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Feminism and the Pro-Democracy Cause in Thailand

*Wichuta Teeratanabodee**



Unlike in previous rallies, which were often led by males, women are now taking on leadership roles to call for democracy. From left to right, Student Union of Thailand spokesperson Panusaya “Rung” Sithijirawattanakul, pro-democracy activists Panupong “Mike” Jadnok and Parit “Penguin” Chiwarak attend an anti-government demonstration near Parliament in Bangkok on 24 June 2021. Picture: Lillian SUWANRUMPHA, AFP.

**Wichuta Teeratanabodee holds an MSc in Strategic Studies from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and an MSc in Development Studies, from Lund University, Sweden. In June 2021, she served as an intern in ISEAS’s Thailand Studies Programme.*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The pro-democracy protests in Thailand, while often characterised by observers as a youth movement, draw in actual fact on participation from many social groups.
- One of the most prominent of these groups has been young women calling not only for democracy but also for gender equality.
- Ruptures have occurred between feminist and non-feminist pro-democracy demonstrators over their priorities and over patriarchal norms in the mobilisation of protests.
- Feminists have felt stuck, seeing democracy as more achievable in Thailand than gender equality.
- Both sides need empathy and education to maintain solidarity in fighting against their common enemy – Thai authoritarianism.

INTRODUCTION

Since early 2020, Thailand has witnessed a remarkable wave of political protests, initially triggered by the dissolution of the progressive Future Forward Party¹ and the kidnapping in Cambodia of pro-democracy activist Wanchalerm Satsaksit.² Throughout the past year, demonstrations have taken place in many parts of the country, though primarily in Bangkok.

The demonstrators, often gathered as a coalition calling itself the *Khana Ratsadon* or People's Party in homage to the group that replaced absolute monarchy with constitutional rule in 1932, had made three core demands. These include the resignation of Prime Minister Prayut Chan-ocha and his cabinet, the reform of the monarchy, and the amendment of the military-drafted 2017 Constitution.³ Having the courage to discuss and criticise royalism – one of the most tabu-ed topics in Thai society – has set this group of protestors apart from its predecessors.

Beyond noting its bold demands, observers have often characterised this wave of protests as a youth movement. High school and university students have indeed been the main actors.⁴ However, the protests are more complicated than they appear. The new *Khana Ratsadon* is a network of many groups — including feminists, LGBTQ+ people, people with disabilities, and environmental activists in addition to students. The conversation among protestors about the state of Thailand thus often goes much beyond democracy and reforming the monarchy. It includes other progressive agendas such as gender equality, LGBTQ+ rights and environmental concerns. The focus of this paper is on the first of those concerns.

THE FEMINISTS

The conspicuous roles of young women in this ongoing wave of protests have put them in the spotlight.⁵ Unlike in previous rallies, which were often led by males, women are now taking on leadership roles to call for democracy. Simultaneously, they have shared stories of women's struggles in Thai society, focusing particularly on women's status in politics — which has worsened markedly since the 2014 coup. In 2013, Thailand was ranked among the top 65 per cent in Political Empowerment by the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report.⁶ By 2021, it had dropped dramatically to the bottom 14 per cent.⁷ While the number of women in Parliament rose from 5.3 per cent to 16.2 per cent after the 2019 national elections, both fellow politicians and public attention often target female representatives' appearances or attire, instead of their performance or capability.⁸

Beyond Parliament, women participating in pro-democracy protests have highlighted policies that are products of patriarchy. They have called for an amendment to the new abortion law,⁹ increased accessibility to women's sanitary products and an end to sexual harassment in Thai institutions.

While these issues seem to align with a broader call for democracy, feminists in the pro-democracy protests see themselves fighting a two-front war. On one front they demand democracy and an end to the current authoritarian regime, and on another, they fight for gender equality against fellow pro-democracy protestors who do not support feminist objectives.

This piece seeks to capture the perspectives of feminist protestors from the ground. It draws on interviews with two self-identified feminists who actively attended political rallies throughout the past year¹⁰ and seeks to put their experience and concerns into a broader context. The first interviewee, “Fern”,¹¹ is a 27-year-old graduate of one of the country’s most prestigious law faculties. She is currently a legal officer at a state-owned enterprise in Bangkok. The second interviewee, Sai,¹² is a 25-year-old recent graduate of one of the oldest faculties at a well-known Thai university, where she majored in English Literature. She is now working as the manager of a photography school in Bangkok.

Both interviewees participated in their first political protests in 2020. Resentment of and disappointment with the system, triggered mainly by the dissolution of the Future Forward Party in February 2020, motivated them. Sai, who has long been politically active on her Twitter account, said that the Constitutional Court’s decision to disband the party was like pouring oil into what was an already heated discussion on the powerlessness of civil society in the online world. “It made us realise that we needed to be louder and turn something into a more concrete form, more tangible than merely complaining on the Internet,” said Sai.¹³

As a former law student, Fern was certain that legal principles did not justify the dissolution of Future Forward. Therefore, she was “very disappointed in the legal processes. As a law student, I know the principles. I knew how the result was supposed to be. Thus, I was very saddened and angry when I saw the actual results”.¹⁴

Fern has not had to think twice before joining the on-street protests since then. Seeing herself as both a Thai and a global citizen, she wants to contribute her time and energy to make Thailand and the world a better place. “I call for democracy and systematic changes not only for myself but also for those who don’t have the resources of time, energy and money like me. Thus, I have to be as loud as possible,” Fern explained.¹⁵

Similarly, Sai has become a frequent participant in the pro-democracy movement. She sees herself as a contributor to making the crowds larger and stronger. “I felt that just being there was already a significant contribution,” said Sai.¹⁶

PROTESTS OF DIVERSITY

While political objectives like democracy were the reasons that Fern and Sai initially joined the street protests, both women quickly realised that people in the movement had diverse backgrounds and were expressing their agendas loudly – whether on the streets, on the stage or in the online world. The movement offered “space where people from different groups could join. They came to speak up about their agendas”, said Sai.¹⁷

People who stepped up onto the stage to talk to the crowd did not only talk about democracy or critique the monarchy. They also each represented their own social group. At the Sanam Luang protest on 18 September 2020, for example, the pool of speakers was diverse, including LGBTQ+ activist Chumaporn “Waddao” Taengkliang, environmental activist Prasitchai Noonuan, Bad Students Network leader Lapanapat “Min” Wangpaisit, and Chatchai “Champ” Pumpuang of the Designers Labour Union Network.¹⁸

On the streets, an iconic feature of this wave of protests was an event called “Mob Fest”, where different social groups came together and set up booths to promote certain agendas

through presentations, discussion and performances.¹⁹ This arrangement made the demonstrations look like a festival.²⁰ Protestors could drop by to participate in campaigns and learn more about various social issues at Mob Fest.

One of the most prominent campaigns was the #AnonymousMeetingPoint (#นิรนามMeetingPoint), organised as a collaboration among several feminist and LGBTQ+ groups. The campaign designated several locations where women, LGBTQ+ people and youths who attended the protest alone could meet up and find company. The locations helped ensure that these protestors would be safe while attending the demonstrations,²¹ while simultaneously signalling that women, LGBTQ+ people and young people did not feel safe when alone.

Other campaigns represented at Mob Fest often focused on collecting signatures to introduce or amend laws, with goals such as legalising prostitution,²² amending abortion laws, proposing the Clean Air Act,²³ and even legalising craft beer in Thailand.²⁴

At a glance, the active participation of feminists and the promotion of many social issues at protest venues seemed almost out of context with protestors' core demands for Prayut's resignation and reform of the monarchy.

To explain this phenomenon, Cornell University Professor Tamara Loos points out that "In effect, the demonstrations have become avenues for young people not just to refuse royalism but also to demand the right to nonconformity".²⁵

Loos argues that nonconformity in the context of Thailand and specifically in that of ongoing protests offers "critiques to the status quo hierarchy and refusal to conform to traditions on all levels".²⁶ In other words, apart from just the military and the monarchy, the demonstrators challenge all institutions they perceive as authoritarian. In her view, "every aspect of these protests is something broader than explicitly political; their message is to refuse to conform to existing cultural norms, which only reinforce the status quo hierarchy".²⁷

Fern's and Sai's thinking corroborates Loos's views. The two Thai feminists believe that the protests are not just a fight against individual institutions. Instead, they are a battle against authoritarian, hierarchical traditions that define many institutions in Thailand. Fern notes that, apart from the authoritarian government, she is also fighting against the "gender hierarchy and male supremacy" that have long been part of Thai society.²⁸

Despite the vibrant diversity of protestors, participants in the demonstrations have not accepted all agendas equally. Feminists find themselves being challenged – often by their fellow pro-democracy protestors.

“MANY PROTESTORS SUPPORT DEMOCRACY BUT DO NOT AGREE WITH FEMINISTS!”

As with any massive social movement, clashes have arisen among pro-democracy protestors. On many occasions, they have pitted feminists against non-feminists.

Fern shared that “sometimes, male leaders on the stage would use words that connote female inferiority... something like ‘a pussy face’, as insulting phrases”.²⁹ Many of the people in attendance, especially feminists, felt offended and would reply, “do NOT insult a pussy!” She explained that “while it is quite common in our culture to use phrases involving genitalia as insulting or curse words, we have to understand that, in a certain context, it’s oppressing women”.³⁰

Speakers at protests have made these concerns explicit. At a protest at Chiang Mai University on 18 October 2020, for example, Kornkanok “Pup” Kamta, a representative of the Feminist Liberation Front,³¹ called for a new protest culture by encouraging people to stop using terms such as ‘pussy face’ or ‘prostitute’ as insults.³² Pup said that “a pussy is not something to insult, and prostitution is a legitimate profession”.³³

Apart from agendas related to women, feminists also support the campaign for LGBTQ+ rights. That is because, “for feminists, the term *feminism* is not about ‘women being the best or better than men’. Instead, it means ‘all genders are equal on all matters’,” said Fern.³⁴

Thus, when John Winyu Wongsurawat, a popular and charismatic pro-democracy TV host, discussed the legalisation of same-sex marriage on his programme *Daily Topics* and remarked that “If the rights of the common people are not here yet, LGBTQ+ rights are unlikely to come”, his comments sparked anger from both LGBTQ+ people and feminists.³⁵ Many have pointed out that his words suggested a hierarchy of concerns. This stance contradicts his pro-democracy principles.

John Winyu is an example of what feminist pro-democracy protestors call ‘Leftist Thai men’.³⁶ Emerging from discussions on Twitter, the term refers to men who support democracy but “do not seem to understand and support gender equality”, explains Fern. “And when we raise some points that, to us, are clearly the product of patriarchy, they think that ‘feminists are so annoying and never happy about anything’”.³⁷

Sai notes that “feminists are portrayed or painted as the demanding folks. So, many times, people don’t even pay attention to what we have to say”. She goes further to compare the image of feminists to that of ‘sa-lim’, a term referring to people who are against pro-democracy protestors. “If sa-lim are seen as those who would always yell their lungs out for whatever they think was right and not bother to listen, they [leftist Thai men] probably see us [feminists] in that way as well”.³⁸

DEMOCRACY AND GENDER EQUALITY

John Winyu’s opinion is not rare. In fact, some pro-democracy protestors share his thinking. They hold that democracy should be the priority, and gender equality can come later. Fern and Sai disagree and ask in effect, “why can’t we drive for multiple agendas at the same time?”

“Democracy is not about just raising hands and voting, but it comes with rights, freedom, equality, and solidarity,” said Fern, who sees that gender equality clearly falls under the democracy umbrella.³⁹

Feminists' biggest enemy, they argue, is patriarchy, which exists as the core of many institutions in Thailand – from family, school and the military to the royal institution.⁴⁰ It is the invisible element that affects everyone's lives in one way or another, including those of men. In an interview with a Thai online news media outlet, The MATTER, LGBTQ+ activist Waddao said that "First of all, we have to understand that patriarchy does not, in any way, stand for men".⁴¹ Men can also be victims of patriarchy through "toxic masculinity".⁴² Thus, Waddao suggested, an end to patriarchy would also benefit men.

Feminist pro-democracy activists often bring up the example of King Vajiralongkorn's polygamous practice. In July 2019, the monarch officially appointed Sineenat "Koi" Wongvajirapakdi as his "noble consort".⁴³ He thus revived a tradition that had not been witnessed in Thailand since the end of the absolute monarchy in 1932.⁴⁴ The king later used his power to demote and then reappoint Koi with just the snap of his fingers.⁴⁵ These events exemplified not only the king's power but also the status of the Thai monarchy as a patriarchal institution.

Examples like this one explain why, to feminists, patriarchy is an unavoidable topic in the fight to reform the monarchy.

PATHS FORWARD

Despite the clear link between gender equality and democracy, feminists still feel stuck in relation to their fellow pro-democracy protestors. Fern and Sai share the opinion that democracy seems to be more easily achievable than gender equality because patriarchy and gender inequality are deeply rooted in human history.⁴⁶

The struggle for democracy in Thailand often involves physical confrontations with authorities. They have cost many people their lives or their freedom. Democracy is undoubtedly not an easy thing to attain. Thus, "democracy is more achievable than gender equality" is indeed a noteworthy message, revealing the multi-layered struggles that feminists are facing.

Nevertheless, Fern and Sai try to remain understanding. Sai admits that the fracture over feminism among protestors is a tough issue but not an unexpected one. "Of course, there must be conflicts. There is no way that everyone, even among those who want democracy, would agree 100 per cent on everything".⁴⁷ Fern adds that "It is impossible to make everyone think the way I do. If I say that I want everyone to think like me, then I'm a dictator. Wouldn't it be ironic then?"⁴⁸

Fern and Sai also understand that, as patriarchy has long been part of society, the patriarchal mindset can be difficult to alter. Fern says that "the more we [feminists] push back, the more likely changes would happen. I cannot say that they [leftist Thai men] would understand, but at least they would know the consequences of their words and actions".⁴⁹ Revisiting John Winyu's case, she says that, "after the incident, John Winyu might not immediately understand the complicated gender issues, but, at least, he is now more aware of how his comments on LGBTQ+ people can cause a backlash".⁵⁰

Sai shares a similar thought. "We just have to keep talking out loud". She sees democracy in two forms – one in the system and the other one in the mindset. "A democratic system

can be achieved through reformation, but that doesn't mean that everyone will automatically have the true ideas of democracy – equality, listening to one another, and empathy – installed in their mindset. The democratic mindset can happen if we keep educating one another, so we shouldn't be tired of raising awareness on gender issues and pushing against patriarchy; this is going to be a long journey," she says.⁵¹

Feminist and non-feminist protestors in today's Thailand have a common enemy – the authoritarian regime, which — one prominent activist scholar contends — has shown “no signs of ...willingness to negotiate with democracy”.⁵² Consequently, Tamara Loos notes, maintaining a kind of strategic uniformity from within will help them achieve their common goal.⁵³ Disagreements are likely to always happen and criticism to be voiced, and the protestors will have to remain empathetic, to keep raising awareness, and to educate one another.

¹ BBC, “Thai protests: How pro-democracy movement gained momentum”, 15 October 2020 (<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-54542252>, accessed 18 June 2021). The newly established Future Forward Party took third place in the national elections of March 2019. Its progressive agenda, which included legalising abortion and same-sex marriage, attracted many younger Thais. Less than a year after the election, the Constitutional Court disbanded the party, reasoning that it had benefitted from improper funding from Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, the party's leader.

² Ibid. In June 2020, Wanchalerm Satsaksit, a pro-democracy activist living in exile since 2014, was reported kidnapped on a street in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Suspicion fell on the Thai government, which neglected to respond. Wanchalerm remains missing until today.

³ Thai PBS, “Reincarnated Khana Rasadorn to press three demands in October 14th protest”, 8 October 2020 (<https://www.thaipbsworld.com/reincarnated-khana-rasadorn-to-press-three-demands-in-october-14th-protest/>, accessed 18 June 2021).

⁴ See, for example, BBC, “Thai protests: How pro-democracy movement gained momentum”; John Reed, “Inside Thailand's youth revolution”, *Financial Times*, 6 November 2020 (<https://www.ft.com/content/c2a530ba-a343-4007-a324-c2d276b95883>, accessed 18 June 2021); Kanokrat Lertchoosakul, “The white ribbon movement: high school students in the 2020 Thai youth protests”, *Critical Asian Studies* 53, 2 (2021):206-218 (<https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2021.1883452>); and Tamara Loos, “A Revolutionary Change in Thailand: Protests Against the Monarchy Signal a Break With the Past”, *Foreign Affairs*, 7 December 2020 (https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/thailand/2020-12-07/revolutionary-change-thailand?utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=lo_flows&utm_campaign=registered_user_welcome&utm_term=email_1&utm_content=20210608, accessed 17 June 2021).

⁵ Sebastian Strangio, “Report Shines Light on Thailand's Women Protest Leaders”, *The Diplomat*, 4 February 2021 (<https://thediplomat.com/2021/02/report-shines-light-on-thailands-women-protest-leaders/>, accessed 16 June 2021).

⁶ World Economic Forum, “The Global Gender Gap Report 2013”, 20 October 2013 (http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf, accessed 24 June 2021), p. 357.

⁷ World Economic Forum, “The Global Gender Gap Report 2021”, 30 March 2021 (http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf, accessed 24 June 2021), p. 367.

⁸ Waraporn Chamsanit, “ความเท่าเทียมทางเพศ: คำถามที่สังคมไทยต้องขบคิด” [Gender equality: the question that Thai society has to ponder], 4 January 2020 (<https://ngthai.com/cultures/26986/sexual-equality-in-thai-society/>, accessed 25 June 2021).

⁹ In January 2021, the Thai parliament amended the penal code to loosen restrictions on abortion. The amended law allows women to have an abortion during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. It is still a criminal act to terminate a pregnancy after 12 weeks. Protestors are pushing for the extension of the right to abortion beyond 12 weeks. See “Thailand: Abortion in First Trimester Legalized”, Global Legal Monitor, United States Library of Congress, 1 March 2021 (<https://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/thailand-abortion-in-first-trimester-legalized/>, accessed 23 June 2021).

¹⁰ The interviews were conducted online as part of the author’s broader project on “Identities among Pro-Democracy Protestors in Thailand”. The project explores different social groups and identities among participants in ongoing pro-democracy protests, including feminists, LGBTQ+ people, students, people with disabilities, and people from rural Thailand. It seeks to understand the identities that they share, potential conflicts among them, and how they manage those conflicts. The interview with “Fern” was conducted on 29 April 2021, and the interview with “Sai” was conducted on 26 May 2021. Both interviews were conducted via Zoom with the permission of the interviewees to record and to quote their statements.

¹¹ The name is a pseudonym, chosen by the interviewee.

¹² The name is a pseudonym, chosen by the interviewee.

¹³ Author’s interview with Sai, 26 May 2021.

¹⁴ Author’s interview with Fern, 29 April 2021.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Author’s interview with Sai, 26 May 2021.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Prachachat, “เปิดโผรายชื่อ ดาวเด่นม็อบนักศึกษา ขึ้นปราศรัย 19-20 กันยายนนี้” [Revealing the list of names of stars in university students’ protest on the stage this 19-20 September], 18 September 2020 (<https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-523999>, accessed 17 June 2021).

¹⁹ Bangkok Biz News, “เปิดไอเดีย แอดมินเพจ 'Mob Fest' รู้ก่อนไป ม็อบ 14 พ.ย.” [Revealing an idea with administrator of the page ‘Mob Fest’ things to know before attending Mob 14 November], 14 November 2020 (<https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/907761>, accessed 25 June 2021).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Twitter @femliberateth, “แฟมินิสต์ปลดแอก (ผู้หญิงปลดแอก)” [Feminist’s Liberation Front (Women’s Liberation Front)], 18 September 2020 (<https://twitter.com/femliberateth/status/1306877365780467722>, accessed 19 June 2021).

²² Twitter @JiPaTaBook, “#ม็อบ7มีนา #เดินทะลุฟ้า แล้วมาลงชื่อแก้กฎหมายกัน!” [#Mob7March #WalkThroughTheSky come sign your name to call to amend the law!], 7 March 2021 (<https://twitter.com/JiPaTaBook/status/1368568154201280518/photo/1>, accessed 19 June 2021).

²³ Twitter @whathappeninmob, “จุดลงชื่อ #พรบอากาศสะอาด” [Locations for #CleanAirAct], 21 March 2021 (<https://twitter.com/whathappeninmob/status/1373619788023361536>, accessed 19 June 2021).

²⁴ Twitter @nefj94, “มีแคมเปญจากกลุ่มแนวร่วมกราฟิเบียร์มาฝากครับ” [Here is a campaign from the Craft Beer Group], 16 September 2020 (<https://twitter.com/nefj94/status/1306164770467241985>, accessed 19 June 2021).

²⁵ Tamara Loos, “A Revolutionary Change”.

²⁶ Author’s interview with Tamara Loos, conducted online, 17 June 2021.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Author’s interview with Fern, 29 April 2021.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ The group was then called the Women’s Liberation Front. In an effort to become more inclusive, it changed its name to the Feminist Liberation Front in November 2020. See Prachatai, “ผู้หญิงปลดแอกเปลี่ยนชื่อเป็น 'แฟมินิสต์ปลดแอก' เพื่อเปิดกว้าง มุ่งเท่าเทียมทางเพศ” [Women’s Liberation Front changes

name to “Feminist Liberation Front” to broaden itself, aiming for gender equality], 15 November 2020 (<https://prachatai.com/journal/2020/11/90426>, accessed 25 June 2021).

³² Prachatai, “นัดปฐมนิเทศ ประมวล #มือ18ตุลา แนนอนสาววิชัยฯ กลางสายฝน ที่นี่และที่อื่นฯ” [As soon as appointment is made, they come, #Mob18Oct filling up the Victory Monument under the rain, here and elsewhere], 18 October 2020 (<https://prachatai.com/journal/2020/10/90021>, accessed 18 June 2021).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Author’s interview with Fern, 29 April 2021.

³⁵ Daranee Thongsiri, “Feminista Perspective: ประชาธิปไตยคือความหลากหลายและ LGBTIQ ไม่ได้มีแค่กลุ่มเดียว” [Feminista Perspective: democracy is diversity and LGBTIQ are not just one group], *Feminista*, 14 July 2020 (<http://www.feminista.in.th/post/feminista-perspective-democracy-lgbt-rights-intersectional>, accessed 18 June 2021).

³⁶ That is, ชายชายไทย.

³⁷ Author’s interview with Fern, 29 April 2021.

³⁸ Author’s interview with Sai, 26 May 2021.

³⁹ Author’s interview with Fern, 29 April 2021.

⁴⁰ Hannah Beech and Muktitia Suhartono, “Young Women Take a Frontline Role in Thailand’s Protests”, *New York Times*, 24 September 2020 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/24/world/asia/thailand-protests-women.html>, accessed 14 June 2021).

⁴¹ Jiratchaya Chaichumkhun, “ประชาธิปไตยที่ไม่ทิ้งใครไว้ข้างหลัง ต้องมีความเป็นธรรมทางเพศ คู่กับ ชุมภาพร แต่งเกิ้ล” [Democracy that leave no one behind must have gender fairness. A talk with Chumaporn Taengklinag], *The MATTER*, 27 October 2020 (<https://thematter.co/social/gender/interview-waaddao-gender/127058>, accessed 20 June 2021).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Hannah Beech, “‘Extremely Evil Misconduct’: Thailand’s Palace Intrigue Spills Into View”, *New York Times*, 6 November 2019 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/06/world/asia/thailand-king-consort-wives.html>, accessed 19 June 2021).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Author’s interview with Sai and Fern, 29 April and 26 May 2021.

⁴⁷ Author’s interview with Sai, 26 May 2021.

⁴⁸ Author’s interview with Fern, 29 April 2021.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Author’s interview with Sai, 26 May 2021.

⁵² Pavin Chachavalpongpun, “‘Good Coup’ Gone Bad: Thailand’s Political Developments since Thaksin’s Downfall”, pp. 3-16 in Pavin Chachavalpongpun, ed., “*Good Coup*” *Gone Bad: Thailand’s Political Developments since Thaksin’s Downfall* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2014), p. 8.

⁵³ Author’s interview with Tamara Loos, 17 June 2021.

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