## **DAFTAR PUSTAKA**

### Buku

- Aspers, Patrick, and Ugo Corte. *What is Qualitative in Qualitative Research*. Qualitative Sociology Vol. 42 no. 2 (2019):139-160.
- Atkinson, Joshua. *Journey into Social Activism: Qualitative Approaches*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2017.
- Coser, Lewis A. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. Toronto: The Free Press Corporation, 1956.
- Diamond, Louise, and John W. McDonald. *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A System Approach*. America: Kumarian Press, 1996
- Dugis, Vinsensio, *Teori Hubungan Internasional: Perspektif-perspektif Klasik.* Surabaya: Airlangga University Press, 2018.
- Neuman, W. Lawrence. Analysis of Qualitative Data, Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2014.
- Peters, Rebecca Todd. *Solidarity Ethics: Transformation in a Globalized World*. 1517 Media, Fortress Press, 2014.
- Rosyidin, Mohammad. Kejahatan Perang: Perspektif Politik dan Hubungan Internasional. Semarang: EF Press Digimedia, 2017.
- Viotti, Paul R., and Mark V. Kauppi. *International Relations Theory*. 5th ed. New York: Pearson Education, 2012.
- Wahyuningsih, Sri. *Metode Penelitian Studi Kasus*. Madura: Universitas Trunojoyo Madura Press, 2013.

# Dokumen/Report

- Constitutions of India. Article 370.
  - https://www.constitutionofindia.net/articles/article-370-temporary-provisions-with-respect-to-the-state-of-jammu-and-kashmir/
- Lok Sabha Secretariat Reference Note. Article 35A of the Constitution-An Overview No. 43/RN/Ref/October/2017. Prepared by Shri G. Ranga Rao

- and Shri Vinod.
- https://loksabhadocs.nic.in/Refinput/New\_Reference\_Notes/English/Article%2035A%20of%20the%20Constitution-%20An%20overview.pdf
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Kashmir through Ages. <a href="https://mofa.gov.pk/kashmir-through-ages/">https://mofa.gov.pk/kashmir-through-ages/</a>
- Sustainable Development Goals. Rankings: The Overall Performance of All 193 UN Member States India. <a href="https://dashboards.sdgindex.org/ranking">https://dashboards.sdgindex.org/ranking</a>
- South Asia Terrorism Portal. Datasheet Jammu and Kashmir. <u>https://www.satp.org/datasheet-terrorist-attack/fatalities/india-jammukashmir</u>

#### Jurnal

- Akthar, Nasreen. "A Response to 'The Kashmir Conflict'." *International Journal on World Peace* Vol. 27 (2010): 45-53.
- Behera, Navnita Chadha. "The Kashmir Conflict: Multiple Fault Lines." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* Vol. 3, pp. 41-63 (2016).
- Biswas, Bidisha. "Just Say No: Explaining the Lack of International Mediation in Kashmir." *International Negotiation* Vol. 22, pp. 499-520 (2017).
- Bouldin, Kenneth Ewart. "National Images and International Systems." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution 3*, no. 2 (1959): 120–31.
- Chaudhri, Mohammed Ahsen. "Geopolitical Factors in Pakistan-India Relations." *Pakistan Horizon* Vol. 40 (1987):30-50.
- Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbol. "Kashmir Dispute and International Community." *Strategic Studies* Vol. 18, pp. 57-79 (1995).
- Fu, Mengzhu. "What Will It Take to End Gender-Based Violence?" *Women's Studies Journal* Vol. 29, No. 2 (2015): 50-59.
- Ganguly Sumit, and Kanti Bajpai. "India and The Crisis in Kashmir." *Asian Survey* Vol. 34, pp. 401-416 (1994).
- Gauhar, Altaf. "The Tashkent Declaration." *Pakistan Horizon* Vol. 19 (1966):13-25.
- Ghosal, Sarbani Guha. "Human Rights: Concept and Contestation." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 71 No. 4 (2010):1103-1125.

- Habibullah, Wajahat. "The Political Economy of the Kashmir Conflict." *United States Institute of Peace* (2004).
- Heaton, Janet. "Secondary Analysis of Qualitative Data: An Overview." Historical Social Research Vol. 33 No. 3 (2008):33-45.
- Israpil. "Budaya Patriarki dan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan (Sejarah dan Perkembangannya)." *Jurnal Pusaka* Vol. 5 No. 2 (2017).
- Karp, Aaron, Sonal Marwah, and Rita Machanda. "Unheard and Uncounted: Violence Against Women in India." *Small Arms Survey. Issue Brief* no. 5 (2015).
- Kazi, Seema. "Women, Gender Politics, and Resistance in Kashmir." *Socio-Legal Review* Vol. 18 Article 5 (2022).
- Khurshid, Tooba. "United Nations Security Council Resolutions: Status of the People of Jammu and Kashmir." *Strategic Studies* Vol. 36 No. 4 (2016): 100-122.
- Kozur, Markus Tobias, and Kirsten Schmalenbach. "Solidarity Among Nations." *Archiv Des Völkerrechts* Vol. 52 (2014):68-91.
- Mareta, Sabillina. "Peran UN Women dalam Mempengaruhi Kebijakan Pemerintah India Terkait Kasus Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan Tahun 2011-2015." *Jurnal Analisis Hubungan Internasional* Vol. 6 (2017): 24-37.
- Mishra, Vivek Kumar. "The Abrogation of Article 370 International Reactions." *Indian Journal of Asian Affairs* Vol. 33 (2020): 120-129.
- Mohiuddin, Lubna. "Human Rights Violations: A Case Study of Kashmir." *Pakistan Horizon* Vol. 50, no. 2, pp. 75-97 (1997).
- Mustafa, Zubeida. "The Kashmir Dispute and The Simla Agreement." *Pakistan Horizon* Vol. 25 (1972): 38-52.
- Sewak, Manjrika. "Multi-Track Diplomacy Between India and Pakistan: A Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Security." *Regional Centre for Strategic Studies* (2005).
- Sharma, B.R., and Manisha Gupta. "Gender Based Violence in India: A Neverending Phenomenon." *Journal of International Women's Studies* Vol. 6, Issue 1, Article 8 (2004).

- Sharma, Divyangna. "Alternative Discourse for Constituting Subjecthood of Women: A Case for an Autonomous Feminist Discourse in Kashmir in India." *Frontiers in Political Science* Vol. 5 (2023).
- Sharma, Paribhasha. "Gender-Based Crime and Gender Inequality in India: A Subnational Analysis." *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 50, pp. 48-55 (2015).
- St. John, Anthony Wanis. "The Mediating Role in the Kashmir Dispute Between India and Pakistan." *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* Vol. 21 (1997):173-195.
- Suri, Anirudh. "NGOs in Kashmir: Agents of Peace and Development?" *IPCS Research Paper* (2004).
- Wani, Mohammad Amin., and Dr. R. Sankar. "Violence against Women by Military Personal in Kashmir Valley." Scholars World-International Refereed Multidisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research (2016).
- Wani, Zulfqar Ashraf. "International Journal of Research Gender Inequality A Global Issue." *International Journal of Research* 05(19):13 (2019).
- Wies, Jennifer R., and Hillary J. Haldane. "Anthropology at the Front Lines of Gender-Based Violence." *Vanderbilt University Press* (2011).
- Wilson, Kalpana, Jennifer Ung Loh, and Navtej Purewal. "Gender, Violence, and the Neoliberal State in India." *Feminist Review* no. 119, pp. 1-6 (2018).

#### Internet

- Amnesty International. "India: 'Let Kashmir Speak' Campaign Launched a Month Into The Lockdown." <a href="https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/india-let-kashmir-speak-campaign-launched-month-lockdown">https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/india-let-kashmir-speak-campaign-launched-month-lockdown</a>
- Amnesty International. "India: Joint Open Letter to Call for an End to Human Rights Violations in Kashmir and Release of Jailed Human Rights Defenders and Political Prisoners."

  <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7133/2023/en/">https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa20/7133/2023/en/</a>
- Amnesty International. "India: The Government Must End The Repression of Rights in Jammu and Kashmir."

  <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/09/india-the-government-must-end-the-repression-of-rights-in-jammu-and-kashmir/">https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2022/09/india-the-government-must-end-the-repression-of-rights-in-jammu-and-kashmir/</a>

- Andleeb, Shumaila. "India Using Rape, Torture of Kashmiri Women as 'Instruments of State-Terrorism." Associated Press of Pakistan.

  <a href="https://www.app.com.pk/top-news/india-using-rape-torture-of-kashmiri-women-as-instruments-of-state-terrorism/">https://www.app.com.pk/top-news/india-using-rape-torture-of-kashmiri-women-as-instruments-of-state-terrorism/</a>
- Arab News Pakistan. "Pakistan Criticized UN Report on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence for Omitting Indian and Israeli 'Crimes'."

  <a href="https://www.arabnews.pk/node/2338311/pakistan">https://www.arabnews.pk/node/2338311/pakistan</a>
- Arendt, Hannah. "Evil: The Crime against Humanity." Library of Congress. <a href="https://www.loc.gov/collections/hannah-arendt-papers/articles-and-essays/evil-the-crime-against-humanity/">https://www.loc.gov/collections/hannah-arendt-papers/articles-and-essays/evil-the-crime-against-humanity/</a>
- Ayesh, Rashaan. "Timeline: The India-Pakistan Conflict Over Kashmir." Axios. <a href="https://www.axios.com/2020/02/25/timeline-india-pakistan-conflict-over-kashmir">https://www.axios.com/2020/02/25/timeline-india-pakistan-conflict-over-kashmir</a>
- Batul, Zohra. "Indian Apathy and Systemic Violence against Women in Kashmir." The London School of Economics and Political Science. <a href="https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2020/09/14/indian-apathy-and-systemic-violence-against-women-in-kashmir/">https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/gender/2020/09/14/indian-apathy-and-systemic-violence-against-women-in-kashmir/</a>
- BBC News, "Kashmir Profile Timeline," <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-16069078">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-16069078</a>
- BBC News. "Is India Really the Most Dangerous Country for Women?" <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-42436817">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-42436817</a>
- BBC News. "Article 370: What happened with Kashmir and why it matters." https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-49234708
- Canton, Naomi. "India Most Dangerous Nation for Women: Poll." The Times of India, <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/india-most-dangerous-nation-for-women-poll/articleshow/64743289.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/india-most-dangerous-nation-for-women-poll/articleshow/64743289.cms</a>
- Connah, Leoni. "Contested Kashmir: A Brief History." EPOCH Magazine. <a href="https://www.epoch-magazine.com/connahkashmir">https://www.epoch-magazine.com/connahkashmir</a>
- Daily Country News. "Kashmiri Women Protests on International Women's Day in Muzaffarabad." <a href="https://dailycountrynews.com/kashmiri-women-protests-on-international-womens-day-in-muzaffarabad/">https://dailycountrynews.com/kashmiri-women-protests-on-international-womens-day-in-muzaffarabad/</a>
- Durrani, Iftikhar. "Kashmir Crisis: Threat to World Peace & Challenge to Human Conscience," Ankasam, <a href="https://www.ankasam.org/kashmir-crisis-threat-to-world-peace-challenge-to-human-conscience/?lang=en">https://www.ankasam.org/kashmir-crisis-threat-to-world-peace-challenge-to-human-conscience/?lang=en</a>

- Geo News. "Indian Forces Have Raped, Molested/ More Than 11.000 Kashmiri Women in 3 Decades: Report." <a href="https://www.geo.tv/latest/320584-indian-forces-raped-molested-more-than-11000-women-in-kashmir-kms">https://www.geo.tv/latest/320584-indian-forces-raped-molested-more-than-11000-women-in-kashmir-kms</a>
- Goldsmith, Belinda. "Factbox: Which are the world's most dangerous countries for women?" Reuters. <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-women-dangerous-poll-factbox-idUSKBN1JM01Z/">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-women-dangerous-poll-factbox-idUSKBN1JM01Z/</a>
- Hussain, Aijaz. "Kashmiris Allege Night Terror by Indian Troops in Crackdown." Associated Press. <a href="https://apnews.com/article/india-kashmir-ap-top-news-new-delhi-international-news-52b06a124a5a4469984793d3c208733d">https://apnews.com/article/india-kashmir-ap-top-news-new-delhi-international-news-52b06a124a5a4469984793d3c208733d</a>
- India Today, "Countries that Raised the Kashmir Issue at the UN General Assembly 2019: Full Analysis," <a href="https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/countries-that-raised-the-kashmir-issue-at-the-un-general-assembly-2019-divd-1606255-2019-10-04">https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/countries-that-raised-the-kashmir-issue-at-the-un-general-assembly-2019-divd-1606255-2019-10-04</a>
- Jha, Prem Shankar. "The Rise of Kashmir's Intifada." The Wire. <a href="https://thewire.in/politics/kashmir-uprising">https://thewire.in/politics/kashmir-uprising</a>
- Jurnal Islam. "Ribuan Orang Dukung Kemerdekaan Muslim Kashmir dari Penjajah India." <a href="https://jurnalislam.com/ribuan-orang-dukung-kemerdekaan-muslim-kashmir-penjajah-india/#google\_vignette">https://jurnalislam.com/ribuan-orang-dukung-kemerdekaan-muslim-kashmir-penjajah-india/#google\_vignette</a>
- Justice for All. "Free Kashmir Projects." <a href="https://www.justiceforall.org/free-kashmir/">https://www.justiceforall.org/free-kashmir/</a>
- Let Kashmir Decide. "Solidaritea Campaign." https://letkashmirdecide.com/
- Mukherjee, Vashuda. "Article 370: What Is It, Why Was It Abrogated and Who's Challenging It Now?" Business Standard, <a href="https://www.business-standard.com/india-news/article-370-what-it-is-why-it-was-abrogated-and-who-s-challenging-it-now-123071100245\_1.html">https://www.business-standard.com/india-news/article-370-what-it-is-why-it-was-abrogated-and-who-s-challenging-it-now-123071100245\_1.html</a>
- Narang, Anya. "The Not-So-Hidden Crime: India's Rape Crisis." The McGill International Review, <a href="https://www.mironline.ca/the-not-so-hidden-crime-indias-rape-crisis/">https://www.mironline.ca/the-not-so-hidden-crime-indias-rape-crisis/</a>
- Nations Online Project. "Map of Kashmir, India/Pakistan."

  <a href="https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/Kashmir-political-map.htm#google-vignette">https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/Kashmir-political-map.htm#google-vignette</a>
- Observer Research Foundation. "Kashmir After Article 370: India's Diplomatic Challenge." <a href="http://20.244.136.131/research/kashmir-after-article-370">http://20.244.136.131/research/kashmir-after-article-370</a>

- Rayala, Sai. "India's Political Institutions Grapple with Misogynistic Culture as Sexual Violence Persists in the Country." The Yale Review of International Studies. <a href="http://yris.yira.org/comments/asia/4673">http://yris.yira.org/comments/asia/4673</a>
- Srinagar, Samaan Lateef. "Kashmir: Victims Demand Justice in Indian Army Killings." Deutsche Welle. <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/kashmir-victims-demand-justice-in-indian-army-killings/a-60663029">https://www.dw.com/en/kashmir-victims-demand-justice-in-indian-army-killings/a-60663029</a>
- Stand with Kashmir. "Programs and Campaigns." <a href="https://standwithkashmir.org/">https://standwithkashmir.org/</a>
- Umar, Baba. "Kashmir's Never-Ending Conflict, A Timeline of 70 Years." TRT World. <a href="https://www.trtworld.com/asia/kashmir-s-never-ending-conflict-a-timeline-of-70-years-11666">https://www.trtworld.com/asia/kashmir-s-never-ending-conflict-a-timeline-of-70-years-11666</a>
- Vajpayee, Atal Behari and Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. "The Lahore Declaration." <a href="https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20PK\_99022">https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/IN%20PK\_99022</a>
  1 The%20Lahore%20Declaration.pdf
- Wood, Vincent. "Hundreds Protest India's Treatment of Kashmir in London," Independent News UK, <a href="https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/india-kashmir-protest-london-modi-high-commission-sadiq-khan-a9302746.html">https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/india-kashmir-protest-london-modi-high-commission-sadiq-khan-a9302746.html</a>
- World Kashmir Freedom Movement (WKFM). "Organization's Aims." <a href="https://uia.org/s/or/en/1100004715#:~:text=1990%2D06%2D17-">https://uia.org/s/or/en/1100004715#:~:text=1990%2D06%2D17-</a>, History, of \$\%20\$Kashmir \%20at \%20 international \%20 level
- Zutshi, Vikram, and Mantasha Rashid. "It Is Taboo to Talk About #MeToo in Kashmir." Fair Observer, <a href="https://www.fairobserver.com/world-news/it-is-taboo-to-talk-about-metoo-in-kashmir/">https://www.fairobserver.com/world-news/it-is-taboo-to-talk-about-metoo-in-kashmir/</a>