DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Acharya, A. (2001). *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order*. Routledge.

ANTARA News. (2025, 17 September). *ASEAN adopts declaration to combat cybercrime and online fraud*. https://en.antaranews.com/news/380601/asean-adopts-declaration-to-combat-cybercrime-and-online-fraud

ASEAN-Australia Counter Trafficking. (2025a). *ASEAN & member states: Lead Shepherd on TIP*. https://www.aseanact.org/asean-member-states/

ASEAN-Australia Counter Trafficking. (2025b, 28 Agustus). *How ASEAN is progressing monitoring and reporting for more informed responses to trafficking*. https://www.aseanact.org/story/bwp-merl-workshop/

ASEAN-Australia Counter Trafficking. (2025c, 20 November). *From promise to progress: 10 years of the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons*. https://www.aseanact.org/story/actip-turns-10/

ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. (2024a, 19 Juni). *AICHR, SOMTC consult stakeholders on effective implementation of non-punishment principles to counter trafficking in persons in ASEAN*. https://aichr.org/news/aichr-somtc-consult-stakeholders-on-effective-implementation-of-non-punishment-principles-to-counter-trafficking-in-persons-in-asean/

ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. (2024b, 6 September). *AICHR-SOMTC to develop regional guideline on the non-punishment principle for victims of trafficking in persons*. https://aichr.org/news/aichr-somtc-to-develop-regional-guideline-on-the-non-punishment-principle-for-victims-of-trafficking-in-persons/

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2015). *ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (ACTIP)*. https://asean.org/asean-convention-against-trafficking-in-persons-especially-women-and-children/

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2017, 19 Juli). *Terms of reference of the ASEAN Heads of Specialist Anti-Trafficking Units (HSU)*. https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/DOC-11-ANNEX-16-Adopted-HSU-TOR-as-of-19-July-2017.pdf

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2022). *Terms of reference of the Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC)*. https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/TOR-of-SOMTC.pdf

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2023a). *ASEAN Leaders' Declaration on Combating Trafficking in Persons Caused by the Abuse of Technology*. https://asean.org/asean-leaders-declaration-on-combating-trafficking-in-persons-caused-by-the-abuse-of-technology/

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2023b, 21 Agustus). *ASEAN multi-sectoral work plan against trafficking in persons 2023–2028 (Bohol TIP Work Plan 2.0)*.

https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Adopted-ASEAN-Multi-Sectoral-Work-Plan-Against-TIP-2023-2028-as-of-08-21-23.pdf

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2024, 28 September). *Monitoring, evaluation, learning and reporting (MERL) framework for the ASEAN multi-sectoral work plan against trafficking in persons 2023–2028 (Bohol TIP Work Plan 2.0)*. https://asean.org/book/monitoring-evaluation-learning-and-reporting-merl-framework-for-the-asean-multi-sectoral-work-plan-against-trafficking-in-persons-2023-2028-bohol-tip-work-plan-2-0/

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2025a). *ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC)*. https://asean.org/senior-officials-meeting-on-transnational-crime-somtc/

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2025b, 26 Juni). *25th ASEAN Senior Officials Meeting on Transnational Crime (SOMTC) and its related meetings are convened in Putrajaya, Malaysia*. https://asean.org/25th-asean-senior-officials-meeting-on-transnational-crime-somtc-and-its-related-meetings-are-convened-in-putrajaya-malaysia/

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2025c, 10 September). *ASEAN Declaration on Combatting Cybercrime and Online Scams*. https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/03.-ASEAN-Declaration-on-Combatting-Cybercrime-and-Online-Scams.pdf

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2025d, 10 September). *ASEAN Declaration on Countering People Smuggling in Southeast Asia*. https://asean.org/asean-ministerial-meeting-on-transnational-crime-ammtc/

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2025e, 10 September). *ASEAN plan of action in combatting transnational crime (2026–2035)*. https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/04.-ASEAN-Plan-of-Action-in-Combatting-Transnational-Crime-2026-2035.pdf

Association of Southeast Asian Nations. (2025f, 10 September). *Melaka Declaration on Combatting Transnational Crime*. https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/01.-Melaka-Declaration-on-Combatting-Transnational-Crime.pdf

Association of Southeast Asian Nations & ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. (2025a). *ASEAN guideline on the implementation of the non-punishment principle for protection of victims of trafficking in persons*. https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/ASEAN-Guideline-on-the-Implementation-of-the-Non-Punishement-Principle-for-Protection-of-Victims-of-Trafficking-in-Persons-adopted-ad-referendum-on-27-May-2025.pdf

Association of Southeast Asian Nations & ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights. (2025b, 2 Juni). *ASEAN launches regional guideline on non-punishment principle to strengthen victim protection in trafficking in persons cases*. https://asean.org/asean-launches-regional-guideline-on-non-punishment-principle-to-strengthen-victim-protection-in-trafficking-in-persons-cases/

Bangun, B. H., & Kinanti, F. M. (2025). The urgency of combating human trafficking for online scams in Indonesia. *Brawijaya Law Journal, 12*(1), 82–102. https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.blj.2025.012.01.05

Bernama. (2025, 10 September). *19th AMMTC endorses transnational crime action plan 2026–2035, strengthening regional cooperation*. https://asean.bernama.com/news.php?id=2466071

Bruno, M. (2026, 12 Mei). *Cybercrimes, human trafficking, and cryptocurrency in Southeast Asia's special economic zones*. New Lines Institute for Strategy and Policy. https://newlinesinstitute.org/global-security-mil-priorities/cybercrimes-human-trafficking-and-cryptocurrency-in-southeast-asias-special-economic-zones/

Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. (2025, 4 April). *Philippines: Commission on Human Rights concerns over rise of Filipinos recruited and trafficked to work in cyber scam compounds via online messaging platforms*. https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/philippines-commission-on-human-rights-concerns-over-rise-of-filipinos-recruited-and-trafficked-to-work-in-cyber-scam-compounds-via-online-messaging-platforms/

Chang, L. Y. C. (2020). Legislative frameworks against cybercrime: The Budapest Convention and Asia. Dalam T. J. Holt & A. M. Bossler (Ed.), *The Palgrave handbook of international cybercrime and cyberdeviance* (hlm. 327–343). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78440-3_6

Council of ASEAN Chief Justices. (2024). *Compendium of good practices in adjudicating trafficking in persons cases in ASEAN member states: Lessons learned and responses to challenges*. https://sc.judiciary.gov.ph/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Book-1-CACJ-WG-Trafficking-v1.8.pdf

Crawford, J. (2019). *Brownlie's principles of public international law* (9th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Davy, D. (2016). Anti–human trafficking interventions: How do we know if they are working? *American Journal of Evaluation, 37*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214016630615

Duong, K. A. (2019). A comprehensive gender framework to evaluate anti-trafficking policies and programs. Dalam *The Palgrave international handbook of human trafficking*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-63192-9_14-1

Fitzgerald, M. (2024). Protecting forced offenders: Applying the non-punishment principle to victims of trafficking into scam centres. *Thai Legal Studies, 4*(2), 162–194. https://doi.org/10.54157/tls.276200

Foo, Y. N. (2021). ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons: A regional approach to fighting human trafficking. Dalam *Non-traditional security in the Asia-Pacific: A decade of perspectives* (hlm. 155–159). World Scientific. https://doi.org/10.1142/9789811224430_0026

Franceschini, I., Wyndham, C., Le, L., Li, L., Torres Lliró, C., Mukhopadhyay, J., & Bo, M. (2026). Imperfect victims: Comparing Chinese and Vietnamese survivors of forced criminality in Southeast Asia's online scam industry. *Asian Journal of Criminology, 21*(1), Artikel 28. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11417-026-09495-3

Frastica, A. (2025). Peran ASEAN dalam menangani human trafficking berbasis online scam di Indonesia tahun 2022–2023. *Global Insight Journal: Jurnal Mahasiswa Hubungan Internasional, 2*(1). https://doi.org/10.36859/gij.v2i1.3721

Freedom Collaborative. (2024). *Data spotlight on trafficking for forced criminality*. https://data.freedomcollaborative.org/trafficking-for-forced-criminality/

Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. (2025). *Compound crime: Cyber scam operations in Southeast Asia*. https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2025/05/GI-TOC-Compound-crime-Cyber-scam-operations-in-Southeast-Asia-May-2025.pdf

Grzywacz, A. (2025). Embracing human rights norms in non-democratic regional organizations: A case-study of ASEAN. *International Affairs, 101*(5), 1833–1852. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaf145

Habermas, J. (1972). *Knowledge and human interests* (J. J. Shapiro, Penerj.). Beacon Press. (Karya asli terbit 1968)

Hakim, L. (2025, 17 September). Fighting cybercrime and online scams tops ASEAN agenda. *New Straits Times*.

https://www.nst.com.my/news/nation/2025/09/1276518/fighting-cybercrime-and-online-scams-tops-asean-agenda

Halperin, S., & Heath, O. (2020). *Political research: Methods and practical skills* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Hurrell, A. (1995). Regionalism in theoretical perspective. Dalam L. Fawcett & A. Hurrell (Ed.), *Regionalism in world politics: Regional organization and international order* (hlm. 37–73). Oxford University Press.

Imran, M. F. (2022). Cyber criminology and human security: An analysis of ASEAN countries police's paradigm. *Journal of Human Security*.

International Organization for Migration. (2024, Februari). *IOM's regional situation report on trafficking in persons into forced criminality in online scamming centres in Southeast Asia*. IOM Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific. https://roasiapacific.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl671/files/documents/2024-02/iom-southeast-asia-trafficking-for-forced-criminality-update_december-2023.pdf

International Organization for Migration. (2025). *Trafficking in persons facilitated by technology: Regional snapshot*. https://thailand.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl1371/files/documents/2025-09/trafficking-in-persons-facilitated-by-technology-regional-snapshot.pdf

Jaya, B. P. M., Ridwan, R., Mucharom, R. S., Wibowo, D. E., Aisah, S. N., Sulastri, & Alifvia, N. B. (2023). Criticising the implementation of the ACTIP in Southeast Asia. *Sriwijaya Law Review,* *7*(2), 350–367. https://doi.org/10.28946/slrev.Vol7.Iss2.2542.pp350-367

Jesperson, S. (2024). *Trafficking for forced criminality: The rise of scam centres in Southeast Asia*. Royal United Services Institute. https://www.rusi.org/networks/shoc/informer/trafficking-forced-criminality-rise-scam-centres-southeast-asia

Keohane, R. O. (1984). *After hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton University Press.

Khairi, N. F. (2021). Upaya ASEAN dalam menangani masalah perdagangan manusia di Asia Tenggara. *Anterior Jurnal, 20*(2), 84–93. https://doi.org/10.33084/anterior.v20i2.1795

Kirby, S., & Phythian, R. (2025). Does information communication technology facilitate or solve crime? Exploring the experience of law enforcement practitioners in three countries. *Policing: An International Journal, 48*(5), 1069–1082.

Krasner, S. D. (Ed.). (1983). *International regimes*. Cornell University Press.

Lamont, C. (2015). *Research methods in international relations*. Sage.

Lau, J. (2017). *Voluntarism and regional integration: ASEAN's 20 years of cooperation on human trafficking* [Makalah konferensi]. International Studies Association Asia-Pacific Conference, Hong Kong. http://web.isanet.org/Web/Conferences/HKU2017-s/Archive/d57a081e-85d6-4480-904f-9bed35cfca21.pdf

Li, L., Liu, C., & Franceschini, I. (2026). The gendered life cycle of forced criminality: Female victims in Southeast Asia's online scam industry. *Critical Asian Studies, 58*(1), 41–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2025.2588125

Limenta, M. (2026). Trade disputes in ASEAN: Optimizing overlooked dispute management mechanisms. *Journal of International Economic Law*. Publikasi daring lebih awal.

Luong, H. T. (2024, 25 September). *Strengthening ASEAN's responses to transnational crime*. East Asia Forum. https://doi.org/10.59425/eabc.1727301600

Lutmar, C., Carneiro, C. L., & Mitchell, S. M. (2016). Formal commitments and states' interests: Compliance in international relations. *International Interactions, 42*(4), 559–564. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2016.1187144

Manafe, M. S. N. (2026). Implementation of the ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons, Particularly Women and Children (ACTIP). *Jurnal Ilmu Kepolisian, 20*(1), 1–16. https://jurnalptik.id/JIK/article/download/696/253

McAdam, M. (2024, 5 September). *Developing the ASEAN guidelines on the non-punishment principle*. ASEAN-Australia Counter Trafficking. https://www.aseanact.org/story/asean-nonpunishment/

Mingst, K. A. (2014). *Essentials of international relations* (6th ed.). W. W. Norton.

Nadarajah, H. (2020). Fewer treaties, more soft law: What does it mean for the Arctic and climate change? Dalam L. Heininen, H. Exner-Pirot, & J. Barnes (Ed.), *Arctic Yearbook 2020: Climate change and the Arctic — Global origins,*

regional responsibilities? (hlm. 302–315). Arctic Portal. https://arcticyearbook.com/images/yearbook/2020/Scholarly-Papers/15_Nadarajah.pdf

Narine, S. (2008). Forty years of ASEAN: A historical review. *The Pacific Review, 21*(4), 411–429. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512740802294689

Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (7th ed.). Pearson.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2023). *Online scam operations and trafficking into forced criminality in Southeast Asia: Recommendations for a human rights response*. https://bangkok.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/wp_files/2023/08/ONLINE-SCAM-OPERATIONS-2582023.pdf

Philippine Information Agency. (2025, 15 Agustus). *DILG: ASEAN guideline affirms non-punishment principle to protect victims of trafficking in persons* [Siaran pers]. https://pia.gov.ph/dilg-asean-guideline-affirms-non-punishment-principle-to-protect-victims-of-trafficking-in-persons/

Pradityo, R., Sidiq, M. H. F., & Kurniawan, Y. (2021). Difusi norma kerja sama keamanan ASEAN melawan perdagangan manusia. *Andalas Journal of International Studies, 10*(2), 151–170. https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.10.2.151-170.2021

Qiao, G., & Oishi, N. (2019). Policy transfer from the UN to ASEAN: The case of trafficking in persons. *Policy Studies, 40*(2), 131–149. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2018.1538488

Renshaw, C. (2016). Human trafficking in Southeast Asia: Uncovering the dynamics of state commitment and compliance. *Michigan Journal of International Law, 37*(4), 611–670.

Romadhona, M. K., Kinasih, S. E., Sugiarti, E., Oktafenanda, R. D., & Alfadhel, A. B. B. (2026). Cyber-enabled human trafficking in Southeast Asia: A new frontier of exploitation. *Indonesian Journal of Criminal Law Studies, 11*(1), 515–554.

Sari, M. N. (2024). Cybercrime in Association of Southeast Asian Nations: Regional effort and its effectiveness. *Journal of Information Policy, 14*, 568–598. https://doi.org/10.5325/jinfopoli.14.2024.0016

Southeast Asia Public Policy Institute. (2025). *Towards an ASEAN response to scams*. https://seapublicpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/SEAPPI_Towards-an-ASEAN-response-to-scams_September-2025.pdf

Sundram, P. (2024). ASEAN cooperation to combat transnational crime: Progress, perils, and prospects. *Frontiers in Political Science, 6*, Artikel 1304828. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2024.1304828

Syafrinaldi, Prayuda, R., & Harto, S. (2023). Toward an effective ASEAN mutual legal assistance in combating nontraditional security threats in the Southeast Asia region. *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations, 11*. https://doi.org/10.22456/2238-6912.119595

Tan, O., Leng, S., Khan, S., & Abdul Rahim, R. (2014). Internet: The double-edged sword of trafficking of women in Malaysia. *Pertanika Journal of Social Science and Humanities, 22*, 149–160.

Tempo. (2025, 26 Oktober). *Indonesia pushes ASEAN cooperation to fight cybercrime and online fraud*. https://en.tempo.co/read/2060545/indonesia-pushes-asean-cooperation-to-fight-cybercrime-and-online-fraud

The Mekong Club. (2025). *Exploiting migration channels: Trafficking for forced criminality in Southeast Asia*. https://themekongclub.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/Exploiting-Migration-Channels-Trafficking-for-Forced-Criminality-in-Southeast-Asia.pdf

The Vibes. (2025, 17 September). *ASEAN charts new decade-long strategy to combat transnational crime*. https://www.thevibes.com/articles/news/112886/asean-charts-new-decade-long-strategy-to-combat-transnational-crime

Tiwari, M., Zhou, Y., Lee, J. R., Naraspuram, K. N., Bewong, M., & Rathore, V. (2026). Generative AI and financial crimes: A quantitative systematic literature review. *Crime Science, 15*(1), Artikel 5. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40163-026-00268-y

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2020). *Global report on trafficking in persons 2020*. https://www.unodc.org/unodc/data-and-analysis/glotip.html

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2024a). *Cyber-enabled fraud and scam centres in Southeast Asia*. https://www.unodc.org/roseap/en/2024/04/cyber-enabled-fraud-and-scam-centres/story.html

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2024b, Desember). *Global report on trafficking in persons 2024*. https://www.unodc.org/unodc/frontpage/2024/December/launch-of-the-global-report-on-trafficking-in-persons-2024.html

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Regional Office for Southeast Asia and the Pacific. (2025). *ASEAN compendium on international legal cooperation on trafficking in persons cases*. https://www.unodc.org/roseap/uploads/documents/Publications/2025/ILC-Compendium_1_rev.pdf

United States Institute of Peace. (2024). *Transnational crime in Southeast Asia: A growing threat to global peace and security*. https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2024-05/ssg_transnational-crime-southeast-asia.pdf

Vietnam Law Magazine. (2025, 11 September). *ASEAN adopts 10-year action plan to combat transnational crime*. https://vietnamlawmagazine.vn/asean-adopts-10-year-action-plan-to-combat-transnational-crime-75195.html

Vu, T. H., & Tran, T. T. H. (2026). Cross-border data collection in transnational crime control: What ASEAN can learn from the US–EU experience. *InterEULawEast*. Publikasi daring lebih awal.

Wagner, J. (2021). *Border management in transformation: Transnational threats and security policies of European states*. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-62728-7

Wang, F. (2024). Victim-offender overlap: The identity transformations experienced by trafficked Chinese workers escaping from pig-butchering scam syndicate. *Trends in Organized Crime*. Publikasi daring lebih awal. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-024-09525-5

Wirawan, M., & Novikrisna, D. (2024). Legal instrument under the "ASEAN Way": The case of ASEAN Convention Against Trafficking in Persons. *Indonesian Journal of International Law, 22*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol22.1.1726

Yanow, D., & Schwartz-Shea, P. (Ed.). (2014). *Interpretation and method: Empirical research methods and the interpretive turn* (2nd ed.). M. E. Sharpe.