



## REFERENSI

### Buku

- Baker, G., *Civil Society and Democratic Theory: Alternative Voices*, Routledge, London, 2002.
- Bray, M. & Koo, R., *Education and Society in Hong Kong and Macau: Comparative Perspectives on Continuity and Change*, Springer, Hong Kong, 1999.
- Bush, S.S., *The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015.
- Chan, M.K., *China's Macao Transformed: Challenge and Development in the 21st Century*, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 2013.
- Cheng, J., *Whither China's Democracy: Democratization in China Since the Tiananmen Incident*, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 2011.
- Flowerdew, J., *Critical Discourse in Historiography: The Case of Hong Kong's Evolving Political Identity*, Palgrave-Macmillan, Hampshire, 2012.
- Ghai, Y. & Woodman, S. (eds.), *Practising Self-Government: A Comparative Study of Autonomous Region*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2013.
- Goncalves, A.M.A., 'Macau, Timor and Portuguese India in the Context of Portugal's Recent Decolonization,' dalam Lloyd-Jones, S. & Pinto, A.C. (eds.), *Last Empire: Thirty Years of Portuguese Decolonization*, Intellect Books, Bristol, 2003, pp. 53-66.
- Kaeding, M.P., 'Identity Formation in Taiwan and Hong Kong - How Much Difference, and Similarities?,' dalam Schubbert, G. & Damm, J. (eds.), *Taiwanese Identity in 21st Century : Domestic, Regional and Global Perspectives*, Routledge, London, 2011. pp. 258-279.
- Lim, T.W. & Ping, X.J., *Contextualizing Occupy Central in Contemporary Hong Kong*, Imperial College Press, London, 2015.
- Matthews, G., Ma, E.K.W. & Lui, T.L., *Hong Kong, China: Learning to Belong to A Nation*, Routledge, Oxon, 2008.
- Ngok, Ma., *Political Development in Hong Kong : State, Political Society and Civil Society*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 2007.
- Risse-Kappen, T. (ed.), *Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Non-state Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.
- Selim, G.M., *The International Dimensions of Democratization in Egypt*, Springer International Publishing, Heidelberg, 2015.
- Sing, M., *Politics and Government in Hong Kong: Crisis Under the Chinese Sovereignty*, Routledge, Oxon, 2009.
- Sorrensen, G., *Democracy and Democratization: Processes and Prospect in the Changing World*, Westview Press, Boulder, 2008.
- Whitehead, L. (ed.), *The Internastional Dimension of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996.
- Wong, S.H.H., *Electoral Politics in Post-1997 Hong Kong: Protest, Patronage and the Media*, Springer, Singapore, 2015.
- Yee, H.S., *Macau in Transition: From Colony to Autonomous Region*, Palgrave, Hampshire, 2001.



- Boniface, D.S. & Alon, I., 'Is Hong Kong Democratizing?' *Asian Survey*, vol. 50, no. 4, July/August 2010, pp. 786-807.
- Chan, M.K., 'Differents Road to Home: The Retrocession of Hong Kong and Macau to Chinese Sovereignty,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 36, no. 12, 2003, pp. 493-518.
- Chan, M.K., 'Hong Kong Colonial Legacy,' *The Annals of the American Academy*, vol. 547, no. 1, September 1997, pp. 11-23.
- Chang, J.L.J., 'Settlement of Macau Issues: Distinctive Features of Beijing's Negotiating Behaviour,' *Contemporary Asian Studies*, vol. 87, no. 4, 1988, pp. 253-277.
- Cheung, A.H.Y., 'Road to Nowhere: Hong Kong's Democratization and China's Obligations Under Public International Law,' *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2015, pp. 467-542.
- Chou, B., 'Local Autonomy in Action, Beijing's Hong Kong and Macau Policies,' *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2013, pp. 29-54.
- Chou, B.K.P., 'Political and Social Organization in Macau: A Historical Institutionalist Analysis,' *China: An International Journal*, vol. 13, no. 1, April 2015, pp. 22-42.
- Degolyer, M.E. & Scott, J.L., 'The Myth of Political Apathy in Hong Kong,' *The Annals of American Academy of Political Science*, vol. 547, 1996, pp. 68-78.
- Erni, J.N., 'Like a Postcolonial Culture : Hong Kong reimagined,' *Cultural Studies*, vol. 3/4, no. 15, 2001, pp. 389-418.
- Ho, C.S.B., 'Political Culture, Social Movement and Governability in Macau,' *Asian Affairs : An American Review*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2011, pp. 59-87.
- Hook, B. & Neves, M.S., 'The Role of Hong Kong and Macao in Sino-EU Relations,' *The China Quarterly*, no. 169, 2002, pp. 108-135.
- Lagerkvist, J. & Ruhlig, T., 'The Mobilization of Memory and Tradition: Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement and Beijing's 1989 Tiananmen Movement,' *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations: An International Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2, August/ September 2016, pp. 735-774.
- Leung, B., 'Church-State Relations in the Decolonization Period: Hong Kong and Macau,' *Religion, State and Society*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1998, pp. 17-30.
- Lo, S.H., 'An Analysis of Sino-British Negotiation,' *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1994, pp. 178-209.
- Lo, S.H., 'Consultative Governance, Legitimacy Problem and Democracy Deficit in Macau,' *Yi Guo Liang Zhi Yan Jiu/Research of One Country Two System*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2010, pp. 90-97.
- Lo, S.H., 'One Formula, Two Experiences: Political Divergences of Hong Kong and Macau since Retrocession,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 16, no. 52, August 2007, pp. 359-387.
- Lo, S.H., 'The Role of Political Interest Group in Democratization of China and Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements of China,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, vol. 22, no. 84, 2013, pp.923-943.
- Ma, N., 'State Press Relationship in Post-1997 Hong Kong,' *The China Quarterly*, no. 192, 2007, pp. 949-970.
- Shaw, M., 'Civil Society and Global Politics: Beyond Social Movements Approach,' *Millennium*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1994, pp. 647-667.
- Singh, R., 'Hong Kong's Return to the Motherland,' *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 52, no. 4, 1996, pp. 61-84.



- Varaprasad, D.S., ‘Chinese Unification Model of Hong Kong: History, Colonization and Decolonization,’ *International Studies*, vol. 34, no. 4, 1997, pp. 393-408.
- Yahuda, M., ‘Hong Kong Future: Sino- British Negotiation,’ *International Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 2, April 1993, pp. 245-266.
- Yu, E.W.Y & Chin, N.K.M., ‘The Political Opposition and Democracy in Macau: Revolutionaries or Loyalist?’, *Government and Opposition*, vol. 47, no. 1, 2012, pp. 97-116.
- Yuen, T.W.W., ‘Civic Education Stuck in Quagmire: A Critical Review of Civic Education in Hong Kong,’ *Citizenship, Social and Economic Education*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2016, pp. 82-92.

## Artikel Daring

- ‘At the Gateway of Asia: International and Cross-boundary Non-Governmental Organization in Hong Kong,’ *University of Hong Kong Center for Civil Society and Governance* (daring), 2014-2015, <[http://ccsg.hku.hk/files/International\\_Sector\\_2014-15.pdf](http://ccsg.hku.hk/files/International_Sector_2014-15.pdf)>, diakses pada 25 April 2017.
- ‘Hong Kong Profile – Timeline,’ *BBC* (daring), <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-16526765>>, diakses pada 5 November 2016.
- ‘Protest in Macau: Chipping in,’ *The Economist* (daring), 27 August 2014, <<http://www.economist.com/blogs/analects/2014/08/protests-Macau>>, diakses pada 5 November 2016.
- ‘The National Endowment for Democracy and Support for Democracy in Hong Kong,’ *National Endowment for Democracy* (daring), 14 October 2014, <<http://www.ned.org/the-national-endowment-for-democracy-and-support-for-democracy-in-hong-kong/>>, diakses pada 25 April 2017.
- Barber, E., ‘Global Support for Hong Kong Student Protest Intensifies,’ *Time* (daring), 5 October 2014, <<http://time.com/3471268/hong-kong-student-protest-democracy-global-support-celebrities/>>, diakses pada 3 Mei 2017.
- Chung, C., ‘Political Party Development in Hong Kong,’ *Hong Kong Journal* (daring), 2006, <[http://www.hkjurnal.org/archive/2006\\_fall/chung.htm](http://www.hkjurnal.org/archive/2006_fall/chung.htm)>, diakses pada 3 Mei 2017.
- Henders, S., ‘Macau and Hong Kong, Anglo-Portuguese Relations on the South China Coast,’ *Oxford University Faculty of Modern and Mediaval Languages* (daring), <[http://www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/files/windsor/10\\_henders.pdf](http://www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/files/windsor/10_henders.pdf)>, diakses pada 9 Maret 2017.
- Kaiman, J., ‘Hong Kong’s Umbrella Revolution: Guardian Briefing,’ *The Guardian* (daring), 30 September 2014, <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/30/-sp-hong-kong-umbrella-revolution-pro-democracy-protests>>, diakses pada 5 November 2016.
- Keck, Z., ‘China Claim US Behind Hong Kong Protest,’ *The Diplomat* (daring), 12 October 2014, <<http://thediplomat.com/2014/10/china-claims-us-behind-hong-kong-protests/>>, diakses pada 20 April 2017.
- Lo, S., ‘Reinterpreting Macao Society, Politics and Economy,’ *International Institute for Asian Studies* (daring), 2013, <[http://www.iias.asia/sites/default/files/IIAS\\_NL64\\_34.pdf](http://www.iias.asia/sites/default/files/IIAS_NL64_34.pdf)>, diakses pada 3 April 2017.
- Masters, F. & Pomfret, J., ‘China Tighten Grips in Macau as Dissent Rises in the Gambling Hub,’ *Reuters* (daring), <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-macau-china-control-insight-idUSKBN0JX01F20141219>>, diakses pada 4 Mei 2017.



- Oknasen, K., ‘Demanding Dialogue: Political Struggle in the 21st Century Hong Kong,’ *Jyvaskla University* (daring), 2004, <<https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/handle/123456789/12909>>, diakses pada 3 April 2016.
- Ong, L., ‘Poll: A Sixth of Hong Kong’s 7.2 Million People Joined Occupy Protest,’ *Epoch Times* (daring), 19 December 2014, <<http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/1153163-poll-a-sixth-of-hong-kongs-7-2-million-people-joined-occupy-protests/>>, diakses pada 5 November 2016.
- Steger, I., ‘Chinese State Media: Why Hong Kong Cannot be More Like ‘Content’ Macau,’ *The Wall Street Journal* (daring), 31 December 2014, <<http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2014/12/31/chinese-state-media-why-cant-hong-kong-be-more-like-content-Macau/>>, diakses pada 5 November 2016.