

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### Buku

- Alam, Mohammed Ashraf, *A Short Historical Background of Arakan* (Chittagong, Bangladesh, 1999)
- Anke Weber, Wesley Hiers, & Anaid Flesken, *Politicized Ethnicity : A Comparative Perspective* (UK & USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
- Anthony D Smith, *Nationalism : Theory, Ideology, History*, 2nd editio (UK: Polity Press, 2010)
- Appadorai, A., *Dyarchy in Practice* (Madras, Bombay, Calcuta, NY & Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd, 1937)
- Aung, Maung Htin, *A History of Burma* (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1967)
- Barker, Rodney, *Making Enemies : War and State Building in Burma, Making Enemies* (New York: Cornell Univeristy Press, 2003)
- Cady, John F., *A History of Modern Burma* (New York: Cornell Univeristy Press, 1958)
- Druce, Stephen C., 'Myanmar's Unwanted Ethnic Minority : A History of The ROhingya Crisis', in *Managing Conflicts in a Globalizing ASEAN : Incompability Management Through Good Governance*, ed. by Mikio Oishi, Singapore (Springer Nature Singapore, 2020)
- Fink, Christina, *Living Silence: Burma Mnder Military Rule* (London & New York: Zed Books, 2001)
- Gallagher, John, *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire: The Ford Lectures and Other Essays* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Gravers, Mikael, *Nationalism as Political Paronia in Burma : An Essay on the Historical Practice of Power*, 2nd Editio (Curzon Press, 1999)
- Harvey, G. E., E. J. L. Andrew, and H. S. Jevons, *Indian Labour in Rangoon* (UK: Oxford University Press, 1933)
- Hippler, Jochen, *Nation Building : A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation?*, ed. by Jochen Hippler (London: Pluto Press, 2005)
- Khine, Tun Shwe, *Guide To Mrauk : An Ancient City of Rakhine, Myanmar*, 1st edition (Sittway: Sittway Degree College, 1993)
- Kulke, Hermann, and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History Of India*, Fourth Edi (London & New York: Routledge, 2004)
- Kymlicka, Will, *Mutlicultural Citizenship, The Australian Study of Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Lange, Matthew, 'British Colonial State Legacies and Development Trajectories:A Statistical



- Analysis of Direct and Indirect Rule', in *States and Development : Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance*, ed. by Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, 1st edn (USA & UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)
- Leider, Jacques P, 'Competing Identities and the Hybridized History of the Rohingyas', in *Metamorphosis: Studies in Social and Political Change in Myanmar*, ed. by Renaud Egretteau and François Robinne (NUS Press, 2015)
- Lieberman, Victor B., *Burmese Administrative Cycles : Anarchy And Conquest*", c. 1580-1760, *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* (UK: Princeton University Press, 1984),
- Lintner, Bertil, 'Religious Extremism and Nationalism in Bangladesh', in *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*, ed. by Etc Satu P. Limaye, 2004
- Maung, Maung, *Burma 's Constitution*, 2nd edn (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1961)
- Mikael Gravers, 'The Karen Making of a Nation', in *Asian Forms of the Nation*, ed. by Tonnesson Stein, Stein Tønnesson, Hans Antlov, and Hans Antlöv (Taylor & Francis US, 1996)
- Myint-U, Thant, *The Making of Modern Burma* (UK: cambridge university press, 2001)
- Roessler, Philip, 'Theories of Ethnopolitical Exclusion', in *Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa: The Logic of the Coup-Civil War Trap*, ed. by Philip Roessler (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016)
- Rooney, David, *Burma Victory: Imphal, Kohima and The Chindits - March 1944 to May 1945, Python Cookbook* (London: Osprey, 2013)
- Smith, Anthony D., *Ethno-Symbolism And Nationalism*, 1st Edition (New York: Routledge, 2009)
- Smith, Anthony D, *National Identity*, 1st edition (London: Penguin Books, 1991)
- Tarling, Nicholas, *Nationalism in Southeast Asia, Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004)
- Veracini, Lorenzo, *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, ed. by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, *The Routledge*, 1st edn (New York: Routledge, 2017)
- Watch, Human Right, *The Resistance of the Monks : Buddhism Adn Activism in Burma* (USA: hrwnyc, 2009)
- Yegar, Moshe, *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma/Myanmar* (Lexington Books, 2002)
- Yegar, Moshe, *The Muslims of Burma : A Study of Minority Group* (wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1972)
- Yiftachel, Oren, *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine* (Philadelphia: Unuversity of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)



- Ashton, S R, 'Burma , Britain , and the Commonwealth , 1946 – 56', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 29.1 (2001)
- Aung, Zaw Lynn, *Introduction to Rakhine Razawin Nge Palm-Leaf Manuscript, A Research Paper Submitted to the Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science* (Mynarmar, 2010)
- Badgley, John H, 'Burma ' s Political Crisis', *Journal : Pacific Affairs*, Volume 31.No 4 (1958)
- Badru, Pede, 'Ethnic Conflict And State Formation In Post-Colonial Africa : A Comparative Study of Ethnic Genocide in the Congo, Liberia, Nigeria, and Rwanda-Burundi', *Third World Studies*, 27.2 (2018)
- Blanton, Robert, T. David Mason, and Brian Athow, 'Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa', *Journal of Peace Research*, 38.4 (2001)
- Bokay, Mon, 'Relations between Ceylon and Burma in the 11th Century AD', *Artibus Asiae. Supplementum*, 23 (1966), 93–95
- Buchanan, Francis, 'A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire', *Asiatic Researches*, 5.1 (1799)
- Chan, Aye, 'The Development of a Muslim Enclave in Arakan (Rakhine) State of Burma (Myanmar)', *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*, 3.2 (2005), 396–420
- Charney, M W, *Theories and Historiography of the Religious Basis of Ethnonyms in Rakhaing (Arakan), Myanmar (Burma)* (Bangkok)
- Cheesman, Nick, 'How in Myanmar "National Races" Came to Surpass Citizenship and Exclude Rohingya', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47.3 (2017)
- Dertwinkel, Tim, 'Economic Exclusion of Ethnic Minorities: On the Importance of Concept Specification', 2008
- Devi, Konsam Shakila, 'Myanmar under the Military Rule 1962-1988', *International Research Journal of Social Sciences*, 3.10 (2014)
- Eaton, Richard M., 'The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760', 1993
- Elahi, K Maudood, 'The Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh: Historical Perspectives and Consequences', *Refugees: A Third World Dilemma*, 1987, 227–32
- Gisselquist, Rachel M., 'Legal Empowerment and Group-Based Inequality', *Journal of Development Studies*, 55.3 (2019)
- Grundy-Warr, Carl, and Elaine Wong, 'Sanctuary Under a Plastic Sheet – The Unresolved Problem of Rohingya Refugees', *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*, 5 (1997)
- Güneş Murat Tezcür and Mehmet Gurses, 'Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization : The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey', *Comparative Politics*, 49.2 (2017)
- Haque, Md Mahbubul, 'Rohingya Ethnic Muslim Minority and the 1982 Citizenship Law in Burma', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 37.4 (2017)
- Harriden, Jessica, 'Making a Name for Themselves : Karen Identity and the Politicization of Ethnicity in Burma', *Journal of Burma Studies*, 7.1 (2002)



Lecours, A., 'Ethnic and Civic Nationalism: Towards a New Dimension', *Space and Polity*, 4.2 (2000)

Leider, Jacques, 'Rohingya: The History of a Muslim Identity in Myanmar', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, 2018

Levene, Mark, 'Creating a Modern "Zone of Genocide": The Impact of Nation- and State-Formation on Eastern Anatolia, 1878-1923', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 12.3 (1998)

Lieberman, Victor B, 'Political Consolidation in Burma under the Early Konbaung Dynasty 1752c-1820', *Journal of Asian History*, 30.2 (1996)

Mahmud, Tayyab, 'Colonial Cartographies, Postcolonial Borders, and Enduring Failures of International Law: The Unending War along the Afghanistan-Pakistan Frontier', *Brooklyn Journal of International Law*, 20.1 (2010), 10–11

Mohajan, Haradhan Kumar, 'History of Rakhine State and the Origin of Rohingya Muslims', *IKAT: The Indonesian Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 2.2 (2019)

Myaing, Aye Aye, 'A Comparative Study of Administrative System of Myanmar ( 1923-1942 )', *Yadanabon University Research Journal*, 8.1 (2017)

Noriyuki, Osada, *Housing the Rangoon Poor: Indians, Burmese, and Town Planning in Colonial Burma* (Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), 2016)

Piang, L. Lam Khan, 'Ethnic Mobilisation for Decolonisation: Colonial Legacy (the Case of the Zo People in Northeast India)', *Asian Ethnicity*, 14.3 (2013)

Ramstedt, Martin, 'Buddhism and Modernity', *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, 170 (2014)

Scott, Zoe, 'Literature Review on State-Building', *Governance and Social Development Resource Centre*, 126.May (2007)

Silverstein, Josef, 'Burmese Student Politics in a Changing Society', *Daedalus*, 1968, 274–92

Smith, Anthony D, 'The Origins of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12.3 (1989)

Smith, Martin, 'The Muslim Rohingyas of Burma', *Rohingya Reader II, Burma Centrum Nederland, Amsterdam*, 1996, 10

Solomon, Robert L., 'Saya San and the Burmese Rebellion', *Modern Asian Studies*, 3.3 (1969).

Thontowi, Jawahir, 'Pandecta Perlakuan Pemerintah Myanmar Terhadap Minoritas Muslim Rohingya Perspektif Sejarah Dan Hukum Internasional', *Journal :Pandecta - Unnes*, Volume 8, 158 (2013)

Trager, Frank N., 'The Political Split in Burma', *Institute of Pacific Relations*, 27.10 (1958), 145–55

Veracini, Lorenzo, 'Settler Colonial Studies', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1.1 (2011)

Vogt, Manuel, 'Ethnic Stratification and the Equilibrium of Inequality: Ethnic Conflict in Postcolonial States', *International Organization*, 72.1 (2017)



Vumson, *Zo History : Vumson. Zo History: With an Introduction to Zo Culture, Economy, Religion and Their Status as an Ethnic Minority in India, Burma and Bangladesh* (Selbstverl, 1986)

Walinsky, Louis J, 'The Rise and Fall of U Nu The Rise and Fall of U Nu', *Journal : Pacific Affairs*, 38.3 (1966)

Walton, Matthew J, 'Ethnicity, Conflict, and History in Burma: The Myths of Panglong', *Asian Survey*, 48.6 (2008)

Warren, James, 'The Rangoon Jail Riot of 1930 and the Prison Administration of British Burma', *South East Asia Research*, 10.1 (2002)

Wimmer, Andreas, 'Who Owns the State? Understanding Ethnic Conflict in Post-Colonial Societies', *Nations and Nationalism*, 3.4 (1997)

Woods, Philip, 'The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919): A Re-assessment', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 17.1 (1994), 25–42

#### **Dokumen :**

Andrews, C.F, 'India and The Simon Report' (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd)

Fryer, F.W.R, *Report of the Settlement Operations in the Akyab District 1887-1888.Pdf* (Rangoon, Burma, 1988)

Holland, M S F, Sans Fronti, and Holland March, *10 Years for the Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh : Past , Present and Future, Médecins Sans Frontières-Holland* (Holland)

India, Government of, 'Report Of The Indian Statutory Commission Volume 3' (Calcuta: Central Publication Branch, 1930)

*The Constitution of the Union of Burma*, 1947

*The Constitution of the Union of Burma*, 1974

*Burma Citizenship Law*, 1984

#### **Internet :**

'Myanmar: What Sparked Latest Violence in Rakhine? - BBC News'  
<<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41082689>> [accessed 30 July 2020]

Myllonas, Harris, *The Politics of Nation Building : Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012)  
<<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>>

'OHCHR | MyanmarFFM Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Myanmar'  
<<https://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/hrc/myanmarffm/pages/index.aspx>> [accessed 10 July 2020]

'UNHCR - Rohingya Emergency' <<https://www.unhcr.org/rohingya-emergency.html>>  
[accessed 2 August 2020]