

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adoni, H., & Mane, S. (1984). Media and The Social Construction of Reality: Toward an Integration of Theory and Research. *Communication Research*, 11(3), 323-340.
- Allen, R. L., & Hatchett, S. (1986). The Media and Social Reality Effect: Self and System Orientations of Blacks. *Communication Research*, 13(1), 97-123.
- Alleyne, M. D., & Wagner, J. (1993). Stability and Change at the “Big Five” News Agencies. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 70(1), 40-50.
doi:10.1177/107769909307000105
- Al-Rawi, A. (2016). Assessing public sentiments and news preferences on Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya. *the International Communication Gazette*, 79, 1-19.
doi:10.1177/1748048516642732
- Ashoka. (2014, Desember 5). *Hunger Games Salute Used By Black Friday Protesters Fighting For Higher Wages*. Retrieved from Forbes:
<https://www.forbes.com/sites/ashoka/2014/12/05/hunger-games-salute-used-by-black-friday-protesters-fighting-for-higher-wages/?sh=439925d6712e>
- Baden, C., & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2017). The search for common ground in conflict news research: Comparing the coverage of six current conflicts in domestic and international media over time. *Media, War & Conflict*, 11(1), 22-45. doi:10.1177/1750635217702071
- BBC. (2014, Mei 22). *Why is Thailand under military rule?* Retrieved from BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-25149484>
- BBC. (2021, April 1). *Myanmar coup: What is happening and why?* Retrieved from BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-55902070>
- Becker, K. (2019). Icon of Protest in the Visual Cultures of News. In A. Robertson, *Screening Protest: Visual Narratives of Dissent Across Time, Space and Genre* (pp. 120-147). New York: Routledge.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (2011). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Open Road Media.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. (1980). *The International News Agencies*. London: Constable.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. (2000). Doing News Agency Research. *Media Asia*, 27(1), 10-16.
doi:10.1080/01296612.2000.11726598

- Bunga, H. (2019, September 17). *Aksi Pemakaman KPK, Puisi Bunga dan Tembok Widji Thukul Menggema*. Retrieved from TEMPO:
<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1249101/aksi-pemakaman-kpk-puisi-bunga-dan-tembok-widji-thukul-menggema>
- Bungin, B. (2008). *Konstruksi Realitas Media Massa; Kekuatan Pengaruh Media Massa, Iklan Televisi, dan Keputusan Konsumen Serta Kritik Terhadap Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckmann*. Jakarta: Kencana Predana Media Group.
- Bush, R. C. (2014, September 30). *The Roots of Hong Kong Protest*. Retrieved from Brookings: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2014/09/30/the-roots-of-hong-kong-protest/>
- Carter, M. J. (2013). The Hermeneutics of Frames and Framing: An Examination of the Media's Construction of Reality. *SAGE Open*, April-June 2013, 1-12.
doi:10.1177/2158244013487915
- Caso, F., & Hamilton, C. (2015). *Popular Culture and World Politics: Theories, Methods, Pedagogies*. Bristol: E-International Relations.
- Cerézo, A. (2021, Agustus 27). *The Hunger Games' Three-Finger Salute: A Symbol Of Resistance to Tyranny In Asia*. Retrieved from Bookriot:
<https://bookriot.com/the-hunger-games-three-finger-salute/>
- Chachavalpongpun, P. (2014). *Good Coup Gone Bad: Thailand's Political Development since Thaksin's Downfall*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
doi:10.1355/9789814459617
- Cheng, K., & Grundy, T. (2019, Juni 15). *Hong Kong democrats urge leader Carrie Lam to drop extradition law plans entirely and resign; Sunday protest to proceed*. Retrieved from Hong Kong Free Press:
<https://hongkongfp.com/2019/06/15/hong-kong-democrats-urge-leader-carrie-lam-drop-extradition-law-plans-entirely-resign-sunday-protest-proceed/>
- Collins, S. (2008). *The Hunger Games*. New York: Scholastic.
- Domínguez, G. (2014, Agustus 31). *Beijing rejects full Hong Kong democracy*. Retrieved from Deutsche Welle (DW): <https://www.dw.com/en/beijing-rejects-full-hong-kong-democracy/a-17891743>
- Doufesh, B., & Briel, H. (2021). Ethnocentrism in Conflict News Coverage: A Multimodal Framing Analysis of the 2018 Gaza Protests in The Times of Israel and Al Jazeera. *International Journal of Communication*, 15, 4230–4251.

- Duncombe, C., & Bleiker, R. (2015). Popular Culture and Political Identity. In F. Caso, & C. Hamilton, *Popular Culture and World Politics: Theories, Methods, Pedagogies* (pp. 35-44). Bristol: E-International Relations.
- Eriyanto. (2002). *Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media*. Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Erviani, N. (2013, Agustus 29). *Musisi Bali Teriakkan Penolakan Reklamasi Teluk Benoa Lewat Lagu*. Retrieved from Mongabay: <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2013/08/29/musisi-bali-teriakkan-penolakan-reklamasi-teluk-benoa-lewat-lagu/>
- Fisher, M. (2012). Precarious Dystopias: The Hunger Games, in Time, and Never Let Me Go. *Film Quarterly*, 65(4), 27-33. doi:10.1525/fq.2012.65.4.27
- Gamson, W. A., & Lasch, K. E. (1983). The Political Culture of Social Welfare Policy. In Shimon E. Spiro and Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar (eds.). *Evaluating the Welfare State*, 397-415.
- Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Sasson, T. (1992). Media Images and the Social Construction of Reality. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18(1992), 373-393.
- Gibbs, A. (2015, Desember 30). *The man behind the Anonymous mask*. Retrieved from CNBC: <https://www.cnbc.com/2015/12/29/the-man-behind-the-anonymous-mask-v-for-vendettas-david-lloyd.html>
- Glaserfeld, E. (1984). An Introduction to Radical Constructivism. In P. Watzlawick, *The Invented Reality: How Do We Know What We Believe We Know?* (pp. 17-40). New York: Norton.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Grossman-Cohen, B. (2012, Maret 20). *The Hunger Games fans join Oxfam America, Harry Potter Alliance to say: "Hunger is Not a Game"*. Retrieved from Oxfam America: <https://www.oxfamamerica.org/press/the-hunger-games-fans-join-oxfam-america-harry-potter-alliance-to-say-hunger-is-not-a-game/>
- Gurevitch, M., Coleman, S., & Blumler, J. G. (2009). Political Communication - Old and New Media Relationships. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 625, 164-181. doi:10.1177/0002716209339345
- Hall, S. (2016). Notes on deconstructing 'the popular'. In R. Samuel, *Peopled History and Socialist Theory* (pp. 227-240). Oxford: Routledge.

- Hamad, I. (2004). *Konstruksi realitas politik dalam media massa sebuah studi critical discourse analysis terhadap berita-berita politik*. Jakarta: Granit.
- Hartley, J. (2004). The 'Value Chain of Meaning' and The New Economy. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 7(1), 129–141.
- Hartley, J. (2012). *Digital Futures for Cultural and Media Studies*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Hinz, E. (2022, 05 19). *Thailand: What happened to mass anti-government protests?* Retrieved from DW: <https://p.dw.com/p/4BYux>
- Hui, A. (2020). Appropriating dissent: The three-finger salute and Thailand's pro-democracy movement. *Anthropological Notebooks*, 26(1), 74-91. doi:10.5281/zenodo.4309822
- Hutcheson, J., Domke, D., Billeaudeaux, A., & Garland, P. (2004). U.S. National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11. *Political Communication*, 21(1), 27-50. doi:10.1080/10584600490273254
- International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. (1979). *The World of News Agencies*. Paris: UNESCO.
- International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. (1980). *Many Voices One World: Towards a new more just and more efficient world information and communication order*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- Jameson, F. (2009, September 10). Then You Are Them. *London Review of Books*, 31(17), 7–8. Retrieved from <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v31/n17/fredric-jameson/then-you-are-them>
- Jansen, Z. L. (2013). International Media and Cultural Flows: A Critical Political Economy of Media Organisations in the 21st Century, A case of the Reuters News Agency. *South African Review of Sociology*, 44(1), 87-110. doi:10.1080/21528586.2013.784450
- Jenkins, H. (1992). *Textual Poachers Television Fans & Participatory Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, H. (2002). The poachers and the stormtroopers: cultural convergence in the digital age. In P. L. Guern, *LES CULTES MÉDIATIQUES* (pp. 343-378). Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Jenkins, H. (2012). 'Cultural Acupuncture': Fan Activism and the Harry Potter Alliance. *Transformative Works and Fan Activism*, 10, -. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3983/twc.2012.0305>.
- Jenkins, H., Ito, M., & Boyd, D. (2016). *Participatory Culture in a Networked Era: A Conversation on Youth, Learning, Commerce, and Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kim, N. (2021). Media in Asia and the Pacific. In D. V. Dimitrova, *Global Journalism: Understanding World Media Systems* (pp. 286-308). London: Rowman & Littlefield .
- Kipgen, N. (2017). Militarization of Politics in Myanmar and Thailand. *International Studies*, 53(2), 153-172. doi:10.1177/0020881717728156
- Kligler-Vilenchik, N., McVeigh-Schultz, J., Weitbrecht, C., & Tokuhama, C. (2012). Experiencing fan activism: Understanding the power of fan activist organizations through members' narratives. *Transformative Works and Cultures*, 10. doi:10.3983/twc.2012.0322
- Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2014). *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect* (3rd ed.). New York: Crown.
- Lang, K., & Lang, G. E. (1953). The unique perspective of television and its effect: A pilot study. *American Sociological Review*, 18(1), 3-12.
- Li, D. H.-w. (1990). *The Reliance on the Four Major News Agencies for International News Reports in Taiwan*. DigitalCommons@USU. Utah: All Graduate Plan B and other Reports. Retrieved from <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/gradreports/1599>
- Loshitzky, Y. (2012). Popular Cinema as Popular Resistance: Avatar in the Palestinian (Imagi)nation. *Third Text*, 151-163.
- MacGregor, P. (2013). International News Agencies: Global Eyes That Never Blink. In K. Fowler-Watt, & S. Allan, *Journalism: New Challenges* (pp. 35-63). Poole: Centre for Journalism & Communication Research Bournemouth University.
- Marathe, O. (2021, Februari 15). *Explained: What the 'three-finger salute' seen at Myanmar protests means*. Retrieved from The Indian Express:

<https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/myanmar-protest-three-finger-salute-7183032/>

McQuail, D., & Deuze, M. (2020). *Mcquail's Media & Mass Communication Theory* (7th ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Mitchell, E. (2011). *Seeing blue: negotiating the politics of Avatar media activism*. Sydney: The University of Sydney.

Moscato, D. (2016). Media Portrayals of Hashtag Activism: A Framing Analysis of Canada's #Idlenomore Movement. *Media and Communication*, 4(2), 3-12. doi:10.17645/mac.v4i2.416

Nash, K. (2010). *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics, and Power* (2nd ed.). Chichester : Wiley-Blackwell.

New Internationalist. (1981, 6 1). *The Big Four*. Retrieved from New Internationalist: <https://newint.org/features/1981/06/01/four#:~:text=United%20Press%20International%2C%20Associated%20Press,printed%20by%20the%20world's%20newspapers.>

Nimmo, D. (1978). *Political Communication and Public Opinion in America*. California: Goodyear Publishing Company.

Noakes, J. A., & Wilkins, K. G. (2002). Shifting frames of the Palestinian movement in US news. *Media, Culture & Society*, 24, 649–671.

Norris, P. (2004). Young People & Political Activism: From the Politics of Loyalties to the Politics of Choice? *Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government*, 32.

Online News Association. (2020). *Visualising the Hong Kong protests*. Retrieved from Online Journalism Award: <https://awards.journalists.org/entries/visualising-the-hong-kong-protests/>

Ough, T. (2015, November 4). *Anonymous: How the Guy Fawkes mask became an icon of the protest movement*. Retrieved from Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/anonymous-how-the-guy-fawkes-mask-became-an-icon-of-the-protest-movement-a6720831.html>

Page, B. I. (1996). The Mass Media as Political Actors. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 29(1), 20-24. doi:10.2307/420185

Palmer, M. B. (2019). *International News Agencies: A History*. Paris: Springer Nature. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-31178-0

- Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (1993). Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse. *Political Communication*, 10(1), 55-75. doi:10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963
- Parahita, G. D. (2015). Hegemonic and Counter-Media Frames of the Unsolved-Past Tragedy. *The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2015*. IAFOR.
- Paterson, C., & Sreberny, A. (2004). *International News in the 21st Century*. Eastleigh: John Libbey.
- Prachatai. (2014, Mei 23). *Activists rally against coup in Bangkok*. Retrieved from Prachatai English: <https://prachatai.com/english/node/3991>
- Putra, M. A. (2018, Februari 24). *Efek Rumah Kaca Ajak Teken Petisi #SebelahMata Novel Baswedan*. Retrieved from CNN Indonesia: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/hiburan/20180223205553-227-278472/efek-rumah-kaca-ajak-teken-petisi-sebelahmata-novel-baswedan>
- Quinley, C. (2021, Februari 8). *Three-finger salute: Hunger Games symbol adopted by Myanmar protesters*. Retrieved from The Guardian News: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/feb/08/three-finger-salute-hunger-games-symbol-adopted-by-myanmars-protesters>
- Rafeeq, A., & Jiang, S. (2018). From the Big Three to elite news sources: a shift in international news flow in three online newspapers TheNational.ae, Nst.com.my, and Nzherald.co.nz. *Journal of International Communication*, 24(1), 96–114. doi:10.1080/13216597.2018.1444663
- Rantanen, T. (2019, March 26). *News Agencies from Telegraph Bureaus to Cyberfactories*. doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.843
- Rantanen, T., & Kelly, A. (2021). The Digital Transformation of International and National News Agencies: Challenges Facing AFP, AP, and TASS. In D. V. Dimitrova, *Global Journalism: Understanding World Media Systems* (pp. 357-378). London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Read, D. (1994). Reuters: News Agency of the British Empire. *Contemporary Record*, 8(2), 195-212. doi:10.1080/13619469408581290
- Reese, S., & Shoemaker, P. (2014). *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Reuters. (2021, Februari 9). *"Power in solidarity": Myanmar protesters inspired by Hong Kong and Thailand*. Retrieved from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-myanmar-politics-protests-idUSKBN2A913H>

- Reuters. (2021, Februari 3). *First Thailand, now Myanmar: Asia protesters borrow from 'Hunger Games'*. Retrieved from Reuters:
<https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/first-thailand-now-myanmar-asia-protesters-borrow-hunger-games-2021-02-03/>
- Reuters. (2022, 3 25). *About Reuters*. Retrieved from Reuters News Agency:
<https://www.reutersagency.com/en/about/about-us/>
- Robertson, A. (2019). From Robin Hood to Mr. Robot: Popular-cultural narratives of protest on television. In A. Robertson, *Screening Protest: Visual Narratives of Dissent Across Time, Space and Genre* (pp. 166-189). New York: Routledge.
- Robertson, A. (2019). *Screening Protest: Visual Narratives of Dissent Across Time, Space and Genre*. New York: Routledge.
- Robertson, A., Chiroiu, L., & Grecu, D.-A. (2019). Protest on Global Television: Protest maps, violence and voice. In A. Robertson, *Screening Protest: Visual Narratives of Dissent Across Time, Space and Genre* (pp. 21-47). New York: Routledge.
- Ross, G. (Director). (2012). *The Hunger Games* [Motion Picture].
- Sani, A. F. (2021, Maret 1). *Indonesian Activists Show Solidarity for People of Myanmar*. Retrieved from Tempo.co English Version:
<https://en.tempo.co/read/1437519/indonesian-activists-show-solidarity-for-people-of-myanmar>
- Schiller, H. I. (1976). *Communication and Cultural Domination*. New York: International Arts and Sciences Press.
- Schmitt, H. J., & Saam, R. J. (2007). Reuters "Air Mail". *EUROCON 2007 - The International Conference on "Computer as a Tool"* (pp. 2652-2655). Warsaw: Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers.
doi:10.1109/EURCON.2007.4400695
- Scholastic Inc. (n.d.). *Suzanne Collins Q&A on Letterhead Mockingjay*. Retrieved from Scholastic:
http://mediaroom.scholastic.com/files/Suzanne_Collins_Q&A_on_Letterhead_Mockingjay.pdf
- Schrettle, K. (2019). Mediating Democracy: Global television news and the Greek protests of 2015. In A. Robertson, *Screening Protest: Visual Narratives of Dissent Across Time, Space and Genre* (pp. 72-98). New York: Routledge.
- Schwedler, J., & Harris, K. (2016). What Is Activism? *Middle East report*(281), 2-5.

- Segev, E. (2017). From where does the world look flatter? A comparative analysis of foreign coverage in world news. *Journalism*, 20(7), 924–942.
doi:10.1177/1464884916688292
- Segev, E. (2021). International News Flow in the Digital Age. In D. V. Dimitrova, *Global Journalism: Understanding World Media Systems* (pp. 52-72). London: The Rowman & Littlefield.
- Silberstein-Loeb, J. (2014). *The International Distribution of News: The Associated Press, Press Association, and Reuters, 1848–1947*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sims, A. (2012, Maret 23). *Lionsgate takes issue with Harry Potter Alliance's 'Hunger is not a Game' charity branding*. Retrieved from Hypable: <https://www.hypable.com/lionsgate-asks-harry-potter-alliance-to-not-use-hunger-is-not-a-game-branding/>
- Solomon, F. (2021, Februari 18). *What 'The Hunger Games' Three-Finger Salute Means to Protesters Across Asia*. Retrieved from The Wall Street Journal: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/what-the-hunger-games-three-finger-salute-means-to-protesters-across-asia-11613649604>
- Street, J., Inthorn, S., & Scott, M. (2013). *From entertainment to citizenship: Politics and popular culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Sudibyo, A. (2001). *Politik Media dan Pertarungan Wacana*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Surm, J. (2019). AFP, EFE and dpa as international News Agencies. *Journalism*, 21(12), 1859–1876. doi:10.1177/1464884919883491
- Suroor, H. (2010, Juli 29). *"Avatar" actors join protest in support of Orissa tribals*. Retrieved from The Hindu: <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/ldquoAvatarrdquo-actors-join-protest-in-support-of-Orissa-tribals/article16213335.ece>
- The Finery Report. (2020, September 30). *What is cultural appropriation?* Retrieved from The Finery Report: <https://www.thefineryreport.com/articles/2020/9/30/what-is-cultural-appropriation>
- The Guardian. (2014, Juni 3). *Hunger Games salute banned by Thai military*. Retrieved from The Guardian News: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/03/hunger-games-salute-banned-thailand>

- Thompson, B. Y. (2015). *Covered in Ink: Tattoos, Women and the Politics of the Body*. New York: New York University Press.
- Tiffen, R. (1976). A New International Order? International Agencies and the Flow of News. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 4(2), 65-76. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24490001>
- Tilly, C. (2004). *Social movements, 1768-2004*. Colorado: Paradigm Publishers.
- UNESCO. (1953). *News Agencies: Their Structure and Operation*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- van Dijk, T. (1988). *News as Discourse*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Van Gorp, B. (2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 60–78. doi: 10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x
- Vision Times. (2014, November 29). *HK Protesters Express Aspirations for Freedom With 3 Finger Salute*. Retrieved from Vision Times: <https://web.archive.org/web/20201028164303/https://visiontimes.com/2014/11/28/hk-protesters-express-aspirations-for-freedom-with-3-finger-salute.html>
- Vliegenthart, R. (2012). Framing in Mass Communication Research – An Overview and Assessment. *Sociology Compass*, 6(12), 937–948. doi:10.1111/soc4.12003
- Wachman, R. (2010, Juli 25). *Indian miner Vedanta faces Avatar-style protest at its London AGM*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2010/jul/25/vedanta-faces-avatar-protest-agm>
- White, D. (2020, Juni 1). *BEHIND THE MASK What is Anonymous? Hacker group that has re-emerged over George Floyd protests*. Retrieved from The Sun: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3885265/what-anonymous-hacker-george-floyd-protests/>
- Yahoo! (2017, September 19). *Philippines' Duterte facing 'Hunger Games' protests*. Retrieved from Yahoo! News: <https://news.yahoo.com/philippines-duterte-facing-hunger-games-protests-104034204.html>