

6 DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adiputera, Y., & Missbach, A. (2021). Indonesia's foreign policy regarding the forced displacement of Rohingya refugees: Muslim solidarity, humanitarianism, and non-interventionism. *Asia-Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law*, 22(1), 69–95. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718158-22010002>
- Alwi, S., Mukhlis, Siregar, Z. A. B., Iqbal, M., & Fithra, H. (2024). Community psychology and the acceptance of Rohingya refugees in Aceh: Local identity, humanitarian needs, and Islamic law. *Hikmatuna: Journal for Integrative Islamic Studies*, 10(1), 15–27. <https://doi.org/10.28918/hikmatuna.v10i1.6899>
- Azis, A. (2023). The refugees vanish: Rohingya movement, emergency's temporality and violence of the Indonesian humanitarian border. In S. Petchamesree & M. P. Capaldi (Eds.), *Migration in Southeast Asia: IMISCOE regional reader* (pp. 177–193). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-25748-3_10
- Bahri, M. I., Kismawadi, E. R., & Agustina, T. S. (2024). Between sympathy and hostility: Acehese attitudes towards Rohingya refugees. *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion*, 9(2), 163–185. <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v9i2.2541>
- Banning, T. (2025). The two-level-game approach as an analytical framework. In *Germany's Belt and Road bargain* (pp. 25–68). Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-47056-2_2
- Betts, A. (2013). *Survival migration: Failed governance and the crisis of displacement*. Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801468964>
- Bintarawati, F., Lubis, A. F., Iqsandri, R., & Utama, A. S. (2023). Tantangan dan prospek perlindungan hukum dan hak asasi manusia bagi pengungsi Rohingya di Indonesia dari perspektif masyarakat. *Jurnal Hukum dan HAM Wara Sains*, 2(12), 1169–1180. <https://doi.org/10.58812/jhhws.v2i12.871>
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). SAGE. <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/research-design/book255675>
- Darnela, L. (2021). Islam and humanity: Commodification of aid for Rohingya in Aceh. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 59(1), 57–96. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2021.591.57-96>

- 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>
- Fikri, A. A., & Mayola, J. (2024). Respon Indonesia terhadap krisis pengungsi Rohingya periode 2022–2023. *Emerald: Journal of Economics and Social Sciences*, 3(2), 51–64. <https://jurnalsains.id/index.php/emerald/article/view/159>
- Goodwin-Gill, G. S., & McAdam, J. (2007). *The refugee in international law* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press. <https://academic.oup.com/oxford-law-pro/book/57212>
- Hathaway, J. C. (2005). *The rights of refugees under international law*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511614859>
- Havez, M., Ernawati, N., Pitaloka, D., Rosidi, A., & Jumadi, J. (2024). Balancing local community interest and international responsibilities in the context of the expulsion of Rohingya refugees in Aceh. *Indonesian Journal of International Law*, 21(4). <https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol21.4.1823>
- Huda, A. M., Nurwahid, A. F., Firmannandya, A., Tsurroya, & Ismail, A. (2026). Who’s to blame for the Rohingya refugee crisis? Analyzing “scapegoating” narratives in YouTube news channel commentaries from Indonesia and Malaysia. *Multidisciplinary Science Journal*, 8, e2026016. <https://doi.org/10.31893/multiscience.2026016>
- Indonesia. (1945). *Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*. Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional. https://bphn.go.id/data/documents/uud_1945.pdf
- Indonesia. (1999a). *Undang-Undang Nomor 37 Tahun 1999 tentang Hubungan Luar Negeri*. JDIH BPK RI. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/45358/uu-no-37-tahun-1999>
- Indonesia. (1999b). *Undang-Undang Nomor 39 Tahun 1999 tentang Hak Asasi Manusia*. JDIH BPK RI. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/45361/uu-no-39-tahun-1999>
- Indonesia. (2011). *Undang-Undang Nomor 6 Tahun 2011 tentang Keimigrasian*. JDIH BPK RI. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/39140/uu-no-6-tahun-2011>
- Indonesia. (2016). *Peraturan Presiden Nomor 125 Tahun 2016 tentang Penanganan Pengungsi dari Luar Negeri*. JDIH BPK RI. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/41029/perpres-no-125-tahun-2016>
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. (2017). *Humanitarian diplomacy policy*. <https://www.ifrc.org/document/humanitarian-diplomacy-policy>

- International Organization for Migration. (2021, June 8). *IOM provides food, water to latest group of Rohingya rescued in East Aceh, Indonesia*. <https://www.iom.int/news/iom-provides-food-water-latest-group-rohingya-rescued-east-aceh-indonesia>
- Kneebone, S., Missbach, A., & Jones, B. (2021). The false promise of Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016? *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 8(3), 431–450. <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2021.2>
- McNevin, A., & Missbach, A. (2018). Hospitality as a horizon of aspiration (or, what the international refugee regime can learn from Acehnese fishermen). *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 31(3), 292–313. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fey014>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (3rd ed.). SAGE. <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/qualitative-data-analysis/book246128>
- Missbach, A. (2018). Indonesia and ASEAN responses on Rohingya refugees. In *Springer reference*. Springer. https://link.springer.com/rwe/10.1007/978-981-13-0242-8_170-1
- Missbach, A., & Adiputera, Y. (2021). The role of local governments in accommodating refugees in Indonesia: Investigating best-case and worst-case scenarios. *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 8(3), 490–506. <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2021.5>
- Missbach, A., & Stange, G. (2021). Muslim solidarity and the lack of effective protection for Rohingya refugees in Southeast Asia. *Social Sciences*, 10(5), Article 166. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10050166>
- Moy, L. Y., & Kusuma, A. J. (2016). Latar belakang Indonesia menerima pengungsi Rohingya pada tahun 2015 (analisa konstruktivis). *Global Insight Journal*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.52447/gij.v1i1.755>
- Mukhlis, M., Malahayati, M., Ardila, S., & Muammar, M. (2023). Assessing Presidential Regulation Number 125 of 2016 concerning handling of refugees from abroad in Aceh Province, Indonesia. *Kanun: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 25(3), 550–576. <https://doi.org/10.24815/kanun.v25i3.30584>
- Muttaqin, E. Z. (2024). Indonesia's protection of Rohingya refugees and regional geopolitical principles. *Lampung Journal of International Law*, 6(1), 41–54. <https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v6i1.3348>
- Permata, I. M., Hijrah D., N., & Sinulingga, A. A. (2019). Humanitarian diplomacy: Indonesia's response toward Rohingya humanitarian crisis. *Journal of Diplomacy and International Studies*, 2(1), 1–12. [https://doi.org/10.25299/jdis.2019.vol2\(01\).4422](https://doi.org/10.25299/jdis.2019.vol2(01).4422)

- Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and domestic politics: The logic of two-level games. *International Organization*, 42(3), 427–460. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027697>
- Rachmah, R. A., SUAKA, Dompot Dhuafa, & Yayasan Geutanyoe. (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*. <https://suaka.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Monitoring-5-Tahun-Perpres-No.-125-Tahun-2016.pdf>
- Raharema, N. R. A. (2024). The shifting attitudes of Acehnese towards Rohingya refugees: Rise of autochthony? *Nation State: Journal of International Studies*, 7(1), 53–70. <https://doi.org/10.24076/nsjis.v7i1.1185>
- 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>
- Régnier, P. (2011). The emerging concept of humanitarian diplomacy: Identification of a community of practice and prospects for international recognition. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 93(884), 1211–1237. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383112000574>
- Rumiarta, I. N. P. B., & Jayantiari, I. G. A. M. R. (2023). The fulfilling right to education for Rohingya refugee children in Indonesia. *The Age of Human Rights Journal*, 21, e7659. <https://doi.org/10.17561/tahrj.v21.7659>
- Saifullah, R., & Tarigan, E. (2023, December 18). *Hundreds of residents on Indonesian island protest the growing arrival of Rohingya refugees by sea*. *AP News*. <https://apnews.com/article/indonesia-myanmar-refugees-rohingya-a83162cf40416d061a4b5af5902b0e64>
- Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia. (2017, September 4). *Selesaikan krisis di Rakhine State, Menlu Retno sampaikan usulan Formula 4+1 kepada Suu Kyi*. <https://setkab.go.id/selesaikan-krisis-di-rakhine-state-menlu-retno-sampaikan-usulan-formula-41-kepada-suu-kyi/>
- Smith, C. Q., & Williams, S. G. (2021). Why Indonesia adopted “quiet diplomacy” over R2P in the Rohingya crisis: The roles of Islamic humanitarianism, civil–military relations, and ASEAN. *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 13(2–3), 158–185. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1875984X-13020004>

- Sudargo, A. A., & Manullang, A. J. (2023). A set of dead-end and development in the South China Sea: A 2-level game analysis of the Philippines–China arbitration case. *HAPSc Policy Briefs Series*, 4(1), 95–103. <https://doi.org/10.12681/hapscpbs.35188>
- Sudrajat, T., Jati, B. K. H., & Gupta, C. M. (2024). Questioning Indonesia’s role in addressing Rohingya refugees: A legal, humanitarian, and state responsibility perspective. *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Konstitusi*, 7(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v7i1.10506>
- Sugiyono. (2019). *Metode penelitian kuantitatif, kualitatif, dan R&D*. Alfabeta. <https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=1161605>
- Sundari, R., Prayuda, R., & Sary, D. V. (2021). Upaya diplomasi pemerintah Indonesia dalam mediasi konflik kemanusiaan di Myanmar. *Jurnal Niara*, 14(1), 177–187. <https://doi.org/10.31849/niara.v14i1.6011>
- Suryandi, R. R. (2024). *Diplomasi kemanusiaan Indonesia terhadap etnis Rohingya 2017–2019* [Undergraduate thesis, Universitas Islam Indonesia]. <https://dspace.uui.ac.id/handle/123456789/50028>
- The Jakarta Post*. (2018, January 12). *A year of Jokowi’s refugee decree: What has changed?* <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2018/01/12/a-year-of-jokowis-refugee-decree-what-has-changed.html>
- The Jakarta Post*. (2021, January 28). *Hundreds of Rohingya missing from Aceh refugee camp*. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2021/01/28/hundreds-of-rohingya-missing-from-aceh-refugee-camp.html>
- Tobing, D. H. (2021). Connecting the obligation gap: Indonesia’s non-refoulement responsibility beyond the 1951 Refugee Convention. *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, 8(3), 558–573. <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2021.7>
- Triwahyuni, S. N., Perdana, F. W., Setiawan, B., Irwan, I., & Wibisono, Y. (2021). Implementasi prinsip kebijakan luar negeri bebas aktif dalam diplomasi mengatasi konflik Rohingya. *Jurnal Indonesia Sosial Sains*, 2(12), 2118–2125. <https://doi.org/10.59141/jiss.v2i12.481>
- Triwibowo, A. (2025). *Digital diplomacy in Indonesia’s foreign policy*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003505884>
- Ullah, A. K. M. A. (2016). Rohingya crisis in Myanmar: Seeking justice for the “stateless.” *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 32(3), 285–301. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986216660811>

- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2010). *Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees*. <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/2025-02/1951-refugee-convention-1967-protocol.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2015). *Abandoned at sea*. <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/abandoned-sea>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2020). *Hundreds of Rohingya refugees need urgent help*. <https://www.unhcr.org/id/en/news/hundreds-rohingya-refugees-need-urgent-help>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2020, June 26). *UNHCR praises Indonesia for emergency landing of boat carrying Rohingya refugees, mostly women and children*. <https://www.unhcr.org/id/en/news/press-releases/unhcr-praises-indonesia-emergency-landing-boat-carrying-rohingya-refugees>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2023, February 16). *Recent developments concerning Rohingya refugees in Aceh, Indonesia*. <https://www.unhcr.org/id/en/news/recent-developments-concerning-rohingya-refugees-aceh-indonesia>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2025). *Refugees*. <https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/who-we-protect/refugees>
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2024, August). *OCHA on message: Humanitarian diplomacy*. <https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/world/ocha-message-humanitarian-diplomacy-august-2024>
- Van Meter, D. S., & Van Horn, C. E. (1975). The policy implementation process: A conceptual framework. *Administration & Society*, 6(4), 445–488. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009539977500600404>
- Viartasiwi, N., & Missbach, A. (2023, December 4). Rohingya refugees facing a hostile reception in Aceh. *New Mandala*. <https://reliefweb.int/report/indonesia/rohingya-refugees-facing-hostile-reception-aceh>
- Yunus, F. M., Ikramatoun, S., Yasin, T. H. M., & Abror, R. H. (2025). Rejection of Rohingya in Aceh: The role of ulama and tolerance in Acehese society. *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 13(3), 1669–1692. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i3.1589>