2.0: Towards Greater Political Leverage and Civic Awareness”, *Asia Centre*, March 3, 2022. <https://centreasia.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/TSENG-Judy-Ting-Hsuan-Commentary-n%C2%B02021-15-click-here-to-dowload.pdf>.
- Treesuwan, Hathaikan (2020), Thicker Than Blood Milk Tea: Prajak Kongkitti Views the Milk Tea Allies vs. “Chinese Siblings” in the “Cross-Border Twitter War”, *BBC*, December 1, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-52295774>.
- Tuntiwisanusopit, B. (2021), ต่างวัฒนธรรม แต่ใจเดียวกัน ที่มา 5 สมาชิก ‘ภาชีซานม’ #MilkteaAlliance. [The Five Members of the “Bubble Tea Alliance”], *Agenda*, May 1, 2022. <https://www.agenda.co.th/social/5-members-of-milkteaalliance/>.
- Wang, A. H. (2021-22), “Understanding the #MilkTeaAlliance Movement”, *Wilson Center*, December 1, 2021. [https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/uploads/documents/Wang\\_Understanding%20the%20Milktea%20Alliance%20Movement.pdf](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/uploads/documents/Wang_Understanding%20the%20Milktea%20Alliance%20Movement.pdf).