

Notes

Many of these notes include web-links, all of which were checked prior to publication. To help readers access these external resources, an online version of these notes is included among the Future Forward resources on the Leeds Thai politics site.

Forward

- p.1 - Future Forward stormed** For background on the elections, see Jacob I. Ricks, 'Thailand's 2019 vote: the general's election', *Pacific Affairs*, 92, 3, 2019.
- p.1 - a classic study of British politics** See Jean Blondel, *Voters, Parties and Leaders: the Social Fabric of British Politics*, London: Pelican, 1963.
- p.2 - Modern politics in Thailand** For an overview of recent Thai political history, see Federico Ferrara, *The Political Development of Modern Thailand*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- p.2 - Authoritarianism was the dominant mode** For an overview of Thai ideological formation in the late twentieth century, see Michael K. Connors, *Democracy and National Identity in Thailand*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007.
- p.3 - an elaborate network of intermediaries** See Duncan McCargo, 'Network monarchy and legitimacy crises in Thailand', *Pacific Review*, 18, 4, 2005: 499–519.
- p.3 - 1997 'people's constitution'** On Thailand's 1997 political reform process see Duncan McCargo (ed.), *Reforming Thai Politics*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2002.
- p.3 - led by Thaksin Shinawatra** For a succinct overview of the Thaksin phenomenon, see Duncan McCargo, 'Toxic Thaksin? Thailand's troublesome ex-premier', *Representation*, 47, 3, 2011: 295–306.
- p.4 - only the red shirts were violently suppressed** Some yellow-shirt protestors were killed in grenade attacks in 2008 and 2014.
- p.4 - the great majority were shot dead** For English versions of reports on the incidents, see People's Information Committee, *Truth for Justice: a Fact-Finding Report on the April–May 2010 Crackdowns in Thailand* [English], Bangkok: PIC, 2012, <http://www.pic2010.org/en-report/>; and Truth for Reconciliation Commission of Thailand, *Final Report of the Truth for Reconciliation Commission of Thailand (TRCT), July 2010–July 2012* [English], Bangkok: TRCT, 2012, <http://library.nhrc.or.th/ulib/document/Fulltext/F07939.pdf>.
- p.5 - appointed himself prime minister** See Duncan McCargo, 'Tearing up the script', *New York Times*, 29 May 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/30/opinion/thailands-army-tears-up-the-script.html>.
- p.5 - the post-2017 election rules** See Duncan McCargo, 'Thailand's changing party landscape', *ISEAS Perspective*, 2018/63, 12 October 2018, <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/publications/perspectives/2018/63>.

edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2018_63_@50.pdf.

- p.7 - He launched a second party** Thai Raksa Chart ran in 176 districts altogether.
- p.7 - one of the strangest days** See Prajak Kongkirati, ‘Overview: political earthquakes’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 2, 2019: 163–69.
- p.9 - August 2018 interview Thanathorn gave** เปิดดอก “ธนาธร” อนาคตใหม่ในเงาเพื่อไทย [Revealing Thanathorn Future Forward in the shadow of Pheu Thai], *Khom Chad Luek*, 15 August 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OLRDXvNVKN4>.
- p.9 - lit the fires for change** “ธนาธร” กับสนามการเมืองครั้งแรกของคนรุ่นใหม่ [Thanathorn and the first political match of the new generation], Thai PBS, 27 April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m4KeE3Damlg>.
- p.9 - Thanathorn’s big breakthrough** ไทยรัฐเวทีดีเบตเลือกตั้ง 62 เหวที่แรก [First Thai Rath election 2019 debate], 11 February 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJqcgPmjG4A>.
- p.10 - challenged army commander Apirat** “ธนาธร” บอกปัจจัยอะไรคือข้ออ้างที่จะทำให้เกิดรัฐประหารบ้าง [Thanathorn asks what the pretext would be for another coup] *Workpoint News*, 17 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsKtlhMm1zA>.
- p.10 - We are grown-up now** See Duncan McCargo, ‘We are grown-up now and can choose for ourselves’, *New York Times*, 29 March 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/29/opinion/thailand-election-thanathorn-future-forward-youth-vote.html>.

Chapter 1: Leaders

- p.12 - The hyperleader is an excessive leader** Paolo Gerbaudo, *The Digital Party: Political Organisation and Online Democracy*, London: Pluto 2019, pp. 148–49.
- p.12 - whose Twitter feed carried the by-line** After the party was dissolved, the first part of his by-line changed to ‘Former Future Forward Party Leader. An adventurer’, https://twitter.com/thanathorn_fwp?lang=en.
- p.12 - Thanathorn himself balked** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
- p.12 - The Futurista’s Guide** ‘The Futurista’s Guide’, Bangkok: Future Forward Party, n.d. English language pamphlet given to Duncan by Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, 30 October 2018.
- p.12 - an extremely genuine figure** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, ธนาธร จิ้งจูงเรื่องกิจ : ความเป็นนักการเมือง VS ความเป็นพ่อ [Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit: being a politician vs being a father], *The Momentum*, 15 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bs9wY7211dQ>.
- p.13 - he has to ask his wife** A casual conversation with Thanathorn and Ravipan Juangroongruangkit, คุขสบายๆ กับ “ธนาธร-รวีพรรณ จิ้งจูงเรื่องกิจ”, 27 September 2019, *Voice Online*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xB3IC2pPc40>.
- p.13 - he always wore the same** “ธนาธร จิ้งจูงเรื่องกิจ” ชีวิตแบบผู้ชายออแกนิก [Revealing Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit – life of an organic man], 8 March 2018, *Chae live*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i9L9Y9SHFHU>.

- p.13 - Chamlong Srimuang** See Duncan McCargo, *Chamlong Srimuang and the New Thai Politics*, London: Hurst 1997, for example pp. 198–201, 212.
- p.14 - sufficiency economy** For a critical review of sufficiency economy, see Wolfram Schaffar, ‘Alternative development concepts and their political embedding: the case of sufficiency economy in Thailand’, *Forum for Development Studies*, 45, 3, 2018: 387–413.
- p.14 - Do not be a wolf** Chachawan Santidet, เลือกลงข้างเวลา [Choose to be on the side of time], Bangkok: SE-Education, 2018, p. 31.
- p.14 - Thaksin Shinawatra** Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, *Thaksin*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm 2009, p. 25.
- p.14 - Thanathorn’s personal narrative** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, ประวัติครอบครัว ที่เล่าจากปากคุณธนาธรเอง คุณธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ [Family history explained straight from Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-hEFHJhLn8w>.
- p.15 - Thanathorn went to Saint Dominic’s** Born 1978.
- p.15 - three different master’s degrees** Thanathorn gained an MA in political economy from Chulalongkorn University, another in global finance from NYU’s Stern School, and a third in international business law from St Gallen University in Switzerland. The latter two degrees were distance-learning programmes, involving short, intensive stints of study abroad.
- p.15 - Assembly of the Poor** For a discussion of this important popular movement, see Bruce D. Missingham, *The Assembly of the Poor in Thailand: from Local Struggles to National Protest Movement*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2003.
- p.15 - his activist credentials** See Kriangsak Teerakowitkajorn, ‘Thailand’s new left-wing political parties: rivals or allies?’ *New Mandala*, 19 November 2018, <https://www.newmandala.org/thailands-new-left-wing-political-parties-rivals-or-allies/>.
- p.15 - 1997 Asian financial crisis** On the 1997 financial crisis, see Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, *Thailand’s Crisis*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm, 2000; and Peter Warr (ed.) *Thailand Beyond the Crisis*, London: Routledge, 2004.
- p.15 - formative year** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, เจาะหนังสือ 5 เล่มของไพร่หมื่นล้าน ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ [Five books of the ten-billion-baht serf], 9 November 2018, *The People*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nx0oE-w5Z5k>.
- p.15 - Among the books** The other non-fiction books he cited as important influences were Pasuk Phongpaichit’s two edited volumes การต่อสู้ของทุนไทย [The struggles of Thai capital; Bangkok: Matichon, 2006], on the 1997 Asian financial crisis; and on the 2008 global financial crisis, Andrew Ross Sorkin’s *Too Big to Fail* (New York: Viking, 2009).
- p.15 - when he was studying at Thammasat** โฉลก-เอก. See แฉ - เปิดตัวตนความเป็น “อ. ป็อก” ปิยบุตร เลขานุการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Chae – Get to know Professor Pok Piyabutr, Future Forward’s general-secretary], GMM25Thailand, 28 August 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T6VE3dtxhd8>.
- p.15 - Oak-Ake** Panthongtae’s nickname is Oak, and Thanathorn’s Ake.

- p.16 - Thanathorn had to set aside his passion** See ‘Isaan’s future: Thanathorn on moving the region forward’, *Isaan Record*, 6 August 2018, <https://isaanrecord.com/2018/06/08/isaans-future-thanathorn-on-moving-the-region-forward/>.
- p.16 - Praphakorn Wongratanawin was critical** Praphakorn Wongratanawin, ‘Future Forward Party – whose future?’ *Bangkok Post*, 1 November 2018, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1568350/future-forward-party-whose-future>.
- p.16 - condemned by the International Metalworkers’ Federation** IndustriAll Global Union, *IMF condemns labour rights violations at Thai Summit Group subsidiary*, 28 August 2007, <http://www.industriall-union.org/archive/imf/imf-condemns-labour-rights-violations-at-thai-summit-group-subsidiary>.
- p.17 - Some 230 union members** International Trade Union Confederation, *2007 Annual Survey of violations of trade union rights Thailand*, 9 June 2007, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4c52ca09c.html>.
- p.17 - Another round of union-busting** International Trade Union Confederation, *2010 Annual Survey of violations of trade union rights- Thailand*, 9 June 2010, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4c4fec5428.html>.
- p.17 - Questioned about these events** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, Thanathorn ธานธร พรรคอนาคตใหม่ ตอบสดๆ ทุกข้อสงสัย, *The Standard Daily*, 19 March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KL1TA2Xn5dM>.
- p.17 - he admitted in a January 2007 interview** Wanchai Tantiwittayapithak and Wirapa Angkoontasaneeyarat, สัมภาษณ์: ธานธร จี๋รุ่งเรืองกิจ รองประธานกรรมการบริหาร กลุ่มบริษัทไทยซัมมิท «ผมถูกบังคับให้เป็นนายทุน» [Interview: Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, deputy executive chairman, Thai Summit], *Sarakadee Magazine*, 11 January 2007, <https://www.sarakadee.com/2007/01/14/thanatorn/>.
- p.17 - Thanathorn’s uncle Suriya** สุริยะ พูดถึงธานธร จี๋รุ่งเรืองกิจ ผมเองยังถูกต่อว่า เขาเป็นคนแบบนั้นมาตั้งแต่เรียน [Suriya on Thanathorn: Even I was scolded by him; he has been like this since he was a student], *Matichon Online*, 8 August 2018, https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1077860.
- p.18 - a cause célèbre for Thai activists** For a detailed discussion, see *The Struggle of Villagers in Chana District, Southern Thailand in Defence of Community, Land and Religion against the Trans Thai-Malaysia Pipeline and Industrial Project (TTM), 2002–2008*, Sturminster Newton: Corner House, 2008, <http://www.thecornerhouse.org.uk/sites/thecornerhouse.org.uk/files/TTM2002-2007.pdf>.
- p.18 - a partnership known as the ‘Three Allies’** See Punchada Sirivunnabood, ‘The rules change but the players don’t: factional politics and Thailand’s March 2019 elections’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 3, 2019: 395–96.
- p.18 - Thanathorn accused him of supporting dictatorship** Suriya Juangroongruangkit, เปิดเผยครั้งแรก สุริยะ จี๋รุ่งเรืองกิจ กลับมาช่วยเผด็จการหรือ? [Exclusive: Is Suriya Juangroongruangkit returning to help dictatorship?], *Springnews*, 7 August 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1EODg9WqFqQ> Suriya looked incredibly uncomfortable during this television interview when asked to justify his support for Prayuth.
- p.18 - Despite their differences** Suriya Juangroongruangkit, เมื่อ “สุริยะ จี๋รุ่งเรืองกิจ”

พูดถึงหลาน “ธนาธร จีรุงเรืองกิจ” [When Suriya Juangroongruangkit talks about nephew Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], 7 August 2018, *Springnews*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAKAUNOmu9A>.

- p.18 - he and Suriya only met** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, เปิดใจ “ธนาธร” ความสัมพันธ์ตระกูล “จีรุงเรืองกิจ” [Thanathorn opening up about the relationship of the Juangroongruangkit family], 10 October 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XblzE4Kvo2M>.
- p.18 - it saddened him** จาก ธนาธร ถึง สุริยะ จีรุงเรืองกิจ “เสียตายนี่คุณเอาไม่ไต้ยืนอยู่ฝั่งประชาธิปไตย” [From Thanathorn to Suriya: I am disappointed that my uncle does not side with democracy], *Khaosod Online*, 13 December 2018, https://www.khaosod.co.th/politics/news_1949984.
- p.19 - When I got home, we had a big fight** Jenwit Chueasawathee, ปีกธงอนาคต [The future is ours], 2nd edn, Bangkok: Matichon, 2018, p. 54.
- p.19 - When Thanathorn told his father** Jenwit, ปีกธงอนาคต [The future is ours], pp. 68–69.
- p.19 - UDD** Known in Thai as the แนวร่วมประชาธิปไตยต่อต้านเผด็จการแห่งชาติ, abbreviated to นปช.
- p.19 - Abhisit Vejjajiva government** The Abhisit administration lacked electoral legitimacy, since the Democrats had lost the 2007 election, before gaining power a year later through backroom machinations and political defections.
- p.19 - many of them migrant workers** On the composition of the demonstrations, see Naruemon Thabchumpon and Duncan McCargo, ‘Urbanized villagers in the 2010 Thai redshirt protests: not just poor farmers?’, *Asian Survey*, 51, 6, 2011: 993–1018.
- p.19 - one of the darkest episodes** For more on the 2010 red-shirt protests, see Michael J. Montesano, Pavin Chachavalpongpun and Aekapol Chongvilaivan (eds), *Bangkok, May 2010: Perspectives on a Divided Thailand*, Singapore: ISEAS, 2012.
- p.19 - billionaire serf** *phrai muen lan*, literally the ‘commoner worth 10 billion’.
- p.19 - a tagline he enthusiastically embraced** Jenwit, ปีกธงอนาคต [The future is ours], p. 197.
- p.20 - Thanathorn was so distraught** Jenwit, ปีกธงอนาคต [The future is ours], p. 197.
- p.20 - PIC** Worapoj Phanphong, *Portrait* ธนาธร, Bangkok: Banglumpoo, 2018, p. 46. On the PIC, see Duncan McCargo and Naruemon Thabchumpon, ‘Wreck/Conciliation: the politics of truth commissions in Thailand’, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 14, 3, 2014: 385–90.
- p.20 - the Thai Pao Boon Jin** Pao Boon Jin is a Chinese god of justice who featured in a popular TV series. Clearly, Somporn had a very favourable view of Xi Jinping. “สมพร-รวีพรรณ” ชู “ธนาธร” สี่จิ้นฝั่ง เมืองไทย ห่วง “กระทบผู้ใหญ่ เราก็ตาย” [Somporn-Rawipan acclaimed Thanathorn as Thailand’s Xi Jinping. Worried clashing with those in power, we will die], *Prachachat*, 2 June 2018, <https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-168175>.
- p.20 - Somporn became one of his most ardent supporters** Jenwit, ปีกธงอนาคต [The future is ours], p. 208.

- p.21 - Thanathorn appeared in numerous YouTube shows** See, for example, this show in which he is interviewed by popular entertainers: Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, *The Driver* EP. 62- คุณเอก ธนาธร [The Driver EP. 62 – Ask Thanathorn], *The Driver*, 22 August 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uue6xPwwFzs>.
- p.21 - Sista Café** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, ธนาธร จิ้งจอกเรื่องกิจ, *Sista Hot Guy* 20 คำถามกับ ธนาธรจิ้งจอกเรื่องกิจ แบบที่ไม่เคยมีใครถามไม่มีใครรู้มาก่อน [20 questions with Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit like never asked, never known before], 15 March 2019, *Sista Café*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GnGXXK28uwrU>.
- p.21 - addressed to ‘Daddy’ from ‘Fah’** This related to the hashtag ‘Fah loves Daddy’, which went viral during the 2019 election campaign. For the interview, see แฉ – “ธนาธร จิ้งจอกเรื่องกิจ” ชีวิตแบบผู้ชายออแกนิก [Revealing Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit – life of an organic man], 8 March 2019, GMM25Thailand, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i9L9Y9SHFHU>.
- p.21 - he answers questions posed by teenagers** Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, ธนาธร x รีวิวเชียงใหม่ ep. 2 ถามได้ ตอบได้ [Thanathorn x Review Chiangmai ep.2 ask and answer], *Review Chiang Mai*, 22 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waM3jg0Xu1M>.
- p.21 - his life as a teenager** ARE YOU UP EP.10 ชีวิตวัยรุ่นของ ธนาธร จิ้งจอกเรื่องกิจ [Teenage lifestyle of Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], 4 August 2019, *The Standard*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBeHiJxp_cY.
- p.21 - Thaksin marketed his party** Duncan McCargo and Ukrist Pathmanand, *The Thaksinization of Thailand*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2005, pp. 168–72.
- p.22 - Fa Diao Kan publishes** For example, the January 2020 issue was provocatively entitled รัฐสมบูรณาญาสิทธิราชย์ [The absolute monarchy state], ฟาเดียวกัน 18/1. Originally published quarterly, *Fa Diao Kan* now appears twice a year.
- p.22 - a thorn in the side** *Fa Diao Kan* was in legal trouble in 2006 when it issued a video CD criticising the incumbent Thaksin government over its mishandling of the Southern conflicts, notably the Tak Bai massacre. See เจาะใจ “บก. ฟาเดียวกัน” เบื้องหน้าและเบื้องหลัง “หนังสือต้องห้าม 5 รัฐบาล” [Deep talk: *Fa Diao Kan*’s editor responsible for banned volumes during five governments], *Matichon*, 7 October 2010, <https://www.happyreading.in.th/article/detail.php?id=771>.
- p.22 - The journal’s original website was closed down** ‘*Fah Diew Kan* website shut down’, *Prachatai*, 5 January 2008, <https://prachatai.com/english/node/464>. After the closure of www.sameskybooks.org, *Fa Diao Kan* set up a new website, www.sameskybooks.net and a Facebook page as an online bookstore.
- p.22 - named in an organogram** For a detailed discussion of the *lom jao* diagram, see Duncan McCargo, *Fighting for Virtue: Justice and Politics in Thailand*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2019, pp. 108–13.
- p.23 - Panthongtae Shinawatra asked** Their high school connection was also shown on the anti-monarchy organogram. หรือจะย้ายพรรค?! ‘โอ๊ค’ โผล่อ้อน ‘ธนาธร ขอใบสมัครพรรคอนาคตใหม่’ [Switching party? Oak messages Thanathorn asking for an application form for Future Forward], *Khaosod Online*, 4 May 2018, https://www.khaosod.co.th/special-stories/news_1044867.

- p.23 - a supposed phone call** For the relevant YouTube clips and commentary, see Asaree Thairakulpanich, ‘Nation TV airs obviously faked “secret” Thaksin-Thamathorn recording’, *Khaosod English*, 20 March 2019, <http://www.khaosodenglish.com/culture/net/2019/03/20/nation-tv-airs-obviously-faked-secret-thaksin-thamathorn-recording/>.
- p.23 - Kanok Ratwongsakul took to the airwaves** See “กนก” สวณ “ธนาธร” ไม่ได้เอ่ยชื่อใคร แต่ “ธนาธร” ต่อว่า “เนชั่น” เสียหายอย่างมาก [Kanok: concerning Thamathorn, we did not name anyone but Thamathorn berated Nation for damaging him], NationTV22, 20 March 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=ILflm4aj5hI&feature=emb_title.
- p.24 - he had only met Thaksin once** Shawn Crispin, ‘Thamathorn speaks inconvenient truths in Thailand’, *Asia Times*, 15 November 2019, <https://asiatimes.com/2019/11/thamathorn-speaks-inconvenient-truths-in-thailand/>.
- p.24 - Thamathorn could not afford to alienate Thaksin** Worapot, *Portrait* ธนาธร, pp. 217–19.
- p.24 - I am afraid that they will be affected** Worapot, *Portrait* ธนาธร, pp. 186–87.
- p.24 - I don’t have any strong people** Duncan interview with Thamathorn, 23 August 2019.
- p.25 - Piyabutr is there** Mutita Chuachang, ‘The challenger’, *Mekong Review*, November 2019: 9–10.
- p.25 - a prominent member of Nitirat** For a discussion, see Duncan McCargo and Peeradej Tanruangporn, ‘Branding dissent: Nitirat, Thailand’s enlightened jurists’, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 34, 3, 2015: 419–42.
- p.25 - Piyabutr came from** Born 1979.
- p.25 - His parents sent all four** เก่งมาจากไหน สปอตไลท์ส่อง “ปิยบุตร แสงกนกกุล” บ้านไม่รวยได้ทุนจบนอก [Where is the clever one from? Spotlight on Piyabutr Sangkanokkul. Not rich family. Scholarship graduate from abroad], *Thai Rath*, 29 March 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1532613>.
- p.25 - Piyabutr was hardly a radical** Kwanchai Dumrongkwan, ฉากชีวิตขนาดยาวกับความฝันนอกหมวกนักวิชาการ ของ ปิยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [Piyabutr Saengkanokkul’s lasting dreams beyond academia], *The Matter*, 8 May 2019, <https://thematter.co/social/long-interview-with-piyabutr/76766>.
- p.26 - Right after graduating** See Piyabutr Saengkanokkul CV, <https://independent.academia.edu/PiyabutrSaengkanokkul>.
- p.26 - Piyabutr published four books** Piyabutr’s books were: พระราชอำนาจ องคมนตรี และผู้มีบารมีนอกรัฐธรรมนูญ [Royal powers, the Privy Council, and extraconstitutional charismatic persons], Bangkok: Openbooks, 2007; ในพระปรมาภิไธย ประชาธิปไตย และตุลาการ [In the name of the King: democracy and the judiciary], Bangkok: Openbooks, 2009; ราชบัลลังก์ บัลลังก์ปฏิรูป บทอภิปรายว่าด้วยรัฐธรรมนูญ สถาบันกษัตริย์ ตุลาการ และกองทัพ [Royal punisher, palace reform: analysis of the constitution, monarchy, judiciary, and army], Bangkok: Shine Publishing House, 2014; and ศาลรัฐประหาร [Coup Court], Bangkok: Fa Diao Kan, 2017.
- p.26 - Piyabutr was more of an activist** ปิยบุตรในโลก 2 ใบ ส.ส และชีวิตคู่ ‘I have two

loves' [Piyabutr in two worlds, as MP and in his married life; 'I have two loves'], *Prachachat Thurakit*, 18 May 2019, <https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-328414>.

p.26 - his private Facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/piyabutr2475>.

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p.26 - Pridi Banomyong See Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit (trans and eds), *Pridi on Pridi: Selected Writing on Life, Politics and Economy*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm 2000.

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Voice TV, 7 November 2018, <http://www.voicetv.co.th/read/r1bFSweTm>.

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p.38 - Trap Slap E-Cho In Thai, #ดักตบอีช่อ. See Pareena Kraikupt, ปารีณา แจงปมไลฟ์ด่า “อีช่อ” [Pareena explains insulting ‘E-Cho’], *Thai Rath Online*, 29 May 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NJthn-0QFDo>.

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p.39 - Her ideal man ปุ่มหลัง “พรรณิการ์” ลูกสาวผู้บริหาร ปากจืด ส่องหนุ่มข้างกาย ผู้ชายที่ช่อเลือก [Background Pannika: the outspoken daughter of an executive. Sneak peek of the man that Cho chooses], *Thai Rath Online*, 11 June 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1589296>.

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p.41 - Her style of debating and presentation Sirikanya Tansakul, เปิดมุมมองมั่งมั่ง ส.ส.ใหม่ ศิริกัญญา แม่ทัพเศรษฐกิจอนาคตใหม่:Khaosod TV [Cute aspects of MP Mai Sirikanya, economic commander of Future Forward], *Khaosod*, 30 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lbsLw2USdxY>.

p.41 - her ability to make complex issues easier to understand Sirkanya Tansakul, ถาม-ตอบ “ศิริกัญญา” เบื้องหลัง “อนาคตใหม่” เปิดศึกงบประมาณจน “บิ๊กตู” นั่งไม่ติด? [Ask and answer with Sirkanya behind Future Forward’s war on government budget], Matichon TV, 29 October 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kVbGwsIu2eM>.

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p.42 - Pita’s uncle “พี่ชา ลี้มเจริญรัตน์” หลาน “คนผมขาว” คนใกล้ชิด ทักซิณ ว่าที่ รมต.เกษตรฯ ในฝันของพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Pita Limjaroenrat, nephew of ‘the white-haired man’ a close aide to Thaksin, prospective minister of agriculture and cooperatives in the Future Forward Party’s dreams], *Manager Online*, 9 January 2019, <https://mgronline.com/onlinesection/detail/9620000002970>.

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p.42 - Pita graduated He gained an MA in Public Policy from Harvard’s Kennedy School, and an MBA from MIT. Information from Pita Limjaroenrat’s official Facebook page in the ‘About Pita Limjaroenrat’ section, <https://www.facebook.com/pg/timpitaofficial/about/>.

p.42 - He worked for Boston Consulting Group Anyarat interview with Pita Limjaroenrat, 13 June 2020.

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- p.44 - Pita decided to join** *Thai Rath Online*, ปุ่มหลัง “พิธา” คีย์แมนคนใหม่ ฮาร์วาร์ดผสมสำเพ็ง วัยรุ่นพันล้าน สุดยอดแค้นนี้ [Pita’s background, new keyman with a combination of Harvard and Sampeng – teen billionaire with top skills in clearing debts], 21 February 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1777188>.
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- p.44 - Pita’s upper class background** <https://twitter.com/tahsaikaimaew/status/1155156985261596672>.
- p.45 - Younger Bangkokians ... familiar with Pita** ‘Pita Limjaroenrat, successful life journal’, AP Thai, 4 July 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eC3irpSL5c4>.
- p.45 - his own love songs** ‘Pita Limjaroenrat, สายลม – ทิมพิธา’ [Wind – Tim Pita), *MUNDAYMUSIC*, 16 Aug 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xfKehiOQf7U>.
- p.45 - Pita had a whirlwind romance** *Thai Rath Online*, ปุ่มหลัง พิธา คีย์แมนคนใหม่ ฮาร์วาร์ดผสมสำเพ็ง วัยรุ่นพันล้าน สุดยอดแค้นนี้ [Pita’s background, new key man with a combination of Harvard and Sampeng — teen billionaire with top skills in clearing debts], 21 February 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1777188>.
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- p.45 - Pita was not qualified to lead a progressive political party** See James Wilson and Cod Satrusayang, ‘Thai progressives say that Pita Limjaroenrat must answer questions about his alleged history of domestic abuse’, *Thai Enquirer*, 27 April 2020, <https://www.thaienquirer.com/12305/thai-progressives-say-that-pita-limjaroenrat-must-answer-questions-about-his-history-of-domestic-abuse/>. For an example of critical social media coverage, see https://twitter.com/_LeaveM3alone/status/1234423246063169543.

p.47 - calling out Voldemort https://twitter.com/leg_little/status/1094954583288246272.

p.47 - Piyabutr more closely resembles Hermione <https://twitter.com/happyaliceee/status/1198953051975045121>.

p.47 - Nobody can do it alone Panis Phosriwungchai, ‘ใครๆ ก็เป็น ส.ส. เหมือนผมได้’: ครงฟต์การเมื่องกับ เท้าพิภพ ล้มจิตกร [Anyone can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taopihop Limjitrakorn], *The 101*, 7 November 2019, <https://www.the101.world/taopihop-limjitrakorn-interview/>.

Chapter 2: Voters

p.49 - Fah Rak Pho ka! The use of the Thai particle *ka* by the male student suggests he is gay, another twist in the story.

p.49 - The student tweets the eight-second clip immediately <https://twitter.com/9sectothemoon/status/1094160817480642560>.

p.49 - Thanathorn ... baffled https://twitter.com/Thanathorn_FWP/status/1094204873644490752.

p.49 - what ‘Fah Rak Pho’ meant <https://twitter.com/suchabigfan/status/1094206417492267011>. That said, ‘Pho’ here does not exactly mean ‘father’, but feels more like ‘sugar daddy’.

p.50 - Golden Orange Blossoms *Golden Orange Blossoms*, first published in 1999, is a novel by Taitao Sujaritkul, which was turned into a sensationally popular soap opera screened on TV Channel 3 in 2011. Wittaya Wasukraipaisan, the actor who played Pho, is tall and good-looking, rather like Thanathorn.

p.50 - her sugar daddy patron See Penchan Phoborisut, ‘Striating the communication space: the junta’s legacy’, Thailand Update Conference 2019, Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 26 March 2019.

p.50 - The hashtag #Fah Rak Pho started off Contrary to popular belief, the hashtag #ฟารักพ่อ was already in use on Twitter in early December 2018, though not specifically with reference to Thanathorn. For a discussion, see เปิดตัวมา ปรากฏการณ์ร้อนกับ #ฟารักพ่อ และ #พ่อก็รักฟ้า กระแสแรงจากงานบอล [Revealing the hot issue: #Fah Rak Pho and #Pho Rak Fah, strong wave of interest from the football match], *Khaosod*, 10 February 2019, https://www.khaosod.co.th/special-stories/news_2194134.

p.50 - the associations of the hashtag Anyarat interview with five young Twitter micro-influencers, 1 May 2020.

p.50 - he looked distinctly uncomfortable Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.

p.50 - Bencha Saengchantra Anyarat interview with Bencha Saengchantra, 26 May 2019.

p.50 - t-shirts saying #Fah Rak Pho Duncan conversation with Future Forward staff selling #ฟารักพ่อ t-shirts, Thammasat University, 17 March 2019.

p.50 - Voter Profile 1 Anyarat interviews with ‘Maleewan’ in group online discussion with 5 Twitter users, 1 May 2020, one-on-one interview 1 June 2020.

- p.52 - Future Forward picked up 31 constituency seats** Future Forward only held 31 constituencies for a short time. They won 30 seats on 24 March 2019, gained another in a Chiang Mai by-election shortly afterwards, then promptly lost another in a second by-election in Nakhon Pathom.
- p.52 - Thaksin's B-list** Joel Selway and Allen Hicken, 'The fate of Pheu Thai in the 2019 elections', *Thai Data Points*, 28 November 2019, <https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/the-fate-of-pheu-thai-in-the-2019-elections>.
- p.52 - Thai Raksa Chart defined itself** Tonight Thailand - ณัฐวุฒิ ใสยเกื้อ เปิดภารกิจ ไทยรักษาชาติ [Tonight Thailand – Nattawut Saikua, Open the mission Thai Raksa Chart], Voice TV, 18 January 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RSW7CHj27Cc>.
- p.52 - Speakers at Thai Raksa Chart rallies** See, for example, speech by Dr Arunee Kasayanond at Thai Raksa Chart rally, Bangkok, 3 March 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/TSNParty/videos/การเมืองกับคนรุ่นใหม่/1007634719429777/?so=permalink&rv=relatedvideos>.
- p.54 - voters ... drawn to Thai Raksa Chart** For the image and branding of Thai Raksa Chart, see the party's Facebook's page, <https://www.facebook.com/TSNParty/> which was created on 7 November 2018 and last posted content on 6 March 2019, one day before the Constitutional Court dissolved the party. The party's website www.tsn.or.th was later taken down.
- p.55 - Seven of Future Forward's seats** Future Forward won in the following constituencies: 22, 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28 (Thonburi), 3 (Yannawa), and 20 and 21 (Bang Na, Prawet).
- p.55 - Palang Pracharat secured** Palang Pracharat won one Thonburi seat (30), two in the East (15, 17), and ten more central districts (1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19).
- p.55 - Pheu Thai mopped up** Pheu Thai won districts 5, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 26 and 29, five of which were on the outer edges of the Bangkok metropolis.
- p.57 - Future Forward was very much a national party** For a very useful discussion, see Allen Hicken and Joel Selway, 'An in-depth analysis of Future Forward's electoral success', *Thai Data Points*, 11 April 2019, <https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/an-in-depth-analysis-of-future-forward-s-electoral-success>.
- p.57 - Future Forward topped** For a comparative discussion of regional voting, see เทียบผลเลือกตั้ง 54–62 แต่ละภาค คะแนนโหวตเปลี่ยนแปลงอย่างไร [Comparing election results in each region, 2011–2019, how did they change?], *WorkPoint News*, 31 May 2019, available online at: <https://workpointnews.com/2019/05/31/news190531/>.
- p.59 - old leftists and new progressives** See Saowanee T. Alexander, 'Isan: Double trouble', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41, 2, 2019, 187–88.
- p.60 - opened to great fanfare** For details, see <https://www.facebook.com/events/738745683200682/>.
- p.60 - established ... by local party activists and MPs** See เปิดศูนย์ประสานงานพรรคอนาคตใหม่ฝั่งธนฯ: ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ [Opening the Future Forward Party centre on the Thonburi side: Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit] PITVFANPAGE, 10 November 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IbIgGpbh0X8>.
- p.60 - Petra Desatova** Petra Desatova, 'Bangkok: two cities', *Contemporary*

Southeast Asia 41, 2, 2019: 176–82.

- p.60 - Future Forward ... people who share the same dream** ชวนคนไทยทำลายโครงสร้าง
อยุติธรรมจาก ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ อนาคตใหม่ [An invitation to Thai people to destroy structural
injustice from Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, Future Forward], *The Standard*, 10
March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8rSHDQfRUgg&feature=youtu.be>.
- p.61 - a large print #Futurista at the front** ชวนคนไทยทำลายโครงสร้างอยุติธรรมจาก ธนาธร
จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ อนาคตใหม่ [An invitation to Thai people to destroy structural injustice from
Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit Future Forward], *The Standard*, 10 March 2019,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8rSHDQfRUgg&feature=youtu.be>.
- p.61 - Rangsiman Rome** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.
- p.61 - the story of people and their journey** อนาคตใหม่คือผู้คนและการเดินทางไกล: ธนาธร
จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ [Future Forward is the people and their long journey: Thanathorn Juang-
roongruangkit], Future Forward, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjMg0048Gog>.
- p.61 - He also handwrote** [https://www.facebook.com/vanvaree.talomsin/photos/
อนาคตใหม่คือผู้คนและการเดินทาง-ข้อความนี้คุณธนาธรเขียนไว้ที่ห้องวอร์มของพรรคอนาคตใหม่
/1490490837767989/](https://www.facebook.com/vanvaree.talomsin/photos/อนาคตใหม่คือผู้คนและการเดินทาง-ข้อความนี้คุณธนาธรเขียนไว้ที่ห้องวอร์มของพรรคอนาคตใหม่/1490490837767989/).
- p.61 - Thanathorn believed ... a large number of MPs** สัมภาษณ์ ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ “พอใจ
ไหมกับพรรคอนาคตใหม่?” [Interview Thanathorn Jungroongruangkit ‘Are you satisfied with
Future Forward Party?'], *Workpoint News*, 5 September 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=69&v=1p8_dWM4AIQ&feature=emb_logo.
- p.62 - An informal party advisor told us** Anyarat phone interview with a senior Thai
political analyst who was an unofficial advisor to Future Forward leaders, 18 May
2020.
- p.63 - much more strongly in the advance vote** See Duncan McCargo and Saowanee
T. Alexander, ‘Thailand’s 2019 elections: a state of democratic dictatorship’, *Asia
Policy*, 14, 4, 2019: 101–104. Future Forward ‘won’ the advance voting in Ubon’s
Constituency 1 with over 40 per cent of votes cast; and gained between 23 and 28
per cent of the advance vote in four other constituencies, despite ultimately polling
in single figures there overall.
- p.63 - the party decisively ‘won’ the advance vote** As with the Ubon data, this
information was gleaned from on the ground research, and not from published
results.
- p.64 - emotions loomed large for many Bangkok voters** See Pitch Pongsawat, ‘
การศึกษาความเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมือง และพฤติกรรมกาเลือกตั้งสมาชิก สภาผู้แทนราษฎร 24 มีนาคม พ.ศ.
2562: พื้นที่กรุงเทพมหานคร [Political activity and electoral behaviour in Bangkok during
Thailand’s 24 March 2019 general election], Research submitted to Research and
Development Office, King Prajadhipok’s Institute, 2019, pp. 9–12.
- p.64 - Anek Laothamatas famously claimed** For an English summary of
his argument, see Anek Laothamatas, ‘A tale of two democracies: conflicting
perceptions of elections and democracy in Thailand’, in Robert H. Taylor (ed.) *The
Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center
Press, pp. 201–23.
- p.64 - Thanathorn identified an important category of Thais** See Progressive
Movement launch event, 21 March 2020, <https://progressivemovement.in.th/>

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- p.65 - Urbanised villagers are a crucial voting group** See Duncan McCargo, 'Thailand's urbanized villagers and political polarization', *Critical Asian Studies*, 49, 3, 2017.
- p.65 - a key support group** Naruemon and McCargo, 'Urbanized villagers', pp. 993–1018.
- p.65 - City voters today** See Anyarat Chattharakul, 'Thai electoral campaigning: vote-canvassing networks and hybrid voting', *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 29: 4, 2010: 82.
- p.66 - what actually exist are multiple blurrings** McCargo, 'Thailand's urbanized villagers and political polarization', p. 367.
- p.66 - more informal networks** For a discussion of these *sai*, or informal canvasser networks, see Anyarat Chattharakul, 'Networks of vote-canvassers in Thai elections: informal power and money politics', PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2007, pp. 149–56.
- p.66 - social media minimalists** See Aim Sinpeng, 'FFP: The social media minimalists', *Thai Data Points*, 6 March 2020, <https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/ffp-the-social-media-minimalists>
- p.67 - Bangkok Constituency 22** Panis Phosriwungchai, 'ใครๆ ก็เป็น ส.ส. เหมือนผมได้": คราฟต์การเมืองกับ เท้าพิภพ ลี้มจิตรกร [Anybody can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taopiphop Limjitrakorn], *101 World*, 7 November 2019, <https://www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjitrakorn-interview/>
- p.67 - The constituency ... a Democrat stronghold** การเลือกตั้งสมาชิกสภาผู้แทนราษฎร เป็นการทั่วไป วันที่ 3 ก.ค. 2554 [The general election of the members of parliament, 3 July 2011], Election Commission of Thailand, undated, https://www.ect.go.th/ewt/ewt/ect_th/more_news.php?cid=13
- p.67 - Various issues [made me win]** Panis Phosriwungchai, 'ใครๆ ก็เป็น ส.ส. เหมือนผมได้": คราฟต์การเมืองกับ เท้าพิภพ ลี้มจิตรกร [Anybody can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taopiphop Limjitrakorn], *101 World*, 7 November 2019, <https://www.the101.world/taopiphop-limjitrakorn-interview/>
- p.68 - A ... noodle shop owner** Anyarat phone interview with noodle bar owner in Bangkok Constituency 22, 14 May 2020.
- p.68 - Voter Profile 2** Saowanee Alexander interview with 'Rachada', 31 May 2020.
- p.69 - Bencha Saengchantra ... explained** Anyarat interview with Bencha Saengchantra, 26 May 2020.
- p.70 - brokered by the Board of Investment** For a summary of the EEC project, see 'Thailand: taking off to new heights', Thailand Board of Investment, 2018, <http://advertisementfeature.cnn.com/2018/boi/thailand-eeec/>.
- p.70 - Future Forward's stance really hit home** ดีเบตเลือกตั้ง 62 | พื้นที่ EEC เสี่ยงท่อแก๊สระเบิด กระทบพื้นที่เกษตร น้ำท่วมซ้ำซาก [Election debate 2019, On location from EEC: risk of gas explosions, effects on agriculture, regular flooding], *Workpoint News*, 28 February 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b6_xNfDD2TA.
- p.70 - Future Forward unexpectedly won** These nine unlikely constituency

victories were in Chonburi, Chantaburi, Chachoengsao and Trat. See ‘Following Future Forward’ with Aim Sinpeng, *Nordic Asia Podcast*, 14 May 2020, <https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng>.

p.70 - campaign realities on the ground The Chantaburi seats were secured by quite small margins, helped by the absence of Pheu Thai. This was also evident in Chachoengsao. Future Forward had a clear run in Districts 1 and 4, defeating Palang Pracharat quite comfortably – but in Districts 2 and 3 where Pheu Thai stood, Future Forward was pushed into third place. Chonburi followed a similar pattern; while in Trat, Future Forward triumphed largely because much of the Democrat vote decamped to Palang Pracharat.

p.70 - Future Forward’s internal data Future Forward’s internal spreadsheet data on the ‘Thai Raksa Chart effect’, emailed to Duncan by Thanathorn’s assistant, 6 December 2019.

p.72 - deploying these canvassers See McCargo and Saowanee, ‘Thailand’s 2019 elections’, p. 100.

p.72 - health volunteers were recruited as vote canvassers Thanyaporn Buathong, เลือกลง 2562: ซื้อเสียงไม่ใช่เพียงใช้เงินฟาดก็ชนะ [Election 2019: vote-buying not just spending money to win], BBC Thai, 11 March 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/thai/thailand-47520169>.

p.72 - Future Forward denounced vote-canvassing 1 ปีอนาคตใหม่ เดินไปด้วยกัน : การเมืองแห่งความหวังและความเป็นไปได้: ปิยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [1 year Future Forward walk together: politics of hope and possibility, Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], YouTube, 21 June 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3&v=4aukgGz7Y&feature=emb_logo.

p.72 - Thanathorn was insistent ‘Future Forward: Thanathorn on local elections, welfare and party longevity’, *New Mandala and Prachatai*, 24 May 2019, <https://www.newmandala.org/future-forward-thanathorn-on-local-elections-welfare-and-party-longevity-thailand-unsettled-7/>.

p.72 - Vote canvassers typically took the lead Anyarat, ‘Thai electoral campaigning’, p. 82.

p.72 - We had 77 provincial teams *New Mandala and Prachatai*, ‘Future Forward: Thanathorn on local elections’.

p.72 - provincial coordination centre administrators Research assistant phone interviews with 28 former Future Forward provincial administrators, 23 to 25 April 2020.

p.72 - campaign volunteers Interviews with provincial administrators, 23 to 25 April 2020.

p.73 - Future Forward’s campaign posters *New Mandala and Prachatai*, ‘Future Forward: Thanathorn on local elections’.

p.73 - leaders dubbed these volunteers ‘Futuristas’ <https://www.facebook.com/ThanathornOfficial/posts/584695018600843>.

p.73 - organic vote canvassers จั๊บแจ่า ‘อำนาจ สถาวรฤทธิ์’ กุณชื้อ พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Heart-to-

heart talk Amnaj Sathaworarith. an advisor of Future Forward Party], *Matichon*, 6 January 2020, https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/special-interview/news_1867016.

- p.73 - Klaikong Vaidhyakarn** Research assistant interview with Klaikong Vaidhyakarn, 28 November 2019.
- p.73 - Thanathorn saw social media** Hannah Ellis-Petersen, ‘A real source of “hope”: social media opens Thailand’s junta to criticism’, *Guardian*, 7 March 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/07/a-real-source-of-hope-social-media-opens-thailands-junta-to-criticism>.
- p.73 - In addition to the social media team** รู้ลึก! “ทีมโซเชียล” อนาคตใหม่ การเมืองในโลกเสมือนจริง รู้ทัน “มือไซเบอร์” [Deep Knowledge! ‘Team Social’ Future Forward. Politics in the virtual world. Keeping up with ‘cyber hands’], *Matichon*, 10 July 2019, https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_208133.
- p.74 - Thanathorn on tour** Future Forward, ธนาธรออนทัวร์ ep. 1 (1 ก.พ 2562) [Thanathorn on tour ep.1 (1 Feb 2019)], *Future Forward*, 2 February 2019, available on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OjeYQmflqTs>.
- p.74 - Future Forward was adept** See Aim Sinpeng, ‘Pheu Thai won the Facebook election in Thailand’, *New Mandala*, 29 March 2019, <https://www.newmandala.org/pheu-thai-won-the-facebook-election-in-thailand/>.
- p.74 - well-maintained website** <https://futureforwardparty.org>.
- p.75 - The quality ... a much higher standard** Chawarong Limpattamapane, พรรคอนาคตใหม่กับการสร้างคะแนนนิยมผ่าน Social Media [The Future Forward Party and vote mobilisation through social media], *Thai Rath*, 31 October 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/tech/1693908>.
- p.75 - According to Chaitawat** เจาะเบื้องหลังปฏิบัติการสร้าง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยวัชร์ ตูลาธน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operation building Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, <https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/>.
- p.75 - Future Forward ... interacting with voters** See Pitch Pongsawat, ‘การศึกษาความเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมือง และพฤติกรรมกรรมการเลือกตั้งสมาชิก สภาผู้แทนราษฎร 24 มีนาคม พ.ศ. 2562: พื้นที่กรุงเทพมหานคร’ [Political activity and electoral behaviour in Bangkok during Thailand’s 24 March 2019 general election], Research submitted to Research and Development Office, King Prajadhipok’s Institute, 2019, pp. 411–12.
- p.75 - 28.6 million Twitter accounts** Simon Kemp, ‘Digital 2020: Thailand’, *Data Reportal*, 18 February 2020, <https://www.slideshare.net/DataReportal/digital-2020-thailand-january-2020-v01>.
- p.75 - Thailand was number 14** Simon Kemp, ‘Digital 2020: global snapshot’, *Data Reportal*, 23 April 2020, <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2020-april-global-statshot>.
- p.75 - 66 per cent of Thai Twitter users** 40 per cent of Twitter users in Thailand were 15–24 years old, 26 per cent 25–34 years old, 19 per cent 35–44 years old, and just 15 per cent were over 45. ‘Twitter ไทย โตเร็วที่สุดในอาเซียน! รุกหนักจีบหนักพันหมิตร สื่อเปิดช่องลงโฆษณา’ [Thai Twitter is the fastest growing in ASEAN! Opportunity for advertising], *Forbes Thailand*, 29 January 2019, <https://forbesthailand.com/news/it/twitter-ไทย-การเติบโต.html>.

- p.75 - Thanathorn's Twitter interactions** https://twitter.com/alotof_stars/status/1247899178346266624.
- p.75 - tweeted their own pencil drawings** https://twitter.com/Pen_Inw/status/1231325214354501632.
- p.75 - fan-fiction, fantasising** <https://www.joylada.com/story/5cf0f8c38c2dda00015793bd>.
- p.76 - K-pop fan culture** See Lola Vos, 'The K-Pop fandom on Twitter', *diggit magazine*, 31 May 2019, <https://www.diggitmagazine.com/articles/k-pop-fandom-twitter>.
- p.76 - crossover between the two fan bases** https://twitter.com/for_fwp.
- p.76 - resembled a K-pop boy band** See 'K-Pop 101: 21 words every fan should know', *SBS Pop Asia*, 13 March 2018, <https://www.sbs.com.au/popasia/blog/2018/03/13/k-pop-101-21-words-every-fan-should-know>.
- p.77 - One Twitter user posted images** See <https://twitter.com/BoiBuaNTP/status/1093781871140323328>.
- p.77 - The fan behind one Twitter account** <https://twitter.com/LPyoomaipen>. This account was accessed in November 2019, but has since been closed.
- p.77 - Twitter influencers told us** Anyarat interview with 5 influencers, 5 May 2020.
- p.77 - Future Forward's fiercely critical stance** <https://twitter.com/AliceIsWitch/status/1136172313177538560>.
- p.77 - pro-Prayuth users and *salim* joined** Literally the name of a Thai dessert, *salim* is a disparaging term for those who claim to be in neither yellow nor red camps, but are in fact yellow, or at least sympathetic towards the yellow camp.
- p.77 - emergence of a collective pro-Thanathorn** Anyarat's Snapchat interview with Twitter influencer, 30 April 2020.
- p.77 - A young diplomat who criticised** <https://twitter.com/realjeillx/status/1094435344273989632>.
- p.78 - Rangsiman Rome believed that micro-influencers** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.
- p.78 - Returning Friday to the people** Klaikong interview. คืนวันศุกร์ให้ประชาชน was a parody of Prayuth's TV show 'Returning happiness to the people', which was broadcast during prime time every Friday to growing public irritation.
- p.78 - boosting the reach of its Facebook posts** See Aim Sinpeng, 'Mobilizing the 'orange' online support: part ii of the Futurista campaigning', *Thai Data Points*, 26 November 2019, <https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/mobilizing-the-orange-online-support-part-ii-of-the-futurista-campaigning>.
- p.78 - Future Forward's social media team had a daily meeting** See, for example, Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, "พาเธอกลับบ้าน!!" EP.12 คุณธนธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ [Take her home, ep. 12 Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit], *ShaAeng*, 1 March 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jpTsCWid8_4.
- p.78 - We want to fill up social media feeds** Anyarat interview with former Future

Forward staffer, 17 May 2020.

- p.78 - Twitter was the premier social media platform** Tracy Beattie, ‘Thailand’s hashtag activism targets political change’, *Strategist*, 20 April 2020, <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/thailands-hashtag-activism-targets-political-change/>.
- p.78 - A golden rule** รู้ลึก! “ทีมโซเชียล” อนาคตใหม่ การเมืองในโลกเสมือนจริง รู้ทัน “มือไซเบอร์” [Deep Knowledge! ‘Team Social’ Future Forward. Politics in the virtual world. Keeping up with ‘cyber hands’, *Matichon*, 10 July 2019, https://www.matichonweekly.com/column/article_208133.
- p.78 - organic, unregulated mode of communication** Anyarat interview with former Future Forward staffer, 17 May 2020.
- p.79 - Thanathorn’s ... charismatic appeal** Anyarat interview, via LINE, with university lecturer, 9 May 2020.
- p.79 - Thanathorn’s looks** <https://pantip.com/topic/38606995>.
- p.79 - Young people ‘fell in love’** Anyarat group discussion via Zoom with five Twitter users, aged between 15 and 21, 1 May 2020.
- p.79 - Those who met them in person** Anyarat group discussion via Zoom with five Twitter users, 1 May 2020.
- p.80 - When we asked Thanathorn** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
- p.80 - Open FWP Project** See <https://futureforwardparty.org/open-fwp>. Only 204 complaints were listed when accessed on 24 May 2020, a number that was unchanged since November 2019.
- p.80 - a virtually inactive web-board** See <https://www.futurecommunity.co/hc/th/community/topics/>.
- p.80 - Total traffic to the main ... website** In November 2019, the Statscrop tracker site ranked Future Forward’s official website at #5,027 in Thailand, the location of most of the site’s 500 to 1,500 daily visitors: <https://futureforwardparty.org.statscrop.com/m/>.
- p.81 - despite contrary claims in party publications** See ‘The Futurista’s Guide’, pp. 18–19.
- p.81 - celebrity Meet & Greets** <https://www.facebook.com/PiyabutrOfficial/posts/2603319093285291/>.
- p.81 - a two-day festival** <https://www.facebook.com/events/2765127397047768/>.
- p.81 - celebrated ... indy music** ปราบกฏการณ์ Future Fest รูปเงา พัฒนา แห่ง Fat Radio [Future Fest phenomenon, improved shadow of Fat Radio], *Matichon Weekly*, 26 January 2020, https://www.matichonweekly.com/e-daung/article_268822.
- p.81 - Stage decorations aptly featured the Twitter symbol** <https://twitter.com/FWPthailand/status/1220989550865989632/photo/1>.
- p.82 - parties were not officially allowed** See http://www.ratchakitcha.soc.go.th/DATA/PDF/2562/A/006/T_0006.PDF for the Regulations of the Election Commission of Thailand concerning the 2019 election campaign.

- p.82 - Nana argued that despite all the earnest talk** Authors' interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 May 2020.
- p.82 - systematic policy manifestos** For a discussion, see Duncan McCargo and Ramaimas Bowra, *Policy Advocacy and the Media in Thailand*, Bangkok: Institute of Public Policy Studies, 1997, pp 33–37.
- p.82 - Rangsiman Rome was also sceptical** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.
- p.83 - only a fifth of Future Forward voters really understood** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
- p.83 - Voter Profile 3** Anyarat interviews with 'Somchai': 11 May 2019, 29 May 2020, 31 May 2020.
- p.84 - Mass rallies were important** For a discussion of Democrat and Thai Rak Thai rallies in the South, see Marc Askew, *Performing Political Identity: the Democrat Party in Southern Thailand*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm 2008, pp. 140–49.
- p.85 - The large 9 March Chiang Mai rally** USIP (United States Institute of Peace) team fieldnotes, Chiang Mai, 8 March 2019.
- p.85 - Well-organised volunteers gave out** ปราศรัยใหญ่ “อนาคตใหม่” [Big rally, Future Forward], ยันหว่าง แซนแนล, 8 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Wfj9F9CaIY&feature=youtu.be>.
- p.86 - Other ... rallies had the same more organic character** Fieldnotes, USIP team, Future Forward Nonthaburi rally, 10 March 2019.
- p.86 - a rally in Ubon Ratchathani** Fieldnotes, USIP team, Future Forward Ubon Ratchathani rally, 12 March 2019.
- p.87 - his speech appearing on Facebook Live** For Thanathorn's speech see ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ - ปราศรัยใหญ่ อนาคตใหม่ อุบลราชธานี คนดูเยอะที่สุดในการปราศรัยภาค “อีสาน”, YouTube, 12 March 2019, <https://youtu.be/zJRobyS0rRo>.
- p.87 - Isan uey!** ‘Hey Isan! Hey Ubon Ratchathani! Hey, you people who love democracy!’
- p.87 - Who is better off now** Ubon Pheu Thai candidates later used almost exactly the same line in their local rallies (Duncan's fieldnotes, 23 March 2019).
- p.87 - A Pheu Thai rally in Ubon** หึงหน้อย ไฉ่ค และชัชชาติ ยกขบวนหาเสียง ขอคะแนนให้เพื่อไทยที่อุบลฯ [Ying Noi, Oak and Chadchart held Pheu Thai campaign rally in Ubon], *Thai Rath*, 18 February 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1499226>.
- p.88 - Speakers were not placed** See เจาะเบื้องหลังปฏิบัติการสร้าง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยวัชร์ ตูลาธร รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operation building Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, <https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/> หึงหน้อย ไฉ่ค และชัชชาติ ยกขบวนหาเสียง ขอคะแนนให้เพื่อไทยที่อุบลฯ.
- p.88 - the event began with a brief video** For the full event see พรรคอนาคตใหม่ ปราศรัยใหญ่เวทีสุดท้าย ก่อนเข้าคูหา [Future Forward Party final big rally before entering the voting booth], 22 March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4FPBmHWbHI&t=15354s>.

p.88 - a short *mo lam* performance *Mo lam* is a Lao form of traditional folk singing popular in the Northeast.

p.89 - As *Prachatai* noted Pokpong Junvith, ‘One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci-Laclau-Mouffe to the “inferno” challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul’, *Prachatai English*, 18 August 2019, <https://prachatai.com/english/node/8178>.

p.90 - the rally lasted more than five hours The final rally programme, as emailed by a Future Forward staffer to Duncan, 19 March 2019, was mainly a list of ‘representatives’, not named individuals:

Event Host : Wayo Assawarungruang, deputy spokesperson and candidate for MP, FFP

17.00 hours : Door opens

18.00 hours : Welcoming Address

18.10-18.20 hours : Representative of LGBTQ+ MP candidate

18.20-18.30 hours : Representative of disabled MP candidate

18.30-18.40 hours : Representative of ethnic minority MP candidate

18.40-18.50 hours : Representative of labour wing and MP candidate

19.00-19.10 hours : Representative of Northern region MP candidate

19.10-19.20 hours : Representative of Central region MP candidate

19.20-19.30 hours : Representative of Southern region MP candidate

19.30-19.40 hours : Representative of three Southern border provinces’ MP candidate

19.40-19.50 hours : Representative of Northeastern region MP candidate

20.00-20.30 hours : Piyabutr Saengkanokkul, secretary-general of Future Forward Party

20.30-21.00 hours : Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, leader of Future Forward Party

p.91 - A student we interviewed leaving the stadium USIP election project team fieldnotes, 22 March 2019.

p.92 - The average number of Future Forward votes Calculated by authors from Election Commission of Thailand official results.

p.92 - Thanathorn observed ... large numbers of over-65s Duncan interview with Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit, 7 August 2018.

p.92 - Internal party data showed strong early engagement Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang and Film Prempapat Plitpholkarnpim, Future Forward co-founders, 21 July 2018.

p.92 - Future Forward won almost half a million votes Michael J. Montesano, ‘Toppling poles’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41: 2, 2019: 204.

p.92 - readily accessible from the party website See <https://futureforwardparty.org/member/member-statistic> While the party published data on members’ occupations, most were unhelpfully classified as ‘other’.

p.92 - Thai Rak Thai and the Democrats ... members *The Nation*, 24 November 2003. In practice, a significant proportion of these ‘members’ were affiliated with more than one party. See McCargo and Ukrist, *Thaksinization*, pp. 86–89.

p.93 - as of June 2020 ... million Facebook ‘likes’ Research assistant interview with Klaikong, 28 November 2019.

p.94 - 1.3 million participated in the event vicariously Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.

p.94 - characterisation of Future Forward as a digital party Since events were

attended by the same core constituency of regulars, Thanathorn's suggested figure of two million in-person participants may well be an overestimate.

- p.95 - a quest for 'local wisdom'** Worapot Phanphong, *Portrait* ธารธร, pp. 119 –28.
- p.95 - a means of generating content** เดินหน้าอนาคตใหม่ EP.4:คุยกับ ผอ.พรรคฯ ศรายุทธ ใจหลัก [Move forward Future Forward: talking with party director Sarayoot Jailak], *Future Forward*, 23 August 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=taQg_z7ARrM.
- p.96 - stepped on the dead bodies** Piyabutr is referring to the deaths of red-shirt protestors in April and May 2010.
- p.96 - People often criticise orange** Pokpong Junvith, หนึ่งปีอนาคตใหม่: จากกรัมซี-ลาคลา-มูฟ ถึงปฏิบัติการทำ 'นรก' ของ ปิยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci-Lacla-Mouffe to the 'inferno' challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], *The 101 World*, 7 June 2019, <https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-interview/>.
- p.96 - fighting with 'the 99 per cent' for change** Pokpong, หนึ่งปีอนาคตใหม่: จากกรัมซี-ลาคลา-มูฟ ถึงปฏิบัติการทำ 'นรก' ของ ปิยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci-Lacla-Mouffe to the 'inferno' challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], *The 101 World*, 7 June 2019, <https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-interview/>.
- p.97 - Vote ... because they are poor like you!** ธารธรปราศรัยเปิดตัว 30 ผู้สมัคร ส.ส. กทม . [Thanathorn gives a speech introducing Bangkok MP candidates], *Future Forward*, 28 January 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Zx8ObCEOQ0>.
- p.97 - Some red-shirts became 'disgusted'** Anyarat interview with long-term Pheu Thai vote canvasser in suburban Bangkok, 20 May 2020.
- p.97 - One Pheu Thai MP** This is a pseudonym.
- p.98 - Thanin ... wanted ... to explain electoral realities** Anyarat interview with Thanin Kwanburi, 20 May 2020.
- p.98 - First-time voters we talked to** See also Nordic Asia Podcast, *Following Future Forward* with Aim Sinpeng, 14 May 2020, <https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng>.
- p.98 - This could be seen in ... narrow victories** See Peeraphat Tanthawanit, บทวิเคราะห์ผลการเลือกตั้งกรุงเทพมหานครและปริมณฑล ตอนที่ 1: มุมมองผ่านโครงสร้างประชากร [Analysis of Greater Bangkok elections, part 1: perspectives from population structure], *The Momentum*, 29 March 2019, <https://themomentum.co/election62-data-and-demographic/>.
- p.99 - Future Forward targeted first-time voters** เจาะเบื้องหลังปฏิบัติการสร้าง 'อนาคตใหม่' กับ ชัยวัชร์ ตูลาธร รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operations building Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, <https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/>.
- p.99 - Future Forward asked Futuristas** Tonight Thailand – “พรรคนิกร์ วาณิช” เล่าเรื่อง พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Tonight Thailand – Pannika Wanich telling story of Future Forward], Voice TV, 14 April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cuzMeU8uZ4Y>.
- p.99 - A survey conducted by Super Poll** โพลชี้ เด็กรุ่นใหม่ชอบอนาคตใหม่ ผู้สูงอายุนิยมพลัง

ประชารัฐ [Poll shows younger demographic prefer Future Forward, older generation prefer Palang Pracharat], *Thai Rath Online*, 25 August 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1645511>.

- p.99 - Joel Selway found** See Joel Sawat Selway, ‘Who prefers Future Forward?’, *Thai Data Points*, 6 March 2020, <https://www.thaidatapoints.com/post/who-prefers-future-forward>.
- p.100 - Voter Profile 4** Anyarat interview with ‘Pongthep’, 4 June 2020.
- p.101 - because of the one-ballot system** Recent Thai elections had used two ballot papers, one for the local candidates and another for the party list.
- p.102 - Rangsiman felt that most young people** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.
- p.102 - New Gen Network** https://www.facebook.com/ngnnewgennetwork/videos/253753711966096/?fref=mentions&_tn_=K-R.
- p.102 - NGN was very active** https://www.facebook.com/ngnnewgennetwork/?fref=mentions&_tn_=K-R.
- p.102 - Nana believed that Future Forward understood** Authors’ interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 May 2020.
- p.103 - Nana also argued that Future Forward’s success** Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang and Film Prempapat Plitpholkarnpim, Future Forward co-founders, 25 August 2019.
- p.103 - Nana’s view was supported by a national survey** See โพลรัฐศาสตร์ มธ. คนรุ่นใหม่มีความรู้การเมืองต่ำ เลือก อนค [Poll of Thammasat University Political Science, low political knowledge, new generation voted for Future Forward], *T News*, 19 June 2019, <https://www.tnews.co.th/politic/511206/โพลรัฐศาสตร์มธ-คนรุ่นใหม่มีความรู้การเมืองต่ำเลือกอนค>.
- p.103 - A poll of 1,266 Chulalongkorn University undergraduate students** See โพลนิสิตจุฬาฯ 1,266 ตัวอย่าง “อนาคตใหม่” ครองใจ อยากได้ “ธนาธร-ชัชชาติ” เป็นนายกฯ [Poll of 1,266 Chula students, Future Forward wins, want Thanathorn-Chadchart as prime minister], *Prachachat Turakit*, 15 March 2019, <https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-302289>.
- p.103 - Chula students favoured Thanathorn** โพลนิสิตจุฬาฯ 1,266 ตัวอย่าง “อนาคตใหม่” ครองใจนิสิตจุฬาฯ ธนาธร- ชัชชาติ นายกฯ [Poll of Chula University students 1,266 samples show Future Forward’s landslide win, Thanathorn and Chadchart for PM] , *Matichon Online*, 15 March 2019, https://www.matichon.co.th/politics/news_1406479.
- p.104 - Kanok Ratwongsakul expressed dismay** See กนก กลุ่มหนัก นิสิตจุฬาฯ เลือก ธนาธร พรรคล้างประเพณี ศีลปิ่นแห่งชาติตอกกลับ ก็อนาคตของเขา [Kanok is really worried; Chula students voted for Thanathorn, the party that erased traditions, a national artist argues, it is their future], *Sentang Sedtee*, 17 March 2019, https://www.sentangsedtee.com/today-news/article_107810.
- p.104 - Attachak Sattayanuruk observed** Roongrith Petchratana, Weerapong Soonthornchatrawat and Anuchit Nimalung, อรรถจักร์ สัตยานุรักษ์: เสียงบนบัตรเลือกตั้ง ใครเลือกอนาคตใหม่ใครเลือกพลังประชารัฐ [Attachak Sattayanuruk – Votes on the ballot: who voted Future Forward, who voted Palang Pracharat?], *Way Magazine*, 4 April 2019, <https://>

waymagazine.org/interview-attachak-election/.

- p.104 - in an intriguing role reversal** Anyarat Chattharakul, ‘Social media: hashtag #Futurista’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 41: 2, 2019: 171–72.
- p.104 - Rangsiman Rome believed that new technologies** Duncan interview with Rangsiman Rome, 28 May 2020.
- p.104 - Future Forward also targeted messages at high school students** See ‘Following Future Forward’ with Aim Sinpeng, *Nordic Asia Podcast*, 14 May 2020, <https://www.buzzsprout.com/1037416/3750923-following-future-forward-with-aim-sinpeng>.

Chapter 3: Party

- p.107 - The Future Forward Party has ended** “ธนาธร” ประกาศตั้ง “คณะอนาคตใหม่” ยัน ก้าวเดินต่อไป ด้วยความมั่นคง [Thanathorn announced the founding of ‘Khana Anakot Mai’, insisting on moving forward with stability], *Thai Rath*, 21 February 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uks3VRnVMJU>.
- p.108 - The first transformational politician** See Duncan McCargo, *Chamlong Srimuang and the New Thai Politics*, London: Hurst, 1997.
- p.109 - virtually none were related to prominent political figures** The exception here was Thanathorn, whose uncle Suriya was a leading figure on the pro-military side.
- p.109 - The contrast with other new parties** See Punchada, ‘The rules change but the players don’t’, p. 394.
- p.109 - Angelo Panebianco had argued** See Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organisation and Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 262–74; and on the mass party, Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, London: Methuen, 1964.
- p.110 - Thai elections were mainly fought locally** See Anyarat Chattharakul, ‘Thai electoral campaigning’, pp. 67–95.
- p.111 - Paolo Gerbaudo argues** Gerbaudo, *The Digital Party*.
- p.111 - a set of European examples** Gerbaudo, *The Digital Party*, pp. 3–4.
- p.111 - Momentum, the pro-Jeremy Corbyn movement** Momentum did not run election candidates and was not a party, and as such, it cannot be compared with Gerbaudo’s other examples, and does not really support his arguments.
- p.111 - Leading figures in Future Forward were certainly aware** ‘Nitirat academic, tycoon to form political party’, *Bangkok Post*, 2 March 2018, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1421243/nitirat-academic-tycoon-to-form-political-party>.
- p.111 - among the inspirations for founding Future Forward** See Kwanchai Dumrongkwan ฉากชีวิตขนาดยาวกับความฝันนอกหมวกนักวิชาการ ของ ‘ปิยบุตร แสงกนกกุล’ [Lasting dreams beyond academia: Piyabutr Saengkanokkun], *The Momentum*, 8 May 2019, <https://thematter.co/social/long-interview-with-piyabutr/76766>.
- p.111 - He praised Podemos** See Pokpong Junvith, หนึ่งปีอนาคตใหม่: จากกรรมชี-ลาดลาว-มูฟ

ถึงปฏิบัติการทำ ‘นรก’ ของ ปิยบุตร แสงกนกกุล [One year of Future Forward: from Gramsci-Laclau-Mouffe to the ‘inferno’ challenges of Piyabutr Saengkanokkul], *The 101 World*, 7 June 2019, <https://www.the101.world/piyabutr-saengkanokkul-interview/>.

- p.112 - the names of the party** The Thai name of the party is พรรคอนาคตใหม่.
- p.112 - The ... main colour was orange** Kornkritch Somjittranukit and Thaweeporn Kummetha, ‘Future Forward Party criticised as inexperienced, republican, a personality cult’, *Prachatai English*, 15 March 2018, <https://prachatai.com/english/node/7671>.
- p.112 - The party’s logo** Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 July 2018.
- p.112 - The 26 founding members** See “‘Progressive’ new party takes a step forward”, *The Nation*, 15 March 2018, <https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30341009>.
- p.113 - concept of ‘digital nativity’** Duncan interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 July 2018. For Wipaphan, digital natives were those born since the final years of the twentieth century – not those born since 1980, as others had previously argued.
- p.113 - interviews revealing a refreshing idealism** ‘Future Forward Party’s new faces reveal their dreams for Thailand’, *Prachatai English*, 23 March 2018, <https://prachatai.com/english/node/7683>.
- p.114 - We, the new generation** *Prachatai English*, ‘Future Forward Party’s new faces’.
- p.114 - Not everyone agreed with Nana** Kornkritch and Thaweeporn, ‘Future Forward Party criticised’.
- p.114 - Did the leadership ... desire to topple social hierarchies** ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ และพวกเพื่อนผู้ก่อการ ในวันที่การเมืองยังไม่ถูกปลดล็อก [Thanathorn Juangroongkit and friends and supporters: to date, politics have not been unlocked], *The Momentum*, 19 March 2018, <https://themomentum.co/future-forward-thanathorn-juangroongruangkit/>.
- p.115 - Thanathorn himself was hardly deferential** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
- p.115 - he rejected the idea** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
- p.115 - he sounded almost exasperated** Mutita Chuachang, ‘The challenger’, *Mekong Review*, November 2019, p. 11.
- p.116 - six of the top 20 on the party list were female** Two other party-list MPs were LGBTQ, and chose to wear ‘female’ parliamentary uniforms.
- p.116 - Nana: Digital Native** Nana’s profile draws on our interviews with her on 21 July 2018, 25 August 2019 and 21 May 2020.
- p.116 - Nana epitomised the visionary optimism** *Prachatai English*, ‘Future Forward Party’s new faces’.
- p.116 - Nana launched ... ‘Coconut Empire’** Asaree Thaitrakulpanich, ‘Be the dictator in “Coconut Empire”’, *Khaosod English*, 23 May 2018, <https://www.khaosodenglish.com/life/geek/2018/05/23/be-the-dictator-in-coconut-empire/>.

- p.117 - Nana ... left the party** ทนไม่ไหว! นานา ผู้ร่วมก่อตั้งพรรคอนาคตใหม่ ประกาศลาออก แล้ว [Can't stand It! Nana, co-founder of Future Forward Party, announces her resignation], *Thai Post*, 29 November 2018, <https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/23058>.
- p.117 - a central pillar of party policy** *The Futurista's Guide*, p. 27.
- p.117 - Nana gave a television interview** “นานา” เจ้าของพรรคเก่า เปิดหน้าชน “อนาคตใหม่” ลากไส้!! “ปิยบุตร”, ทูบประเด็น [Nana former party founder comes out to reveal face of Future Forward, Piyabutr, breaking open issues], Bright TV, 27 June 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3_1u-GbKSk&t=1699s.
- p.117 - Future Forward later issued new party rules** ข้อ 14 คณะกรรมการต้องดำเนินการ [Point 14: The Committee must operate in accordance with the party's ideology, policy, regulations, executive committee's decision, and order from the leader, secretary-general and network director]. See futureforwardparty.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/ระเบียบคณะกรรมการเครือข่ายเยาวชน-คนรุ่นใหม่ไฟนอล.pdf.
- p.117 - working together in the Student Federation** Chaitawat was the secretary-general of the Student Federation in 1998 – a post that Sarayoot assumed in 2000, when Thanathorn was his deputy. ชัยธวัช ตุลาชน เลขานุการก้าวไกล [Chaitawat Tulathon, secretary-general Move Forward Party], *Khaosod*, 10 March 2020, https://www.khaosod.co.th/people/news_3715738.
- p.117 - The friendship between Tom ... and Ake** เปิดตัว! 3 ชนชั้นสูง ต่อม-เอก-ตั้ง ผู้ร่วมก่อตั้งพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Introduction! 3 elites Tom-Ake-Ting co-founders of the Future Forward Party], *Bangkokbiz News*, 29 October 2019, <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/852546>.
- p.118 - Chaitawat explained how a single sentence** เจาะเบื้องหลังปฏิบัติการสร้าง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวัช ตุลาชน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operation building ‘Future Forward’ with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, <https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/>.
- p.118 - reach out to people in person** เจาะเบื้องหลังปฏิบัติการสร้าง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวัช ตุลาชน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind operation building ‘Future Forward’ with Chaitawat Tulathon, deputy secretary-general of the Future Forward Party], *101 One-on-One*, 11 April 2019, <https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/>.
- p.118 - His goal was for Future Forward** *101 One-on-One*, เจาะเบื้องหลังปฏิบัติการสร้าง ‘อนาคตใหม่’ กับ ชัยธวัช ตุลาชน รองเลขาธิการพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Behind the creation of Future Forward with Chaitawat Tulathon, Deputy Secretary of Future Forward], 11 April 2019, <https://www.the101.world/Chaitawat-tulathon-interview/>.
- p.119 - effectively suspended primary voting** ‘New method for primary votes can overcome ban problem: Wissanu’, *The Nation*, 29 August 2018, <https://www.nationthailand.com/politics/30353278>.
- p.119 - Future Forward decided to press ahead** ‘Future Forward x primary vote’, Future Forward Facebook page, 18 October 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/FWPthailand/posts/1916095678466017/>.
- p.119 - Thanathorn and Piyabutr held a short Facebook Live** อนาคตใหม่ แจง ปมไพโรมารี ขออภัยคนไม่ผ่าน ชี้อุดมการณ์ของสมาชิกต้องมาก่อน [Future Forward explains

primary voting issue. Apologises to those that failed the selection and points out that member's ideology must come first], *Prachatai*, 15 December 2018, <https://prachatai.com/journal/2018/12/80095>.

p.120 - provoking heavy criticism from would-be candidates มันคือฝันร้ายใช่ไหม! คนรุ่นใหม่ “อนาคตใหม่» โวยพรรคเล็กโพรมาริโหวต-เคาะกันเองภายใน [It is a bad dream, isn't it! New generation Future Forward protested to the party regarding cancellation of primary voting – internally selected], *Thai Post*, 14 December 2018, <https://www.thaipost.net/main/detail/24226>.

p.120 - An unsuccessful ... candidate explained Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020.

p.120 - The former candidate claimed Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020.

p.121 - some members felt 'ignored and discarded' Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020.

p.121 - and the *khun khun* at the headquarters Anyarat interview with former Future Forward candidate, 26 April 2020. The phrase *khun khun* rather defies translation, but implies that the party leadership and inner circle saw themselves as superior to ordinary members, perhaps, especially those from the provinces.

p.121 - advisors and assistants to the elected MPs An elected MP may appoint eight personal advisors or assistants, all of whom receive salaries from parliament. One senior advisor receives 24,000 baht per month, while the other seven advisors and assistants receive 15,000 baht per month. See Parliament Regulations: https://www.parliament.go.th/ewtadmin/ewt/parliament_parcy/download/appoint_person/01_parliament_regulation.pdf.

p.121 - Nipon said they were disappointed อ่านบทสรุป ที่มาที่ไป ดราม่าพรรคอนาคตใหม่ 120 สมาชิกลาออก [Read a background summary of Future Forward Party's drama: 120 members resigned], *Workpoint News*, 28 October 2019, <https://workpointnews.com/2019/10/28/ffp-120/>.

p.122 - Piyabutr said the leadership was fine เปิดใจ “ปิยบุตร” มีชนชั้นวรรณะในพรรคอนาคตใหม่จริงหรือไม่ [Open up Piyabutr, there are social classes in the Future Forward Party, true or not?], PPTV Online, 25 October 2019, <https://www.pptvhd36.com/news/ประเด็นร้อน/112854>.

p.122 - Thanathorn's response was ... 'good riddance' 'Thanathorn shrugs off resignation of 120 party members', Thai PBS World, 28 October 2019, <https://www.thaipbsworld.com/thanathorn-shrugs-off-resignation-of-120-party-members/>.

p.122 - Pornthip Rungyen Pornthip is a pseudonym. Saowanee Alexander and Anyarat interviews with Pornthip, 22 and 26 April 2020.

p.123 - One of the most colourful characters For a long English interview with Taopiphop, see the *Bangkok Podcast*, Season 4, Episode 2, 30 October 2019, <https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop-limjitrakorn-beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-2/>, and Episode 3, 6 November 2019, <https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taopiphop-limjitrakorn-beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-3/>.

p.123 - Taopiphop joined ... out of a heady mixture *Prachatai English*, 'Future

Forward Party's new faces'.

- p.123 - Taophipop's rhetoric illustrated** Michael Montesano, 'Commentary: Thailand has a cunning plan to kickstart the economy. It involves billionaires', Channel News Asia, 24 April 2020, <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/commentary/thailand-prayut-rich-billionaires-covid-19-coronavirus-economy-12669442> Montesano has argued, 'the party's criticism of monopoly power in the Thai economy represented another serious challenge to that order'.
- p.123 - Taophipop ... had to take care of his constituents** Panis Phosriwungchai, 'ใครๆ ก็เป็น ส.ส. เหมือนผมได้': คราฟต์การเมืองกับ เท้าพิภพ ลี้มจิตรกร [Anyone can be an MP like me: craft politics with Taophipop Limjitrakorn], *The 101*, 7 November 2019, <https://www.the101.world/taophipop-limjitrakorn-interview/>.
- p.124 - a political party was just a body** *Bangkok Podcast*, Season 4, Episode 3, 6 November 2019, <https://www.bangkokpodcast.com/future-forward-mp-taophipop-limjitrakorn-beer-business-and-politics-in-thailand-season-4-episode-3/>.
- p.124 - Thanathorn and the rest of the leadership were highly sensitive** Kornkritch and Thaweepon, 'Future Forward Party criticised'.
- p.124 - The crowd funding idea did not catch on** 'FFP dissolved, executives banned for 10 years', *Bangkok Post*, 21 February 2020, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1862769/ffp-dissolved-executives-banned-for-10-years>.
- p.124 - Future Forward Party had 62,362 members** สถิติสมาชิกพรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Future Forward Party's membership statistics] <https://futureforwardparty.org/member/member-statistic>.
- p.125 - Future Forward borrowed ... from Thanathorn** The first loan had an interest rate of 7.5 per cent per annum, and was to be repaid in three instalments: 80 million baht in the first year, 40 million baht in the second year, and 41.2 million baht in the third year. The second loan contract was signed on 11 April 2019 for 30 million baht, to be repaid in one year at 2 per cent interest. This low rate of interest was cited in the Constitutional Court verdict when Future Forward was dissolved on 21 February 2020.
- p.125 - provided the pretext for the banning of the party** ย้อนดูสัญญาเงินกู้ 2 ฉบับ 191.2 ล. เอื้อ ปย. อนาคตใหม่ ชนวนเปิดฉาก ชนาธิกร-พวก [Looking back at the two loan contracts for 191.2 million to Future Forward causing the end of Thanathorn and associates], Isaranews Agency, 21 February 2020, <https://www.isranews.org/investigative/investigate-asset/85829-report00-85829.html>.
- p.125 - Thanathorn ... the wealthiest MP** 'Thanathorn is richest MP with 5.6 billion baht assets', Thai News Agency, 20 September 2019, <https://tna.mcot.net/view/5d848f47e3f8e40b273985b3>.
- p.126 - Pannika declared ... while Piyabutr's declaration** เปิดทรัพย์สินสินของ 6 นักการเมืองสุดฮอต! ในโลกโซเชียล [Revealing assets of 6 hottest politicians! in the social world], *Matichon Weekly*, 22 September 2019, https://www.matichonweekly.com/scoop/article_231328.
- p.126 - The Election Commission published** เปิดยอดรายรับ-จ่าย 74 พรรคการเมือง [Announcing income – spending 74 political parties], *Bangkokbiz News*, 27 November 2019, <https://www.bangkokbiznews.com/news/detail/856218>.

p.126 - the other major parties filed similar reports The Democrats spent the most, with a total expenditure of 32.6 million baht and total income of 32 million baht. Pheu Thai, which won the most constituency MP seats, reported a total income of 21 million baht and expenditure of 29.24 million. Palang Pracharat had a total income of 30 million baht and expenditure of 30.21 million baht.

p.126 - the party had spent ... 90 million baht อนาคตใหม่ อ้าง “ธนาธร” ให้อำนาจไม่อยู่ในเกณฑ์ครอบงำพรรค เล็งขึ้นค่าสมาชิกจ่ายหนี้ [Future Forward claims Thanathorn loan is not dominating the party. Thinking of increasing membership fee to pay debts], *Manager Online*, 20 May 2019, <https://mgronline.com/politics/detail/9620000048034>.

p.126 - setting up ... in all 77 provinces The party’s main income for the financial year 2018 came from donations (58.7 million baht), membership fees (8.6 million baht), and souvenir sales (2 million baht). The largest expenses were administrative costs (61 million baht), followed by public relations and advertising (8 million baht). See เปิดใหม่!ไลน์ คำวินิจฉัยัย พรรคอนาคตใหม่ [Announcing timeline: Future Forward Party verdict], Nation TV, 21 February 2020, <https://www.nationtv.tv/main/content/378762901/>.

p.126 - Most political parties ... campaign funds อนาคตใหม่ ขอ กกต.ขยายเวลาส่งเอกสารเงินกู้ 191 ล้านบาท [Future Forward asks ECT for more time to submit documents on 191 million baht loan], Thai PBS, 2 December 2019, <https://news.thaipbs.or.th/content/286635>.

p.126 - Based on official expense reports Pitch Pongsawat, การศึกษาความเคลื่อนไหวทางการเมือง และพฤติกรรมกรรมการเลือกตั้ง ราษฎร 24 มีนาคม พ.ศ. 2562: พื้นที่กรุงเทพมหานคร [Political activity and electoral behaviour in Bangkok during Thailand’s 24 March 2019 general election], Research submitted to Research and Development Office, King Prajadhipok’s Institute, 2019, pp. 208–11.

p.126 - Thanathorn ... wanted issue-based MPs Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.

p.127 - appeal to working class voters Asaree Thaitrakulpanich, ‘Former factory worker named Future Forward candidate’, *Khaosod English*, 30 January 2019, <https://www.khaosodenglish.com/politics/2019/01/30/former-factory-worker-nominated-future-forward-candidate/>.

p.127 - 31 constituency MPs were female Two MPs identified as LGBTQ and adopted female dress in parliament, while two other LGBTQ MPs adopted male attire.

p.127 - Future Forward’s performance on MPs’ gender parity See International Parliamentary Union and UN Women, *Women in Politics 2020* map, <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/women-in-politics-map-2020-en.pdf?la=en&vs=827>.

p.127 - a slick video clip <https://www.facebook.com/events/738745683200682/>.

p.127 - Nana called Future Forward a ‘patriarchy’ Authors’ interview with Nana Wipaphan Wongsawang, 21 May 2020.

p.127 - six MPs either born or resident in the region Party-list MPs with Isan credentials were: Surachai Srisarakam (12), Apichat Sirisoontone (14), Karom Polpornklang (25), Kampong Thepakam (28) Surawat Thongbu (43) and

Samlee Raksuthi (45). Only Karom and Kampong could seriously be viewed as representing the Northeast.

- p.128 - more than half of the party-list MPs were falling short** Duncan interview with Pannika, 23 August 2019.
- p.128 - Thanathorn was rueful about the hasty candidate selection** Duncan interview with Thanathorn, 23 August 2019.
- p.129 - garnering half a million votes in the South** See Montesano, ‘Upper South’, pp. 203–04.
- p.130 - Thanathorn was barred from taking his seat** See ธนาธร เดินออกจากสภา [Thanathorn walks out of parliament], *Workpoint News*, 24 May 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gRggZfs8VQM>.
- p.130 - Thanathorn exited to a standing ovation** ‘Thailand’s parliament votes in pro-army house speaker’, AP News, 26 May 2019, <https://apnews.com/82abbfd97ac34ce59afe0a5af62858d3>.
- p.130 - Under interim provisions** On the 2016 referendum’s troublesome ‘Question 2’, see Duncan McCargo, Saowanee Alexander and Petra Desatova, ‘Ordering peace: Thailand’s 2016 constitutional referendum’, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 39, 1, 2017: 75, 81–84.
- p.130 - the anger of the people is tangible** Charlotte Chelsom-Pill, ‘Thai opposition leader Thanathorn defiant after losing out in PM vote’, *Deutsche Welle*, 11 June 2019, <https://www.dw.com/en/thai-opposition-leader-thanathorn-defiant-after-losing-out-in-pm-vote/a-49140593>.
- p.131 - I do have more to prove** Hannah Ellis-Petersen, ‘“I am not here to entertain”: meet Thailand’s first transgender MP’, *Guardian*, 8 April 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/06/i-am-not-here-to-entertain-meet-thailands-first-transgender-mp>.
- p.131 - a large and rapidly growing LGBTQ population** Rattiya Angkulanon, เข้าใจอินไซด์ชาวสีรุ้ง เจาะกำลังซื้อ LGBTQ ไม่ใช่ Niche Market อีกต่อไป [Understand ‘inside’ rainbow people. Examining LGBT’s purchasing power shows no longer a niche market], *The Bangkok Insight*, 6 September 2018, <https://www.thebangkokinsight.com/41361/>.
- p.131 - international image as an LGBTQ-friendly society** See the official Thai Authority of Thailand website <https://www.gothaibefree.com/>, explicitly targeted at LGBTQ foreign tourists.
- p.131 - By proposing the committee** อนาคตไม่ถอยหลังแพ้โหวต กมธ.หลากหลายทางเพศฯ เตรียมหลายกรรขังทางกฎหมาย [FFP won’t back down after losing vote for separate standing committee for LGBTQ: prepare to unlock legal cage], *Prachatai*, 22 August 2019, <https://prachatai.com/journal/2019/08/83986>.
- p.131 - Thanathorn and Pannika offered different explanations** Duncan interview with Thanathorn and Pannika, 23 August 2019.
- p.131 - Future Forward was again in hot water** ส.ส. อนาคตใหม่ขอโทษปล่อยชายจูบกันกลางสภา-สิริระ จีประธานสภาฯ ลงโทษ [Future Forward MP apologises to the public for letting two men kiss one another in parliament. Sira urges House Speaker to punish MP], *The Standard*, 18 December 2019, <https://thestandard.co/future-forward->

party-181219/.

- p.132 - When General Prayuth led the assembled** For images of the different swearing ceremonies led by Prayuth, see “เสรีพิศุทธิ์” จับผิด “บิ๊กตู” ปมถวายสัตย์ฯ – ฝ่ายค้าน จี้นายกรับผิดชอบ [Seripisut catches out Big Tu regarding the oath swearing issue – opposition asked PM to take responsibility], Channel 3 TV News, 11 August 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAwagrA-dT4>.
- p.132 - Piyabutr questioned ... had been properly sworn in** ย้อนดูคลิป ‘นายกฯ ถวายสัตย์ฯ’ กล่าวไม่ครบตามที่ ‘ปิยบุตร’ อ้าง จริงหรือไม่? [Re-watching the clip ‘Prime Minister sworn in’, did he really not read the oath properly?], Bright TV, 24 July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h4aiV2hFvZY&feature=youtu.be>.
- p.133 - a gold-framed message signed by the King** ‘Prayut, cabinet members receive King’s message’, *Bangkok Post*, 27 August 2019, <https://www.bangkokpost.com/thailand/politics/1737667/prayut-cabinet-members-receive-kings-message>.
- p.133 - Prayuth asked people to stop talking** ที่มา “ปมถวายสัตย์ฯ” [Source of oath swearing issue], Thai PBS, 18 September 2019, <https://news.thaipbs.or.th/content/284334>.
- p.133 - Wissanu then bizarrely claimed** “วิษณุ” ไขปมถวายสัตย์ “ทรงไว้วางพระราชหฤทัย คณะรัฐมนตรี” [Wissanu clarifies oath swearing issue, claiming the King trusts the government], *Prachachat Thurakit*, 19 September 2019, <https://www.prachachat.net/politics/news-372775>.
- p.133 - widely pilloried on social media** It could be argued that based on the second paragraph of Article 161, the cabinet had been ‘pre-approved’ to start working, and the exact wording of the oath was therefore a technicality.
- p.133 - Wissanu was satirically dubbed** สภาเดือด! ประท้วงยับ ห้าม “เสรีพิศุทธิ์” พูดปมถวายสัตย์ [House on fire: amid protests, Seripisuth forbidden from discussing oath-swearing issue], *Thai Rath*, 26 February 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/thairath/videos/333178190954475/>.
- p.133 - Piyabutr was hailed ... as parliament’s ‘shining star’** ฉายารัฐสภา “ดงงูเห่า” ดี ตราวุฒิ สภาทหารเกณฑ์ [Parliament nicknamed Cobra Den, Senate labelled Assembly of Military Conscripts], *Thai Rath*, 29 December 2019, <https://www.thairath.co.th/news/politic/1736608>.
- p.133 - Seripisut ... threatened with expulsion** สภาเดือด! ประท้วงยับ ห้าม “เสรีพิศุทธิ์” พูดปมถวายสัตย์ [House on fire: amid protests, Seripisuth forbidden from discussing oath-swearing issue], *Thai Rath*, 26 February 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/thairath/videos/333178190954475/>.
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- p.137 - Thanathorn related to us a disturbing episode** Normally MPs and other political appointees submit two assets declarations, one when they assume office and one when they leave. Authors' interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.
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p.143 - Thanathorn tried to put a brave face Authors’ interview with Thanathorn, 10 June 2020.

p.144 - Thitinan - Cobra? Cobra is a classic Thai political term, alluding to a folk tale about a farmer who was killed by his own pet cobra. It refers to an opportunistic defector who betrays a party for personal gain.

p.144 - Thitinan’s story did quite not add up เปิดใจ นันนี่ ลูตินันท์ เบื้องหลังศึกล้มช้างที่ขอนแก่น กลยุทธ์เจาะ New Voter [Revealing Nunnie Thitinan, behind toppling of an elephant in Khon Kaen, penetration strategy], *Matichon TV*, 10 August 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QWKHz0P4d0c>.

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- p.157 - Piyabutr publicly informed the person** See <https://progressivemovement.in.th/statement/>.
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p.160 - Asked about joining a coalition government Wilson, ‘The Big Interview: Pita Limjaroenrat’.

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p.162 - he used the two terms interchangeably <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hncKRCQZy8s&feature=youtu.be>, minute 17.

p.162 - This was Piyabutr’s chance Duncan interview with Piyabutr, 14 December 2012.

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- p.162 - an executive board of 12 members** For the list of Progressive Movement executives, all but two of whom were former party-list MPs, see https://progressivemovement.in.th/?fbclid=IwAR1O11r0RewS4H7UCtquuGV_5712Sn_6mgPJAOK1hTIB1msocWZmYy30k4.
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- p.164 - the spectacular commemoration of the May 2010 protests** ธนาธร จึงรุ่งเรืองกิจ [#ตามหาความจริง](#) ในอดีตของเหตุการณ์พฤษภา 53 เพื่อเดินทางสู่ออนาคต [Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit ‘#in pursuit of truth about the May incident 2010 to travel to the future], *The Momentum*, 16 May 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=174&v=mQbpxdFvy6I&feature=emb_logo.
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