

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Al Jazeera. 2016. *Ruling Saenuri party splits over Park Geun-hye scandal*. 27 December. Accessed March 20, 2021. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/12/27/ruling-saenuri-party-splits-over-park-geun-hye-scandal>.
- Arirang News. 2016. *Seoul's Candlelight Protests From the Ground*. 28 November. Accessed March 13, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HSxZoA7On8A&l>.
- Australia, Refugee Review Tribunal. 2006. *South Korea – Protesters - Democracy Activists - Student Movement*. Country Research Section of the Refugee Review, Canberra: Refugee Review Tribunal Australia .
- BBC. 2018. *South Korea's presidential scandal*. 6 April. Accessed February 28, 2021. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-37971085>.
- Bryan, Paige Danielle. 2019. *Evolution of Student Movements in South Korea and their Impact on the Formation of Korean*. Senior Thesis, Bronx: Fordham University.
- Bulman, May. 2016. *South Korean opposition parties introduce bill to impeach scandal-hit President Park Geun-hye*. The Independent. 3 December. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/park-geun-hye-south-korea-impeach-bill-president-a7453516.html>.
- Cho, Sanghun. 2016. *South Korea Parliament Votes to Impeach President Park Geun-hye*. The New York Times. 6 December. Accessed February 28, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/09/world/asia/south-korea-president-park-geun-hye-impeached.html>.
- Choi, Yerin. 2016. *Farmers' Tractors Rumbling on Long Journey to Seoul to "Kick Out" President Park*. The Hankyoreh. 25 November. Accessed March 13, 2021. http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/771987.html.
- Civil Organization of Citizen Action for the Resignation of Park Geunhye. 2018. *박근혜 정부에 대한 촛불 운동의 기록 (A Record of the Candlelight Movement against the Park Geunhye Government)*. Paper, Seoul: Civil Organization of Citizen Action for the Resignation of Park Geunhye.
- CNN International. 1996. *S. Korean student demonstrators sentenced to prison*. 29 October. Accessed February 19, 2021. <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/9610/29/korean.students/index.html>.
- Earl, Jennifer, and Sarah Soule. 2006. "Seeing Blue: A Police-Centered Explanation of Protest Policing." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 145-164. Accessed March 9, 2021.
- Hadl, Gabriele. 2011. *Korean Protest Culture*. 16 April. Accessed April 10, 2020. <https://kyotojournal.org/society/korean-protest-culture/>.
- Han, Soul. 2012. *South Koreans protest against the mishandling of the deaths of two Korean students caused by U.S. Army, 2002-2004*. Global Nonviolent Action Database. 25 November. Accessed February 24, 2021. <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/south-koreans-protest-against-mishandling-deaths-two-korean-students-caused-us-army-2002-200>.



- Heo, Jinmoo. 2016. *Police, "Thank you" for the candlelight protest on the weekend of Haya Park Geun-hye* (경찰, '박근혜 하야 주말 촛불시위 관련 "감사드린다" 입장). The Kyunhyang Shinmun. 30 November. Accessed March 16, 2021. https://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201610301214001&code=940100.
- Holtz, Michael. 2017. *How A Protest Movement Swelled To Oust South Korea's President*. The Christian Science Monitor. 10 March. Accessed March 16, 2021. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-Pacific/2017/0310/How-a-protest-movement-swelled-to-oust-South-Korea-s-president>.
- Hwang, Injeong, and Charmaine N. Willis. 2020. "Protest by Candlelight: A Comparative Analysis of Candlelight Vigils in South Korea." *Journal of Civil Society* 1-11.
- Jang, Soohyun. 2016. *Flower Walls for Peaceful Demonstrations*. Hanyang University News. 27 December. Accessed March 15, 2021. <http://www.newshyu.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=54346>.
- Kang, Jiyeon. 2012. "Corporeal Memory and the Making of a Post-Ideological Social Movement: Remembering the 2002 South Korean Candlelight Vigils." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 329-250.
- Kang, Seongwon. 2017. *미선이, 효순이는 정말 '교통사고'로 희생된 것이었나* (Were Misun and Hyosun really killed by smash-up?). 28 May. Accessed February 23, 2021. <http://www.mediatoday.co.kr/news/articleView.html?mod=news&act=articleView&idxno=137053>.
- Kang, Woojin. 2019. "Determinants of Unaffiliated Citizen Protests: The Korean Candlelight Protests of 2016–2017." *Korea Journal* 46-78.
- Khaled, Mortuza. 2007. *Park Chung-hee's Industrialization Policy and its Lessons for Developing Countries*. Academic Paper, Rajshahi : University of Rajshahi Bangladesh.
- Korea Federation for Environmental Movement. 2012. *Road for Life and Peace: Korean Environmental Movement, Thirty Years, 1982-2012*. Seoul: Korea Federation for Environmental Movement.
- Kim, Boeun, and Chung Hyunchae. 2016. *'Park spent 90 minutes hair styling when 315 students were trapped in sinking ferry'*. The Korea Times. 7 December. Accessed February 28, 2021. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2021/02/113_219630.html.
- Kim, Eunsung. 2017. "The Material Culture of Korean Social Movements." *Journal of Material Culture* 1-36.
- Kim, Eunsung. 2016. "The sensory power of cameras and noise meters for protest surveillance in South Korea." *Social Studies of Science* 396-416.
- Kim, Jiho, and Park Suji. 2016. *How million-strong candlelight demonstrations are being organized*. The Hankyoreh. 6 December. Accessed March 14, 2021. http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/773491.html.
- Kim, Jonghyo. 2008. *80년대식 진압 '화려한 부활', 피흘린 촛불* (The 'glittering revival' of the 80s style suppression: Bloody Candlelight). The Hankyoreh. 28 June. Accessed February 27, 2021. http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/295916.html.



- Kwon, Insook. 2016. "How Identities and Movement Cultures Became Deeply Saturated with Militarism: Lessons from the Pro-democracy Movement of South Korea." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 7-40.
- Lee, Jinyong, Peter LaPlaca, and Farhad Rassekh. 2008. "Korean economic growth and marketing practice progress: A role model for economic growth of developing countries." *Industrial Marketing Management* 753-757.
- Lee, Jonggu. 2018. 첫 촛불 ‘미선·효순 16주기’... 13일 양주서 열려 (*The first candlelight, "Misun and Hyosun 16th Memorial" held in Yangju on June 13*). The Hankook Ilbo. 4 June. Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/%20201806041604349451%20>.
- Lim, Kyunghoon. 2010. "Social and Demographic Characteristics and Political Orientation of Participants in the Candlelight Protest 2008 ." *Korean Party Studies Review* 95-120.
- Modern Political Research Institute of Sogang University. 2016. 촛불집회 참가자 설문조사 (*Candlelight Participant Survey*). Survey Report, Seoul: Modern Political Research Institute of Sogang University.
- New York Times . 1996. *Riot Police Raid Seoul Campus Held by Students*. 16 August. Accessed February 19, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/08/16/world/riot-police-raid-seoul-campus-held-by-students.html>.
- Ock, Hyunju. 2017. *Koreans win global prize for candlelight rallies*. The Korea Herald. 16 October. Accessed February 28, 2021. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20171016000953>.
- Park, Segil. 2016. 2002, 2008... 그리고 2016, 이것이 촛불의 역사다 (2002, 2008...and 2016. *This is the history of candlelight*). OhMyNews. 24 November. Accessed February 24, 2021. http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0002264069.
- Park, Sehwan. 2017. *Ex-Ewha Univ. chief faces arrest over Chung Yoo-ra admission*. The Korea Herald. 24 January. Accessed February 28, 2021. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170124000831>.
- Park, Sisoo, Lee Jina, and Hong Damyoung. 2016. *Photos suggest Park had beauty surgery amid Sewol tragedy [PHOTOS]*. The Korea Times. 16 December. Accessed 28 February, 2021. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2021/01/113_220142.html.
- Park, Soojin. 2016. *How Police Barricades Became Glower-cades*. The Hankyoreh. 22 November. Accessed March 15, 2021. http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/771448.html.
- Premack, Rachel. 2016. *Koreans Have Mastered the Art of the Protest*. Foreign Policy. 2 December. Accessed March 8, 2021. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/12/02/koreans-have-mastered-the-art-of-the-protest/>.
- Reuters. 2016. *S.Korea president's approval rating falls to 5 percent: Gallup*. Reuters. 4 November. Accessed March 8, 2021. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-politics-poll-idUSKBN12Z04Y>.



- Rohimone, Drananda, and Grant Wyeth. 2019. *Why Are Street Protests So Common in South Korea?* 15 August. Accessed April 2020, 2020. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/08/why-are-street-protests-so-common-in-south-korea/>.
- Savada, Andrea Matles, and William Shaw. 1992. *South Korea: A Country Study*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division - Library of Congress.
- Seok, Jinhwan. 2016. *A "people's victory" as 234 lawmakers vote to impeach President Park*. The Hankyoreh. 9 December. Accessed Maret 20, 2021. http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/774037.html.
- Seok, Jinhwan, and Lee Seeyoung. 2016. *Opposition taking hardline stance to push for Pres. Park's impeachment*. The Hankyoreh. December. Accessed March 19, 2021. http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/772789.html.
- Sharp, Gene. 1973. *The Politics of Non-Violent Action*. New York: Porter Sargent.
- Shin, Giwook, Paul Chang, Jueun Lee, and Sookyung Kim. 2007. *South Korea's Democracy Movement (1970-1993): Stanford Korea Democracy Project Report*. Policy Brief, Stanford: Shorenstein Asia Pacific Research Center Stanford University.
- Sungmoon, Kim. 2019. "Candlelight for Our Country's Right Name: A Confucian Interpretation of South Korea's Candlelight Revolution." *Religions* 2-20.
- Tait, Jaydan. 2005. *Segyehwa: The Globalization of Seoul*. Design Research, Calgary: University of Calgary.
- The Wall Street Journal. 2016. *Korea's Political Tensions Keep Rising*. 28 November. Accessed March 13, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pRENYF6ke3I>.
- U.S Government Printing Office. 1967. "US - Republic of Korea Status of Forces Agreement 1966-67." *United States Forces Korea*. 9 February. Accessed February 24, 2021. <https://www.usfk.mil/Portals/105/Documents/411%20CSB/1%20U.S.-ROK%20SOFA.PDF>.
- Um, Jiwon. 2016. *Opposition parties "prepared to die" to pass Pres. Park's impeachment*. The Hankyoreh. 6 December. Accessed March 19, 2021. http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/773494.html.
- United Press International. 1996. *S. Korean police crush student protest*. 20 August. Accessed February 19, 2021. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1996/08/20/S-Korean-police-crush-student-protest/9710840513600/>.
- Voice of America News. 2016. *South Korea's Farmers Join Anti-Park Protests*. 26 November. Accessed March 13, 2021. <https://www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/south-koreas-farmers-join-anti-park-protests>.
- Warnberg, Tim. 1987. "The Kwangju Uprising: An Inside View." *Korean Studies* 33-57.
- Winanti, Poppy S. 2003. "Developmental State dan Tantangan Globalisasi: Pengalaman Korea Selatan." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik* 175-204.
- Yoon, Seungmo, and Heo Moonmyung. 2001. *정부, 화염병 시위와 전면전... 고무 충격총 사용방침* (*Government, Molotov Cocktail Demonstration and All-out War, Rubber Impact Gun Usage Policy*). 4 February. Accessed February 21, 2021. <https://www.donga.com/news/article/all/20010402/7670963/1>.



Yun, Seongyi, and Chang Wooyoung. 2011. "New Media and Political Socialization of Teenagers: The Case of the 2008 Candlelight Protests in Korea." *Asian Perspective* 135-162.