

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adam, L. B. (2016, September). The Refugee Card in EU-Turkey Relations: A Necessary but Uncertain Deal. *14*, 1-12. *Global Turkey in Europe*.
- Akkerman, M. (2016). *Border Wars: The Arms Dealers Profiting From Europe's Refugee Tragedy*. Amsterdam: Transnational Institute.
- Amnesty International. (2016). *No Safe Refuge: Asylum-Seekers and Refugees Denied Effective Protection in Turkey*. London: Amnesty International.
- Amnesty International. (2017). *A Blueprint for Despair: Human Rights Impact of the EU-Turkey Deal*. London: Amnesty International.
- Arribas, G. F. (2016). The EU-Turkey Agreement: A Controversial Attempt at Patching Up a Major Problem. *European Papers*, 1-8.
- Avramopoulos, D. (2016, Februari 20). *Keynote Speech by Commissioner Avramopoulos at the 2016 Harvard European Conference: Europe at the Crossroads of the Migration and Security Crises*. Dipetik Desember 20, 2018, dari European Commission: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-16-365_en.htm
- Baban, F., Ilcan, S., & Rygiel, K. (2016). Syrian refugees in Turkey: pathways to precarity, differential inclusion, and negotiated citizenship rights. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1-17.
- Bakry, U. S. (2016). *Pedoman Penulisan Skripsi Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Deepublish.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M., Blitz, B. K., & Crawley, H. (2018). The Politics of Evidence-Based Policy in Europe's 'Migration Crisis'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1-17.
- BBC News. (2015, September 25). *Migrant crisis: Why EU deal on refugees is difficult*. Dipetik Januari 5, 2019, dari BBC News: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34324096>
- Benvenuti, B. (2017, Januari 5). The Migration Paradox and EU-Turkey Relations. *Working Paper(17)*. Roma: Istituto Affari Internazionali.
- Borzel, T. A. (2016). From EU Governance of Crisis to Crisis of EU Governance: Regulatory Failure, Redistributive Conflict and Eurosceptic Publics. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54, 8-31.

- Buzan, B., Wæver, O., & Wilde, J. d. (1998). *Security: A New Framework Analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Cendrowicz, L. (2015, Oktober 5). *Refugee crisis: Europe looks to charm Turkey's Erdogan in bid to staunch flow across borders*. Dipetik Desember 10, 2018, dari Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-europe-looks-to-charm-turkeys-erdogan-in-bid-to-staunch-flow-across-borders-a6679951.html>
- Cini, M., & Borragán, N. P.-S. (2016). *European Union Politics* (5th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Collins, A. (2016). *Contemporary Security Studies* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Connor, P. (2016, Maret 18). *Illegal migration to EU rises for routes both well-worn and less-traveled*. Dipetik September 7, 2018, dari Pew Research Center: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/18/illegal-migration-to-eu-rises-for-routes-both-well-worn-and-less-traveled/>
- Council of the European Union. (2015, November 29). *Meeting of heads of state or government with Turkey - EU-Turkey statement, 29/11/2015*. Dipetik Desember 11, 2018, dari Council of the European Union: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/11/29/eu-turkey-meeting-statement/pdf>
- Council of the European Union. (2016, Februari 12). *Council Implementing Decision setting out a Recommendation on addressing the serious deficiencies identified in the 2015 evaluation of the application of the Schengen acquis in the field of management of the external borders by Greece*. Dipetik Januari 6, 2019, dari Council of the European Union: <http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-5985-2016-INIT/en/pdf>
- Council of the European Union. (2016, Maret 18). *EU-Turkey statement, 18 March 2016*. Dipetik Mei 17, 2018, dari Council of the European Union: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/pdf>
- Council of the European Union. (2016, Maret 7). *Statement of the EU Heads of State or Government, 07/03/2016*. Dipetik Januari 6, 2019, dari Council of the European Union: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/08/eu-turkey-meeting-statement/pdf>

- Crone, M., & Felicia, M. (2017). *Europe's Refugee Crisis and the Threat of Terrorism*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Dadush, U., & Dunne, M. (2011). American and European Responses to the Arab Spring: What's the Big Idea? *The Washington Quarterly*, 34(4), 131-145.
- EASO. (2016). *An Introduction to the Common European Asylum System for Courts and Tribunals A Judicial Analysis*. Valetta: EASO.
- Ekmekci, P. E. (2016). Syrian Refugees, Health and Migration Legislation in Turkey. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 19(6), 1434-1441.
- Emmott, R., & Sekularac, I. (2015, Oktober 25). *Slovenia sees end to EU if leaders fail on migrant plan*. Dipetik Desember 10, 2018, dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-summit/slovenia-sees-end-to-eu-if-leaders-fail-on-migrant-plan-idUSKCN0SJ0BQ20151025>
- Erlanger, S., & Smale, A. (2015, Agustus 28). *Europe's Halting Response to Migrant Crisis Draws Criticism as Toll Mounts*. Dipetik September 11, 2018, dari The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/29/world/europe/europe-migrant-refugee-crisis.html>
- European Commission. (2013, Juli 7). *Schengen Area*. Dipetik September 22, 2018, dari European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/borders-and-visas/schengen_en
- European Commission. (2014). *A Common Europe Asylum System*. Dipetik September 25, 2018, dari European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/e-library/docs/ceas-fact-sheets/ceas_factsheet_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2015, Mei 13). *A European Agenda on Migration*. Dipetik Desember 10, 2018, dari European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf
- European Commission. (2015, Mei 13). *Managing migration better in all aspects: A European Agenda on Migration*. Dipetik Mei 11, 2018, dari European Commission: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-4956_en.htm
- European Commission. (2016, Maret 4). *Back to Schengen - A Roadmap*. Dipetik Oktober 10, 2018, dari EUR-Lex: <https://eur->

lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:cff8990a-e1ee-11e5-8a50-01aa75ed71a1.0007.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

European Commission. (2016, Januari 27). *Commission discusses draft Schengen Evaluation Report on Greece*. Dipetik Desember 15, 2018, dari European Commission: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-174_en.htm

European Commission. (2016, Februari 10). *Communication on the State of Play of Implementation of the Priority Actions under the European Agenda on Migration*. Dipetik Januari 6, 2018, dari European Commission: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:97f62a52-3255-11e6-b497-01aa75ed71a1.0023.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

European Commission. (2016, April 20). *First Report on the progress made in the implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement*. Dipetik Januari 12, 2019, dari European Commission: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:4737d90f-0796-11e6-b713-01aa75ed71a1.0018.02/DOC_1&format=PDF

European Commission. (2016, Juli 13). *The Common European Asylum System. Publication Office*. European Commission.

European Commission. (2017, Maret 17). *EU-Turkey Statement: One Year On*. Dipetik Januari 10, 2019, dari European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/eu_turkey_statement_17032017_en.pdf

European Commission. (2018, April). *EU-Turkey Statement: Two Years On*. Dipetik Januari 12, 2019, dari European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20180314_eu-turkey-two-years-on_en.pdf

European Commission. (2018, Desember 5). *Operational implementation of the EU-Turkey Statement*. Dipetik Januari 7, 2019, dari European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/press-material/docs/state_of_play_-_eu-turkey_en.pdf

European Commission. (t. thn.). *Country responsible for asylum application (Dublin)*. Dipetik November 6, 2018, dari European Commission: Migration and Home Affairs: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants_en

- European Parliament. (1999, October). *TAMPERE EUROPEAN COUNCIL 15 AND 16 OCTOBER 1999*. Dipetik May 30, 2018, dari European Parliament: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/tam_en.htm
- European Parliament. (2013, Juni 12). *European Parliament backs Schengen reform deal*. Dipetik Januari 21, 2019, dari European Parliament: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20130607IPR11390/european-parliament-backs-schengen-reform-deal>
- European Stability Initiative. (2017). *The Refugee Crisis Through Statistics*. Berlin: European Stability Initiative.
- European Union. (2006, April 13). Regulation (EC) No 562/2006 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 March 2006. *Regulation*. Brussels: Official Journal of the European Union.
- European Union. (2013, Juni 29). Directive 2013/32/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013. *Directives*. Brussels: Official Journal of the European Union.
- Europol. (2016). *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2016*. The Hague: European Police Office (Europol).
- Frontex. (2016). *Risk Analysis for 2016*. Warsaw: Frontex.
- Guild et al, E. (2016). Internal border controls in the Schengen area: is Schengen crisis-proof? *Research Paper*. Brussels: Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs.
- Haferlach, L., & Kurban, D. (2017). Lessons Learnt from the EU-Turkey Refugee Agreement in Guiding EU Migration Partnerships with Origin and Transit Countries. *Global Policy*, 8(4), 85-93.
- Heisbourg, F. (2015). The Strategic Implications of the Syrian Refugee Crisis. *Survival*, 57(6), 7-20.
- Holehouse, M. (2015, November 13). *Migrant crisis: European Council president Tusk warns Schengen on brink of collapse*. Dipetik Desember 10, 2018, dari [The Telegraph](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/11991098/Migrant-crisis-Donald-Tusk-warns-that-Schengen-is-on-brink-of-collapse-latest-news.html): <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/11991098/Migrant-crisis-Donald-Tusk-warns-that-Schengen-is-on-brink-of-collapse-latest-news.html>
- Hough et al, P. (2015). *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

- Human Rights Watch. (2015). *Europe's Refugee Crisis: An Agenda for Action*. United States of America: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch. (2016, Juni 20). *EU: Don't Send Syrians Back to Turkey*. Dipetik Januari 16, 2019, dari Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/06/20/eu-dont-send-syrians-back-turkey>
- Human Rights Watch. (2016). *European Union: Events of 2015*. Dipetik September 12, 2018, dari Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/european-union-0>
- Human Rights Watch. (2016, Mei 10). *Turkey: Border Guards Kill and Injure Asylum Seekers*. Dipetik Januari 16, 2019, dari Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/05/10/turkey-border-guards-kill-and-injure-asylum-seekers>
- Inter-Agency Regional Analyst Network. (2016). *Responding to the Migrant Crisis: Europe at a Juncture*. Paris: Inter-Agency Regional Analyst Network.
- Juncker, J.-C. (2015, September 9). *State of the Union 2015*. Dipetik Desember 9, 2018, dari European Commission: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/state_of_the_union_2015_en.pdf
- Kaminski, M. (2015, November 23). *'All the terrorist are migrants'*. Dipetik November 5, 2018, dari Politico: <https://www.politico.eu/article/viktor-orban-interview-terrorists-migrants-eu-russia-putin-borders-schengen/>
- Kanter, J., & Arango, T. (2015, Oktober 5). *Turkish Leader Says E.U. Should Do More About Syria*. Dipetik Desember 10, 2018, dari The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/06/world/europe/turkey-erdogan-syria-european-union-refugees.html>
- Kivilcim, Z. (2016). Legal Violence Against Syrian Female Refugees in Turkey. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 24(2), 193-214.
- Koca, B. T. (2016). Syrian refugees in Turkey: from "guests" to "enemies". *New Perspective on Turkey*, 55-75.
- Latoszek, E. e. (2015). *Facing the Challenges in the European Union*. Warsaw: Polish European Community Studies Association.
- Le Pen, M. (2015, Januari 8). *Marine Le Pen blames radical Islamism for Charlie Hebdo attack – video*. Dipetik November 1, 2018, dari The Guardian:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/video/2015/jan/08/marine-le-pen-radical-islamism-charlie-hebdo-attack-video>

- Lestari, P. (2018). Frontex (European Border Coast and Guard Agency) Securitization Agenda in Greece Illegal Immigrant Crisis. *JOM FISIP UNRI*, 5(1), 1-15.
- Masouridou, Y., & Kyprioti, E. (2018). *The EU-Turkey Statement and the Greek Hotspot: A Failed European Pilot Project in Refugee Policy*. Brussels: The Greens.
- McDonald-Gibson, C. (2015, Januari 8). *Europe's Anti-Immigrant Parties Make Hay From Paris Terrorist Attack*. Dipetik November 1, 2018, dari TIME: <http://time.com/3659471/paris-terror-attack-europe-far-right-populist/>
- Monar, J. (2001). The Dynamics of Justice and Home Affairs: Laboratories, Driving Factors and Costs. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 39(4), 747-764.
- Moraga, J. F.-H., & Rapoport, H. (2015). Tradable Refugee-admission Quotas (TRAQs), the Syrian Crisis and the new European Agenda on Migration. *IZA Journal of European Labor Studies*, 4(1), 1-13.
- Mortera-Martinez, C. (2016, Mei). *Why Schengen matters and how to keep it: A five point plan*. Dipetik Januari 5, 2019, dari Centre for European Reform: https://cer.eu/sites/default/files/pb_schengen_cmm_13may16.pdf
- Nascimbene, B., & Pascale, A. D. (2011). The 'Arab Spring' and the Extraordinary Influx of People who Arrived in Italy from North Africa. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 13, 341-360.
- Okuy, A., & Zaragoza-Cristiani, J. (2016). The Leverage of the Gatekeeper: Power and Interdependence in the Migration Nexus between the EU and Turkey. *The International Spectator*, 51(4), 51-66.
- Parkes, R. (2017). *Nobody Move! Myth of the EU Migration Crisis*. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies.
- Poon, J. (2016). EU-Turkey Deal: Violation of, or Consistency with, International Law? *European Papers*, 1(3), 1195-1203.
- Rankin, J. (2017, Desember 11). *EU could 'scrap refugee quota scheme'*. Dipetik Januari 14, 2019, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/11/eu-may-scrap-refugee-quota-scheme-donald-tusk>

- Rygiel, K., Baban, F., & Ilcan, S. (2016). The Syrian refugee crisis: The EU-Turkey 'deal' and temporary protection. *Global Social Policy, 16*(3), 315-320.
- Schulz, M. (2016, Februari 18). *Speech at the European Council by Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament*. Dipetik Januari 6, 2019, dari European Parliament: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/former_ep_presidents/president-schulz-2014-2016/en/press-room/speech_at_the_european_council_by_martin_schulz__president_of_the_european_parliament_.html
- Şenses, N. (2016). Rethinking Migration in the Context of Precarity: The Case of Turkey. *Critical Sociology, 42*(7-8), 975-987.
- Shajar, D., & Waqar, F. (2016). *The Refugee Crisis: Europe's 'Greek Prison' for Refugees*. London: Institute for Islamic Strategic Affairs.
- Sigona, N. (2017). The Contested Politics of Naming in Europe's "Refugee Crisis". *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41*(3), 456-460.
- Sørensen, N. N., Kleist, N., & Lucht, H. (2017). *Europe and the Refugee Situation: Human Security Implications*. Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Stern, R. T. (2016, September). Responses to the "refugee crisis": What is the role of self-image among EU countries? *European Policy Analysis*(10), 1-16. Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies.
- Stokes, B. (2016, Juli 22). *The Immigration Crisis Is Tearing Europe Apart*. Dipetik Januari 20, 2019, dari Foreign Policy: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/22/the-immigration-crisis-is-tearing-europe-apart/>
- The Economist. (2015, Desember 10). *The march of Europe's little Trumps*. Dipetik September 12, 2018, dari The Economist: <https://www.economist.com/europe/2015/12/10/the-march-of-europes-little-trumps>
- Thym, D. (2016). The Refugee Crisis as a Challenge of Legal Design and Institutional Legitimacy. *Common Market Law Review, 53*, 1545-1574.
- Toygür, İ., & Benvenuti, B. (2016, Juni). The European Response to the Refugee Crisis: Angela Merkel on the Move. *IPC-Mercator Policy Brief*. Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center.

- Trauner, F. (2016). Asylum policy: the EU's 'crises' and the looming policy regime failure. *Journal of European Integration*, 38(3), 311-325.
- Traynor, I. (2015, September 3). *Migration crisis: Hungary PM says Europe in grip of madness*. Dipetik November 5, 2018, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/03/migration-crisis-hungary-pm-victor-orban-europe-response-madness>
- Traynor, I. (2016, Januari 25). *EU migration crisis: Greece threatened with Schengen area expulsion*. Dipetik Oktober 11, 2018, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/25/greece-under-growing-pressure-to-stem-flow-of-refugees-and-migrants-into-eu>
- Traynor, I., & Smith, H. (2016, Januari 27). *Greece hits back after EU's Schengen threat*. Dipetik November 7, 2018, dari The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/27/greece-warned-control-borders-schengen-european-commission>
- Tunaybolu, S., & Alpes, J. (2017, Februari). The EU-Turkey deal: what happens to people who return to Turkey? *Post-Deportation Risk and Monitoring*. Forced Migration Review.
- Tusk, D. (2015, Oktober 5). *Remarks by President Donald Tusk after his meeting with President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan*. Dipetik Desember 21, 2018, dari Council of the European Union: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/10/05/tusk-meeting-turkey-president-erdogan/>
- Tusk, D. (2015, September 7). *Speech by President Donald Tusk at the Bruegel Annual Dinner*. Dipetik Desember 5, 2018, dari Bruegel: <http://bruegel.org/2015/09/speech-by-president-donald-tusk-at-the-bruegel-annual-dinner/>
- Tusk, D. (2016, Januari 19). *Report by President Donald Tusk to the European Parliament on the outcome of the December European Council*. Dipetik Januari 6, 2019, dari Council of the European Union: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/01/19/tusk-december-euco-report-european-parliament/pdf>
- UNHCR. (1951). *The 1951 Refugee Convention*. Dipetik Mei 18, 2018, dari UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10>
- UNHCR. (2015). *Mediterranean Situation*. Dipetik September 7, 2018, dari UNHCR: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean#>

- UNHCR. (2018, Maret 31). *Returns from Greece to Turkey*. Dipetik Mei 31, 2018, dari UNHCR: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/62989>
- Vink, M., & Meijerink, F. (2003). Asylum Application and Recognition Rates in EU Member States 1982-2001: A Quantitative Analysis. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 16(3), 297-315.
- Visegrad Group. (2016, Juni 8). *Joint Declaration of the Visegrad Group Prime Ministers*. Dipetik Januari 14, 2019, dari Visegrad Group: <http://www.visegradgroup.eu/documents/official-statements/joint-declaration-of-the-160609>
- Webber, F. (2017). Europe's unknown war. *Race & Class*, 59(1), 36-53.
- Weinblum, S. (2016, Februari 5). Moving Beyond Security vs. the Duty to Protect: European Asylum and Border Management Policies under Test. *Working Paper(16)*. Roma: Istituto Affari Internazionali.
- Wike, R., Stokes, B., & Simmons, K. (2016). *European Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.
- Withnall, A. (2015, September 14). *Germany to 'reintroduce border controls' with Austria as Munich struggles with refugee arrivals*. Dipetik Oktober 15, 2018, dari Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-to-reintroduce-border-controls-with-austria-as-thousands-of-refugees-arrive-in-munich-10498880.html>
- Zalan, E. (2015, November 17). *Europe's populists link terrorism with refugees*. Dipetik November 5, 2018, dari EUobserver: <https://euobserver.com/migration/131142>