

## Daftar Pustaka

### Buku

- Breuning, M. (2007). *Foreign Policy Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chesler, G. (2006). *Hungary - Culture Smart!: The Essential Guide to Customs & Culture*. London: Kuperard.
- Horvath, A., Vidra, Z., & Fox, J. (2011). *Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Hungary*. Budapest: Center For Policy Studies.
- Jacobs, L., Lamphere-Englund, Steuer, M., Sudetić, S., & Vogl, S. A. (2015). *Open Borders, Closed Minds: EU Asylum Policy In Crisis*. Central European University Team.
- Juhász, A., Hunyadi, B., & Zgut, E. (2015). *Focus on Hungary: Refugees, Asylum and Migration*. Budapest and Prague: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung.
- Juhász, A., & Molnár, C. (2016). European refugee crisis: the special case of Hungary in it. In I. G. Tóth, *Resumes of the Hungarian Social Report* (p. 27). Budapest: Társi.
- Katzenstein, P. J. (1996). *The Culture of National Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ondruš, J. (2011). *The Dublin System and its Impact on the Migration Flows and the Normative Landscape in Hungary, Poland and Slovakia*. Budapest: Central European University.
- Pollet, K., & Mouzourakis, M. (2015). *Crossing Boundaries: The new asylum procedure at the border and restriction to accessing protection in Hungary*. Brussels: ECRE (European Council on Refugees and Exiles).
- Reus-Smit, C. (2005). Constructivism. In S. Burchill, A. Linklater, R. Devetak, J. Donnelly, M. Patterson, C. Reus-Smit, & J. True, *Theories of International Relations* (p. 196). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Salmoni, B. A., & Holmes-Eber, P. (2008). *Operational Culture for Warfighter Principles and Applications*. Virginia: Marine Corps University Press.
- Sik, E. (2016). *The Social Aspect of the 2015 Migration Crisis in Hungary*. Budapest:

Tárki Social Research Institute.

### **Jurnal**

- Bebel, J., & Collier, J. (2015). Euroscepticism's Many Faces: The Cases of Hungary and the UK. *Claremont-UC Undergraduate Research Conference on the European Union*, 8.
- Hofp, T. (1998). The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory. *International Security*, 171-200.
- Klenner, Z., & Szép, Á. (2010). Refugees in Hungary at the beginning of the third millennium. *AARMS*, 261.
- Sadecki, A. (2014, April). Point of View. *In A State of Necessity How Has Orban Changed Hungary*, p. 33.
- Trócsányi, G. (1939). The Hungarian National Character. *The Hungarian Quarterly Volume 5*, 197.

### **Report**

- Afghan Ministry Public Health. (2011). *Afghanistan Mortality Survei 2010*. Retrieved from Demographic and Health Survey Program: <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR248/FR248.pdf>
- Council of European Union. (1997, November 10). *Documet OJ:C:1997:340:FULL*. Retrieved from Eur-Lex Access to European Union Law: [http://publications.europa.eu/resource/oj/JOC\\_1997\\_340\\_R.ENG\\_pdfa1b.c\\_34019971110en.pdf](http://publications.europa.eu/resource/oj/JOC_1997_340_R.ENG_pdfa1b.c_34019971110en.pdf)
- Council of European Union. (2017, January 8). *Human Rights*. Retrieved from European Union: <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11855-2012-INIT/en/pdf>
- Dąborowski, T. (2015). *Difficult path towards gas partnership: Visegrad Group countries gas cooperation with Ukraine*. Retrieved from Visegrad Experts: [http://www.visegradexperts.eu/data/\\_uploaded/Finals/Tomasz%20Daborowski.pdf](http://www.visegradexperts.eu/data/_uploaded/Finals/Tomasz%20Daborowski.pdf)
- Farkas, Z. A., Pap, N., & Reméyi, P. (2016, April 04). *Hungarian Geographical*

- Bulletin*. Retrieved from Magyar Tudományos Akadémika:  
[http://www.mtafki.hu/konyvtar/kiadv/HunGeoBull2016/HunGeoBull\\_65\\_1\\_1.pdf](http://www.mtafki.hu/konyvtar/kiadv/HunGeoBull2016/HunGeoBull_65_1_1.pdf)
- Hungarian Government. (2013, October 1). *The New Fundamental Law of Hungary*. Retrieved from Website of The Hungarian Government:  
<http://www.kormany.hu/download/e/02/00000/The%20New%20Fundamental%20Law%20of%20Hungary.pdf>
- Hungarian Helsinki Committee. (2015, September 16). *Tightening Criminal Rules Targeting Refugees*. Retrieved from Hungarian Helsinki Committee:  
<http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/modification-of-criminal-laws-16092015.pdf>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary. (2004). *Gypsies/Roma In Hungary*. Budapest: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.
- Mousavizadeh, A., Maltby, H., Caruana-Galizia, P., Xue, F., Gemelli, G., Bradley, M., & Coste, P. (2016). *The Legatum Prosperity Index*. London: Legatum Institute.
- OECD. (2015, September 7). *Migration Policy Debates*. Retrieved from OECD:  
<http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/Is-this-refugee-crisis-different.pdf>
- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR). (2006). *The Hungarian Minority Self-Government System as a Means of Increasing Romani Political Participation*. Vienna: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe .
- Szalai, M. (2015). *The inapplicability of traditional small state theory*. Retrieved from Visegrad Expert:  
[http://www.visegradexperts.eu/data/\\_uploaded/Finals/Mate%20Szalai.pdf](http://www.visegradexperts.eu/data/_uploaded/Finals/Mate%20Szalai.pdf)
- UNHCR. (2001, November 9). *Summary Conclusions: Article 31 of the 1951*. Retrieved from UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/419c783f4.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2010). *Convention and Protocol Relating Status of Refugees*. Geneva: UNHCR.
- UNHCR. (2012). *Observations on the situation of asylum-seeker and refugees in*

*Hungary*. UNHCR Agency.

- UNHCR. (2015). *State Parties to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol*. Retrieved from UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b73b0d63.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2016). *Hungary As a Country of Asylum*. Budapest: UNHCR.

### **Online**

- Al Jazeera. (2016, July 6). *Hungary schedules vote on EU refugee quotas for October*. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/07/hungary-referendum-eu-refugee-quotas-october-160705142918797.html>
- Al Jazeera. (2016, October 3). *Hungary votes on EU refugee quotas referendum*. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/hungary-votes-eu-refugee-quotas-referendum-161002042908625.html>
- Al Jazeera. (2016, December 14). *Syria's Civil War Explained :The Syrian civil war is the deadliest conflict the 21st century has witnessed thus far*. Retrieved from Al Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/syria-civil-war-explained-160505084119966.html>
- Barany, G., Berend, I. T., Macartney, C. A., Vardy, N. A., & Várdy, S. B. (2016, 12 6). *Hungary*. Retrieved from Encyclopædia Britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Hungary>
- BBC. (2006, December 30). *Saddam Hussein executed in Iraq* . Retrieved from BBC News: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/6218485.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6218485.stm)
- BBC. (2013, Oktober 16). *Iraq study estimates war-related deaths at 461,000*. Retrieved from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24547256>
- BBC. (2015, August 18). *Hungary sends police to deter migrants on Serbia border*. Retrieved from BBC: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33979648>
- BBC. (2015, May 5). *Syria conflict: Aleppo civilians suffer 'unthinkable atrocities'*. Retrieved from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east->

32581007

BBC. (2016, December 5). *Iraq profile - timeline*. Retrieved from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14546763>

BBC. (2016, March 4). *Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in seven charts*. Retrieved from BBC: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>

Bussiness Insider. (2015, September 16). *This map shows the routes of Europe's refugee nightmare — and how it's getting worse*. Retrieved from Bussiness Insider: <http://www.businessinsider.co.id/map-of-europe-refugee-crisis-2015-9/?r=US&IR=T#LAbukBx8Pv0UMdEE.97>

CFR. (2017, January 8). *A Northern Alliance Assassination*. Retrieved from Council on Foreign Relations: <http://www.cfr.org/afghanistan/us-war-afghanistan/p20018>

Clayton, J. (2016, September 20). *Over 300.000 refugees and migrants cross Med so far in 2016*. Retrieved from UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/9/57e12c564/300000-refugees-migrants-cross-med-far-2016.html>

Clayton, J., & Holland, H. (2015, December 31). *Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015*. Retrieved from UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/5683d0b56.html>

CNN. (2016, Januari 19). *Nearly 19,000 civilians killed in Iraq in 21-month period, report says*. Retrieved from CNN: <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/01/19/middleeast/iraq-civilian-death-toll/>

DePillis, L., Saluja, K., & Lu, D. (2015, December 21). *A visual guide to 75 years of major refugee crises around the world*. Retrieved from The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/world/historical-migrant-crisis/>

Dunai, M. (2015, June 17). *Hungary to fence off border with Serbia to stop migrants*. Retrieved from Reuters: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-immigration-idUSKBN0OX17I20150617>

Edwards, A. (2016, June 20). *Global forced displacement hits record high : UNHCR*

- Global Trends report finds 65.3 million people, or one person in 113, were displaced from their homes by conflict and persecution in 2015.* Retrieved from UN Refugee Agency: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/6/5763b65a4/global-forced-displacement-hits-record-high.html>
- European Commission. (2016, December 27). *Common European Asylum System.* Retrieved from European Commission: [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum_en)
- European Council. (2015, September 2015). *Council Decision (EU) 2015/1523.* Retrieved from Eur-Lex Access to European Union Law: [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ%3AJOL\\_2015\\_239\\_R\\_0011](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=OJ%3AJOL_2015_239_R_0011)
- Eurostat. (2016, December 14). *Asylum quarterly report .* Retrieved from Eurostat: [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum\\_quarterly\\_report#Further\\_Eurostat\\_information](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_quarterly_report#Further_Eurostat_information)
- Fisher, M. (2016, September 18). *Straightforward Answers to Basic Questions About Syria's War.* Retrieved from The New York Times: [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/19/world/middleeast/syria-civil-war-bashar-al-assad-refugees-islamic-state.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/19/world/middleeast/syria-civil-war-bashar-al-assad-refugees-islamic-state.html?_r=0)
- Gulf Today. (2011, February 27). *Governor of third Iraqi province quits over protests.* Retrieved from The Gulf Today: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110304144057/http://gulftoday.ae/portal/0633bc9e-f175-4ccb-9aa8-5d1bd1a0e316.aspx>
- Holehouse, M. (2016, May 3). *EU to fine countries 'hundreds of millions of pounds' for refusing to take refugees.* Retrieved from The Telegraphs: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/05/03/eu-to-fine-countries-that-refuse-refugee-quota/>
- IIUM. (1987, March 4). *Human Rights in Islam.* Retrieved from IIUM: <http://www.iium.edu.my/deed/articles/hr/hr.html>
- Index Mundi. (2016, October 8). *Hungary Demographics Profile 2016.* Retrieved from Index Mundi:

- [http://www.indexmundi.com/hungary/demographics\\_profile.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/hungary/demographics_profile.html)
- Kamm, H. (1992, July 24). *Yugoslav Refugee Crisis Europe's Worst Since 40's*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/07/24/world/yugoslav-refugee-crisis-europe-s-worst-since-40-s.html>
- King's College London. (2015, September 4). *Why do refugees and migrants come to Europe, and what must be done to ease the crisis?* Retrieved from The Telegraph: <http://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>
- Kompas. (2016, May 2). *Lima Tahun Kematian Osama bin Laden, Apa Kabar Al Qaeda?* Retrieved from Kompas : <http://internasional.kompas.com/read/2016/05/02/12393701/Lima.Tahun.Kematian.Osama.bin.Laden.Apa.Kabar.Al.Qaeda.?page=all>
- Lyman, R. (2015, October 16). *Hungary Seals Border With Croatia in Migrant Crackdown*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/17/world/europe/hungary-croatia-refugees-migrants.html>
- Noack, R. (2015, September 3). *Muslims threaten Europe's Christian identity, Hungary's leader says*. Retrieved from The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/03/muslims-threaten-europes-christian-identity-hungarys-leader-says/>
- Prifti, A., & Hutcherson, K. (2016, October 5). *Hungary voters reject EU migrant-resettlement plan, but low turnout invalidates results* . Retrieved from CNN: <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/10/02/europe/hungary-migrant-referendum/>
- Rothman, L., & Ronk, L. (2015, September 11). *This Is What Europe's Last Major Refugee Crisis Looked Like*. Retrieved from Time: <http://time.com/4029800/world-war-ii-refugee-photos-migrant-crisis/>
- Security, G. (2017, January 8). *Iraq Civil War*. Retrieved from Global Security:

- <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/iraq-civil-war.html>
- Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2011, March 1). *Social Norms*. Retrieved from Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-norms/>
- Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (2016, July 28). *Value Theory*. Retrieved from Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/value-theory/>
- Statista. (2017, January 8). *Number of documented civilian deaths in the Iraq war from 2003 to 2016*. Retrieved from Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/269729/documented-civilian-deaths-in-iraq-war-since-2003/>
- Taylor, A. (2015, June 3). *149,000 people have died in war in Afghanistan and Pakistan since 2001, report says*. Retrieved from The Washington Post: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/06/03/149000-people-have-died-in-war-in-afghanistan-and-pakistan-since-2001-report-says/?utm\\_term=.e1884f4e617b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/06/03/149000-people-have-died-in-war-in-afghanistan-and-pakistan-since-2001-report-says/?utm_term=.e1884f4e617b)
- Taylor, A. (2015, October 28). *Map : Europe is building more fences to keep people out*. Retrieved from The Washington Post: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/08/28/map-the-walls-europe-is-building-to-keep-people-out/>
- The Guardian. (2015, January 5). *Suicide bomber attacks European police training mission in Kabul*. Retrieved from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/05/suicide-bomber-attacks-european-police-in-kabul>
- The Telegraph. (2015, September 23). *Refugee crisis: EU divided as Hungary attacks migrant quota as 'unrealisable and nonsense'*. Retrieved from The Telegraph: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/hungary/11884665/Refugee-crisis-EU-divided-as-Hungary-attacks-migrant-quota-as-unrealisable-and-nonsense.html>
- UNHCR Staff. (2016, October 25). *Mediterranean death toll soars, 2016 is deadliest*



*year yet.* Retrieved from UNHCR:  
<http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/10/580f3e684/mediterranean-death-toll-soars-2016-deadliest-year.html>

UNHCR Staff. (25, October 25). *Mediterranean death toll soars, 2016 is deadliest year yet.* Retrieved from UNHCR:  
<http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/10/580f3e684/mediterranean-death-toll-soars-2016-deadliest-year.html>

United Nations. (2016, July 25). *Afghan civilian casualties hit half-year record, with 5,166 dead or maimed – UN.* Retrieved from UN:  
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=54543#.WHHIDX1Pz5s>

Virostkova, L. (2015, June 24). *Hungary and allies reject EU migrant quotas.*  
Retrieved from Euobserver: <https://euobserver.com/beyond-brussels/129256>