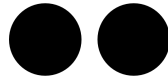


#MilkTeaAlliance, more than spectators of disaster

The new alter-globalization movement?

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The COVID-19 outbreak has been instrumentalized as a catalyst for further autocratization, especially in South and Southeast Asia. The #MilkTeaAlliance, a Pan-Asian solidarity networked social movement, could be the movement that challenges effectively and productively this growing trend. The objective of this research is to evaluate if the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance has the potential to become the next alter-globalization movement.

To that end, this dissertation adopts a dual approach. First, a theoretical parallel is drawn between #MilkTeaAlliance and alter-globalization through Castells' conceptualization of networked social movements. Second, over two-hundred tweets in English have been collected from March 2020 to March 2022. These tweets are categorized by the co-occurrence of words and the visual content to investigate if Twitter is a space of denunciation and/or a space of prefiguration.

The thesis concludes that #MilkTeaAlliance has the potential to become a catalyst for a larger movement, but it is not yet the next alter-globalization. Although it has many similarities to the alter-globalization movement, this conclusion is based on three observations: (a) Twitter is a space of denunciation rather than a space of prefiguration, (b) Southeast Asian users are more engaged than those from outside the region, and (c) the movement has a weak shared framework.

Key words: *Social Movement Theory; Milk Tea Alliance; Manuel Castells; Heterotopia; Prefigurative Politics; Southeast Asia; Twitter.*



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List of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATTAC	Association pour la Taxation des Transactions financières et pour l'Action Citoyenne <i>(Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions and Citizen's Action)</i>
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
HK	Hong Kong
ICJ	International Court of Justice
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
MY	Myanmar
SMT	Social Movement Theory
TW	Taiwan
TH	Thailand
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization

#MilkTeaAlliance

A woman with dark hair is shown in profile, singing into a silver microphone. She is wearing a light-colored, short-sleeved top and a pearl bracelet. In her left hand, she holds a tablet computer. The scene is set against a dark background with a heavy rain effect, with water droplets visible in the air. The lighting is dramatic, highlighting her face and the microphone.

Introduction

#MilkTeaAlliance
How it started...



It has been widely noted that the COVID-19 pandemic has been instrumentalized by many regimes as a catalyst for further autocratization. As noted by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2021), the COVID-19 outbreak has deepened already existing digital repression in South and Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, the pandemic can also be a window of opportunity to amend existing orthodoxies as it illustrates the need for checks and balances. The #MilkTeaAlliance could be the social movement that challenges effectively and productively this growing trend. Originated during the pandemic, the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance is a Pan-Asian solidarity networked movement that aims at countering (digital) authoritarianism and Chinese-led globalization. It is most prominent in Thailand, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Myanmar. The world has seen a similar campaign in the past with the alter-globalization movement – also known as the global justice movement – whose aim was to counter neoliberal globalization. However, while the internet transformations in social movements have been widely studied, especially with alter-globalization, the pandemic has brought new light to social movements orthodoxy. More precisely, it has had an impact on the configurations of actors, the articulation of shared frameworks, and the operationalization of practices. In addition to helping to understand these new developments, the #MilkTeaAlliance can assist in the critical conversation between the North and the South. Hence, the #MilkTeaAlliance provides new insights to social movement theory (SMT) as it is a South- and pandemic-born movement.

Considering the topic's relevance, the primary research question is: *Can #MilkTeaAlliance be the next alter-globalization movement?* Then, in order to answer it, the following questions are tackled: How is #MilkTeaAlliance creating an alternative? And what alternatives is it offering?

Following the research question, this dissertation has two general objectives. On the one hand, it intends to identify if the #MilkTeaAlliance can become the next alter-globalization movement. Subsequently, it will also contribute to the critical conversation between the North and the South by exploring a South-born movement, unlike alter-globalization which had its origins in Seattle. Also, it aims at understanding why the #MilkTeaAlliance was possible during the pandemic. On the other hand, this dissertation intends to find out whether Twitter is a space of resistance to the dominant paradigm within the #MilkTeaAlliance. It thus seeks to determine how the hashtag is contributing to prefigurative politics, or in other words, to the process of generating an alternative; as well as identifying if the Twitter's hashtag resistance could be extrapolated to the wider Southeast Asia subregion.



In order to achieve the above-mentioned aims and objectives, the following theoretical perspective is adopted. First, the #MilkTeaAlliance is explained through Castells' approach on networked social movements, namely, movements characterized by their hybrid nature, bringing together online and offline networks of people. This interconnection creates a third space called the 'space of autonomy' that operates as a new political domain. This approach is complemented with Foucault's concept of cloud 'heterotopia' where social media is understood as a spatio-temporal space of resistance and transgression to the dominant culture. Moreover, this space of resistance is used to find alternatives to the dominant paradigm, in other words, prefiguration. Prefigurative politics goes from music performances to political speeches whose aim is to collapse the wall between theoretical and present realities to find another plausible system. Hence, it is argued that prefigurative politics happens in the 'cloud' heterotopia of the space of autonomy. To evaluate this hypothesis, this dissertation aims to quantitatively and qualitatively analyze the case study of the #MilkTeaAlliance through a selected database of tweets. In a nutshell, this dissertation argues that the production of alternatives happens in Twitter because it acts as a space of resistance, as a new political domain. This process is analyzed through a prominent example, the #MilkTeaAlliance.

Taking all these factors into consideration, this thesis is developed as follows. In the first section, an introduction to the dissertation is provided through a systematic review of the relevant literature with a particular focus on the above-mentioned theoretical perspectives. Then, the methodology is explained. In the second section, the main research question is discussed. To begin with, the parallel between the #MilkTeaAlliance and the alter-globalization movement is drawn theoretically. Then, the hashtag's content is examined according to a selected sample of tweets. And third, the evaluation of the research question(s) is tackled. Finally, in the concluding section, an overview of the thesis together with a future perspective is presented.

#MilkTeaAlliance



Methodology

**Conceptualization &
Operationalization**



This dissertation is a quantitative and qualitative case study as it aims at interpreting and evaluating if the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance has the potential to become the next alter-globalization movement through a selected database of tweets, from now on referred to as *Sample*. In order to explain the methodology, this section first tackles the question of conceptualization (what and when), and then operationalization (how).

Conceptualization

To begin with, it is important to identify the units of analysis and the time dimension which are key to the thesis. This is a cross-sectional study of two years, from March 2020 to March 2022. The timeline coincides with the emergence of the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance, that is, the COVID-19 outbreak. As one of the thesis objectives is to observe how the alliance is creating an alternative, there is a need to cover a relatively long period (i.e. two years) in order to trace various developments. On the other hand, the main units of analysis are Twitter users who tweet the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance. Online activism is the focus because COVID-19 restrictions limited offline mobilization. Moreover, the participants are not restricted to those from/living in the origin countries – Thailand, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Myanmar. This is not because there is no access to the user's location, but because Castells' conceptualization of networked social movements notes that the variables have to be studied from both a global and a local perspective. What is more, this global approach will further showcase if the movement is promoting a North-South dialogue. A secondary variable is the alter-globalization movement, more precisely its characteristics as a networked social movement. This variable is needed because the main goal of this thesis is to compare both movements, the #MilkTeaAlliance and alter-globalization.

Research Design

Now that the conceptualization has been explained, it is time to tackle how the aims of the thesis are examined. The approach is dual, starting with a conceptual framework and later evaluating the theory through experimentation. The conceptual framework is already tackled in the literature review, and is further elaborated in the first part of the discussion. The systematic review of previous studies is essentially descriptive (as it explains the 'what') by defining the two units of analysis together with three concepts: Castells' networked social movements, Foucault's heterotopia, and prefigurative politics. Furthermore, it is explorative (as it tries to determine the 'why') because it justifies the choice of the units of analysis through these three concepts. At risk of reiterating, the thesis tries to prove that the #MilkTeaAlliance could be the



next alter-globalization movement because it is generating prefigurative politics in the ‘cloud’ heterotopia of the space of autonomy. Accordingly, the first part of the discussion is devoted to justify the parallel between the two movements. This is done by identifying the similarities and differences between the #MilkTeaAlliance and alter-globalization. Therefore, this section is also descriptive as it provides a common ground for the comparison, as well as exploratory as it validates the experimental approach.

Collection of Data

Concerning the experimental approach, the second part of the discussion enables us to evaluate the proposed hypothesis by looking into whether the above-mentioned three concepts can actually be applied to #MilkTeaAlliance. To that end, data has been collected as follows. The data has been retrieved from the ‘top’ category of Twitter when searching the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance. The tweets have been collected manually and copied to an Excel sheet (see Appendix C) based on their high-engagement rates per mention, set at 100 likes and 100 retweets, following the previous research by Schaffar and Wongratanawin (2021). Also, only tweets written in English have been collected from March 2020 to March 2022. Therefore, the Sample is not random as it deliberately tries to be representative of the hashtag, and not of the location of the users or any other characteristics. In other words, it does not intend to have an equal number of accounts per country as the objective is to see who is using the hashtag and for what purpose. Lastly, interviews also serve as a data collection method, mainly to include subjectivity to the Sample results (see Appendix A).

Analysis of Data

Regarding the data processing method, two methods have been used. On the one hand, a list of the most frequently used keywords and their co-occurrence have been provided through Leximancer, a text analytics tool (see Appendix B). From this list, multiple graphics have been generated to observe the intercountry mentions as well as the key concepts and themes. Through these visual tools, the Sample is studied to evaluate the main research question. Then, the location of the users has also been extracted from Leximancer in order to observe the presence or absence of a North-South dialogue. On the other hand, a qualitative analysis of the visual content of the Sample has been undertaken to evaluate the second aim: is Twitter a space of resistance? More precisely, the tweets’ visual content have been categorized thematically –those regarding protests, police brutality, manifestos, art, and ‘others’. Again, this content has been retrieved



manually to the Excel sheet (see Appendix B). The objective is to observe if the hashtag is producing a space of denunciation as well as a space of prefiguration. This context-specific lens is used as the ultimate goal is to test the hypothesized practice, not to provide a comprehensive picture of how Twitter is being used.

Ethics and Limitations

Lastly, some potential problems and limitations should be noted. Although the author has tried to contact Twitter accounts represented in the Sample, there has been only one positive response to partake in an interview (see Appendix A). Consequently, this thesis potentially lacks subjectivity and mainly focuses on objective results. Moreover, this thesis is only able to analyze the prefiguration and heterotopic practices of the #MilkTeaAlliance activists due to Twitter deletion of Chinese bots¹ in 2020 and the Chinese Great Firewall which limits access to foreign internet tools like Twitter (Lee 2021).

¹ Bot is defined as an autonomous program on the internet or other networks, like Twitter, that can interact with systems or users.

#MilkTeaAlliance



Literature Review

**Networked Social Movements
and beyond**



Philosopher Alain Badiou noted the year 2011 as the rebirth of history. The Arab Spring marked a new wave of pro-democracy protests; the Occupy Wall Street Movement condemned the abuses of financial capitalism; the 15-M Movement, also known as Los Indignandos, denounced austerity measures; among others. In 2011, the world saw social movements changing history once again. What started as labor movements in the late 18th and early 19th centuries evolved into contemporary social movements, or from here on, ‘new’ social movements. Originating in the 1960s, new social movements were a result of the transformations during the internet age (Nash 2000). All these developments were echoed in the academic realm with multiple publications. One of the main authors that built on the emergence of social movements in the digital age is the sociologist Manuel Castells. In his book *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (2012), he provides a working definition of the emergence of new social movements, or as he calls them, ‘networked social movements’.

Castells’ Networked Social Movements: Theory, Acceptance, and Criticisms

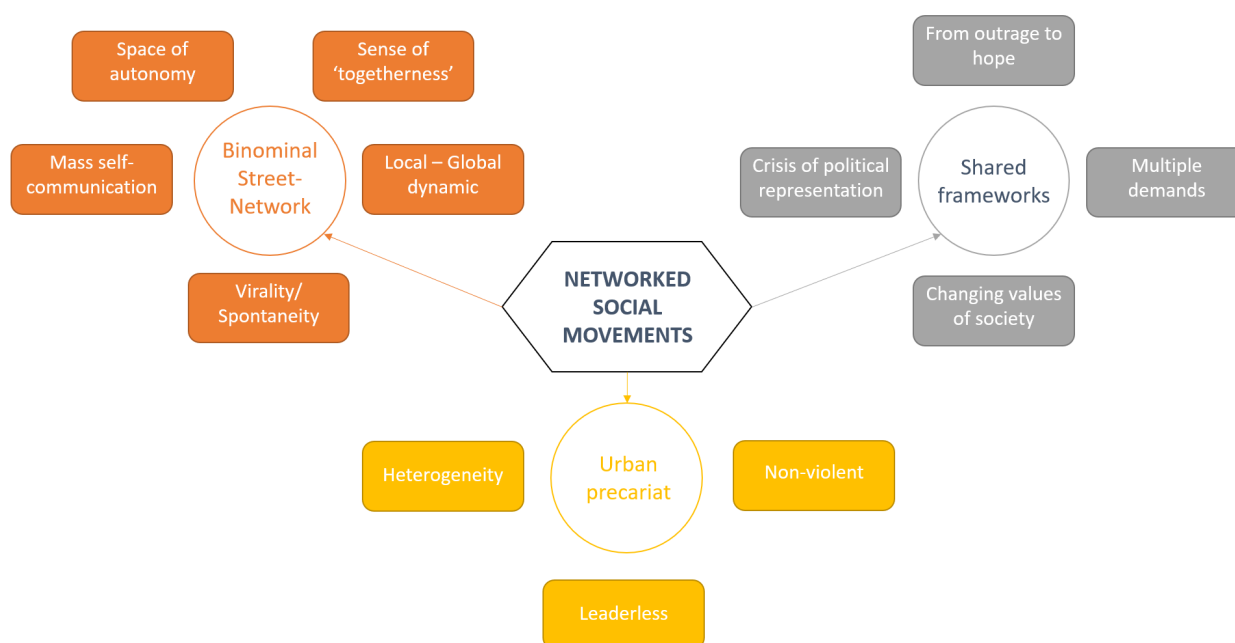
As noted in Figure 1, Castells’ theory (2012) on networked social movements has three main features: the urban precariat as its main social base (who), the binomial street-network (how), and the shared frameworks (what). To start with, movements are driven by an urban precariat that is characterized for being ‘heterogenous, leaderless and non-violent’. In other words, the social base is plural and horizontal which allows them to act without hierarchy. This is the result of the second feature, the ‘binomial street-network’ that is the interaction between online and offline spheres. The binomial allows for a third space, a new political domain, called the ‘space of autonomy’. This concept refers to the hybrid between online and offline networks of people. It becomes a new political arena because it is able to create a sense of ‘togetherness’. In other words, the space of autonomy is able to start a community with new societal values by challenging ‘commonsensical’ assumptions in Gramscian terms.² Then, ‘mass self-communication’ through social media amplifies these thoughts and allows an alternative discourse to exist offline, both at a ‘local and global sphere’. These movements are ‘spontaneous’ because they capitalize on the ‘virality’ of social networks. This is the result of the third feature, ‘shared frameworks’. The virality of visual production in the space of autonomy

² Gramsci (1971) defines the nature of working-class ‘common sense’ in the hegemonic process as a contradiction. One common sense is implicit in their activity; and another is inherited from the past. In other words, one understands their agency, and another accepts the structure. To challenge, hence, implies the eternal debate of agent vs. structure.



allows protestors to move ‘from outrage to hope’. Hope brings protestors the possibility of change, and it results in multiple demands. These demands are material and post-material, and are aimed at changing the values of society which is believed to be going through a crisis of political representation. In other words, a crisis of living conditions prompts a distrust in political institutions. Although it can occur regardless of the political regime, it is always the result of people not finding channels of expression and adequate representation in their political institutions. However, it must be noted that this crisis does not mean that the protests are political, on the contrary, they are apolitical as there is no common ideology apart from anti-authoritarianism.

Figure 1: Features of Castells’ networked social movements



Castells' theory (2012) also contributes to the existing North-South debate. In the last two decades, the Northern-centric spirit of social sciences and the global division of knowledge has triggered immense criticisms. While it is agreed that it is necessary to have a critical conversation between the North and the South to obtain a truly global picture, the prior amendment of existing orthodoxies is needed (Bayat 2016). Following this rationale, Castells studied movements from 2011, especially the Arab Spring, by challenging some of the universal claims of mainstream SMT. These claims are encapsulated in Simin Fadaee’s work (2017) who argues that there are four characteristics that remain unaddressed in mainstream theory. First, Southern movements emerged in the context of colonialism and postcolonialism. Second, social



movements produced in the South have multiple forms of intersectionality.³ Both points are taken into account by Castells (2012) who explains social movements as the result of objective conditions and subjective insight. In other words, people bring forward demands (democratization, material issues...) because of the subjective experience of injustice (identity, colonialism...), and thus they go from outrage to hope. Third, the potential for the emergence and expansion of the movements is continuously redefined by state-civil society relations. This is particularly stressed in Castells' discussion of the urban precariat being non-violent, and in his argument that protests are caused by a crisis of political representation. Fourth, Southern movements emerge in contexts characterized by a variety of political structures and regime types. Castells also tackles it as his research involves multiple social movements triggered in diverse regimes.

Before heading to the criticisms of Castells' work, a parenthesis is needed to reflect on the most prominent example of a new social movement that united the North and the South, the alter-globalization movement (also referred to as global justice movement). The origin of this movement can be traced back to the 1980s, however it was institutionalized during the 1999 Seattle WTO protests.⁴ The movement had the features of a networked social movement in both the configuration of actors, the articulation of shared frameworks, and the implementation of practices. Following Pleyers' account (2010), first, the actors were a heterogeneous, leaderless, and non-violent collective. Second, alter-globalization was not a single movement, but instead it was a shared framework for social change. It discredited the Washington Consensus and outlined *other* globalizations to advance social justice policies (Moore 2012). Thus, the movement opposed neoliberal globalization rather than globalization per se (Pleyers 2010). Lastly, alter-globalization actors shared their subjectivity and material conditions through online and offline social networks (*Ibid*).

While Castells' contribution to the North-South narrative has been applauded, the internet-centrism of his theory has provoked criticisms. There are three main arguments. First, some skeptical scholars note that it promotes 'slacktivism'. According to Putnam (2000), the term refers to online activities performed with minimum personal effort that are far from advancing political goals, they are more efficient at making participants feel good about

³ Intersectionality is the study of overlapping or intersecting social identities and their respective systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination. These identities include gender, caste, sex, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion, disability, weight, physical appearance, and height.

⁴ Demonstrations against the WTO Summit in Seattle were a series of protests around the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference launching a new round of trade negotiations for the new millennium.



themselves. Gladwell (2010) builds on this approach noting that “social media make it easier for activists to express themselves, and harder for that expression to have any impact”. Second, some note that Castells’ work lacks engagement with social theory. According to Fuchs (2012), Castells does not acknowledge the epistemology and ontology of the words used. Mainly, he does not explain the process that determines the nature of social movements. For example, Castells does not explain how new social values are created in the space of autonomy. There is a lack of acknowledgement of how the agent-structure dynamic shapes social media mobilization. As a result, his argument that the movements are leaderless is weak because it does not explain why social media is not top-down (e.g. NGOs), and instead is bottom-up (e.g. networks of people). Third and related to the latter, Castells points to a crisis of political representation as a catalyst for protests. This argument fails to see larger demands that are related to a crisis of capitalism, as Harvey argues (2011). In other words, although Castells argues that the crisis can happen regardless of the political regime, he does not challenge the framework within which this crisis happens. He does not explain why the crisis happens, he just notes that it is happening. Then, Harvey clarifies that the crisis is the result of the capitalist structure that generates polarizing inequality.

The Good Outweighs the Bad: The Case Against Slacktivists

Taking into consideration these criticisms, the following discussion has as an objective to link Castells’ approach to theory through the concepts of ‘cloud’ heterotopia and prefigurative politics, which is defined below. Nevertheless, it is relevant to note that the first criticism is considered trivial. Despite ‘slacktivists’ arguments and accepting that Castells’ approach is techno-optimistic, social media is an effective platform to coordinate, organize, reproduce, and recreate ideas in a society under authoritarianism. Social media can be a practice that achieves a democratization of the public sphere (Ortiz 2016) because it overcomes the ‘conservative dilemma’. According to Shirky (2011), this dilemma is the result of the governmental crisis that arises from citizens having access to the public arena of social media. In practical terms, this translates to the state having to choose between using social media for propaganda while still receiving criticism; or to risk a radicalization of the protests by shutting down the internet. Either way, social media serves as a place for resistance. By facing digital violence through a plural and leaderless collective, the protestors are able to manifest their resistance.



Foucault's Heterotopia: The Search for an Epistemology

In line with Fuchs' criticism (2012) regarding Castells' lack of theoretical grounding, the concept of 'cloud' heterotopia can help explain why the space of autonomy is employed in Castells' work (2012). Heterotopia is a minor concept within Foucault's work and its definition is also contested. It is derived from the Greek *heteros*, 'another', and *topos*, 'place'. In Social Movement Studies, the term is associated with physical and abstract spaces of resistance and transgression to the dominant culture (Werbner 1997). Heterotopias are understood as spatio-temporal sites that are fundamentally disturbing places (Johnson 2006). For example, the cemetery is a place alienated from every other ordinary cultural space (e.g. being placed outside the cities), and yet it is a space connected to every individual (e.g. having a relative buried in the cemetery). This apparent contradiction – and the different cultural ramifications answering it – is what makes it an heterotopia, a disturbing place (Foucault 1998). In this regard, for Foucault, disturbing means resistance, not liberation. For Foucault, 'liberation' is impossible as it is unachievable to be outside of power relations. However, resistance remains conceivable because it comes ontologically prior to power. "Resistance, for Foucault, is a force proliferating from our bodies; whilst power is a force proliferating onto our bodies" (Beckett, Bagguley, and Campbell 2015). In other words, resistance implies that an agency is needed to create the structure through which power oppresses. Resistance is found in heterotopias because they are existing sites where other places are represented, contested, and inverted. There is a relational aspect within the site and between them (Johnson 2006). In order to grasp the meaning better it is useful to compare it to utopias. "Utopia is a place where everything is good; dystopia is a place where everything is bad; heterotopia is where things are different" (Mead 1995). Moreover, while utopia/dystopia resides in a spatial and temporal imaginary, heterotopias are placed in reality. Then, it can be concluded that they are normatively 'in the wrong place', both figuratively and literally, as they provide sites of resistance where norms are transgressed.

Now that our understanding of heterotopia is outlined, an examination of 'cloud' heterotopia is necessary. Beckett, Bagguley, and Campbell (2015) present constructed-types of heterotopias in the framework of Social Movements Theory, one of which is 'cloud' heterotopia. The term is understood as 'connective action' (Bennett and Segerberg, 2013), meaning that it emerges from masses communicating with masses through the internet. "Cloud heterotopic practices flow between the 'virtual' and the 'real' or 'actual', rendering the dichotomy meaningless" (Beckett, Bagguley, and Campbell 2015). It is in this context that the theoretical grounding of Castells'



concept ‘space of autonomy’ is found. The space of autonomy is a cloud heterotopic practice as it is an online and offline site that has the purpose of transgression, of resistance. In other words, it is essentially lifted out of space and time as the new action- and meaning-formation practices exist before, during and after protest. Furthermore, the meaning-formation happens through the performance⁵ of dissent. Dissent is understood as being broader than protests because it allows the building of new shared frameworks, as noted by Castells (2012). Then, the deterritorialization of dissent in space and time justifies why protests can be leaderless, and thus address the limitations of actor-centric models. On a last note, the space of autonomy is a ‘cloud’ heterotopia, but not all ‘cloud’ heterotopias are spaces of autonomy, mainly because not all cloud heterotopias serve as institutional political spaces where protests develop.

A Prefigurative Solution: Beyond a Crisis of Political Representation

The performance of dissent, or from now on prefigurative politics, is a key aspect of the virality of a networked social movement. Prefigurative politics or prefiguration refers to the construction of alternative social relations in the present. This approach challenges slacktivist scholars, hence resolves the third criticism of Castells posed by Harvey (2011). Prefiguration entails understanding that capitalism is a fiction that can be challenged. As noted by Fisher (2018), “capitalism should be seen as the system that liberates fictions to rule over the social”. In other words, fictions (symbolic regimes, e.g. nationhood) and experience (capitalism) construct each other. This leads to capitalism being an effective fiction as it seems to escape human control. However, Harvey (2011), clarifying Castells, argues that the crisis of political representation is a cause and consequence of capitalism, which in turn leads to social movements. While the alter-globalization movement has not yet articulated a comprehensive alternative, prefigurative politics provides a glimpse of hope to be successful, as explained below. In this thesis, the term is highly linked to networked social movements as prefiguration happens in the ‘cloud’ heterotopia of spaces of autonomy. A prominent example is the use of prefigurative strategy in the alter-globalization movement through a participatory democratic decision-making process (Maeckelbergh 2011).

⁵ As noted by Philip Auslander (2004), critical discussions of performance draw from postmodernism, especially architecture and literary theory (see Wolfreys and Baker’s *Literary theories: A Case Study in Critical Performance*). However, scholars in history, sociology, anthropology and many other fields have appropriated the idea of performance as an interpretative paradigm “to describe everything from static art forms to everyday behavior, to political demonstrations and terrorism, to large-scale social conflicts” (*Ibid*, pp. 99-100). Sociologist Erving Goffman in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) discusses the connection between theatrical performances and social life. Goffman defines performance as all activity of an individual in front of a set of observers – audience. Then, the individual (aware or not) gives meaning to themselves, to others, and to the situation through this performance.



Now that the emergence and relevance of prefigurative politics have been tackled, there is a need to properly define the concept. Although most literature uses ‘alternative’ and ‘utopian’ interchangeably, in this dissertation ‘utopian’ is dismissed as it has been justified in the previous discussion on heterotopias. According to Yates (2014), a more precise definition of the term is the combination of “the experimental creation of ‘alternatives’ within either mobilization-related or everyday activities, with attempts to ensure their future political relevance.” This means that it is both intended to build non-hierarchical, horizontal networks, as well as producing rational arguments in order to reinforce active citizenship (Pleyers 2010). This political strategy is a mixture of five interrelated social processes (Yates 2014). First, it involves experimentation, namely the performance of the alternative. Second, the circulation of political perspectives among groups that develop and criticize them to better frame the social movement and the alternative given. Third, the production of new norms and conducts. Collective codes of conduct are the result of the previous two processes. Fourth, material consolidation of the collective codes of conduct, for example, the use of direct action in the decision-making of an NGO. And fifth, diffusion of the practices to persist beyond the present. Moving on to a more tangible aspect, prefigurative politics goes from music performances to political speeches, passing through staged revolutions (Revell, Pickard, and Voss 2018). In short, they collapse the wall between the theoretical and the present to generate an alternative system.

The #MilkTeaAlliance: A New Beginning

It could be stated that the latest networked social movement to use prefiguration to challenge the dominant paradigm is the #MilkTeaAlliance. In April 2020, in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, a Twitter dispute united anti-Chinese Communist Party (CCP) protestors in Hong Kong and Taiwan together with pro-democracy activists in Thailand and Myanmar (*BBC* April 8, 2021). The networked social movement is growing pan-Asian solidarity with the aim to challenge –digital– authoritarianism and Chinese-led globalization (Schaffar and Wongratanawin 2021). The hashtag is in reference to the various forms of milky tea that are drunk across Southeast Asia which differs from the neat tea drunk in China (*The Economist* March 24, 2021). Moreover, the movement has been primarily online with Twitter launching a #MilkTeaAlliance emoji in late 2021 (*BBC* April 8, 2021). However, it has also generated offline impact with Thai protestors holding pro-Taiwan banners and Hongkongese activist Joshua Wong’s speech supporting pro-democracy riots in Myanmar. Then, despite the censorship measures from the Chinese government, the Twitter dispute has opened a transnational space for debate.



After systematically analyzing the different concepts and identifying the case study, the rest of the thesis aims to identify if the #MilkTeaAlliance could be considered as the next alter-globalization movement. Both networked social movements have multiple parallels, for example, their configuration of actors and the challenge to a particular globalization ideology. While alter-globalization challenges the Washington Consensus, the #MilkTeaAlliance opposes the Beijing Consensus. This parallel is relevant since it pretends to fill three main gaps in the literature. First, there has been a lack of research regarding SMT in the region of Asia (Simin Fadaee 2017), particularly with the #MilkTeaAlliance as it is a recent movement. Second, this parallelism will assist in the critical conversation between the North and the South by amending the Northern-centric SMT with a South-born movement. Third, I plan to ground Castells' work to post-structuralism and postmodernism through Foucault's concept of heterotopia and prefigurative politics. Although both movements have used prefigurative politics, the pandemic has amplified the strategy as the #MilkTeaAlliance emerged and developed mainly online and in a context of physical enclosure. Therefore, prefiguration is particularly relevant as it happened in the framework of the 'cloud' heterotopia of the space of autonomy.

#MilkTeaAlliance

Findings & Discussion

**Can the #MilkTeaAlliance be
the next alter-globalization?**

#MilkTeaAlliance

Part I:

The Parallel



The parallels between alter-globalization and #MilkTeaAlliance started at the very emergence of the movements. Both were formalized as a result of the interconnectedness of various protests around the world. In the case of alter-globalization, protests in India (1993), Mexico (1994), UK (1998), France (1998), among others were the catalyst for the Seattle protests (2001). It was the largest demonstration which showcased the global nature of the movement, and it also demonstrated the interconnection of the protests as they all aimed at countering neoliberal policies (Pleyers 2010). A similar scenario happened in #MilkTeaAlliance. The movement emerged after domestic protests in Thailand (2020), HongKong (2019), Taiwan (2014), and later also Myanmar (2021). However, unlike the previous movement, #MilkTeaAlliance (2020) was born on the internet, more precisely through memes⁶. Initially, a popular Thai TV star – Vachirawit “Bright” Cheva-aree – was attacked by Chinese users after liking a meme where Hong Kong was called ‘a country’ (Schaffar & Wongratanawin 2021). Then, users of the above-mentioned countries united under the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance and the meme war evolved into a critique of (digital) authoritarianism and Chinese-led globalization (Schaffar & Wongratanawin 2021). At this point, it is important to analyze the configuration of actors, the articulation of shared frameworks, and the implementation of practices in both cases.

The Urban Precariat

Regarding their configuration, in general, both movements follow Castells’ conceptualization of being heterogeneous, leaderless and non-violent. First, both movements have been built bottom-up and present diversity as a positive feature (Temby 2021; Pleyers 2010). However, it should be noted that organizations such as ATTAC or Global Trade Watch played a bigger role in creating the alter-globalization's rhetoric, influencing it top-down (Pleyers 2010). Second, rather than operating under a central organizational committee, they operated through networks of people (Bolini 2003; Schaffar & Wongratanawin 2021). The #MilkTeaAlliance is by nature more decentralized than alter-globalization as they operate mainly online, in the ‘cloud’ heterotopia. Third, the alter-globalization is explicitly non-violent, but #MilkTeaAlliance did not provide a stance on this issue. While in alter-globalization, Zapatistas were excluded for their use of violence (Pleyers 2010), in #MilkTeaAlliance, the brutal police and military response has forced the use of decentralized protest techniques (Lee 2021).

⁶ Meme is defined as an image, video, piece of text, etc., typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by internet users, often with slight variations.



Shared Frameworks: Washington Consensus vs Beijing Consensus

Concerning the articulation of shared frameworks, the movements aim at countering the Washington and Beijing Consensus. In other words, while alter-globalization challenges neoliberalism, #MilkTeaAlliance opposes Chinese-led globalization. It is important to remember that these frameworks are created due to a crisis of political representation (outrage) which generates material and post-material demands (hope). In the case of alter-globalization, according to Pleyers (2010), the crisis of political representation was the result of a series of events⁷ that questioned the success of economic and financial globalization, in other words, the Washington Consensus.⁸ These worries were tackled through ATTAC or Global Trade Watch which acted as institutional forms of the alter-globalization movement. In 2005, the World Social Forum became the main agora.⁹ Through this, activists challenged the dominant neoliberal paradigm including third world debt and fiscal justice, thus generating demands such as reform of the WTO. However, Cohen (2001) notes that the failure of the 1999 WTO negotiations objectively owes more to disagreements among WTO members than to protesters. Nevertheless, as historian Thompson (1963) argues, myths play a key role in the construction of collective consciousness. Thus, the victory myth validated the alter-globalization movement and made it a symbol of resistance to the Washington Consensus (Pleyers 2010).

A similar process is happening with #MilkTeaAlliance. As noted by Temby (2021), the crisis of political representation is the result of the gap between China's hard and soft power in Southeast Asia. According to the 2019 Pew Global Attitudes Survey, China's favorability rating is continuously declining. China's economic growth is translating into hard power vis-a-vis the region's elite which negatively impacts citizens (Temby 2021). Furthermore, the Asian giant is building the Beijing Consensus in parallel with the international institutions that sustained the Washington Consensus (Heilmann *et al.* 2014). For example, the World Bank and the China Development Bank serve the same purpose, fund development projects. However, while the Washington Consensus was accompanied by excessive liberalization and democracy, the China-centric system is accompanied by regulation and authoritarianism e.g. the export of state-sponsored bots through development aid programs (Lee 2021). These worries have been vocalized through the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance. The demands vary from material (resignation

⁷ Mainly, the failure of WTO in Seattle (1999), the internet speculative bubble burst (Spring 2001), and the wars against Afghanistan (October 2001) and Iraq (March 2003).

⁸ Exercised through the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), the Consensus consisted of liberalization, privatization, deregulation and macroeconomic stabilization.

⁹ According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2008), the World Social Forum carries out a fundamental task as a transmitter of knowledge and practices amongst different social groups and between cultures.



of political figures and liberation of activists) to non-material (respect for the rule of law and democratic values). Therefore, in both movements, there has been the quest for new shared social meanings to counter neoliberal ideology (Held 1995) or Chinese-led globalization (Schaffar & Wongratanawin 2021).

Binomial Street-Network: The Heterotopic Practice of Prefiguration

Lastly, although both movements have a similar operationalization of practices, some differences are seen as a result of the internet age. Four practices are compared: virality, sense of ‘togetherness’, space of autonomy, and the local-global dynamic.

First, the virality of visual production allowed protestors to move from fear of repression to anger. Subsequently, a spontaneous demonstration followed. In the case of alter-globalization, the virality was shown in world news (Pleyers 2010); whereas in #MilkTeaAlliance, it was made visible through trending hashtags on Twitter (Schaffar & Wongratanawin 2021). Second, both movements strengthen the ‘global consciousness’ of participants, which allows for a sense of ‘togetherness’. Although the sense of community cannot be measured, its outcome – the creation of new community norms – can. That is, while alter-globalization focused on offline prefiguration such as participatory democratic decision-making processes (Maeckelbergh 2011), #MilkTeaAlliance is focusing on online prefiguration like collective Twitter accounts (see Part II: Results).

Third, these new norms are generated in heterotopic spaces of autonomy as they are horizontal sites of resistance where meanings and norms are transgressed. In alter-globalization, these sites were mainly offline, e.g. social centers, border camps, occupations, etc.; but some internet sites and chat rooms were used for information-sharing and exchange of ideas (Pleyers 2010). In #MilkTeaAlliance, the reverse is true. The Twitter hashtag provided activists a defined cloud heterotopia to transgress traditional media e.g. memes or sharing of protests tactics; yet some offline spaces of autonomy are also observed e.g. ASEAN civil society global mobilization against Myanmar's coup or the Hunger Games three-finger salute as the symbol for a pro-democracy stance (Tseng 2021). However, the militaries have also inspired each other, and now use more advanced digital surveillance and online repression techniques through laws such as Thailand's Cybersecurity Act of 2019¹⁰ (Lee 2021). This phenomenon has prompted Twitter to reconsider its role as a communication channel. For example, in Thailand, Twitter deleted 926

¹⁰ It has given the government unrestrained access to online data which has led to 55 people being charged with lèse-majesté for online defamatory comments about the military or the monarchy (Lee 2021).



fake accounts attributed to the military in October 2020 (Lee 2021). This fact together with Chinese nationalists shifting the debate from Twitter to WeChat reveals a fragmentation of cyberspace, and thus of the space of autonomy.

Fourth, allowed by the space of autonomy, the protests have been local and global at the same time. As noted by Pleyers (2010), the alter-globalization movement – although deterritorialized – did not increase the global at the expense of the local. The same applies to #MilkTeaAlliance as it globalized the anti-authoritarianism critique, but localized the demands. For example, the hashtag #StandWithJoshuaWong trended on Thai Twitter, showcasing the cross-promoting of causes, even though the demands to the respective governments remain different (Chia & Singer 2020).

#MilkTeaAlliance

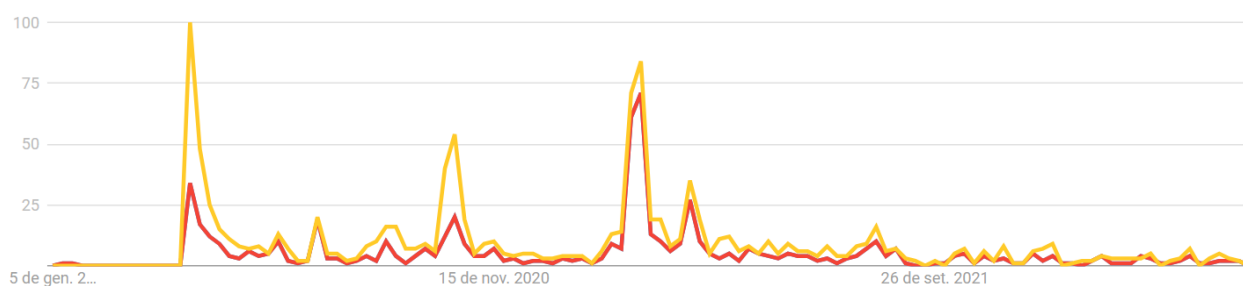
Part II:

Results



The #MilkTeaAlliance has had multiple peaks in Twitter engagement that match with historical events. According to a tweet by Twitter Public Policy, the hashtag has reached 11 million entries with tweets peaking “when it first appeared in April 2020, and again in February 2021 when the coup took place in Myanmar” (see Appendix C). Furthermore, as observed in Figure 2, there were other notable peaks in mid-July 2020, mid-October 2020, early-April 2021, and mid-August 2021 that coincided with mass protests in Thailand and Hong Kong prompted by censorship laws¹¹ and online repression (Lee 2021).

Figure 2: Historical trend of the search Milk Tea Alliance



Source: Google trends. In yellow, the topic Milk Tea Alliance (groups of terms that share the same concept in any language). In red, the term Milk Tea Alliance (the term in the chosen language).

Users: The Online Precariat

In general, #MilkTeaAlliance appears to be a natural outgrowth of transnational ties that activists in Hong Kong have built with people in Southeast Asia, as well as North America and Australia. Thanks to the selected database, the Sample, a more accurate picture can be discerned. First and foremost, as observed in Infographic 1, almost two thirds of the users are non-verified¹² which proves that the movement is mainly bottom-up, instead of top-down. Furthermore, approximately half of the non-verified accounts do not have a main holder. For example, @YourAnonCentral [Figure 3] used the mask from *V for Vendetta* – a pop culture reference – as a profile picture to symbolize the leaderless character of the account. This account is the most followed account in #MilkTeaAlliance. Also, there are multiple #MilkTeaAlliance inspired users, such as the one in Figure 4 which notes that “it began and belongs to everyone.” Both accounts act as cloud heterotopic spaces of autonomy as they are horizontal, spatio-temporal sites that have the purpose of resistance. In addition, there are some intersectional sites of transgression

¹¹ In Thailand, the Computer Crime Act of 2016 and the Cybersecurity Act of 2019 criminalize free speech. In Hong Kong, the National Security Law outlines four offences: subversion, secession, terrorism, and collusion with foreign forces. In 2021, the Law had an amendment to include Film Censorship.

¹² According to Twitter, a verified account is one that has the blue Verified badge to let people know that an account of public interest is authentic.



that tackle gender and the #MilkTeaAlliance, for example, the @WomensPeaceNW. On the other hand, verified accounts are more varied as they range from politicians to activists as well as news agencies [Infographic 1]. Their composition is also more diverse than non-verified accounts, with most popular influencers not being Thai. This is relevant because plurality implies stronger interconnections between the region. Examples include the Vice President of Taiwan, @ChingteLai, or Hongkongese activist, @joshuawongcf. This latter public figure, with over 700k followers, helps explain why Hong Kong has by far the most high-impact activists due to his role in helping viralise the #MilkTeaAlliance [Figure 5]. Lastly, it must be noted that the presence of Western users is mainly due to the diaspora and exiled nationals from Southeast Asia.

Infographic 1: Map of Verified and Non-verified Actors

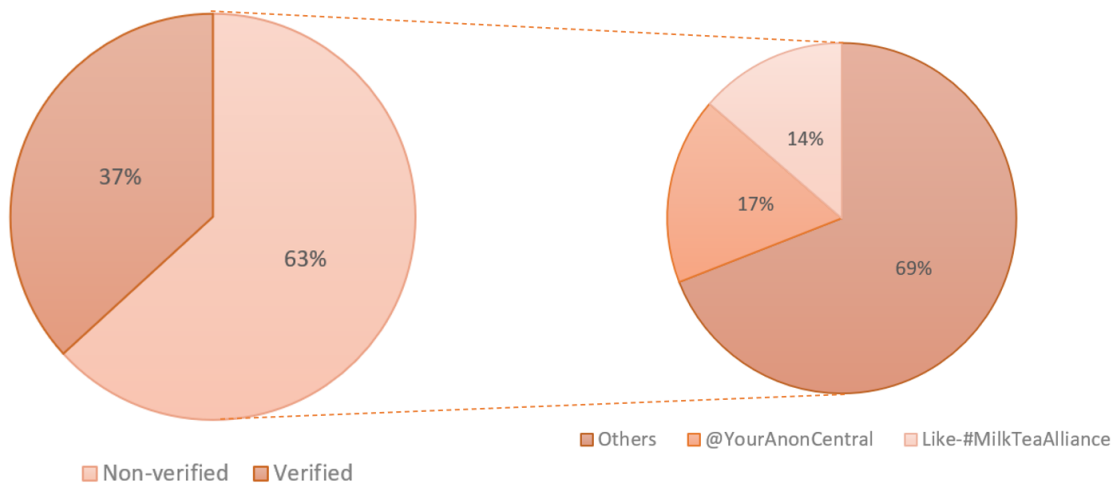


Figure 3:

Anonymous
@YourAnonCentral

Exposing Human Rights abuses. Actions Not Nouns. #YACnews

Support us: donorbox.org/launching-yac-...

670 Following 5.6M Followers

Figure 4:

#MilkTeaAlliance Brew
@AllianceMilkTea

reclaiming/documenting pan-asian solidarity for democracy; this acc is not an organisation nor an official one of the movement, it began & belongs to everyone

931 Following 68K Followers

Figure 5:

Joshua Wong 黃之鋒

@joshuawongcf

* CURRENTLY IN JAIL, ACCOUNT MANAGED BY FRIENDS *

—

Hong Kong activist | joshua@joshuawongcf.com

| #UnfreeSpeech: hyperurl.co/unfreespeech

| #MilkTeaAlliance

1,205 Following 717.3K Followers



Tweets: A Cloud Heterotopic Practice

Regarding the operationalization of practices, the Sample confirms #MilkTeaAlliance's generation of **'togetherness'**, **local-global dynamic**, and **space of autonomy**. The sense of togetherness is evaluated through Infographics 2 and 3; the local-global dynamic is explained through tweets; and the space of autonomy is argued through Infographic 4.

As explained by Castells, **togetherness** is the first step to building a community. In Infographic 2, it is observed that users are creating a community by calling for 'solidarity' within the affected countries (and beyond). This process is specially exemplified by Hongkongers, as seen in Infographic 3. The intercountry mentions reveal that while Thai people sympathize with all countries equally, Hongkongers focus on Thailand and Hong Kong. This phenomenon is in part explained by the simultaneity of Hong Kong and Thai protests, but also due to @joshuawongcf's relevance. In multiple tweets (see Appendix C), Wong calls for solidarity between the two countries to fight rising authoritarianism, as well as provides references to Hongkongers about Thai activists. Hence, Thai and Hong Kong activists are especially well connected. However, the hashtags #StandwithThailand, #StandwithMyanmar and #StandwithHongKong were also very popular outside the #MilkTeaAlliance countries.

In addition, Infographic 3 shows that protests that generate the most distress are those in Thailand and Myanmar as they have overall high-mentions from all groups. This focused solidarity is the result of viral visual content of police violence. A qualitative study of Infographic 2's indicators 'police' and 'tear gas' reveals that police brutality was largely shared by Thai and Burmese users. On another note, Infographic 3 shows that the most distressed about China are @YourAnonCentral, Thais and people outside the region. These three groups frame their opposition to CCP in the US-China discursive war¹³ as they set Western morals over Chinese's ones. However, Hongkongese and Taiwanese do not use the hashtag to criticize CCP's policies, and instead seek to generate a community. Joy Hu, Public Relations Director of Taiwan Digital Diplomacy Association, explains that they do not tweet negative messages (e.g. #opCCP) because they want other countries to perceive Taiwan in a positive light. They want to "distribute the risk, so it is not either A [China] or B [US], but the many Cs" (Interview May 5, 2022 see

¹³ Critical Discourse Analysis argues that nationalist discursive practices act as the main political imperative legitimizing the trade war. While the US has constructed a civilization vs barbarism hierarchical opposition (Zhang 2021), China has presented itself as a victim and as a leader of negotiations (Wang & Ge 2019). Both nationalist agendas are based on 'Us vs Other' discourse dichotomy and used to legitimize either the precarious hegemony of the US or the emerging power of China.



Appendix A). In other words, they want to showcase the benefits of multipolarity and the key role of Taiwan to that end.

Infographic 2: Concepts Mentioned per Country

	Thailand	Hong Kong	Taiwan	Myanmar	@YourAnon Central	Others*
Urban precariat						
Activist	2	4	0	2	1	3
Leaders	0	1		1	0	2
Binomial Street-Network						
Protestors/ protesters/protests	11	12	0	12	16	9
Tear gas	1	4	0	1	0	1
Police/ military	5	8	1	14	0	6
Online	1	4	0	1	0	4
World	1	3	1	2	2	3
Solidarity/support/ stand	7	32	5	5	9	18
Friends	6	7	2	2	0	3
Shared frameworks						
Democracy/ Pro-Democracy	7	14	3	6	11	11
Totalitarianism/ Autoritharism	0	2	0	1	0	2
Future	2	2	0	0	1	0
Government	4	3	0	0	3	0
#Opccp/China	5	2	3	2	13	4
Fight/resistance	5	12	1	3	4	9
Brave	0	6	0	1	1	4
Boycott	3	4	0	0	1	1

* It includes Indonesia, Tibet, India, West Papuan, Korea, Japan, Belarus, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, US, Philippines, Palestine, Columbia, Australia, UK, non-location.



Infographic 3: Intercountry tweet-mentions

Nationality(V) / Topic (H)	Thailand	Hong Kong	Taiwan	Myanmar	China/ CCP	Others *
Thailand	23	19	10	12	8	2
Hong Kong	33	13	1	2	1	1
Taiwan	8	4	2	5	3	1
Myanmar	3	2	1	24	2	5
@YourAnonCentral	5	2	1	21	11	2
Others*	10	8	3	16	8	9

* It includes Indonesia, Tibet, India, West Papuan, Korea, Japan, Belarus, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, US, Philippines, Palestine, Columbia, Australia, UK, non-location.

The generation of solidarity happens hand-in-hand with **local-global dynamics**. Intercountry mentions help globalize the fight through viral tweets and visual content, while localizing the values of the #MilkTeaAlliance. In other words, users raise awareness of their local injustice while at the same time providing a case study to illustrate the global demand for democracy. A clear example of localization is shown in Figure 6. The video showcases the unity and solidarity of activists during protests with multiple subtitles – Chinese, Thai, and English – to proactively boost the coverage of events on the ground. However, this local-global dynamic is not exclusive to the online sphere, it is also seen in offline events, most notably protests. The three-finger salute from the Hunger Games is the movement’s most famously co-opted symbol of solidarity and defiance against authoritarian governments. The picture in Figure 7 provides a visually powerful example designed to attract international coverage and garner sympathy for Hong Kong and Thailand protests, so much so that Myanmar’s envoy to the United Nations (UN) flashed the salute in the UN General Assembly (Lee 2021). This performance of dissent is a key aspect of the virality of the movement that allows for Twitter's cloud heterotopic practice. Allowed by online mass self-communication, protesters adopted the symbol which later served as an instrument to globalize and unionize national protests.



Figure 6:

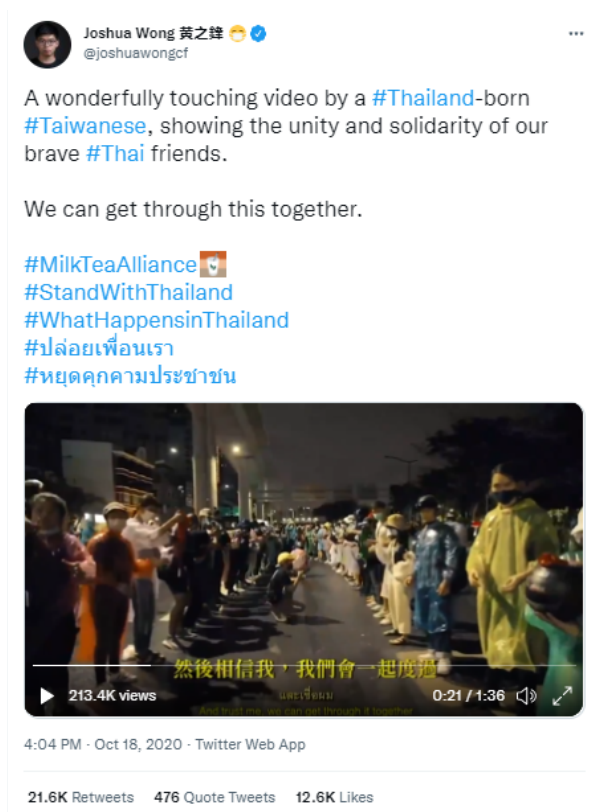


Figure 7:



Another factor necessary for the operationalization of practices is having a **space of autonomy** to allow the cloud heterotopic practice. A relevant indicator to quantitatively observe if this space is being created is the average engagement of tweets. In Infographic 4, replies will be understood as a *prefiguration practice*, retweets as a *solidarity tool*, and likes as an *approval instrument*. Accordingly, Thais are the most active Twitter users, while Taiwanese are the least. However, among the different countries, Taiwanese have the most engagement in terms of prefiguration (replies) and approval (likes). This is the result of most Taiwanese tweets being from verified accounts, such as the Vice President of Taiwan @ChingteLai. Hongkongers lead the ranking in retweets which could be the result of their high intercountry mentions – seen in Infographic 3 – as it would expose their tweets to a wider audience. Moreover, Myanmar has the least replies but the second-highest retweets, only surpassed by Hong Kong. This further proves that the Myanmar case generates the most solidarity, but its nationals are not the generators of it – probably due to harsh government repression. Nevertheless, in general, @YourAnonCentral has by far the most engagement with over 12 thousand retweets and likes, and one thousand replies. The leaderless account is the largest provider of a space of autonomy. This phenomenon is interesting because while the account operates online, the offline is not generated by the account itself, but by its followers during protests.



Infographic 4: Average Engagement by Actor

	Total No of tweets	Replies Average	Retweets Average	Likes Average
Thailand	54	68.06	3,589.19	1,879.87
Hong Kong	48	107.75	6,613.83	4,448.71
Taiwan	13	240.38	3,785.92	5,555.38
Myanmar	36	53.14	3,855.67	2,477.42
@YourAnonCentral	31	1,264.58	12,976.90	12,236.61
Others*	41	145.17	2,722.88	2,802.83
All	223	264.75	5,540.46	4,352.96

* It includes Indonesia, Tibet, India, West Papuan, Korea, Japan, Belarus, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, US, Philippines, Palestine, Columbia, Australia, UK, non-location.

Visual Content: Denunciation and Prefiguration

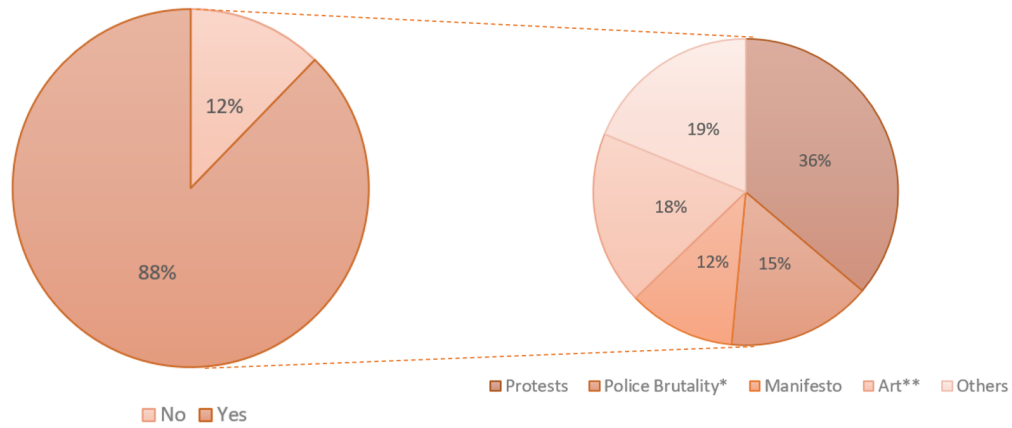
Concerning the articulation of shared frameworks, the qualitative analysis of the Sample determines that there are two main uses of Twitter: **denunciation and prefiguration**.

Regarding **denunciation**, there is a large pool of tweets that aim at reporting injustices to better frame the #MilkTeaAlliance and its alternative. As observed in Infographic 2, users tweeting ‘brave’ proves that protestors have already gone from outrage to hope as a result of a crisis of political representation. There are two main denunciation themes: *protests and authoritarianism*. Regarding the former, more than half of the Sample’s visual content showcases protests or police brutality. According to Infographic 5, all countries tweet more about protests than any other visual content positioning it as the main mechanism to show discontent. Thai and Hongkongers are the most vocal, especially about protests in Thailand because of their similarities. More precisely, and seen in Figure 8, users are comparing Thai and Hong Kong protests for the use of umbrellas as shields; as well as the police response due to the use of tear gas and water cannon trucks with blue tinted water. It must be noted that protests are sometimes performative. That is, the use of umbrellas in itself is a tactic; but when they are yellow, they act as a symbol and become a performance. A similar phenomenon happens with protestors using shields with the word ‘people’, instead of ‘police’. While all countries tweet about police brutality, Myanmar is the most acute case. According to Infographic 6, most of the reports come from its citizens which demonstrates their usage of Twitter to raise awareness. For example, in Figure 9, @YourAnonCentral is reporting on violent cracks downs on unarmed protestors that resulted in injury, death, and/or torture. The same account tweeted “Protest safety tips” [Figure 10] which



are mainly exported from Hong Kong. Here again, although the main objective is reporting the situation, @YourAnonCentral is responsible for the viralization of performatic protests which is key to globalizing the movement.

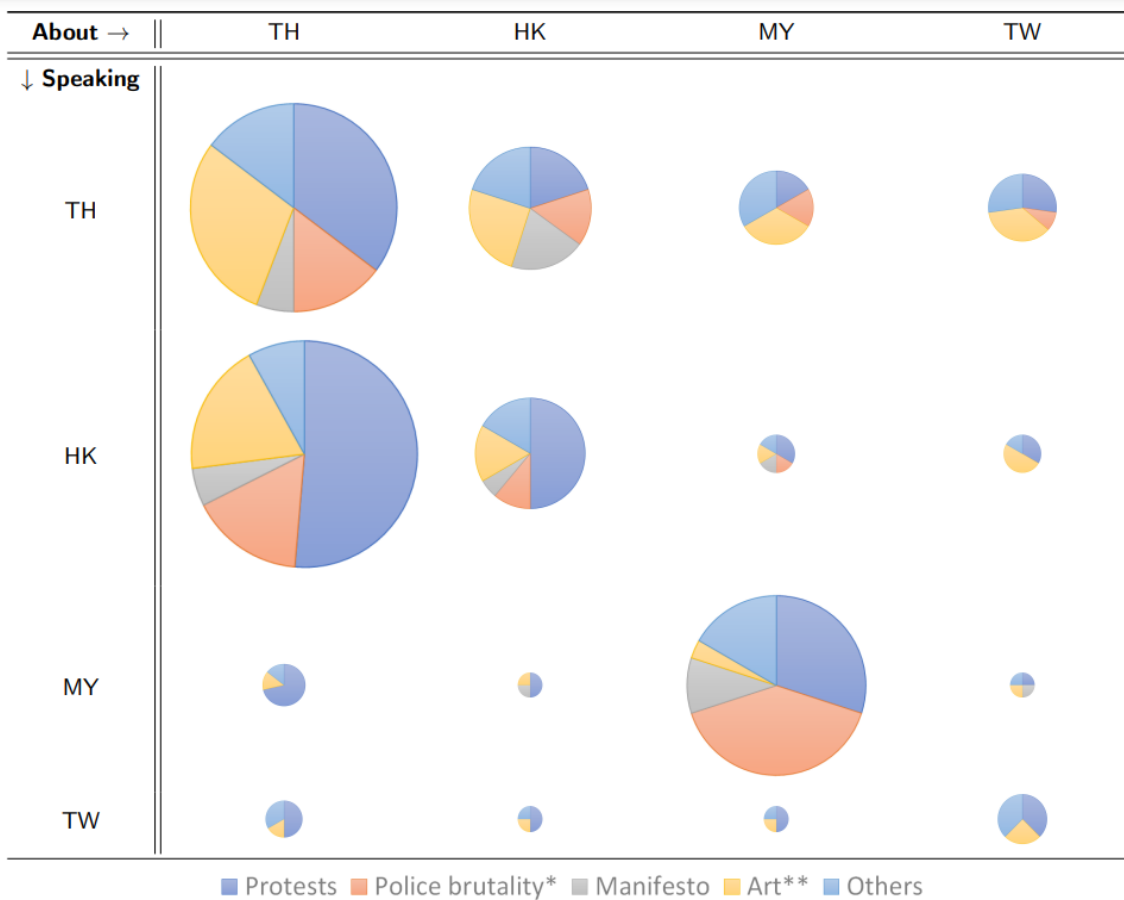
Infographic 5: Map of Visual Content



* It includes 'police brutality' and 'torture'.

** It includes 'art', 'performance' and 'memes'.

Infographic 6: Intercountry Tweet-Mentions of Visual Content



* It includes 'police brutality' and 'torture'.

** It includes 'art', 'performance' and 'memes'.



Figure 8:

Verbatim HKG @VerbatimHKG

Scenes from Thailand's protests are now looking exactly like Hong Kong last year- tear gas, umbrella shields, water cannon trucks with blue tinted water...

#StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance

Florian Wituski @valtor · Oct 16, 2020
Situation is escalating now -

21.6M views 0:13 / 0:19

3:17 PM · Oct 16, 2020 · Twitter for Android

2,743 Retweets 114 Quote Tweets 2,629 Likes

Figure 9:

Anonymous @YourAnonCentral

The Myanmar junta has cut mobile data as it violently cracks down on unarmed protestors and dissidents.

Protestors are being shot dead and/or tortured in broad daylight by junta forces.

#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Mar17Coup #opCCP #MilkTeaAlliance

youtube.com
Mobile Data Cut In Myanmar Amid Junta Crackdown
The Myanmar junta has cut mobile data as it violently cracks down on unarmed protestors and dissidents. (March 17, ...)

4:17 PM · Mar 17, 2021 · Twitter Web App

8,429 Retweets 2,782 Quote Tweets 9,288 Likes

Figure 10:

Anonymous @YourAnonCentral

Protest safety tips and instructions. 🇸🇰 🇯🇵 ⚠️

Guide: freedomformyanmar.com/2021/02/07/pro...

#Myanmarprotests #Feb10Coup #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar

5:10 AM · Feb 11, 2021 · Twitter Web App

12.5K Retweets 862 Quote Tweets 19.2K Likes

On the other hand, a smaller pool of those tweets denounce authoritarian practices, and thus Chinese-led globalization. As observed in Infographic 2, while only 5 tweets refer to authoritarianism, over fifty mention the desire for democracy. More precisely, Hongkongers tweeted the most about both topics, followed by people from Myanmar and those from outside the region. Both Figure 11 and 12 place the countries of the #MilkTeaAlliance together against dictatorship. Figure 11 posits democracy as the end goal and contextualizes the movement by mentioning Asian dictatorships overthrown by mass protests. Then, Figure 12 symbolizes dictatorship as a dead soldier with the Bird of Peace imprisoned. The cage is probably a reference to the censorship laws that criminalize online free speech and media which led to the imprisonment of activists, like Joshua Wong. Surprisingly, however, Myanmar tweeted by far the most about #opCCP. Even if the balance of evidence suggests that China did not back the military coup, mere impressions were enough to add an anti-Chinese edge to the popular protest (Temby 2021), as exemplified with @YourAnonCentral tweet in Figure 13.

Figure 11:

#MilkTeaAlliance Brew @AllianceMilkTea

We want to stress #MilkTeaAlliance is YOUR movement. This page does not lead but hope to facilitate solidarity for democracy because there is potential when we stand together. Mass protests toppled dictators before, now let's see how regional protests do

Art credit: @kuasasiswa

12:04 PM · Feb 27, 2021 · Twitter for Android

2,269 Retweets 140 Quote Tweets 2,725 Likes

Figure 12:

Fight For Freedom. Stand With Hong Kong. 重光團隊 @Stand_with_HK

The Great Wave of #MilkTeaAlliance

Artist: @ishikyosan

3:30 PM · Apr 24, 2021 · Twitter Web App

471 Retweets 21 Quote Tweets 1,167 Likes

Figure 13:

Anonymous @YourAnonCentral

#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar: How China and Russia are helping the Junta.

#OpCCP #MilkTeaAlliance #Feb25Coup

youtube.com
Whats happening in Myanmar: How China and Russia are h...
Overview of events in Myanmar involving China and Russia from February 3rd to the 23rd during the ongoing coup d'ét...

2:51 PM · Feb 25, 2021 · Twitter Web App

13.9K Retweets 1,210 Quote Tweets 15.9K Likes



Furthermore, a clear example of #MilkTeaAlliance users criticizing Chinese-led globalization is the case of the Mekong river. Many users are pointing to China's dams in the river threatening the water security of the region, i.e. Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Vietnam, and Myanmar (Tarrats 2021). The comic strip in Figure 14 provides a satirical response to it, while downplaying China's soft power discourse whereby Chinese diplomats refer to the region as 'family'. As a result of this hostility, activists are leaning towards India. As observed in Figure 15, Taiwan Digital Diplomacy Association is joining forces with India against Chinese technological interference. As explained by its Public Relations Director, Joy Hu, they wanted to capitalize on the border conflict between India and China to include the country in the #MilkTeaAlliance (Interview May 5, 2022 see Appendix A). This is relevant because India is a key player in the region's security strategy against China. However, India's questionable human rights record in the Kashmir region (the disputed border between India and Pakistan) makes this goal paradoxical.

Figure 14:



Figure 15:



Concerning the second use of Twitter, a quarter of the visual content has **prefiguration** as an objective in order to set forward demands and new communitarian values [Infographic 5]. Two main tools are used for that end: *manifestos and direct action*. To start with, manifestos are not the most popular visual content, but are even among all actors. According to Infographic 6, while Thais and Hongkongers voice demands about each other, Myanmar is self-referential. There are



multiple examples. Figure 16 is a global unity statement brought forward by multiple leaderless #MilkTeaAlliance accounts released on the anniversary of the attempted coup in Myanmar. Figure 17 is an open letter from Hongkongers who are now detained in prisons for their democratic demands. It is written in Thai in order to explicitly verbalize their joint struggle to safeguard liberties. This practice further proves the local-global dynamic mentioned in the previous section. It must be noted that manifestos do not always take the form of visual content, sometimes they are a hashtag like #fivedemands by Hongkongers. All these manifestos are targeted at states, as seen in Infographic 2’s mentions about ‘government’ and the Sample’s tweets mentioning UN organs e.g. the ICJ, @UN, and @RapporteurUn.

Figure 16:



Figure 17:



Furthermore, although there is little visual content that showcases direct action, an eighth of the total tweets depicted the willingness to diffuse new norms and conducts [Infographic 5]. First, in Infographic 2, there are ten tweets that mention ‘boycott’. After a qualitative analysis, it is determined that all these tweets are in reference to #BoycottMulan, a collective response to a lead actress of the movie *Mulan* supporting police brutality in Hong Kong. Second, according to Infographic 2, over thirty users tweeted about ‘fight’ and ‘resistance’. For example, @YourAnonCentral in Figure 18 tweets the slogan: “When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty.” These words depict the willingness to act, especially by Hongkongers (with 12 out of the 34 tweets in Infographic 2). Lastly, regarding visual content, the user @shafiur in Figure 19 shares a collective community response to Myanmar’s coup



where good-will donors are sharing food in reaction to Myanmar's Junta prohibiting subsidies. This all represents the material consolidation of the new norms and conducts.

Figure 18:

 **Anonymous**
@YourAnonCentral

When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty.

Support [#FrontLineHeroes](#).
Support Federal Democracy. 🇲🇲 🇵🇲 🇬🇧

[#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar](#)
[#MilkTeaAlliance](#) 🍵
[#EndImpunity](#)
[#Mar20Coups](#)



4:30 AM · Mar 20, 2021 · Twitter Web App

8,826 Retweets 2,766 Quote Tweets 13.2K Likes

Figure 19:

 **Shafiur Rahman**
@shafiur

[#Myanmar](#)

COLLECTIVE community response to coup.

LISTEN 🇲🇲: "Only one person per house - Come and take it. We want to share with every house."

[#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar](#)
[#MilkTeaAlliance](#) 🍵



0:12 15.2K views

10:56 AM · Apr 11, 2021 · Twitter for iPhone

2,621 Retweets 1,307 Quote Tweets 3,427 Likes

#MilkTeaAlliance

Part III:

Analysis



As noted in the Methodology section, this thesis has one main research question: *can #MilkTeaAlliance be the next alter-globalization movement?* However, before answering it, there is a need to tackle two complementary questions: (a) is Twitter a space of resistance? and (b) can the movement be extrapolated beyond the region? Regarding the former, this thesis has determined that the cloud heterotopic practice of the space of autonomy is used in two primary ways: denunciation and prefiguration. On the one hand, it has been established that Twitter is mainly a space of denunciation through the reporting of transnational mobilization and police brutality, as well as the critique of authoritarianism through pop culture references. The irony and humor in these visual productions has generated viral content that has connected pro-democracy movements across Asia, such as the three-finger salute and the yellow umbrellas. However, the Sample only represents #MilkTeaAlliance activists as there is a fragmentation of cyberspace that excludes Chinese nationalist discourse and arguably fuels US-China discourse rivalry. On the other hand, regarding prefiguration, the Sample has revealed that the creation of alternatives is not yet a main cloud heterotopic practice. Manifestos are the biggest visual content in this regard, but direct action initiatives are less prominent. In addition, although #BoycottMulan gained some global repercussion, it has not been perceived as a win of the #MilkTeaAlliance as the film was a box office success.

Concerning the second objective, the movement was largely developed by activists in Hong Kong with those around the region. Thai and Hong Kong activists are especially well connected and have generated great intercountry solidarity. Other regions have received their support, but they do not partake as often in the building of ‘togetherness’. However, the #MilkTeaAlliance's success should not be underestimated as it is the first movement to unite the diverse region of ASEAN. Also, while the online movement has allowed activists to build a network and speak out about taboo topics, nowadays the #MilkTeaAlliance is more of a global South dialogue than a North-South one. Therefore, the hashtag could be extrapolated to South Asia, but lacks strength to mobilize globally – especially taking into account the growing popular nationalisms in modern democracies. Lastly, it should be noted that the Sample only took into account English tweets which is a limiting factor to that end.

Now that the two supplementary objectives have been evaluated, the research question can be answered: *can #MilkTeaAlliance be the next alter-globalization movement?* As observed in the Sample, the main theme is pro-democracy rather than countering Chinese-led globalization. Hence, the movement might be more successful at resisting authoritarianism rather than the Beijing Consensus. Furthermore, #MilkTeaAlliance has not yet had a



collective win, or at least a myth that would lead to a feeling of ‘togetherness’ (see Thompson 1963). Therefore, for the time being, the movement could act as a catalyst to a larger movement, similar to the first examples introduced in Pleyers’ book (2010) that led to the 1999 mass protests. It is true that Myanmar could be to #MilkTeaAlliance what the 1999 WTO protests was to alter-globalization; but after a year of political stagnation and police brutality, hope is diluting. Then, while the rise of online activism across Southeast Asia has attracted international attention, a collective win is needed in order to export the movement globally. As expressed by Wang (2021), “the feeling of a shared fate may not be strong enough without a common enemy”.

#MilkTeaAlliance

TAKE
BACK
OUR
FUTURE

PLEASE
HELP US

Conclusion

#MilkTeaAlliance
How it is going...



The ultimate objective of this dissertation was to determine if the #MilkTeaAlliance could be the next alter-globalization movement. To that end, it has provided a new conceptualization of Castell's networked social movements by incorporating Foucault's concept of heterotopia and prefigurative politics. This theoretical framework has been the baseline for the second section, Findings and Discussion. More precisely, this thesis has drawn the parallel between #MilkTeaAlliance and alter-globalization by identifying their characteristics as networked social movements, as well as analyzing the Sample results to determine if Twitter represents a 'cloud' heterotopic practice and a site of prefiguration to the current dominant model.

It could be stated that #MilkTeaAlliance has the potential to become a catalyst for a larger movement, but it is not yet the next alter-globalization. In other words, although it has many similarities to alter-globalization as a networked social movement, the lack of a collective myth positions #MilkTeaAlliance at the same stage of the events recounted at the beginning of Pleyers' book (2010) that led to the 1999 mass protests. This statement is supported on three observations argued in Part III: Analysis. First, Twitter is a 'cloud' heterotopic practice in so far as it is a space of denunciation, but it fails to produce a space of prefiguration. Second, Twitter users from Southeast Asia are generally more engaged than those around the world (except from expats). And third, the movement has a weak shared framework, in other words, the different national movements' challenge to the Beijing Consensus are not uniform.

As noted in the Methodology, the dissertation does not offer the whole spectrum of perspectives on #MilkTeaAlliance due to Twitter deletion of Chinese bots and the Great Firewall. Nevertheless, the author has tried to include subjectivity by referring articles produced in the region, as well as conducting an interview with a representative of a local NGO, Taiwan Digital Diplomacy Association. However, interviews with other actors have not been conducted due to a lack of response.

To conclude, #MilkTeaAlliance has the potential and the network to succeed. It should either identify a common enemy or generate a victory myth that will act as a symbol of resistance. Concerning future studies of #MilkTeaAlliance, they should incorporate more subjectivity and a wider range of perspectives. Also, a comparative case study with similar movements in other regions might be relevant to enable the creation of a shared framework, and thus an all-encompassing movement. Nevertheless, one thing is clear:

“When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty”

@YourAnonCentral



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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview

Joy Hu, Public Relations Director in Taiwan Digital Diplomacy Association (May 5, 2022; Online)

Berta Tarrats: As of now, my research is based on a selected Twitter sample of 223 tweets with the goal to determine if the #MilkTeaAlliance can become the next alter-globalization movement. One of the goals is to see if Twitter is a space of denunciation as well as a space of prefiguration (or in other words, a space to produce alternatives to the current paradigm e.g., direct action).

Joy Hu: We have a huge need to communicate with international citizens, however in Taiwan there are few civil society organizations with a Twitter account. This is because the main social media apps are Facebook and Instagram. Twitter has not become a trend, but we are advocating to start having a global conversation on Taiwan through it. Moreover, we have been thinking of starting a media account on Tik Tok to capture more international attention.

B.T.: Why are you creating this particular media strategy? Is your audience mainly from abroad or do you want to reach a global audience?

J.H.: Our audience will be citizens from other countries, however we also want to talk with Taiwanese because they are the ones that finance us. Our foreign ministry does a lot of work abroad, but a lot of taiwanese do not know about it. Also, we want to advocate on Participatory Diplomacy which is a mindset and a tool that more institutions and entities should use. We want to be an example of international engagement by bringing in foreign citizens.

B.T.: What do you mean by Digital Diplomacy and Participatory Diplomacy?

J.H.: We have seen that a lot of experts talk about how to use social media as a tool for governments to manage their national image, try to influence other countries, and try to export a positive image. From our side, we want to create a citizens' discussion by finding a topic that is trending in other countries and join their discussion. This way they will increase their interest in Taiwan, thus increasing their connections with us. Also, we observe how our government does diplomacy. For example, they send expert groups to our ally countries to



help them build their industry and oftentimes, our country's biggest slogan is "Taiwan can help".

B.T.: Social Movement Theory argues that social movements are formed through a local-global dynamic, meaning localizing a global demand or vice versa. In this framework and considering that Taiwan Digital Diplomacy Association aims at community localization, how relevant are hashtags/words in your Twitter campaigns?

J.H.: I would say they are very relevant. Before we start tweeting, we first decide which is our target country. Then, we do an analysis on which are the trending hashtags to later use them and engage with them. Sometimes, we will use the local language too. For example, with Indians we will use Hindi; or with the Ukrainian crisis we have tried to use Ukrainian in our tweets.

B.T.: How do you know what is trending? Which platforms do you use?

J.H.: There are some analytical tools, we like diving in Twitter debates. We use google translate a lot. Sometimes if we want to do our own campaign, we create a hashtag as it is easier to track. Also, we find some influential accounts in their country e.g. diplomats, government figures, civil society activists... to know the interests of that country/population.

B.T.: Do you think online platforms help create a community in social movements, as seen with #MilkTeaAlliance? When you are advocating, what do you think are the advantages of online communication?

J.H.: When we collaborate with foreign media correspondents in Taiwan (e.g. Bloomberg), we interact with them on Twitter to later facilitate the offline meeting. This way they also incorporate our thoughts on their reports. Also, after the #MilkteaAlliance campaign in 2020, we have seen other uprisings in Cambodia and Thailand. We have seen protestors printing out our memes as banners in protests, and their pictures have been posted on mainstream media like The Times. So, our memes have been in The Times.

B.T.: When tweeting about the #MilkTeaAlliance, your account usually accompanies the tweets with artistic visual content. Do you think visual content is the best way to propose/imagine an alternative to the current model? In what way? (e.g., memes juxtaposing authoritarian practices to democratic ones)



J.H.: We want to bring out the message that countries who aim for democracy should unify. If we just use a slogan or a hashtag it might not be as interesting as a picture. It is important to visualize it. For example, we created an image of the two PMs from Taiwan and India holding bubble tea to increase the interest of local people. Also, if we create a meme, it is easier for us to track its engagement and our virality.

B.T.: Your account has posted 30 tweets with the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance. Of those, there are multiple tweets concerning the relationship between Taiwan and other countries, mainly India. Then, why is this alliance important for the #MilkTeaAlliance, for Taiwan, or for Taiwan Digital Diplomacy Association?

J.H.: We chose India because the concept of the #MilkTeaAlliance started before we did this campaign. India was not included in the movement and we wanted to capitalize on the border conflict between India and China. We wanted to give new meaning to the movement by allying with democratic countries. We use positive comments/views to support India, we do not like to use negative messages like “Stand together against China”. Also, Taiwan wants to keep relations with the US and Japan, as the US has an opposite fixed strategy in Asia to increase their regional security. To follow that strategy, we think India is a key party in South Asia. It is crucial to include them, and we think it is better for us to advocate together with our government. Sometimes, what we do will not be recognized as diplomacy as it is not at state-level. Nevertheless, we try to somehow influence the diplomacy goals of the government.

B.T.: Could you elaborate on why you do not use the ‘against china’ rhetoric? In my Sample, I have seen a weak of correlation between the hashtag #MilkTeaAlliance and #opCCP. It makes sense that you want to be seen in a positive light, but is there any other reason?

J.H.: It is related to our core values. We want to engage Taiwan with different countries. Our government partners with the US and Japan to counter China, but we want to show that there are other choices, like partnering with Korea or India. If we set a hating relationship, it is a limitation for us as it is an emotional reaction.

B.T.: Do you think the US-China (media) rivalry influences your Association, Taiwan, or the #MilkTeaAlliance?



J.H.: We want to set another framework for diplomacy. I studied political science, and we know that the bipolar system is not the best way. What we want to do is to distribute the risk, make it multi-polar; so it is not either A or B, but there are many Cs.

B.T.: In my Sample, I have seen an absence of tweets advocating for direct action or videos showcasing it. According to your Facebook, the Taiwan Digital Diplomacy Association has as an objective to advocate for participatory public diplomacy. How would you say you have translated this goal to your Twitter campaigns? What are the main challenges and/or opportunities?

J.H.: We do not tell people to protest, there are no such goals for us. Our goal on twitter is to bring people to discuss. On Twitter, we point out a topic that is related to us and that we want people to discuss to increase its exposure. For certain actions, we sometimes do it with Taiwanese people at home or abroad. For example, a Taiwanese student in Norway sued the government for identifying him as being a citizen from China, and not from Taiwan. During the lawsuit, he wanted to bring the discussion on what Taiwan is and how Norway should see us, thus he contacted us. Then, we created a solidarity campaign and collected videos of support. We usually join Taiwanese Facebook groups to talk with them and collect videos. We have different methods to create networks, especially among Taiwanese abroad.

B.T.: Can be generalize and state that Twitter is not the main platform in Asia, however Twitter was the only way to connect with a wider audience in the #MilkTeaAlliance? That is, why was Twitter the main platform of the #MilkTeaAlliance? Why not Facebook? In my Sample, there is a correlation between the hastagh and the creation of twitter accounts.

J.H.: On Facebook and Instagram, it is more difficult to have a discussion; however, Twitter is a platform thought to connect with other users. How people see others' tweets is through hashtags and/or topics. For example, if Indians want to show their struggles with China, they mainly tweet. We use the traits of Twitter because the #MilkTeaAlliance is a network.



Appendix B: Filtered Data

Infographic 1: Map of Verified and Non-Verified Users

Verified Users	Total no of tweets	Users	No of tweets
No	141	Others	96
		@YourAnonCentral	24
		Like-#MilkTeaAlliance	19
		Anti One China Policy	2
Yes	82	Politicians Myanmar	1
		Politicians Taiwan	3
		Activists Myanmar	6
		Activists Taiwan	2
		Activists Hong Kong	36
		Activist Thailand	4
		News Myanmar	2
		News Hong Kong	1
		News Thailand	6
		Twitter Public Policy	3
		Others	9



Infographic 5: Map of Visual Content

Image	Count	Concepts	Count
No	28	-	-
Yes (image and video)	202*	Protests	73
		Police Brutality	29
		Meme	6
		Manifesto	23
		Others	38
		Performance	10
		Art	21
		Torture	2

* Some images/videos are in more than one category



Infographic 6: Visual Content Intercountry Tweet-mentions

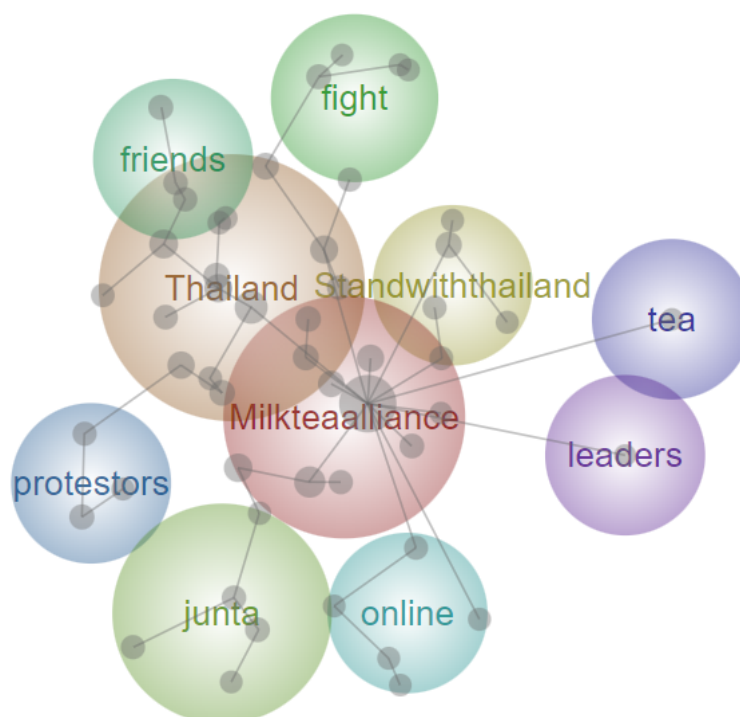
	Protests	Police brutality*	Manifesto	Art**	Others
TH about TH	12	5	2	10	5
TH about HK	4	3	4	5	4
TH about MY	2	2	0	4	4
TH about TW	3	1	0	4	3
HK about HK	9	2	1	3	3
HK about TH	19	6	2	7	3
HK about MY	2	1	1	1	1
HK about TW	2	0	0	3	1
MY about MY	9	12	3	1	5
MY about TH	5	0	0	1	1
MY about HK	2	0	1	1	0
MY about TW	1	0	1	1	1
TW about TW	3	0	0	2	3
TW about TH	3	0	0	1	2
TW about HK	2	0	0	1	1
TW about MY	2	0	0	1	1

* It includes 'police brutality' and 'torture'.

** It includes 'art', 'performance' and 'memes'.



Infographic 7: Leximancer’s List of Concepts



Concept	Kind	Count	Relevance (in %)
Thailand	Name General	39	21
Myanmar	Name General	37	20
Thai	Name General	24	13
Taiwan	Name General	21	12
#Whatshappeninginthailand	Name General	20	11
#Standwiththailand	Name General	19	10
Hong Kong	Name General	18	10
Yangon	Name General	14	8
#Opccp/ CCP	Name General	17	7
Hongkong	Name General	10	5
China	Name General	10	5
Hong Kong	Name General	5	3
Protestors	Name General	5	3
Chinese	Name General	4	2



protestors/ protesters	Word	26	14
democracy/democratic	Word	23	13
protest(s)	Word	23	13
solidarity	Word	23	10
stand	Word	31	9
fight	Word	27	9
police	Word	19	8
friend(s)	Word	20	8
junta	Word	12	7
military	Word	13	7
support	Word	10	5
pro-democracy	Word	10	5
world	Word	12	5
activists	Word	12	5
online	Word	10	5
coup	Word	8	4
brave	Word	12	4
government	Word	10	4
resistance	Word	7	4
tear gas	Word	7	3
future	Word	5	3
boycott	Word	9	2
leaders	Word	4	2



Appendix C: Rough Data

Data extracted on 02/04/2022 in Twitter. The advance Twitter search was: “(#MilkTeaAlliance OR #milktealliance) min_faves:100 min_retweets:100 lang:en”.

No.	Tweet	Nationality	Replies	Retweets	Likes	Image	Verified	Date+link
1	In milk tea we trust. #MilkTeaAlliance #ชานมเข้มข้นกว่าเลือด	TH	96	32.9k	9793	meme	No	Apr 14, 2020
2	Greeting from Taipei #MilkTeaAlliance #ไทเปจะไม่ทน	TW	13	10.4k	2122	image protest	no	Aug 16, 2020
3	support HK from Thailand #BoycottMulan #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	44	4868	1143	manifesto	no	Sep 3, 2020
4	#MilkTeaAlliance How it's started How it's going	TH	4	5081	1030	meme	no	Oct 26, 2020
5	Best map on the #MilkTeaAlliance so far	TW	89	1309	2341	others	no	Apr 15, 2020
6	Sending supports from Taipei. Location: Ximending. #MilkTeaAlliance #ไทเปจะไม่ทน2 #19กันยาทวงอำนาจคืนราษฎร	TW	12	6886	2080	image protests	no	Sep 19, 2020
7	@AIIB_Official that financed telco infrastructure company doing biz w/ military is also enabling human rights violations against ppl in #Indonesia. AIIB's actions in SE Asia call into question its human rights due diligence	MY	24	1972	404	no	yes, justice for myanmar	Sep 13, 2021
8	We will fight together #19กันยาทวงอำนาจคืนราษฎร #FightForFreedom #StandWithThailand #StandWithHongKong #StandWithHK #MilkTeaAlliance #FridaysForFreedom #FreeHongKong #FreeThailand	TH	241	1520	3004	image protests	no	Sep 19, 2020
9	#25พฤศจิกายนไปSCB หนังสือพิมพ์ที่ส่องกงลงหนึ่งหน้า Thank you Hong Kong "We will fight together until the dark powers are over. " #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	7	7555	2266	Manifesto	no	Nov 25, 2020
10	#MilkTeaAlliance 25 October 2020 in Thailand in Taiwan	TH	14	5029	1735	image protest	no	Oct 25, 2020



11	A student gets their hair cut on stage to demonstrate Thai schools' "unnecessary" haircut laws #ขี้ตมเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ #WhatsHappeningInThailand #แท็กเพื่อนไปมีอบ #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #เยาวชนปลดแอก #ประชาชนปลดแอก #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	106	23.9k	5801	performance	Teirra Kamolvattanavith	Aug 16, 2020
12	My friends, this is Francis typing. I would like to leave this message to you all before I become the man with no freedom. No matter what, I will fight for you always. Keep moving forward, with a strong and active faith. Libertatis Aeternum. #MilkTeaAlliance #AntiOneChinaTH	TH	132	13.1k	3766	video message	no	Oct 16, 2020
13	อยู่ที่ Taipei Main Station แล้ว #ไทเปจะไม่ทน #MilkTeaAlliance	TW	5	5150	710	image protest	no	Aug 16, 2020
14	HongKong, Tibet, Taiwan dependence flags on street of Bangkok today. #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	34	6604	2013	image protest	no	Oct 14, 2020
15	Mulan's my favorite disney princess and I've been waiting for this movie ever since they announced a live-action remake but considering the lead's support for the police, we shouldn't pay to see it. If I can resist the urge to do such, you can too. #BoycottMulan #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	137	1532	5776	no	no	Sep 4, 2020
16	I am a 15 years old student from Taiwan, I didn't pay attention to politics until the incident in Hong Kong. I started to fear that China would destroy my country. Now, Myanmar, Thailand, Hong Kong, and Taiwan people, we need to fight together for democracy #MilkTeaAlliance	TW	438	4686	5362	image protest and pop culture ref	no	Mar 16, 2021
17	Proud to see our flag fly high and be recognized all over the world. We thank the people from so many countries who today expressed congratulations and support. Especially our Indian friends. Namaste! #TaiwanNationalDay #JaiHind #MilkTeaAlliance	TW	2121	11.4k	42.1k	others	賴清德Lai Ching-te	Oct 10, 2020



18	#MilkTeaAlliance For the win 🇹🇼🇹🇭🇭🇰 #Taiwan #Thailand #Hongkong #Milktealogy	TH	60	4026	3890	art	no	Apr 15, 2020
19	The #LGBTQ flag be passed through the crowd at today's protest. #ขีดเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ #democracy #gayrights #WhatsHappeningInThailand #แท็กเพื่อนไปมีอบ #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #เยาวชนปลดแอก #ประชาชนปลดแอก #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	13	5137	2614	video protest	Teirra Kamolvattanavith	Aug 16, 2020
20	Hundreds of thousands of #Thais are now staging another huge march in #Thailand now. I hear too !!! #มีอบ26ตุลา #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #StandwithThailand	HK	162	22.8k	12.7k	video protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 26, 2020
21	As a Tibetan, as a milk tea drinker, an activist, and a believer in the power of the people — I stand with the people of Myanmar. We are the only ones that can create the revolutions of our time. #SolidarityWithMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	O	477	4278	8843	others	no	Mar 2, 2021
22	Graffiti of #StandWithThailand and #Save12HKYouths in Hong Kong #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	200	27.4k	12.7k	image protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 18, 2020
23	Flash flood? No, it was the angry Indian people who rushed to the border between #India and #CCP! Prevent the CCP from unauthorized construction. Brave Indians! ! #MilkTeaAlliance #CCP_is_terrorist	O	325	1975	3174	video	no	Jun 18, 2020
24	Stand with Thailand! We are the #MilkTeaAlliance Follow the fight for democracy on #WhatsHappeningInThailand	HK	14	1212	2088	art	no	Oct 17, 2020
25	Instead of watching Mulan tomorrow I'd recommend watching the Hong Kong movie "Ten Years". It's a series of short films that imagine what Hong Kong will be like in the future. It's available on Netflix and can be rented on YouTube and Google Play. #BoycottMulan #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	31	639	1358	others	no	Sep 3, 2020



26	Ratchadamnoen road is lit up with pro-democracy magic tonight. #Democracy #ขีดเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ #WhatsHappeningInThailand #แท็กเพื่อนไปมีอบ #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #เยาวชนปลดแอก #ประชาชนปลดแอก #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	43	5513	2171	video protest	Teirra Kamolvattanavith	Aug 16, 2020
27	A wonderfully touching video by a #Thailand-born #Taiwanese, showing the unity and solidarity of our brave #Thai friends. We can get through this together. #MilkTeaAlliance #StandWithThailand #WhatHappensinThailand #ปล่อยเพื่อนเรา #หยุดคุกคามประชาชน	HK	252	22.1k	12.6k	video protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 18, 2020
28	Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. #EndImpunity #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb11Coup #MilkTeaAlliance #CyberSpeechFreedom	A	5707	40.9k	48k	image protest, performance	no	Feb 11, 2021
29	Anonymous supports the #MilkTeaAlliance with #OpCCP. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #WhatsHappeningInThailand #WhatsHappeningInHongKong #WhatsHappeningInIndia #WhatsHappeningInTaiwan #WhatsHappeningInIndonesia	A	1533	28.2k	32.1k	art	no	Feb 25, 2021
30	Photos from today's protest at Ratchprasong intersection. #AntiOneChinaTH #save12hkyouths #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	22	2228	890	image protest	no	Nov 18, 2020
31	Together with #MilkTeaAlliance, we join the call for international communities to demand Russia to stop this senseless war and invasion of Ukraine. We stand in solidarity with all the freedom-loving people of the world. #solidarityWithUkraine	MY	5	286	388	manifesto	no, civil disobedience movement	Feb 25
32	Around 3000 turned up to the #save12hkyouths march in Taiwan. Lots of solidarity for too. #12HKyouths #StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	76	2233	2907	image protest	no	Oct 25, 2020



33	What an inspiring image. Together we stand up for democracy and human rights #MilkTeaAlliance	TW	73	2647	4629	image protest	Freddy Lim 林昶佐	Oct 15, 2020
34	West Papuan have begun their movement for self determination. For decades, mining companies and the Indonesian government have engaged in a program of systematic abuse, disappearances and persecution to keep their interests. #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	48	2820	2904	video protest	Thai Enquirer	Feb 28, 2021
35	This is how our people brave for strike. Write the blood type and next-of-kin contact in case of emergency and blood needed in hospital. Respect Generation Z. #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #HearTheVoiceOfMyanmar	MY	27	2268	1469	others	no	Feb 22, 2021
36	Day21 - I still keep practicing my handwriting in #Cantonese LG 2 indicated the solidarity of #Thai,#Taiwanese & #HKers which it's prove that our relationship more than ordinary friends.. but #WeAreOne #MilkTeaAlliance #StandWithHongKong #save12hkyouths #ThailandProtest2020	TH	203	1778	3092	others	no	Oct 31, 2020
37	#Thailand, we are not there with you, but we feel you deeply. It is the least for me to say, we are in this together. We stand with you just like what you did when we needed a friend. #StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #หยุดคุกคามประชาชน #ขีดเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ	HK	63	5201	4338	image protest	no	Oct 17, 2020
38	Don't underestimate the #MilkTeaAlliance #savemyanmar #whatshappeninginmyanmar #มือบ28กุมภาพันธ์ #28กุมภาพันธ์ครั้งเข้าปารีส #WhatsHappeningInThailand	TH	291	5307	3241	image protest	Thai Enquirer	Feb 28, 2021



39	<p>Apart from #policebrutality, the world should also pay attention to #Thaiprotectors' creativity. Probably the first place where the powerless citizens use #RubberDuck to fight against tyranny. Creativity wins. Long live rubber ducks.</p> <p>#whatishappeninginthailand #MilkTeaAlliance</p>	HK	137	11.1k	7646	image protest, art	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Nov 18, 2020
40	<p>Thank you our #MilkTeaAlliance standing in solidarity with Hong Kong and promote the #BoycottMulan campaign. #MilkTeaAlliance is strong and solid</p>	HK	29	3950	1743	retweet image protest	no	Sep 3, 2020
41	<p>Call for an International protest for Myanmar on February 28th, 2021. #OpCCP #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar</p>	A	688	21.8k	25.6k	video performance	no	Feb 26, 2021
42	<p>China's dams make us drought so you don't dare say that China and Thailand are siblings because relatives never do this with their families, right? #ชานมข้นกว่าเลือด #MilkTeaAlliance</p>	TH	138	3214	1718	no	no	Apr 14, 2020
43	<p>Today we are launching an emoji for the #MilkTeaAlliance an online solidarity alliance first started in April 2020 as a Twitter meme which has grown into a global pro-democracy movement led by activists and concerned citizens in 🇷🇺🇹🇼🇵🇹🇲🇻 and around the world.</p>	O	516	16.2k	12.1k	no	Twitter Public Policy	Apr 8, 2021
44	<p>#HongKong people stand with you #StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance</p>	HK	35	2794	3042	retweet image protest	no	Oct 16, 2020
45	<p>International solidarity protests for Myanmar today. Join the #MilkTeaAlliance #SpringIsComing #SpringRevolutionMyanmar #SpringRevolution #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb28Coup #OpCCP</p>	A	1065	9545	10.8k	video performance	no	Feb 28, 2021



46	TW// gunshot, blood Brave protesters carry out a daring rescue of an injured man, shot by junta force in Hledan, Yangon. #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb28Coup	A	1894	17.7k	14.4k	video protest	no	Feb 28, 2021
47	Thank you. #Hongkongers love #Thailand too. Please stay safe, and stay hopeful. #StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #WeLoveThailand #whatishappeninginthailand	HK	47	4313	3187	video protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 25, 2020
48	ความเห็นแก่ตัว full of selfishness Apart of unknown cause of Coronavirus from CHINA.... #StopMekongDam #ขานมขัน กว่าเลือด #MilkTeaAlliance Dear all friend around the world, see pic below u will see how much selfish is in CHINA gov! Don't dare to tell TH we are family	TH	71	2721	1785	others	no	Apr 15, 2020
49	Medical students/staff who are peacefully protesting for democracy cornered and detained by police. 2nd pic shows police stripping off lab coats before detaining them in trucks. 📍 Kyauk kone Rd. Yangon #MilkTeaAlliance #JusticeForMyanmar	MY	124	14.7k	8335	image police brutality	no	Feb 28, 2021
50	Hackers and activists from all over the world stand with #Myanmar. The outside world is listening and we are trying to do our best to help. It is Putin, Xi, and the Junta vs the world. #EndImpunity #JusticeForMyanmar #Feb12Coup #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	A	8702	31.4k	34.6k	art	no	Feb 12, 2021
51	Protestors use makeshift shields to protect themselves and others from violent junta forces in Yangon. Several pro-democracy protestors severely injured by live ammunition. #Feb28Coup #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	A	1481	23.9k	18.4k	video POLice brutality	no, anonymous	Feb 28, 2021



52	Despite #Thaigov's threat of media meltdown & Computer Crimes Act that criminalizes online speeches, brave #thais held another mass rally today, after PM #Prayut refused to answer ppl's #threedemands #มือบ25ตุลา #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #standwiththailand	HK	76	6536	4966	image protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 25, 2020
53	Protest safety tips and instructions. 🇸🇬🇹🇲🚧 Guide:https://freedomformyanmar.com/2021/02/07/protesting-on-the-road/ #Myanmarprotests #Feb10Coup #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	A	1435	13.4k	19.2k	image info	no, anonymous	Feb 11, 2021
54	This is not #HongKong. It is #Bangkok. Yet everything looks so familiar- the gears, the crowd's tactics and the blue cannon... #StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	O	79	3182	3579	video protest	no	Oct 16, 2020
55	Scenes from Thailand's protests are now looking exactly like Hong Kong last year- tear gas, umbrella sheilds, water cannon trucks with blue tinted water... #StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	58	2857	2629	video POLice brutality	no	Oct 16, 2020
56	n the meantime, our fellow Koreans marched to the Chinese embassy to #StandWithHongKong and urge #China to halt #NationalSecurityLegislation. Thanks for standing with #HongKongers in our fight for democracy🙌 #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	258	5497	6534	image protest	Demosistō 香港眾志	May 27, 2020
57	Anonymous teams up with #MilkTeaAlliance #Mar2coup #March2Coup #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #OpMyanmar #OpCCP	A	311	6049	8752	no	no, anonymous	Mar 2, 2021
58	Despite metro shutdown, brave #Thai defied draconian laws, flocked to streets and made their voices heard. Their determination for #Thailanddemocracy cannot be deterred. #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	81	15.9k	9248	video protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 17, 2020



59	[My idea on #MilkTeaAlliance] 1/ "The innovative idea of Milk Tea Alliance will enhance more students to push forward global solidarity which might confront hardline crackdown," Hong Kong activist Joshua Wong told Reuters.	HK	40	2813	2200	art	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 21, 2020
60	Calling for sale suspension of tear gas to Thailand #MilkTeaAlliance Thai protestors and I urge your company to suspend the sale of tear gas canisters and other riot weapons to the Thai police force.	HK	79	2560	2325	manifesto	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Nov 20, 2020
61	Always in solidarity, no matter how hard the times. #MilkTeaAlliance #奶茶聯盟	HK	375	4501	6178	no	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Apr 8, 2021
62	Stronger together — We fight for democracy, we never give up. #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	91	1850	3656	video others	Nathan Law 羅冠聰	Apr 8, 2021
63	Hong Kong is standing with all the freedom fighters! Let's support our #MilkTeaAlliance teammate, Thai friends! Hope all of you are safe and remember our philosophy "Be Water!" Be water, my friends! #StandWithThailand	O	25	736	750	art	no	Aug 16, 2020
64	Today is the #MilkTeaAlliance day. Hundreds of thousands of people gathered since the morning. Crackdown has begun in Botahtaung and Thingangyun Townships (Yangon). Hundreds of people are hiding in the houses nearby.	MY	275	14.2k	10.2k	no	Mratt Kyaw Thu	Feb 28, 2021
65	Taiwan is always accused by China of being "used by foreign powers." Nonsense. We are just a smart country that happens to love democracy and bubble tea. #MilkTeaAlliance	TW	62	618	2867	no	Kolas Yotaka	Oct 18, 2020



66	When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty. Support #FrontLineHeroes. Support Federal Democracy. 🇲🇲👊🇲🇲 #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #EndImpunity #Mar20Coupe	A	443	11.6k	13.2k	image protest	no, anonymous	Mar 20, 2021
67	People across Japan send their solidarity to pro-democracy protestors in Myanmar. #OpCCP #MilkTeaAlliance #Feb26Coupe #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	A	510	9673	14.4k	image performance	no, anonymous	Feb 26, 2021
68	TW// gunshots, blood Junta forces opened fire on unarmed pro-democracy protestors in Hleden Center, Yangon on Feb 28. Multiple injuries reported. Some images to graphic to repost. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb28Coupe #MilkTeaAlliance	A	2464	27.8k	21.9k	image POlice brutality	no, anonymous	Feb 28, 2021
69	An open letter today from #hkprotestors who are now detained in prisons for their democratic causes. Fighting a common battle to safeguard liberties, #HKers share our fellow #Thais' feelings & will #standwithThailand in their fight against tyranny together. #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	117	5463	4130	manifesto	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Nov 21, 2020
70	1/ Pain and anguish filled my heart when I was climbing uphill today, 47 #HongKong democracy movement leaders are prosecuted for subversion and face life imprisonment. Meanwhile, 23 lives were taken by autocrats in #Myanmar. The #MilkTeaAlliance is born in a time of turmoil...	HK	402	5354	7119	image protest	Johnson Yeung 楊政賢	Feb 28, 2021
71	We strongly condemn Myanmar #military junta's use of #torture against detainees particularly women as this is violation of serious int'l laws. We ask for immediate Int'l attention on this matter. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #SaveMyanmar	MY	222	11.6k	7623	image torture	Women's Peace Network	Apr 19, 2021



72	5. Despite crackdowns, our brave Thai friends now defy the new law & flock to streets to protest against tyrannical rules. On their fight for #DemocracyforThai, we should not let them fight alone. #LongLivethePeople! #15ตุลาไปราชประสงค์ #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	86	10.8k	4027	video protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 15, 2020
73	Anonymous has been supporting Myanmar since 2014 through #OpRohingya and #OpKachin. We are closely monitoring for human rights violations and the implementation of the so-called cybersecurity law. #MilkTeaAlliance #Feb11Coup #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	A	2686	17.6k	25.3k	others	no, anonymous	Feb 11, 2021
74	Graffiti in support of the #Thailand protests has appeared in Hong Kong. The two resistance movements have been linked under what activists have called the #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	67	3498	3561	image protest	Hong Kong Free Press	Oct 18, 2020
75	#दीपावली_की_हार्दिक_शुभकामनाएं #दीपावली #HappyDiwali to all of our #MilkTeaAlliance friends in India. 🇮🇳 and 🇮🇳 had both faced common threats in 2020. While I am sure "victory of light over darkness, good over evil, and knowledge over ignorance" will happen in both 🇮🇳 and 🇮🇳.	HK	112	1197	2791	meme	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Nov 14, 2020
76	Cyber resistance against the CCP backed Myanmar coup d'état continues. #Anonymous takes down several junta controlled websites in solidarity with protestors and their call for democracy. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #Feb25Coup #OpCCP	A	973	6251	9873	others	no, anonymous	Feb 25, 2021
77	#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar: How China and Russia are helping the Junta. #OpCCP #MilkTeaAlliance #Feb25Coup	A	848	15.2k	15.9k	no	no, anonymous	Feb 25, 2021



78	#MilkTeaAlliance: @AngAngOpilan and I share what this generation of Asian youth activists hopes to achieve. 1/ From hand signals to flashmobs, Thai activists are deploying tactics learned from Hong Kong. Meanwhile, HKers are organizing campaigns to support the Thai protests.	HK	41	4172	2851	others	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Nov 17, 2020
79	#China is trying to threaten Indian media. Thanks for all supports from our true friend 🇮🇳 #India. Let's have some 🇺🇦 bubble tea to celebrate our national day on 10/10. Cheers! @AdityaRajKaul #IndiaStandWithTaiwan #MilkTeaAlliance #TaiwanNationalDay #TaiwanIsNotChina #Taiwan	TW	102	1314	4076	art	Taiwan Digital Diplomacy	Oct 7, 2020
80	Pro-democracy boycott of Disney's Mulan builds online via #milkteaalliance	O	1087	4390	7193	no	The Guardian	Sep 4, 2020
81	We have seen more than 11 million Tweets featuring the #MilkTeaAlliance hashtag over the past year. Conversations peaked when it first appeared in April 2020, and again in February 2021 when the coup took place in Myanmar🇲🇲:	O	91	2879	3190	others	Twitter Public Policy	Apr 8, 2021
82	China says 'China and Thai as one family. Well, how come FAMILY did to your sibling as this? Release the water! #MilkTeaAlliance #ชานมข้นกว่าเลือด	TH	229	7386	3252	no	no	Apr 14, 2020
83	To celebrate the first anniversary of the #MilkTeaAlliance, we designed an emoji featuring 3 different types of milk tea colours from regions where the Alliance first formed online. It automatically appears when you Tweet any of the hashtags below👉	O	113	4854	4535	others	Twitter Public Policy	Apr 8, 2021
84	No. Not while the true Mulans are suffering in the darkness of a Chinese jail.	HK	89	1818	3108	no	no	Sep 5, 2020



	Pro-democracy boycott of Disney's Mulan builds online via #milkteaalliance							
85	3. #Hongkongers condemn this sort of #policeviolence against our democracy fighters in #Thailand and urge #Thaigov to answer the people's #threedemands immediately. #StandwithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #ปล่อยเพื่อนเรา #WhatsHappeningInThailand	HK	40	3729	2161	image police brutality	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 30, 2020
86	Earlier this morning, #Thai people from all ages also appeared at today's rally to protest against the military-backed govt. "Let this end in grandma's generation," one of the ralliers said. #มีอบ8พฤศจิกายน #whatishappeninginthailand #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	18	3151	1585	image protest, POLICE BRUTALITY	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Nov 8, 2020
87	The Myanmar junta massacred at least 60 people in Bago and reduced internet access even further. Protestors are calling for a boycott of China and Russia. Calls for R2P continue. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Apr9Coup #MilkTeaAlliance	A	689	12.7k	10k	no	no, anonymous	Apr 9, 2021
88	We do not agree with the court's decision in every statement the Thai court has made. Because criticizing all persons under the same constitution is a right to do and does not deserve anyone to be convicted of such a serious case. . #ปฏิรูปไม่เท่ากับล้มล้าง #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	3	597	191	manifesto	no, Milk_Thailan	Nov 10, 2021
89	Today #Thaiprotesters rallied to demand the king to give up control of the royal future. Ridiculously #thaigov just built a "Bangkok Wall" with containers to block ralliers. But the will of the people cannot be blocked. #MilkTeaAlliance #25พฤศจิกายนไปSCB #WhatsHappeningInThailand	HK	52	4082	1884	image protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Nov 25, 2020



90	The Myanmar junta has cut mobile data as it violently cracks down on unarmed protestors and dissidents. Protestors are being shot dead and/or tortured in broad daylight by junta forces. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Mar17Coup #opCCP #MilkTeaAlliance	A	1021	11,2k	9290	no	no, anonymous	Mar 17, 2021
91	4/ As we stand in solidarity with people in Thailand, the #MilkTeaAlliance, together we shall weather the authoritarian storm and reclaim our freedom, irrespective of the cost, the pain and tears ahead of us. Tattep Ruangprapaikitseree, @paritchi and @NetiwitC, I am on your side.	HK	16	8687	2742	others	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 19, 2020
92	Good! #BoycottMulan Pro-democracy boycott of Disney's Mulan builds online via #milkteaalliance	HK	97	1734	3129	no	Benedict Rogers 羅傑斯	Sep 4, 2020
93	How China and the junta stole billions of dollars from Myanmar's jade industry. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb27Coup #MilkTeaAlliance #OpCCP	A	1797	16.3k	15.5k	no	no, anonymous	Feb 27, 2021
94	Rest in Power, Deng Jia Xi. Thank you for being the epitome of bravery for democracy and humanity. Your struggle lives on in the minds of other people who fight for justice across the #MilkTeaAlliance. Solidarity. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	O	12	863	3770	no	no	Mar 3, 2021
95	I believed #MilkTeaAlliance could create a "pan-Asia" grassroots movement that would draw more attention to social causes in Asia. "Be it Belarus, Thailand, or other places where injustice is happening, we are constantly fighting for the same beliefs."	HK	48	3937	2904	no	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 14, 2020



96	Terror in North Okkalapa as junta-terrorists use machine guns and warplanes to 'disperse' unarmed protestors. The @UN, @UNPeacekeeping sit idle again. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #Mar3Coup #March3Coup	A	882	14.2k	11.8k	no	no, anonymous	Mar 3, 2021
97	Thai allies out in force! Demanding their democracy and saying NO to absolute monarchy! #milkteaalliance #ปฏิรูปไม่เท่ากับล้มล้าง #WhatsHappeningInThailand #มือบ14 พฤศจิกายน64	O	3	170	125	video protest	no	Nov 14, 2021
98	Chinese-language reporting on the terrorist #Myanmar military junta in @initiumnews. The structure set up by the military is illegal & the attempted coup is failing. One year on, the junta has been overwhelmingly rejected by the ppl & mass resistance continues. #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	29	265	178	image info	Justice For Myanmar	Feb 6
99	Deeply concerned about #Thailand, a country I visit often and love. It's tragic to see scenes in #Bangkok so reminiscent of what we have seen in #HongKong #StandWithThailand #StandWithHongKong #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	174	4490	5207	no	Benedict Rogers 羅傑斯	Oct 16, 2020
100	As protests in Thailand again grow, a look at the #MilkTeaAlliance which now, the youthful, very online movement that now "envelops people across Asia who are fed up with expanding authoritarianism and demand democratic reforms":	MY	20	722	561	no	Timothy McLaughlin	Oct 13, 2020
101	One of the first #MilkteaAlliance campaigns was to raise awareness of how Chinese dams are causing ecological problems for the people of Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam etc. Saying it's because of 'US efforts' erases the very real concerns of the peoples in these countries.	O	12	140	298	INFO	no	Mar 28
102	Thailand and Hong Kong are brewing a strong #MilkTeaAlliance	O	74	1252	1457	no	Quartz	Oct 19, 2020



103	We stand together 🇺🇹🇧🇪 #SaveHKThreeActivist #SaveJoshuaWong #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	17	5422	1411	ART	no	Nov 23, 2020
104	OMG! You said we are family? What kind of FAMILY is this? #ขานมขันทกว่าเลือด #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	81	3929	2032	meme	no	Apr 15, 2020
105	#Myanmar has called friends from ASEAN, Hong Kong & Taiwan to mobilize #MilkTeaAlliance on 28 February 2021 after the unofficial meeting of Myanmar Junta envoy with Prayut Chan-o-cha. Let's pressure ASEAN leaders to recognize the 2020 Myanmar General Election results.	O	1107	25k	23.6k	manifesto	no, #MilkTeaAlliance Brew	Feb 25, 2021
106	"The Siblings" What China claims that we are VS What we really are. #ขานมขันทกว่าเลือด #MilkTeaAlliance	O	32	3061	1335	meme, pop culture ref	no	Apr 14, 2020
107	We are Milk Tea Girls and support #MilkTeaAlliance Follow us for more single against dictatorship ~	TH	45	1362	1399	art, pop culture reference	no	Sep 4, 2020
108	[Support our Thai fellows in their fight for democracy] 1. #Hongkongers will never forget how our Thai fellows stood with us against #China's nationalist trolls during #nnevvy saga and spoke up for us amid #Beijing's authoritarian suppression in #HK. #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	449	41.9k	16.9k	image protest, pop culture ref	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Jul 19, 2020
109	Power to the people. #FreeThailand. #Thailand #WhatHappensinThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #ขีดเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ	A	55	3850	3499	image info	no, anonymous	Aug 16, 2020
110	Bubble (flag taiwan) Silk (flag hong kong) Chayen (flag thai) WE ARE #MilkTeaAlliance girls	TH	28	1061	911	art, pop culture reference	no	Sep 4, 2020
111	#WhatsHappeningInMyanmar All the images coming out of Myanmar are horrific. But people are still protesting, protecting each other with what little they have, and to	TH	219	4058	4665	art	no	Mar 26, 2021



	remember those fallen. It's inspiring and devastating. #MilkTeaAlliance is standing by you. keep fighting.							
112	Here's the flag of our union, the "Milk Tea Alliance" It represents the colors of Thai milk tea, Hongkong milk tea, and Taiwan milk tea. lol #ชานมข้นกว่าเลือด #MilkTeaAlliance #奶茶聯盟	O	109	1250	1899	others	no	Apr 15, 2020
113	"I'm sorry, the old Thaikun can't come to the phone right now" "Why?" "Oh, 'cause he joins the protest !" (Look what you made me do) #ขีดเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ #ประชาชนปลดแอก #แท็กเพื่อนไปม็อบ #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #TaylorFightwithSwiftiesTH	TH	21	2959	1024	art, pop culture reference	no	Aug 15, 2020
114	We are wishing for the safety and immediate release of our Hong Kong and Thai friends who are facing injustice and persecution. #MilkTeaAlliancethailand #MilkTeaAlliancehongkong #MilkTeaAllianceMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	52	4719	4748	protests, pop culture reference	no	Mar 1, 2021
115	"Everything will be OK, because we will fight and we will win." Rest in Power, sis. Condolences to our siblings in Myanmar. #BlackWednesday #MilkTeaAlliance #StandWithMyanmar	O	9	524	790	image pOLice brutality	no	Mar 3, 2021
116	During the Ramadan, during the heat, thank you for standing with us. #Myanmar! You guys, all my international activists, #MilkTeaAlliance & Myanmar Revolutionaries' triumphs makes me believe that we will win this Coup d'etat #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #ASEANSummit	MY	88	10.6k	6357	image protest	Ei Thinzar Maung - Deputy Minister	Apr 25, 2021
117	Please stand with the courageous people of Thailand to stop the regim from suppressing them #หยุดคุกคามประชาชน #ขีดเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ #MilkteaAlliance #StandWithThailand	HK	42	1826	1791	image protest, pop culture ref	Joey Siu 邵嵐	Oct 16, 2020
118	We Are Here, join us #Jakarta #Surabaya #MilkTeaAlliance (emojis of flags)	A	16	200	1419	meme	no	Nov 5, 2021



119	缅甸加油! မြန်မာကြိုးစားပါ! From Taiwan Thanks a lot, Taiwan #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Mar21Coupe #MilkTeaAlliance #အရေးတော်ပုံအောင်ရမည်	MY	149	5357	6393	others	Civil Disobedience Movement	Mar 21, 2021
120	About last night in... Yangon? No, Bangkok Photo: Wichan Charoenkiatrakul, BKK Post #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInThailand	TH	501	4158	5534	image pOLice brutality	John Reed จอห์น รีด	Mar 1, 2021
121	The Great Wave of #MilkTeaAlliance Artist: @ishikyosan	HK	16	492	1168	art	Fight For Freedom	Apr 24, 2021
122	Friends from #MilkTeaAlliance and democratic countries, I think all of you should be concerned with the latest developments in #Myanmar: Mass military presence, firing at citizens, internet cutoff... A potential massacre is happening. Let's keep tweeting and supporting them.	HK	95	2247	2588	manifesto	Nathan Law 羅冠聰	Feb 14, 2021
123	When injustice becomes law, resistance becomes duty. Support #FrontLineHeroes. Support Federal Democracy. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #EndImpunity #Mar20Coupe	A	443	11.6k	13.2k	image pOLice brutality	no, anonymous	Mar 20, 2021
124	We want to stress #MilkTeaAlliance is YOUR movement. This page does not lead but hope to facilitate solidarity for democracy because there is potential when we stand together. Mass protests toppled dictators before, now let's see how regional protests do Art credit: @kuasasiswa	O	74	2410	2725	art	no, #MilkTeaAlliance Brew	Feb 27, 2021
125	Protest by #MilkTeaAlliance in Taiwan in support of Myanmar protesters against coup #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	O	393	4694	5143	image protest, pop culture ref	Matthew Tostevin	Feb 28, 2021
126	in response to @Raise3Fingers call. I intended to post yesterday but was stunned into silence. How could you shoot children and set people on fire? Inhuman! It's hard not to lose hope. But if you do, they win. #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	TH	77	3087	3427	art	no	Mar 28, 2021



127	Save Palestine Save India Save Colombia Save Myanmar Free the Land, down with oppression and end state sponsored violence ! #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	22	2152	2105	image protest	no, Milk Tea Alliance Myanmar	May 12, 2021
128	Thousands of pro-democracy protestors gathered in Bangkok, #Thailand to call for the government to resign & constitution to be changed. In biggest protest yet. # ประชาชนปลดแอก #เยาวชนปลดแอก #Thailand #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInThailand	A	15	421	1793	image protest, POP CUlture ref	no, anonymous	Aug 16, 2020
129	Hong Kongers disapprove Cop Backer @yifei_cc and Blackface @DonnieYenCT. That's why we are calling for freedom-loving peoples everywhere to #BoycottMulan. #Mulan #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	333	3409	6815	others	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Sep 5, 2020
130	We #StandwithThailand ! #MilkTeaAlliance #หยุดคุกคาม ประชาชน #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา Thanks for organising and joining #FridaysForFreedom protest in London yesterday	HK	21	1310	1747	image protest, pop culture ref	Finn Lau 劉祖 迪	Oct 31, 2020
131	On a lighter note, Philippine media personality @kuyakim_atienza spams @PhilstarNews FB page with #TaiwanIsACountry! 😊 Hats off to you, Kuya Kim! Milk tea is on us! #MilkTeaAlliance	O	24	317	2524	others	no, Milk Tea Alliance PH	May 27, 2021
132	Solidarity with democratic protestors in Myanmar End terrorist military dictatorship Implement democracy, save lives #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	148	4819	2472	image protest, pop culture ref	Nathan Law 羅 冠聰	May 2, 2021
133	Here's the original and the one made by @smalltungkh We think it's pretty good! #เยาวชนปลดแอก #มือบ20ตุลา #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	6	1660	1184	art	Thai Enquirer	Oct 20, 2020
134	Proudly design the visual for Taiwan's online event of memorizing #TiananmenSquareMassacre this year. It highlights power #MilkTeaAlliance and the common	O	15	722	1031	art	巴丟草 Badiuca	Jun 2, 2021



	struggle, memory and inspiration to fight totalitarian regime like CCP in Asia.							
135	2. Amid textbook censorship, #HKers feel their pains. Please listen to their message to the world - Thai education has made us puppets. We are not robots of the system, we are the youth and have the right to express ourselves. #หนูรู้หนูนั่นแล้ว #standwiththailand #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	6	2360	1242	image protest, POP CUlture ref	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Sep 5, 2020
136	3. Force & fear won't kill our spirit of resistance, and can never take away our future & imprison our soul. As situation in #Thailand turns critical, I hope all freedom-loving ppl can #StandWithThailand & #SaveParit. #เสาหลักจะหักแผ่นดินการ #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	42	3309	1718	pop culture reference	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Aug 14, 2020
137	Protesters are keeping their umbrellas locked, as they have learned from Hong Kong protests, as they make a stand against the riot police truck's watergun. #MilkTeaAlliance #16ตุลาไปแยกปทุมวัน #มือบ16ตุลา #Thailand #KE #whatshappeninginthailand	TH	39	226	923	image police brutality	Khaosod English	Oct 16, 2020
138	A #SolidarityWithMyanmar event was held in Taipei today, by Burmese lecturer @thomaschen48. The event's message today is: it has been 70 days since the military coup in Myanmar and at least 739 people have been killed. 1/2 #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	TW	166	3977	4454	image protests, pop culture ref	Roy Ngerng 鄺 義林	Apr 11, 2021
139	As #Thai government is silencing dissents and putting #freespeech under attack, #Hongkongers and the world please #StandwithThailand, continue spreading their words and make their voices heard. #MilkTeaAlliance #whatishappeninginthailand #Journalismisnotacrime #saveสื่อเสรี	HK	16	2604	910	Police brutality	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 19, 2020



140	#Apr9Coups Update: 4 civilians from Bago and 19 civilians from North Oakkala, Yangon, have been sentenced to death for simply supporting democracy in Myanmar. They all show signs of severe torture. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance @UN @antonioguterres, @SecBlinken	A	709	11.1k	6763	image torture	no, anonymous	Apr 9, 2021
141	Hold my umbrella #วันไชน่าที่ไม่ใช่วันชาติ #AntiOneChinaTH #MilkteaAlliance	TH	39	876	431	video protest	no, Anti One China TH	Oct 1, 2020
142	Thanks all for supporting us in our democracy journey. #MilkTeaAlliance #MilkTeaAllianceMyanmar	MY	82	3835	4935	video others	no, Milk Tea Alliance Burma	Mar 16, 2021
143	Myanmar has become Totally a Slaughter Ground. Terrorists Killing Unarmed civilians since Morning Till now. Trying so hard to Kill people. Now in Than Lan(Yangon). #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Mar14Coup #MilkTeaAlliance #OpCCP	MY	109	6509	2906	video police brutality	no, Milk Tea Alliance Myanmar	Mar 14, 2021
144	Today brave #Thai protesters marched for #Democracy and sang 'Do You Hear the People Sing?' #มือบ18กรกฎ #MilkTeaAlliance	O	8	1660	1245	video protest, Pop culture ref	no	Jul 18, 2021
145	Ratchadamnoen road is lit up with pro-democracy magic tonight. #Democracy #ขีดเส้นตายไล่เผด็จการ #WhatsHappeningInThailand #แท็กเพื่อนไปมือบ #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา #เยาวชนปลดแอก #ประชาชนปลดแอก #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	43	5513	2171	video protest	Teirra Kamolvattanavi th	Aug 16, 2020
146	A wonderfully touching video by a #Thailand-born #Taiwanese, showing the unity and solidarity of our brave #Thai friends. We can get through this together. #MilkTeaAlliance #StandWithThailand #WhatHappensInThailand #ปล่อยเพื่อนเรา #หยุดคุกคามประชาชน	HK	252	22.1k	12.6k	video performa nce	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒	Oct 18, 2020



147	Myanmar Today: 5 shot by the military and counting Hong Kong Today: 47 activists charged under the Chinese national security law Totalitarianism has made enemies out of our peoples and now our fates are tied in the face of such oppression. #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	164	2288	2478	video protest	no	Feb 28, 2021
148	#WhatToKnow The Power Of Thai Youths #VoiceOnline #WhatsHappeningInThailand #มีอบ19ตุลา #มีอบ20ตุลา #มีอบ21ตุลา #19ตุลาไปแยกเกษตร #คณะราษฎร #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	35	2224	1740	video performance	no	Oct 21, 2020
149	Today we gathered in #Melbourne to take a #StandWithMyanmar! #FightForDemocracy #MilkTeaAlliance	O	58	1355	1758	video protest	no	Mar 14, 2021
150	မြန်မာပြည်က ညီနောင်များ အားတင်းထား အားတင်းထား။ "Keep fighting, our brothers and sisters in Myanmar." We are with you all the way, always. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #GlobalSpringRevolutionDay #May2Coup #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	58	6870	2631	video protest	no	May 2, 2021
151	Opening speech at the #MilkTeaAlliance Rally #SanFrancisco today. Believe in people's power, and we can liberate ourselves and each other. People's power will prevail #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #April25Coup #FreeBurma	MY	49	5958	3450	video manifesto	no	Apr 25, 2021
152	Sound on please incredible scenes from one of today's protests in #Myanmar! #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #FightForDemocracy #MilkTeaAlliance	O	17	255	477	video protest	no	Feb 8, 2021
153	Protestors use makeshift shields to protect themselves and others from violent junta forces in Yangon. Several pro-democracy protestors severely injured by live ammunition. #Feb28Coup #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	A	1481	23.9k	18.4k	video pOLice brutality	no	Feb 28, 2021



154	Today's mass demonstration in Bangkok is taking a sinister turn as police storm through to disperse the protestors. The situation is becoming more and more like Hong Kong. #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #16ตุลาไปแยกปทุมวัน	TH	10	2026	541	video pOLice brutality	no	Oct 16, 2020
155	Thank you. #Hongkongers love #Thailand too. Please stay safe, and stay hopeful. #StandWithThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #WeLoveThailand #whatishappeninginthailand	HK	47	4313	3187	video protest	no	Oct 25, 2020
156	#MilkTeaAlliance Friends: The moment where police tried to take away a grieving mother (Reina, an activist arrested under false charges) away from her own baby's wake #DuterteDuwag #OustDuterte #奶茶聯盟 #WhatsHappeningInPhilippines #FreePoliticalPrisoners #JusticeForBabyRiver	O	18	439	439	video police brutality	no, Milk Tea Alliance PH	Oct 17, 2020
157	Soldiers shooting into flat/residents the informers pointed at. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #Mar17Coup	MY	44	2604	1258	video police brutality	no, Milk Tea Alliance Myanmar	Mar 17, 2021
158	[#TweetForThailand] Our Thai friends & allies are in trouble. There is a crackdown on online freedom of speech in #Thailand by the government. We will stand with you. Your voices will be heard. #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	22	671	675	video performa nce, pop culture ref	no	May 16, 2020
159	Early in the morning, the shooting already started in Hledan, Yangon! They don't care the UN warning at all! Pls, take action to the military ASSP! #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb28Coup #OpCCP #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	30	3477	1484	video police brutality	no	Feb 28, 2021
160	Police and Soldiers searching the Ambulances for wounded protesters! They are trying to cover up what they did! They even vandalized the Red Cross flag. Time & location unknown. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	MY	36	3802	1989	video police brutality	no	Mar 1, 2021



	#HearTheVoiceOfMyanmar #MilkTeaAllianceMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance								
161	27.02.2021! 09:05 am! At very early hours this morning, police are arresting anti coup protesters without any warning in Hledan, Yangon! #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #HearTheVoiceOfMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	37	3588	1915	video protest	no		Feb 27, 2021
162	#Apr9Coup Bago Critical situation in Bago. Reports of five deaths and multiple injuries. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Myanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	O	410	11.3k	6285	video police brutality	Shafiur Rahman		Apr 9, 2021
163	Despite metro shutdown, brave #Thai defied draconian laws, flocked to streets and made their voices heard. Their determination for #Thailanddemocracy cannot be deterred. #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	HK	81	15.9k	9248	video protest	Joshua Wong 黃之鋒		Oct 17, 2020
164	#MYANMAR: Day of #MilkTeaAlliance in #Yangon — some tactics from #HongKongProtest being used here to fortify the front lines. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Burma #BurmaCoup	MY	68	3451	2674	video protest	Cape Diamond		Feb 28, 2021
165	Polices dragged a girl along from her hair. *Brutality of Junta* @TostevinM @RapporteurUn @KenRoth @BBCWorld @freya_cole #MhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Mar1Coup #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	79	5760	2687	video police brutality	no		Mar 1, 2021
166	In Bago, Terrorists even came & arrest into the houses of Strike's Leader. They brutally arrest one of strike's leader,U Jamar at around 6:30 PM. Other protestors have to hide too for their safety. RELEASE THE ARRESTED #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Mar9Coup #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	38	3.586	1785	video police brutality	no, Milk Tea Alliance Myanmar		Mar 9, 2021
167	At around 11pm on November 1, three civilians were abducted at gunpoint by Junta Terrorists at Stella Restaurant on Shwe Kyaung Road in Taungoo. The cause	MY	26	1161	197	others	no, Milk Tea Alliance Myanmar		Nov 1, 2021



	of their abduction is not yet known. #Nov1Cou #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance							
168	As Myanmar military cracks down on protests, Thai protesters who complain of decades of military and royal domination in Thailand are also in the streets. #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance #มือบ28 กุมภาพันธ์	O	421	7832	6376	video police brutality	Matthew Tostevin	Feb 28, 2021
169	Do you hear the people sing? More than 10k pro-democracy protestors are here now at the Democracy Monument. Reporting via @ThaiEnquirer #MilkTeaAlliance #Thailand #เยาวชนปลดแอก #ประชาชนปลดแอก	TH	4	838	411	video protest	no	Aug 16, 2020
170	School students in #Thailand are adorning white democratic ribbons to protest against the government. Some schools have reportedly contacted police authorities to curb dissent. #โรงเรียนหน้าเขาไม่เอาเผด็จการ #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	15	290	285	video protest, POP CULTURE REF	no	Aug 17, 2020
171	09/10/2020 #AntiOneChinaTH #2 Statement from Chinese Embassy in BKK, calling for release of 12 HK activists #Save12HKYouths and their cases to be processed according to Rule of Law, Human Rights, and Freedom of Speech (Statement in text will come tonight) #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	104	799	794	video message	no, Anti One China TH	Oct 9, 2020
172	COLLECTIVE community response to coup. LISTEN : "Only one person per house - Come and take it. We want to share with every house." #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	O	123	3929	3429	video performance	Shafiur Rahman	Apr 11, 2021
173	The scene as at least 10,000 people in #Thailand bravely protest for democracy and better governance. Protests continue well into the evening. (@Teirabyte) #ประชาชนปลดแอก #เยาวชนปลดแอก #Thailand #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInThailand	A	26	666	2372	video protest	no, anonymous	Aug 16, 2020



174	Elementary school children had asked their parents for permission to sit outside so they can support their brothers and sisters. Here they asking for the prime minister to leave. #มือบ21ตุลา #WhatsHappeningInThailand #ThaiSpring #MilkTeaAlliance #พรรคถูกเงิน #ให้มันจบที่รุ่นเรา	TH	7	876	632	video protest	Thai Enquirer	Oct 21, 2020
175	Hong Kong - Thailand #MilkTeaAlliance rally for democracy and human rights outside the Brisbane Royal Thai Consulate. Building a movement to fight for democracy across borders @DefendDem. When the people are united we can never be defeated!! @NetiwitC @joshuawongcf	O	59	957	924	video protest, POP CULTURE REF	no	Oct 20, 2020
176	#Apr11Coup Mogok "REVOLUTION - We must prevail. We must prevail" "Don't play 88's dirty trick in 21" Flash Light Strike! #MilkTeaAlliance #Myanmar #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	O	76	2310	2014	video protest	Shafiur Rahman	Apr 11, 2021
177	Tw // gunshots This is so horrifying. Policies opened gunfire in Kyauk Myaung, Tarmwe, Yangon this evening. Our lives are not safe anymore. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb25Coup #MilkTeaAlliance @freya_cole @RapporteurUn @YourAnonCentral @MayWongCNA	MY	44	5196	2807	video police brutality	no	Feb 25, 2021
178	tw // gunshot This situation in Tamwe is very dangerous. Polices and soldiers have sniper rifles. They are arresting all the people who they see. They are becoming ruder and ruder. Our nights are not safe anymore. @freya_cole #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Feb25Coup #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	21	2022	1048	video pOLice brutality	no	Feb 25, 2021
179	Terrified protesters in Tarmwe huddle in a shop to escape from police after they broke up a demonstration earlier today. A brutal crackdown is underway across #Yangon against anti-military protesters. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	54	5767	3485	video pOLice brutality	Frontier Myanmar	Feb 28, 2021



180	Protesters have set up a line of metal shields on Anawrahta Road in downtown #Yangon after police momentarily retreated to Sule Pagoda Road. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	21	1699	1172	video protest	Frontier Myanmar	Feb 28, 2021
181	Three months since the military coup, nationwide protest remain strong in #Myanmar. The military junta killed 759 civilians, detained 4561 including political leaders, activists, journalists & celebrities. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #SPRINGERNATION #MilkTeaAlliance #May1Coup	MY	14	1167	1176	video protest, POP CULTURE REF	Wai Wai Nu	May 2, 2021
182	The Myanmar junta has cut mobile data as it violently cracks down on unarmed protestors and dissidents. Protestors are being shot dead and/or tortured in broad daylight by junta forces. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #Mar17Coup #opCCP #MilkTeaAlliance	A	1021	11.2k	9290	video performance	no, anonymous	Mar 17, 2021
183	China and the organ harvesting and baby production industry. (Part One / Follow @OpDeathEaters) #OpDeathEaters #OpCCP #MilkTeaAlliance	A	250	3293	5099	no	no, anonymous	Feb 25, 2021
184	#MilkTeaAlliance statement of solidarity with the people of Ukraine & anti-war protestors in Russia. We condemn this invasion. We call on international community to stand with the people of Ukraine. #StandWithUkraine #MilkTeaAlliance	O	18	454	513	manifesto	no	Feb 25, 2022
185	To day (flags thai, myanmar, hong kong) #MilkTeaAlliance #มีอบ15สิงหา #ไลปะยุทธ	TH	27	1074	1347	others	no, Milk Tea Alliance Thailand	Aug 16, 2021
186	From protestors in Myanmar to Thai demonstrators today. #MilkTeaAlliance #มีอบ10สิงหา #WhatsHappeningInThailand	TH	4	1660	559	others, POP CULTURE REF	no	Aug 10, 2021



187	Finally, the country where we were distorted to despise in historical lesson is the people who encourage us the most. III #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MyanmarCovidSOS #Myanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	51	1556	1393	others	no, Milk Tea Alliance Thailand	Aug 9, 2021
188	At the protests in Thailand today. Our allies haven't forgotten Hong Kong! Solidarity! #มือบ7สิงหา #MilkTeaAlliance	O	26	501	696	image protest	no	Aug 7, 2021
189	Stands With Myanmar #มือบ7สิงหา #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	91	899	870	image protest	no, Milk Tea Alliance Thailand	Aug 7, 2021
190	The youth in Myanmar ain't playing. They don't want a return to pre-coup they want a better, fairer, more inclusive country! Bravery in the face of oppression. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	O	5	255	603	no	no	Jul 25, 2021
191	This #MilkTeaAlliance flag today at the protest #มือบ24 มิถุนา	MY	4	692	398	image protest	no	Jun 24, 2021
192	My mom showed me this picture and asked me, " What happened between Taiwan and Thailand? " I told her, " It's nothing, just the soul exchange between this milk tea." #popcat #POPCATTAIWAN #popcatthailand #MilkTeaAlliance #奶茶聯盟	TW	12	260	309	others	no	Aug 17, 2021
193	#MilkTeaAlliance Statement on a year since the attempted Coup in Myanmar. We recommit to standing in solidarity with the Peoples of Myanmar & supporting them in their struggle! You Will Win! #2022Jan31Coup #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar	O	9	178	232	manifesto	no, Xun-ling Au 歐迅灵	Jan 31
194	#MilkTeaAlliance: A Global Unity Statement on the Anniversary of the Attempted Coup in #Myanmar Let's call unto leaders worldwide to take affirmative action for our Burmese brothers and sisters still fighting for freedom from the #Tatmadaw	O	7	172	192	manifesto	no, Milk Tea Alliance PH	Jan 31



195	Burmese community in Vienna, Austria will stage a protest on 29th January 2022 at Stephansplatz 10:30 to 11:30 am. The organizers say they welcome anyone who wants to show support towards the cause in Myanmar. #MilkTeaAlliance @MTA_Calendar @BurmeseEu @AllianceMilkTea	MY	8	329	321	image info	no, Civil Disobedience Movement	Jan 27
196	South East Asian dictators learn from each other. It's time we build solidarity with all of our friends fighting for democracy and freedom in the region. #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	3	322	430	no	no, Civil Disobedience Movement	Dec 7, 2021
197	Anonymous stands with Hong Kong. #IStandWithHongKong #FreeHongKong #MillionMaskMarch2021 #MMM2021 #OpVendetta #Nov5th The world has not forgotten We are #Anonymous We are Legion We do not Forgive censorship We do not Forget oppression Expect Us. #FreeAnons #MilkTeaAlliance	A	10	82	245	image protest, POP culture ref	no	Nov 2, 2021
198	Today, It's Joshua Wong's birthday. I'd like to invite us all to send the best wishes to @joshuawongcf and Hong Kong people who are fighting for the liberty and democracy of their homeland. Let's tweet with #HBDJoshuaWong #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	8	374	155	no	Netiwit Chotiphatphaisal	Oct 13, 2021
199	A very Happy independence day from Thailand, peace and prosperity to the people of Taiwan. Republic Of China (Taiwan) #TaiwanNationalDay #Taiwan #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	18	392	801	image protest	no, Milk Tea Alliance Thailand	Oct 10, 2021
200	I am honored to have my friend, @nathanlawkc , as the speaker of 6 Oct Memorial lecture on #MilkTeaAlliance This year we will commemorate 45th anniversary of 6 October Massacre and also commemorate the 5th anniversary of my friend @joshwongcf visit to thailand.	TH	8	150	230	others	Netiwit Chotiphatphaisal	Oct 2, 2021
201	Hong Kong warned us. Stand with #HongKong. #MilkTeaAlliance	TW	9	189	408	image protest	no	Sep 27, 2021



202	Pro-Democracy Protests Reignite In Thailand As Government Fails COVID19 Response. "We're here to fight to build a brighter future. This year we will fight with strategies, we will fight with goals!" #มือบ11สิงหา #WhatsHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	A	14	320	695	no	no, anonymous	Aug 11, 2021
203	We remember the 8888 Uprising in Myanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #myanmar	TH	36	818	1086	others	no, Milk Tea Alliance Thailand	Aug 8, 2021
204	Smoke rose from fires on #Bangkok streets as police deployed tear gas against anti-government protesters near the Democracy Monument on Saturday. #Thailand #Myanmar #มือบ8สิงหา #WhatsHappeningInThailand #ตำรวจทำร้ายประชาชน #MilkTeaAlliance	TH	4	275	345	video pOLice brutality	no	Aug 8, 2021
205	He fought for their future #มือบ7สิงหา #MilkTeaAlliance (flags of taiwan, hong kong, thai, myamar)	TH	17	679	434	image POLice brutality	no, Milk Tea Alliance Thailand	Aug 7, 2021
206	Contribution to #MilkTeaAlliance struggles with two new books my friends and I translated; 1. Taiwan is Not Chinese! A History of Taiwan Nationality 2. The Cry for Human Rights: Selected Writings of Ilham Tohti	TH	5	617	240	others	Netiwit Chotiphathpaisal	Aug 6, 2021
207	We stand with you Thailand #MilkTeaAlliance #มือบ7สิงหา	MY	1	881	445	image protest	no	Aug 7, 2021
208	in Olympia... let's play a game called "can you spot the CCP tail" #NoBeijing2022 #MilkTeaAlliance	O	83	181	264	others	no	Oct 18, 2021
209	Will wear Pink today and I manifest a World led by Competent, Compassionate, and Hands-on Women #LabanLeni2022 LALABAN TAYO! #MilkTeaAlliance	O	3	141	460	others	no	Oct 7, 2021
210	Our #MilkTeaAlliance friend Thailand is now protesting against the government failed to fight against COVID! They also request to have mRNA vaccines instead of just	HK	6	187	113	image police brutality	no	Aug 7, 2021



	Sinovac. The Thai police used water cannons, tear gas and rubber bullet to disperse the crowd.							
211	This's #WhatsHappeningInThailand right now. When you take a look at closely you can see people are holding HK & Taiwan flag also on poster say "stand with the people of Myanmar". Yes Support the people of Thailand at all cost we are in the same boat! #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	11	166	199	image protest	no	Aug 7, 2021
212	Milk Tea Power Thank you to the signed artist for making this for us. #MilkTeaAlliance #Taiwan #Hongkong #Thiland #Myanmar	TW	23	381	762	art	no	Jul 24, 2021
213	#MilkTeaAlliance What is happening in Thailand and why it should call for immediate international ATTENTION: -Thailand is currently facing a crisis when it comes to COVID-19 such as rising number of cases and lack of access to vaccines.	O	4	211	360	no	no	Jul 21, 2021
214	It's #FridaysForFreedom so I drew another #PokemonForHK! #StandWithHongKong #MilkTeaAlliance	O	11	71	139	art, Pop culture reference	no	Jul 23, 2021
215	CW // police brutality, gunshot wound 2 years ago today the #HKPF used live ammunition against pro-democracy protesters for the first time They shot an 18-year-old student at point blank range in the chest, missing his heart by a single inch #StandWithHongKong #MilkTeaAlliance	O	9	202	163	image POlice brutality	no, James Lee Proudfoot	Oct 1, 2021
216	I was inspired to draw this after seeing @RazvenHK's witty post! Hamsters have always been a symbol of #MilkTeaAlliance solidarity and resistance, now so more than ever 🐹	O	6	76	162	art	no, James Lee Proudfoot	Jan 19
217	In the next #Olympics, Taiwan should be allowed to: 1. Participate with country name #Taiwan not Chinese Taipei 2. Use Taiwan National Flag not an Olympic one 3. Use Taiwan National Anthem not a flag rising song	TH	137	244	908	others	no	Jul 31, 2021



	#TaiwanIsaCountry #TaiwanIsNotChina #MilkTeaAlliance #台灣							
218	Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam's decision to raid the HK University's Student Union was "unacceptable," according to the Chulalongkorn student government. (1/2) #MilkTeaAlliance #HongKong #Thailand	TH	10	193	164	manifesto	Thai Enquirer	Jul 21, 2021
219	#Thai police used rubber bullets, tear gas, and water cannons against unarmed pro-#democracy protesters. At least one person has been severely injured #มือบ18กรรฎา #MilkTeaAlliance	O	4	262	124	video Police brutality	no, James Lee Proudfoot	Jul 18, 2021
220	Remember this? Now SAC want doctors and volunteers back? They kinda forgot this! But I remember Unforgettable moment in my life I was there but I have to run for my survival with empty handed! #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	24	793	611	others	no	Jul 11, 2021
221	I was shocked and even shed tears when I saw pictures of the violent crackdown on protesters in Thailand. I stand with the Thai people from Burma. Let the military dictatorship fall. #มือบ7สิงหา #WhatHappeningInThailand #MilkTeaAlliance	MY	15	328	423	others	no	Aug 7, 2021
222	#China's Empire Of Terror. The CCP has created an extensive international state-sponsored organ trafficking criminal network. #ChinaExposed #UyghurGenocide #MilkTeaAlliance	A	33	234	745	others	no, anonymous	Jul 6, 2021
223	This is the first time we see the Laos hashtag in #MilkTeaAlliance trends. What happened?	TH	1	66	33	others	no, MilkTeaAlliance Galleries	Mar 26