

DAFTAR RUJUKAN

- Robertson, Holly. 2018. "From Soldiers To Housewives: Women Who Fought As Tamil Tigers In Sri Lanka Are Forced Into Traditional Roles". *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/the-women-who-fought-for-the-tamil-tigers-in-sri-lanka-are-being-forced-into-traditional-roles/2018/06/06/6894df7a-681a-11e8-bea7-c8eb28bc52b1_story.html.
- Herath, Tamara. 2007. "Women combatants and gender identity in contemporary conflicts: The case of the LTTE." *PhD thesis*: 39.
- Ransirini, Shamara. 2015. "Becoming Militant: Narrative Of (Dis?) Embodiment In Visakesa Chandrasekaram'S Tigers Don'T Confess". *Outskirts*, no. 33: 4-5.
- "BBC News | SOUTH ASIA | Sri Lanka: The Ethnic Divide". 2000. *News.Bbc.Co.Uk*. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/514577.stm.
- Rogers, John D. 2004. "Early British Rule And Social Classification In Lanka". *Modern Asian Studies* 38 (3): 625-647. doi:10.1017/s0026749x03001136.
- Gowrinathan, Nimmi. 2017. "The Committed Female Fighter: The Political Identities Of Tamil Women In The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam". *International Feminist Journal Of Politics* 19 (3): 327-341. doi:10.1080/14616742.2017.1299369.
- Richards, Joanne. 2014. "An Institutional History Of The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)". *CCDP Working Paper*, 25-27.
- Bailey Jones, Rachel. 2011. *Postcolonial Representations Of Women*. Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media B.V.
- Young, Robert. 2009. *Postcolonialism*. Brantford, Ont.: W. Ross MacDonald School Resource Services Library.
- Enloe, Cynthia H. 2014. *Bananas, Beaches And Bases*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fanon, Frantz. 2004. *The Wretched Of The Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Morgan, Robin. 1990. *The Demon Lover: On The Sexuality of Terrorism*. London: Mandarin.
- Ismail, Q. 1991. "Boys Will Be Boys: Gender And National Agency In Frantz Fanon And The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam". *Comparative Studies Of South Asia, Africa And The Middle East* 11 (1 and 2): 79-83. doi:10.1215/07323867-11-1_and_2-79.
- Olivius, Elisabeth, and Jenny Hedström. 2019. "Militarized Nationalism As A Platform For Feminist Mobilization? The Case Of The Exiled Burmese Women's

doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2019.102263.

- Jayawardena, Kumari. 2016. *Feminism And Nationalism In The Third World*. London: Verso.
- Herr, Ranjoo Seodu. 2003. "The Possibility Of Nationalist Feminism". *Hypatia* 18 (3): 135-160. doi:10.1353/hyp.2003.0065.
- Lamont, Christopher K. 2015. *Research Methods In International Relations*. SAGE Publications.
- Schrikker, Alicia Frederika. 2006. "Dutch And British Colonial Intervention In Sri Lanka C. 1780 - 1815 : Expansion And Reform.". Doctoral, Leiden University.
- De Silva, Chandra Richard. 1972. *The Portuguese In Ceylon, 1617-1638*. Colombo: H. W. Cave.
- Nissan, Elizabeth, and R. L. Stirrat. 1990. "The Generation Of Communal Identities". In *Sri Lanka: History And The Roots Of Conflict*, 20. London: Routledge.
- Forbes, Jonathan. 1840. *Eleven Years In Ceylon*. London.
- Bandarage, Asoka. 2009. *The Separatist Conflict In Sri Lanka*. New York: Routledge.
- Brown, Michael E, and Sumit Ganguly. 2003. *Fighting Words*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Samarasinghe, Vidyamali. 1993. "Puppets On A String: Women's Wage Work And Empowerment Among Female Tea Plantation Workers Of Sri Lanka". *The Journal Of Developing Areas* 27 (3): 330-334. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4192229>.
- Shashtri, Amita. 1992. "Women In Development And Politics: The Changing Situation In Sri Lanka". *Journal Of Developing Societies* 8: 195.
- Hellmann-Rajanayagam, Dagmar. 2008. "Female Warriors, Martyrs, And Suicide Attackers: Women In The LTTE". *International Review Of Modern Sociology* 34 (1): 9-10. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41421655>.
- Jayatilaka, Danesh, and Kopalapillai Amirthalingam. 2015. "The Impact Of Displacement On Dowries In Sri Lanka". Project On Internal Displacement. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Alison, Miranda. 2003. "Cogs In The Wheel? Women In The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam". *Civil Wars* 6 (4): 45. doi:10.1080/1369824042000221367.
- Khan, Ahsan Ali. 1984. "The Tamil Question In Historical Perspectives: Its Impact On Indo Sri Lanka Relations". *Pakistan Horizon* 37 (2): 47. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41393686>.
- Ramachandran, Sujata. 1993. "The Fragmented Island: Ethnic Conflict And The Politics Of Culture In Sri Lanka". *Refuge* 13 (3): 11.

Spencer, Jonathan. 1990. *Sri Lanka : History And The Roots Of Conflict*. 1st ed. London: Routledge.

DeVotta, Neil. 2014. "Parties, Political Decay, And Democratic Regression In Sri Lanka". *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 52 (1): 140-142. doi:10.1080/14662043.2013.867692.

De Silva, K. M. 1981. *A History Of Sri Lanka*. Oxford University Press.

Welhengama, Gnanapala, and N Pillay. 2014. *The Rise Of Tamil Separatism In Sri Lanka*. London: Routledge.

Wilson, Alfred J. 1994. *S.J.V. Chelvanayakam And The Crisis Of Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press u.a.

"Sri Lanka - Tamil Alienation". 2019. *Countrystudies.Us*. <http://countrystudies.us/sri-lanka/71.htm>.

Farmer, B. H. 1965. "The Social Basis Of Nationalism In Ceylon". *The Journal Of Asian Studies* 24 (3): 432-433. doi:10.2307/2050344.

Ahmed, Imtiaz. 1997. "Communal Conflict In Modern Sri Lanka: Search For A Resolution". *International Journal Of Peace Studies* 1 (2): 89. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41852825>.

Gunasingam, Murugar. 1999. *Sri Lankan Tamil Nationalism: A Study Of Its Origins*. MV Publications.

Satkunanathan, Ambika. 2012. "Whose Nation? Power, Agency, Gender and Tamil Nationalism". In *Sri Lankan Republic at 40: Reflections on Constitutional History, Theory and Practice*, A. Welikala, Centre for Policy Alternatives.. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2206804>.

Walby, S. 1996. "Woman and Nation". In *Mapping the Nation*, New York: New Left Review.

Tamney, Joseph B., and Stanley J. Tambiah. 1998. "Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts And Collective Violence In South Asia". *Sociology Of Religion* 59 (1): 89-91. doi:10.2307/3711974.

Vittachi, Tarzie. 1959. "Emergency '58: The Story Of The Ceylon Race Riots". *International Affairs* 35 (2): 10. doi:10.2307/2605409.

"Hasil Pencarian - KBBI Daring". 2019. *Kbbi.Kemdikbud.Go.Id*. <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/pogrom>.

"Genocide Against Tamil People: Massacres, Pogroms, Destruction Of Property, Sexual Violence And Assassinations Of Civil Society Leaders". 2013. Rome: Permanent

[content/uploads/2016/07/Sentenza-Sri-Lanka-and-Tamil-II.pdf](http://permanentpeoplestribunal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Sentenza-Sri-Lanka-and-Tamil-II.pdf).

"Anti-Tamil Riots And The Political Crisis In Sri Lanka". 1984. *Bulletin Of Concerned Asian Scholars* 16 (1): 27-29. doi:10.1080/14672715.1984.10409780.

Socialist Tamil Eelam: Political Programme Of The LTTE. n.d.

Samaranayake, Gamini. 2007. "Political Terrorism Of The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) In Sri Lanka". *South Asia: Journal Of South Asian Studies* 30 (1): 177. doi:10.1080/00856400701264092.

Chattopadhyaya, H. P. 1994. *Ethnic Unrest In Modern Sri Lanka*. New Delhi: M D Publications.

"Anatomy Of A Pogrom | Tamil Guardian". 2006. *Tamilguardian.Com*.
<https://www.tamilguardian.com/content/anatomy-pogrom?articleid=735>.

Dissanayake, Sara. 2017. "Women In The Tamil Tigers: Path To Liberation Or Pawn In A Game?". *Counter Terrorist Trends And Analyses* 9 (8): 4.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26351541>.

Yamuna Sangarasivam. 2003. "Militarizing the female body: women's participation in the Tamil V.7 II nationalist struggle". In *Violence and the Body: Race, Gender and the State*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Stack-O'Connor, Alisa. 2007. "Lions, Tigers, And Freedom Birds: How And Why The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam Employs Women". *Terrorism And Political Violence* 19 (1): 43-63. doi:10.1080/09546550601054642.

Langenberg, Amy. 2018. "An Imperfect Alliance: Feminism And Contemporary Female Buddhist Monasticisms". *Religions* 9 (6): 9. doi:10.3390/rel9060190.

Roy, Srila. 2009. "The Ethical Ambivalence Of Resistant Violence: Notes From Postcolonial South Asia". *Feminist Review* 91 (1): 141. doi:10.1057/fr.2008.53.

Sri Kantha, Sachi. 2011. "Satyagraha Of April 1961 In Eelam Sri Lanka Tamil". *Sangam.Org*.
https://sangam.org/2011/05/Satyagraha_1961.php?uid=4338.

Wendell, Susan. 1987. "A (Qualified) Defense Of Liberal Feminism". *Hypatia* 2 (2): 66. doi:10.1111/j.1527-2001.1987.tb01066.x.

Tambiah, Stanley J. 1997. *Leveling Crowds*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Alexander, Erin. 2014. "Honorable Mention – Women Of War: The Female Fighters Of The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam | The Yale Review Of International Studies". *Yris.Yira.Org*. <http://yris.yira.org/essays/1347>.

<http://kunci.or.id/articles/membaca-gayatri-chakravorty-spivak/>.

"Women Fighters Of Liberation Tigers - Adele Ann Balasingham". 1994. *Tamilnation.Org*.

<https://tamilnation.org/books/eelam/adeleann#top>.

de Zoysa, Darshini A. 1995. "Transformation Of Customary Marriage And Inheritance Laws Of The Sinhalese Under British Colonialism". *Dialectical Anthropology* 20 (2): 111-132. doi:10.1007/bf01298414.

Tambiah, Guiendran. 2020. "Featur13". *Infolanka.Com*.

<http://www.infolanka.com/org/srilanka/hist/72.htm>.

Haslund-Vinding, Ingeborg. 2015. "Rape And Domestic Violence In Sri Lanka: Triggered By A Mind-Set?". *Groundviews*. <https://groundviews.org/2015/04/07/rape-and-domestic-violence-in-sri-lanka-triggered-by-a-mind-set/>.

Betts, Raymond. 2012. "Decolonization: A Brief History Of The Word". In *Beyond Empire And Nation*, 23.

"Sinhalese Settlements And Forced Evictions Of Tamils In The North-East Province". 2000. *Tamilnation.Org*. <https://tamilnation.org/forum/manogaran/000601settlements.htm>.

Stokke, Kristian. 1998. "Sinhalese And Tamil Nationalism As Post-Colonial Political Projects From 'Above', 1948–1983". *Political Geography* 17 (1): 86. doi:10.1016/s0962-6298(96)00070-4.

Hall, John, and Siniša Malešević. 2013. *Nationalism And War*. Cambridge University Press.

Coomaraswamy, Radhika, and Nimanthi Perera-Rajasingham. 2009. "Being Tamil A Different Way: A Feminist Critique Of The Tamil Nation". In *Pathways Of Dissent: Tamil Nationalism In Sri Lanka*, 131.

Schrijvers, J. 1999. "Fighters, Victims And Survivors: Constructions Of Ethnicity, Gender And Refugeeess Among Tamils In Sri Lanka". *Journal Of Refugee Studies* 12 (3): 316. doi:10.1093/jrs/12.3.307.

Herath, H.M.A. 2015. "Place Of Women In Sri Lankan Society Measures For Their Empowerment For Development And Good Governance". *Vidyodaya Journal Of Management* 1 (1): 4-8. doi:10.31357/vjm.v1i1.2475.

Kramarae, Cheris, and Dale Spender. 2003. *Routledge International Encyclopedia Of Women*. New York: Routledge.

Prakash, Gyan. 1994. "Subaltern Studies As Postcolonial Criticism". *The American Historical Review* 99 (5): 1487-1488. doi:10.2307/2168385.

India.

de Soyza, Niromi. 2009. "Life As A Female Tamil Tiger Guerilla Relived By One Of First Female Soldiers". *Telegraph.Co.Uk*.

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/srilanka/5283438/Life-as-a-female-Tamil-Tiger-guerilla-relived-by-one-of-first-female-soldiers.html>.

Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Living In Fear: Child Soldiers And The Tamil Tigers In Sri Lanka."

Rajan, V. G. Julie. 2012. *Women Suicide Bombers*. London: Routledge.

De Soyza, Niromi. 2011. *Tamil Tigress: My Story As A Child Soldier In Sri Lanka's Bloody Civil War*. Allen & Unwin.

"Sinhalese Settlements And Forced Evictions Of Tamils In The North-East Province". 2000. *Tamilnation.Org*. <https://tamilnation.org/forum/manogaran/000601settlements.htm>.

Silva, Neluka. 2004. *The Gendered Nation*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Alison, Miranda H. 2009. *Women And Political Violence*. New York: Routledge.

Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. 2006. "The Liberation Tigers Of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) And Child Recruitment". https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/7BB27FE2EF467242C12572D70020C38D-Full_Report.pdf.

Khan, Stephen, Rory McCarthy, and Luke Harding. 2009. "Female Suicide Bombers: Tamil Tiger Teenage Girl Led The Way". *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/11/female-suicide-bombers-iraq-sri-lanka>.

Roberts, Michael. 2005. "Saivite Symbols, Sacrifice, And Tamil Tiger Rites". *Social Analysis* 49 (1): 75. doi:10.3167/015597705780996200.

Ward, Shelby. 2019. "Violating The State Body: Sexual Violence And Control In The Sri Lankan Civil War As Nation-Building In The Body Politic". *Interdisciplinary Political Studies*, 181.

"A Chance To Rewrite History: The Women Fighters Of The Tamil Tigers". 2018. *Longreads*. <https://longreads.com/2018/05/22/a-chance-to-rewrite-history-the-women-fighters-of-the-tamil-tigers/>.

"We Will Teach You A Lesson" | Sexual Violence Against Tamils By Sri Lankan Security Forces". 2013. *Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2013/02/26/we-will-teach-you-lesson/sexual-violence-against-tamils-sri-lankan-security-forces>.

Political Committee, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. 1983. "Women And Revolution: The Role Of Women In National Liberation". LTTE.

Hirsch, Michele. 2013. "No, War Doesn't Have To Mean Rape - Women's Media Center".

Women's Media Center. <https://www.womensmediacenter.com/women-under-siege/no-war-doesnt-have-to-mean-rape>.

Nadarajah, Suthaharan, and Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah. 2005. "Liberation Struggle Or Terrorism? The Politics Of Naming The LTTE". *Third World Quarterly* 26 (1): 87-89. doi:10.1080/0143659042000322928.

Harris, Simon. 2004. "Gender, Participation, And Post-Conflict Planning In Northern Sri Lanka". *Gender & Development* 12 (3): 64-65. doi:10.1080/13552070412331332320.

Höglund, Kristine. 2019. "Testimony Under Threat: Women's Voices And The Pursuit Of Justice In Post-War Sri Lanka". *Human Rights Review* 20 (3): 366. doi:10.1007/s12142-019-0549-3.

Panda, Ankit. 2020. "Human Rights, Reconciliation, And Peace In Sri Lanka Under Gotabaya Rajapaksa". *The Diplomat.Com*. <https://thediplomat.com/2019/11/human-rights-reconciliation-and-peace-in-sri-lanka-under-gotabaya-rajapaksa/>.

"President Gotabaya Rajapaksa: Cannot Entertain 2015 UNHRC Resolution On War Crime In Its Current Form". 2019. *The Hindu*. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/cannot-entertain-2015-unhrc-resolution-on-war-crime-in-its-current-form-president-gotabaya-rajapaksa/article30358237.ece>.

International Crisis Group. 2017. "Sri Lanka's Conflict-Affected Women: Dealing With The Legacy Of War". Asia Report N°289. Brussels: International Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/sri-lanka/289-sri-lankas-conflict-affected-women-dealing-legacy-war>.

Traunmüller, Richard, Sara Kijewski, and Markus Freitag. 2019. "The Silent Victims Of Sexual Violence During War: Evidence From A List Experiment In Sri Lanka". *Journal Of Conflict Resolution* 63 (9): 2015-2042. doi:10.1177/0022002719828053.