

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adler, E. (2012). Constructivism and International Relations. In *Handbook of International Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608290.n5>
- Akbar, R. (2015). DAMPAK KEBIJAKAN AUSTRALIA TERKAIT ISU PENCARI SUAKA TERHADAP HUBUNGAN BILATERAL AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA (2013-2015).
- Alunaza, H., & Juani, M. K. (2019). Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia melalui Sekuritisasi Migrasi Pengungsi Rohingya di Aceh tahun 2012-2015. *Indonesian Perspective*. <https://doi.org/10.14710/ip.v2i1.15535>
- Alunaza, H., Maulana, I., & Sudagung, A. D. (2018). The Pacific Solution as Australia Policy towards Asylum Seeker and Irregular Maritime Arrivals (IMAs) in John Howard Era. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, 14(1), 61. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v14i1.2789.61-75>
- Amelia Rahmawaty, S. H. I. (2014). PELANGGARAN AUSTRALIA TERHADAP PERAIRAN INDONESIA APAKAH INDONESIA SUDAH CUKUP PEDULI? *Forum Kajian Pertahanan Maritim, Kajian 201*.
- Ardani, F. A. (2015). Kebijakan Indonesia Dalam Membantu Penyelesaian Konflik Antara Etnis Rohingya Dan Etnis Rakhine Di Myanmar (Studi Karakter Kepribadian Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono). *Journal of International Relations*.
- Arneson, R. J. (2002). Is Socialism Dead? A Comment on Market Socialism and Basic Income Capitalism. *Ethics*. <https://doi.org/10.1086/293421>
- Behravesh, M. (2011). The Relevance of Constructivism to Foreign Policy Analysis. Retrieved from <http://lup.lub.lu.se/search/record/3053085>.
- Betts, K. (2003). Immigration policy under the Howard Government. *Australian Journal of*

*Social Issues*, 38(2), 169–192. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1839-4655.2003.tb01141.x>

Betts, K. J. (2001). Boat people and public opinion in Australia. *People and Place*, 9(4), 34–48.

Bhuiyan, H. A. (2018). Muslim Immigrants in the Early 20th Century America: Some Have Forsaken, While Others Preserved Their Identity. *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.25.1.1882>

Bieler, A. (2003). Questioning Cognitivism and Constructivism in IR Theory: Reflections on the Material Structure of Ideas. *Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9256.00140>

Castles, S., & Loughna, S. (2016). Trends in Asylum Migration to Industrialized Countries, 1990–2001. In *Poverty, International Migration and Asylum*. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230522534\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230522534_3)

Chaiklin, H. (2006). Case Study Research: Design and Methods. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00005053-199102000-00025>

Checkel, J. T. (2011). The Constructive Turn in International Relations Theory. *World Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0043887100008133>

Cogan, J. K., Barnett, M., & Finnemore, M. (2006). Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics. *The American Journal of International Law*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3518865>

Creswell, J. (2013). *Research Design : Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Mixed. Research design*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3152153>

Curley, M., & Vandyk, K. (2017). The securitisation of migrant smuggling in Australia and its consequences for the Bali Process. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2016.1181149>

- Dancygier, R. M. (2010). *Immigration and conflict in Europe. Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511762734>
- Dechent, S. (2017a). Operation Sovereign Borders. *Alternative Law Journal*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1037969x1403900209>
- Dechent, S. (2017b). Operation Sovereign Borders. *Alternative Law Journal*, 39(2), 110–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1037969x1403900209>
- Dovey, J. W. (1941). THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY. *International Review of Mission*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1758-6631.1941.tb04224.x>
- Efianingrum, A. (2010). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif. *Efianingrum, A. (2010). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Dan Kuantitatif, 1–8.*
- Fairbrother, K. (2012). Australia’s Immigration Policy Following the Second World War. Retrieved from <https://www.e-ir.info/2012/12/26/australias-immigration-policy-following-the-second-world-war/>
- Garnesia, I. (2018). Indonesia Negara Transit Favorit Imigran Gelap - Tirto. Tirto.id. Retrieved from <https://tirto.id/indonesia-negara-transit-favorit-imigran-gelap-cZ7w>
- Given, L. (2012). Journal of Mixed Methods Research. In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.n242>
- Gourevitch, P. (2012). Domestic Politics and International Relations. In *Handbook of International Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608290.n16>
- Greenwald, G., MacAskill, E., & Poitras, L. (2013). Edward Snowden: the whistleblower behind the NSA surveillance revelations. *The Guardian*.
- Grewcock, M. (2014). Australian border policing: Regional “solutions” and neocolonialism. *Race and Class*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396813509197>

- Guba, E. G., Guba, Y. A. L., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*.  
<https://doi.org/http://www.uncg.edu/hdf/facultystaff/Tudge/Guba%20&%20Lincoln%201994.pdf>
- Hamlin, R. (2012). International Law and Administrative Insulation: A Comparison of Refugee Status Determination Regimes in the United States, Canada, and Australia. *Law and Social Inquiry*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2012.01292.x>
- Haryanto, A. (2016). Faktor Geografis dan Konsepsi Peran Nasional sebagai Sumber Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*.  
<https://doi.org/10.18196/hi.2015.0074.136-147>
- Hasan, R. A. (2018). Peran RI Bantu Pengungsi Asing Dipuji UNHCR.
- Helbling, M. (2014). Framing Immigration in Western Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.830888>
- Hodge, P. (2015). A grievable life? The criminalisation and securing of asylum seeker bodies in the “violent frames” of Australia’s Operation Sovereign Borders. *Geoforum*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.11.006>
- Hudson, V. M. (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2005.00001.x>
- Hugo, G., Tan, G., & Napitupulu, C. J. (2017). Indonesia as a transit country in irregular migration to Australia. In *A Long Way to Go: Irregular Migration Patterns, Processes, Drivers and Decision-making*. <https://doi.org/10.22459/lwg.12.2017.07>
- Jackson, P. T., & Nexon, D. H. (2017). Whence Causal Mechanisms? A Comment on Legro. *Dialogue IO*, 1(01), 81–101. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s7777777702000079>

- Jupp, J. (2014). *From White Australia to Woomera. From White Australia to Woomera.*  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139195034>
- Kneebone, S. (2017). Australia as a powerbroker on refugee protection in southeast Asia: The relationship with Indonesia. *Refuge.*
- Maguire, A. (2017). What Is a Refugee? *International Journal of Refugee Law.*  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eex027>
- Mc, S., Walters, R., & Scheinpflug, C. (2017). *International Relations Theory.* (S. Mc, R. Walters, & C. Scheinpflug, Eds.) (1st ed.). Bristol, England: E-International Relations. Retrieved from <http://www.e-ir.info/about/donate/>
- McKay, F. H., Thomas, S. L., & Kneebone, S. (2012). “It would be okay if they came through the proper channels”: Community perceptions and attitudes toward asylum seekers in Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies.* <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fer010>
- McKay, F. H., Thomas, S. L., & Warwick Blood, R. (2011). “Any one of these boat people could be a terrorist for all we know!” Media representations and public perceptions of “boat people” arrivals in Australia. *Journalism.*  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911408219>
- Mercer, P. (2013). Hubungan Australia-Indonesia Terancam Terkait Masalah Pencari Suaka. *VOA Indonesia*, p. 1.
- Miles, M. A. (1994). Miles and Huberman (1994)- Chapter 4.pdf. In *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook.*
- Mintz, A., & DeRouen, K. (2010). *Understanding foreign policy: Decision making.*  
*Understanding Foreign Policy: Decision Making.*  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511757761>
- 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*.

Missbach, A. (2017). Accommodating asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia: From immigration detention to containment in “alternatives to detention.” *Refuge*.

Nethery, A., Rafferty-Brown, B., & Taylor, S. (2013). Exporting detention: Australia-funded immigration detention in indonesia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fes027>

Paulsen, J. (2016). Australia’s Refugee Policies and Bilateral Relations with Indonesia.

Phillips, J. (2017a). Australia’s Humanitarian Program : a quick guide to the statistics since 1947. *Parliamentary Library*, 77(January).

Phillips, J. (2017b). Migration to Australia: a quick guide to the statistics – Parliament of Australia, (December). Retrieved from  
[https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick\\_Guides/MigrationStatistics](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/MigrationStatistics)

Phillips, J., & Karlsen, E. (2016). Immigration—issues for Australia’s humanitarian program – Parliament of Australia. Retrieved from  
[https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/BriefingBook45p/HumanitarianProgram](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BriefingBook45p/HumanitarianProgram)

Price, R., & Reus-Smit, C. (1998). Dangerous liaisons? Critical international theory and constructivism. *European Journal of International Relations*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066198004003001>

Ridder, H.-G. (2011). Yin, Robert K. Case Study Research: Design and Methods. *Modern Language Journal*. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01212\\_17.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01212_17.x)

Segre, S. (2014). A Note on Max Weber’s Reception on the Part of Symbolic

Interactionism, and its Theoretical Consequences. *American Sociologist*.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12108-014-9218-9>

Sihite, E. (2014). Indonesia Minta Australia Berkaca Lagi pada Konvensi Pengungsi. *Berita Satu*, p. 1.

Syahrin, M. A. (2018). Menakar Kedaulatan Negara dalam Perspektif Keimigrasian. *Jurnal Penelitian Hukum De Jure*. <https://doi.org/10.30641/dejure.2018.v18.43-57>

Taylor, L. (2014). Indonesia demands suspension of Australia's asylum operations  
Australia news The Guardian. *The Guardian*, p. 1.

Tharakan, P. (2015). Summary of Indonesia's Energy Sector Assessment (ADB Papers on  
Indonesia No.9). *Adb*, (09), 40. Retrieved from  
<https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/178039/ino-paper-09-2015.pdf>

Theys, S. (2018). Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory. In R. W.  
STEPHEN MCGLINCHEY & C. SCHEINPFLUG (Eds.), *International Relations  
Theory* (p. 1). Bristol, England: E-International Relations. Retrieved from  
[http://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/23/introducing-constructivism-in-international-relations-  
theory/](http://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/23/introducing-constructivism-in-international-relations-theory/)

Thompson, K. W. (2006). Toward a Theory of International Politics. *American Political  
Science Review*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1951435>

Tight, M., Symonds, P., & Symonds, P. M. (2016). The Case Study as a Research Method.  
In *Case Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473915480.n2>

Tobing, D. H. (2019). Indonesia refugee policy is on right track - Opinion - The Jakarta  
Post. *The Jakarta Post*, p. 1. Retrieved from  
[https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2019/01/24/indonesia-refugee-policy-is-on-  
right-track.html](https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2019/01/24/indonesia-refugee-policy-is-on-right-track.html)

- UNCHR. The Convention Relating To the Status of Refugees, International and Comparative Law Quarterly § (1951). <https://doi.org/10.1093/iclqaj/6.3.533>
- UNHCR. (2015). Asylum Trends 2014. Levels and Trends in Industrialized Countries. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1136/bjo.2010.193169>
- UNHCR. (2016). UNHCR Indonesian Fact Sheet, 1–3.
- Waters, M. C., & Jiménez, T. R. (2005). Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31(1), 105–125.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100026>
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International Organization*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027764>
- Wendt, A. (2006). Constructing International Politics. *International Security*.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2539217>
- White, H. (2007). Four Decades of the Defence of Australia" Reflections on Australian Defence Policy over the Past 40 Years. In *History as Policy: Framing the Debate on the Future of Australia's Defence Policy*.
- Yani, Y. M. (2016). Politik luar negeri indonesia. *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*.
- Yin, R. K. (2003). *Applications of case study research. Applied Social Research Methods Series*. <https://doi.org/10.1097/FCH.0b013e31822dda9e>
- Zappulla, R. (2016). An interpretation of the migrant crisis : Constructivism vs . Marxism, 1–12.