DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku dan Bab dalam Buku

Agnew, John. *Geopolitics: Re-visioning World Politics. Second Edition.* New York: Routledge, 2000

Bourbeau, Philippe. *The Securitization of Migration.* London: Routledge, 2011

Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever & Jaap de Wilde. *A New Framework for Analysis.* London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1998

Ceyhan, Ayse. *The Securitization of Migration in Western Societies.* Paris: Sagepub, 2002

Collet, Elizabeth & Camille Le Coz. *After the Storm: Learning from the EU Response to the Migration Crisis,* Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe, 2018

Ferreira, Susana. *From Narratives to Perceptions in the Securitisation of the Migratory Crisis in Europe.* Bristol: E-IR Publishing, 2018

Flint, Colin. *Introduction of Geopolitics.* New York: Routledge, 2006

Georgi, Fabian. "The Role of Racism in the European 'Migration Crisis': A Historical Materialist Perspective." dalam *Racism After Apartheid*, ed. Vishwas Satgar (Johannesburg: Wits University Press)

Manners, Ian. *Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?.* Copenhagen: Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, 2000

Mattsson, Noora. *Securitization of Immigrants – and Its political Impacts on European Union.* Prague: University of Charles, 2016

Penev, Daniel. *Normative Power Europe and Migration: A 'Refugee Crisis' or a 'Normative Crisis'.* Budapest: Central European University, 2017

Sabic, Senada. *The Relocation of Refugees in the European Union.* Bonn: Friedricebert Stiftung Zagreb, 2017

Vision Europe. *Improving the Responses to the Migration and Refugee Crisis in Europe.* Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2016

Wennerhed, Felicia. *The Securitization of Migrants: A critical discourse analysis of migration in EU policy.* Lund: Lund University Press, 2018

Jurnal dan Jurnal Daring

Akkerman, Mark. "Expanding the Fortress: The policies, the profiteers and the people shaped by EU's border externalization programme," *Transnational Papers,* no.3 (2018): 18-25

Hassel, Anke & Bettina Wagner. "The EU's migration crisis: challenge, threat or opportunity?." *Social Policy in the European Union,* (2016): 64

Huysmans, Jef. "The European Union and Securitization of Migration." *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 38, no. 5 (2000)

Iov, Claudia & Maria Bogdan. "Securitization of Migration in the European Union, Between Discourse and Practical Action." *Research and Science Today,* no. 1, (Spring 2017)

Jakesevic, Ruzica & Sinisa Tatalovic. "Securitization and de-securitization of the European Refugee Crisis: Croatia in the Regional Context." *Teorija in Paraksa,* 53, no. 5 (2016): 1247-1249

Jutila, Karina, & Terhi Tikkala. "Together or apart? The Nordic Council and the EU." *Nordic Council Report,* no. 1 (2009), [daring] https://www.mittengruppen.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Together-or-apart-INTERNET.pdf [diakses pada 14 Maret 2019]

Leonard, Sarah. "EU border security and migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and securitisation through practices." *European Security,* 19, no. 2, (2010): 247-248

Lutterbeck, Derek. "Policing Migration in the Mediterranean." *Mediterranean Politics,* 11, no. 1 (2006): 61-62

Neal, Andrew. "Securitization and Risk at the EU Border: The origins of FRONTEX." *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 47, no.2 (2009): 335-338

Ogude, Helidah .*"A Pragmatic and Humanist Approach to Refugees and Migrants" Global Policy Journal* (2019) [daring] https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/10/01/2019/pragmatic-and-humanist-approach-refugees-and-migrants-conversation-helidah-ogude [diakses pada 14 Maret 2019]

Peace, Timothy & Nasar Meer. "Refugee integration in Europe since the crisis." *European University Institute Working Papers*, 19, no.31 (2019): 5

Pratiwi, Tiffany. "Sekuritisasi Penanganan Isu Pengungsi di Swedia: Berhasil atau Gagalkah?," *Dauliyah,* 3, no. 2, (2018): 227

Seidman-Zager, Joshua. "The Securitization of Asylum: Protecting UK Residents." *Refugee Studies,* no. 57, (2010): 3

Skolimowska, Anna. "The European Union as a 'Normative Power' in International Relations." *Yearbook of Polish European Studies,* 18 (2015): 111-131

Triandafyllidou, Anna. "The Political Discourse on Immigration in Southern Europe: A Critical Analysis." *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology,* 10, no.5 (2000): 373-389

Williams, Michael. "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly,* 47, no. 4, (2003): 513

Woollard, Cathrine. "Has the Mediterranean Refugee Crisis Undermined European Values?." *Dossier: Europe and the Mediterranean* (2018), [daring] https://www.iemed.org/recursos-compartits/pdfs/Europe_Crisis_Wollard_2_Medyearbook2018.pdf [diakses pada 12 Maret 2019]

Artikel Daring

Batchelor, Tom. "MAPPED: How many refugees each European country will take under EU plans." *Express UK,* 23 September 2015 [daring] http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/607349/Migrant-crisis-map-EU-refugee-quota [diakses pada 12 Maret 2019]

BBC. "Mapping Mediterranean Migration." 15 September 2014 [daring] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-24521614 [diakses pada 23 November 2019]

Bell, Bethany. "Migrants flood trains in desperate bid to leave Italy." *BBC News*, 20 Juni 2015 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33204681 [diakses pada 5 Desember 2019]

Burleigh, Michael. "Forget the Greek Crisis or Britain's Referendum, This Tidal Wave of Migrants Could Be the Biggest Threat To Europe Since The War." *Mail Online*, 26 Juni 2015 [daring] http://www. dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3141005/Tidal-wave-migrants-biggest-threat-Europe-war.html [diakses pada 5 Desember 2019]

Camoes IP, "Migration and refugees," [daring] https://www.instituto-camoes.pt/en/index.php?Itemid=2551 [diakses pada 21 Januari 2020]

City of Amsterdam, "Volunteers for refugees," [daring] https://www.amsterdam.nl/en/refugees/volunteers-refugees/ [diakses pada 21 Januari 2020]

Connely, Andrew. "Asylum seekers stranded in Cyprus, as government seeks help with influx," *The New Humanitarian,* 7 Agustus 2019 [daring] https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/2019/08/07/asylum-seekers-stranded-cyprus-government-seeks-help-influx [diakses pada 21 Januari 2020]

Consolium Europa. "Strengthening the EU's External Borders." *EU Policy,* 11 April 2019 [daring] https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/migratory-pressures/strengthening-external-borders/ [diakses pada 1 Januari 2020]

Debating Europe. "What are European Values," 29 Januari 2016 [daring] https://www.debatingeurope.eu/2016/01/29/european-values/#.XIeD2ygzbIU [diakses pada 12 Maret 2019]

Dikarma, Kamran. "Uni Eropa Sumbang Dana untuk Kembali Bangun Afghanistan." *Republika,* 18 November 2018 [daring]

https://www.republika.co.id/berita/internasional/timur-tengah/18/11/28/piwaqk382-uni-eropa-sumbang-dana-untuk-kembali-bangun-afghanistan [diakses pada 22 November 2019]

Efe, Epa. "Portugal, the European country that wants more migrants," *The Straitstimes,* 2 Juli 2018 [daring] https://www.straitstimes.com/world/europe/portugal-the-european-country-that-wants-more-migrants [diakses pada 21 Januari 2020]

European Commission. "Commission presents options for reforming the CEAS and developing safe and legal pathways to Europe." *EC,* 6 April 2016 [daring] https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_16_1246 [diakses pada 5 Desember 2019]

European Commission. "International Protection." *EC,* 13 Desember 2011 [daring] https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/e-library/glossary/international-protection_en [diakses pada 24 November 2019]

European Commission. "Subsidiary Protection." *EC,* 13 Desember 2011 [daring] https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/glossary_search/subsidiary-protection_en [diakses pada 29 November 2019]

European Humanist Federation. "EHF Holds Two High-Level Meetings with European Commission." *EHF,* 8 Juli 2016 [daring] https://humanistfederation.eu/ehf-holds-two-high-level-meetings-european-commission/ [diakses pada 9 Oktober 2019]

European Parliament Information Office Finland. "EU Values and Objectives," [daring] https://europarlamentti.info/en/values-and-objectives/values/ [diakses pada 12 Maret 2019]

European Parliament. "European Parliament resolution of 12 April 2016 on the situation in the Mediterranean and the need for a holistic EU approach to migration," *Europarl,* 2 Agustus 2016 [daring] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2016-0102_EN.html?redirect [diakses pada 6 Desember 2019]

European Parliament. "European Parliament resolution of 5 July 2016 on refugees: social inclusion and integration into the labour market." *Europarl,* 5 Juli 2016 [daring] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2016-0297_EN.html?redirect [diakses pada 6 Desember 2019]

European Parliament. "How to make integration of refugees into the labour market work," *Europarl,* 18 Februari 2016 [daring] https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/world/20160218STO14834/how-to-make-the-integration-of-refugees-into-the-labour-market-work [diakses pada 6 Desember 2019]

European Parliament. "Integration of refugees in Europe," *Europarl,* 29 Juni 2017 [daring]

https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/society/20170629STO78628/integration-of-refugees-in-europe [diakses pada 6 Desember 2019]

European Strategic Observatory. "Lithuania." [daring] http://stratobs.eu/profile-lithuania-17.php [diakses pada 18 Desember 2019]

Farny, Elisabeth. "Implications of the Securitisation of Migration." *E-IR,* 29 Januari 2016 [daring] https://www.e-ir.info/2016/01/29/implications-of-the-securitisation-of-migration/ [diakses pada 5 Desember 2019]

Fichtner, Ulrich, Maximilian Popp, Christoph Schult & Alexander Smoltczyk. "EU's Shipwrecked Refugee Plan." *Spiegel Online,* 23 Juni 2015 [daring] http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/how-eu-promises-to-introduce-refugee-quotas-failed-a-1040226.html [diakses pada 23 November 2019]

Fotiadis, Apostolis. "This racist backlash against refugees is the real crisis in Europe." *The Guardian,* 25 Februari 2015 [daring] https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/feb/25/racist-backlash-against-refugees-greece-real-crisis-europe [diakses pada 5 Desember 2019]

Friedman, George. "Four Political Maps of Europe that Explains Its Geopolitics." *Mauldin Economics,* 1 Desember 2017 [daring] https://www.mauldineconomics.com/editorial/4-political-maps-of-europe-that-explain-its-geopolitics [diakses pada 25 Desember 2019]

Geography. "Aegean Sea." 15 Agustus 2013 [daring] https://geography.name/aegean-sea/ [diakses pada 23 November 2019]

Government of Netherlands, "Refugees in the Netherlands," [daring] https://www.government.nl/topics/asylum-policy/refugees-in-the-netherlands [diakses pada 21 Januari 2020]

Hyttinen, Markku. "Oulu court hands down last sentences in string of 2018 sex crimes." *Yle,* 12 Juli 2019 [daring] https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/oulu_court_hands_down_last_sentences_in_string_of_2018_sex_crimes/10876175 [diakses pada 2 Desember 2019]

Irish Examiner, "The migrant crisis and the very different approaches adopted by the 28 EU states," 25 Juni 2018 [daring] https://www.irishexaminer.com/ireland/the-migrant-crisis-and-the-very-different-approaches-adopted-by-the-28-eu-states-472296.html [diakses pada 21 Januari 2020]

Leroy, Isabella. "How Poland and Hungary were Put in a Minority Position on the Relocation of Refugees." *Sciencespo,* April 2019 [daring] http://dossiers-bibliotheque.sciencespo.fr/une-vie-politique-europeenne-european-political-life/how-poland-and-hungary-were-put-minority#toc-the-descent-into-domestic-politics-and-the-firm-opposition-from-the-visegr-d-group [diakses pada 1 Desember 2019]

Moscovici, Pierre. "To be European is to be Humanist." *Euranet Plus,* 9 September 2015 [daring] https://euranetplus-inside.eu/to-be-european-is-to-be-humanist/ [diakses pada 5 Desember 2019]

Postel, Hannah, Cyntia Rathinasamy & Michael Clemen. "Europe's Refugee Crisis not big as you've heard." *Centre Global Development,* 10 September 2015 [daring] https://www.cgdev.org/blog/europes-refugee-crisis-not-big-youve-heard-and-not-without-recent-precedent [diakses pada 22 November 2019]

Rabbat, Nasser. "On Immigration and Humanist Values." *MIT Faculty Newsletter*, April 2017 [daring] http://web.mit.edu/fnl/volume/294/rabbat.html [diakses pada 17 Maret 2019]

Streitwieser, Bernhard. "Humanism at the heart of international education." *University World News,* 6 April 2019 [daring] https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=201904051326247 41 [diakses pada 10 Mei 2019]

Teivanen, Aleksi. "Statistics Finland: Rape reports increased by 7,5% in Finland in 2017-2018." *Helsinki Times,* 18 Januari 2019 [daring] https://www.helsinkitimes.fi/finland/finland-news/domestic/16126-statistics-finland-rape-reports-increased-by-7-5-in-finland-in-2017-2018.html [diakses pada 2 Desember 2019]

Thomas, Cal. "Stop the immigration flood." *The Washington Times*, 25 Februari 2015 [daring] http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/feb/25/cal-thomas-stop-immigration-flood/ [diakses pada 5 Desember 2019]

Tolcachier, Javier. "Universal Citizenship, a Humanist Response to Violence against Migrants." *Pressenza International Press Agency,* 25 Juli 2019 [daring] https://www.pressenza.com/2019/07/universal-citizenship-a-humanist-response-to-violence-against-migrants/ [diakses pada 9 Oktober 2019]

UNHCR, "Germany," 15 Februari 2019 [daring] https://www.unhcr.org/dach/wp-content/uploads/sites/27/2019/02/2019_02_Factsheet_GermanyQ12.pdf [diakses pada 21 Januari 2020]

Vermeulen, Maite. "Ten questions that explain the EU migration policy." *The Correspondent,* 31 Oktober 2019 [daring] https://thecorrespondent.com/93/10-questions-that-explain-the-european-unions-migration-policy/12299086041-3a16f02d [diakses pada 1 November 2019]

Xiao, Jessica. "Asylum without God: The Refugee Crisis in Europe." *The Humanist,* 10 September 2015 [daring] https://thehumanist.com/commentary/asylum-without-god-the-refugee-crisis-in-europe [diakses pada 17 Maret 2019]

Zalan, Eszter. "Europe in Review: Unwanted Exodus," *EO Observer,* 27 Desember 2015 [daring] https://euobserver.com/review-2015/131314 [diakses pada 12 Maret 2019]

Dokumen Legal dan Pemerintah

Austria Chef des Generalstabes. *Militärstrategisches Konzept,* S92112/1-GStb/2015. Vienna: Beirat stellt Empfehlungen vor, 2015

Belgian Ministry of Defense. *La vision stratégique pour la Défense,* Brussels: Ministry of Defense, 2016

Budgetary Affairs Committee. *Eu funds for migration, asylum and integration policies,* oleh Dr Zsolt Darvas. PE 603.828. Brussels: European Union Report, 2018

Bulgaria's Ministry of Defence. *White Paper on Defence and The Armed Forces of the Republic of Bulgaria.* Sofia: Government of Bulgaria, 2010

Bulgaria's Permanent Mission. *Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Bulgaria.* FSC.EMI/45/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Bundesministerium der Verteidigung. *Konzeption der Bundeswehr.* AZ.09/02/04. Berlin: Government of German, 2013

Croatia Government. *Croatia of Note Verbale to OSCE.* FSC.EMI/61/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications

Cyprus Conflict Prevention Centre. *Cyprus Security Aspects,* FSC.EMI/54/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Czech Republic Government. *Security Strategy of the Czech Republic.* FSC.EMI/42/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Danish Government. *Danish Defence Agreement.* Copenhagen: Danish Defence Council, 2013

Defence Policy Directorate of Portugal. *Security Exchange to OSCE.* FSC.EMI/43/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Denmark Representation. *Mission of Denmark.* FSC.EMI/339/14. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Estonian Government. *Estonia National Defence Development Plan.* Tallinn: Eesti Vabariigi, 2015

Estonian Ministry of Defense. *National Defence Strategy.* Tallinn: Government of Estonia, 2011

European Parliament. *EU asylum, borders and external cooperation on migration,* oleh Nikolai Atanassov & Anja Radjenovic. PE 625.194. Brussels: European Parliamentary Research Service, 2018

European Union. *Action Plan of the Council and the Commission on How Best to Implement the Provisions of the Treaty of Amsterdam on an Area of Freedom, Security and Justice,* 1999/C.19/01, Vienna: Refworld, 1999 [daring] https://www.refworld.org/docid/3f5341ce2.html [diakses pada 15 Oktober 2019]

Eurostat. *EU Member States granted protection to more than 330 000 asylum seekers in 2015,* P75/2016, Brussels: European Commission, 2016 [daring] http://ec.europa.eu/ eurostat/documents/2995521/7233417/3-20042016-AP-EN.pdf/34c4f5af-eb93-4ecd-984c-577a5271c8c5 [diakses pada 18 November 2019]

Eurostat. *Data sheets of Population.* TPS00001, Brussels: European Commission, 2018 [daring] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/-/tps00001 [diakses pada 15 November 2019]

Finland Prime Minister's Office. *Government's Defence Report.* 7/2017. Helsinki: Prime Minister's Office Publications, 2017

Government of Ireland. *White Paper on Defence Update.* Dublin: Irish Government, 2019

Government of Malta. *The Armed Forces of Malta and Military Doctrine.* Valletta: Armed Forces Publications, 2010

Governmental Council for Foreign and Defence Affairs. *White Paper for the Armed Forces,* Athens: Government of Greece, 1997

Grand-Duche de Luxembourg. *Recuile de Legislation.* Luxembourg: Government of Luxembourg, 2007

Greek Government. *White Paper on Defence.* Athens: Office of Defence, 2015

HM Government. *Securing Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The Strategic Defence and Security Review,* London: Crown Publisher, 2010

HM Government. *Strategic Defence and Security Review: A Secure and Prosperous United Kingdom,* CM 9161. London: Crown Publisher, 2015

Hungary's Mission. *Annual information exchange of Security.* FSC.EMI/70/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Irish Ministry of Justice. *Green Paper on Defence,* Dublin: Department of Defence, 2013

Italy Ministry of Defence. *The Chief of Italian Defence Staff Strategic Concept,* Rome: Defence Staff Publications, 2005

Italy Ministry of Defence. *White Paper for International Security and Defence,* Rome: Ministry of Defence Publications, 2015

Latvia Minister of Defence. *The State Defence Concept.* Riga: Ministry of Defence Office, 2012

Latvijas Republikas. *Verbal Note Code of Conduct on Security.* FSC.EMI/66/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications

Lithuania Government. *National Security Strategy,* Vilnius: Ministry of Defense, 2017

Maltese Government. *Note Verbale Security Aspects of Malta,* FSC.EMI/69/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Ministre des Affaires. *Déclaration de Politique Etrangère.* Luxembourg: la Chambre des Députés, 2017

Ministry of Defence of the Slovak Republic. *White Paper on Defence of the Slovak Republic.* R326/2013. Bratislava: Slovak Government, 2013

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary. *Hungary's National Security Strategy.* 1035/2012. Budapest: Government Publications, 2012

Netherlands Ministry of Defence. *Netherlands Defence Doctrine.* Den Haag: Netherlands Defence Staff, 2013

Netherlands Permanent Representation. *Netherlands' Note Verbale Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security.* FSC.EMI/52/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Parlement Belge. *The Modernisation Plan of The Belgian Armed Forces.* 24/05/201216:08. Brussels: Belgium Parliament, 2000

Permanent Mission of France. *Note Verbale Security Aspects of France.* FSC.EMI/85/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Permanent Mission of the Slovak Republic. *Slovak to OSCE,* FSC.EMI/50/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Polish Government. *Code of Conduct on the Aspects of Security.* FSC.EMI/83/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Presidency of the Government. *Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional: un proyecto compartido.* NIPO 002130352. Madrid: The Prime Minister Publications, 2013

Republic of Slovenia Ministry of Defence. *Resolution on National Security Strategy of Slovenia.* ReSNV-1. Ljubljana: Slovenia Government, 2010

Republique Francaise. *French White Paper on Defence and National Security.* Paris: President of the French Republic Office, 2013

Romania Conflict Prevention Centre. *White Paper on Defense,* Bucharest: The President of Romania Office, 2015

Slovenia's Government. *Code of Conduct from Slovenia's Security,* FSC.EMI/71/15. Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Spain Government. *Codigo de Conducta la seguridad,* FSC.EMI/51/15, Vienna: OSCE Publications, 2015

Swedish Ministry of Defence. *Functional Defence: Government Bill,* DS 2008.48. Stockholm: Regeringskansliet, 2009

Swedish Ministry of Defence. *Functional Defence: Government Bill,* Stockholm: Regeringskansliet, 2019

The Federal Government. *White Paper on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr.* Berlin: Germany Office Publications, 2016

The Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic. *White Paper on Defence.* Nr.369. Prague: Government Office, 2011

The Republic of Croatia Ministry of Defence. *Strategic Defence Review.* Official Gazette no.81, Zagreb: Ministry of Defence, 2013

Lain – Lain

Vermeulen, Gabrielle. "The securitisation of migration during the refugee crisis: The role of the EU institutes." Master thesis. Leiden University, 2018