

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdussamad, Z. (2021). Metode Penelitian Kualitatif. In *Syakir Media Press*. Patta Rapanna.
- Amnesty International. (2020). *Hungary: European Court declares authorities broke EU law by detaining asylum seekers in transit zone*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/05/hungary-european-court-declares-authorities-broke-eu-law-by-detaining-asylum-seekers-in-transit-zone/#:~:text=Since%202015%2C> Amnesty International has risk by denying them food
- ASILE. (2023). *EU Responses to the Large-Scale Refugee Displacement from Ukraine: An Analysis on the Temporary Protection Directive and Its Implications for the Future EU Asylum Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.2870/579593>
- Asylum Information Database. (2016). *Country Report: Hungary 2016 Update*.
- Asylum Information Database. (2023). Temporary Protection Hungary. In *AIDA* (Vol. 12).
- Asylum Information Database. (2024). *Access to the territory and push backs*. AIDA. [https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/hungary/asylum-procedure/access-procedure-and-registration/access-territory-and-push-backs/#\\_ftn58](https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/hungary/asylum-procedure/access-procedure-and-registration/access-territory-and-push-backs/#_ftn58)
- Balla, Z. (2016). *UNHCR concerned Hungary pushing asylum seekers back to Serbia*. <https://www.unhcr.org/us/news/stories/unhcr-concerned-hungary-pushing-asylum-seekers-back-serbia#:~:text=UNHCR> spokesperson William Spindler told, Spindler said
- Bekberanova, N. (2024). *Hungary's Shifting Migration Policy: from the 2015 Refugee Crisis to the War in Ukraine*. University of Glasglow.
- Bilefsky, D. (2015). Hungary's Plan to Build Fence to Deter Migrants Is Criticized. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/19/world/europe/hungarys-plan-to-build-fence-to-deter-migrants-is-criticized.html>
- Bocskor, Á. (2018). Anti-Immigration Discourses in Hungary during the ‘Crisis’ Year: The Orbán Government’s ‘National Consultation’ Campaign of 2015. *Sociology*, 52(3), 551–568. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518762081>
- Brown, E. (2019). Limen. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 52(1), 78–78. <https://doi.org/10.5406/dialjmormthou.52.1.0078>
- BUAMONA, R. A. (2023). *Sikap Hungaria Terhadap Kebijakan Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) Uni Eropa pasca Invasi Ukraina tahun 2022*. UNIVERSITAS HASANUDDIN.
- Bukhta, Y. (2020). *Hungarians of Ukraine. Who are they? – Ukrainer*. Ukrainer.

- <https://www.ukrainer.net/en/hungarians-of-ukraine/>
- Clayton, J., & Holland, H. (2015). *Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015.* <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/over-one-million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015>
- Coakley, A. (2022). Hungary's Orban defends response to Ukraine war refugees. *ALJazeera.* <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/3/hungarys-orban-defends-response-to-ukraine-war-refugees>
- Dieringer, J., Mikola, B., & Guasti, P. (2024). *HUNGARY REPORT: Sustainable Governance Indicators 2024*.
- Doeser, F., & Eidenfalk, J. (2013). The importance of windows of opportunity for foreign policy change. *International Area Studies Review*, 16(4), 390–406. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2233865913512117>
- ECRE. (2019). *Hungarian Helsinki Committee update reveals continued violations in transit zones.* European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE).
- ECRE. (2020). *Hungary: Closing in On Itself.* European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). <https://ecre.org/hungary-closing-in-on-itself/>
- ECRE. (2023). *Policy Note: Movement to and From Ukraine Under the Temporary Protection Directive.* <https://ecre.org/policy-note-movement-to-and-from-ukraine-under-the-temporary-protection-directive/#:~:text=The> EU's response to displacement, free movement in the EU
- ECRE. (2024a). *AIDA Country Report on Hungary – 2023 Update.*
- ECRE. (2024b). *Transitioning Out of the Temporary Protection Directive. February.* [https://ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/ECRE-Policy-Paper-13\\_Transitioning-Out-of-the-Temporary-Protection-Directive.pdf](https://ecre.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/ECRE-Policy-Paper-13_Transitioning-Out-of-the-Temporary-Protection-Directive.pdf)
- Eidenfalk, J. (2006a). *Towards a new model of foreign policy change.* *Faculty of Arts - Papers (Archive)*, 2-4.
- Eidenfalk, J. (2006b). *Towards a new model of foreign policy change.*
- Eidenfalk, J. (2009). A window of opportunity ? Australian foreign policy change towards East Timor 1998-99 and Solomon Islands 2003. *University of Wollongong Thesis Collection*, 45.
- Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame after 9/11. *Political Communication*, 20(4), 415–432. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600390244176>
- European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE). (2023). *EU Eastern Borders: Hungary Top Country in Carrying Out Pushbacks, Austrian Chancellor Seeks Nordic Cooperating to Fight “illegal migration”, More Corpses Found at*

- Belarus-Poland Border as Lithuania Aims to Hold Belarus Accountable for Facilitating “Hybri.* [https://ecre.org/eu-eastern-borders-hungary-top-country-in-carrying-out-pushbacks-austrian-chancellor-seeks-cooperating-with-nordic-countries-to-fight-illegal-migration-more-corpses-found-at-belor/#:~:text=Systematic violence against people on,While Hunga](https://ecre.org/eu-eastern-borders-hungary-top-country-in-carrying-out-pushbacks-austrian-chancellor-seeks-cooperating-with-nordic-countries-to-fight-illegal-migration-more-corpses-found-at-belor/#:~:text=Systematic%20violence%20against%20people%20on,While%20Hunga)
- European Information Network. (2023). *EIN Civil Society Briefing (September 2023): Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece & the UK.* European Information Network (EIN).
- Eurostat. (2024). *Temporary protection for persons fleeing Ukraine - monthly statistics.* European Commission.
- Glorius, B., & Doomernik, J. (2016). *IMISCOE Research Series Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities.* <http://www>.
- Gustavsson, J. (1998). *The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership.* 1–225.
- Hajnal, G., Kadar, K., & Kovacs, E. (2018). Public administration characteristics and performance in EU28: Hungary. In *European Commision.*
- Hermann, C. F. (1990). Changing Course: When Governments Choose to Redirect Foreign Policy. *International Studies Quarterly*, 34(1), 3. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600403>
- HHC. (2017). *Minimum standards required in the transit zones on the Hungarian land borders.* Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC).
- Hodgson, R. (2024). *The European Commission has said is “looking into” a new Hungarian law that cancels state-funded accommodation for refugees from parts of Ukraine that Budapest says are not directly affected by military action.* <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2024/08/22/eu-executive-to-contact-budapest-over-eviction-of-ukrainian-refugees#:~:text=%E2%80%9CWe%20are%20aware%20of%20this,%E2%80%9D>
- Human Rights Watch. (2022). *Ukraine: Deadly Attacks Kill, Injure Civilians, Destroy Homes.* Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch. (2024). *Hungary: Ukrainian Refugees Losing Housing.* Human Rights Watch.
- Hungarian Central Statistical Office. (2022). *Foreign citizens residing in Hungary by country of citizenship.* [https://www.ksh.hu/stadat\\_files/nep/en/nep0023.html?utm\\_source](https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/nep/en/nep0023.html?utm_source)
- Hungarian Government. (2015). *Government Decree 191 / 2015 ( VII . 21 ) on national designation of safe countries of origin* (Vol. 2015, Issue April). <https://www.refworld.org/sites/default/files/legacy-pdf/en/2015-8/55ca02c74.pdf>
- Hungarian Helsinki Committee. (2023). *Refugees and displaced persons: Statement*

to OSCE WHDC 2023. <https://helsinki.hu/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2023/10/OSCE-WHDC-2023-HHC-refugees-and-displaced-persons-statement.pdf>

Hungary-Slovakia-Romania-Ukraine ENI CBC Programme. (2019). *Open Borders for Wildlife in the Carpathians*. Huskroua-Cbc.Eu.

Jeszenschky, G. (2024). Ukraine and Hungary. *Hungarian Cultural Studies*, 17, 91–107. <https://doi.org/10.5195/ahea.2024.563>

Johnston, M. P. (2014). Secondary Data Analysis : A Method of which the Time Has Come. *Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Libraryes (QQML)*, 3, 619–626.

Kárpáti, A. (2017). *A határzár két éve védi az országot*. Magyar Idők. <https://www.magyaridok.hu/belfold/hatarzar-ket-eve-vedi-az-orszagot-2216356/>

Korkut, U., & Fazekas, R. (2023). The Ruptures and Continuities in Hungary's Reception Policy: The Ukrainian Refugee Crisis. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 12(1), 13–29. <https://doi.org/10.54667/ceemr.2023.10>

LibertiesEU. (2020). *Hungary: European Court of Justice take on restrictive laws*. LibertiesEU. <https://www.liberties.eu/en/stories/civicus-monitor-hungary-update-february-2020/18323>

Merbawono, K. (2025). *DOUBLE STANDARD POLICY HUNGARIA TERHADAP PENGUNGSI STUDI KASUS: PENGUNGSI UKRAINA DAN TIMUR TENGAH*. 02(01).

Nagy, B. (2016). Special Issue Constitutional Dimensions of the Refugee Crisis Hungarian Asylum Law and Policy in 2015–2016: Securitization Instead of Loyal Cooperation. *German Law Journal*, 17(6), 1033–1081.

National Directorate-General for Aliens Policing (Hungary). (2025). *Provisions and benefits provided for persons applying for recognition as a beneficiary of temporary protection*. <https://oif.gov.hu/factsheets/provisions-and-benefits-provided-for-persons-applying-for-recognition-as-a-beneficiary-of-temporary-protection>

Operational Data Personal. (2025). *Ukraine Situation: Regional Refugee Response Plan 2025-2026*. 139–152. <https://doi.org/10.18356/9789213587089c024>

Origo. (2022). *Orbán Viktor: Felkészültünk a jelenleginél is nagyobb menekülthullám kezelésére*. Origo.Hu.

Országgyűlés (Parliament of Hungary). (2022a). *Az Ukrajnából menekültek biztonsága kiemelten fontos számunkra – speech at Foreign Affairs Committee*. <https://www.parlament.hu/es/web/kulugyi-bizottsag/a-bizottsag-ulesei->

41?p\_p\_id=hu\_parlament\_cms\_pair\_portlet\_PairProxy\_INSTANCE\_9xd2Wc9jP4z8&p\_p\_lifecycle=1&p\_p\_state=normal&p\_p\_mode=view&p\_auth=MwR2uh9R&\_hu\_parlament\_cms\_pair\_portlet\_PairProxy\_INSTANCE\_9

Országgyűlés (Parliament of Hungary). (2022b). *Political declaration adopted by the Hungarian National Assembly on Ukraine*. Ma.Hu. [https://www.ma.hu/belfold/373613/Ukrajnai\\_haboru\\_\\_Politikai\\_nyilatkozat\\_fogadott\\_el\\_Orszaggyules](https://www.ma.hu/belfold/373613/Ukrajnai_haboru__Politikai_nyilatkozat_fogadott_el_Orszaggyules)

Péli-Koroknai, G. (2022). *Mindenkit beenged Magyarország, aki Ukrajna felől érkezik*. DemoKratikus Koalicio. <https://telex.hu/belfold/2022/02/24/ideiglenes-vedelmet-kapnak-az-ukrajnabol-menekulok>

Polishchuk, O., & Gurcov, N. (2025). *Bombing into submission: Russian targeting of civilians and infrastructure in Ukraine*. ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project).

Prime Minister's Office of Hungary. (2025). *vUkrainians threatened Hungary openly and brutally*. Miniszterelnok.Hu.

Rankin, J. (2020). *EU court rules three member states broke law over refugee quotas*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2020/apr/02/all>

Ray, M. (2025). *Russia-Ukraine War*. Britannia.Com.

Sheppard, V. (2020). *Research Methods for the Social Sciences: An Introduction* (Issue December).

Simonovits, B., & Szeitl, B. (2019). *Attitudes towards migration and migration policies in Hungary and Europe (2014–18)*. 295–313. <https://doi.org/10.61501/trip.2019.16>

Tamás, V. (2022). *Tömegével érkeznek a háború elől menekülők a magyar fővárosba*. Magyar Hirlap. <https://www.magyarhirlap.hu/belfold/20220303-tomegevel-erkeznek-a-haboru-elol-menekulok-a-magyar-fovarosba>

Thorpe, N. (2015). *Hungary races to build border fence as migrants keep coming*. BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33802453>

Traynor, I. (2015). *Migration crisis: Hungary PM says Europe in grip of madness*. The Guardian.

UNHCR. (2022). *Ukraine Situation Flash Update #1 (08 March 2022)* (Issue April). <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/91283>

UNRIC. (2023). *Ukraine: Over 6 million refugees spread across Europe*. United Nations Regional Information Centre for Western Europe.

Walker, N. (2022). *Hungary: 2022 general election. April, 1–18*. <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-9519/CBP-9519.pdf>

Wike, R., Stokes, B., & Simmons, K. (2016). *Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/>