

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

Bogdan, Robert C dan Steven J. Taylor, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: The Search for Meaning*, Wiley and Sons Inc, New York, 1984.

Islamy, Irfan. *Prinsip - prinsip Perumusan Kebijakanaksanaan Negara*. Bumi Aksara. Jakarta. 2009.

Perwita, Anak Agung Banyu dan Yanyan Mochammad Yani, *Pengantar Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, PT Remaja Rosdakarya, Bandung, 2006.

Pollet, K., & Mouzourakis, M, *Crossing Boundaries: The new asylum procedure at the border and restriction to accessing protection in Hungary*, Brussels: ECRE (European Council on Refugees and Exiles), 2015.

Rosenau N. James, Gavin Boyd dan Kenneth W. Thompson, *World Politics: An Introduction*, New York: The Free Press, 1976.

Subarsono, AG, *Analisis Kebijakan Publik Konsep Teori dan Aplikasi*. Pustaka Pelajar. Yogyakarta. 2010.

Wahab, Solichin Abdul, *Analisis Kebijakanaksanaan dari Formulasi ke Implemestasi kebijaksanaan*. Bumi Aksara. Jakarta. 2008.

Winarno, Budi, *Teori dan Proses Kebijakan Publik*. Media Pressindo. Yogyakarta. 2002.

Wirartha, I Made, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial Ekonomi*, CV Andi Offset, Yogyakarta, 2006.

Skripsi

Husna, Atik Fadilatul, "Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Amerika Serikat dalam Memerangi Terorisme Internasional di Afghanistan Pada Periode Pemerintahan Barack Obama", UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2012,

<http://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/bitstream/123456789/24093/1/ATIK.pdf>, pada tanggal 8 Maret 2018.

Krustiyati, Atik , “Kebijakan Penanganan Pengungsi di Indonesia: Kajian dari Konvensi Pengungsi 1951 dan Protokol 1967”, Fakultas Hukum Universitas Surabaya, vol XII, no. 2, 2012. hal. 175-179.

Jurnal

EASO, “Asylum Applicants From The Western Balkans” Mei 2015, hal. 11-12.

Reining Jr, Henry, Carl J. Friedrich dan Edward S. Mason, “Review: Public Policy”, *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1. hal. 92-95.

International, Amnesty, “Hungary's Violations of The Rights of Refugees and Migrants”. London: Amnesty international publication, 2016. hal. 5-9.

International, Amnesty, “Hungary's Sustained Attack on The Rights of Refugees and Migrants”. London: Amnesty international Ltd, 2016.

Pardavi, Márta, Gruša Matevžič, Júlia Iván & Anikó Bakonyi, “ Country Report: Hungary” *Asylum Information Database*, November 2015, hal. 12-14.

Pollet, Kriss & Minos Mouzourakis, “Crossing Boundaries”, *Asylum Information Database*, Oktober 2015, hal. 9-13.

UNHCR, “Refugees & Migrants Sea Arrivals In Europe”, *Bureau for Europe*, Desember 2016, hal. 1-3.

Artikel/Dokumen

Act CXXVII tahun 2015, http://njt.hu/cgi_bin/njt_doc.cgi?docid=176690.296216, diakses pada tanggal 15 Agustus 2018.

Act CVI tahun 2015, <http://www.kozlonyok.hu/nkonline/MKPDF/hiteles/MK15100.pdf>, diakses pada tanggal 15 agustus 2018.

Act LXXX tahun 2007, <http://www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/sites/www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/files/aldfiles/EN%20->

%20Act%20LXXX%20of%202007%20on%20Asylum%20Hungary.pdf, diakses pada tanggal 30 Agustus 2018.

Act CXL tahun 2015, <http://www.kozlonyok.hu/nkonline/MKPDF/hiteles/MK15124.pdf>, diakses pada tanggal 29 Agustus 2018.

Clayton, Jonathan “Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015”, <http://www.unhcr.org/afr/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015.html>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Januari 2018.

European Council on Refugees and Exiles, “From Schengen to Stockholm, a History of the CEAS”, <http://www.ecre.org/topics/areas-of-work/introduction/194.html>, diakses pada tanggal 29 Agustus 2018.

European Commision, “Qualification Directive”, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/refugee-status_en, diakses pada tanggal 29 Agustus 2018.

Eurostat, “EU Member States Granted Protection To More Than 185.000 Asylum Seeker In 2014”, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/6827382/3-12052015-AP-EN.pdf/6733f080-c072-4bf5-91fc-f591abf28176>, pada tanggal 16 juli 2018.

Eurostat, “Asylum in The EU in The First Quarter 2015”, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/6887997/3-18062015-CP-EN.pdf/4457b050-26f9-4cf1-bf27-9ffb73ff8c7b>, diakses pada tanggal 20 juli 2018.

Eurostat, “Asylum in The EU in The Second Quarter 2015”, <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/6996925/3-18092015-BP-EN.pdf/b0377f79-f06d-4263-aa5b-cc9b4f6a838f>, pada tanggal 20 juli 2018.

Eurostat, “Asylum in The EU Member States”, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7921609/3-16032017-BP-EN.pdf>, diakses pada tanggal 22 Juli 2018.

Gall, Lydia, Hungary's Treatment of Refugees Is A Disgrace To Its History, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/10/03/hungarys-treatment-refugees-disgrace-its-history>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Januari 2018.

Miles, Tom “UN Outraged By “Biased” Hungarian Survey On Migration”, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-hungary-un/u-n-office-outraged-by-biased-hungarian-survey-on-migration-idUSKBN0071N620150522>, diakses pada tanggal 25 Agustus 2018.

Nations, United, “Universal Declaration of Human Rights”, <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>, diakses pada tanggal 25 Februari 2018.

Refworld, “Peraturan Pemerintah 191/2015 (VII.21) Tentang Penunjukan Nasional Dari Negara-Negara Asal Yang Aman Dan Negara-Negara Ketiga Yang Aman”, <Http://Www.Refworld.Org/Docid/55ca02c74.Html>, diakses pada Tanggal 30 Agustus 2018.

Sari, A. P, “*Eropa, Tanah yang Menjanjikan Kesejahteraan bagi Imigran*”, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150908205805-134-77474/eropa-tanah-yang-menjanjikan-kesejahteraan-bagi-imigran>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Januari 2018.

Than, Krisztina, “Hungary Sounds The Alarm About New Front In EU's Migrant Crisis”, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-hungary-idUSKBN0P61XV20150626>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Juli 2018.

The Hungarian Helsinki Committee, “Opinion On The Government’s Amendments to Criminal Law Related to The Sealed Border”, <http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/modification-of-criminal-laws-16092015.pdf>, diakses pada tanggal 16 Agustus 2018.

UNHCR, “The 1951 Refugee Convention”, <http://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html>, diakses pada tanggal 25 Februari 2018.

UNHCR, “Pengungsi”, <http://www.unhcr.or.id/id/siapa-yang-kami-bantu/pengungsi>, diakses pada tanggal 22 Februari 2018.

UNHCR, “Press Release”, <http://www.unhcr.org/id/wp-content/uploads/sites/42/2017/05/wrdreleasebhs16.pdf>, diakses pada tanggal 20 Juli 2018.

UNHCR, “Operation in Hungary”, <http://www.unhcr.org/ceu/8339-operations-in-hungary.html>, pada tanggal 25 Februari 2018.

UNHCR, “Europe Situation”, <http://www.unhcr.org/europe-emergency.html>, diakses pada tanggal 16 Juli 2018.

UNHCR, “UNHCR Figures Show Over One Million Refugees and Migrants Reach Europe By Sea in 2015, With Almost 4,000 Feared Drowned”, <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals->, diakses pada tanggal 16 Juli 2018.

Wall Street Journal, “Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán Defends Croatia Border Fence”, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-defends-croatia-border-fence-1443191728>, diakses pada tanggal 15 Agustus 2018.

Website

Al Jazeera, “Hungarian PM: We don’t want more Muslim”, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/09/refugees-hungary-train-station-150903064140564.html>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Januari 2018.

Al Jazeera, “Hungary votes on EU refugee quotas referendum”, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/hungary-votes-eu-refugee-quotas-referendum-161002042908625.html>, diakses pada tanggal 22 Marer 2018.

Al Jazeera, “Record Number of Refugees Enter Hungary from Serbia”, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/08/hungary-serbia-refugees-150825081801664.html>, diakses pada tanggal 30 Juli 2018.

Atlatzo, “Life In The Hungarian Transit Zones: No Proper Food, Medical Care or Education”, <https://english.atlatzo.hu/2017/08/30/life-in-the-hungarian-transit-zones-no-proper-food-medical-care-or-education/>, diakses pada tanggal 29 Agustus 2018.

BBC, "Hungary PM Viktor Orban: Antagonising Europe since 2010", <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-16390574>, diakses pada tanggal 2 Januari 2018.

BBC, "Hungary profile – Leaders," <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17382823>, diakses pada tanggal 2 Januari 2018.

BBC, "UE tetapkan kuota untuk relokasi migran dan pengungsi", http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia/2015/09/150922_dunia_migran_eu, diakses pada tanggal 1 Januari 2018.

Council of Europe, "Hungary: Visit to Transit Zones to Evaluate Sexual Abuse Risks Faced by Migrant Children", https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/news-2017/-/asset_publisher/StEVosr24HJ2/content/hungary-visit-to-transit-zones-to-evaluate-sexual-abuse-risks-faced-by-migrant-children?inheritRedirect=false&desktop=true, diakses pada tanggal 30 Agustus 2018.

Daily News Hungary, "Hungarian Interior Minister Visits Local Transit Zone – Photos", <https://dailynewshungary.com/hungarian-interior-minister-visits-local-transit-zone-photos/>, pada tanggal 30 Agustus 2018.

DW, "Hungary starts building fence on Croatian border", <http://www.dw.com/en/hungary-starts-building-fence-on-croatian-border/a-18721670>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Januari 2018.

DW, "Hungary To Build Anti-Immigration Fence On Romanian Border", <https://www.dw.com/en/hungary-to-build-anti-immigrant-fence-on-romanian-border/a-18716031>, diakses pada tanggal 15 Agustus 2018.

ECRE, "Eurostat: 414,000 First Time Asylum Seekers in The Third Quarter of 2015", <https://www.ecre.org/eurostat-414000-first-time-asylum-seekers-in-the-third-quarter-of-2015/>, diakses pada tanggal 20 Juli 2018.

Europa, "Human Rights", https://europa.eu/european-union/topics/human-rights_en, diakses pada tanggal 30 Juli 2018.

Eurostat, "Glossary:First Time Asylum Applicant", <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics->

[explained/index.php/Glossary:First time asylum applicant](#), diakses pada tanggal 22 Juli 2018.

Frankfurter Allgemeine, “Wer Überrannt Wird, Kann Niemanden Aufnehmen“, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/fluechtlingskrise/viktor-orban-wer-ueberrannt-wird-kann-niemanden-aufnehmen-13782061.html>, diakses pada tanggal 31 juli 2018.

FRONTEX, “Greece and Italy Continued to Face Unprecedented Number of Migrants in December”, <https://frontex.europa.eu/news/greece-and-italy-continued-to-face-unprecedented-number-of-migrants-in-december-0BbBRd>, diakses pada tanggal 16 Juli 2018.

Helsinki, “No Country For Refugees – Information Note”, <https://www.helsinki.hu/en/no-country-for-refugees-information-note/>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Januari 2018.

Helsinki, “Asylum At The Hungarian Border”, https://www.helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/Transit_english.pdf, diakses pada tanggal 1 September 2018.

Hennessy, Michelle, “Hungarian Prime Minister Says Migrant Crisis Is A German Problem, Not A European One”, <http://www.thejournal.ie/hungarian-prime-minister-migrant-crisis-2309748-Sep2015/>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Juli 2018.

Hungary Today, “Hungarian Cabinet Launches National Consultation On Immigration As Debate Heats Up In Europe”, <https://hungarytoday.hu/cabinet-launches-national-consultation-immigration-debate-heats-14633/>, diakses pada tanggal 15 Agustus 2018.

International, Amnesty, “Migrants heading for Europe facing abuse and extortion in the Balkans”, <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/migrants-heading-europe-facing-abuse-and-extortion-balkans>, diakses pada tanggal 31 Januari 2018.

International, Amnesty, “Hungary: Change to Asylum Law puts tens of thousands at risk”, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/07/hungary-change-to-asylum-law-puts-tens-of-thousands-at-risk/>, diakses pada tanggal 2 Januari 2018.

IOM, “Irregular Migrant, Refugee Arrivals in Europe Top One Million in 2015: IOM”, <https://www.iom.int/news/irregular-migrant-refugee-arrivals-europe-top-one-million-2015-iom>, pada tanggal 10 April 2018.

Clayton, Jhonatan, “Over One Million Sea Arrivals Reach Europe in 2015”, <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals->, pada tanggal 14 Juli 2018.

KBBI, “Pengungsi”, <https://kbbi.web.id/ungsi>, diakses pada tanggal 11 Desember 2018.

Lilli, Eugenio, “Why Do Refugees and Migrants Come to Europe, and What Must Be Done to Ease The Crisis?”, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/11845205/Why-do-refugees-and-migrants-come-to-Europe-and-what-must-be-done-to-ease-the-crisis.html>, diakses pada tanggal 30 Juli 2018.

Lyman, Rick, “Hungary Seals Border With Croatia in Migrant Crackdown”, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/17/world/europe/hungary-croatia-refugees-migrants.html>, diakses pada tanggal 22 Maret 2018.

Kormany, “Government declares state of crisis due to mass migration in two counties”, <http://www.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister-s-office/news/government-declares-state-of-crisis-due-to-mass-migration-in-two-counties>, diakses pada tanggal 1 Januari 2018.

Maryati, “Sejuta Lebih Pengungsi Capai Eropa Lewat Laut Selama 2015”, <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/537627/sejuta-lebih-pengungsi-capai-eropa-lewat-laut-selama-2015>, diakses pada tanggal 16 Juli 2018.

Barbara Miller, “Europe Migrant Crisis: Hungary Arrests 200 Asylum Seekers For Breaching New Border Laws”, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-15/hungary-arrests-200-asylum-seekers-breaching-border-laws/6778526>, diakses pada tanggal 2018.

Ministry of Interior, “Partial border closure at the Rösztke-Horgos border crossing station” , diakses dari <http://www.kormany.hu/en/ministry-of-interior/news/partial-border-closure-at-the-roszke-horgos-border-crossing-station>, diakses pada tanggal 2 Januari 2018.

Ministry of Interior, “Röszke border crossing station has been reopened”, diakses dari <http://www.kormany.hu/en/ministry-of-interior/news/roszke-border-crossing-station-has-been-reopened>, diakses pada tanggal 2 Januari 2018.

Ministry Of Interior, “Construction Of Temporary Border Control Fence Begins”, <http://www.kormany.hu/en/ministry-of-interior/news/construction-of-temporary-border-control-fence-begins>, diakses pada tanggal 15 agustus 2018.

Nudelman, Mike, “This Map Shows How Much The Refugee Crisis is Dividing Europe” <http://uk.businessinsider.com/map-refugees-europe-migrants-2016-2/?IR=T>, pada tanggal 24 Juli 2018.

Szabo, Bernadett, “Forced Measure’: Hungary To Build Fence Along Serbia Border To Stop Migrants”, <https://www.rt.com/news/271375-hungary-fence-stop-migrants/>, diakses pada tanggal 15 agustus 2018.

The Time of Israel, “Hungary Begins Razor-Wire Barrier on Croatia Border”, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hungary-begins-razor-wire-barrier-on-croatia-border/>, diakses pada tanggal 18 Agustus 2018.

Tremlett, Annabel, “Hungary’s Future: Anti-Immigration, Anti-Multiculturalism And Anti-Roma?”, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/annabel-tremlett/hungary-s-future-antiimmigration-antimulticulturalism-and-antiro>, diakses pada tanggal 15 Agustus 2018.

UNHCR, “Mediterranean Death Toll Soars, 2016 Is Deadliest Year Yet”, <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/10/580f3e684/mediterranean-death-toll-soars-2016-deadliest-year.html>, diakses pada tanggal 30 Juli 2018.

Wright, Patrick, “More Than 1 Million Asylum Seekers Reached Europe By Sea This Year: UNHCR”, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-12-30/more-than-1-million-asylum-seekers-reached-europe-by-sea-in-2015/7060012>, diakses pada tanggal 6 juli 2018.

World Atlas, “The 25 Safest Countries In The World”, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/safest-countries-in-the-world.html>, diakses pada tanggal 30 Juli 2018.

“Hungary Starts Building Serbian Border Fence To Keep Out Migrants”,
http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/photo/2015-07/17/c_134421118.htm,
diakses pada tanggal 18 Agustus 2018.