

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdul Fauzi Abdul Hamid. "Political Dimensions of Religious Conflict in Malaysia: State Response to an Islamic Movement". *Indonesia and the Malay World* 28, no. 80 (2000): 32–65.
- Abdul Rahman. *Looking Back: Monday Musings and Memories*. Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara, 1977.
- . *Lest We Forget: Further Candid Reminiscences*. Petaling Jaya: Eastern Universities, 1983.
- . *Malaysia: The Road to Independence*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk, 1984.
- . *Challenging Times*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk, 1986a.
- . *Political Awakening*. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk, 1986b.
- Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. *Islam Hadhari: A Model Approach for Development and Progress*. Selangor: MPH, 2006.
- Abraham, Collin. *Divide and Rule: The Roots of Race Relation in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: INSAN, 1997.
- Adams, Jacqueline. "Art in Social Movements: Shantytown Women's Protest in Pinochet's Chile". *Sociological Forum* 17, no. 1 (March 2002): 21–26.
- Alberoni, Francesco. *Movement and Institution*. Translated by Patricia C. Arden Delmoro. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. London, New York: Verso, 1991.
- Anderson, Lisa. *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830–1980*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Andrain, Charles and David Apter. *Political Protest and Social Change: Analyzing Politics*. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- Andrews, Kenneth. "Creating Social Change: Lessons from the Civil Rights Movement". In *Social Movements: Identity, Culture and the State*, edited by David Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Armony, Ariel and Hector Schamis. "Babel in Democratization Studies". *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 4 (October 2005): 113–28.
- Bandy, Joe and Jackie Smith, eds. *Coalitions Across Borders: Transnational Protest and the Neoliberal Order*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

- Bashevkin, Sylvia. "Interest Groups and Social Movements". In *Comparing Democracies*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris. California: Sage, 1996.
- Benford, Robert. "You Could Be the Hundredth Monkey: Collective Action Frames and Vocabularies of Motive Within the Nuclear Disarmament Movement". *Sociological Quarterly* 34 (1993): 195–216.
- Berita Harian*. "Barisan Tidak Akan Layan Ugutan: PM" [Prime Minister: Barisan will not respond to threats]. 21 September 1999.
- Blumer, Herbert. "Collective Behavior". In *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, edited by Robert Ezra Park. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1939.
- Boudreau, Vincent. "State Repression and Democracy Protest in Three Southeast Asian Countries". In *Social Movements: Identity, Culture and the State*, edited by David Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- . *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital". In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson. Westport: Greenwood, 1986.
- CACE (Central Advisory Committee for Education, Federation of Malaya). *Minutes of Meetings, file no. 31/51*. Kuala Lumpur: Central Advisory Committee for Education, 1951.
- Callaghy, Thomas. "The State and the Development of Capitalism in Africa: Theoretical, Historical and Comparative Reflections". In *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*, edited by Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan. Boulder: Westview, 1988.
- Campbell, John. *Institutional Change and Globalization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Camroux, David. "State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia: Accommodation, Co-Option and Confrontation". *Asian Survey* 36, no. 9 (September 1996): 852–68.
- Carey, John. "Parchment, Equilibria and Institutions". *Comparative Political Science* 33, nos. 6–7 (2000): 735–61.
- Carothers, Thomas. "The End of the Transition Paradigm". *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (January 2002): 5–21.
- Case, William. *Semi-Democracy in Malaysia: Pressures and Prospects for Change*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1992.
- . *Elites and Regimes in Malaysia: Revisiting a Consociational Democracy*. Australia: Monash Asia Institute, 1996.
- . "New Uncertainties for an Old Pseudo-Democracy: The Case of Malaysia". *Comparative Politics* 37, no. 1 (October 2004): 83–104.
- . "How's My Driving? Abdullah's First Year As Malaysian PM". *Pacific Review* 18, no. 2 (2005): 137–57.

- . “Electoral Authoritarianism in Malaysia: Trajectory Shift”. *Pacific Review* 22, no. 3 (2009): 311–33.
- . “Transition from Single-Party Dominance? New Data from Malaysia”. *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10 (2010): 91–126.
- CC (Constitutional Commission). *Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission 1957*. London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1957.
- Chai, Hon Chan. *Education and Nation Building in Plural Societies: The West Malaysian Experience*. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977.
- Chan, Heng Chee. “The Malayan Chinese Association”. Master’s thesis, University of Singapore, 1965.
- Chandra Muzaffar. *Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia*. Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1987.
- . *Challenges and Choices in Malaysian Politics and Society*. Penang: Aliran, 1989a.
- . *The NEP: Development and Alternative Consciousness*. Penang: Aliran, 1989b.
- Cheah, Boon Kheng. *Red Star Over Malaya*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1983.
- . *Malaysia: The Making of a Nation*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2002.
- Chen, Shaua Fui 曾薛霏. “Xinzhengju You Xinguandao Fanying Huajiao Wenti, Yexintian Zanyang Minlian Zhouzhengfu Xinzuo feng” 新政局有新管道反映华教问题, 叶新田赞扬民联州政府新作风 [New political situation provides new opportunity to reflect Chinese education related problems, Yap Sin Tian compliments Pakatan Rakyat state governments new approaches]. *Merdeka Review*, 8 April 2008 <<http://www.merdeka.com/news.php?n=6463>> (accessed 9 September 2013).
- Cheong, Yuen Keong. “Gerakan Pendidikan Cina Di Malaysia: Satu Kajian Tentang Perjuangan Dong Jiao Zong (1970–2002)” [Chinese education movement in Malaysia: Case study on Dong Jiao Zong (1970–2002)]. Ph.D. dissertation, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Malaya, Malaysia, 2007.
- Chew, Kong Huat. “Chinese Education in Malaysia”. In *Sociology Working Paper*, edited by Steward Gardner. Penang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, 1975.
- Chian, Heng Kai 陈庆佳. *Yanshou Gangwei: Wode Zhenglunxuan* 严守岗位: 我的政论选 [Dedications and commitments to my roles and positions: Collection of my political essays]. Kuala Lumpur: Oriengroup 东方企业, 1994.
- Chin, B.N. Christine. “The State of the ‘State’ in Globalization: Social Order and Economic Restructuring in Malaysia”. *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 6 (December 2000): 1035–57.
- Chin, James. “New Chinese Leadership in Malaysia: The Contest for the MCA and Gerakan Presidency”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28, no. 1 (2006): 70–87.
- Chin, Peng. *My Side of History*. Singapore: Media Masters, 2003.
- China Press* 中国报. “Binnisishi De Jiaoyu Baogaoshu” 宾尼斯氏的教育报告书 [Barnes’ Education Report]. 12 June 1951.

- . “Mahuagonghui Suo Changjian Zhi Daxue Xianxiu Yuanxiao Jihua Wancheng Gongbu” 马华公会所倡建之大学先修院校计划完成公布 [Announcement on the completion of the pre-university college established by Malaysian Chinese Association]. 15 July 1968.
- . “Bingzhou Bake Huaxiao Jizengzhi Liushijian, Bake Hanglie Gengzhuangda” 槟州罢课华小激增至六十间, 罢课行列更壮大 [The number of Chinese primary schools participating in the school strike at Penang reaches sixty]. 16 October 1987.
- . “Dongjiaozong Yaocuisheng Liangdangzhi, Zhichi Huatuan Renshi Jiaru Minxing Canxuan” 董教总要催生两党制, 支持华团人士加入民行参选 [Dongjiaozong wants to mobilize the formation of dual coalition system and supports individuals from Chinese guilds and associations to participate in the elections under Democratic Action Party]. 15 August 1990.
- . “Zanzhuren Yao Zhuijiu Huaxiao Dahui Xiaozhang Zixing Gaiqi” 赞助人要追究华小大会校长自行改期 [School sponsors want to investigate why the school principal rescheduled the date of school general meeting without prior notice]. 4 May 1992.
- . “Xiaocuoren Yitu Nandecheng Dongzong Jianjue Zhichi Lixing Huaxiao Dongshihui” 小撮人意图难得逞 董总坚决支持力行华小董事会 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia vows to support the school committee of Lick Hung Chinese Primary School]. 21 May 1992.
- . “Lutingyu: Yingsheli Gongzhenghui Rang Youguanzhe Bianjie” 陆庭瑜: 应设立公证会让有关者辩解 [Loot Ting Yu: Should establish public hearing session to provide explanation opportunities for the affected parties]. 26 May 1992.
- . “Pingjing De Chitangli Youeyu, Xinjiaoyu Faling Xiuding Dongzong Yu Wu Diaoyi Qingxin” 平静的池塘里有鳄鱼, 新教育法令修订董总吁勿掉以轻心 [There are crocodiles under the still water ponds, United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia warns not to underestimate the new Education Act]. 8 June 1992.
- . “Shishi Xinjiaoyu Faling Dongshibu Bian Caiwuzu” 实施新教育法令 董事部变财务组 [The new Education Act changes school committee into a financial management committee]. 16 June 1992.
- . “Mahua Minzheng An Guozhao” 马华民政暗过招 [Malaysian Chinese Association and Malaysian People's Movement Party are competing in secret]. 11 August 1992.
- . “Huhuoshan Youyi Wending Sendonglianhui Zhuxi” 胡火山有意问鼎 森董联会主席 [Hu Huo Shan is interested in being the chairman of Negeri Sembilan Chinese School Committees' Association]. 11 April 1994.
- Chwe, Suk Young Michael. “Structure and Strategy in Collective Action”. *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (1999): 128–56.
- Clutterbuck, Richard. *Long Long War: Counterinsurgency in Malaya and Vietnam*. New York: Praeger, 1966.

- CMCS (Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies 华社研究中心), ed. *Lun Huatuan Renshi Canzheng* 论华团人士参政 [Debates on the participation of individuals from Chinese guilds and associations in politics]. Kuala Lumpur: Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall, 1990.
- Coleman, James. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital". *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1990): S95–120.
- Coy, Patrick, ed. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*. Greenwich: JAI, 1978.
- Crouch, Harold. "Authoritarian Trends, the UMNO Split and the Limits to State Power". In *Fragmented Vision: Culture and Politics in Contemporary Malaysia*, edited by Joel Kahn and Loh Kok Wah Francis. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1992.
- . "Malaysia: Neither Authoritarian nor Democratic". In *Southeast Asia in the 1990s: Authoritarian, Democracy and Capitalism*, edited by Kevin Hewison, Richard Robison, and Garry Rodan. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993.
- . *Government and Society in Malaysia*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1996.
- Daniel, G.P. *Dr Ling Liong Sik and the Politics of Ethnic Chinese Unity*. Selangor: Times, 1995.
- DAP (Democratic Action Party). *The Real Reason: Operation Lalang ISA Arrests October 27, 1987*. Petaling Jaya: Democratic Action Party, 1988.
- . *25 Years of Struggle: Milestones in DAP History*. Petaling Jaya: Democratic Action Party, 1991.
- Davis, Gerald, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, and Mayer Zald, eds. *Social Movements and Organization Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- de Tarde, Gabriel. *On Communication and Social Influence: Selected Papers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- della Porta, Donatella and Manuela Caiani. *Social Movements and Europeanization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- della Porta, Donatella and Mario Diani. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. London: Blackwell, 1999.
- DHLC (Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Centre 董教总教育中心). *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsi Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 1998 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司 董教总新纪元学院 1998年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 1998 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 1999.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsi Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 1999 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司 董教总新纪元学院 1999年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 1999 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2000.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsi Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2000 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利

- 有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2000年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2000 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2001.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2001 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2001年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2001 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2002.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2002 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2002年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2002 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2003.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2003 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2003年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2003 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2004.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2004 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2004年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2004 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2005.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2005 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2005年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2005 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2006.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2006 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2006年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2006 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2007.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2007 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2007年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2007 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2008a.
- . *Xinjiyuan Xueyuan Jianxiao Shinian Jinian Zhuanji* 新纪元学院建校十年纪念专辑 1998–2008 [Commemoration magazine of New Era College's tenth anniversary]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2008b.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2008 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司董教总新纪元学院 2008年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2008 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2008c.

- 有限公司 董教总新纪元学院 2008年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2008 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2009.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2009 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司 董教总新纪元学院2009年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2009 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2010.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2010 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司 董教总新纪元学院 2010年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2010 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2011.
- . *Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Feiyingli Youxian Gongsì Dongjiaozong Xinjiyuan Xueyuan 2011 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 董教总教育中心非营利有限公司 董教总新纪元学院 2011年工作报告书 [Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center and Dongjiaozong New Era College 2011 working report]. Selangor: Dongjiaozong Higher Learning Center, 2012.
- Diamond, Larry Jay. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- . “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes”. *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 21–35.
- Diani, Mario. “Social Movements and Social Capital: A Network Perspective on Movement Outcomes”. *Mobilization: An International Journal* 2, no. 2 (1997): 129–47.
- DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter Powell. “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields”. *American Sociological Review* 48 (1983): 147–60.
- DNICSSDWC (*Dongjiaozong National Independent Chinese Secondary School Development Working Committee* 董教总全国华文独中发展工作委员会). *Duda Shiliaoji* 独大史料集 [Documentary collection of Merdeka University]. Kuala Lumpur: Merdeka University Berhad, 1993.
- . *Dongjiaozong Quanguo Huawen Duzhong Gongzuo Weiyuanhui Zuzhi Xize* 董教总全国华文独中工作委员会组织细则 [Organizational Rules and Regulations of the Malaysian Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee]. Office document. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia, 1990.
- . *Dongjiaozong Quanguo Huawen Duzhong Gongzuo Weiyuanhui Zuzhi Xize* 董教总全国华文独中工作委员会组织细则 [Organizational Rules and Regulations of the Malaysian Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee]. Office document. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia, 1995.

- . *Duzhong Jiaogai Chutan: 1996 Nian Tantaohuawen Duzhong Xuezhikucheng Yukaoshi Gexin Fangxiang Gongzuoying Ziliao Huibian* 独中教改初探: 1996年探讨华文独中学制、课程与考试革新方向工作营资料汇编 [Preliminary evaluation of independent Chinese secondary school education reforms: Collection of materials on the Workshop on Education System, Curriculum, and Examination Evaluation and Reforms for Independent Chinese Secondary Schools 1996]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1997.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Duli Zhongxue Jiaoyu Gaige Gangling* 马来西亚华文独立中学教育改革纲领 [Guiding principles of educational reform in Malaysian independent Chinese secondary schools]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2005.
- Dongjiaozong 董教总. *Huajiao Gongzuozhe Shouce* 华教工作者手册 [Handbook for Chinese education workers]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1989.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Xiaoxue Dongshihui Gongzuo Shouce Yangben* 马来西亚华文小学董事会工作手册样本 [Sample of working guidelines for Malaysia Chinese primary schools' school committees]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, June 1998 <<http://www.djz.edu.my/resource/images/doc/JueXing/zhangcheng02.pdf>> (accessed 4 September 2013).
- . “Dongjiaozong Muyu Jiaoyu Xuanyan” 董教总母语教育宣言 [Dongjiaozong's declaration on mother tongue education]. Memorandum. 1999.
- . “Xiaoxue Shuli Yinghua Shijian Gaoquanguo Huaxiao Jiazhangshu Dongjiaozong Fandui Huaxiao Yi Yingyu Jiaoshou Shulike De Wendalu” 小学数理英化事件 告全国华小家长书 董教总反对华小以英语教授数理科的问答录 [List of questions and answers on Dongjiaozong's opposition on the teaching of Science and Mathematic subjects with English language at Chinese primary schools]. In *Dongzong 50 Nian Tekan: 1954–2004* 董总 50 年特刊: 1954–2004 [Commemoration magazine of United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia's fiftieth anniversary: 1954–2004], edited by United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2004.
- . *Huaxiao Guanli Jizhi Zhinan* 华小管理机制指南 [Management handbook for Chinese primary schools]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2006.
- . “Dongjiaozong Yu Mahuagonghui Dui Yixia Shuxiang Huajiao Ketijinxing Jiaoliu” 董教总与马华公会对以下数项华教课题进行交流 [Discussions between Dongjiaozong and Malaysian Chinese Association on the following Chinese education related topics]. Office document. 13 April 2010 <[http://www.djz.edu.my/resource/images/pic/wenxian/20100413\\_DJZ%20&%20MCA.pdf](http://www.djz.edu.my/resource/images/pic/wenxian/20100413_DJZ%20&%20MCA.pdf)> (accessed 4 September 2013).

- DSGM (Department of Statistics, Government of Malaysia). *Buku Tahunan Perangkaan Malaysia 2011* [Yearbook of Statistics Malaysia 2011]. Putrajaya: Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 2011.
- Durkheim, Emile Durkheim. *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938.
- Edelman, Marc. "Social Movements: Changing Paradigms and Forms of Politics". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001): 285–317.
- Escobar, Arturo and Sonia Alvarez, eds. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview, 1992.
- Evans, Peter. "Predatory, Developmental and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State". *Sociological Forum* 4, no. 4 (1989): 561–87.
- Farish Noor. *The Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF) of Malaysia: Communitarian Across Borders?* Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2008.
- Fauwaz Abdul Aziz. "PM: ACA to Be Fully Independent". *Malaysiakini*, 28 April 2001 <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/81664>> (accessed 9 September 2013).
- . "Old Project 'Revived' As MCA Election Goody". *Malaysiakini*, 19 February 2008 <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/78265>> (accessed 2 September 2013).
- FCAM (Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia 马来西亚中华大会堂总会). "Quanguo Huatuan Wenhua Gongzuo Zonggangling" 全国华团文化工作总纲领 [Guiding principals of National Chinese Guilds and Associations Cultural Program]. 22 June 1997.
- . *Malaixiya Huaren Wenhua jie Ziliaoji* 马来西亚华人文化节资料集 [Collection of materials on Malaysian Chinese Cultural Festival]. Kuala Lumpur: Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia, 2001.
- FCKL (Federal Court Kuala Lumpur). *Civil Appeal no. 236 of 1981. Merdeka University Berhad v. Government of Malaysia* <[http://ilms.agc.gov.my:88/online/uploaded/fc/\[1982\]%201%20LNS%201%20MERDEKA%20UNIVERSITY%20BERHAD%20v.%20GOVERNMENT%20OF%20MALAYSIA%20.pdf](http://ilms.agc.gov.my:88/online/uploaded/fc/[1982]%201%20LNS%201%20MERDEKA%20UNIVERSITY%20BERHAD%20v.%20GOVERNMENT%20OF%20MALAYSIA%20.pdf)> (accessed on 11 September 2013).
- Fishman, Joshua. "National Languages and Languages of Wider Communication in Developing Nations". *Anthropological Linguistics* 11, no. 4 (April 1969): 111–35.
- FLC (Federal Legislative Council). *Educational Policy: Statement of the Federal Government on the Report of the Special Committee on the Implementation of Educational Policy Together with the Report of That Committee*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1954.
- FLCGAM (Fifteen Leading Chinese Guilds and Associations of Malaysia 全国十五华团领导机构). "Yaoqiu Shifang Huayi Lingxiu Beiwanglu" 要求释放华裔领袖备忘录 [Memorandum to demand the release of ethnic Chinese

- leaders]. Memorandum submitted to Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. 11 March 1988.
- FM (Federation of Malaya). *Chinese Schools and the Education of Chinese Malaysians: The Report of a Mission Invited by the Federation Government to Study the Problem of the Education of Chinese in Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1951a.
- . *Report of the Committee on Malay Education, Federation of Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1951b.
- . *Report on the Barnes Report on Malay Education and the Fenn-Wu Report on Chinese Education*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1951c.
- . *Education Ordinance 1952*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1952a.
- . *Report of the Registrar-General on Population, Births, and Deaths*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1952b.
- . *Report of the Special Committee Appointed on the 20th Day of September, 1951*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1952c.
- . *Report of the Special Commission Appointed by the High Commissioner in Council to Consider Ways and Means of Implementing the Policy Outlined in the Education Ordinance 1952, in the Context of Diminishing Financial Resources of the Federation 1954 (Council Paper no. 67 of 1954)*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1954.
- . *Report by the Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya on the Baling Talks*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1956a.
- . *Report of the Education Committee, 1956*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1956b.
- . *Education Ordinance 1957*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1957a.
- . *Population Census of the Federation of Malaya (Report no. 14)*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1957b.
- . *Report of the Education Review Committee 1960*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1960.
- . *Education Act 1961*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1961.
- FMCGA (Federation of Malaya Chinese Guilds Association 马来亚华人行业社团总会). “Quanma Huaren Zhuce Shetuan Daibiao Dahui Zhengqu Gongminquan Xuanyan” 全马华人注册社团代表大会争取公民权宣言 [The Memorandum to Acquire for Citizenship by the National Convention of Chinese Registered Guilds and Associations in Malaya]. 26 April 1956.
- Forsyth, Timothy. “Environmental Social Movements in Thailand: How Important is Class?”. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences* 29, no. 1 (2001): 35–51.
- Foster, George. “The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village”. *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 1173–92.
- Foweraker, Joe. *Theorizing Social Movements*. London: Pluto, 1995.
- Freedman, Amy. *Political Participation and Ethnic Minorities: Chinese Overseas in Malaysia, Indonesia and the United States*. New York, London: Routledge, 2000.

- Fujio, Hara. "The Japanese Occupation of Malaya and the Chinese Community". In *Malaya and Singapore during the Japanese Occupation*, edited by Paul Kratoska. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1995.
- Fukuyama, Francis. "Democracy's Future: The Primacy of Culture". *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1, (January 1995): 7–14.
- Funston, John. "Malaysia's Tenth Elections: Status Quo, Reformasi or Islamization?". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 22, no. 1 (April 2000): 23–59.
- Furnivall, John Sydenham. *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1948.
- Gamson, William. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Homewood: Dorsey, 1975.
- Ganesan, Narayanan. "Malaysia in 2003: Leadership Transition with a Tall Shadow". *Asian Survey* 44, no. 1 (January–February 2004): 70–77.
- GM (Government of Malaysia). *National Language Act 1963*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1963.
- . *National Educational Policy 1971*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1971a.
- . *National Language Act (Revised) 1971*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1971b.
- . *New Economic Policy 1971*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1971c.
- . *Parliamentary Debates on the Constitution Amendment Bill 1971*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1971d.
- . *Second Malaysia Plan 1971–1975*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1971e.
- . *University and University Colleges Act*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1971f.
- . *Third Malaysia Plan 1976–1980*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1976.
- . *Cabinet Committee Report on the Implementation of Education Policies*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan, 1979.
- . *Dasar Kebudayaan Negara* 1981 [National Cultural Policy 1981]. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1981a.
- . *Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981–1985*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1981b.
- . *Report of the Malaysian General Elections, 1982*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1983.
- . *Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986–1990*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1986.
- . *Ke Arah Memelihara Keselamatan Negara* [Towards the protection of National Security]. Kertas Perintah 14, tahun 1988. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1988.
- . *Akta Pendidikan 1990* [Education Act 1990]. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1990.

- . *Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991–1995*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1991.
- . *Rancangan Malaysia Ketujuh 1996–2005* [Seventh Malaysia Plan 1996–2005]. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1995.
- . *Rancangan Malaysia Kelapan 2001–2005* [Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001–2005]. Putrajaya: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 2001.
- . *National Language Acts 1963/67*. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 2006a.
- . *Rancangan Malaysia Kesembilan 2006–2010* [Ninth Malaysia Plan 2006–2010]. Putrajaya: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 2006b.
- Goldstone, Jack, ed. *States, Parties and Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Gomez, Edmund Terence. *Political Business: Corporate Involvement of Malaysian Political Parties*. Queensland: James Cook University of North Queensland Press, 1994.
- Gomez, Edmund Terence and K.S. Jomo. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage and Profits*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Goodwin, Jeff, James Jasper, and Jaswinder Khattri. “Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory”. *Sociological Forum* 14, no. 1 (March 1999): 27–54.
- GTACE (Grand Three Associations of Chinese Education 三大机构华文教育中央委员会). “Benbang Huaren Dui Jiaoyu Zongyaoqiu” 本邦华人对教育总要求 [Memorandum of Demands on Chinese Education by Chinese Citizens in the Federation]. *Jiaoshi Zazhi* 教师杂志 [Teacher's Journal] 1, no. 5 (1960): 24–26.
- Guangming Daily* 光明日报. “Pizhengfu Zeng 9 Duzhong Qianqing Tudi, Yidi Yangxiao Lirun Chong Xingzheng Jingfei” 霹政府赠9独中千顷土地, 以地养校利润充行政经费 [Perak state government donates one thousand hectares of land to nine independent Chinese secondary schools in the state, profits generated from these lands will be used to support school administrative expenses]. 30 August 2009.
- Gusfield, Joseph. “The Reflexivity of Social Movements: Collective Behavior and Mass Society Theory Revisited”. In *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, edited by Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph Gusfield. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.
- Hara, Fujio. *Malayan Chinese and China: Conversion in Identity Consciousness 1945–1957*. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economics, 1997.
- Harakah*. “Revisiting the Perak Crisis”. 23 September 2010.
- He, Baogang. *The Democratization of China*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Heinz, John, Edward Laumann, Robert Nelson, and Robert Salisbury. *The Hollow Core: Private Interest in National Policy Making*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Heng, Pek Koon. "The Social and Ideological Origins of the Malayan Chinese Association". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 14, no. 2 (September 1983): 290–311.
- . *Chinese Politics in Malaysia: The History of the Malaysian Chinese Association*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Hew, Kuan Yau 丘光耀. *Disantiao Daolu: Malaixiya Huaren Zhengzhi Xuanze Pipan* 第三条道路: 马来西亚华人政治选择批判 [The third option: Criticism on the Malaysian Chinese political selection]. Selangor: Diquicun Wangluo 地球村网络, 1997.
- Hilton, Matthew. *Choice and Justice: Forty Years of the Malaysian Consumer Movement*. Penang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2009.
- Hirofumi, Hayashi. "Massacre of Chinese in Singapore and Its Coverage in Postwar Japan". In *New Perspectives on the Japanese Occupation in Malaya and Singapore 1941–1945*, edited by Akashi Yoji and Yoshimura Mako. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2008.
- Ho, Khai Leong. "Accountability in the Malaysian Bureaucracy: Politics and Administration". Working Papers 18. Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore, 1988.
- . "Aggrandizement of Prime Minister's Power: The Transformation of the Office of the Prime Minister in Malaysia". *Internationales Asienforum* 23, nos. 1–2 (1992a): 227–43.
- . "The Malaysian Chinese Guilds and Associations As Organized Interests in Malaysian Politics". Working Papers. Department of Political Science, National University of Singapore, 1992b.
- Ho, Kin Chai. *Malaysian Chinese Association: Leadership Under Siege*. Kuala Lumpur: Ho Kin Chai, 1984.
- Hodgson, Geoffrey. *The Evolution of Institutions: Agency, Structure and Darwinism, American Institutionalism*. London, New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Huajiaoshenghui Gongweihui Shiliaozhanzu 华教盛会工委史料展组. *Huaguang Yongyao* 华光永耀 [Glory of Chinese education will shine forever]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1993.
- Huang, Guan Qin 黄冠钦. "Malaixiya Jiaoyu Zhengce Yu Huawen Jiaoyu Wenti Zhiyanjiu" 马来西亚教育政策与华文教育问题之研究 [Education policies in Malaysia and its contentions with the Chinese education]. Master's thesis, Chinese Culture University, Taipei, 1984.
- Huang, Xue Jing 黄雪晶, ed. *Zhangyashan De Huajiao Gushi* 张雅山的华教故事 [Teo Gah San' contributions to Chinese education]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2002.

- Huang, Zhao Fa 黄招发, ed. *Huajiao Bainian Kankelu: Shalauyue Huawen Zhongxue Fendoushi* 华教百年坎坷路: 砂劳越华文中学校奋斗史 [Hundred years of difficult journey of Chinese education: History of Chinese secondary school development in Sarawak]. Sarawak: Law Yew Muk 刘友光, 2004.
- Hunt, Scott and Robert Benford. "Identity Talk in the Peace and Justice Movement". *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 22 (1994): 488–517.
- Huntington, Samuel. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Hussin Mutalib. *Islam in Malaysia: From Revivalism to Islamic State?* Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1993.
- Ingham, Barbara and Colin Simmons, eds. *Development Studies and Colonial Policy*. London, Totowa: Frank Cass, 1987.
- Jain, Ravindra K. *Indian Transmigrants: Malaysian and Comparative Essays*. Gurgaon, Haryana, India: Three Essays Collective, 2009.
- Jenkins, J. Craig and Charles Perrow. "Insurgency of the Powerless: Farm Worker Movements 1946–1972". *American Sociological Review* 42 (1977): 249–68.
- Jennet, Christine and Randal Stewart. "Introduction". In *Politics of the Future: The Role of Social Movements*, edited by Christine Jennett and Randal Stewart. Australia: Macmillan, 1989.
- Jesudason, James. "Malaysia: The Syncretic State". In *Political Oppositions in Industrialising Asia*, edited by Garry Rodan. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Johan Saravanamuttu. "Malaysian Civil Society—Awakenings?" In *Risking Malaysia: Culture, Politics and Identity*, edited by Maznah Mohamad and Wong Soak Koon. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2001.
- Jomo K.S. and Patricia Todd. *Trade Unions and the State in Peninsular Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Jones, David Martin. *Political Development in Pacific Asia*. Cambridge: Polity, 1997.
- Jopple, Christian. *East German Dissidents and the Revolution of 1989: Social Movement in a Leninist Regime*. London: Macmillan, 1995.
- K.J. Ratnam. *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1965.
- Kerkvliet, Benedict. *The Power of Everyday Politics: How Vietnamese Peasants Transformed National Policy*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- Kessler, Clive S. "Malaysia: Islamic Revivalism and Political Disaffection in a Divided Society". *Southeast Asia Chronicle* 75 (October 1980): 3–11.
- Key, Valdimer Orlando. *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*. 5th ed. New York: Crowell, 1964.
- Keylor, William. *A World of Nations: The International Order Since 1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

- Khoo, Boo Teik. "Democracy and Authoritarianism in Malaysia Since 1957: Class, Ethnicity and Changing Capitalism". In *Democratization in Southeast and East Asia*, edited by Anek Laothamatas. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 1997.
- . *Beyond Mahathir: Malaysian Politics and its Discontents*. London: Zed Books, 2003.
- Khor, Jin Kong and Khoo Kay Peng. *Non-Sectarian Politicians in Malaysia: The Case of Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Trafalgar, 2008.
- Kinkwok Daily News* 建国日报. "Huawu Jiaoyu Baogaoshu Pingyi" 华巫教育报告书平议 [Reviews on the Chinese and Malay education reports]. 12 July 1951.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. "Landscapes of Political Interest Intermediation. Social Movements, Interest Groups and Parties in the Early Twenty-First Century". In *Social Movements and Democracy*, edited by Pedro Ibarra. Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2003.
- Klandermans, Bert. "A Theoretical Framework for Comparisons of Social Movement Participation". *Sociological Forum* 8, no. 3 (September 1993): 383–402.
- Klandermans, Bert and Sjoerd Goslinga. "Media Discourse, Movement Publicity and the Generation of Collective Action Frames: Theoretical and Empirical Exercises in Meaning Construction". In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, edited by Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Klandermans, Bert, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow. *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*. Greenwich: JAI, 1988.
- KLCSTAAMEC (Kuala Lumpur Chinese Schoolteachers' Association Anniversary Magazine Editing Committee 吉隆坡教师公会纪念特刊编委会). *Jilongpo Jiaoshi Gonghui 1949–1999 Wenxian Ji Shiliao Huibian Jingxi Huiqing Jinian Tekan* 吉隆坡教师公会1949–1999文献及史料汇编—金禧会庆纪念特刊 [Commemoration magazine of Kuala Lumpur Chinese Schoolteachers Association's fiftieth anniversary with collection of articles and materials from 1949 to 1999]. Kuala Lumpur: Kuala Lumpur Chinese Schoolteachers Association, 2000.
- Knight, Jack. *Institutions and Social Conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Koh, Tsu Koon 许子根. *Xuzigen Boshi Canzheng Sinian Yanlun Xuanji Zhiyi* 许子根博士参政四年言论选集之一 [Selection of speeches from Dr. Koh Tsu Koon's first four years in politics 1]. Penang: Syarikat Perniagaan Toh and Tan, 1986.
- Kok, Wah Ying 郭华盈. "Dongxiao Fengbo Jieshu, Jianli Guanli Shoufei Jizhi Dujue Lanquan" 董校风波结束, 建立管理收费机制杜绝滥权 [The end of the controversy between school committee and school principal, establishment of financial management institution to prevent corruption in the future]. *Merdeka Review* 独立新闻在线, 18 March 2006 <<http://www.merdeka.com/news.php?n=1376>> (accessed 4 September 2013).

- Koopmans, Ruud. "Movements and Media: Selection Processes and Evolutionary Dynamics in the Public Sphere". *Theory and Society* 33, no. 3/4 (June–August 2004): 367–91.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, and Jan Duyvendak. *The Politics of New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
- Ku, Hung Ting 古鸿廷. *Jiaoyu Yu Rentong: Malaixiya Huawen Zhongxue Jiaoyu Zhi Yanjiu, 1945–2000* 教育与认同: 马来西亚华文中学教育之研究, 1945–2000 [Education and identity: Research on Chinese secondary schools' education in Malaysia, 1945–2000]. Xiamen: Xiamen University Press 厦门大学出版社, 2003.
- Kua, Kia Soong. *The New Era College Controversy and the Betrayal of Dong Jiao Zong*. Kuala Lumpur: Oriengroup, 2009.
- Kwongwahyitpoh* 光华日报. "Xuexiao Shitang Zhaobiao Zhuquan Jiaoxianjiaoju, Duqianhuan Jiangwei Huaxiao Zhenghui Quanyi" 学校食堂招标主权交县教育局, 杜乾煥将为华校争回权益 [Surrender of rental rights of school canteen to the district education department, Toh Kin Woon will retrieve these rights for the Chinese schools]. 22 September 2004.
- . "Mahanshun: Pi 9 Duzhong Yidi Yangxiao, Zhouzhengfu Bokuan Jiang Shouhui" 马汉顺: 霹9独中以地养校, 州政府拨款将收回 [Ma Han Shun: Nine independent Chinese secondary schools in Perak will sustain the school expenses through profits from land, the state government will revert financial aid]. 21 August 2010.
- Lai, Suat Yan. "Participation of the Women's Movement in Malaysia: The 1999 General Election". In *Civil Society in Southeast Asia*, edited by Lee Hock Guan. Denmark and Singapore: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2004.
- Lai, Xiao Jian 廖小健. "Malaixiya Liangxianzhi Chubu Xingcheng" 马来西亚两线制初步形成 [The formation of dual coalition system in Malaysia]. *Dangdai Yatai* 当代亚太 [Contemporary Asia Pacific] 4, no. 4 (2001): 19–23.
- Laothamatas, Anek. "Development and Democratization: A Theoretical Introduction with Reference to the Southeast Asian and East Asian Cases". In *Democratization in Southeast and East Asia*, edited by Anek Laothamatas. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 1997.
- LCHR (Lawyers Committee for Human Rights). *Malaysia: Assault on the Judiciary*. New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 1990.
- Lee, C.H. Julian. *Islamization and Activism in Malaysia*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2010.
- Lee, Kam Hing. "The Political Position of the Chinese in Post-Independence Malaysia". In *The Chinese Diaspora: Selected Essays 2*, edited by Wang Ling Chi and Wang Gung Wu. Singapore: Times Academic, 1998.
- Lee, L.M. Raymond. "Patterns of Religious Tension in Malaysia". *Asian Survey* 28, no. 4 (April 1988): 400–18.

- . “The State, Religious Nationalism and Ethnic Rationalization in Malaysia”. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13, no. 4 (October 1990): 482–502.
- Lee, Leong Sze 利亮时. “Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu De Shanbian 1945–1970” 马来西亚华文教育的嬗变 1945–1970 [Transformation of Chinese education in Malaysia 1945–1970]. Master’s thesis, National University of Singapore, 1999.
- Lee, Phun Koon 李亚遯. “Linlianyu: Xiaoxiao De Kaoju” 林连玉: 小小的考据 [Lim Lian Geok: Some criticism]. In *Zhubun Linlianyu Xubian* 族魂林连玉续编 [Soul of Malaysian Chinese Lim Lian Geok continuation edition], edited by Lee Phun Koon. Selangor: Lim Lian Geok Cultural Development Center 林连玉基金会, 2005.
- . *Wanjie Piaoxiang Xubian* 晚节飘香续编 [Biography of Sim Mow Yu 2]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers’ Association of Malaysia, 2006.
- Lee, Yip Lim 李业霖. *Nanyang Daxue Shilunji* 南洋大学史论集 [Collection of articles on Nanyang University]. Selangor: Nanyang University Alumni Association of Malaya 马来亚南大校友会, 2004.
- Leo, Suryadinata. “Ethnic Chinese Political Participation and the Revival of Chinese Culture: Post-Suharto Developments”. In *Chinese Diaspora Since Admiral Zhenghe*, edited by Leo Suryadinata. Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2007.
- Leong, Choon Heng and Tan Siew Hoey. “Malaysia: Social Development, Poverty Reduction and Economic Transformation”. In *Development with a Human Face: Experiences in Social Achievements and Economic Growth*, edited by Santosh Mehrotra and Richard Jolly. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism”. *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 51–65.
- Lew, Bon Hoi 廖文辉. *Huaxiao Jiaozong Ji Qirenwu (1951–2005)* 华校教总及其人物 (1951–2005) [The United Chinese Schoolteachers’ Association of Malaysia and its activists (1951–2005)]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers’ Association of Malaysia, 2006.
- Lew, Bon Hoi and Loot Ting Yee 陆庭谕, eds. *Shenmuyu Shiji Xinian* 沈慕羽事迹系年 [Life story of Sim Mow Yu]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers’ Association of Malaysia, 1997.
- Lijphart, Arend. “Typologies of Democratic Systems”. *Comparative Political Studies* 1 (1968): 3–43.
- . “Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method”. *American Political Science Review* 65, no. 3 (September 1971): 682–93.
- . “Non-Majoritarian Democracy: A Comparison of Federal and Consociational Theories”. *Publius* 15, no. 2 (Spring 1985): 3–15.
- . *Thinking About Democracy*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Lim, Guo An 林国安. “Malaixiya Huawen Duli Zhongxue Kecheng Mubiao Yanjiu” 马来西亚华文独立中学课程目标研究 [Study on the curriculum objectives of independent Chinese secondary schools in Malaysia]. *Malaixiya*

- Huawen Jiaoyu* 马来西亚华文教育 [Chinese education in Malaysia] 2 (December 2004): 6–19.
- Lim, Hong Siang 林宏祥. “Jingwu Dongshizhang Jubao Xiaozhang Juankuan Cunru Buzhiming Hukou” 精武董事长举报校长捐款存入不知名户口 [Chairman of Chen Moh’s school committee reveals that the school principal deposited donations into an unknown bank account]. *Merdeka Review*, 24 November 2005 <<http://www.merdeka.com/news.php?n=122>> (accessed 4 September 2013).
- . “Jingwu Huaxiao Dongshihui Yu Xiaozhang De Jiaoli” 精武华小董事会与校长的角力 [Disputes between Chen Moh’s school committee and school principal]. *Merdeka Review*, 3 March 2006a <[http://www.merdeka.com/news\\_v2.php?n=1287](http://www.merdeka.com/news_v2.php?n=1287)> (accessed 4 September 2013).
- . “Xiaozhang Tanwu Zhengduan: Jianyan Zhongwen Baozhang Zhenmianmu” 校长贪污争端: 检验中文报章真面目 [Disputes on corrupted school principal: The truth about Chinese press]. *Merdeka Review*, 9 March 2006b <[http://www.merdeka.com/news\\_v2.php?n=1327](http://www.merdeka.com/news_v2.php?n=1327)> (accessed 4 September 2013).
- . “Sizhang Zongzhi Erwan Zhipiao Xialuo Buming, Jingwu Qiongzhu Bushu Bizou Jiaoyu Juzhang?” 四张总值二万支票下落不明, 精武穷追不舍逼走教育局长? [Unable to explain the whereabouts of four cheques with total sum of RM20,000, pressure from Chen Moh forces the departure of the Head of the Education Department]. *Merdeka Review*, 19 June 2006c <<http://www.merdeka.com/news.php?n=1954>> (accessed 4 September 2013).
- Lim, Kit Siang. “Call on Malaysian Chinese to be Aware of New Election Gimmicks Like Merger or Joint Councils to Bring About a Repeat of the 1982 General Elections Results”. Speech. 10 March 1985 <<http://bibliotheca.limkitsiang.com/1985/03/10/call-on-malaysian-chinese-to-be-aware-of-new-election-gimmicks-like-merger-or-joint-councils-to-bring-about-a-repeat-of-the-1982-general-elections-results/>> (accessed 9 September 2013).
- . “Call on Tung Chiau Chung Officials Responsible for the 1982 Strategy of ‘Attack into the Barisan Nasional to Rectify Barisan Nasional’ to Admit the Grave Error of Their Decision, and to Direct these like Ker Choo Ting, Koh Tsu Koon and Others Who joined Gerakan on This Mission to Withdraw from Barisan or to Lose All Forms of Tung Chiau Chung support”. Speech. 28 May 1986 <<http://bibliotheca.limkitsiang.com/1986/05/28/call-on-tungchiau-chung-officials-responsible-for-the-1982-strategy-of-attack-into-the-barisan-nasional-to-rectify-barisan-nasional-to-admit-the-grave-error-of-their-decision-and-t/>> (accessed 9 September 2013).
- . “Two-Coalition System to Crush the Monopoly of Political Power and Save Democracy in Malaysia”. Speech. 18 August 1990 <<http://bibliotheca.limkitsiang.com/1990/08/18/two-coalition-system-to-crush-the-monopoly-of-political-power-and-save-democracy-in-malaysia/>> (accessed 9 September 2013).

- Lim, Lian Geok 林连玉. "Wo Weishenme Shiwang" 我为什么失望 [Why I was disappointed]. *Jiaoshi Zazhi* 教师杂志 [Teacher's Journal] 1, no. 5 (1960): 3.
- . *Huiyi Pianpianlu* 回忆片片录 [My memoir]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1965.
- . *Fengyu Shibanian Shangji* 风雨十八年上集 [Eighteen years of challenges 1]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1988.
- . "Linlianyu Gongminquan An" 林连玉公民权案 [Civil rights of Lim Lian Geok]. Kuala Lumpur: Lim Lian Geok Cultural Development Center, 1989.
- . *Fengyu Shibanian Xiaji* 风雨十八年下集 [Eighteen years of challenges 2]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1990.
- . *Linliang Gonggan* 林梁公案 [Controversies between Lim Lian Geok and Liang Yu Gao]. Kuala Lumpur: Lim Lian Geok Cultural Development Center, 1998.
- Lin, Hua Dong 林华东. "Zouxiang Shiji De Dongnanya Huawen Jiaoyu Yu Jiaoxue" 走向21世纪的东南亚华文教育与教学 [Chinese education and teachings in Southeast Asia towards the Twenty-First Century]. *Journal of Quanzhou Normal College* 泉州师范学院学报 18, no. 5 (2000): 35.
- Lin, Wu Cong 林武聪 Wang Zong Lin 王宗麟, and Xu De Fa 许德发, eds. *Xiankai Huaxiao De Ditan: Xiaozhang Shetan Zhengyiji* 掀开华小的地毯: 校长涉贪争议集 [Controversy over alleged corruption among Chinese Primary Schools' principals]. Kuala Lumpur: Surenshi 燧人氏事业, 2006.
- Linz, Juan José. "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes". In *Handbook of Political Science* 3, edited by Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1975.
- Liow, Joseph. "The Politics Behind Malaysia's Eleventh General Election". *Asian Survey* 45, no. 6 (November-December 2005): 907-30.
- Lipsky, Michael. "Protest As a Political Resource". *American Political Science Review* 62 (1968): 1144-58.
- Liu, Bo Kui 刘伯奎. *Xingtian Ershinian: Zhongzhong Ershinian* 杏坛二十年: 中中二十年 [Twenty years at Zhonghua High School]. Singapore: South Seas Society 南洋学会, 1986.
- Loh, Kok Wah Francis. *The Politics of Chinese Unity in Malaysia: Reform and Conflict in the Malaysian Chinese Association 1971-1973*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 1982.
- . "Chinese New Villages". In *The Chinese in Malaysia*, edited by Lee K.H. and C.B. Tan. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *Old vs. New Politics in Malaysia: State and Society in Transition*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre and Aliran, 2009.
- Loh, Kok Wah Francis and Johan Saravanamuttu, eds. *New Politics in Malaysia*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- Loh, Kok Wah Francis and Khoo Boo Teik, eds. *Democracy in Malaysia: Discourses and Practices*. Surrey: Curzon, 2002.

- Loh, Kok Wah Francis, Phang Chung Nyap, and Johan Saravanamuttu. *The Chinese Community and Malaysia-China Ties: Elite Perspectives*. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1981.
- Lomperis, Timothy. *From People's War to People's Rule: Insurgency, Intervention and the Lessons of Vietnam*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Lounsbury, Michael and Bill Kaghan. "Organizations, Occupations and the Structuration of Work". *Research in the Sociology of Work* 10 (2001): 25–51.
- Lyon, Margo. "The Dakwah Movement in Malaysia". *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs* 13, no. 2 (1979): 34–45.
- Mackie, Jamie A.C. *Konfrontasi: The Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute 1963–1966*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Mainwaring, Scott. "Introduction: Democratic Accountability in Latin America". In *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Makmor Tumen. *Wanita di Malaysia: Perjuangan Menuntut Hak* [Women in Malaysia: Struggles for rights]. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 2006.
- Malay Mail*. "Tan Siew Sin: It Would Be Easier for Hell to Freeze Over Than for Merdeka University to Be Established under the Prevailing Circumstances in Malaysia". 17 April 1969.
- Malaysiakini*, "Motaixi Changzu 'Duzhong Jiaoyu Lianmeng', Dongzongping: Tu Cuanduo Huajiao Lingdaoquan" 莫泰熙倡组“独中教育联盟”,董总抨: 图篡夺华教领导权 [Bock Tai Hee proposes the establishment of the Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Education Alliance, United Chinese School Committee's Association of Malaysia criticises it as an attempt to overtake the leadership of the Chinese education movement]. 2 October 2009 <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/news/114087>> (accessed on 3 November 2013).
- March, James and Johan Olsen. "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life". *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984): 734–49.
- Marsden, Peter. "Brokerage Behavior in Restricted Exchange Networks". In *Social Structure and Network Analysis*, edited by Peter Marsden and Nan Lin. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982.
- Marsh, Ian. "Introduction". In *Democratization, Governance and Regionalism in East and Southeast Asia: A Comparative Study*, edited by Ian Marsh. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Mason, Frederic. *The Schools of Malaya*. Singapore: Donald Moore, 1954.
- Mauzy, Diane. *Barisan Nasional: Coalition Government in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Marican and Sons, 1983a.
- . "The 1982 General Elections in Malaysia: A Mandate for Change?". *Asian Survey* 23, no. 4 (April 1983b): 497–517.

- Mauzy, Diane and Robert Stephen Milne. "The Mahathir Administration in Malaysia: Discipline through Islam". *Pacific Affairs* 56, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 617–48.
- Maznah Mohamad. "The Contest for Malay Votes in 1999: UMNO's Most Historic Challenge?". In *New Politics in Malaysia*, edited by Loh Kok Wah Francis and Johan Saravanamuttu. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- . *Paradoxes of State Islamization in Malaysia: Routinization of Religious Charisma and the Secularization of the Syariah*. Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 2009.
- MCACEB (Malaysian Chinese Association Central Education Bureau). "Mahua Gonghui Quanguo Huaxiao Xiaodi Diaocha Baogao" 马华公会全国华小校地调查报告 [Report on Chinese primary schools' land ownership status, a national survey conducted by Malaysian Chinese Association]. *Sinchew Daily*, 16 October 2008.
- McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- . "The Framing Function of Movement Tactics: Strategic Dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement". In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*, edited by Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- McAdam, Doug, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald, eds. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. "Toward An Integrated Perspective on Social Movements and Revolution". In *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure*, edited by Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- McCarthy, John, Jackie Smith, and Mayer Zald. *The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization*. Morristown: General Learning, 1973.
- McCarthy, John and Mayer Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory". *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (1977): 1212–41.
- MCOEAC (Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee 马来西亚华人社团大选诉求委员会). *Malaixiya Huaren Shetuan Daxuan Suqiu Ziliao Huibian 1999–2001 Dier Fence* 马来西亚华人社团大选诉求资料汇编 1999–2001 第二分册 [Collection of documents on the Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee 1999–2001 vol. 2]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2002.
- Means, Gordon. "Public Policy toward Religion in Malaysia". *Pacific Affairs* 51 (Fall 1978): 384–405.

- . *Malaysian Politics: The Second Generation*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Melucci, Alberto. “The New Social Movements: A Theoretical Approach”. *Social Science Information* 19, no. 2 (1980): 199–266.
- . “The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements”. *Social Research* 52 (1985): 789–816.
- . *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*. London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989.
- . *Challenging Codes, Collective Action in the Information Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- MEM (Ministry of Education Malaysia). *Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1974/1975*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1978.
- . *Draf Buku Panduan Rancangan Integrasi Murid-Murid* [Draft guidebook for Student Integration Program]. Kuala Lumpur: Kementerian Pelajaran Malaysia, 1985a.
- . *Sukatan Pelajaran Sekolah Rendah 1983* [Integrated Curriculum for Primary Schools 1983]. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1985b.
- . *Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1980–1985*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1986a.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 1986* [Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1986]. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1986b.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 1987* [Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1987]. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1990.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 1991* [Educational Statistics of Malaysia 1991]. Putrajaya: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 1991.
- . *Sekolah Wawasan: Konsep dan Pelaksanaan* [Vision School: Concepts and implementations]. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Pelajaran Malaysia, 1995.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 2007* [Malaysia Educational Statistics 2007]. Putrajaya: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2007.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 2008* [Malaysia Educational Statistics 2008]. Putrajaya: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2008.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 2009* [Malaysia Educational Statistics 2009]. Putrajaya: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2009.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 2010* [Malaysia Educational Statistics 2010]. Putrajaya: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2010.
- . *Perangkaan Pendidikan Malaysia 2011* [Malaysia Educational Statistics 2011]. Putrajaya: Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2011.
- Merdeka Review*. “Motaixi Qingchu Biaoming Buliuren, Yangyungui: Buxuyue Nai Changwei Jueding” 莫泰熙清楚表明不留任, 杨云贵: 不续约乃常委决定 [Bock Tai Hee indicates that he will not stay, Yang Yun Gui says that the decision of not renewing Bock’s contract was made by the Standing Committee]. 20 October 2006 <<http://www.merdeka.com/news.php?n=2799>> (accessed 2 September 2013).

- . “Liangxianzhi Fazhan Shi Quanmin Shengli, Dongjiaozong Ti Qida Jiaoyu Yaoqiu” 两线制发展是全民胜利, 董教总提七大教育要求 [The development of dual coalition system is a victory for all people, *Dongjiaozong* proposes seven educational demands]. 14 March 2008 <[http://www.merdekarereview.com/news\\_v2.php?n=6250](http://www.merdekarereview.com/news_v2.php?n=6250)> (accessed 2 September 2013).
- . “Bada Huatuan Yu Hashanamo Jiaoliu, Yizhi Tongyi Huifu Muyu Jiaoshuli” 八大华团与哈山阿末交流, 一致同意恢复母语教数理 [Eight Chinese guilds and associations exchange ideas with Hassan Ahmad and mutually agree to restore the teachings of Mathematic and Science subjects using mother tongue]. 13 March 2009 <<http://www.merdekarereview.com/news/n/9067.html>> (accessed 2 September 2013).
- Meyer, David and Sidney Tarrow. “A Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century”. In *The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century*, edited by David Meyer and Sidney Tarrow. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998.
- Migdal, Joel. *Strong Societies and Weak States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Milne, Robert Stephen. “Malaysia”. *Asian Survey* 4, no. 2 (February 1964): 695–701.
- . “Malaysia and Singapore, 1975”. *Asian Survey* 16, no. 2, part II (February 1976): 186–92.
- Milne, Robert Stephen and Diane Mauzy. *Malaysian Politics under Mahathir*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- MLHGSBJZ (Malaiya Lianhebang Huawen Gaoji Shifan Biye Jiaoshi Zhigonghui 马来亚联合邦华文高级师范毕业教师职工会). *Gaoshi Sishinian (1949–1989) Malaiya Lianhebang Huawen Gaoji Shifan Biye Jiaoshi Zhigonghui Jinian Tekan* 高师四十年 (1949–1989) 马来亚联合邦华文高级师范毕业教师职工会纪念特刊 [Commemoration magazine of Senior Normal Graduate Schoolteachers Association’s fortieth anniversary (1949–1989)]. Kuala Lumpur: Malaiya Lianhebang Huawen Gaoji Shifan Biye Jiaoshi Zhigonghui, 1990.
- Mohamad Abu Bakar. “Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia”. *Asian Survey* 21, no. 10 (October 1981): 1040–59.
- Mohamed Salleh Abas. *May Day for Justice: The Lord President’s Version*. Kuala Lumpur: Magnus Books, 1989a.
- . *The Role of the Independent Judiciary*. Kuala Lumpur: Promarketing, 1989b.
- Morrill, Calvin. *The Executive Way: Conflict Management in Corporations*. Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1995.
- MPSSMCM (Majlis Pengetua Sekolah-Sekolah Menengah Conforming Malaysia 全国华中校长理事会), ed. *Malaixiya Guominxing Huawen Zhongxue Zhinan* 马来西亚国民型华文中学指南 [Directory of Confirming Chinese Secondary Schools in Malaysia]. Kuala Lumpur: Majlis Pengetua Sekolah-Sekolah Menengah Conforming Malaysia, 2006.

- MU (Malayan Union). *Annual Report on Education in the Malayan Union for the Period 1st April 1946 to 31st December 1946*. Council Paper no. 53 of 1946. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1947.
- MUB (Merdeka University Berhad 独大有限公司). “Cheng Zuigaoyuanshou Qingqiu Enzhun Chuangban Duli Daxue Qingyuanshu” 呈最高元首请求恩准创办独立大学请愿书 [Petition Submitted to Yang Dipertuan Agong of Malaysia for Incorporation Order for the Establishment of Merdeka University]. 30 January 1978a.
- . *Duda Wengaoji 独大文告集* [Collection of articles on Merdeka University]. Kuala Lumpur: Merdeka University Berhad, 1978b.
- Nanyangshangpao* 南洋商报, “Ping Baien Wei yuanhui Baogaoshu” 评拜恩委员会报告书 [Review of the Barnes Report]. 13 June 1951.
- . “Huawen Jiaoyu Baogaoshu Zhengyi De Zhuzhang” 华文教育报告书正义的主张 [The rightful position of the Chinese Education Report]. 9 July 1951.
- . “Lun Muyu Jiaoyu De Zhongyaoxing” 论母语教育的重要性 [Discussion on the importance of mother tongue education]. 19 July 1951.
- . “Zailun Huawen Ying Liewei Guanfang Yuwen” 再论华文应列为官方语文 [Another discussion on instating Chinese language as official language]. 20 October 1954.
- . “Fangyan Jiaoyu Yu Guomin Jiaoyu” 方言教育与国民教育 [Vernacular and national education]. 23 October 1954.
- . “Zhengyi Yongqi, Zuihou Jueze” 正义勇气, 最后抉择 [The final option]. 10 November 1954.
- . “Wei Weihu Huawen Jiaoyu Er Fendou” 为维护华文教育而奋斗 [Striving to protect the Chinese education]. 15 November 1954.
- . “Shoujian Zonghe Xiaoxue Kaishi Shangke” 首间综合小学开始上课 [First integrated school starts operation]. 22 August 1985.
- . “Sanjiehe Yu Liange Zhenxian Gainian Shutu Tonggui, Junwei Kangju Zhongzu Zhuyi, Dongzong Zhuxi Linhuangsheng” 三结合与两个阵线概念殊途同归, 均为抗拒种族主义, 董总主席林晃升 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia Chairman Lim Fong Seng: The alliance of three and the dual coalition shares the goal of opposing racism]. 1 September 1986.
- . “57 Jian Huaxiao Quanmian Bake, Binjiapoxuezhizhi Yu Sanwan Xuesheng Wei Shangke” 57间华小全面罢课, 檳甲坡雪直逾三万学生未上课 [Fifty-seven Chinese primary schools participate in the protest, more than 30,000 students in Penang, Malacca, Perlis, Selangor, and Kuala Lumpur skip school]. 16 October 1987.
- . “Xingdongdang, Siliu, Huatuan Quxiang Dajiehe, Liuhua jiao Renshi Cheng Huojian Shangzhen” 行动党, 四六, 华团趋向大结合, 六华教人士乘火箭上阵 [Unity of Democratic Action Party, Semangat 46, and the

- Chinese guilds and associations, six Chinese educationalists will contest in the general elections under Democratic Action Party]. 26 July 1990.
- . “Xinshengdai De Zhengzhi Linian He Shijian” 新生代的政治理念和实践 [Political ideas of the new generation and its implementation]. 1 August 1990.
- . “Lianhe Xuanyan Xia Zhengzhi Daohuoxian, Huatuan Canxuan Yijian Fenqi” 联合宣言下争执导火线, 华团参选意见分歧 [Disputes over joint manifesto, conflict of opinions on the participation of Chinese guilds and associations in general elections]. 3 August 1990a.
- . “Pidonglianhui Yu Zhouduzhong Gongweihui, Mingtian Zhaokai Tebie Lianxi Huiyi Shang Huajiao Renshi Canzheng Xuanshi” 霹董联会与州独中工委会, 明天召开特别联席会议商华教人士参政参选事 [Perak Chinese School Committees' Association and Perak State Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee will hold a special joint meeting tomorrow to discuss the issue of Chinese educationalists' participation in politics]. 3 August 1990b.
- . “Quanguo Dongzong Fuzhuxi: Gongping Duidai Huajiao Canxuan Renshi” 全国董总副主席: 公平对待华教参选人士 [Deputy chairman of United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia: Treat the Chinese educationalists who participated in general elections with justice]. 3 August 1990c.
- . “Zantong Benbao Shelun Kanfa, Dui Huajiao Renshi Canxuan Wenti Bufang Yi Kaifang Xionghuai Kandai—Chensongsheng Lushi” 赞同本报社论看法, 对华教人士参选问题不妨以开放胸怀看待—陈松生律师 [Chen Song Seng agrees with the opinions posted in *Nanyangshangpao* on being open to the participation of Chinese educationalists in politics]. 4 August 1990.
- . “Huajiao Jigou Buzhanran Zhengzhi Secai: Dongjiaozong Chengyuan Canxuan Xucizhi” 华教机构不沾染政治色彩: 董教总成员参选须辞职 [Chinese education institutions will not associate with politics: *Dongjiaozong* members must resign]. 5 August 1990.
- . “Linhuangsheng Biaoming Yuan Canxuan, Dongzong Zhuxi Fenxi Xingshi Zhi Zhizhengdang Taiqiang, Huajiao Renshi Jiaru Fanzhen Keqi Junheng Zuoyong” 林晃升表明愿参选, 董总主席分析形势指执政党太强, 华教人士加入反阵可起均衡作用 [Lim Fong Seng announces his willingness to compete in the general elections, the current ruling regime is too powerful, Chinese educationalists may help to balance the situation by joining the opposition]. 6 August 1990.
- . “Laijie Daxuan Shiyu Liutaisheng Jiangzai Fanduidang Qixia Chuzhan” 来届大选十余留台生将在反对党旗下出战 [About ten Taiwanese university graduates will participate in the upcoming general elections as candidates of the opposition parties]. 7 August 1990.
- . “Senzhonghua Gongshang Lianzong Shuli Huizhang Lizun Renwei, Ruwei Canxuan Er Chanzheng, Shexian Mou Zhengzhi Sili” 森中华工商联总署

- 理会长李俊认为, 若为参选而参政, 涉嫌谋政治私利 [Negeri Sembilan Chinese Chamber of Commerce Deputy President Li Zun thinks that those who participated in the general elections in order to enter politics are highly suspicious of seeking personal advantages]. 8 August 1990.
- . “Qian Dongzong Zhixingmishu Liwanqian, Juchuan Jue Jingxuan Bajili Guoxi” 前董总执行秘书李万千, 据传决竞选峇吉里国席 [Former United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia Chief Executive Officer Lee Ban Chen may be contesting at Bakri parliamentary constituency]. 9 August 1990.
- . “Jiaoyu Xieshang Lishihui Mingdan Puguang Zhengdang Shou Yao Dong Jiao Zong Shang Bang” 教育协商理事会名单曝光: 12政党受邀董教总上榜 [Twelve political parties are invited to participate in *Dongjiaozong's* Education Negotiation Committee]. 18 August 1990.
- . “Linhuangsheng Ren Xingdongdang Guwen, Liwanqian Dang Quanguo Fuzhuxi” 林晃升任行动党顾问, 李万千当全国副主席 [Lim Fong Seng appointed as Democratic Action Party advisor and Lee Ban Chen as the vice president]. 20 August 1990.
- . “Huazi Yijiao Wenti Xuehuatang You Juanru Jiufen, Linyujing Cheng Douzheng Jiaodian” 华资移交问题雪华堂又卷入纠纷, 林玉静成斗争焦点 [Another dispute on the transfer of Huazi Resource and Research Centre to Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall, Lim Geok Chan becomes dispute's focal point]. 13 February 1992.
- . “Sanhuatuan Danwei Zhendui Wuyueshiri Yian Fanan, Tanglian Weixin Shoutiaozhan” 三华团单位针对五月十日议案发难, 堂联威信受挑战 [Three Chinese guilds and associations challenge the prestige of Unified Federation of Malaysian Chinese Assembly Hall by criticising the meeting on 10 May]. 25 May 1992.
- . “Shoubangshi Lihang Huaxiao Fengbo Shimo” 首邦市力行华小风波始末 [The whole story on the controversy of Lick Hung Chinese Primary School]. 26 May 1992.
- . “Huwanduo: Ruguo Huaxiao Dongshihui Diwei Bubao Dongjiaozong Kaolu Fanan” 胡万铎: 如果华小董事会地位不保董教总考虑发难 [Foo Wan Thot: *Dongjiaozong* will revolt if the status of the Chinese primary schools' committees are threatened]. 27 July 1992.
- . “Qianji Quanguo Huaxiao Dongshihui Zhuquan Wenti Dongzong Jue Jieshou Chuli Lihang Fengbo” 迁及全国华小董事会主权问题董总决接手处理力行风波 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia decides to intervenes in the Lick Hung controversy as the issue will affect the authority of all Chinese primary schools committees in Malaysia]. 8 August 1992.
- . “Sendonglianhui Chuxuan, Huhuoshan Jumoxi, Chensongshengpai Dahuo Quansheng” 森董联会初选, 胡火山居末席, 陈松生派大获全胜 [Elections of Negeri Sembilan Chinese School Committees' Association, Hoo Huo Shan

- ranked at the bottom most, Chin Choong Sang's fraction won all contested seats]. 25 April 1994.
- . “Qianzhi Lazhu Dianran Huajiaoxin” 千支蜡烛点燃华教心 [Thousands of candles light up the heart of Chinese education movement supporters]. 18 December 1996.
- . “Zhi Jizhe Cuowu Quanshi Tanhua, Zhangzhengxiong Fouren Pingji Suqiu” 指记者错误诠释谈话, 张征雄否认评击诉求 [Chong Chin Shoong blames the reporters for misinterpreted his conversation and denies that he criticized the Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee]. 9 September 1999.
- . “Guoquanqiang Ganxie Neige Guanzhu, Yanjiu Ruhe Luoshi Suqiu” 郭全强感谢内阁关注, 研究如何落实诉求 [Quek Suan Hiang appreciates the attention from the cabinet and will research on the implementation of the appeals]. 24 September 1999.
- . “Xiechunrong: Chuncui Wuhui, Suqiu Gongwei Wuxu Daoqian” 谢春荣: 纯粹误会, 诉求工委无须道歉 [Ser Choon Ing: It is merely a misunderstanding, Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee does not need to apologize]. 19 August 2000.
- . “Disanzhe Yu Wuqing Jieqia, Anpai Yu Gongweihui Xieshang” 第三者与巫青接洽, 安排与工委会协商 [Third party will contact United Malays National Organisation Youth to broker negotiation platform with the Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee]. 20 August 2000.
- . “Suqiu Gongwei Yao Jingfang Guanzhu Dongyan Fen Xuehuatang Kouhao” 诉求工委要警方关注恫言焚雪华堂口号 [Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee demands the police to pay attention on the threats to burn down the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall]. 21 August 2000.
- . “Huatuan Huashe Song Hualan Mianli Suqiu Gongweihui” 华团华社送花篮勉励诉求工委会 [Chinese guilds and associations sent flower baskets as support to Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee]. 22 August 2000.
- . “Suqiu Gongweihui Zhihan Xisang, Yaoqiu Yu Wuqing Duihua” 诉求工委会致函希桑, 要求与巫青对话 [The Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee sends letter to Hishamuddin and demands dialogue opportunities with United Malays National Organisation Youth]. 23 August 2000.
- . “Zhengfu Zunzhong Yiyuan, Zanting Guchui Bumianqiang 5 Huaxiao Hongyuan Xuexiao” 政府尊重意愿, 暂停鼓吹不勉强5华小宏愿学校 [The government will not force five shortlisted Chinese primary schools to participate in the Vision Schools Program]. 2 December 2000.
- . “Jiaorong Jihua Jingfeida, Quanmian Luoshi Burongyi” 交融计划经费大, 全面落实不容易 [Full scale implementation of the Integration Program may not be possible due to expensive cost]. 10 December 2000.

- . “Guozhuzhen: Xu Jiaqiang Yingwen Jiaodao, Minzheng Zhichi Huawen Jiao Shuli” 郭洙镇: 须加强英文教导, 民政支持华文教数理 [Kerk Choo Ting: Malaysian People’s Movement Party supports the teaching of Mathematic and Science subjects in Chinese, but must enhance the teaching of English subject]. 10 August 2002.
- . “Linjingyi: Sidang Tongyi 2-3-3 Fangan, 8 Jieke Jiao, 3 Xinkemu” 林敬益: 四党同意2-3-3方案, 8节课教, 3新科目 [Lim Keng Yaik: Four political parties agreed at the 2-3-3 resolution, eight periods to teach three new subjects]. 31 October 2002.
- . “Yangqingliang: Jiu Xuexiao Shitang Zhaobiao, Dongzong Buying Weinan Xiaozhang” 杨清亮: 就学校食堂招标, 董总不应为难校长 [Yang Qing Liang: United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia should not oppress school principals and making things difficult for school principals on the issue of the rental rights of school canteens]. 19 February 2006.
- NEAC (National Economic Advisory Council). *Laporan Majlis Perundingan Ekonomi Negara* [Report of the National Economic Advisory Council]. Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Percetakan Negara, 1991.
- . *New Economic Model for Malaysia 2010*. Putrajaya: National Economic Advisory Council, 2010.
- News Straits Times*. “New Deal for Education: Policy Reversed but English Hours Extended for Schools”. 9 July 2009.
- Ng, Choon Sim Cecilia. “The Women’s Movement: Towards Multi-Cultural Dialogue and Peace Building”. In *Building Bridges, Crossing Boundaries: Everyday Forms of Inter-Ethnic Peace Building in Malaysia*, edited by Loh Kok Wah Francis. Jakarta: Ford Foundation, 2010a.
- . *The Hazy New Dawn: Democracy, Women and Politics in Malaysia*. Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 2010b.
- Ng, Choon Sim Cecilia, Maznah Mohamad, and Tan Beng Hui. *Feminism and the Women’s Movement in Malaysia: An Unsung (R)evolution*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Ng, Tien Eng. “The Contest for the Chinese Votes: Politics of Negotiation or Politics of Pressure?”. In *New Politics in Malaysia*, edited by Loh Kok Wah Francis and Johan Saravanamuttu. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- NOC (National Operations Council). *The May 13 Tragedy: A Report*. Kuala Lumpur: National Operations Council, 1969.
- Norani Othman, ed. *Muslim Women and the Challenge of Islamic Extremism: Sisters in Islam*. Petaling Jaya: Vinlin, 2005.
- North, Douglass. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- NSTP (News Straits Times Press), ed. *Seluruh Hidupnya untuk Malaysia* [All his life for Malaysia]. Kuala Lumpur: New Straits Times Press, 1976.

- NUAAM et al. (Nanyang University Alumni Association of Malaya 马来亚南大校友会, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Perak 吡叻南大校友会, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Penang 檳城南大校友会, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Johore Bahru 新山南大校友会, and Nanyang University Alumni Association of Sarawak 砂劳越南大校友会), eds. *Jinian Nanyang Daxue Chuangxiao 25 Zhounian Tekan* 纪念南洋大学创校25周年特刊 [Commemoration magazine of Nanyang University's twenty-fifth anniversary]. Kuala Lumpur: Nanyang University Alumni Association of Malaya, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Perak, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Penang, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Johore Bahru, and Nanyang University Alumni Association of Sarawak, 1982.
- O'Balance, Edgar. *Malaya: The Communist Insurgent War, 1948–1960*. Hamden: Archon, 1966.
- Oberschall, Anthony. *Social Movements: Ideologies, Interests and Identities*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 1993.
- OCJKL (OCJ Kuala Lumpur). 2 MLJ 356. *Merdeka University Berhad v. Government of Malaysia*. 1981. <[http://ilms.agc.gov.my:88/online/uploaded/fc/271112030905MERDEKA\\_UNIVERSITY%20BERHAD%20v%20GOVERNMENT%20OF%20MA.pdf](http://ilms.agc.gov.my:88/online/uploaded/fc/271112030905MERDEKA_UNIVERSITY%20BERHAD%20v%20GOVERNMENT%20OF%20MA.pdf)> (accessed 11 September 2013).
- Offe, Claus. “New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics”. *Social Research* 52, no. 4 (1985): 817–68.
- Oliver, Pamela and Gerald Marwell. “Mobilizing Technologies for Collective Action”. In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Olson, Mancur. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- . *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Ongkili, James. *Nation Building in Malaysia, 1946–1974*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Oriental Daily* 东方日报. “Jiaozhang, Quanli Jiaohui Dongshihui, Shitang Zhaobiao Huiyu Yuanzhuang” 教长, 权力交回董事会, 食堂招标恢复原状 [Minister of Education restores the rental rights of school's canteen to the school committee]. 15 October 2004.
- . “Jingwu Huaxiao Fanmaibu” 精武华小贩卖部 [Cooperative shop of Chen Moh Chinese Primary School]. 17 November 2004.
- . “Dongzong Dadizhen Xingzhengbu 7 Ju Zhuren Cicheng” 董总大地震行政部7局主任辞呈 [Seven head of departments of United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia administrative office resigned]. 10 December 2007.

- Ottaway, Marina. *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. Washington: Brookings Institution and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003.
- Panizza, Francisco. "Human Rights in the Processes of Transition and Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America". *Political Studies* 43 (August 1995): 168–88.
- Park, Robert Ezra. *Society: Collective Behavior, News and Opinion, Sociology and Modern Society*. Glencoe: Free Press, 1955.
- Parsons, Talcott. *The Structure of Social Action*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937.
- Peattie, Mark. "Nanshin: 'The Southward Advance' 1931–1941, as a Prelude to the Japanese Occupation of Southeast Asia". In *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, edited by Ramon Hawley Myers, Mark Peattie, Zhou Wan Yao, and Peter Duus. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Petra Kamarudin. *The Reformasi Trail*. Kuala Lumpur: Raja Petra Kamarudin, 2001.
- Phatharathananunth, Somchai. *Civil Society and Democratization: Social Movements in Northeast Thailand*. Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian, 2006.
- Phoon, Wing Keong 潘永强. "Mahuagonghui Paixi Zhengzhi Chutan (2000–2003)" 马华公会派系政治初探 (2000–2003) [A preliminary study of fractional politics in Malaysian Chinese Association (2000–2003)]. *New Era College Academic Journal* 3 (July 2006): 63–88.
- PJPCSDWC (Petaling Jaya Chinese Primary Schools Development Working Committee 八打灵发展华小工委). *Badaling Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2001–2004 Nian Huodong Xilie Ji Lianhuan Wanhui Tekan 八打灵发展华小工委 2001–2004 年活动系列暨联欢晚会特刊* [Special magazine of Petaling Jaya Chinese Primary Schools Development Working Committee with records of activities conducted from 2001 to 2004]. Selangor: Petaling Jaya Chinese Primary Schools Development Working Committee, 2004.
- Powell, Walter and Paul DiMaggio, eds. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- PPPPK (Pertubuhan-Pertubuhan Pendidikan Pelbagai Kaum). "Huanwo Muyu Jiaoyu" 还我母语教育 [Restoration of mother tongue education]. Memorandum submitted to Prime Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi. 27 November 2007.
- PTPTN (Perbadanan Tabung Pendidikan Tinggi Nasional). "Pengecualian syarat lulus Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia untuk memohon pembiayaan pendidikan bagi pelajar-pelajar kelulusan Unified Examination Certificate di Institusi Pendidikan Tinggi Swasta" [Educational loan application exemption conditions for Unified Examination Certificate holders who study at Private Higher Education Institutions]. Surat pekeliling Perbadanan Tabung Pendidikan Tinggi Nasional bilangan 2 tahun 2010 [Perbadanan Tabung Pendidikan Tinggi Nasional circular letter no. 2 year 2010]. 3 May 2010.
- Purcell, Victor. *The Chinese in Malaya*. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- . *Malaya: Communist or Free?* London: Victor Gollancz, 1954.
- . *The Chinese in Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1967.

- Purdue, Derrick. "Conclusion: Civil Society, Governance, Social Movements and Social Capital". In *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and Problems*, edited by Derrick Purdue. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000.
- PWCRCAGM (Protem Working Committee of Representatives of Chinese Associations and Guilds of Malaysia 马来西亚华人注册社团代表大会筹备工作委员会). "Wei Zhengqu Huawen Diwei Xiang Shouxiang Dongguadulaman Chengsong Beiwanglu" 为争取华文地位向首相东姑阿都拉曼呈送备忘录 [Memorandum to the Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman for a rightful place of the Chinese language]. Kuala Lumpur, 4 November 1965.
- Pye, Lucian. *Lessons from the Malayan Struggle against Communism*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute for Technology, 1957.
- Ramakrishna, Kumar. "Transmogrifying Malaya: The Impact of Sir Gerald Templer 1952–1954". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 32, issues 1 (February 2001): 79–92.
- . *Emergency Propaganda: The Winning of Malayan Hearts and Minds 1948–1958*. Surrey: Curzon, 2002.
- Ramasamy, Nagiah and Chris Rowley. "Trade Unions in Malaysia: Complexity of a State-Employer System". In *Trade Unions in Asia: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, edited by John Benson and Ying Zhu. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Roche, John and Stephen Sachs. "The Bureaucrat and the Enthusiast: An Exploration of the Leadership of Social Movements". In *Studies in Social Movements: A Social Psychological Perspective*, edited by Barry McLaughlin. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- Roff, Margaret. "The Malayan Chinese Association, 1948–1965". *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 6 (1965): 40–53.
- Roger, Kershaw. "Within the Family. The Limits of Doctrinal Differentiation in the Malaysian Ruling Party Election of 1987". *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 23 (1989): 125–93.
- Roy, Kartik and Jörn Sidera. "Institutions, Globalisation and Empowerment: An Overview of Issues". In *Institutions, Globalization and Empowerment*, edited by Kartik Roy and Jörn Sideras. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006.
- Rudner, Martin. "The Malaysian General Election of 1969: A Political Analysis". *Modern Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (1970): 1–21.
- S.M. Mohamed Idris. *Malaysian Consumers and Development*. Penang: Consumers' Association of Penang, 1986.
- Sandhu, Kernial Singh. "Emergency Resettlement in Malaya". *Journal of Tropical Geography* 18 (1964): 157–83.
- SCAH (Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall 雪兰莪中华大会堂). "Quanguo Huatuan Lianhe Xuanyan" 全国华团联合宣言 [Joint declaration of Chinese guilds and associations in Malaysia]. Unpublished document. 12 October 1985.

- . “Guanche Huatuan Lianhe Xuanyan Diyijieduan Jiudamubiao” 贯彻华团联合宣言：第一阶段九大目标 [Implementation of the joint declaration of Chinese guilds and associations in Malaysia]. Memorandum. 18 May 1986.
- . *Xuelane Zhonghua Dabuitang Bashì Zhounian Tangqing Jinian Tekan 1923–2003* 雪兰莪中华大会堂八十周年堂庆纪念特刊 1923–2003 [Commemoration magazine of Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall’s eightieth anniversary 1923–2003]. Kuala Lumpur: Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall, 2004.
- Schedler, Andreas. “The Menu of Manipulation”. *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 36–50.
- Scheingold, Stuart. *The Politics of Rights: Lawyers, Public Policy and Political Change*. 2nd ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.
- Scott, James. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- . “Resistance without Protest and without Organization: Peasant Opposition to the Islamic Zakat and the Christian Tithe”. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29, no. 3 (July 1987): 417–52.
- Shamsul A.B. “Religion and Ethnic Politics in Malaysia”. In *Asian Visions of Authority: Religion and the Modern States of East and Southeast Asia*, edited by Charles Keyes, Laurel Kendall, and Helen Hardcores. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.
- Sheila Nair. “Constructing Civil Society in Malaysia: Nationalism, Hegemony and Resistance”. In *Malaysian Studies I: Rethinking Malaysia*, edited by Jomo K.S. Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Social Science Association, 1999.
- Shen, Ting 沈亭. *Bilizhou Huawen Duzhong Fuxingshi* 吡叻州华文独中复兴史 [History of the Perak independent Chinese secondary schools revival movement]. Perak: Perak Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 吡叻州独中工委, 1975.
- Shevtsova, Liliia Fedorovna and Mark Eckert. “Russia’s Hybrid Regime”. *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 4 (October 2001): 65–70.
- Sia, Keng Yek. *S.R.J.K. (Cina) Dalam Sistem Pendidikan Kebangsaan: Dilema dan Kontroversi* [Chinese primary schools in the national education system: Dilemmas and controversies]. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit University Malaya, 2005.
- Silcock, Thomas and Ungku Abdul Aziz. “Nationalism in Malaya”. In *Asian Nationalism and the West: A Symposium Based on Documents and Reports of the Eleventh Conference Institute of Pacific Relations*, edited by William Holland. New York: Octagon, 1953.
- Sinchew Daily* 星洲日报. “Fenni Jiaoyu Diaochatuan De Ketì” 芬尼教育调查团的课题 [Topics related to the Fenn-Wu education survey committee]. 8 July 1951.
- . “Huaxiao Yuwen Yu Jiaocai Wenti: Sanlun Fenni Wudeyao Huawen Jiaoyu Baogaoshu” 华校语文与教材问题：三论芬尼吴德耀华文教育报告书

- [Problems on Chinese schools' medium of teaching and teaching materials: The third discussion on Fenn-Wu Education Report on Chinese Education]. 10 July 1951.
- . “Huajiao Jiaoyu Jichu De Tantaoyao” 华教教育基础的探讨 [Exploration on the foundation of Chinese education]. 31 October 1954.
- . “Wanjiu Lianhebang De Huaxiao Jiaoyu” 挽救联合邦的华校教育 [Saving the Chinese education in the Federation of Malaya]. 9 November 1954.
- . “Huajiao Dahui Bimu, Tongguo Cheng Beiwanglu Qing Lianmeng Mingnian Daxuan Zhenggang Jiang Huawen Liewei Guanfangyuyan” 华教大会闭幕, 通过呈备忘录请联盟明年大选政纲将华文列为官方语言 [Closing of the Chinese Education Convention, will submit a memorandum to the Alliance government to demand instating of Chinese language as an official language in the Alliance's election manifesto next year]. 23 September 1958.
- . “Dafu Binwei Gaoshi Jiaoshi Zhigonghui Fenhui Yijianshu” 答复槟威高师教师职工会分会意见书 [Response to Penang Senior Normal Graduate Schoolteachers Association's opinion letter]. 22 October 1962.
- . “Huajiao Gongzuo Weiyuanhui Yitongguo Huawen Daxue Mingcheng Dingwei Duli Daxue” 华教工作委员会会议通过华文大学名称定为独立大学 [Chinese Education Committee will name the new Chinese university as Merdeka University]. 25 February 1968.
- . “Pizhou Dongshi Lianhehui Yuezhong Jiang Huishang, Choumu Baiwanyuan Jijin Zhu Zhounei Duzhong Fazhan” 霹州董事联合会月中将会商, 筹募百万元基金助州内独中发展 [Perak Chinese School Committees' Association will raise financial aid to support development of independent Chinese secondary schools in the state]. 10 April 1975.
- . “Dongjiaozong Huyu Gejie Miqie Guanzhu Jiaoyubu Tuixing Zonghe Xuexiao Jihua” 董教总呼吁各界密切关注教育部推行综合学校计划 [Dongjiaozong calls the public to be vigilant on the Integration School Program introduced by the Ministry of Education]. 9 August 1985.
- . “Tiaopan Butiao Chuxian Xiaoliwai: Jiaoyu Wenti Bei Yanbianwei Zhongzu Jiufen, Bingzhou Maqing Baojing Yaozhuo Shandong Fenzi” 挑畔布条出现校篱外: 教育问题被演变为种族纠纷, 槟州马青报警要捉煽动份子 [Banners with provoking messages are hung outside schools: Penang Branch of Malaysian Chinese Association Youth files police report to arrest provoking parties]. 16 October 1987.
- . “Xinshan Liutai Tongxuehui, Zhichi Liutaisheng Canxuan” 新山留台同学会, 支持留台生参选 [Johore Bahru Taiwanese Universities Graduates Association supports formal Taiwanese Universities graduates to contest in the general elections]. 7 August 1990.
- . “Linhuangsheng Deng 27 Ren Jiaru Xingdongdang” 林晃升等27人加入行动党 [Lim Fong Seng and twenty-seven individuals joined Democratic Action Party]. 8 August 1990.

- . “Kejiaxun: Duoming Huatuan Renshi Youyi Canzheng, Zhizai Xiezhuzhuangda Fanduidang, Foujue Guozhen Sanfener Xiwei” 柯嘉逊: 多名华团人士有意参政, 旨在协助壮大反对党, 否决国阵三分二席位 [Kua Kia Soong: Many individuals from the Chinese guilds and associations have indicated their interest to participate in politics in order to strengthen the opposition parties and to reject Barisan Nasional’s two thirds majority in the parliament]. 9 August 1990.
- . “Linhuangsheng Chengren Dangnian Neianling Xia Beikou, Shi Jueding Canzheng Cuihuaji, Gengzhuyao Yuanyin: Tuidong Liangxianzhi Shixian” 林晃升承认当年内安令下被扣, 是决定参政催化剂, 更主要原因: 推动两线制实现 [Lim Fong Seng admits that being arrested under the Internal Security Act has motivated him to participate in politics, more importantly he wants to mobilize the formation of a dual coalition system]. 17 August 1990.
- . “Linhuangsheng Biaoming You Xingdongdang Jueting Shifou Chulai Jingxuan, Weiba Dongjiaozong Zhaopai Guazai Shenshang” 林晃升表明由行动党决定是否出来竞选, 未把董教总招牌挂在身上 [Lim Fong Seng clarifies that he did not exploit *Dongjiaozong* for personal political gain and will follow the decision of Democratic Action Party about his possibility to contest in the general elections]. 18 August 1990.
- . “Shenmuyu: Huatuan Renshi Canzheng, Xiangzheng Yizhong Minzu Qiyi” 沈慕羽: 华团人士参政, 象征一种民族起义 [Sim Mow Yu: Participation of individuals from Chinese guilds and associations in politics can be perceived as an ethnic-based uprising]. 21 August 1990.
- . “Xiang Zhengfu Zhengqu Zizhu Ji Tigong Jiaoxue Xunlian: Dongzong Yaoqiu Mahua Zhu Duzhong” 向政府争取资助及提供教学训练: 董总要求马华助独中 [United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia requests Malaysian Chinese Association to assist independent Chinese secondary school in securing financial aid and teachers trainings assistance from the government]. 16 October 1991.
- . “Jianli Wengu De Xieshang Jichu” 建立稳固的协商基础 [Formation of a strong and dependable foundation for negotiation]. 17 October 1991.
- . “Zhengqu Quanyi, Lajin Zhengdang Guanxi, Dongzong Gai Paodao Xieshang Luxian” 争取权益, 拉近政党关系, 董总改跑道协商路线 [United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia adopts negotiation approach, closer ties with political parties to secure benefits]. 20 October 1991.
- . “Lixing Huaxiao Ling 14 Ming Zanzhuren Buchengren Xindongshihui” 力行华小另14名赞助人不承认新董事会 [Fourteen school sponsors from Lick Hung Chinese Primary School refused to acknowledge the new school committee]. 5 May 1992.
- . “Lutingyu Yi Lixing Huaxiao Shijian Weili Yu Quanguo Huaxiao Dongshibu Guanzhu Mingcheng Shifou Youbian” 陆庭谕以力行华小事件为例吁全国

- 华小董事部关注名称是否有变 [Loot Ting Yee uses the Lick Hung Chinese Primary School as an example to remind all Chinese school committees to check if the status and name of their organization has changed]. 6 May 1992.
- . “Lixing Huaxiao Dongshibu Renwei Wuxu Zaikai Zanzhu Dahui Yimian Zhengzhi Jinyibu Hunluan” 力行华小董事部认为无需再开赞助大会以免争执进一步混乱 [To avoid further disputes and confusion, the school committee of Lick Hung Chinese Primary School will not host another school sponsors meeting]. 17 May 1992.
- . “Buman Huaxiao Dongshibu Bian Caiwu Xiaozu Dongzong Yu Mahua Minzheng Quebao Huaxiao Bubianzhi” 不满华小董事部变财务小组董总吁马华民政确保华小不变质 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia is dissatisfied with the replacement of school committee by financial management committee and requests Malaysian Chinese Association and Malaysian People's Movement Party to protect the original identity of Chinese schools]. 27 July 1992.
- . “Jijian Huaxiao Dongshihui Yibiancheng Caiwu Xiaozu? Fengzhenan Jinxing Diaocha” 几间华小董事会以变成财务小组? 冯镇安进行调查 [Fong Chan Onn will investigate how many Chinese primary school's school committee have been replaced by financial management committee]. 28 July 1992.
- . “Lixing Shijian Shi Daohuoxian Zhiyi, Jingxuan Sendonglian Zhuxi Huhuoshan Xishuo Yuanwei” 力行事件是导火线之一, 竞选森董联主席, 胡火山细说原委 [Hoo Huo Shan explains that Lick Hung controversy was one of the motivations for him to compete in the Negeri Sembilan Chinese School Committees' Association's chairmanship election]. 12 April 1994.
- . “Sendonglianhui Gaixuan Jin Yiren Luobai, Chensongshengpai Jihuo Quansheng Huhuoshan Yi Zuidifen Depiao Jishen Chuxuan Lishi” 森董联会改选仅一人落败, 陈松生派几获全胜胡火山以最低分得票跻身初选理事 [Only one person lost in the election of Negeri Sembilan Chinese School Committees' Association, Chin Choong Sang's fraction won almost all contested positions, Hoo Huo Shan entered the committee with the least votes]. 25 April 1994.
- . “Jiaozong Mubiao Buhui Gaibian, Wangchaoqun Ni Gongzuo Fangzhen” 教总目标不会改变, 王超群拟工作方针 [Objectives of United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia will not change, Ong Kow Ee will identify new working direction]. 30 May 1994.
- . “Fengzhenan: Shu Dongshibu Zhuquan, Huaxiao Shitang Yizhao Chuantong Zhaobiao” 冯镇安: 属董事部主权, 华小食堂依照传统招标 [Fong Chan Onn: Rental rights of school canteen belongs to the school committee]. 3 November 1998.
- . “Wufa Zantong Tichu Shiji Ji Biaoda Fangshi, Shanglianhui Buqian Suqiu” 无法赞同提出时机及表达方式, 商联会不签诉求 [United Chinese Chambers of Commerce Association will not sign the Malaysian Chinese Organisations']

- Election Appeals as the association disagrees with the approach and timing of the appeals were presented]. 27 August 1999.
- . “Buhui Naru Huazong Jianyi, Suqiu Neirong Buxiugai” 不会纳入华总建议, 诉求内容不修改 [Will not include suggestions proposed by Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia, contents of the Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals will not be amended]. 29 August 1999.
- . “Xuelonghangzong Buqian Suqiu, Yu Shuxia Tuanti Bufa Yizhi” 雪隆行总不签诉求, 吁属下团体步伐一致 [Selangor and Kuala Lumpur Occupational Associations refused to endorse the Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals]. 14 September 1999.
- . “Yu Neige Xiaozu Jiaoliu Qude Chengguo, Suqiu Gongweihui Gan Xinwei” 与内阁小组交流取得成果, 诉求工委会感欣慰 [The Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee is satisfied with the fruitful outcomes from the seminar with Cabinet subcommittee]. 24 September 1999.
- . “Gongweihui Shangxin Neirong Beiqujie, Bushouhui Suqiu Bu Daoqian” 工委会伤心内容被曲解, 不收回诉求不道歉 [The committee is saddened with the misinterpretation of the appeals but insists that they will not apologize or revoke the appeals]. 19 August 2000*a*.
- . “Kangyi Suqiu Qingxujiang, Wuqing Xuehuatangwai Shiwei” 抗议诉求情绪将, 巫青雪华堂外示威 [United Malays National Organisation Youth protested outside the Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall and accused the Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals for triggering sensitive issues]. 19 August 2000*b*.
- . “Wuqing Xian Huatuan Yizhounei Feichu Suqiu Daoqian” 巫青限华团一周内废除诉求道歉 [United Malays National Organisation Youth requests the Chinese guilds and associations to withdraw the appeals and apologize within one week]. 19 August 2000*c*.
- . “Caitianqiang: Liyong Tequan Wenti, Wutong Zhuanyi Renmin Shixian” 蔡添强: 利用特权问题, 巫统转移人民视线 [Chua Tian Chang: United Malays National Organisation is using the special rights issues to divert people's attention]. 20 August 2000*a*.
- . “Mahua Tiaojieren Juese Bucunzai, Chenguangcai: Huatuan Wuxu Daoqian” 马华调解人角色不存在, 陈广才: 华团无须道歉 [Chan Kong Choy: No broker from Malaysian Chinese Association, there is no need for the Chinese guilds and associations to apologize]. 20 August 2000*b*.
- . “Wuqing Baoan Zhisuqiu Shandong, Wengshijie: Gongweihui Ruo Ganshou Weixie Kebaojing” 巫青报案指诉求煽动, 翁诗杰: 工委会若感受威胁可报警 [United Malays National Organisation Youth filed police report and accused the Malaysian Chinese Organisations' Election Appeals Committee for offending the Sedition Act, Ong Tee Keat comments that if the committee felt threatened they can also report to the police]. 20 August 2000*c*.

- . “Zhendui Wuqingtuan Xingdong, Xuehuatuan Shengan Yihan” 针对巫青团行动, 雪华团深感遗憾 [Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall is deeply repentant by the actions of United Malays National Organisation Youth]. 20 August 2000*d*.
- . “Gongweihui Jushouhui Suqiu, Layishi: Han Zhengzhi Yitu” 工委拒收回诉求, 拉益士: 含政治意图 [Rais: Political intension is the main reason for the committee to refuse revoking the appeals]. 21 August 2000*a*.
- . “Wuqing Kouhao Ju Weixixing, Suqiu Gongweihui Xiang Jingfang Beian” 巫青口号具威胁性, 诉求工委向警方备案 [The committee files police report as slogans posted by United Malays National Organisation Youth are threatening]. 21 August 2000*b*.
- . “Zhi Wuqing Yinqi Jinzhang Jushi, Huazong Yaoqiu Fukui Chashou” 指巫青引起紧张局势, 华总要求副揆插手 [Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia requests intervention from the deputy prime minister]. 21 August 2000*c*.
- . “Renmin Songhualan, Shengyuan 2 Tuanti” 人民送花篮, 声援2团体 [Support from the people for the two organizations]. 22 August 2000.
- . “Jianyi She Tuanjie Zilihui, Jiejue Gezu Maodun Zhengduan” 建议设团结咨理会, 解决各族矛盾争端 [Form a unity advisory committee to solve conflicts between ethnic groups]. 23 August 2000.
- . “Zhendui Hongyuan Xuexiao Jihua, Jiaozhang Yuanyu Dongzong Huitan” 针对宏愿学校计划, 教长愿与董教总会谈 [Minister of Education is willing to discuss the Vision Schools project with *Dongjiaozong*]. 21 November 2000.
- . “Linliangshi: Jiyu Zhengdang Shijian Diaocha, Neige Weishang Yingyu Jiao Shuli” 林良实: 给予政党时间调查, 内阁未商英语教数理 [Lim Liong Sik: The Cabinet is providing time for the political parties to conduct research on the issue of teaching of Science and Mathematics in English]. 8 August 2002.
- . “Huaji Zhengdang Jianyi Tuixing 2-3-3 Fangchengshi, Huaxiao Shang 8 Jie Yingyu Jiaodao Kemu” 华基政党建议推行2-3-3方程式, 华小上8节英语教导科目 [Chinese based political parties suggest to implement a 2-3-3 formula, Chinese primary schools will have eight periods of classes using English to teach the subjects]. 10 October 2002.
- . “Binhuaxiao Shitang Zhaobiaoquan Beiduo, Jiao Xianjiaoyuju Chuli, Donglianhui Fandui” 槟华小食堂招标权被夺, 交县教育局处理, 董联会反对 [Penang Chinese School Committees' Association objects the involvement of district education department to manage the school canteen rental rights controversy]. 9 September 2004.
- . “Mahuagonghui Fenglong Jiang Choukuan 300 Wan, Xinjiyuan Xinxiao Niannei Donggong” 马华公会丰隆将筹款300万, 新纪元新校年内动工 [Malaysian Chinese Association and Hong Leong will collect a donation of

- RM3 million, New Era College's new campus will be constructed within this year]. 20 February 2008.
- . "2012 Nian Yingyu Jiaoshuli Feichu" 2012年英语教数理废除 [Abolishment of the teaching of Science and Mathematics subjects in English by 2012]. 9 July 2009.
- . "Zanyang Zhiduhua Bokuan Duzhong, Xiaoyou Lianzong Kending Bingzhengfu" 赞扬制度化拨款独中, 校友联总肯定檳政府 [United Chinese School Alumni Association complements Penang state government for institutionalized financial aid for the independent Chinese secondary schools]. 25 April 2010.
- Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- . "Bringing the State Back in: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research". In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Smelser, Neil. *Theory of Collective Behavior*. New York: Free Press, 1963.
- Smith, Anthony. "State-Making and Nation-Building". In *States in History*, edited by John Hall. New York: Blackwell, 1986.
- Smith, Jackie. *Social Movements for Global Democracy*. Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Snow, David, E. Burke Rochford Jr., Steven Worden, and Robert Benford. "Frame Alignment Processes, Micro Mobilization and Movement Participation". *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 4 (August 1986): 464–81.
- Snow, David and Robert Benford. "Ideology, Frame Resonance and Participant Mobilization". *International Social Movement Research* 1 (1988): 197–217.
- . "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest". In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Snyder, David and Charles Tilly. "Hardship and Collective Violence in France, 1830–1960". *American Sociological Review* 37 (1972): 520–32.
- Springhall, John. *Decolonization Since 1945: The Collapse of European Overseas Empires*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.
- Staggenborg, Suzanne. "The 'Meso' in Social Movement Research". In *Social Movements: Identity, Culture and the State*, edited by David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Star. "Encouraging Response to First Vision School Project". 25 May 2002.
- . "Sepang Picked As Site of New Era College". 20 February 2008 <<http://www.thestar.com.my/Story.aspx?file=%2F2008%2F2%2F20%2Felection2008%2F20382065&sec=Election2008>> (accessed 2 September 2013).
- Steinberg, Marc. "The Talk and Back Talk of Collective Action: A Dialogic Analysis of Repertoires of Discourse among Nineteenth-Century English Cotton Spinners". *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 3 (1999): 736–80.

- Stenson, Michael. *Industrial Conflict in Malaya: Prelude to the Communist Revolt of 1948*. London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Stockwell, A.J. "Imperialism and Nationalism in South East Asia". In *The Oxford History of the British Empire*. Vol. 4 of the Twentieth Century, edited by Judith Brown and William Roger Louis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Straits Times*. "Kuala Lumpur Rally Poses Challenge to Leading Indian Party". 26 November 2007.
- Sun*. "Hishamuddin: Dong Jiao Zong Needs to Change". 24 March 2009.
- Tan, Ai Mei 陈爱梅. *Dama Huaxiao Zouxiang Hefang: Cong Dongxiao Fengbo Kan Huaxiao Jianglai De Fazhan* 大马华小走向何方: 从董校风波看华小将来的发展 [The future of Chinese primary schools in Malaysia]. Selangor: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre 策略资讯与社会研究中心, 2006.
- Tan, Beng Hui and Ng Choon Sim Cecilia. "Embracing the Challenge of Representation: The Women's Movement and Electoral Politics in Malaysia". In *New Politics in Malaysia*, edited by Loh Kok Wah Francis and Johan Saravanamuttu. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 2001.
- Tan, Jun E and Zawawi Ibrahim. *Blogging and Democratization in Malaysia: A New Civil Society in the Making*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2008.
- Tan, Kevin. "PM Likens Suqiu's Actions to Communists and Al-Ma'unah". *Malysiakini*, 30 August 2000 <<http://www.malysiakini.com/news/465>> (accessed 13 October 2013).
- Tan, Kim Hong. *The Chinese in Penang: A Pictorial History*. Penang: Areca, 2007.
- Tan, Lee Ooi. *Dinamik Ruang Siber dalam Gerakan Reformasi di Malaysia* [The roles of dynamic cyber space in Malaysia's reformasi movement]. Selangor: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2010.
- Tan, Liok Ee. "Politics of Chinese Education in Malaya, 1945–1961". Ph.D. dissertation, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Malaya, 1985.
- . "Tan Cheng Lock and the Chinese Education Issue in Malaya". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19, no. 1 (1988): 48–61.
- . *The Politics of Chinese Education in Malaya, 1945–1961*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Tan, Nathaniel and John Lee, eds. *Political Tsunami: An End to Hegemony in Malaysia?* Kuala Lumpur: Kinibooks, 2008.
- Tan, Seng Giaw. *The First 60 Days: The 27th October ISA Arrests*. Petaling Jaya: Democratic Action Party, 1989.
- Tan, Yao Sua. *Politik Dongjiaozong dalam Pendidikan Vernakular Cina di Semenanjung Malaysia, 1960–1982* [Politics of Dongjiaozong in vernacular Chinese education in Peninsula Malaysia 1960–1982]. Pulau Pinang: Penerbit Universiti Sains Malaysia, 2005.

- Tang, Tze Ying 陈子鸚. “Malaixiya Huawen Zhongxue Gaizhi: Wangyongnian yu Zhongling Zhongxue Weili” 马来西亚华文中学改制: 汪永年与钟灵中学为例 [Conversion of Chinese secondary schools in Malaysia: An example of Wang Yong Nian and Chung Ling High School]. Master's thesis, Graduate School of Southeast Asian Studies, National Chi Nan University, Taiwan, 2004.
- Tarrow, Sidney. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Tay, Lian Soo 郑良树. “Dulihou Huawen Jiaoyu” 独立后华文教育 [Chinese education after independence]. In *Malaixiya Huarenshi Xinbian Dierce* 马来西亚华人史新编第二册 [History of Malaysian Chinese new edition 2], edited by Lin Chooi Kwa 林水濠, Ho Khai Leong 何启良, Hou Kok Chung 何国忠, and Lai Kuan Fook 赖观福. Kuala Lumpur: Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia 马来西亚中华大会堂总会, 1998a.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu Fazhanshi* 马来西亚华文教育发展史 [History of Chinese education in Malaysia] 1. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1998b.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu Fazhanshi* 马来西亚华文教育发展史 [History of Chinese education in Malaysia] 2. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1998c.
- . *Malaixiya Huashe Wenshi Lunji* 马来西亚华社文史论集 [History of Chinese community in Malaysia]. Johore: Southern College 南方学院, 1999.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu Fazhanshi* 马来西亚华文教育发展史 [History of Chinese education in Malaysia] 3. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2001.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu Fazhanshi* 马来西亚华文教育发展史 [History of Chinese education in Malaysia] 4. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2003.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu Fazhan Jianshi* 马来西亚华文教育发展简史 [Simplified history of Chinese education development in Malaysia]. Johore: Southern College 南方学院, 2005.
- Teoh, Ai Ling. “Pertubuhan Dong Zong: Struktur dan Fungsi” [Organization of Dong Zong: Structures and functions]. Master's thesis, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1999.
- Thelen, Kathleen. “Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics”. *The Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 381–99.
- . *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States and Japan*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Thock, Kiah Wah 祝家华. “Cong Nahan, Panghuang Dao Fanpan: Pingdeng De Mengmo” 从呐喊, 彷徨到反叛: 平等的梦魇 [From frustration, hesitation to rebellion: The nightmares of just]. In *Dangdai Dama Huaren Zhengzhi Shengsi* 当代大马华人政治省思 [Contemporary political reflections of Chinese in

- Malaysia], edited by Ho Khai Leong 何启良. Kuala Lumpur: Huazi Resource and Research Centre, 1994a.
- . *Jiegou Zhengzhi Shenhua Dama Liangxian Zhengzhi De Pingxi 1985–1992* 解构政治神话: 大马两线政治的评析 1985–1992 [Analysis of the dual political alliance in Malaysia 1985–1992]. Kuala Lumpur: Huazi Resource and Research Centre, 1994b.
- Thomas, Clive, ed. *Political Parties and Interest Groups: Shaping Democratic Governance*. Boulder: L. Rienner, 2001.
- Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1978.
- . *The Contentious French: Four Centuries of Popular Struggle*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- . *Popular Contention in Great Britain 1785–1834*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- . *Social Movements 1768–2004*. Boulder: Paradigm, 2004.
- Tongbao* 通报. “Zhiyou Tuanjie, Huaren Cai Youdejui, Shenmuyu Canjia Dahui Yuanyou Ji Yanjiang” 只有团结, 华人才有得救, 沈慕羽参加大会缘由及演讲 [Chinese can survive if they are united, the reason for Sim Mow Yu to speak and participate in the convention]. 9 February 1971.
- . “Zhuangdijun Tan Huajiao Renshi Canzheng, Xubanyan Jiding Juese, Dongjiaozong Buyi Chanzheng” 庄迪君谈华教人士参政, 须扮演既定角色, 董教总不宜参政 [Thuang Pik King: United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia needs to perform its established role and therefore is not suited to participate in politics]. 7 August 1990.
- Torii, Takashi. “The Mechanism for State-led Creation of Malaysia’s Middle Classes”. *The Developing Economies* XLI, no. 2 (June 2003): 221–42.
- Touraine, Alain. *The Return of the Actor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.
- Truman, David. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- UCSCAM (United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia 马来西亚华校董事联合会总会). *Dongzong Huixun* 董总会讯 [United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia Newsletter]. 15 March 1987a <[http://www.djz.edu.my/v2/daobao/hui%20xun%20\(1987-03-15\).pdf](http://www.djz.edu.my/v2/daobao/hui%20xun%20(1987-03-15).pdf)> (accessed 8 September 2013).
- . *Dongzong Sanshinian* 董总卅年 [United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia’s thirtieth anniversary magazine] 1. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia, 1987b.
- . *Dongzong Sanshinian* 董总卅年 [United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia’s thirtieth anniversary magazine] 2. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia, 1987c.
- . *Dongzong Sanshinian* 董总卅年 [United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia’s thirtieth anniversary magazine] 3. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees’ Association of Malaysia, 1987d.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1987 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1987年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1987 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1988.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1988 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1988年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1988 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1989.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1989 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1989年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1989 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1990.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1990 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1990年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1990 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1991.
- . *Malaixiya De Huawen Jiaoyu Diyiqi Zhi Dibaqi Hedingben* 马来西亚的华文教育第一期至第八期合订本 [Bound edition of Chinese education in Malaysia 8 vols.]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1992a–2008.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Duli Zhongxue Ziliao Diaocha Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华文独立中学资料调查报告书 [Survey report on independent Chinese secondary schools in Malaysia]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1992b.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1991 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1991年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1991 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1992c.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1992 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1992年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1992 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1993.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1993 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1993年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1993 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1994.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1994 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1994年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1994 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1995.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1995 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1995年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1995 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1996.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1996 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1996年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1996 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1997.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1997 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1997年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1997 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1998.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1998 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会董教总 华文独中发展工作委员会1998年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1998 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1999.
- . *Jianjue Fandui Hongyuan Xuexiao Jihua* 坚决反对宏愿学校计划 [Determined opposition on the Vision Schools Program]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2000a.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 1999 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会1999年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 1999 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2000b.
- . *Fengyun Jidang Yibaibashinian: Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu Tupianji* 风云激荡一百八十年: 马来西亚华文教育图片集 [180 years of history: Pictorial collection of Chinese education in Malaysia]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2001a.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2000 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2000年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2000 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2001b.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2001 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2001年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2001 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2002a.
- . *Shinian Huajiao Qingyuan, 1991–2001 Shinian Juanxian Dongjiaozong Jiaoyu Zhongxin Jijin Xinjiyuan Jianshe Yufazhan Jijin Zhengxinlu* 十年华教情缘, 1991–2001十年捐献董教总教育中心基金新纪元建设与发展基金征信录 [List of donors who donated to *Dongjiaozong* Higher Learning Center and New Era College Development Fund from 1991 to 2001]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2002b.
- . *Malaixiya De Huawen Jiaoyu Yundong: Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu 184 Nian Jianshi 1819–2003* 马来西亚的华文教育运动: 马来西亚华文教育184年

- 简史 1819–2003 [Simplified history of Chinese education movement in Malaysia 1819–2003]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2003a.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2002 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2002年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2002 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2003b.
- . *Dongzong 50 Nian Tekan: 1954–2004* 董总50年特刊: 1954–2004 [Commemoration magazine of United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia's fiftieth anniversary: 1954–2004]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2004a.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu* 马来西亚华文教育 [Chinese education in Malaysia]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2004b.
- . *Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu* 马来西亚华文教育 [Malaysia Chinese education] 1 (June 2004c).
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2003 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2003年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2003 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2004d.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2004 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2004年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2004 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2005.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2005 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2005年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2005 annual working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2006a.
- . “Zhendui Meiti Baodao Quanguo Xiaozhang Zhigonghui Maliujia Fenhui Zhuxi Yangqingliang Xiaozhang Biaoshi ‘Yuqing Dongzong Tingzhi Zaixuexiao Shitang Zhaobiao Yishishang, Daya He Weinan Xiaozhang’ De Tanhua Fabio

- Wengao” 针对媒体报导全国校长职工会马六甲分会主席杨清亮校长表示“吁请董总停止在学校食堂招标一事上, 打压和为难校长”的谈话发表文告 [Press statement in response to National Union of Heads of Schools Malacca Branch's Deputy Chairman Yang Qing Liang's comments on 'United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia should stop oppressing school principals and deliberately making things difficult for school principals on the issue of the rental rights of school canteens']. 19 February 2006b.
- . “Youguan Dongzong Yu Jiaozong Guanxi De Wengao” 有关董总与教总关系的文告 [Press statement on the relationship between United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia]. 14 October 2006c.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2006 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2006年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2006 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2007.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2007 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2007年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2007 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2008a.
- . “United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia Statement of Income and Expenditure for the Year Ended 31 December 2008”. Office document. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2008b.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2008 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2008年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2008 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2009.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2009 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2009年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2009 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2010.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2010 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2010年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2010 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2011.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Dongshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Huawen Duzhong Fazhan Gongzuo Weiyuanhui 2011 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校董事会总会 董教总华文独中发展工作委员会2011年工作报告书 [United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Independent Chinese Secondary Schools Working Committee 2011 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2012.
- UCSCAM et al. (United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia 马来西亚华校董事联合会总会, United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 马来西亚华校教师会总会, Federation of Alumni Associations of Taiwan Universities of Malaysia 马来西亚留台校友会联合会总会, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Malaya 马来亚南大校友会, United Chinese School Alumni Association 华校校友会联合会总会, Malaysian Seven Major Clans Associations 七大乡团协调委员会, and Federation of Chinese Associations Malaysia 马来西亚中华大会堂总会). "Huifu Yi Muyu Zuowei Xiaoxue Shulike Jiaoxue Meijieyu Beiwanglu" 恢复以母语作为小学数理科教学媒介语备忘录 [Memorandum to revert the teaching of Mathematics and Science subjects at primary schools using mother tongue]. Memorandum submitted to the Deputy Prime Minister cum Minister of Education. 26 May 2009.
- UCSCAM et al. (United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia 马来西亚华校董事联合会总会, United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 马来西亚华校教师会总会, Selangor Chinese Assembly Hall 雪兰莪中华大会堂, Nanyang University Alumni Association of Malaya 马来亚南大校友会, and Federation of Alumni Associations of Taiwan Universities of Malaysia 马来西亚留台校友会联合会总会). "Dui 1990 Nian Jiaoyu Faling Caoan De Xiugai Jianyi" 对1990年教育法令草案的修改建议 [Proposals on the Draft of 1990 Education Act]. Proposal submitted to Education Act Advisory Council. 7 March 1991.
- UCSTAM (United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaya/Malaysia 马来(西)亚华校教师会总会). "Lianhebang Huaxiao Jiaoshi Zonghui Xuanyan" 联合邦华校教师总会宣言 [Declaration of United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaya]. Unpublished document. 3 February 1952a.
- . "Quanma Huaxiao Dongjiao Ji Mahua Daibiao Dierci Lianxi Huiyi Jilu 1952" 全马华校董教及马华代表第二次联席会议记录 1952 [Meeting minutes of the Second Joint Conference of Chinese School Committees and

- Chinese Schoolteachers Representatives with Malayan Chinese Association Representatives 1952]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaya, 1952*b*.
- . “Jiaozong Fandui Gai Fangyuan Xuexiao Wei Guomin Xuexiao Xuanyan” 教总反对改方言学校为国民学校宣言 [Memorandum submitted by the United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaya in opposition of the conversion of vernacular schools into national schools]. Unpublished document. 18 October 1954.
- . *Jiaoshi Zazhi Duli Daxue Zhuanhao* 教师杂志独立大学专号 [Teacher's Journal Special edition on Merdeka University] (1968).
- . *Jiaoshi Zazhi* 教师杂志 [Teacher's Journal] 10, no. 1 (1975).
- . *Jiaoshi Zazhi* 教师杂志 [Teacher's Journal] 11, no. 2 (1976).
- . *Jiaozong Chengli Sanshisian Nian Huawen Jiaoyu Shiliao* 教总成立三十三年: 华文教育史料 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia's thirty-third anniversary: Collection of materials on Chinese education] 1. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1983*a*.
- . *Jiaozong Chengli Sanshisian Nian Huawen Jiaoyu Shiliao* 教总成立三十三年: 华文教育史料 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia's thirty-third anniversary: Collection of materials on Chinese education] 2. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1983*b*.
- . *Jiaozong Chengli Sanshisian Nian Huawen Jiaoyu Shiliao* 教总成立三十三年: 华文教育史料 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia's thirty-third anniversary: Collection of materials on Chinese education] 3. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1983*c*.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1986 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会董教总全国发展华小工委1986年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1986 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1987*a*.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Qingzhu 33 Zhounian Jinian Tekan* 马来西亚华校教师会总会庆祝33周年纪念特刊 [Commemoration magazine of United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia's thirty-third anniversary]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaya, 1987*b*.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui 1987 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会1987年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 1987 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1988.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui 1988 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会1988年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 1988 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1989.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui 1989 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会1989年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 1989 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1990.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui 1990 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会1990年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 1990 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1991.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui 1991 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会1991年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 1991 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1992.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui 1992 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会1992年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia 1992 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1993.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1993 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会董教总全国发展华小工委1993年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and Dongjiaozong Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1993 working report]. Kuala Lumpur: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1994.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1994 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会董教总全国发展华小工委1994年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and Dongjiaozong Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1994 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1995.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1995 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会董教总全国发展华小工委1995年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and Dongjiaozong Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1995 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1996.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1996 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会董教总全国发展华小工委1996年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and Dongjiaozong Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1996 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1997.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1997 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委1997年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1997 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1998.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1998 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委1998年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1998 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 1999.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 1999 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委1999年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 1999 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2000.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2000 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2000年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2000 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2001.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2001 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2001年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2001 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2002.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2002 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2002年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2002 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2003.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2003 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2003年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2003 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2004.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2004 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2004年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2004 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2005.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2005 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2005年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2005 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2006.
- . “30 Ren Huo Yixia De Weixing Huaxiao Diaocha Baogao” 30人或以下的微型华小调查报告 [Survey report on Chinese schools with less than thirty students]. Office document. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2007a.
- . “Huaxiao Jianxiao, Qianxiao He Weixing Huaxiao Ziliaoji” 华小建校、迁校和微型华小资料集 [Collection of information on constructions and relocations of Chinese primary schools and schools with less than thirty students]. Office document. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2007b.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2006 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2006年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Development Working Committee 2006 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2007c.
- . “Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huawen Xiaoxue Gongzuo Weiyuanhui Jianzhang” 董教总全国发展华文小学工作委员会简章 [Simplified constitution of *Dongjiaozong* National Chinese Primary Schools Development Working Committee]. Office document. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2008a.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2007 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2007年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2007 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2008b.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2008 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委2008年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2008 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2009.

- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2009 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委会2009年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2009 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2010.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2010 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委会2010年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2010 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2011.
- . *Malaixiya Huaxiao Jiaoshihui Zonghui Dongjiaozong Quanguo Fazhan Huaxiao Gongweihui 2011 Nian Gongzuo Baogaoshu* 马来西亚华校教师会总会 董教总全国发展华小工委会2011年工作报告书 [United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia and *Dongjiaozong* Chinese Primary Schools Working Committee 2011 working report]. Selangor: United Chinese Schoolteachers' Association of Malaysia, 2012.
- Utusan Malaysia*, "Program Sekolah Integrasi" [Integration school program]. 7 August 1985.
- . "Jangan Personal Hak Istimewa Melayu-Aziz" [Aziz: Do not question the special rights of the Malay]. 18 August 2000*a*.
- . "Kerajaan Tidak Akan Berundur Walau Satu Langkah Pun, PM: Hak Melayu Dipertahan" [Prime Minister: The government will defend the Malay rights]. 18 August 2000*b*.
- . "Mencabar Kewibawaan Melayu" [Challenging the Malay authority]. 18 August 2000*c*.
- . "Najib: Jangan Bermain Api Perkauman" [Najib: Do not play with fire on ethnic related issues]. 18 August 2000*d*.
- . "Rakyat Berhak Membuat Tuntutan-Hadi" [Hadi: The people have the right to make claims]. 18 August 2000*e*.
- . "Hak Melayu: Usah Lupa Sejarah" [Malay rights: Do not forget the past]. Headlines. 19 August 2000*a*.
- . "Hentikan Kenyataan Jejas Keharmonian" [Stop all statements that will disrupt harmony]. 19 August 2000*b*.
- . "Pelbagai Pihak Mahu Kerajaan Mempertahankan Hak Melayu" [Multiple parties requested the government to defend the Malay rights]. 19 August 2000*c*.
- . "Rafidah: Jangan Lagi Persoalkan Isu Perkauman" [Rafidah: Stop questioning ethnic related issues]. 19 August 2000*d*.
- . "Gerakan Sokong Hak Keistimewaan Orang Melayu" [Movement to support Malay special rights]. 20 August 2000*a*.
- . "PM: Hak Melayu Ditahan" [Prime Minister: Malay rights are being held hostage]. 20 August 2000*b*.

- . “Hak Melayu Tetap Dipertahan Selagi UMNO Berkuasa” [Malay rights will be defended as long as United Malays National Organisation remains in power]. 21 August 2000*a*.
- . “Melayu Kini Dianggap Lemah” [Malays are perceived as weak]. 21 August 2000*b*.
- . “Melayu Rasa Terancam” [Malays feel threatened]. 21 August 2000*c*.
- . “Pertahankan Kuota Kemasukan Ke University” [Defending the quota for university enrolment]. 21 August 2000*d*.
- . “Tuntutan 17 Perkara Melampaui Batas” [The seventeen appeals exceeded boundaries]. 22 August 2000.
- . “PAS Tuduh Isu Hak Istimewa Melayu Lakonan” [PAS accused the Malay special rights issues as a performance]. 23 August 2000.
- Veltmeyer, Henry. *Civil Society and Social Movement: The Dynamics of Intersectoral Alliances and Urban-Rural Linkages in Latin America*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2004.
- Vlieland, C.A. *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census and on Certain Problems of Vital Statistics*. England and Malaya: Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies and Malayan Information Agency, 1932.
- von Vorys, Karl. *Democracy without Consensus: Communalism and Political Stability in Malaysia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Walker, Jack Jr. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Wang, Shiow Nan 王秀南. *Xingma Jiaoyu Fanlun 星马教育泛论* [On education in Malaysia and Singapore]. Singapore: Union Book 友联书局, 1970.
- Wazir Jahan Karim. *Women and Culture: Between Malay Adat and Islam*. San Francisco and Oxford: Westview, 1992.
- Weiss, Meredith. *Protest and Possibilities*. California: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Weiss, Meredith and Saliha Hassan, eds. *Social Movements in Malaysia*. New York: Taylor and Francis, 2003.
- Wilkinson, Paul. *Social Movement*. London: Paul Mall, 1971.
- Willford, Andrew. *Cage of Freedom: Tamil Identity and the Ethnic Fetish in Malaysia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.
- Wilson, John. *Introduction to Social Movement*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Wong, James Wing On. “Language Switch: Imminent UMNO and MCA-Gerakan Showdown”. *Malaysiakini*, 21 October 2002 <<http://www.malaysiakini.com/opinions/21904>> (accessed 9 September 2013).
- Wong, Loon. “The State and Organised Labour in West Malaysia”. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 23, no. 2 (1993): 214–37.
- Xie, Jing Jing 谢晶晶. “Yi Ganrao Gongzhong Dichu Yinshuafa Weiyou Jingfang Zutuijie Huangse Xingqiliu” 以干扰公众抵触印刷法为由警方阻推介黄色星期六 [Police stopped the launch of Yellow Saturday Campaign on the basis that it will cause public disturbance and it has violated the Printing Act]. *Merdeka Review*, 17 November 2007 <[http://www.merdekarereview.com/print\\_news.php?n=5388](http://www.merdekarereview.com/print_news.php?n=5388)> (accessed 2 September 2013).

- Xinwanbao* 新晚报. "Quanguo Huaxiao Yaobake, Xian Anhua 14 Tian Nei Jiejue" 全国华小要罢课, 限安华14天内解决 [All Chinese primary schools in Malaysia will participate in the strike, Anwar is given fourteen days to solve the problem]. 4 October 1987.
- Yau, Teck Kong 姚迪刚, ed. *Liutailianzong Tongxunlu 2008–2010* 留台联总通讯录 2008–2010 [Contacts directory of the Federation of Alumni Associations of Taiwan Universities of Malaysia 2008–2010]. Selangor: Federation of Alumni Associations of Taiwan Universities of Malaysia 马来西亚留台校友会联合会总会, 2008.
- YCSHEC (Yuk Choy School History Editorial Committee 百年育才校史编委会), ed. *Bainian Fengyun: Bainian Yucui Juaner* 百年风云: 百年育才卷二 [Challenges faced: History of Yuk Choy School 2]. Perak: School Committee of Yuk Choy High School 吡叻育才中学独立董事部, 2008.
- Yen, Ching Hwang. "Early Chinese Clan Organizations in Singapore and Malaya, 1819–1911". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 12, issue 1 (March 1981): 62–91.
- . "Historical Background". In *The Chinese in Malaysia*, edited by Lee Kam Hing and Tan Chee Beng. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Yeok, Kim Yew. "Education, National Identity and National Integration: A Survey of Secondary School Students of Chinese Origin in Urban Peninsular Malaysia". Ph.D. dissertation, California Stanford University, 1982.
- Zainal Abidin Ahmad. "Educational Reform and Ethnic Response: A Historical Study of the Development of a National System of Education in West Malaysia". Ph.D. dissertation, Los Angeles University of California, 1980.
- Zakaria Ahmad. "Malaysia: Quasi Democracy in a Divided Society". In *Democracy in Developing Countries: Asia* 3, edited by Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1989.
- Zald, Mayer. "Looking Backward to Look Forward: Reflections on the Past and Future of the Resource Mobilization Research Program". In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, edited by Carol Mueller and Aldon Morris. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Zald, Mayer and Roberta Ash. "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay and Change". In *Studies in Social Movements: A Social Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Barry McLaughlin. New York: Free Press, 1969.
- Zeng, Rong Cheng 曾荣盛 et al. *Malaixiya Fujianren Xingxue Banxiao Shiliaoji* 马来西亚福建人兴学办教史料集 [Collection of materials on the founding and maintaining of Chinese schools by Hokkien Chinese in Malaysia]. Kuala Lumpur: Federation of Hokkien Associations Malaysia 马来西亚福建社团联合会, 1993.
- Zhan, Yuan Duan 詹缘端. "Linhuangsheng, Malaixiya Huawen Jiaoyu De Wuming Yingxiong" 林晃升, 马来西亚华文教育的无名英雄 [Lim Fong Seng, the unknown hero of Chinese education movement]. In *Chuangye Yu Hugen*:

- Malaixiya Huaren Lishi Renwu Rushangpian* 创业与护根: 马来西亚华人历史与人物儒商篇 [Malaysian Chinese history and personalities: The entrepreneurial elites], edited by Lim Chooi Kwa 林水濠. Kuala Lumpur: Centre for Malaysian Chinese Studies, 2003.
- Zhang, Guo Hao 张国豪. "Yixiaocuo Xiaozhang Jiegu Xiang Dongzong Kaihuo De Muhou Yuanyn" 一小撮校长借故向董总‘开火’的幕后原因 [Hidden factors that prompt some school principals to attack the United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia]. *Merdeka Review*, 27 February 2006 <[http://www.merdeka.com/print\\_news.php?n=1260](http://www.merdeka.com/print_news.php?n=1260)> (accessed 4 September 2013).
- Zhang, Jing Liang 张景良, ed. *Memorandum Kebudayaan Kebangsaan Keluaran Khas (Bahasa Cina, Bahasa Inggeris dan Bahasa Malaysia)* 国家文化备忘录特辑: 华文、英文及国文 [Special edition on Memorandum on National Cultural Policy in Chinese, English, and Malay]. Kuala Lumpur: Fifteen Leading Chinese Guilds and Associations of Malaysia, 1983.
- Zhen, Gong 甄供, *Boxia Chunfeng Wanli: Bilizhou Huawen Duzhong Fuxing-yundong Jishi* 播下春风万里: 吡叻州华文独中复兴运动纪实 [Documentary of Perak independent Chinese secondary schools revival movement]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 1996.
- . *Huajiao Chunlei Linhuangsheng* 华教春雷林晃升 [Lim Fong Seng: The exceptional leader of Chinese education movement]. Selangor: United Chinese School Committees' Association of Malaysia, 2006.
- Zhuan, Zhao Sheng 庄兆声. *Malaixiya Jichu Jiaoyu* 马来西亚基础教育 [The fundamental education in Malaysia]. Guangzhou: Guangdong Jiaoyu 广东教育, 2004.
- Zirakzadeh, Cyrus. *Social Movements in Politics: A Comparative Study*. London: Longman, 1997.
- Zurcher, Louis and Russell Curtis. "A Comparative Analysis of Propositions Describing Social Movement Organizations". *The Sociological Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (Spring 1973): 175–88.

