

**PERKEMBANGAN TRANSNASIONAL FREEDOM FLOTILLA
COALITION MENJADI GLOBAL SUMUD FLOTILLA DALAM
MENENTANG BLOKADE GAZA PADA TAHUN 2025**

SKRIPSI

Diajukan kepada Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya untuk memenuhi salah
satu persyaratan memperoleh Gelar Sarjana Ilmu Sosial (S.Sos.) dalam bidang
Hubungan Internasional



Aura Putri Oktasafea

NIM 10040221082

Program Studi Hubungan Internasional

Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya

Juni, 2026

PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN PENULISAN SKRIPSI

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, saya:

Nama : Aura Putri Oktasafea
NIM : 10040221082
Program Studi : Hubungan Internasional
Judul Skripsi : Perkembangan Transnasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition menjadi Global Sumud Flotilla dalam Menentang Blokade Gaza pada tahun 2025

Menyatakan dengan sesungguhnya, bahwa:

1. Skripsi ini tidak pernah dikumpulkan pada lembaga pendidikan manapun untuk mendapatkan gelar akademik apapun,
2. Skripsi ini adalah benar-benar hasil karya saya secara mandiri dan bukan merupakan plagiasi karya orang lain,
3. Apabila Skripsi ini di kemudian hari terbukti sebagai karya plagiat, maka saya bersedia menanggung segala konsekuensi hukum yang berlaku.

Surabaya, 8 Juni 2026

Yang Menyatakan



Aura Putri Oktasafea

NIM 10040221082

PERSETUJUAN DOSEN PEMBIMBING

Setelah melakukan bimbingan terhadap Skripsi yang ditulis oleh:

Nama : Aura Putri Oktasafea
NIM : 10040221082
Program Studi : Hubungan Internasional

Berjudul *Perkembangan Transnasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition menjadi Global Sumud Flotilla dalam Menentang Blokade Gaza pada Tahun 2025*, saya berpendapat bahwa Skripsi tersebut dapat diujikan sebagai salah satu persyaratan bagi yang bersangkutan untuk memperoleh Gelar Sarjana Sosial (S.Sos.) dalam bidang Hubungan Internasional.

Surabaya, 8 Juni 2026

Dosen Pembimbing,



Nur Luthfi Hidayatullah, S.IP., M.Hub.Int.

NIP 199104092020121012

PENGESAHAN

Skripsi oleh Aura Putri Oktasafea dengan judul *Perkembangan Transnasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition menjadi Global Sumud Flotilla dalam Menentang Blokade Gaza pada Tahun 2025* telah dipertahankan dan dinyatakan lulus oleh Tim Penguji Skripsi pada tanggal 15 Juni 2026

Tim Penguji Skripsi

Penguji I



Nur Luthfi Hidayatullah, S.IP., M.Hub.Int.
NIP 199104092020121012

Penguji II



Dr. Slamet Muliono Redjosari, M.Si.
NIP 196811291996031003

Penguji III



Ridha Amaliyah, S.IP, MBA.
NIP 198509172025212003

Penguji IV



Dhimas Rudy Hartanto, M.Han.
NIP 199812302025051006

Surabaya, 15 Juni 2026

Mengesahkan,

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya

Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

Dekan



Prof. Dr. H. Abd. Chalik, M.Ag
NIP 197306272000031002

LEMBAR PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI
KARYA ILMIAH UNTUK KEPENTINGAN AKADEMIS

Sebagai sivitas akademika UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, saya:

Nama : AURA PUTRI OKTASAFEA
NIM : 10040221082
Fakultas/Jurusan : FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK / HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL
E-mail address : auraputrioktasafea@gmail.com

Demi pengembangan ilmu pengetahuan, menyetujui untuk memberikan kepada Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Hak Bebas Royalti Non-Eksklusif atas karya ilmiah :

☒ Sekripsi ☐ Tesis ☐ Desertasi ☐ Lain-lain (.....)
yang berjudul :

PERKEMBANGAN TRANSNASIONAL FREEDOM FLOTILLA COALITION MENJADI GLOBAL

SUMUD FLOTILLA DALAM MENENTANG BLOKADE GAZA PADA TAHUN 2025

beserta perangkat yang diperlukan (bila ada). Dengan Hak Bebas Royalti Non-Eksklusif ini Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya berhak menyimpan, mengalih-media/format-kan, mengelolanya dalam bentuk pangkalan data (database), mendistribusikannya, dan menampilkan/mempublikasikannya di Internet atau media lain secara *fulltext* untuk kepentingan akademis tanpa perlu meminta ijin dari saya selama tetap mencantumkan nama saya sebagai penulis/pencipta dan atau penerbit yang bersangkutan.

Saya bersedia untuk menanggung secara pribadi, tanpa melibatkan pihak Perpustakaan UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, segala bentuk tuntutan hukum yang timbul atas pelanggaran Hak Cipta dalam karya ilmiah saya ini.

Demikian pernyataan ini yang saya buat dengan sebenarnya.

Surabaya, 30 Juni 2026

Penulis



(AURA PUTRI OKTASAFEA)

ABSTRACT

Oktasafea, Aura Putri. “The Contention of the Transnational Freedom Flotilla Coalition into the Global Sumud Flotilla in Challenge to the Gaza Blockade in 2025.” Sunan Ampel Islamic State University of Surabaya, 2026.

This study aims to analyze the transnational contention of the Freedom Flotilla Coalition (FFC) into the Global Sumud Flotilla (GSF) in challenging the Gaza blockade in 2025. Using a descriptive qualitative method, the research collected data from digital documentation, organizational archives, reports of international institutions, official publications, and international media coverage, which were analyzed inductively using Sidney Tarrow’s concept of transnational contention, including global issue framing, internalization, diffusion, scale shift, externalization, and coalition forming. The findings reveal that the transnational contention of the FFC to GSF was not merely an organizational expansion but a transformation into a more integrated transnational movement through a shift in framing from humanitarian assistance a symbol of global resistance, adaptation to repression through legal and diplomatic strategies, wider diffusion through digital networks and global public figures, the scaling up of solidarity from the Palestinian issue to broader global justice concerns, stronger engagement with international institutions, and the formation of a more flexible and multilevel campaign coalition. The study also identifies empirical patterns in the form of layered framing, the boomerang effect, hybrid diffusion, and layered coalition building that complement the framework of transnational contention. These findings demonstrate the growing capacity of transnational civil society to combine humanitarian action, legal advocacy, and global solidarity mobilization in challenging state policies and increasing international pressure on the Gaza blockade.

Keywords: Freedom Flotilla Coalition; Global Sumud Flotilla; Perkembangan Transnasional; Gaza Blockade.

UIN SUNAN AMPEL
S U R A B A Y A

ABSTRAK

Oktasafea, Aura Putri. “Perkembangan Transnasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition menjadi Global Sumud Flotilla dalam Menentang Blokade Gaza pada tahun 2025.” Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2026.

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis perkembangan transnasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition (FFC) menjadi Global Sumud Flotilla (GSF) dalam menentang blokade Gaza pada tahun 2025. Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan teknik pengumpulan data berupa dokumentasi digital, arsip organisasi, laporan lembaga internasional, publikasi resmi, dan pemberitaan media internasional yang dianalisis secara induktif menggunakan konsep kontensi transnasional Sidney Tarrow, meliputi *global issue framing*, *internalization*, *diffusion*, *scale shift*, *externalization*, dan *coalition forming*. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa perkembangan FFC menjadi GSF tidak hanya berupa perluasan organisasi, tetapi transformasi menuju gerakan transnasional yang lebih terintegrasi melalui perubahan *framing* dari bantuan kemanusiaan sebagai simbol perlawanan global, adaptasi terhadap represi melalui strategi hukum dan diplomatik, perluasan difusi melalui jaringan digital dan figur publik global, peningkatan skala solidaritas dari isu Palestina menuju isu keadilan global, penguatan akses terhadap institusi internasional, serta pembentukan koalisi kampanye yang lebih fleksibel dan multilevel. Penelitian ini juga menemukan pola perkembangan berupa *layered framing*, *boomerang effect*, difusi hibrida, dan koalisi berlapis yang melengkapi konsep kontensi transnasional. Temuan tersebut menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat sipil transnasional semakin mampu mengintegrasikan aksi kemanusiaan, advokasi hukum, dan mobilisasi solidaritas global untuk menentang kebijakan negara serta memperluas tekanan internasional terhadap blokade Gaza.

Kata Kunci: Freedom Flotilla Coalition; Global Sumud Flotilla; Perkembangan Transnasional; Blokade Gaza.

UIN SUNAN AMPEL
SURABAYA

DAFTAR ISI

PERTANGGUNGJAWABAN PENULISAN SKRIPSI	i
PERSETUJUAN DOSEN PEMBIMBING.....	ii
PENGESAHAN.....	iii
PERNYATAAN PERSETUJUAN PUBLIKASI	iv
MOTTO	v
ABSTRAK	vi
KATA PENGANTAR.....	viii
DAFTAR ISI.....	x
DAFTAR TABEL	xii
DAFTAR GAMBAR.....	xiii
BAB I PENDAHULUAN.....	1
A. Latar Belakang Masalah	1
B. Fokus Penelitian.....	12
C. Tujuan Penelitian	12
D. Manfaat Penelitian	12
1. Manfaat Praktik.....	12
2. Manfaat Teoritis	13
E. Kajian Pustaka	13
F. Sistematika Penulisan Skripsi	29
BAB II PERSPEKTIF TEORITIS DAN ARGUMENTASI UTAMA.....	31
A. Landasan Konseptual	31
1. Kontensi Transnasional.....	31
2. Proses Kontensi Transnasional	32
B. Definisi Konsep	55
1. Menentang Blokade	55
C. Kerangka Konseptual Perkembangan Transnasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition dan Global Sumud Flotilla.....	58
D. Argumentasi Utama	60
BAB III METODE PENELITIAN	61
A. Jenis dan Masalah Penelitian	61
B. Unit dan Peringkat Analisis	62
C. Situasi Sosial, Sampel, dan Teknik Sampling.....	63
D. Teknik Pengumpulan Data	65
E. Teknik Analisis Data	67
F. Teknik Validasi Data	69
BAB IV TEMUAN PENELITIAN DAN PEMBAHASAN	71
A. <i>Global Issue Framing</i> : Solidaritas Kemanusiaan menuju Simbol Perlawanan Global.....	71
1. Freedom Flotilla Coalition: Membingkai Blokade Gaza sebagai Isu Kemanusiaan Global.....	72

2. Global Sumud Flotilla: Membingkai Blokade sebagai Simbol Keteguhan dan Perlawanan Global.....	73
B. <i>Internalization</i> : Respons terhadap Blokade menuju Adaptasi terhadap Represi Transnasional	76
1. Freedom Flotilla Coalition: <i>Protest</i> dan Represi dalam Menentang Blokade Gaza 77	
2. Global Sumud Flotilla: Adaptasi Gerakan di Tengah Represi yang Semakin Kompleks	79
C. <i>Diffusion</i> : Jaringan Kepercayaan menuju Mobilisasi Solidaritas Global	83
1. Freedom Flotilla Coalition: Jaringan Kepercayaan sebagai Fondasi Penyebaran Gerakan	84
2. Global Sumud Flotilla: Menembus Batas Lingkaran Aktivis melalui Jaringan Digital dan Broker Global.....	85
D. <i>Scale Shift</i> : Solidaritas Kemanusiaan menuju Gerakan Perlawanan Transnasional	88
1. Freedom Flotilla Coalition: Memperluas Isu Blokade Gaza ke Tingkat Internasional	89
2. Global Sumud Flotilla: Solidaritas Palestina menuju Solidaritas Lintas Isu Global	90
E. <i>Externalization</i> : Kampanye Informasi menuju Tekanan Politik dan Diplomati Internasional.....	92
1. Freedom Flotilla Coalition: Membangun Dukungan melalui Jalur Informasi.....	92
2. Global Sumud Flotilla: Tekanan Moral menuju Akses Institusional	93
F. <i>Coalition Forming</i> : Koalisi Solidaritas Palestina menuju Koalisi Kampanye Transnasional	97
1. Freedom Flotilla Coalition: Koalisi Federatif Berbasis Solidaritas Palestina	98
2. Global Sumud Flotilla: Koalisi Kampanye yang Menghubungkan Berbagai Gerakan Global.....	99
G. Implikasi Perkembangan Freedom Flotilla Coalition menjadi Global Sumud Flotilla: Model Perbandingan	104
BAB V PENUTUP.....	108
A. Kesimpulan	108
B. Saran	109
1. Rekomendasi Akademik	109
2. Rekomendasi Praktis.....	109
DAFTAR PUSTAKA	111
LAMPIRAN.....	119

DAFTAR TABEL

Tabel 2.1 Perkembangan Transnasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition dan Global Sumud Flotilla	58
Tabel 4.1 Transformasi yang Terjadi pada Freedom Flotilla Coalition dan Global Sumud Flotilla di Tahun 2025	105



DAFTAR GAMBAR

Gambar 1.1 Penyambutan Kapal Pertama Free Gaza Movement di Gaza.....	4
Gambar 1.2 Gaza Freedom Flotilla - Mavi Marmara dan Kapal-Kapal Lainnya	5
Gambar 1.3 Kapal Zaytouna-Oliva Tiba di Ajaccio	6
Gambar 1.4 Kapal Handala Singgah di Cobh, Irlandia	9
Gambar 2. 1 Six Processes of <i>Transnational Contention</i> oleh Sidney Tarrow.....	54
Gambar 4. 1 Serangan terhadap Kapal <i>Familia</i> dan <i>Alma</i> di lepas pelabuhan Sidi Bou Said, Tunisia.....	75
Gambar 4. 2 Serangan Drone pada Kapal <i>Conscience</i> di Perairan Lepas Malta	78
Gambar 4. 3 <i>Press Releases</i> oleh Kementerian Luar Negeri Malaysia.....	81
Gambar 4. 4 Global Sumud Flotilla <i>Tracker</i>	85
Gambar 4. 5 <i>Live Streaming</i> Misi-Misi Global Sumud Flotilla	86
Gambar 4. 6 Diselenggarakannya <i>Global Sumud Parliamentary Congress</i> di Brussels.....	95
Gambar 4. 7 Deklarasi Brussels	95
Gambar 4. 8 Jaringan Mitra Organisasi Regional dan Nasional Freedom Flotilla Coalition.....	98
Gambar 4. 9 Partisipasi Global Movement to Gaza (GMTG) dalam GSF	100
Gambar 4. 10 Massa Aktivis Global Movement to Gaza	100
Gambar 4. 11 Partisipasi Sumud Nusantara dalam GSF	100
Gambar 4. 12 <i>Steering Committee</i> Global Sumud Flotilla.....	101
Gambar 4. 13 Aliansi Susulan antara FFC dan Thousand Madleen to Gaza (TMTG)	102
Gambar 4. 14 Global Sumud Flotilla <i>Spring 2026 Mission</i>	103
Gambar 4. 15 <i>Global Sumud Land Convoy</i>	103

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- “192 - Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in the Gaza Strip (South Africa v. Israel).” Summary. International Court of Justice, 26 Januari 2024. <https://www.icj-cij.org/node/203454>.
- “About Freedom Flotilla Coalition.” *Freedom Flotilla*, t.t. Diakses 24 September 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/about-freedom-flotilla-coalition/>.
- “About Us - Sail to Gaza.” Diakses 24 September 2025. <https://globalsumudflotilla.org/about/>.
- “Adalah: Ben-Gvir’s Praise of IPS Reflects State Policy of Ill-Treatment and Repression of - Adalah.” Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/11403>.
- “Adalah’s Legal Representation of the Freedom Flotilla Participants to Break the Siege on Gaza - Adalah.” Diakses 19 Desember 2025. <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/11410>.
- ADV, Editor-in-Chief. *Global Sumud Flotilla: Transnational Maritime Solidarity and the Politics of Stand-Still Resistance – International Association for Political Science Students*. t.t. Diakses 4 Juni 2026. <https://iapss.org/global-sumud-flotilla-transnational-maritime-solidarity-and-the-politics-of-stand%e2%80%91still-resistance/>.
- “Advisory Opinion of 19 July 2024 | INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.” Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.icj-cij.org/index.php/node/204160>.
- Afiyanti, Yati. “Validitas dan Reliabilitas Dalam Penelitian Kualitatif.” *Jurnal Keperawatan Indonesia* 12, no. 2 (2008): 137–41. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v12i2.212>.
- Anadolu. “Australian Police Probe Allegations of Sexual Assault on Gaza Flotilla Activists by Israeli Forces.” 17 Juni 2026. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/australian-police-probe-allegations-of-sexual-assault-on-gaza-flotilla-activists-by-israeli-forces/3969518>.
- Arab News. “Asian Activists Ready to Set Sail with Largest-Ever Gaza Aid Flotilla.” 23 Agustus 2025. <https://arab.news/rdrag>.
- Aran, Amnon, dan Gad Yishayahu. “Updating the Study of Foreign Policy Crisis: The Case of the *Mavi Marmara Flotilla*.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 18, no. 3 (2022): orac007. <https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orac007>.

- Australian News. "Australia Investigates Sexual Assault Claims against IDF." Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.australiannews.net/news/279127988/australia-investigates-sexual-assault-claims-against-idf>.
- Baikenje, Dana. "UN Experts Demand Safe Passage for Freedom Flotilla's Humanitarian Mission to Gaza." *Question of Palestine*, t.t. Diakses 3 Desember 2025. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/un-experts-demand-safe-passage-for-freedom-flotillas-humanitarian-mission-to-gaza/>.
- Balmer, Crispian, dan Rami Amichay. "Israeli Forces Seize Gaza Aid Boat Carrying Greta Thunberg." Middle East. *Reuters*, 9 Juni 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/freedom-flotilla-coalition-says-alarm-sounded-its-gaza-bound-ship-2025-06-08/>.
- Bedir, Ömer. "The Flotilla Incident from the Perspective of International Law and the Judicial Rights of the Victims." *The Age of Human Rights Journal*, no. 15 (Desember 2020): 51–72. <https://doi.org/10.17561/tahrj.v15.5817>.
- CBC. "Greta Thunberg among Gaza Flotilla Activists Cheered in Athens after Being Expelled by Israel." *CBC News*, 6 Oktober 2025. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/flotilla-activists-deported-by-israel-1.7651981>.
- CFR Education from the Council on Foreign Relations. "Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Timeline." 24 Juni 2025. <https://education.cfr.org/learn/timeline/israeli-palestinian-conflict-timeline>.
- "Conditions in Gaza." *Freedom Flotilla*, t.t. Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://freedomflotilla.org/conditions-in-gaza/>.
- France 24. "Global Sumud Flotilla: Latest Bid to Break Gaza Blockade Drew Activists from across the World." 2 Oktober 2025. <https://www.france24.com/en/middle-east/20251002-global-sumud-flotilla-latest-bid-to-break-gaza-blockade-drew-activists-from-across-the-world>.
- "Freedom Flotilla Boat 'Handala' - All Updates - Adalah." Diakses 3 Desember 2025. <https://www.adalah.org/en/content/view/11356>.
- "Freedom Flotilla Coalition members - Freedom Flotilla." Diakses 20 November 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/who-we-are/ffc-members/>.
- Freedom Flotilla Media. "Handala: For the Children of Gaza." *Freedom Flotilla Coalition*, t.t. Diakses 17 September 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/handala-for-the-children-of-gaza-explained/>.

“From Mavi Marmara to Madleen: How Freedom Flotilla challenges Israel’s Gaza blockade - TRT World.” Diakses 4 Desember 2025.
<https://www.trtworld.com/article/71e3211e7838>.

Gaza Under Siege: The Madleen Case & the Humanitarian Aid Blockade - Platform for Peace and Humanity. Issue 20. t.t. Diakses 4 Desember 2025.
<https://peacehumanity.org/monitor/gaza-under-siege-the-madleen-case-the-humanitarian-aid-blockade/>.

gazahumanrights, Author. “35 Boats Challenge Israeli Naval Blockade of Gaza in Ten Years-2008 through 2018.” *Gaza Freedom Flotillas-Ships, Passengers & Lawsuits Against the Israeli Government*, 3 Juni 2017.
<https://legalcasesagainstisraelattacksoncivilianboatstogaza.wordpress.com/2017/06/03/31-boats-challenge-israeli-naval-blockade-of-gaza/>.

Global Sumud Flotilla. “Global Sumud Flotilla Mission Overview & Timeline.” Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.globalsumudflotilla.org/2026-mission-timeline/>.

Global Sumud Flotilla. “Global Sumud Flotilla Tracker.” Diakses 9 Juni 2026. <https://www.globalsumudflotilla.org/tracker/>.

Global Sumud Flotilla. “Legal Analyses.” Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.globalsumudflotilla.org/legal/>.

Global Sumud Flotilla. “Livestreams.” Diakses 9 Juni 2026. <https://www.globalsumudflotilla.org/live/>.

“Global Sumud Parliamentary Congress.” Diakses 4 Juni 2026. <https://gscongress.org/>.

“How the Hamas attack on Israel unfolded | Reuters.” Diakses 24 September 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/how-hamas-attack-israel-unfolded-2023-10-07/>.

Ismahani, Farah Liana, Najamuddin Khairur Rijal, dan Muhammad Fadzryl Adzmy. “Strategi Aktivisme Digital #MeToo Movement Di Amerika.” *Ganaya : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 6, no. 1 (2023): 69–84.
<https://doi.org/10.37329/ganaya.v6i1.2004>.

“Israeli Attack on Gaza Aid Flotilla - HRC 15th Session - Report of the Intl. Fact-Finding Mission to Investigate Violations of Intl. Law.” *Question of Palestine*, t.t. Diakses 13 Mei 2026. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-187595/>.

“Italian Dockworkers Threaten to ‘Shut Down All of Europe’ If Gaza Aid Flotilla Is Blocked.” *Novara Media*, t.t. Diakses 19 Juni 2026.

<https://novaramedia.com/2025/09/02/italian-dockworkers-threaten-to-shut-down-all-of-europe-if-gaza-aid-flotilla-is-blocked/>.

Kallapagi, Pramitha Sindhu, dan Nur Luthfi Hidayatullah. "Black Lives Matter's Digital Activism Strategy in Transnationalizing the Police Brutality Issue in Europe in 2020." *Proceedings of Sunan Ampel International Conference of Political and Social Sciences* 1 (Desember 2023): 289–300. <https://doi.org/10.15642/saicopss.2023.1..289-300>.

Keck, Margaret E., dan Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics*." *International Social Science Journal* 68, no. 227–228 (2018): 65–76. <https://doi.org/10.1111/issj.12187>.

Kosmatopoulos, Nikolas. "Free Mediterranean." *Critical Times* 7, no. 3 (2024): 519–36. <https://doi.org/10.1215/26410478-11394871>.

Kraska, James. *Maritime Power and the Law of the Sea: Expeditionary Operations in World Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

"Legal Analysis of the Freedom Flotilla." *Freedom Flotilla*, t.t. Diakses 14 November 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/legal-analysis/>.

Maliqi, Doruntina. "'Beyond the Hashtag: A Case Study on the Realities of Youth Activism in Kosovo's Digital Landscape, Including Challenges, Risks and Strategies.'" *Showcase of Graduate Student Scholarship and Creative Activities*, 18 Januari 2024. <https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/celebrationofscholarship-grad/2023/poster/1>.

médias, FFC bénévole des. "All Freedom Flotilla Coalition and Thousand Madleens Volunteers Freed from Israel's Unlawful Detention." *Freedom Flotilla*, 12 Oktober 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/2025/10/12/fffc-tmtg-volunteers-freed/>.

médias, FFC bénévole des. "Freedom Flotilla Coalition Meets in Dublin, Announces Expanded 2026 Sailings to Gaza and Calls for Escalated Global Action." *Freedom Flotilla*, 11 Desember 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/2025/12/11/expanded-2026-sailings/>.

médias, FFC bénévole des. "Israeli Military Attacks Handala in International Waters." *Freedom Flotilla*, 26 Juli 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/2025/07/26/israeli-military-attacks-handala-in-international-waters/>.

Melimopoulos, Elizabeth. "Israel Intercepts Last Gaza Sumud Flotilla Vessel: What We Know so Far." *Al Jazeera*. Diakses 9 Juni 2026. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/10/1/israel-intercepts-gaza-sumud-flotilla-vessels-what-we-know-so-far>.

- M.I. "Gaza Ceasefire, ICJ Advisory Opinion, UN Special Rapporteur Report 'Gaza Genocide: A Collective Crime', and Humanitarian Assistance - Action by UN System Relevant to the Question of Palestine (October 2025 Monthly Bulletin)." *Question of Palestine*, t.t. Diakses 13 Mei 2026. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/october-2025-monthly-bulletin/>.
- M.I. "ICJ Advisory Opinion - Obligations of Israel in Relation to the Presence and Activities of the United Nations, Other International Organizations and Third States in and in Relation to the Occupied Palestinian Territory (A/80/502)." *Question of Palestine*, t.t. Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/icj-advisory-opinion-22oct2025/>.
- M.I. "Report of the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Including East Jerusalem, and Israel - Advance Unedited Version (A/HRC/56/26)." *Question of Palestine*, t.t. Diakses 13 Mei 2026. <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/coi-report-a-hrc-56-26-27may24/>.
- Middle East Eye. "Colombia Expels Israeli Diplomats after Unlawful Interception of Sumud Flotilla." Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/colombia-expels-israeli-diplomats-after-unlawful-interception-sumud-flotilla>.
- Migdad, Mohammed, Alaa Ahmad Al Karriri, dan Mohamed Buheji. "Challenges in Delivering Humanitarian Aid during War on Gaza." *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Growth Evaluation* 6, no. 2 (2025): 1329–38. <https://doi.org/10.54660/IJMRGE.2025.6.2.1329-1338>.
- Miles, Matthew B., A. Michael Huberman, dan Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Edition 3. Sage, 2014.
- "Mission Reflection - Global Sumud Flotilla." Diakses 13 Mei 2026. <https://globalsumudflotilla.org/missions/gsf-2025/overview/>.
- Nizmi, Yusnarida Eka. "Power dan Aktivisme Transnasional Dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional." *Populis : Jurnal Sosial dan Humaniora* 3, no. 1 (2018): 665–80. <https://doi.org/10.47313/pjsh.v3i1.401>.
- "North African Land Convoy." Diakses 4 Juni 2026. <https://globalsumudflotilla.org/missions/land-convoy/>.
- OHCHR. "Gaza: ICJ Ruling Offers Hope for Protection of Civilians Enduring Apocalyptic Conditions, Say UN Experts." Diakses 13 Mei 2026. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2024/01/gaza-icj-ruling-offers-hope-protection-civilians-enduring-apocalyptic>.

OHCHR. "Israel Has Committed Genocide in the Gaza Strip, UN Commission Finds." Diakses 13 Mei 2026. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/09/israel-has-committed-genocide-gaza-strip-un-commission-finds>.

OHCHR. "Israel Must Ensure Safety and Liberty of Flotilla Activists after Another Interception in International Waters: UN Expert." Diakses 13 November 2025. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2025/10/israel-must-ensure-safety-and-liberty-flotilla-activists-after-another>.

"Previous FFC Missions." *Freedom Flotilla*, t.t. Diakses 4 Desember 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/previous-ffc-missions/>.

Saleem, Zarar Bin, Maryam Zardad, dan Zeeshan Khurshid. "THE GLOBAL SUMUD FLOTILLA: DEFYING BLOCKADES, DEFENDING HUMAN RIGHTS." *Pakistan Journal of Social Science Review* 4, no. 5 (2025): 452–568.

Section, International Affairs And Defence. *Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories in 2023-25: UN, ICC and ICJ Statements and Actions*. 13 Mei 2026. <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-10131/>.

Soetjipto, Ani W., dan Arivia Tri Dara Yuliestiana. "Transnational Relations and Activism in International Relations: Debates and Consensus in Literature." *Global: Jurnal Politik Internasional* 22, no. 1 (2020): 142. <https://doi.org/10.7454/global.v22i1.479>.

Sugiyono. *Metode penelitian pendidikan: (pendekatan kuantitatif, kualitatif dan R & D)*. Cet. 6. Alfabeta, 2008.

Suivi – *Thousand Madleens International*, t.t. Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://thousandmadleens.org/suivi/>.

"Sumud Nusantara." Diakses 4 Juni 2026. <https://www.sumudnusantara.com/>.

Tarrow, Sidney. *The New Transnational Activism*. 1 ed. Cambridge University Press, 2005. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791055>.

team, FFC Media. "Emergency Press Briefing on Drone Attack Against Freedom Flotilla's Ship Conscience." *Freedom Flotilla*, 3 Mei 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/2025/05/03/press-briefing-and-release/>.

team, FFC Media. "Four Deported, Eight Detained - Israel Holds 'Madleen' Group Illegally." *Freedom Flotilla*, 10 Juni 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/2025/06/10/our-deported-eight-detained-israel-holds-madleen-group-illegally/>.

“The Gaza Strip | The Humanitarian Impact of 15 Years of Blockade - June 2022 | UNICEF Middle East and North Africa.” Diakses 20 November 2025. <https://www.unicef.org/mena/documents/gaza-strip-humanitarian-impact-15-years-blockade-june-2022>.

“The lives lost in Gaza: A closer look at those killed in the conflict so far.” Diakses 24 September 2025. <https://www.reuters.com/graphics/ISRAEL-PALESTINIANS/FATALITIES/byvrxlqeve/>.

“THE RELEASE OF 29 MALAYSIAN PARTICIPANTS OF THE GLOBAL SUMUD FLOTILLA - Press Releases - Portal.” Diakses 19 Juni 2026. <https://www.kln.gov.my/web/guest/-/the-release-of-29-malaysian-participants-of-the-global-sumud-flotilla>.

“The Spring 2026 Mission.” Diakses 24 September 2025. <https://globalsumudflotilla.org/>.

Toban, Musa Purna, Achmad Sochfan, dan Asrof Widiarto. “The Mavi Marmara Incident and the Blockade in Armed Conflict Viewed from the Perspective of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.” *Journal of Industrial Engineering & Management Research* 5, no. 5 (2024): 31–36. <https://doi.org/10.7777/jiemar.v5i5.556>.

UN. Panel of Inquiry on the Gaza Flotilla Incident of 31 May 2010, ed. *Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Gaza Flotilla Incident*. UN, 2011. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/720841>.

UNCTAD, ed. *The Economic Costs of the Israeli Occupation for the Palestinian People: The Impoverishment of Gaza under Blockade*. United Nations, 2020.

Universitas Brawijaya, dan Meidinda Putri Azura. “Jaringan Advokasi Transnasional dalam Upaya Pelestarian Kawasan Arktik Dari Eksplorasi Minyak di Norwegia Tahun 2016 - 2018.” *Transformasi Global* 10, no. 2 (2024): 192–225. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.jtg.010.02.7>.

Wardhana, Andre Nathan, dan Tjokorda Istri Diah Widyantari Pradnya Dewi. “TINJAUAN HUKUM INTERNASIONAL TERHADAP BLOKADE LAUT GAZA: STUDI KASUS GLOBAL SUMUD FLOTILLA 2025.” *Jurnal Media Akademik (JMA)* 4, no. 1 (2026). <https://doi.org/10.62281/dw2ye657>.

“Who We Are.” *Freedom Flotilla*, t.t. Diakses 24 September 2025. <https://freedomflotilla.org/who-we-are/>.

Yoga, Pornomo Rovani Astri, dan Lowell Bautista. *Humanitarian Missions at Sea: Lessons from the Deployment of Indonesia's Military Hospital Ship for*

Humanitarian Aid to Palestinians in the Gaza Conflict. 20 Juni 2025.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/22116001-03901021>.



UIN SUNAN AMPEL
S U R A B A Y A