

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Campbell, D. (1992). *Writing security: United States foreign policy and the politics of identity*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Neumann, I. B. (1999). *Uses of the other: "The East" in European identity formation*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations* (5th ed.). Free Press.
- Rosyidin, Mohamad. (2023) *Teori hubungan internasional: dari perspektif klasik sampai non-Barat*. PT. RajaGrafindo Persada-Rajawali Pers.
- Searle, J. (1995). *The Construction of Social Reality*. Free Press.

Jurnal

- Adler, E. (1997). Seizing the middle ground: Constructivism in world politics. *European Journal of International Relations*, 3(3), 319-363.
- Alfian, M. F. (2024). Perbudakan Modern Terhadap Pekerja Migran di Kapal Penangkap Ikan Sebagai Kejahatan Transnasional Organized Crime (TOC): Studi Kasus Pekerja Migran dari Asia Tenggara. *Menjaga Kondusifitas Samudera: Memberantas Kejahatan Transnasional Di Bidang Maritim*, 24.
- Andrianti, N. (2015). Peran media massa nasional dalam politik internasional. *Informasi*, 45(1), 45-54.
- Bélanger, D. (2014). Labor migration and trafficking among Vietnamese and Chinese women. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 653(1), 87-106.
- Belton, B., & Thilsted, S. H. (2014). Fisheries in transition: Food and nutrition security implications for the global South. *Global Food Security*, 59-66.
- Checkel, J. T. (1999). Norms, institutions, and national identity in contemporary Europe. *International Studies Quarterly*, 43(1), 83-114.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/0020-8833.00112>

- Checkel, J. T. (2005). International institutions and socialization in Europe: Introduction and framework. *International Organization*, 59(4), 801-826.
- Davies, P., & Chantavanich, S. (2023). Regional cooperation on migrant fisher protection in Southeast Asia. *Asian Journal of International Law*, 13(1), 45-68.
- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International Organization*, 52(4), 887-917.
<https://doi.org/10.1162/002081898550789>
- Ginanjari, W., & Maksum, A. (2022). ASEAN Community dan Transformasi Identitas Kolektif ASEAN. *JISPO Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 12(1), 81-102.
- Hancock, B., Ockleford, E. and Windridge, K. (2009) An Introduction to Qualitative Research. https://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/5_Introduction-to-qualitative-research-2009.pdf
- Havice, E., Marschke, M., & Vandergeest, P. (2019). Industrial fishing, labour and social relations across space. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 19(2), 246-261.
- Kaur, A. (2018). Labor migration trends and policy challenges in Southeast Asia. *Policy and Society*, 37(2), 157-175.
- Marschke, M., & Vandergeest, P. (2016). Slavery scandals: Unpacking labour challenges and policy responses within the off-shore fisheries sector. *Marine Policy*, 39-46.
- Mills, Albert & Durepos, Gabrielle & Wiebe, Elden. (2010). 15. Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., and Wiebe, E. [Eds.] (2010) Encyclopedia of Case Study Research, Volumes I and II. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Nola, L. F. (2022). Penguatan perlindungan hukum bagi pekerja migran indonesia (PMI) awak kapal perikanan. *Info Singkat Bidang Kesejahteraan Sosial*, XIV(1), 1-6.
- Pramod, G., Nakamura, K., Pitcher, T. J., & Delagran, L. (2014). Estimates of illegal and unreported fish in seafood imports to the USA. *Marine Policy*, 48, 102-113.
- Rusli, M. H. (2019). Regional cooperation in combating illegal fishing in Southeast Asia. *Indonesian Journal of International Law*, 16(3), 321-345.

- Stewart, D. W., & Kamins, M. A. (1993). *Secondary Research: Information Sources and Methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Sugiyono. 2018. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*, penerbit Alfabeta, Bandung
- Surtees, R. (2013). *Trafficked at sea: The exploitation of Ukrainian seafarers and fishers*. Washington DC: Nexus Institute.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-37). Brooks/Cole.
- Telesetsky, A. (2014). Laundering fish in the global undercurrents: Illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing and transnational organized crime. *Ecology Law Quarterly*, 41(4), 939-997.
- Witono, N. B., & Nuzula, F. (2019). SEA Forum for Fishers sebagai sarana peningkatan perlindungan nelayan migran di Asia Tenggara. *Jurnal Ketenagakerjaan*, 14(2), 1-15.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 391-425.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>
- Wendt, A. (1995). Constructing International Politics. *International Security*, 20(1), 71-81. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539217>
- Yea, S. (2013). Troubled waters: Trafficking of Filipino men into the long haul fishing industry through Singapore. *Transient Workers Count Too*, 1, 1-23.

Laporan dan Dokumen Resmi

- ASEAN. (2017). *ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers*. <https://asean.org>
- ASEAN. (2018). *Kompendium Edukasi Pekerja Migran dan Program Migrasi yang Aman*. ASEAN Secretariat.
- ASEAN. (2021). *ASEAN Labour Ministers' Work Programme 2021-2025*. <https://asean.org>
- ASEAN. (2023). *ASEAN Declaration on the Placement and Protection of Migrant Fishers*. ASEAN Secretariat.

- ASEAN Secretariat. (2021). *ASEAN Statistical Yearbook 2021*. ASEAN Secretariat.
- Butcher, J. G. (2016). *The closing of the frontier: A history of marine fisheries of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Environmental Justice Foundation. (2015). *Pirates and slaves: How overfishing in Thailand fuels human trafficking and the plundering of our oceans*. <https://ejfoundation.org/reports/pirates-and-slaves>
- Environmental Justice Foundation. (2018). *Pirates and Slaves: How overfishing in Thailand fuels human trafficking and the plundering of our oceans*. Environmental Justice Foundation.
- Environmental Justice Foundation. (2019). *Blood and Water: Human rights abuse in the global seafood industry*. <https://ejfoundation.org/reports/blood-and-water>
- European Commission. (2019). *EU-Thailand cooperation in combating illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing*. <https://ec.europa.eu>
- FAO. (2022). *The State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture 2022*. Food and Agriculture Organization.
- FAO. (2024). *The State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture 2024 -- Blue Transformation in action*. Food and Agriculture Organization.
- Friends of the Earth Asia Pacific. (2020). *A Briefing on Longxing 629: A case of illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing activities and related human rights abuses on a tuna longliner*. Friends of the Earth Asia Pacific.
- Greenpeace & SBMI. (2019). *Seabound: The journey to modern slavery on the high seas*. Greenpeace Southeast Asia.
- Greenpeace & SBMI. (2024). *Netting Profits, Risking Lives: The Unresolved Human and Environmental Exploitation at Sea*. Greenpeace Southeast Asia.
- Greenpeace Southeast Asia dan Serikat Buruh Migran Indonesia. (2021). *Forced Labour at Sea: The case of Indonesian Migrant Fisher*. Greenpeace.
- Human Rights Watch. (2018). *Hidden chains: Rights abuses and forced labor in Thailand's fishing industry*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- ILO. (2013). *Caught at sea: Forced labour and trafficking in fisheries*. International Labour Organization.

- ILO. (2017). *Decent work for migrant fishers: Report for discussion at the Tripartite Meeting on Issues Relating to Migrant Fishers*. Geneva: International Labour Organization Publication.
- ILO (2018) Guidelines Concerning Statistics of International Labour Migration, 20th International Conference of Labour Statisticians.
https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---stat/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_648922.pdf
- ILO, Walk Free, IOM. (2022). *Global Estimates of Modern Slavery: Forced Labour and Forced Marriage*. International Labour Organization.
- International Labour Organization. (2007). *Work in Fishing Convention, 2007 (No. 188)*. International Labour Organization.
- International Labour Organization. (2018). *Ship to shore rights: Baseline research findings on fishers and seafood workers in Thailand*.
https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_619727.pdf
- International Labour Organization. (2019). *Triangle in ASEAN programme: Progress report 2018-2019*.
https://www.ilo.org/asia/publications/WCMS_731246/lang--en/index.htm
- International Labour Organization. (2020a). *Review of labour laws and policies in Thailand's fishing industry*. International Labour Organization.
- International Labour Organization. (2020b). *Sectoral Brief: COVID-19 and maritime shipping & fishing*. International Labour Organization.
- International Labour Organization. (2020c). *ASEAN Guidelines on Effective Return and Reintegration of Migrant Workers*.
https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_751897.pdf
- International Labour Organization. (2021). *ASEAN Guidelines for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) on Labour*. International Labour Organization.
- International Organization for Migration. (2019). *Trafficking and exploitation of fishers at sea*. International Organization for Migration.
- Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan. (2016). *Ratifikasi Konvensi ILO No. 188 tentang Kerja dalam Perikanan*. Jakarta: Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan.
- Kementerian Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat. (2021). *Laporan Tahunan Perdagangan Orang 2021*. U.S. Embassy Indonesia.

- Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia. (2023). *Kepemimpinan Indonesia dalam ASEAN 2023: Keamanan Laut sebagai Kepentingan Bersama*. Sekretariat Negara RI.
- Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries. (2015). *Peraturan Menteri Kelautan dan Perikanan No. 35/2015 tentang Perlindungan Nelayan Migran*. <https://www.kkp.go.id>
- Pemerintah Indonesia. (2009). *Undang-undang Nomor 45 Tahun 2009 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-undang Nomor 31 Tahun 2004 tentang Perikanan*. Jakarta: Pemerintah Indonesia.
- Pemerintah Indonesia. (2017). *Undang-undang Nomor 18 Tahun 2017 tentang Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pemerintah Indonesia.
- Philippine Senate. (2015). *Fisheries Code Amendment Act*. <https://www.senate.gov.ph>
- SBMI. (2021). *Laporan Tahunan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia 2021*. Serikat Buruh Migran Indonesia.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2022). *Enhancing labour protections in the ASEAN fishing industry*. <https://www.unodc.org>
- UNODC. (2018). *Global report on trafficking in persons*. Vienna: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
- U.S. Department of State. (2014). *Trafficking in persons report 2014*. <https://www.state.gov/reports/2014-trafficking-in-persons-report/>
- Verité. (2016). *Recruitment practices and migrant labor conditions in the Malaysian electronics industry*. Amherst: Verité.
- Walk Free Foundation. (2023). *Global slavery index 2023*. Perth: Walk Free Foundation.

Website

- Antara News. (2023, 11 Mei). Para pemimpin ASEAN ambil aksi tingkatkan perlindungan nelayan migran. *Antara News*. <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/3533064/para-pemimpin-asean-ambil-aksi-tingkatkan-perlindungan-nelayan-migran>

- Awigra, D. (2018, September 1). Libatkan masyarakat sipil dalam penyusunan kebijakan pekerja migran. *Kompas.id*.
<https://www.kompas.id/baca/utama/2018/09/01/libatkan-masyarakat-sipil-dalam-penyusunan-kebijakan-pekerja-migran>
- Associated Press. (2016). AP wins Pulitzer Prize for 'Seafood from Slaves' investigation. <https://www.ap.org/press-releases/2016/ap-wins-pulitzer-prize-for-seafood-from-slaves-investigation>
- Erou, A., & Shahrin, T. M. (2021). Dear ASEAN, modern slavery at sea is worsening on your watch. *The Jakarta Post*.
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2021/09/26/dear-asean-modern-slavery-at-sea-is-worsening-on-your-watch.html>
- European Commission. (2019, January 8). *Commission lifts "yellow card" from Thailand for its actions against illegal fishing* [Press release].
https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-19-61_en.htm
- Geotimes. (2025). ASEAN dan tantangan geopolitik global di 2025. *Geotimes*.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2021, 28 September). Perlindungan ABK Masih Lemah, 24 Organisasi Sipil Desak Negara Anggota ASEAN Ratifikasi Konvensi ILO 188. *Greenpeace Indonesia*.
- Greenpeace Indonesia. (2023, 12 Mei). Pertama dalam sejarah, ASEAN deklarasikan perlindungan awak kapal migran. *Greenpeace Indonesia*.
<https://www.greenpeace.org/indonesia/siaran-pers-2/56458/pertama-dalam-sejarah-asean-deklarasikan-pelindungan-awak-kapal-migran/>
- Hodal, K., Kelly, C., & Lawrence, F. (2014, 10 Juni). Trafficked into slavery on Thai trawlers to catch food for prawns. *The Guardian*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/jun/10/slavery-sea-thai-fishing-prawns-supermarkets>
- Hukum Online. (2023a). Esensi pengadopsian Deklarasi ASEAN tentang perlindungan nelayan migran. *Hukum Online*.
<https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/esensi-pengadopsian-deklarasi-asean-tentang-perlindungan-nelayan-migran-lt645bcebb57196>
- Hukum Online. (2023b, 24 Agustus). Beragam Hambatan dalam Pelindungan AKP Migran. *Hukum Online*.
- Indonesia Ocean Justice Initiative. (2023, 10 Mei). IOJI apresiasi advokasi perlindungan nelayan migran pada KTT ASEAN. *Antara News*.
<https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/3532311/ioji-apresiasi-advokasi-perlindungan-nelayan-migran-pada-ktt-asean>

- International Labour Organization. (2019). Thailand ratifies ILO Convention on Work in Fishing. *ILO Press Release*.
- International Labour Organization. (2021, 10 Maret). Peta jalan menuju ratifikasi Konvensi ILO No. 188 untuk melindungi nelayan Indonesia. https://www.ilo.org/jakarta/info/public/pr/WCMS_777047/lang--en/index.htm
- International Organization for Migration. (2023, 15 Desember). IOM mendukung Forum ASEAN tentang Hak Asasi Manusia di Laut yang diinisiasi AICHR untuk memperkuat perlindungan awak kapal perikanan migran. *IOM Indonesia*. <https://indonesia.iom.int/id/news/iom-mendukung-forum-asean-tentang-hak-asasi-manusia-di-laut-yang-diinisiasi-aichr-untuk-memperkuat-perlindungan-awak-kapan-perikanan-migran>
- International Organization for Migration. (2024, 19 Desember). Collaboration Across Southeast Asia to Safeguard Migrant Fishers' Rights and Combat Exploitation. <https://roasiapacific.iom.int/news/collaboration-across-southeast-asia-safeguard-migrant-fishers-rights-and-combat-exploitation>
- Karunia, A. M. (2021, 7 Oktober). Ada Kekosongan Hukum Pelindungan ABK, Begini Langkah Pemerintah. *Kompas*. <https://money.kompas.com/read/2021/10/07/073609226/ada-kekosongan-hukum-pelindungan-abk-begini-langkah-pemerintah>
- KORAL. (2023, 23 Mei). Mengukir sejarah baru: Deklarasi ASEAN untuk perlindungan nelayan migran lahir di KTT ASEAN 2023. *KORAL*. <https://koral.info/id/mengukir-sejarah-baru-deklarasi-asean-untuk-perlindungan-nelayan-migran-lahir-di-ktt-asean-2023/>
- McDowell, R., Mason, M., & Mendoza, M. (2015, 25 Maret). AP investigation: Slaves may have caught the fish you bought. *Associated Press*. <https://apnews.com/article/ap-top-news-international-news-thailand-indonesia-slavery>
- Media Indonesia. (2023, 15 Mei). Lindungi Pekerja Migran, Deklarasi ASEAN Jangan Hanya Jadi Komitmen. *Media Indonesia*.
- Mendoza, M. (2016). Obama bans US imports of slave-produced goods. <https://www.ap.org/explore/seafood-from-slaves/Obama-bans-US-imports-of-slave-produced-goods.html>
- Mongabay Indonesia. (2023, 8 September). Kapan Indonesia Memulai Ratifikasi Konvensi ILO 188? *Mongabay Indonesia*.

- Mongabay Indonesia. (2024, 18 Oktober). Nelayan Indonesia Desak Keadilan di Sektor Kelautan dan Perikanan. *Mongabay Indonesia*.
- Pusat Informasi Maritim ASEAN. (2024, 19 September). Tantangan dan Strategi Indonesia dalam Melindungi Sumber Daya Laut. *Pusat Informasi Maritim ASEAN*.
- SBMI. (2023, 10 Mei). SBMI menyambut Deklarasi ASEAN terkait pekerja migran, AKP migran serta perdagangan manusia dalam KTT ke-42 ASEAN. *SBMI*. <https://sbmi.or.id/sbmi-menyambut-deklarasi-asean-terkait-pekerja-migran-akp-migran-serta-perdagangan-manusia-dalam-ktt-ke-42-asean/>
- SEA Forum for Fishers sebagai sarana peningkatan perlindungan nelayan migran di Asia Tenggara. (n.d.). *Neliti*. <https://www.neliti.com/publications/559945/sea-forum-for-fishers-sebagai-sarana-peningkatan-perindungan-nelayan-migran-di>
- Warta Ekonomi. (2023, 11 Mei). Nelayan Migran Full Senyum, Begini Aksi Perhatian Penuh Negara-negara ASEAN. *Warta Ekonomi*. <https://wartaekonomi.co.id>
- Yea, S. (2024, 3 Juni). Migrant fishers from Southeast Asia are increasingly subject to forced labour and human trafficking. *Melbourne Asia Review*. <https://melbourneasiareview.edu.au/migrant-fishers-from-southeast-asia-are-increasingly-subject-to-forced-labour-and-human-trafficking/>
- Young, E. (2022, August 9). *Thailand's fisheries management transformation is a model for fighting illegal fishing*. The Pew Charitable Trusts. <https://www.pew.org/en/research-and-analysis/articles/2022/08/09/thailands-fisheries-management-transformation-is-a-model-for-fighting-illegal-fishing>
- Yuniar, R. W. (2021, 2 Juni). Indonesian workers still face abuse at sea, despite efforts to end modern slavery: Report. *South China Morning Post*. <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/health-environment/article/3135673/indonesian-workers-still-face-abuse-sea-despite-bids>