

## References

### Books

- Castells, M. (2010). *The Rise of the Network Society* (Second ed.). Wiley.
- Castells, M. (2012). Changing the World in the Network Society. In *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Polity.
- Gunawan, I. (2013). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bumi Aksara.
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: advocacy networks in international politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1999). *Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics*.
- Lingens, S. (2022). *The Milk Tea Alliance*. Universiteit Leiden.
- McCarthy, D. R. (2015). Power and information technology: determinism, agency, and constructivism. In *Power, Information Technology, and International Relations Theory* (pp. 19–41). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moleong, L. J. (2007). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Patty, J. W., & Penn, E. M. (2018). Network Theory and Political Science. In J. N. Victor, A. H. Montgomery, & M. Lubell (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Networks* (p. 1008). Oxford University Press.
- Sikkink, K. (2005). Patterns of Dynamic Multilevel Governance and the Insider-Outsider Coalition. In *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Tarrow, S. G. (2005). *The new transnational activism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Yamahata, C., & Anderson, B. (2022). Myanmar's Path to Democracy from 2016–2021: Progress, Limitations and Disruptions. In *Demystifying Myanmar's Transition and Political Crisis*. Palgrave Macmillan.

### Journal Articles

- Aspinall, E., & Warburton, E. (2018). Indonesia: The Dangers of Democratic Regression. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*.
- Bégin, H. (2011). *The Internet in Transnational Advocacy Networks: The Forgotten Question*. Central European University.
- Bünthe, M. (2011). *Institutionalising Military Rule in Burma/Myanmar: External and Internal Factors*. GIGA Institute of Asian Studies.

- Bünthe, M., Kollner, P., & Roewer, R. (2020). Taking Stock of Myanmar's Political Transformation since 2011. *Taking Stock of Myanmar's Political Transformation since 2011*, 38(3), 249–264.
- Diamond, L. (2010). Liberation technology. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(3), 69–83. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0190>
- Diamond, L. (2021). Democratic regression in comparative perspective: scope, methods, and causes. *Democratization*, 28(1), 22–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1807517>
- Drechsler, W. (2021). New development: Myanmar's civil service—Responsible disobedience during the 2021 military coup. *Public Money & Management*, 41(7), 577–580.
- Dunst, C. (2021). The Myanmar Coup as an ASEAN Inflection Point. *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*, Special Issue (August 2021).
- Edwards, G. (2010). Mixed-Method Approaches to Social Network Analysis (ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Review). Economic & Social Research Council.
- Firdausi, R. (2023). Aktivisme Transnasional Baru dalam Gerakan Milk Tea Alliance: Sejarah dan Perkembangannya di Hong Kong, Thailand, dan Taiwan. *Jurnal Pena Wimaya*, 3(1).
- Garwood, S. (2005). Politics at work: Transnational advocacy networks and the global garment industry. *Gender and Development*, 13(3), 21–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552070512331332294>
- Gerschewski, J. (2021). Erosion or decay? Conceptualizing causes and mechanisms of democratic regression. *Democratization*, 28(1), 43–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1826935>
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). Democracy's Third Wave. *Journal of Democracy*, 2(2), 12–34.
- King, A.S. (2022). Myanmar's Coup d'état and the Struggle for Federal Democracy and Inclusive Government. *Religions*, 13(594).
- Kipgen, N. (2016). Political Changes and Democratic Transition in 2011. In *Myanmar: A Political History*. Oxford University Press.
- Kipgen, N. (2021). The 2020 Myanmar Election and the 2021 Coup: Deepening Democracy or Widening Division? *Asian Affairs*, 52(1), 1–17.
- Kudo, T. (2011). Results of the 2010 Elections in Myanmar: An Analysis. Institute of Developing Economics Japan External Trade Organization.
- Kundu, S. (2012). Myanmar: Pangs of Democratic Transition. Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies.

- Kurlantzick, J. (2020). Addressing the Effect of COVID-19 on Democracy in South and Southeast Asia.
- Looft, R. (2017). #girlgaze: Photography, fourth wave feminism, and social media advocacy. *Continuum*, 31(6), 892–902. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2017.1370539>
- Magrath, B. (2015). Information politics, transnational advocacy, and education for all. *Comparative Education Review*, 59(4), 666–692. <https://doi.org/10.1086/682903>
- Mahaseth, H., & Tulsyan, A. (2022). The Myanmar Coup and the Role of Asean. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4021075>
- Neuendorf, K. A., & Kumar, A. (2016). Content Analysis. In *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication* (pp. 1–10). Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118541555.wbiepc065>
- Orellana-Rodriguez, C., & Keane, M. T. (2018). Attention to news and its dissemination on Twitter: A survey. *Computer Science Review*, 29, 74–94.
- Passeri, A. (2021). The Domestic and International Implications of Myanmar's 2021 Military Coup. Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS).
- Pierson, D. (2021, August 5). Chased and jailed: No rest and much danger for Asia's young revolutionaries. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-08-05/asia-young-revolutionaries-milk-tea-alliance>
- Piper, N., & Rother, S. (2021). Governing regional migration from the 'bottom-up': a nodal approach to the role of transnational activist networks in Asia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1972569>
- Quinley, C. (2021, February 8). Three-finger salute: Hunger Games symbol adopted by Myanmar protesters. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/feb/08/three-finger-salute-hunger-games-symbol-adopted-by-myanmars-protesters>
- Rao, A., & Atmakuri, A. (2021). The Role of Social Media in Myanmar's CDM: Strengths, Limitations and Perspectives from India. *Institute of South Asian Studies*.
- Rasyid, A. M. A., & Rijal, N. K. (2023). Peran Asean dalam Menangani Krisis Kemanusiaan Myanmar melalui Kesepakatan. *Indonesian Journal of International Relations*, 7(1), 22–49.
- Rieffel, L. (2015, September 16). State-owned enterprises and the future of the Myanmar economy. *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2015/09/16/state-owned-enterprises-and-the-future-of-the-myanmar-economy/>

- Salam, J. (2022, May 25). Milk Tea Alliance: From Meme War to Transnational Activism. Media Manipulation Casebook. <https://mediamanipulation.org/case-studies/milk-tea-alliance-meme-war-transnational-activism>
- Schaffar, W., & Wongratanawin, P. (2021). The #MilkTeaAlliance: A New Transnational Pro-Democracy Movement Against Chinese-Centered Globalization? *ASEAS*, 14(1). <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0052>
- Sesar, Y. K., Triarda, R., Rahmat Maulana, J., Gadjah Mada, U., & Brawijaya, U. (2021). Developing Transnational Indigenous Solidarity: The Case of Borneo Dayak Forum. *Global Focus*, 1(1), 4–22.
- Storck, M. (2011). *The Role of Social Media in Political Mobilisation: a Case Study of the January 2011 Egyptian Uprising*. University of St Andrews.
- Sullivan, D. (2021). *Dire Consequences: Addressing the Humanitarian Fallout from Myanmar's Coup—Refugees International*. Refugees International. <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2021/10/18/dire-consequences-addressing-the-humanitarian-fallout-from-myanmars-coup>
- Thawngmung, A. (2016). The Myanmar Elections 2015: Why the National League for Democracy Won a Landslide Victory. *Critical Asian Studies*, 48(1), 132–142.
- Ting, T. yuet. (2017). Struggling for tomorrow: the future orientations of youth activism in a democratic crisis. *Contemporary Social Science*, 12(3–4), 242–257. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2017.1385827>
- Trager, F. N. (1963). The Failure of U Nu and the Return of the Armed Forces in Burma. *The Review of Politics*, 25(3), 309–328. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034670500006082>
- Valenzuela, S. (2013). Information, Opinion Expression, and Activism Unpacking the Use of Social Media for Protest Behavior: The Roles of Information, Opinion Expression, and Activism. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(7), 920-942.
- Van Dyke, N., & Amos, B. (2017). Social movement coalitions: Formation, longevity, and success. *Sociology Compass*, 11(7), e12489. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12489>
- Zeiner-Morrish, O. (2022). *Enduring Ethnic Conflict: The Institutional Origins of Conflict in Myanmar*. Trinity College.
- Özdemir, B. P. (2012). Social Media as a Tool for Online Advocacy Campaigns: Greenpeace Mediterranean's Anti Genetically Engineered Food Campaign in Turkey. *Global Media Journal - Canadian Edition*, 5(2), 23–39.

## Reports

- Andrews, T. H. (2022). Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, Thomas H. Andrews. United Nations.
- Anonymous. (2021). The Centrality of the Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) in Myanmar's Post-Coup Era. New Mandala.
- Bünthe, M. (2021). Democratic Backsliding and Authoritarian Resilience in Southeast Asia: the Role of Social Media. In A. Sinpeng & R. Tapsell (Eds.), *From Grassroots Activism to Disinformation Social Media in Southeast Asia* (First Edition). ISEAS Publishing.
- Jordt, I., Than, T., & Lin, S. Y. (2021). How Generation Z Galvanized a Revolutionary Movement Against Myanmar's 2021 Military Coup. ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Ron, J., Ramos, H., & Rodgers, K. (2005). Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986-2000. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49, 557–587. [http://www.amnestyusa.org/about/about\\_amnesty.html](http://www.amnestyusa.org/about/about_amnesty.html)
- US Department of State. (2022). 2021 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Burma.

## Internet

- Amnesty International. (2021, May 31). #MilkTeaAlliance. Amnesty Philippines. <https://www.amnesty.org.ph/2021/05/milkteaalliance/>
- Amnesty International. (2022). Human rights in Myanmar. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/location/asia-and-the-pacific/south-east-asia-and-the-pacific/myanmar/report-myanmar/>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2021a). ASEAN Chairman's Statement on The Developments in The Republic of The Union of Myanmar. ASEAN. <https://asean.org/asean-chairmans-statement-on-the-developments-in-the-republic-of-the-union-of-myanmar-2/>
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2021b). Chairman's Statement on the ASEAN Leaders' Meeting, 24 April 2021 and Five-Point Consensus.
- Barber, R. (2021, February 25). UN Security Council Won't Respond to Myanmar's Coup, But the General Assembly Can. Just Security. <https://www.justsecurity.org/74936/un-security-council-wont-respond-to-myanmars-coup-but-the-general-assembly-can/>
- Barron, L. (2020, October 28). What Is the Milk Tea Alliance? Behind the Democracy Movement | Time. Time. <https://time.com/5904114/milk-tea-alliance/>

- Bynum, E. (2021, July 22). Myanmar's Spring Revolution. ACLED. <https://acleddata.com/2021/07/22/myanmars-spring-revolution/>
- Bynum, E. (2021, July 22). Myanmar's Spring Revolution. ACLED. <https://acleddata.com/2021/07/22/myanmars-spring-revolution/>
- Chia, J., & Singer, S. (2021, July 23). How the Milk Tea Alliance Is Remaking Myanmar – The Diplomat. The Diplomat. <https://thediplomat.com/2021/07/how-the-milk-tea-alliance-is-remaking-myanmar/>
- Cuddy, A. (2021). Myanmar coup: What is happening and why? BBC News. <https://www.burmalibrary.org/en/myanmar-coup-what-is-happening-and-why>
- dontpak\_ illustration [@pakdon14]. (2021, February 21). “*To All Those Who Fight For Freedom*” Hong Kong **stand** with Myanmar. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #StandWithMyanmar #SaveMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance #FightForDemocracy #freedom <https://t.co/QQAXhzCZwf> [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/pakdon14/status/1363437842790113284>
- Ebbighausen, R. (2021, April 9). In Myanmar, military matters are a lucrative family affair – DW – 04/09/2021. DW. <https://www.dw.com/en/in-myanmar-military-matters-are-a-lucrative-family-affair/a-57132879>
- Everington, K. (2020, August 17). Democracy rally for Thailand, Hong Kong held at Taipei Main Station | Taiwan News | 2020-08-17 10:59:00. Taiwan News. <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3988788>
- Freedom House. (2022). Myanmar: Freedom in the World 2022 Country Report | Freedom House. Freedom House. <https://freedomhouse.org/country/myanmar/freedom-world/2022>
- Government of Myanmar. (2003). Road Map to Democracy in Myanmar. <https://web.archive.org/web/20101024033536/http://www.myanmar.gov.mm/Perspective/persp2003/8-2003/map.htm>
- Human Rights Watch. (2013, August 6). Burma: Justice for 1988 Massacres. Human Rights Watch. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/08/06/burma-justice-1988-massacres>
- Joshua Wong 黃之鋒 🙏 [@joshuawongcf]. (2020, April 12). 1. Hong Kong stand with our freedom-loving friends in Thailand against Chinese bullying! #nnevy <https://t.co/Pm4KFhVGXr> [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/joshuawongcf/status/1249254158538072064>
- Kurlantzick, J. (2021, September 16). Myanmar Is a Failing State—And Could Be a Danger to Its Neighbors. Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/myanmar-failing-state-covid-19-crisis-global-response>



- Nathan Law 羅冠聰 [@nathanlawkc]. (2020, April 12). So funny watching the pro-CCP online army trying to attack Bright. They think every Thai person must be like them, who love Emperor Xi. What they don't understand is that Bright's fans are young and progressive, and the pro-CCP army always make the wrong attacks. #nnevvy <https://t.co/WSJv2c5uXB> [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/nathanlawkc/status/1249219916323942400>
- Nong May [@nongmayreviews]. (2021, February 20). How many dead bodies needed for @UNHumanRights @UN @IntlCrimCourt @CIJ\_ICJ @ICJ\_org to take actions? #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance <https://t.co/OdhQKFFHui> [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/nongmayreviews/status/1363157778378805252>
- OSoMe. (2023a). *OSoMe Network Tool*. Observatory on Social Media. [https://osome.iu.edu/tools/networks/?hashtag=%23MilkTeaAlliance&network\\_type=rq&start\\_date=2021-02-25&end\\_date=2021-02-28](https://osome.iu.edu/tools/networks/?hashtag=%23MilkTeaAlliance&network_type=rq&start_date=2021-02-25&end_date=2021-02-28)
- OSoMe. (2023b). *OSoMe Trends Tool*. Observatory on Social Media. [https://osome.iu.edu/tools/trends/?hash\\_q=%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance&text\\_q=&start\\_date=2021-02-01&end\\_date=2022-02-01](https://osome.iu.edu/tools/trends/?hash_q=%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance%23MilkTeaAlliance&text_q=&start_date=2021-02-01&end_date=2022-02-01)
- Potkin, F., & Tanakasempipat, P. (2021, February 28). "Milk Tea Alliance" activists across Asia hold rallies against Myanmar coup | Reuters. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-protests-asia-idUSKCN2AS0HP>
- Solace Global. (2021, July 14). The Milk Tea Alliance. Solace Global. <https://www.solaceglobal.com/report/the-milk-tea-alliance/>
- Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy. (19 October 2020b). Solidariti dengan Perjuangan Demokrasi di Thailand atas talian 声援泰国民主斗争线上烛光会. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/events/897299214138535/?ref=newsfeed>
- Taiwan Alliance for Thai Democracy. (25 October 2020a). We are joining the march with 香港邊城青年 Hong Kong Outlanders now! #save12hkyouths #MilkTeaAlliance. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/tatdnw/photos/pb.100068691872328.-2207520000./135032684987328/?type=3>
- Tanakasempipat, P., & Potkin, F. (2020, April 14). Insta-star wars: China tensions in Southeast Asia flare online | Reuters. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-china-internet/insta-star-wars-china-tensions-in-southeast-asia-flare-online-idUSKCN21W11P>



- Thant, S. M. (2021). In the wake of the coup: How Myanmar youth arose to fight for the nation. Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung.
- Thuzar, M., & Seah, S. (2022, November 17). Reviewing the Review: ASEAN's Five-Point Consensus Implementation. FULCRUM. <https://fulcrum.sg/reviewing-the-review-aseans-five-point-consensus-implementation/>
- Tun Tun Win [@fredfromnyc]. (2021, February 26). By looking at this, you will clearly see who is behind this military coup at Myanmar. China Gov stop meddling neighbor country. #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #MilkTeaAlliance <https://t.co/lcMr18EaJD> [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/fredfromnyc/status/1365347974742740996>
- Twitter. (n.d.-a). The dos and don'ts of hashtags. Retrieved May 16, 2023, from <https://business.twitter.com/en/blog/the-dos-and-donts-of-hashtags.html>
- Twitter. (n.d.-b). Twitter Trends FAQ – trending hashtags and topics. Retrieved May 16, 2023, from <https://help.twitter.com/en/using-twitter/twitter-trending-faqs>
- UN News. (2022, December 22). UN expert on Myanmar: Security Council resolution not strong enough on “systematic gross human rights violations” | UN News. UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/12/1131932>
- United Nations Security Council. (2022). Security Council Resolution 2669—UNSCR. <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/2669>
- Wah Wah (MashimarooSJ) [@saisaijay]. (2021, February 24). Lights up in TAUNGGYI “WE REJECT ASEAN RESOLUTIONS” #WhatsHappeningInMyanmar #ASEANRespectOurVotes #AgainstMyanmarMilitaryCoup #MilkTeaAlliance <https://t.co/wdYh3d6iDJ> [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/saisaijay/status/1364626889415954434>