

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Buzan, B. (1995). The level of analysis problem in international relations reconsidered. In K. Booth & S. Smith (Eds.), *International relations theory today* (pp. xx–xx). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Chancel, L., et al. (2022). *World equality report 2022*. Harvard University Press.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Dadas, C. (2017). Hashtag activism: The promise and risk of “attention.” In D. M. Walls & S. G. Vie (Eds.), *Social writing/social media: Publics, presentations, and pedagogies* (Chapter 1). The WAC Clearinghouse. <https://doi.org/10.37514/PER-B.2017.0063.2.01>
- Duffett, M. (2013). *Understanding fandom: An introduction to the study of media fan culture*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- González, R. (2017). ¿Malestar en Chile? *Informe Encuesta CEP 2016*. Santiago, Chile: Centro de Estudios Públicos.
- Hardani, H., et al. (2020). *Metode penelitian kualitatif & kuantitatif*. Pustaka Ilmu.
- Jenkins, H. (1992). *Textual poachers: Television fans and participatory culture* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203361917>
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Joignant, A., Garretón, M., Somma, N., & Campos, T. (2020). *Informe Anual Observatorio de Conflictos 2020*. Santiago, Chile: COES.

- Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). Doing a thematic analysis: A practical, step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars. *AISHE-J: All Ireland Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, 9(3), 3351–33514.
- Min, W. (2017). Korean Wave perception and participatory fan culture in Latin America. In T.-J. Yoon, K. Yoon, & Y. Jin (Eds.), *The Korean Wave: Evolution, fandom, and transnationality* (pp. xx–xx). Lexington Books.
- Nurislaminingsih, R., & Heriyanto. (2024). *Riset kualitatif untuk pemula: Teknik analisis data* (1st ed.). Intishar Publishing.
- PNUD. (2019). *Diez años de auditoría a la democracia: Antes del estallido*. Santiago de Chile: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.
- Purba, & Simanjuntak, P. (2011). *Metode penelitian*. Percetakan SADIA.
- Somma, N. M., & Medel, R. M. (2017). Shifting relationships between social movements and institutional politics. In S. Donoso & M. von Bülow (Eds.), *Social movements in Chile* (pp. 29–61). Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-60013-4_2
- Tilly, C., & Tarrow, S. G. (2015). *Contentious politics* (2nd rev. ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Yoon, T.-J., & Kang, B. (2017). Emergence, evolution, and extension of ‘Hallyu studies’. In T.-J. Yoon, K. Yoon, & Y. Jin (Eds.), *The Korean Wave: Evolution, fandom, and transnationality*. Lexington Books.

Artikel Jurnal

- Andini, A. N., & Akhni, G. N. (2021, April 30). Exploring youth political participation: K-Pop fan activism in Indonesia and Thailand. *Global Focus*, 1(1), 38–55. <https://globalfocus.ub.ac.id/index.php/globalfocus/article/view/17/5>

- Borges de Castilho Sacoman, V. (2021). K-popper activism: The platform of fan activism in times of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Bulletin of the Transilvania University of Brasov. Series IV: Philology and Cultural Studies*, 14(63)(1), 87–103. <https://doi.org/10.31926/but.pcs.2021.63.14.1.6>
- Borges, G., Sigiliano, D., & Lima, C. A. (2023). #FandomsPeloVoto (#FandomsForTheVote): Fan activism for youth voter engagement in the 2022 Brazilian elections. *Palabra Clave*, 26(4), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.5294/pacla.2023.26.4.4>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Brough, M., & Shresthova, S. (2011). Fandom meets activism: Rethinking civic and political participation. *Transformative Works and Cultures*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2012.0303>
- Choi, J., & González Lustig, B. (2024). Movimientos sociopolíticos y K-global citizenship: El caso de Kpopers por Boric en Chile. *México y la Cuenca del Pacífico*, 13(38), 61–87. <https://doi.org/10.32870/mycp.v13i38.869>
- Cicchelli, V., Octubre, S., Katz, G. T., Yodovich, N., Handy, F., & Ruiz, S. (2023). “Because we all love K-Pop”: How young adults reshape symbolic boundaries in Paris, Manchester, and Philadelphia. *British Journal of Sociology*, 74(1), 17–34. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12983>
- Cox, L., González, R., & Le Foulon, C. (2024). The 2019 Chilean social upheaval: A descriptive approach. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 16(1), 68–89. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802X231203747>
- Della Porta, D. (2013). Repertoires of contention. In *The Wiley-Blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm1>

- Dewi, P. R. K. (2023). Fan activism: K-Pop fans movement in Thailand's 2020 protests. *The Sunan Ampel Review of Political and Social Sciences*, 3(1), 79–95. <https://doi.org/10.15642/sarpass.2023.3>
- Han, B. (2017). Transcultural fandom and digital mediation. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 2250–2269. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/6304/2048>
- Huang, S. (2017). Social media and the new Korean Wave. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(5), 773–777. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717707344>
- Joo, Y. (2018). Same despair but different hope: Youth activism in East Asia and contentious politics. *Development and Society*, 47(3), 401–422. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26506192>
- Kang, J., Kim, J., Yang, M., & Lee, H. (2022). Behind the scenes of K-pop fandom: Unveiling K-pop fandom collaboration network. *Quality & Quantity*, 56(3), 1481–1502. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-021-01189-5>
- Klandermans, B., & Simon, B. (2001). Towards a social psychological analysis of politicized collective identity: Conceptualization, antecedents, and consequences. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319–333.
- Leitner, H., Sheppard, E., & Sziarto, K. (2008). The spatialities of contentious politics. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33, 157–172. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2008.00293.x>
- Luna, J. P. (2024). Disjointed polarization in Chile's enduring crisis of representation. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 66(2), 72–101. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lap.2024.19>
- Min, W. (2020). Mis chinos, tus chinos: The orientalism of Chilean K-pop fans. *The International Communication Gazette*, 0(0), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048520928254>

- Min, W., Jin, D. Y., & Han, B. (2018). Transcultural fandom of the Korean Wave in Latin America: Through the lens of cultural intimacy and affinity space. *Media, Culture & Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718799403>
- Pino, C. D. (2021). “K-pop is rupturing Chilean society”: Fighting with globalized objects in localized conflicts. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 14(4), 551–567. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ccc/tcab047>
- Rodríguez Weber, J. E. (2017). The political economy of income inequality in Chile since 1850. In L. Bértola & J. Williamson (Eds.), *Has Latin American inequality changed direction?* (pp. 43–64). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-44621-9_3
- Temby, O. (2013). What are levels of analysis and what do they contribute to international relations theory? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 28(4), 721–742. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2013.831032>
- Yoon, K. (2022). Between universes: Fan positionalities in the transnational circulation of K-pop. *Communication and the Public*, 7(4), 188–201. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20570473221136667>

Website

- Arce et al. (2022, April 1). *The Indigenous World 2022: Chile*. IWGIA. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from www.iwgia.org/en/chile/4664-iw-2022-chile.html
- Ayala, L. C. (2019, December 22). *El big data del Gobierno: Los detalles del informe por el estallido social que entregó a la Fiscalía*. La Tercera. Retrieved May 20, 2025, from www.latercera.com/la-tercera-domingo/noticia/big-data-del-gobierno-los-detalles-del-informe-estallido-social-entrego-la-fiscalia/947967/
- Bartlett, J. (2021, November 22). *Chile's right rejoices after pro-Pinochet candidate wins presidential first round*. The Guardian. Retrieved July 9, 2025, from

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/nov/22/jose-antonio-kast-chile-right-wing-presidential-election>

Bartlett, J., & Jones, S. (2021, December 20). *Gabriel Boric vows to 'fight privileges of the few' as Chile's president*. The Guardian. Retrieved July 17, 2025, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/20/gabriel-boric-vows-to-fight-privileges-of-the-few-as-chiles-premier>

Bell, C. (2021, November 25). *Chile: Voter apathy could hand the presidency to far-right inheritor of the Pinochet legacy*. The Conversation. Retrieved July 9, 2025, from <https://theconversation.com/chile-voter-apaty-could-hand-the-presidency-to-far-right-inheritor-of-the-pinochet-legacy-172462>

Blake, E. (2018, April 4). *The strength of K-pop fandom, by the numbers*. Forbes. Retrieved April 1, 2025, from www.forbes.com/sites/emilyblake1/2018/04/04/k-pop-numbers/

Bruner, R. (2020, July 25). *How K-pop fandom operates as a force for political activism*. TIME. Retrieved November 2, 2024, from time.com/5866955/k-pop-political/

Cheatham, A. (2019, November 1). *What's behind the Chile protests?* Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from www.cfr.org/in-brief/whats-behind-chile-protests

Chan, E. (2023, December 12). *"There's no luxury fashion on a dead planet": Meet the K-pop fans calling for urgent climate action*. Vogue. Retrieved July 9, 2025, from <https://www.vogue.com/article/k-pop-fans-calling-for-urgent-climate-action>

Cubillos, P., Cox, L., & Le Foulon, C. (2022, August 24). *The Electoral Effects of Ideological vs. Affective Polarization*. Retrieved November 2, 2024, from osf.io/jympr

- Ditmar, J. (2021, April 24). *The Growing Issue of Inequality in Chile*. The Borgen Project. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from borgenproject.org/inequality-in-chile
- Duhalde, D. (2022, March 10). *Chile shows how social movements can win elections*. Convergence Magazine. Retrieved July 17, 2025, from <https://convergencemag.com/articles/chile-shows-how-social-movements-can-win-elections/>
- El Mostrador. (2019, November 10). *Piñera a la prensa internacional: «He recibido mucha información sobre intervención de gobiernos extranjeros»*. Retrieved May 27, 2025, from www.elmostrador.cl/dia/2019/11/10/pinera-a-la-prensa-internacional-he-recibido-mucha-informacion-sobre-intervencion-de-gobiernos-extranjeros/
- fanwork. (2025, February 5). *K-Pop Fanbases 101: The Heartbeat of Fandom Culture*. fanwork. Retrieved April 3, 2025, from www.fanwork.co.kr/k-pop-fanbases-101-the-heartbeat-of-fandom-culture/
- Garcés, M. D. (2019). *Octubre de 2019: Estallido social en el Chile neoliberal*. Revista Cien Días CINEP, (97), octubre–diciembre. Retrieved May 27, 2025, from www.revistaciendiascinep.com/home/octubre-de-2019-estallido-social-en-el-chile-neoliberal/
- Hyunsu, Y. (2021, December 24). *KpopersXBoric: K-pop fans who rallied support for Chile's millennial president-elect*. Korea Herald. Retrieved February 26, 2025, from www.koreaherald.com/article/2745063
- Ismail, M. S. (2022, February 9). *What is a “cupsleeve event” and why is this K-Pop phenomenon taking off in Malaysia?* The Rakyat Post. Retrieved July 9, 2025, from

therakyatpost.com/living/2022/02/09/what-is-a-cupsleeve-event-and-why-is-th
is-k-pop-phenomenon-taking-off-in-malaysia/

Kang, L., & Sit, J. (2022, July 14). *'Gangnam Style' at 10: How Psy's smash hit sent Korean culture global*. CNN. Retrieved March 27, 2025, from
edition.cnn.com/style/article/psy-gangnam-style-10-years-intl-hnk/index.html

Kpopersporboric. (2021). *Q&A English*. Retrieved February 26, 2025, from
linktr.ee/Kpopersporboric

Krenиска, S. (2016, April 2). *Why Understanding Fans is the New Superpower (Guest Column)*. Variety. Retrieved April 1, 2025, from
variety.com/2016/tv/columns/understanding-fans-superpower-troika-1201743
513/

Laing, A., Cambero, F., & Sherwood, D. (2019, October 23). *Chile's inequality challenge: What went wrong and can it be fixed?* Reuters. Retrieved
November 23, 2024, from
www.reuters.com/article/world/chiles-inequality-challenge-what-went-wrong-
and-can-it-be-fixed-idUSKBN1X22RK/

Romano, A. (2020, June 23). *How K-pop fans are weaponizing the internet for Black Lives Matter: And four other ways people are using social media to support nationwide protests*. Vox. Retrieved July 9, 2025, from
https://www.vox.com/2020/6/8/21279262/k-pop-fans-black-lives-matter-fanca
ms-youtubers-protest-support

Setiawanty, I. (2024, January 18). *Memahami Kpopfication pendukung Anies: Ini penjelasan soal Anies Bubble dan Olppaemi Project*. Tempo. Retrieved July 9, 2025, from
https://www.tempo.co/hiburan/memahami-kpopfication-pendukung-anies-ini-
penjelasan-soal-anies-bubble-dan-olppaemi-project-96603

- Shin, G. (2022, August 1). *Will Hallyu Swell to a Tidal Wave? Korea's Future as a Cultural Superpower*. Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. Retrieved March 27, 2025, from aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/news/will-hallyu-swell-tidal-wave-koreas-future-cultural-superpower
- Soyeon, Y. (2024, April 11). *No colors or hand gestures during elections: 5 no-nos for Korean idols and celebrities*. Korea JoongAng Daily. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/2024-04-09/culture/features/The-Pandora-s-box-of-Korean-idols-and-celebrities-5-things-to-avoid/2017434
- Stuenkel, O. (2021, November 22). *More polarized than ever, presidential election in Chile marks new political era*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from carnegieendowment.org/posts/2021/11/more-polarized-than-ever-presidential-election-in-chile-marks-new-political-era?lang=en
- The Guardian. (2019, December 13). *Chile: UN calls for prosecution of police and Army over response to protests*. The Guardian. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/13/chile-un-prosecution-police-army-protests
- World Economic Forum. (2016, January 17). *Latin America is the world's most unequal region. here's how to fix it*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from www.weforum.org/stories/2016/01/inequality-is-getting-worse-in-latin-america-here-s-how-to-fix-it/
- Yang, H. (2023, January 25). *Some K-pop fans #SayNoToStreaming, but others aren't happy*. Korea JoongAng Daily. Retrieved April 1, 2025, from koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/2023/01/25/entertainment/kpop/kpop-kpop-fandom-fandom-culture/20230125151016023.html

Lainnya

Plug, M. (2024). *From Santiago to Bangkok: Exploring K-Pop Fandom Activism in Chile and Thailand* (pp. 1–56) [Thesis]. Retrieved from hdl.handle.net/1887/4004340

