

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adiputera, Y., & Prabandari, A. (2018). *Akses Pekerjaan untuk Pengungsi di Indonesia: Peluang dan Tantangan*. Institute of International Studies. <https://iis.fisipol.ugm.ac.id/2019/07/25/akses-pekerjaan-untuk-pengungsi-di-indonesia-peluang-dan-tantangan-2/>
- Affan, H. (2017, July 25). Perpres pengungsi luar negeri “harus jawab” masalah utama pengungsi. *BBC News Indonesia*. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-40709910>
- Akbar, T., & Dwijayanti, R. (2022, January 28). *Upaya Penanganan Pengungsi Luar Negeri di Indonesia*. Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. <https://setkab.go.id/upaya-penanganan-pengungsi-luar-negeri-di-indonesia/>
- Al-Jazeera. (2017, September 5). *Suu Kyi urged to rebuke “shameful” Rohingya treatment*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/9/5/myanmar-faces-international-condemnation-over-rohingya>
- Almeida, P. D. (2019). The Role of Threat in Collective Action. In D. Snow, S. Soule, H. Kriesi, & H. McCammon (Eds.), *Wiley- Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*.
- Amnesty International. (2015). *Perjalanan Mematikan: Krisis Pengungsi dan Perdagangan Manusia di Asia Tenggara*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/ASA2125742015INDONESIAN.pdf>
- Amnesty International. (2017, October 18). *Myanmar: Crimes against humanity terrorize and drive Rohingya out*. [Www.amnesty.org. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/10/myanmar-new-evidence-of-systematic-campaign-to-terrorize-and-drive-rohingya-out/](https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/10/myanmar-new-evidence-of-systematic-campaign-to-terrorize-and-drive-rohingya-out/)
- Ansar, A., & Md. Khaled, A. F. (2021). From solidarity to resistance: host communities’ evolving response to the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh. *Journal of International Humanitarian Action*, 6(1). SpringerOpen. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-021-00104-9>
- Appleby, K. (2024, April 30). *How Europe Is Slowly Closing Its Doors to Asylum-Seekers*. the Center for Migration Studies (CMS). <https://cmsny.org/how-europe-closing-doors-to-asylum-seekers/>
- Armandhanu, D. (2015, May 21). Kisah Heroik Nelayan Aceh Menyelamatkan Rohingya . CNN Indonesia. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150521123314-106-54760/kisah-heroik-nelayan-aceh-menyelamatkan-rohingya>

- Asfar, A. M. (2024, April 5). Narasi Terorganisasi Antipengungsi Rohingya. Espos News Indonesia.  
<https://news.solopos.com/narasi-terorganisasi-antipengungsi-rohingya-1897616>
- Asis, R. P., & Maningat, C. L. (2024). The “ASEAN Way” in Migration Governance. *Springer EBooks*, 679–698. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-39814-8\\_31](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-39814-8_31)
- Asril, S. (2015, May 15). *Panglima TNI Tolak Kapal Pengungsi Rohingya Masuk RI, tapi Bersedia Beri Bantuan*. KOMPAS.com.  
<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/05/15/20213301/Panglima.TNI.Tolak.Kapal.Pengungsi.Rohingya.Masuk.RI.tapi.Bersedia.Beri.Bantuan>
- Bank, A., & Fröhlich, C. (2018). *Forced Migration in the Global South: Reorienting the Debate*. GIGA Focus Global.  
<https://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/publications/giga-focus/forced-migration-in-the-global-south-reorienting-the-debate>
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 544–559.  
<https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2008.1573>
- BBC News. (2020, January 23). Myanmar Rohingya: What you need to know about the crisis. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41566561>
- BBC News Indonesia. (2023a, November 21). *Pengungsi Rohingya di Aceh yang akan didorong kembali ke laut, akhirnya direlokasi ke penampungan*. BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cyr2p6681kgo>
- BBC News Indonesia. (2023b, December 12). *Rohingya Aceh: Siapa yang menyebarkan narasi kebencian dan hoaks soal Rohingya di media sosial serta apa motifnya?* BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cl7pyd45420o>
- BBC News Indonesia. (2023c, December 15). *Pengungsi Rohingya tembus 1.600 orang, mengapa nelayan Aceh menolong pengungsi Rohingya?* BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c4nyelwep2xo>
- Betts, A. (2009). *Protection by Persuasion : International Cooperation in the Refugee Regime*. Cornell University Press.
- Betts, A. (2015). *The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime*. [www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org](http://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org).  
<https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/journal/the-normative-terrain-of-the-global-refugee-regime>
- Bon, E., & Wana, E. (2022). *ASEAN and the Rohingya Crisis since 2017: Dynamics, Challenges, and New Avenues for a More Effective Regional Response in Post-Coup Myanmar*. Asia Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, University of Queensland.

[https://r2pasiapacific.org/files/9005/2022\\_ASEAN\\_\\_Rohingya\\_Crisis\\_Since\\_2017.pdf](https://r2pasiapacific.org/files/9005/2022_ASEAN__Rohingya_Crisis_Since_2017.pdf)

- Boucher, F. (2021). *Refugee Protection and Responsibility-Sharing: A Cosmopolitan View*. *Journal of Moral Philosophy*. Brill. [https://kuleuven.limo.libis.be/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=lirias3630813&context=SearchWebhook&vid=32KUL\\_KUL:Lirias&search\\_scope=lirias\\_profile&adaptor=SearchWebhook&tab=LIRIAS&query=any,contains,LIRIAS3630813&offset=0&lang=en](https://kuleuven.limo.libis.be/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=lirias3630813&context=SearchWebhook&vid=32KUL_KUL:Lirias&search_scope=lirias_profile&adaptor=SearchWebhook&tab=LIRIAS&query=any,contains,LIRIAS3630813&offset=0&lang=en)
- Bowser, M. J. (2020). “Buddhism Has Been Insulted. Take Immediate Steps”: Burmese fascism and the origins of Burmese Islamophobia, 1936–38. *Modern Asian Studies*, 55(4), 1–39. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0026749x20000323>
- Burke, A. (2016). New Political Space, Old Tensions: History, Identity and Violence in Rakhine State, Myanmar. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 38(2), 258–283. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24916632>
- Capaldi, M. P. (2023). Present-Day Migration in Southeast Asia: Evolution, Flows and Migration Dynamics. *IMISCOE Research Series*, 1–19. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-25748-3\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-25748-3_1)
- Chaigne, T. (2024, February 20). How a wave of disinformation is endangering Rohingya refugees in Indonesia. *The Observers - France 24*. <https://observers.france24.com/en/asia-pacific/20240220-misinformation-endangering-rohingya-refugees-indonesia>
- Chaplin, C. (2024, January 23). *Rohingya, politics and disinformation in Indonesia*. Indonesia at Melbourne. <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/rohingya-politics-and-disinformation-in-indonesia/>
- Chuah, H., & Vallentine, J. (2024, January 23). Rohingya Refugees and the Shifting Tide in Indonesia. *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2024/01/rohingya-refugees-and-the-shifting-tide-in-indonesia/#:~:text=In%20the%20span%20of%20a,called%202015%20Andaman%20Sea%20Crisis.>
- Crossman, A. (2019). *What Makes a Social Movement Successful?* ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/political-process-theory-3026451>
- Dewansyah, B., & Nafisah, R. D. (2021). The Constitutional Right to Asylum and Humanitarianism in Indonesian Law: “Foreign Refugees” and PR 125/2016. *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 8(3), 536–557. <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2021.8>
- Emily, E. (2021, November 9). *Myanmar’s discriminatory citizenship law: are Rohingyas the only victims?* Migration.bristol.ac.uk; University of Bristol.

<https://migration.bristol.ac.uk/2021/11/09/myanmars-discriminatory-citizenship-law-are-rohingyas-the-only-victims/>

Farhanditya, M. Y. (2024, February 23). *Sejarah Kepengungsian di Indonesia dan Peran UNHCR*. UNHCR Indonesia.

<https://www.unhcr.org/id/54491-sejarah-kepengungsian-di-indonesia-dan-peran-unhcr.html>

Febriandi, Y. (2023, December 20). *What's driving Aceh's backlash against Rohingya refugees?* Indonesia at Melbourne.

<https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/whats-driving-acehs-backlash-against-rohingya-refugees/>

Gulrajani, N., & Pudussery, J. (2025, January 23). *With the knives out on development spending, have we reached "peak aid"?* The Guardian.

<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/jan/23/global-development-economics-donor-spending-refugee-oecd-world-bank-peak-aid>

Hierro, L. (2025, May 2). *UN's global refugee resettlement program crumbles after US withdrawal*. EL PAÍS English.

<https://english.elpais.com/usa/2025-05-02/uns-global-refugee-resettlement-program-crumbles-after-us-withdrawal.html>

Huang, L., Davidoff-Gore, S., & Fratzke, S. (2025, April 3). *Can innovation help blunt the impact of foreign aid cuts on migration management programs?* ReliefWeb.

<https://reliefweb.int/report/world/can-innovation-help-blunt-impact-foreign-aid-cuts-migration-management-programs>

Hunt, K. (2017, September 20). How Myanmar's Buddhists actually feel about the Rohingya. CNN.

<https://edition.cnn.com/2017/09/19/asia/myanmar-yangon-rohingya-buddhists/index.html>

Ilham. (2019, July 23). *Indonesia Must Revisit Its Handling of Refugees*. Jakarta Globe.

<https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-must-revisit-its-handling-of-refugees>

International Crisis Group. (2017). *Buddhist Nationalism in Myanmar and the Region*.

JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep31446.5>

Islam, N. (2020). Rohingya: A people Under Endless Tyranny. *Asian Affairs: An American Review*, 48(1), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00927678.2020.1793631>

Jani, M. H. B. (2024). Transnational Hate Speech and Disinformation: Anti-Rohingya Sentiments in Indonesia. S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.

<https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/IP24008.pdf>



- Jati, I. (2017). Comparative Study of the Roles of ASEAN and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Responding to the Rohingya Crisis. *IKAT: The Indonesian Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 1(1), 17–32. <https://doi.org/10.22146/ikat.v1i1.27466>
- Korobi, S. A. (2024, January 9). *Rohingya Resettlement: Where is ASEAN?* Australian Institute of International Affairs. <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/rohingya-resettlement-where-is-asean/>
- Lamb, K. (2019, September 13). “It’s impossible to do anything”: Indonesia’s refugees in limbo as money runs out. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/13/its-impossible-to-do-anything-indonesias-refugees-in-limbo-as-money-runs-out>
- Lau, B. (2021). *A Transit Country No More: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Indonesia*. Mixed Migration Centre (MCC). [https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/170\\_Indonesia\\_Transit\\_Country\\_No\\_More\\_Research\\_Report.pdf](https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/170_Indonesia_Transit_Country_No_More_Research_Report.pdf)
- Lieu, A. (2023). *The Global Compact On Refugees: “Equitable” Responsibility-Sharing in an Inequitable Global Order*. <https://www8.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/UNSWLawJlStuS/2023/5.pdf>
- Loescher, G. (2025, May). *UNHCR and the erosion of refugee protection*. *Forced Migration Review*. <https://www.fmreview.org/loescher/>
- Loft, P., & Brien, P. (2025, May 2). *The UK aid budget and support for refugees in the UK in 2022/23*. House of Commons Library. <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9663/>
- Mabes Polri. (2024, January 8). *Warga Dan Mahasiswa Sudah 21 Kali Demo Tolak Pengungsi Rohingya*. Media Hub Polri. <https://mediahub.polri.go.id/image/detail/36474-warga-dan-mahasiswa-sudah-21-kali-demo-tolak-pengungsi-rohingya>
- Mazrieva, E. (2020, October 22). *Bantu Tampung Pengungsi Rohingya, Indonesia Desak Dunia Berikan Bantuan Nyata*. VOA Indonesia; VOA Indonesia | Berita AS, Dunia, Indonesia, Diaspora Indonesia di AS. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/bantu-tampung-pengungsi-rohingya-indonesia-desak-dunia-berikan-bantuan-nyata/5632619.html>
- McAdam, D. (2007). In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Blackwell Publishing. [http://philosociology.com/UPLOADS/\\_PHILOSOCIOLOGY.ir\\_Blackwell%20Encyclopedia%20of%20Sociology\\_George%20Ritzer.pdf](http://philosociology.com/UPLOADS/_PHILOSOCIOLOGY.ir_Blackwell%20Encyclopedia%20of%20Sociology_George%20Ritzer.pdf)

- McAdam, D. (2013). Political Process Theory. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm160>
- McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (Eds.). (2008). *Comparative perspectives on social movements: Political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and cultural framings*. Cambridge University Press.
- Missbach, A. (2021). *Nothing to celebrate? Indonesia, UNHCR and the 1951 Refugee Convention – Netzwerk Fluchtforschung*. *Fluchtforschung.net*. <https://fluchtforschung.net/nothing-to-celebrate/>
- Missbach, A., Adiputera, Y., & Prabandari, A. (2018). Is Makassar a “Sanctuary City”? Migration Governance in Indonesia After the “Local Turn.” *Advances in Southeast Asian Studies*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0003>
- Missbach, A., Adiputera, Y., Prabandari, A., Cintika, G., Swastika, F. Y., & Darningtyas, R. (2018). *Stalemate: Refugees in Indonesia — Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016* (CILIS Policy Paper No. 14). Centre for Indonesian Law, Islam and Society (CILIS), University of Melbourne. [https://law.unimelb.edu.au/\\_data/assets/file/0006/2777667/CILIS-Paper-14\\_Missbach-et-al\\_final.pdf](https://law.unimelb.edu.au/_data/assets/file/0006/2777667/CILIS-Paper-14_Missbach-et-al_final.pdf)
- Mix Migration Centre. (2022). *Rohingya refugees in Indonesia: a focus on smuggling, information, and financing*. Mix Migration Centre. [https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/258\\_Rohingya\\_refugees\\_in\\_Indonesia.pdf](https://mixedmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/258_Rohingya_refugees_in_Indonesia.pdf)
- Nalule, C. (2023). Refugee burden-and-responsibility sharing: Revisiting the debate on the right to compensation to refugee-hosting states - World. *Michigan State International Law Review*, 31. Reliefweb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/refugee-burden-and-responsibility-sharing-revisiting-debate-right-compensation-refugee-hosting-states>
- Narasi Newsroom. (2024, August 27). Membongkar Jejaring Buzzer Penebar Kebencian Rohingya | Buka Mata. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p7-IFOGYxmU>
- Ninditya, F. (2015, May 25). *Pemerintah gelontorkan Rp2,3 miliar bantu pengungsi Rohingnya*. ANTARA. <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/498062/pemerintah-gelontorkan-rp23-miliar-bantu-pengungsi-rohingnya>
- Norwegian Refugee Council. (2018, June 26). *Rich and mid-income countries must welcome more refugees for resettlement*. Norwegian Refugee Council. <https://www.nrc.no/news/2018/june/rich-and-mid-income-countries-must-welcome-more-refugees-for-resettlement>

Peck, G. (2017, September 29). *Myanmar Rohingya hatred has roots in Buddhist nationalism*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/general-news-bcf889617f2341e5888019937595431d>

Peraturan Presiden nomor 125 tahun 2016 tentang Penanganan Pengungsi dari Luar Negeri.

Porter, J. (2023, October 10). *The silent decay of international aid to Rohingya refugees*. Devpolicy Blog ; Development Policy Centre, Australian National University. <https://devpolicy.org/the-silent-decay-of-international-aid-to-rohingya-refugees-20231011/>

Prabandari, A., & Adiputera, Y. (2019). Alternative paths to refugee and asylum seeker protection in Malaysia and Indonesia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 28(2), 132–154. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0117196819850946>

Puspapertiwi, E. R., & Pratiwi, I. E. (2024, July 23). *Tingkat Pengangguran Indonesia Nomor 1 di ASEAN*. KOMPAS.com. <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2024/07/23/103000165/tingkat-pengangguran-indonesia-nomor-1-di-asean?page=all>

Puspita, M. D. (2025, May 7). 10 Negara dengan Persentase Penduduk Miskin Terbanyak Versi Bank Dunia. *Tempo*. <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/10-negara-dengan-persentase-penduduk-miskin-terbanyak-versi-bank-dunia-1362202>

Rachmah, R. A. (2022). Laporan Pemantauan Implementasi Peraturan Presiden No. 125 Tahun 2016 tentang Penanganan Pengungsi dari Luar Negeri dalam Konteks Penanganan Perahu Pengungsi Rohingya di Aceh Tahun 2015 dan 2020. In *SUAKA*. Dompot Dhuafa, SUAKA, dan Yayasan Geutanyoe. <https://suaka.or.id/monitoring-implementasi-peraturan-presiden/>

Rachmah, R. A., & Pestalozzi, Z. E. (2016). *HIDUP YANG TERBAIKAN: Laporan Penelitian Nasib Pengungsi Rohingya Di Indonesia*. Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH) Jakarta. <https://suaka.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/suaka-laporan-penelitian-pengungsi-rohingya-2016-ind-min.pdf>

Rahman, M. M. (2024). *Statelessness – the Root Cause of the Rohingya Crisis – Needs to Be Addressed*. New Lines Institute for Strategy and Policy. <https://newlinesinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/3-Statelessness.pdf>

Rahman, S. A. (2023, March 10). *Rohingya Crisis : The Picture of Fund Crisis and its Impacts*. Centre Tricontinental. <https://www.cetri.be/Rohingya-Crisis-The-Picture-of?lang=fr>

Rastika, I. (2015, May 20). *Wapres: TNI Tidak Boleh Lagi Tolak Pengungsi Rohingya*. KOMPAS.com.

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2015/05/20/17114371/Wapres.TNI.Tidak.Boleh.Lagi.Tolak.Pengungsi.Rohingya>

Ratcliffe, R., & Syakriah, A. (2024, January 18). The online hate campaign turning Indonesians against Rohingya refugees. *The Guardian*.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/18/the-online-hate-campaign-turning-indonesians-against-rohingya-refugees>

Ritchie, H. (2025, March 10). *For many of us, it doesn't cost much to improve someone's life, and we can do much more of it.* Our World in Data.  
<https://ourworldindata.org/foreign-aid-donations-increase>

Sadjad, M. S. (2021). Solidarity and “social jealousy”: emotions and affect in Indonesian host society's situated encounters with refugees. *Third World Quarterly*, 1–18.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1969228>

Satriawan, Y. (2015, May 24). *Presiden Jokowi Tegaskan Indonesia Tetap Bantu Pengungsi Rohingya di Indonesia.* VOA Indonesia.  
<https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/presiden-jokowi-tegaskan-indonesia-tetap-bantu-pengungsi-rohingya-di-indonesia/2787619.html>

Shivakoti, R. (2025, May). *ASEAN's role in the Rohingya refugee crisis*. Forced Migration Review. <https://www.fmreview.org/shivakoti/>

Silva, J. M. D. (2017, February 23). *How Poor Countries Foot the Refugee Bill*. Project Syndicate.  
<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/poor-countries-pay-twice-for-refugees-by-jorge-moreira-da-silva-2017-02>

Soken-Huberty, E. (2021, June 16). *How Can Social Media Help Defend Human Rights?* Human Rights Careers.  
<https://www.humanrightscareers.com/issues/how-can-social-media-help-defend-human-rights/>

Somma, N. M. (2023). Resource Mobilization and Political Process Theories in Latin America. *Oxford University Press EBooks*, 35–53.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190870362.013.3>

Sumarlan, Y. (2019). Political economy of pragmatic refugee policies in Indonesia as a transit country. *Asian Review*, 32(3). <https://doi.org/10.58837/chula.arv.32.3.4>

Suryono, M. S. (2024, April 25). *Rohingya refugees risk dangerous sea route to Indonesia in search of safety and freedom.* UNHCR.  
<https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/rohingya-refugees-risk-dangerous-sea-route-indonesia-search-safety-and-freedom>

Susetyo, H. (2022, March 3). *Urgensi Penanganan Pengungsi dan Pencari Suaka di Indonesia Oleh Heru Susetyo, S.H, L.L.M, M.Si, Ph.D.* Fakultas Hukum Universitas

Indonesia.

<https://law.ui.ac.id/urgensi-penanganan-pengungsi-dan-pencari-suaka-di-indonesia-oleh-heru-susetyo-s-h-l-l-m-m-si-ph-d/>

The New Humanitarian. (n.d.). *The Rohingya: The exodus isn't over*. The New Humanitarian.

<https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/in-depth/myanmar-rohingya-refugee-crisis-humanitarian-aid-bangladesh>

Thuy, B. T. (2022). *Refugee protection in ASEAN: The right to be recognized as a refugee*. Melbourne Law School.

[https://law.unimelb.edu.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0011/4356650/BUI-Thu-Thuy.pdf](https://law.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0011/4356650/BUI-Thu-Thuy.pdf)

Tricesaria, A. A. I. D., & Veronika, N. W. (2023, December 20). *Politisasi isu pengungsi Rohingya jelang Pemilu 2024: 5 hal yang perlu kita ketahui*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/politisasi-isu-pengungsi-rohingya-jelang-pemilu-2024-5-hal-yang-perlu-kita-ketahui-219605>

Tubakovic, T. (2019). The failure of regional refugee protection and responsibility sharing: Policy neglect in the EU and ASEAN. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 28(2), 183–209. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0117196819841094>

Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945.

Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 1999 tentang Hak Asasi Manusia.

Undang-Undang No. 6 Tahun 2011 tentang Keimigrasian.

UN News. (2020, November 19). *Refugee resettlement numbers fall to lowest in two decades: UNHCR*. UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2020/11/1078052>

UNHCR. (2013). *South-East Asia*. <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/legacy-pdf/4ec2310516.pdf>

UNHCR. (2024a, October 8). *Refugee Data Finder*. UNHCR. <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics>

UNHCR. (2024b). *Underfunded Report: The implications of underfunding UNHCR's activities in 2024*. UNHCR. <https://reporting.unhcr.org/underfunded-report-2024>

UNHCR. (2024, September 20). *UNHCR Indonesia - Emergency Update: Rohingya Boat Arrivals as of 20 September 2024 - Indonesia*. ReliefWeb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/indonesia/unhcr-indonesia-emergency-update-rohingya-boat-arrivals-20-september-2024>

USA for UNHCR. (2023, July 23). *Rohingya Refugee Crisis Explained*. [www.unrefugees.org](http://www.unrefugees.org); USA for UNHCR. <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/rohingya-refugee-crisis-explained/#Rohingya>



- Viartasiwi, N., & Missbach, A. (2023, December 4). *Rohingya refugees facing a hostile reception in Aceh - Indonesia* | ReliefWeb. ReliefWeb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/indonesia/rohingya-refugees-facing-hostile-reception-aceh>
- VOA Indonesia. (2024, February 4). *Berita Palsu dan Kebencian di Medsos Perburuk Sentimen Anti-Rohingya di Indonesia*. VOA Indonesia. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/berita-palsu-dan-kebencian-di-medsos-perburuk-sentimen-anti-rohingya-di-indonesia/7469374.html>
- VOA Indonesia . (2023, December 27). *Ratusan Mahasiswa Usir Rohingya di Aceh*. VOA Indonesia. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/ratusan-mahasiswa-usir-rohingya-di-aceh/7414264.html>
- Wicaksono, K., & Angelia, M. (2015, May 22). *Ini Alasan RI Belum Ikut Konvensi PBB Soal Pengungsi*. Viva.co.id; VIVA. <https://www.viva.co.id/berita/dunia/629261-ini-alasan-ri-belum-ikut-konvensi-pbb-soal-pengungsi>
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (6th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Zahed, I. U. M. (2021). RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT? THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S FAILURE TO PROTECT THE ROHINGYA. *Asian Affairs*, 52(4), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2021.1999689>