

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku:

- Bakry, U. S. (2016). *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Frank, Matthew dan Jessica Reinisch (2017) . *Refugees in Europe, 1919-1959: A Forty Years' Crisis?*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Haris, Abdul. (2003). *Kucuran Keringat dan Derap Pembangunan; Jejak Migran Dalam Pembangunan Daerah*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Holsti, O. R. (2006). *Making America Foreign-Policy*. New York: Routledge.
- Mas'ood, Mochtar. (1989). *Studi Hubungan Internasional: Tingkat Analisis dan Teorisasi*. Yogyakarta: Pusat Antar Universitas-Studi Sosial Universitas Gajah Mada.
- Mas'ood, Mochtar. (1990). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional; Disiplin dan Metodologi*. Jakarta: PT. Pustaka LP3ES.
- Mills, C.W. (2008). *Modern World Leaders: Angela Merkel*. New York: Chelsea House Publisher.

Jurnal:

- Dragostinova, Theodora. (2016). *Refugees or Immigrants? The Migration Crisis in Europe in Historical Perspective*, dalam *Origins*, Vol.9, Issue 4.
- Gerhards, Jürgen, dkk. (2016). *German public opinion on admitting refugees*, dalam *DIW Economic Bulletin*, No.21.
- Holsti, O. R. (1962). *The Belief System and National Image: A Case Study*, dalam *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol.6, No.3.
- Süssmuth, Rita. (2009). *The Future of Migration and Integration Policy in Germany*, dalam *A Project of the Migration Policy Intitute*.

Thran, Malte dan Lukas Boehnke. (2015). *The value-based Nationalism of Pegida*, dalam *Journal for Deradicalization*, No.3, Hal.6.

Arsip:

Asylum Procedure Act bab 1 pasal 1(2).

The 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees artikel 1a (2).

The Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany artikel 16a

European Commission for Migration and Home Affairs. (2014). *A Common European Asylum System*.

Federal Statistical Office. 2016. *Germany's population by 2060*, dalam https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/GermanyPopulation2060_5124206159004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.

Video:

Zermin, Helmut. (29 Februari 2016). *Angela Merkel bei Anne Will - das vollständige Interview vom 29.02.2016*.

Diakses pada 21 Maret 2018, dari Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9sIKqESqOiU>

QiTV. (7 Oktober 2015). *Merkel bei Anne Will: "Ich habe einen Plan"*. Diakses pada 21 Maret 2018, dari https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TokGxNr_vxc

Website:

Breitenbach, Dagmar. (4 November 2016). *Chronology: Terror plots in Germany*. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2017, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/chronology-terror-plots-in-germany/g-36268475>

Baume, Maïa. (27 Agustus 2017). *Angela Merkel defends open border migration policy*. Diakses pada 3 Oktober 2017, dari Politico: <https://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkel-defends-open-border-migration-refugee-policy-germany/>

- Becker, I. S. (11 September 2017). *The pastor's daughter: How a striking family history shaped Germany's powerful chancellor*. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2017, dari Washington Post: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/the-pastors-daughter-how-a-striking-family-history-shaped-germanys-powerful-chancellor/2017/09/08/66b81140-88e1-11e7-96a7-d178cf3524eb_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.dad378301154
- Bleiker, Carla. (11 Februari 2016). *Sharp rise in right-wing crime in Germany just 'the tip of the iceberg'*. Diakses pada 20 Februari 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/sharp-rise-in-right-wing-crime-in-germany-just-the-tip-of-the-iceberg/a-19041652>
- Chase, Jefferson. (19 September 2016). *Merkel accepts partial blame for Berlin defeat*. Diakses pada 3 Oktober 2017, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/merkel-accepts-partial-blame-for-berlin-defeat/a-19561799>
- Chase, Jefferson. (16 Januari 2018). *Refugee numbers in Germany dropped dramatically in 2017*. Diakses pada 25 Februari 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/refugee-numbers-in-germany-dropped-dramatically-in-2017/a-42162223>
- Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands. *Geschichte der CDU*. Diakses pada 8 Oktober 2017, dari <https://www.cdu.de/partei/geschichte>
- Claudi, Boris. (23 Oktober 2015). *Former GDR rights activists support Merkel's refugee policy*. Diakses pada 21 Maret 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/former-gdr-rights-activists-support-merkels-refugee-policy/a-18802792>
- Connor, Phillip. (2 Agustus 2016). *Germany is leading destination; UK, France receive fewer asylum seekers*. Diakses pada 30 Januari 2018, dari Pew Research Centre:

<http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/>

- Connolly, Kate. (28 Juli 2016). *Angela Merkel defends Germany's refugee policy after attacks*. Diakses pada 3 Oktober 2017, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/28/merkel-el-rejects-calls-to-change-germanys-refugee-policy-after-attacks>
- Counter Extremist Project. *National Democratic Party of Germany*. Diakses pada 20 Februari 2018, dari <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/national-democratic-party-germany>
- Dettmer, Markus dan Carolin Katschak. (27 Agustus 2015). *German Companies See Refugees as Opportunity*. Diakses pada 30 Januari 2018, dari Der Spiegel: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/refugees-are-an-opportunity-for-the-german-economy-a-1050102.html>
- Deutsche Islam Konferenz. Diakses pada 25 November 2017, dari <http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de/DIK/EN/DIK/UeberDIK/WasIstDIK/wasistdik-node.html>
- Deutsche Welle. (13 Maret 2006). *German Court Convicts Turk of "Honor Killing"*. Diakses pada 25 November 2017, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/german-court-convicts-turk-of-honor-killing/a-1968686>
- Deutsche Welle. (26 Januari 2015). *Merkel: 'We must not forget'*. Diakses pada 22 Maret 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/merkel-we-must-not-forget/a-18215798>
- Deutsche Welle. (31 Agustus 2015). *Austria stops train carrying hundreds of refugees amid border check clampdown*. Diakses pada 30 Januari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/austria-stops-train-carrying-hundreds-of-refugees-amid-border-check-clampdown/a-18684281>

- Deutsche Welle. (6 September 2015). *Germans welcome thousands of newly arrived refugees*. Diakses pada 30 Januari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/germans-welcome-thousands-of-newly-arrived-refugees/a-18696722>
- Deutsche Welle. (17 Oktober 2015). *Attack on Cologne mayoral candidate 'motivated by xenophobia'*. Diakses pada 20 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/attack-on-cologne-mayoral-candidate-motivated-by-xenophobia/a-18788902>
- Deutsche Welle. (4 Januari 2016). *String of New Year's Eve sexual assaults outrages Cologne*. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/string-of-new-years-eve-sexual-assaults-outrages-cologne/a-18958334>
- Deutsche Welle. (6 Januari 2016). *Merkel rejects limits on refugee intake at CSU meeting in Bavaria*. Diakses pada 25 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/merkel-rejects-limits-on-refugee-intake-at-csu-meeting-in-bavaria/a-18964156>
- Deutsche Welle. (29 Februari 2016). *Merkel: 'I have no plan B' on migrant crisis strategy*. Diakses pada 3 Oktober 2017, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/merkel-i-have-no-plan-b-on-migrant-crisis-strategy/a-19081119>
- Deutsche Welle. (13 Maret 2016). *German state elections: Success for right-wing AfD, losses for Merkel's CDU*. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/german-state-elections-success-for-right-wing-afd-losses-for-merkels-cdu/a-19113604>
- Deutsche Welle. (4 September 2016). *Merkel's CDU trounced in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania*. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/merkels-cdu-trounced-in-mecklenburg-western-pomerania/a-19526082>
- Deutsche Welle. (5 September 2016). *Politicians blame Merkel's refugee policy for defeat in regional*

- elections*. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2017, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/politicians-blame-merkels-refugee-policy-for-defeat-in-regional-elections/a-19526368>
- Deutsche Welle. (9 September 2016). *CSU comes under fire for 'catalogue of inhumanity' over refugee policy*. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/csu-comes-under-fire-for-catalogue-of-inhumanity-over-refugee-policy/a-19538184>
- Deutsche Welle. (30 September 2016). *890,000 people came to Germany in 2015*. Diakses pada 30 Januari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/890000-people-came-to-germany-in-2015/av-35936846>
- Deutsche Welle. (1 Oktober 2016). *Germany's Merkel denies change of course on refugees*. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2017, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/germanys-merkel-denies-change-of-course-on-refugees/a-35938626>
- Deutsche Welle. (13 November 2016). *Hundreds of right-wing asylum-related attacks in 2016*. Diakses pada 20 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.dw.com/en/hundreds-of-right-wing-asylum-related-attacks-in-2016/a-36377046>
- Documentation Centre and Museum Migration. *Migration History in Germany*. Diakses pada 25 November 2017, dari <http://www.domid.org/en/migration-history-germany>
- Edwards, Adrian. (18 Juni 2012). *Global Trends Report: 800,000 new refugees in 2011, highest this century*. Diakses pada 1 Oktober 2017, dari UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2012/6/4fd9e6266/global-trends-report-800000-new-refugees-2011-highest-century.html>
- Euronews. (15 September 2015). *Refugees may be Germany's 'next economic miracle, says Daimler boss*. Diakses pada 15 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.euronews.com/2015/09/15/refugees-may->

be-germany-s-next-economic-miracle-says-daimler-boss

- European Commission for Migration and Home Affairs. *Common European Asylum System*. Diakses pada 1 Februari 2018, dari https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum_en
- European Commission for Migration and Home Affairs. *Country responsible for asylum application (Dublin)*. Diakses pada 5 Februari 2018, dari https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants_en
- Evangelical Lutheran Synod. *What is a Lutheran?*. Diakses pada 25 Desember 2017, dari <http://els.org/about/what-is-a-lutheran-2/>
- Federal Chancellor. (7 September 2016). *Germany will still be Germany*. Diakses pada 25 Februari 2018, dari https://www.bundestkanzlerin.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2016/09_en/2016-09-07-merkel-haushaltsdebatte.html
- Federal Government. (31 Agustus 2015). *Angela Merkel on refugee policy: "Flexibility is called for now"*. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2017, dari https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2015/08_en/2015-08-31-sommer-pk-der-kanzlerin_en.html
- Federal Government. (20 Januari 2016). *Chancellor wants to tangibly reduce refugee numbers*. Diakses pada 14 Februari 2018, dari https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2016/01_en/2016-01-18-flucht-und-asyl-aktuell_1_en.html
- Federal Ministry of the Interior. *Asylum and refugee policy*. Diakses pada 8 Februari 2018, dari <https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/topics/migration/asylum-refugee-protection/asylum-refugee-policy-germany/asylum-refugee-policy-node.html>
- Federal Statistical Office. (31 Maret 2017). *Current Population Based Only 2011 Census*. Diakses pada 20 November

- 2017, dari
https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/CurrentPopulation/Tables/Census_SexAndCitizenship.html
- Federal Statistical Office. *Population by migrant background and sex*. Diakses pada 30 November 2017, dari
https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/SocietyState/Population/MigrationIntegration/Tables_PersonsMigrationBackground/TablesMigrationStatusSex.html
- Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. (1 Maret 2016). *476.649 Asylanträge im Jahr 2015*. Diakses pada 10 Februari 2018, dari
<http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Meldungen/DE/2016/201610106-asylgeschaeftsstatistik-dezember.html>
- Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. (Desember 2016). *The 2015 Migration Report*. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2017, dari
<https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Publikationen/Migrationsberichte/migrationsbericht-2015.html>
- FOCUS Online. (4 Februari 2016). *Umfrage-Schock für Merkel-Bundesregierung für Asyl-Politik abgewatscht*. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2018, dari
https://www.focus.de/politik/videos/erschreckender-rekordwert-afd-setzt-hoehenflug-fort-bundesregierung-fuer-asyl-politik-abgewatscht_id_5259857.html
- Howard, Caroline. (2017). *The World's 100 Most Powerful Women in 2017*. Diakses pada 9 Januari 2018, dari Forbes:
<https://www.forbes.com/power-women/#3bc029715e25>
- Huggler, Justin. (7 September 2015). *Refugees will change Germany, Merkel says, as government releases £4.4bn to cope with crisis*. Diakses pada 23 Maret 2018, dari: The Telegraph:
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/11849468/Refugees-will-change-Germany->

Merkel-says-as-government-releases-4.4bn-to-cope-with-crisis.html

Huggler, Justin. (8 Oktober 2015). *Angela Merkel attacks east European leaders for ignoring their past over refugees*. Diakses pada 24 Maret 2018, dari The Telegraph:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/angela-merkel/11919548/Angela-Merkel-attacks-east-European-leaders-for-ignoring-their-past-over-refugees.html>

Huggler, Justin. (12 Februari 2016). *George and Amal Clooney back Angela Merkel's 'open-door' refugee policy*. Diakses pada 15 Februari 2018, dari The Telegraph:

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/12154766/George-and-Amal-Clooney-back-Angela-Merkels-open-door-refugee-policy.html>

IOM. (13 Oktober 2015). *Mediterranean Migrant Arrivals in 2015*. Diakses pada 1 Oktober 2017, dari <https://www.iom.int/news/mediterranean-migrant-arrivals-2015-593432-deaths-3103>.

IOM. (1 Mei 2016). *IOM Counts 3,771 Migrant Fatalities in Mediterranean in 2015*. Diakses pada 1 Oktober 2017, dari <https://www.iom.int/news/iom-counts-3771-migrant-fatalities-mediterranean-2015>

Jones, Timothy. (27 Agustus 2017). *Germany's Angela Merkel: 'Refugees must be distributed fairly'*. Diakses pada 3 Oktober 2017, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/germanys-angela-merkel-refugees-must-be-distributed-fairly/a-40255712>

Knipp, Kersten. (14 September 2015). *Opinion: Germany reintroducing border controls marks a turning point in the refugee crisis*. Diakses pada 12 Februari 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/opinion-germany-reintroducing-border-controls-marks-a-turning-point-in-the-refugee-crisis/a-18712319>

- Library of Congress. (Maret 2016). *Refugee Law and Policy: Germany*. Diakses pada 10 Februari 2018, dari <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/refugee-law/germany.php>
- Nielsen, Nikolaj. (1 Desember 2014). Germany second top migration destination of choice after US. Diakses pada 20 November 2017, dari Euroserver: <https://euobserver.com/justice/126741>
- Ozcan, Veysel. (Mei 2007). Contry Profile No.1: Germany. Diakses pada 25 November 2017, dari Focus Migration: <http://focus-migration.hwwi.de/Germany.1509.0.html?&L=1>
- Pro Asyl. (23 Oktober 2015). Asylpaket I in Kraft: Überblick über die ab heute geltenden asylrechtlichen Änderungen. Diakses pada 12 Februari 2018, dari <https://www.proasyl.de/hintergrund/asylpaket-i-in-kraft-ueberblick-ueber-die-ab-heute-geltenden-asylrechtlichen-aenderungen/>
- Ricking, Christoph. (3 Juli 2017). Same-sex marriage in Germany: An issue for the court?. Diakses pada 25 Maret 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/same-sex-marriage-in-germany-an-issue-for-the-court/a-39527311>
- Smale, Alison dan Melissa Eddy. (19 September 2016). Angela Merkel Accepts Responsibility for Party's Losses in Berlin Election. Diakses pada 25 Februari 2018, dari The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/20/world/europe/berlin-elections-merkel.html>
- Spasovska, Verica. (2 September 2016). Tajuk: Krisis Pengungsi Mengubah Jerman. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2017, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/id/tajuk-krisis-pengungsi-mengubah-jerman/a-19522847>
- The Guardian. (17 Agustus 2016). Refugees did not bring terrorism to Germany, says Angela Merkel. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2018, dari <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/17/refu>

gees-did-not-bring-terrorism-to-germany-says-angela-merkel

- The Refugee Council Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. *Asylum Package II*. Diakses pada 12 Februari 2018, dari http://www.fluechtlingsrat-mv.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Information_Asympaket-2_englisch.pdf
- Tost, Daniel. (27 Agustus 2015). *Merkel booed at site of refugee attacks*. Diakses pada 20 Februari 2018, dari Euractiv: <https://www.euractiv.com/section/justice-home-affairs/news/merkel-booed-at-site-of-refugee-attacks/>
- Traynor, Ian. (21 September 2015). *Eastern European leaders defy EU effort to set refugee quotas*. Diakses pada 2 Oktober 2017, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/21/eastern-european-leaders-defy-eu-effort-to-set-refugee-quotas>
- Riegert, Bernd. (23 Oktober 2015). *Europe's conservatives fight over Merkel's refugee speech*. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/europes-conservatives-fight-over-merkels-refugee-speech/a-18800824>
- Scholz, K. A. (19 September 2016). *Berlin elections: The end of the grand coalition*. Diakses pada 22 Februari 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/berlin-elections-the-end-of-the-grand-coalition/a-19560620>
- Schuster, Kathleen. (19 Oktober 2015). *Tensions high as PEGIDA marks first anniversary*. Diakses pada 16 Februari 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/tensions-high-as-pegida-marks-first-anniversary/a-18792157>
- Schweitzer, Andras. (22 Oktober 2015). *Eastern Europe's hard attitude to refugees is born out of trauma*.
- UNHCR. (2011). *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. Diakses pada 1 Februari 2018, dari <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.pdf>

- UNHCR. (2016). *Global Trends Report: Forced Displacement in 2015*. Diakses pada 1 Oktober 2017, dari <http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7.pdf>
- UNHCR. (2017). *Refugees*. Diakses pada 1 Oktober 2017, dari <http://www.unhcr.org/refugees.html>
- Walsh, Alistair. (16 Juli 2017). *Chancellor Angela Merkel rejects refugee limit for Germany in TV interview*. Diakses pada 30 Maret 2018, dari DW: <http://www.dw.com/en/chancellor-angela-merkel-rejects-refugee-limit-for-germany-in-tv-interview/a-3971443>
- Welt am Sonntag. (27 Agustus 2017). *Mrs Merkel, have you made any mistakes in the refugee issue?*. Diakses pada 28 Februari 2018, dari <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/plus168025776/Frau-Merkel-haben-Sie-in-der-Fluechtlingsfrage-Fehler-gemacht.html>