

**DAFTAR PUSTAKA:**

- Al, S., & Byrd, D. (2018). When do states (de)securitise minority identities? Conflict and Change in Turkey and Northern Ireland. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 21(3), 608–634. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-017-0082-4>
- APRRN. (2019). Current Members APRRN. Retrieved March 18, 2019, from Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Networks website: <https://aprrn.info/members/current-members/>
- Aradau, C. (2004). Security and the democratic scene: desecuritization and emancipation. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 7(4), 388–413. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.jird.1800030>
- Bali Process. (2002). The Bali Process. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <https://www.baliprocess.net/>
- Behnke, A. (2006). No way out: desecuritization, emancipation and the eternal return of the political — a reply to Aradau. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 9(1), 62–69. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.jird.1800070>
- Betts, A., & Loescher, G. (2010). *Refugees in International Relations* (1st ed.). Retrieved from <http://gen.lib.rus.ec/book/index.php?md5=7b18610ee363bda0babf46c3cdc206fe>
- Board, J. (2018, December 29). Stuck, but sticking together: Refugees and their years of uncertainty stranded in Indonesia. Retrieved January 17, 2019, from Channel NewsAsia website: <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asia/refugees-stranded-in-indonesia-for-years-11043976>
- Brown, T. (2017). After the Boats Stopped: Refugees Managing a Life of Protracted Limbo in Indonesia. *Antropologi Indonesia*, 34–50. <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v38i1.8755>
- Budiman, R. P. (2012). *KEBIJAKAN INDONESIA TERHADAP PENGUNGSI VIETNAM DI PULAU GALANG, 1979-1996* (Indonesia University). Retrieved from <http://lib.ui.ac.id/file?file=digital/20300737-S42012-Ryan%20Prasetia%20Budiman.pdf>
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O., & Wilde, J. de. (1998). *Security: a new framework for analysis*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Pub.
- Christopersen, M., & Thorleifsson, C. (2013). *Ambivalent Hospitality: Coping Strategies and Local Responses to Syrian Refugees in Lebanon*. Retrieved from FAFO Institute for Applied International Studies website:

- <https://reliefweb.int/report/lebanon/ambivalent-hospitality-coping-strategies-and-local-responses-syrian-refugees-lebanon>
- Cochrane, J. (2018, January 26). Refugees in Indonesia Hoped for Brief Stay. Many May Be Stuck for Life. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/26/world/asia/indonesia-refugees-united-nations.html>
- Corabatir, M. (2015, September 1). When it comes to refugees, terminology matters. Retrieved November 25, 2018, from Al Jazeera website: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2015/08/refugees-terminology-matters-150831091756282.html>
- Dionigi, F. (2016). *The Syrian refugee crisis in Lebanon: state fragility and social resilience*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21953/LSE.RO.65565>
- Dunn Caveltly, M., & Mauer, V. (Eds.). (2010). *The Routledge handbook of security studies*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.
- Düvell, F. (2012). Transit migration: A blurred and politicised concept. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(4), 415–427. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.631>
- Duxson, S. (2016, June). Filling the legal vacuum. *Inside Indonesia*, 124. Retrieved from <https://www.insideindonesia.org/filling-the-legal-vacuum-2>
- Falkentoft, M. F., Hansen, N. K., & Rode, C. B. (2014). Desecuritizing Migration: The Case of the Berlin Refugee Strike. *Roskilde University*. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/17100700/Desecuritizing\\_Migration\\_The\\_Case\\_of\\_the\\_Berlin\\_Refugee\\_Strike](https://www.academia.edu/17100700/Desecuritizing_Migration_The_Case_of_the_Berlin_Refugee_Strike)
- Fandik, M. (2013). Penampungan Orang Vietnam di Pulau Galang 1975-1979 | FANDIK | Avatara. *Avatara*, 1(1). Retrieved from <http://jurnalmahasiswa.unesa.ac.id/index.php/avatara/article/view/1133>
- Favier, A. (2016). Increasing vulnerability for the Syrian refugees in Lebanon: what's next? *Middle East Directions (MED)*, (3), 6. <https://doi.org/10.2870/388671>
- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. (2010). “Ideal” Refugee Women and Gender Equality Mainstreaming in the Sahrawi Refugee Camps: “Good Practice” for Whom? *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 29(2), 64–84. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdq023>
- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, K., Sigona, N., & Betts, A. (2014). International Relations and Forced Migration. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K. Long, & N. Sigona (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199652433.013.0004>
- Fiske, L. (2017, March 8). Refugee Transit in Indonesia: The Critical Importance of Community. Retrieved December 2, 2018, from IPI Global Observatory website: <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/03/indonesia-refugee-crisis-unhcr/>

- Frost, F. (1980). VIETNAM, ASEAN AND THE INDOCHINA REFUGEE CRISIS. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 347–367. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27908412>
- Ghulam, H. (2004). *AFGHANI ASYLUM SEEKERS AND REFUGEES IN THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA*. 20. Retrieved from <https://www.safecom.org.au/pdfs/hassan-report.pdf>
- Gordyn, C. (2017, February 8). Assessing Indonesia's new decree on refugees. Retrieved January 11, 2019, from New Mandala website: <https://www.newmandala.org/assessing-indonesias-new-decree-refugees/>
- Greussing, E., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2017). Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(11), 1749–1774. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1282813>
- Haddad, E. (2008). *The refugee in international society: between sovereigns*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hansen, M. (2016). *To securitize or not to securitize, that is the question*. Retrieved from <http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/8514667>
- Havid, A. S. (2004). Pengungsi dalam Kerangka Kebijakan Keimigrasian Indonesia Kini dan yang Akan Datang. *Indonesian Journal of International Law*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol2.1.79>
- Hirsch, A. (2018, August 30). Refugees in Indonesia don't want to get on boats. They want basic rights | Asher Hirsch. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/aug/30/refugees-in-indonesia-dont-want-to-get-on-boats-they-want-basic-rights>
- Hirsch, A. L., & Doig, C. (2018). Outsourcing control: the International Organization for Migration in Indonesia. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 22(5), 681–708. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2017.1417261>
- Hovil, L. (2014). Local Integration. In *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199652433.013.0042>
- Huysmans, J. (2006). *The politics of insecurity: fear, migration, and asylum in the EU*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- IOM. (2018a). Humanitarian Compendium Indonesia 2018. Retrieved January 17, 2019, from International Organization for Migration website: <https://humanitariancompendium.iom.int/node/1197/appeals-print/>
- IOM. (2018b, February 9). UN Migration Agency Facilitates Release of Refugees from Indonesian Detention Centres. Retrieved December 29, 2018, from International Organization for Migration website: <https://www.iom.int/news/un-migration-agency-facilitates-release-refugees-indonesian-detention-centres-0>

- Jacobsen, K. (2001). *The forgotten solution: local integration for refugees in developing countries* (No. 45; p. 43). Retrieved from Tufts University website: <http://www.unhcr.org/research/working/3b7d24059/forgotten-solution-local-integration-refugees-developing-countries-karen.html>
- Jakesevic, R., & Tatalovic, S. (2016). *Securitization (and de-securitization) of the European refugee crisis: Croatia in the regional context*. (53), 1246–1264. Retrieved from [https://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/docs/default-source/tip/jakesevic\\_idr.pdf?sfvrsn=2](https://www.fdv.uni-lj.si/docs/default-source/tip/jakesevic_idr.pdf?sfvrsn=2)
- Johnston, T. (2016). *The Securitization of Refugees: A Critical Media Discourse Analysis of the Reporting on Syrian Refugees in Canada | Digital Repository* (Immigration and Settlement Studies, Ryerson University). Retrieved from <http://digital.library.ryerson.ca/islandora/object/RULA%3A5593>
- Kadarudin, K. (2018). PORTRAITS IN INDONESIA: INTERNATIONAL REFUGEES FACE UNCERTAIN FUTURE (A STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE LAW). *Veritas et Justitia*, 4(1), 1–29. Retrieved from <http://journal.unpar.ac.id/index.php/veritas/article/view/2920>
- Kemlu. (2005). Kementerian Luar Negeri Indonesia - Indonesia Meratifikasi Kovenan Hak-hak Sipil dan Politik dan Kovenan Hak-hak Ekonomi, Sosial dan Budaya. Retrieved December 28, 2018, from Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia website: <https://www.kemlu.go.id/id/berita/siaran-pers/Pages/Indonesia-Meratifikasi-Kovenan-Hak-hak-Sipil-dan-Politik-dan-Kovenan-Hak-hak-Ekonomi-Sosial-dan-Buda.aspx>
- Khouri, A. (2017). *The Double-edged Sword of a Successful Securitization: the Trade Off of Human Rights for a Flawed Sense of Security? The Case of the Securitization of Refugees From Syria in Lebanon Since 2011*. Retrieved from <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:t4b8gtht8x>
- Kilibarda, P. (2017). Obligations of transit countries under refugee law: A Western Balkans case study. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 99(904), 211–239. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383118000188>
- Kimball, A. (2007). The Transit State: A Comparative Analysis of Mexican and Moroccan Immigration Policies. *The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies*.
- Kneebone, S. (2014). The Bali Process and Global Refugee Policy in the Asia–Pacific Region. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27(4), 596–618. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feu015>
- Krustiyati, A. (2012). Kebijakan Penanganan Pengungsi di Indonesia: Kajian dari Konvensi Pengungsi 1951 dan Protokol 1967. *Law Review*, 12, 171–192. Retrieved from <http://repository.ubaya.ac.id/3344/>
- Kurniasari, T. (2019, January 10). UNHCR honors government officials coordinating help to refugees - UNHCR Indonesia. Retrieved March 17, 2019, from

- UNHCR website: <https://www.unhcr.org/id/en/11967-unhcr-honors-government-officials-coordinating-help-to-refugees.html>
- Kuwado, F. J. (2018, January 22). Indonesia Tak Akan Lepas Tangan soal Pencari Suaka. Retrieved September 22, 2018, from KOMPAS.com website: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/01/22/21261911/indonesia-tak-akan-lepas-tangan-soal-pencari-suaka>
- Lee, A. (2015). *Securitization of Transit Forced Migrants: An Analysis of the Changing Representations of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Indonesian Major Print Media*. Retrieved from <http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/5469558>
- Lipschutz, R. D. (Ed.). (1995). *On security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Loescher, G., & Milner, J. (2009). Understanding the challenge. *Forced Migration Review*, 33, 3. Retrieved from <https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/protracted/loescher-milner.pdf>
- Marbun, J. (2015, May 19). UN praises Indonesia for accepting Rohingya refugee. Retrieved March 17, 2019, from Republika Online website: <https://republika.co.id/berita/en/international/15/05/19/nolgn5-un-praises-indonesia-for-accepting-rohingya-refugee>
- Mattsson, N. (2016). *Securitization of Immigrants and its Political Impacts on European Union* (Charles University in Prague). Retrieved from <https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/download/120258978>
- Mautanha, R. J. (2017, March 15). Indonesia gives refugee children hope for a brighter future - UNHCR Indonesia. Retrieved January 18, 2019, from UNHCR Indonesia website: <https://www.unhcr.org/id/en/10568-indonesia-gives-refugee-children-hope-for-a-brighter-future.html>
- McDonald, M. (2008). Securitization and the Construction of Security. *European Journal of International Relations*, 14(4), 563–587. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066108097553>
- Meuko, N. (2019, March 21). Rakorsus Kemenko Polhukam Bahas Hak Sekolah 1.894 Anak Pengungsi Asing di Indonesia. Retrieved May 23, 2019, from Berita Satu website: <https://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/544256/rakorsus-kemenko-polhukam-bahas-hak-sekolah-1894-anak-pengungsi-asing-di-indonesia>
- Missbach, A. (2012). Essay: Transit Migrants in Indonesia Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. *Pacific Geographies*, 39, 30–35. Retrieved from [https://sherloc.unodc.org/cld/bibliography/2012/essay\\_transit\\_migrants\\_in\\_indonesia\\_-\\_between\\_the\\_devil\\_and\\_the\\_deep\\_blue\\_sea.html?lng=fr](https://sherloc.unodc.org/cld/bibliography/2012/essay_transit_migrants_in_indonesia_-_between_the_devil_and_the_deep_blue_sea.html?lng=fr)
- Missbach, A. (2013). Waiting on the Islands of “Stuckedness”: Managing Asylum Seekers in Island Detention Camps in Indonesia: From the Late 1970s to the

- Early 2000s. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 6(2), 281–306. <https://doi.org/10.4232/10.ASEAS-6.2-4>
- Missbach, A. (2016). *Troubled Transit: Politik Indonesia Bagi Para Pencari Suaka*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Missbach, A. (2017). Accommodating Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Indonesia: From Immigration Detention to Containment in “Alternatives to Detention.” *Refuge: Canada’s Journal on Refugees*, 33(2). Retrieved from <https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/40402>
- Missbach, A. (2018, August 8). Falling through the cracks [Policy Forum]. Retrieved January 13, 2019, from Asia and The Pacific Policy Society website: <https://www.policyforum.net/falling-through-the-cracks/>
- Nadyatama, R. (2017, October 4). The Rohingya crisis: what could Indonesia do better? Retrieved March 18, 2019, from Indoensia at Melbourne website: <http://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/the-rohingya-crisis-what-could-indonesia-do-better/>
- Nethery, A., Rafferty-Brown, B., & Taylor, S. (2013). Exporting Detention: Australia-funded Immigration Detention in Indonesia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 26(1), 88–109. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fes027>
- Palmer, A. M. and W. (2018). Indonesia: A Country Grappling with Migrant Protection at Home and Abroad. *Migrationpolicy.Org*. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/indonesia-country-grappling-migrant-protection-home-and-abroad>
- Papadopoulou, A. (2005). Exploring the Asylum-Migration Nexus: A Case Study of Transit Migrants in Europe. *Global Commission on International Migration, Global Migration Perspective*(23). Retrieved from <https://www.refworld.org/docid/42ce4fa24.html>
- Paulsen, J. (2016). *Australia’s refugee Policies and Bilateral Relations with Indonesia* (Norwegian University of Life Sciences). Retrieved from [https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2399947/paulsen\\_2016.pdf?sequence=3](https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2399947/paulsen_2016.pdf?sequence=3)
- Polkam, H. (2019, February 7). Sesmenko Polhukam: Isu Pengungsi dan Pencari Suaka Sudah Menjadi Isu Kemanusiaan. Retrieved March 17, 2019, from Kemenko Polhukam RI website: <https://polkam.go.id/sesmenko-polhukam-isu-pengungsi-dan-pencari-suaka-sudah-menjadi-isu-kemanusiaan/>
- Rachman, M. I. J. (2018). KERJASAMA INDONESIA DENGAN LEMBAGA-LEMBAGA TERKAIT DALAM PENANGANAN PENGUNGGSI. *Jurist-Diction*, 1(1), 262–285. Retrieved from <https://e-journal.unair.ac.id/JD/article/view/9745>
- Riadussyah, M. (2016). Tanggung Jawab Indonesia sebagai Negara Transit bagi Pengungsi Anak Berdasarkan Hukum Internasional. *Jurnal Hukum IUS QUIA*

- IUSTUM*, 23(2), 330–250. Retrieved from <http://journal.uii.ac.id/IUSTUM/article/view/6580>
- Robinson, W. (2004). The Comprehensive Plan of Action for Indochinese Refugees, 1989-1997: Sharing the Burden and Passing the Buck. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 17. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/17.3.319>
- Roe, P. (2004). Securitization and Minority Rights: Conditions of Desecuritization. *Security Dialogue*, 35(3), 279–294. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010604047527>
- Rudenim Balikpapan. (2018, Agustus). Pemindahan Tahap Ketiga Terhadap 8 Orang Deteni Pengungsi WN.Afghanistan ke Akomodasi di Makassar. Retrieved January 14, 2019, from Rumah Detensi Imigrasi Balikpapan website: <https://rudenimbalikpapan.com/pemindahan-tahap-ketiga-terhadap-8-orang-deteni-pengungsi-wn-afghanistan-ke-akomodasi-di-makassar/>
- Salim, T., Halim, H., & Jong, H. (2017, January 18). Indonesia widens arms for refugees. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/01/18/indonesia-widens-arms-for-refugees.html>
- Salloum, M. (2014). *The Securitization of Refugees and Asylum Seekers – The Case of Egypt and Lebanon*. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/22610774/The\\_Securitization\\_of\\_Refugees\\_and\\_Asylum\\_Seekers\\_The\\_Case\\_of\\_Egypt\\_and\\_Lebanon](https://www.academia.edu/22610774/The_Securitization_of_Refugees_and_Asylum_Seekers_The_Case_of_Egypt_and_Lebanon)
- Salloum, M. (n.d.). *The Securitization of Refugees and Asylum Seekers – The Case of Egypt and Lebanon*. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/22610774/The\\_Securitization\\_of\\_Refugees\\_and\\_Asylum\\_Seekers\\_The\\_Case\\_of\\_Egypt\\_and\\_Lebanon](https://www.academia.edu/22610774/The_Securitization_of_Refugees_and_Asylum_Seekers_The_Case_of_Egypt_and_Lebanon)
- Sally, C. (2016). *Navigating asylum: journeys from Indonesia to Australia | Swinburne Research Bank* (Swinburne University of Technology). Retrieved from <https://researchbank.swinburne.edu.au/items/0a10e0f9-dcaf-4035-b185-bfeb70d59374/1/>
- Seo, Y. (2011, December 13). Tiga Pintu Masuk Imigran Gelap ke Australia. Retrieved December 30, 2018, from Tempo website: <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/371516/tiga-pintu-masuk-imigran-gelap-ke-australia>
- Sliwinski, K. F. (2016). “A-securitization” of immigration policy-the case of European Union. *Asia-Pacific Journal of EU Studies*, 25–56. Retrieved from [https://repository.hkbu.edu.hk/gis\\_ja/10](https://repository.hkbu.edu.hk/gis_ja/10)
- Soesilowati, S. (2014). Sekuritisasi ‘Manusia Perahu’: Efektifkah? *Jurnal Global Dan Strategis*. Retrieved from <http://journal.unair.ac.id/JGS@sekuritisasi-%E2%80%98manusia-perahu%E2%80%99-article-7702-media-23-category-8.html>

- SUAKA. (2013, August 22). About Suaka. Retrieved March 18, 2019, from Suaka website: <https://suaka.or.id/about/>
- SUAKA. (2016, December 5). Laporan Penelitian SUAKA 2016: Nasib Pengungsi Rohingya di Indonesia. Retrieved March 19, 2019, from Suaka website: <https://suaka.or.id/2016/12/05/laporan-penelitian-suaka-nasib-pengungsi-rohingya-di-indonesia/>
- Suastha, R. D. (2018a, Mei). Mencalang Posisi Indonesia di Tengah Krisis Pengungsi Global. Retrieved April 29, 2019, from internasional website: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180507015322-106-296130/mencalang-posisi-indonesia-di-tengah-krisis-pengungsi-global>
- Suastha, R. D. (2018b, May 7). IOM Setop Dana Bantuan Bagi Pengungsi Baru di Indonesia [Berita ASEAN]. Retrieved January 18, 2019, from CNN Indonesia website: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180506092728-106-296043/iom-setop-dana-bantuan-bagi-pengungsi-baru-di-indonesia>
- Suryowati, E. (2018, February 20). Indonesia Dukung Penuh Upaya Kemanusiaan IOM dan UNHCR. *KOMPAS.com*. Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/02/20/14571531/indonesia-dukung-penuh-upaya-kemanusiaan-iom-dan-unhcr>
- Tan, N. F. (2016). The Status of Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Indonesia. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 28(3), 365–383. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eew045>
- Tanu, D., Missbach, A., & Lumenta, D. (2017). Introduction: Forced Migration and Protracted Transit in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. *Antropologi Indonesia*, 1-5–5. <https://doi.org/10.7454/ai.v38i1.8754>
- Taylor, S. (2015, August 25). How civil society can improve refugee protection in the Asia-Pacific. Retrieved March 18, 2019, from The Conversation website: <http://theconversation.com/how-civil-society-can-improve-refugee-protection-in-the-asia-pacific-45708>
- Taylor, S., & Rafferty-Brown, B. (2010). Waiting for Life to Begin: the Plight of Asylum Seekers Caught by Australia's Indonesian Solution. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 22(4), 558–592. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eeq034>
- Tempo. (2017, July 25). Immigration, UNHCR Commemorate 4 Decades of Protecting Refugees. Retrieved September 22, 2018, from Tempo.co website: <https://en.tempo.co:443/read/news/2017/07/25/055894176/Immigration-UNHCR-Commemorate-4-Decades-of-Protecting-Refugees>
- Tobing, D. H. (2017, September 6). Indonesia's refugee policy – not ideal, but a step in the right direction. Retrieved September 17, 2018, from The Conversation website: <http://theconversation.com/indonesias-refugee-policy-not-ideal-but-a-step-in-the-right-direction-75395>



- Tobing, D. H. (2018, January 12). A year of Jokowi's refugee decree: What has changed? *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2018/01/12/a-year-of-jokowis-refugee-decree-what-has-changed.html>
- Triandafyllidou, A. (Ed.). (2016). *Routledge handbook of immigration and refugee studies*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Turbay, M. G. (2015). *The 'Politics of Representation': Syrian Refugees in the Official Discourse in Lebanon(2011-2015)* (International Institute of Social Studies). Retrieved from <https://thesis.eur.nl/pub/33006/>
- UDHR. (1948). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Retrieved from [http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr\\_booklet\\_en\\_web.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf)
- UNHCR. (1994, Agustus). *UNHCR Activities Financed by Voluntary Funds: Report for 1993-1994 and Proposed Programmes and Budget for 1995: Part II. Asia and Oceania. Section 6 - Indonesia*. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/excom/excomrep/4ddcd17e9/unhcr-activities-financed-voluntary-funds-report-1993-1994-proposed-programmes.html>
- UNHCR. (2000). *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/publications/sowr/4a4c754a9/state-worlds-refugees-2000-fifty-years-humanitarian-action.html>
- UNHCR. (2011). *The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee and its 1967 Protocol*. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/4ec262df9.html>
- UNHCR. (2017). *Global Trend Forced Displacement in 2017*. Retrieved from The UN Refugee Agency website: <https://www.unhcr.org/5b27be547.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2018a). Comprehensive Solutions - UNHCR Indonesia. Retrieved December 2, 2018, from Indonesia website: <https://www.unhcr.org/id/en/comprehensive-solutions>
- UNHCR. (2018b). UNHCR in Indonesia - UNHCR Indonesia. Retrieved September 17, 2018, from UNHCR website: <http://www.unhcr.org/id/en/unhcr-in-indonesia>
- UNHCR. (2018c, July 17). Indonesian City Admits Migrant Children to Public Schools [Press Release]. Retrieved January 18, 2019, from International Organization for Migration website: <https://www.iom.int/news/indonesian-city-admits-migrant-children-public-schools>
- UNHCR, U. N. H. C. for. (2016, July 11). UNHCR viewpoint: "Refugee" or "migrant" – Which is right? Retrieved November 25, 2018, from UNHCR website: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html>
- UNHRC. (2019, April). Ratification Status for Indonesia [United Nation Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner]. Retrieved April 29, 2019, from

[https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=80&Lang=EN](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=80&Lang=EN)

- USCRI. (2001). *Paying the Price: Australia, Indonesia try to Stop Asylum Seekers* [Refugee Report]. Retrieved from United States Committee for Refugees and Imigrants website: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3c58099a1.html>
- VanderStoep, S. W., & Johnston, D. D. (2009). *Research methods for everyday life: blending qualitative and quantitative approaches* (1st ed). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Varaguar, K. (2017, January 27). Indonesia Breaks Silence on Refugees With Presidential Decree. Retrieved January 18, 2019, from VOA News website: <https://www.voanews.com/a/indonesia-breaks-silence-on-refugees-with-presidential-decree/3696079.html>
- Widyawati, A. (2017). Handling Policies of Asylum Seekers in Indonesia. *South East Asia Journal of Contemporary Business, Economics and Law*, 12(4). Retrieved from <http://seajbel.com/previous-issues/april-2017/vol-12-april-2017-issue-4-law/>
- Williams, P. (Ed.). (2013). *Security studies: an introduction* (2nd ed). London ; New York: Routledge.
- World Bank. (2018). Indonesia Overview. Retrieved January 14, 2019, from The World Bank in Indonesia website: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/indonesia/overview>