

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Agarwal, S. (2019). *European Master's Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation A.Y HIERARCHIES OF BELONGING The Categorization and Exclusion of Third-Country Nationals in Greece.*
- Aji, R. P. (2025). *Transkrip Wawancara Data Skripsi.*
- Aldis, W. (2009). Health security as a public health concept: a critical analysis. *Revista Gerencia y Políticas de Salud*, 8(17), 12–27. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czn03>
- Amnesty International. (2024, July 30). *Greece: Unlawful detention on Samos must not become the blueprint for the EU Migration Pact.* <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/07/greece-unlawful-detention-on-samos-must-not-become-the-blueprint-for-the-eu-migration-pact/>
- Anagnostou, E. (2021). *Between Refugees' Rights and State's Interests Securitization of Migration in Greece during the Refugee "Crisis" in Europe.*
- Angeli, D., & Anagnostou, D. (2022). A SHORTFALL OF RIGHTS AND JUSTICE: JUDICIAL REVIEW OF IMMIGRATION DETENTION IN GREECE. *European Journal of Legal Studies*, 2022(SpecialIssue), 97–131. <https://doi.org/10.2924/EJLS.2022.004>
- Angelidis, D. (2021). *THE ERA OF THE DUAL CRISIS: CORONAVIRUS, BORDERS AND ANTI- REFUGEE POLICY IN GREECE.*
- Archick, K. (2017). *The European Union: Current Challenges and Future Prospects Kristin Archick Specialist in European Affairs.* www.crs.gov
- Arikunto. (2006). *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan Praktek.* PT. Rineka Cipta.
- Arnøy, J., & Org, J. (2013). *CONCEPTUALISING THE "STRUCTURAL REFUGEE": STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND THE CREATION OF THE MEXICO-UNITED STATES MIGRATION TRAIL.*
- Arsini, N. W. (2020). *Internalisasi Nilai Pendidikan Karakter Hindu Pada Anak Usia Dini.* Yayasan Gandhi Putri.
- Astuti, N. T., Wahyudi, R., & Adha, M. A. (2024). Bibliometric Analysis of Central Bank Policy Research Trends. *AL-MUSAHAMAH: Journal of Islamic Economics, Finance, and Business*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.37058/ams.v1i1.8511>

- Balamir Coşkun, B. (2015). An Evaluation of the Eu's Migration Policies after Arab Spring. *Moment Journal*, 2(1), 41–59. <https://doi.org/10.17572/mj2015.1.4159>
- Baldwin, D. A. (1997). The concept of security. *Review of International Studies*, 23, 5–26. Bartel, A., Delcroix, C., & Pape, E. (2020). Refugees and the Dublin Convention. *Borders in Globalization Review*, 1(2), 40–52. <https://doi.org/10.18357/bigr12202019589>
- Bauman, Z. (1996). *Tourists and Vagabonds: Heroes and Victims of Postmodernity*. . *Wien: Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS)*, 30.
- Best, E. (2016). *Understanding EU Decision-Making*. Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-22374-2>
- Betts, A. (2009). *Forced Migration and Global Politics*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Bhende, A., & Kanitkar, T. (2006). *Principles of Population Studies*. Himalaya Publishing House.
- Binetti Armstrong, A., Donato, K., Higgins, C., Klass, G., Munshi, S., West, R., Beerdsen, E., & Benton Heath, J. (2020). Article 13 1-1-2020 Part of the Law Commons Recommended Citation Recommended Citation Armstrong. In *Chicago Journal of International Law* (Vol.20, Issue 2). <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cjil> Available at: <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cjil/vol20/iss2/13>
- Bisong, A. (2020). *Migration Partnership Framework and the Externalization of European Union's (EU) Migration Policy in West Africa: The Case of Mali and Niger* (pp. 217– 237). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-43942-2_10
- Boru, T. (2018). *Research design and methodology*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.21467.62242>.
- Börzel, T. A. (2002). *Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization** (Vol. 40, Issue 2).
- Bousiou, A. (2022). Peripheralisation and externalisation of the EU asylum regime: implications for the right to seek asylum on the southeastern EU border islands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(19), 4586–4602. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2022.2097063>
- Brandariz, J. A., & Fernández-Bessa, C. (2021). Coronavirus and Immigration Detention in Europe: The Short Summer of Abolitionism? *Social Sciences*, 10(6), 226. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10060226>

Brouillette, M. (2018). From discourse to practice: the circulation of norms, ideas and practices of migration management through the implementation of the mobility partnerships in Moldova and Georgia. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-017-0066-y>

Bruycker, P. De. (2022). The New Pact on Migration and Asylum: What it is Not and What it Could Have Been. In *Reforming the Common European Asylum System* (pp. 33–42). Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748931164-33>

Buzan, B., Waever, O., & de Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A New Framework For Analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Byrne, R., Noll, G., & Vedsted-Hansen, J. (2020). Understanding the crisis of refugee law: Legal scholarship and the EU asylum system. *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 33(4), 871–892. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0922156520000382>

Canzutti, L., & Tazzioli, M. (2023). Digital-Nondigital Assemblages: Data, Paper Trails, and Migrants' Scattered Subjectivities at the Border. *International Political Sociology*, 17(3). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olad014>

Carrera, S., Blockmans, S., Gros, D., & Guild, E. (2015). *The EU's Response to the Refugee Crisis Taking Stock and Setting Policy Priorities*. www.ceps.eu

CASE OF M.S.S. v. BELGIUM AND GREECE. (2011).

Caselli, M., Kadio, A. A., & Rizzo, C. (2022). Assisted Voluntary Return & Reintegration Policies and Programmes in Four EU Countries: France, Germany, Italy and Spain¹. *Italian Sociological Review*, 12(2), 409–434. <https://doi.org/10.13136/isr.v12i2.556>

Castillejo, Clare. (2017). *The EU Migration Partnership Framework : time for a rethink?* Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik gGmbH.

Castles, S. (2003). Towards a sociology of forced migration and social transformation. *Sociology*, 37(1), 13–34. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038503037001384>

Ceccorulli, M. (2022). Triangular migration diplomacy: the case of EU-Italian cooperation with Libya. *Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica*, 52(3), 328–345. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ipo.2021.47>

Ceccorulli, M., Fassi, E., & Lucarelli, S. (2021). *The EU Migration System of*

Governance Justice on the Move. <http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14438>

- Chiu, Y.-W., Weng, Y.-H., Sjd, Y.-Y. S., Huang, C.-Y., Chang, Y.-C., & Kuo, K. N. (2009). The nature of international health security. *Asia Pac J Clin Nutr*, 18(4), 679–683. <https://doi.org/10.3316/ielapa.714245721607816>
- Clasen, P. (2024). Solidarity on a divided continent: Perceptions of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ determine European citizens’ willingness to help other EU countries. *European Union Politics*, 25(3), 569–592. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14651165241251833>
- CLAUDIA, U. B. D. (2018). *BAB II LEMBAGA UNI EROPA DAN PEMBUATAN KEPUTUSAN* [Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta]. <http://repository.umy.ac.id/handle/123456789/18963>
- Crawley, H. (2016). *MANAGING THE UNMANAGEABLE? UNDERSTANDING EUROPE’S RESPONSE TO THE MIGRATION “CRISIS.”* www.hrw.org/africa/eritrea
- Crawley, H. (2021). The politics of refugee protection in a post-covid-19 world. *Social Sciences*, 10(3), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10030081>
- Creswell, D., & Creswell, John. W. (2017). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Cuyvers, A. (2017). The Legal Framework of the EU. In E. Ugirashebuja (Ed.), *East African Community law : institutional, substantive and comparative EU aspects*. Brill.
- Czaika, M., Erdal, M. B., & Talleraas, C. (2023). Exploring Europe’s external migration policy mix: on the interactions of visa, readmission, and resettlement policies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 49(12), 3140–3161. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2198363>
- Daştan, A. (2019). 65 Continuity and Change in European Governance MIGRATION FROM THE MIDDLE EAST TO THE EUROPEAN UNION. A COMPLEX PHENOMENON. In *EUROPOLITY* (Vol. 13, Issue 2). <https://www>.
- Davies, T., Isakjee, A., & Dhesi, S. (2017). Violent Inaction: The Necropolitical Experience of Refugees in Europe. *Antipode*, 49(5), 1263–1284.

- <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12325> Davis, K. (2020). *THE EUROPEAN UNION'S DUBLIN REGULATION AND THE MIGRANT CRISIS*. 19(2).
- Davitti, D., & Chimia, A. La. (2017). *Pre-Proof Draft of forthcoming article in Volume X of the Irish Yearbook of International Law 2 A LESSER EVIL? THE EUROPEAN AGENDA ON MIGRATION AND THE USE OF AID FUNDING FOR MIGRATION CONTROL*. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2966042> Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2966042> Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2966042>
- DekaHasbi, A. S. (2018). *BAB II PERKEMBANGAN DAN PERLUASAN KEANGGOTAAN UNI EROPA DI KAWASAN BALKAN BARAT*. Universitas Pasundan.
- Deleglise, D. (2024). *SADC Perspectives on the European Union's Neighbourhood, Development, and International Cooperation Instrument (NDICI)*. UNU-CRIS.
- DELINASIOS, G. J., FRAGKOU, P. C., GKIRMPA, A. M., TSANGARIS, G., HOFFMAN, R. M., & ANAGNOSTOPOULOS, A. K. (2021). The Experience of Greece as a Model to Contain COVID-19 Infection Spread. *In Vivo*, 35(2), 1285–1294. <https://doi.org/10.21873/invivo.12380>
- Dewan Eropa. (2022). *COVID-19: Council updates recommendation on non-essential travel from third countries*. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/02/22/covid-19-council-updates-recommendation-on-non-essential-travel-from-third-countries/>
- Dilts, A., Winter, Y., Biebricher, T., Johnson, E. V., Vázquez-Arroyo, A. Y., & Cocks, J. (2012). Revisiting Johan Galtung's Concept of Structural Violence. *New Political Science*, 34(2), e191–e227. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2012.714959>
- Dimitriadi, A. (2024). The Greek Asylum Regime: From Latecomer on Reception to Inspirational Model on Asylum Procedures. In *IMISCOE Research Series* (pp. 303–321). Springer Science and Business Media B.V. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-26002-5_16
- Diskaya, A. (2013). Towards a Critical Securitization Theory: The Copenhagen and Aberystwyth Schools of Security. *E-International Relations*. <https://www.e-ir.info/2013/02/01/towards-a-critical-securitization-theory-the-copenhagen-and-aberystwyth-schools-of-security->
- Doliwa-Klepcka, A., & Zdanowicz, M. (2022a). The European Union Current

- Asylum Policy: Selected Problems in the Shadow of COVID-19. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, 35(3), 1001–1017. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-020-09744-3>
- Doliwa-Klepacka, A., & Zdanowicz, M. (2022b). The European Union Current Asylum Policy: Selected Problems in the Shadow of COVID-19. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, 35(3), 1001–1017. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-020-09744-3>
- Douglas, P., Cetron, M., Spiegel, P., & Douglas, P. (2019). *Definitions matter: migrants, immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jtm/taz005/5315619>
- Doyle, K., & Desta, T. (2020). An Analysis of Common Security and Defence Policy's (CSDP) Strategic Communication (StratCom). *Journal of Politics and Law*, 14(2), 56. <https://doi.org/10.5539/jpl.v14n2p56>
- Dragan, A. (2017). The Dublin System of Refugee Admission: A Law and Economics Analysis. *Pécs Journal of International and European Law*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2521180>
- Dreyer-Plum, D. (2019). Commitment of States, Access to Asylum, and Material Benefits: Assessing Key Legislative Battles and Their Structural Impact on the Common European Asylum System. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 31(4), 516–540. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eez042>
- Duarte, D. E., & Valença, M. M. (2021). Securitising Covid-19? The Politics of Global Health and the Limits of the Copenhagen School. *Contexto Internacional*, 43(2), 235–257. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0102-8529.2019430200001>
- Dumas, M., & Maxence, D. (2019). “The protection of human rights in the EU sanction mechanism: A new hope with the Magnitsky act.” *THESIS Written under the supervision of the Professor Narine Ghazaryan*.
- ECRE. (2022, January 14). *Greece: Deadly End to 2021, Pushbacks Prevent Arrivals and Drive People Towards More Deadly Routes, Closed Controlled Camps Again Face Legal Scrutiny and Criticism*. <https://ecre.org/greece-deadly-end-to-2021-pushbacks-prevent-arrivals-and-drive-people-towards-more-deadly-routes-closed-controlled-camps-again-face-legal-scrutiny-and-criticism/>
- Egger, C., & Magni-Berton, R. (n.d.). *Covid-19 Containment Policies in Europe*. <https://www.palgrave.com/gb/demystifying-peer-review/792492>.

- Elbe, S. (2005). AIDS, Security, Biopolitics. *International Relations*, 19(4), 403–419. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117805058532>
- Erciyas, A., & Soydemir, A. (2022). Transformation of the EU Common Security and Defence Policy After 2014 Regarding Ukraine Crisis. *Güvenlik Stratejileri Dergisi*, 18(41), 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.17752/guvenlikstrjtj.1061410>
- Erostat. (2016). *Record number of over 1.2 million first time asylum seekers registered in 2015*.
- EU. (2024, May 21). *Pact on migration and asylum*. Migration and Home Affairs. . Migration and Home Affairs. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/pact-migration-and-asylum_en
- EU. (2025). *Asylum in the EU*. Migration and Home Affairs. https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/policies/migration-and-asylum/asylum-eu_en
- EUAA. (2022). *2.1 The Common European Asylum System and current issues' in Asylum Report 2020*.
- European Commission. (2025). *Immigration*. https://Home-Affairs.Ec.Europa.Eu/Networks/European-Migration-Network-Emn/Emn-Asylum-and-Migration-Glossary/Glossary/Immigration_en.
- European Council. (2015, April 23). *Extraordinary meeting of the European Council (23 April 2015)*. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/Pl/Press/Press-Releases/2015/04/23/Special-Euco-Statement/>.
- European Council. (2016). *EU–Türkiye Statement (18 March 2016)*.
- European Council on Refugees and Exiles. (2020, March 20). *Protect the most vulnerable to ensure protection for everyone!* <https://ecre.org/Protect-the-Most-Vulnerable-to-Ensure-Protection-for-Everyone/>.
- European Economic and Social Committee. (2025). *Ex-post evaluation of the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund for the 2014–2020 programming period (SOC/789-EESC-2024)*.
- European Union. (2025a). *European Court of Auditors (ECA)*. https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/institutions-and-bodies/search-all-eu-institutions-and-bodies/european-court-auditors-eca_en
- European Union. (2025b). *Types of institutions and bodies*. <https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/institutions-and-bodies/types->

- Eurostat. (2017, May 31). *Eurostat. 2017b. "Countries of origin of (non-EU) asylum seekers in the EU-28 Member States, 2015 and 2016.* [Http://Ec.Europa.Eu/Eurostat/Statistics-Explained/Index.Php/File:Countries_of_origin_of_\(Non-EU\)_asylum_seekers_in_the_EU-28_Member_States,_2015_and_2016_\(Thousands_of_first_time_applicants\)_YB17. Png.](http://Ec.Europa.Eu/Eurostat/Statistics-Explained/Index.Php/File:Countries_of_origin_of_(Non-EU)_asylum_seekers_in_the_EU-28_Member_States,_2015_and_2016_(Thousands_of_first_time_applicants)_YB17.Png)
- Fakhoury, T. (2022). The external dimension of EU migration policy as region-building? Refugee cooperation as contentious politics. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(12), 2908–2926. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1972568>
- Fathoni, A. (2006). *Metodologi Penelitian&Teknik Penyusunan Skripsi*. Rineka Cipta.
- Ferreira, J. J., Gomes, S., Lopes, J. M., & Zhang, J. Z. (2023). Ticking time bombs: The MENA and SSA regions' geopolitical risks. *Resources Policy*, 85. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2023.103938>
- Finotelli, C., & Ponzo, I. (n.d.). *IMISCOE Research Series Migration Control Logics and Strategies in Europe*.
- Fontana, I., & Rosina, M. (2024). The Tools of External Migration Policy in the EU Member States: The Case of Italy. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13581>
- Franke, M. F. N. (2012). Refugees in International Relations. Edited by Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 25(4), 581–582. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fes044>
- Fratzke, S. (2015). *Not Adding Up The Fading Promise of Europe's Dublin System The Fading Promise of Europe's Dublin System EU Asylum: Towards 2020 Project EU Asylum: Towards 2020 Project The Fading Promise of Europe's Dublin System*. www.mpieurope.org.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301>
- Gassel, M. L. (2021). *Integration of Refugees and Migrants. The Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund in Greece*.
- Giannopoulou, I., & Tsobanoglou, G. O. (2020). COVID-19 pandemic: challenges

- and opportunities for the Greek health care system. *Irish Journal of Psychological Medicine*, 37(3), 226–230. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ipm.2020.35>
- Giuffré, M., Denaro, C., & Raach, F. (2022). On “Safety” and EU Externalization of Borders: Questioning the Role of Tunisia as a ‘Safe Country of Origin’ and a ‘Safe Third Country.’ *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 24(4), 570–599. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718166-12340141>
- Giumelli, F. (2013). *How EU sanctions work: A new narrative Chaillot Papers*. <https://doi.org/10.2815/32791>
- Giumelli, F. (2019). Implementation of sanctions: European Union. In *Economic Sanctions in International Law and Practice* (pp. 157–177). Taylor and Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429052989-9>
- GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE. (2020, February 27). *Announcement of the results of the Council of Ministers of February 27, 2020*. <https://www.Government.Gov.Gr/Anakinosi-Tou-Ifipourgou-Para-to-Prothipourgo-Ke-Kivernitikou-Ekprosopou-Steliou-Petsa-Gia-Ta-Apotelesmata-Tou-Ipourgikou-Simvouliau-Tis-27is-Fevrouariou-2020/>.
- Guasti, P. (2020). The impact of the covid-19 pandemic in central and eastern europe the rise of autocracy and democratic resilience. *Democratic Theory*, 7(2), 47–60. <https://doi.org/10.3167/DT.2020.070207>
- Guiraudon, V. (2018). the 2015 refugee crisis was not a turning point: explaining policy inertia in EU border control. *European Political Science*, 17(1), 151–160. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-017-0123-x>
- Häkli, J., Kudžmaitė, G., & Kallio, K. P. (2024). Devaluing personhood: The framing of migrants in the EU’s new pact on migration and asylum. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12676>
- Halikiopoulou, D., & Vlandas, T. (2022). *UNDERSTANDING RIGHT-WING POPULISM AND WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Hamid, S. (2002). *Lembaga Suaka dalam Hukum Internasional*. PT Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Hasan, M. I. (2002). *Pokok-Pokok Materi Metodologi Penelitian dan Aplikasinya*. Ghalia Indonesia.
- Heck, G., & Hess, S. (2017). Tracing the Effects of the EU-Turkey Deal The Momentum of the Multi-layered Turkish Border Regime. *Journal for Critical*

Migration and Border Regime Studies, 3(2).

Herdiansyah, H. (2011). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif untuk Ilmu-ilmu Sosial*. Salemba Empat.

Høglund, A. (2017). *The Implementation of the Dublin regulations in Greece, Italy and Spain*.

Ineli-Ciger, M., Ulusoy, O., & Ovacik, G. (2024). *The EU-Turkey cooperation in the field of migration and asylum: What is wrong with it and how to fix it?*

IOM. (2016). *About this report: DTM in the Mediterranean and beyond*.

Ispas, G. L. (2021). Impact of the COVID-19 on the migration in the European Union. *Juridical Tribune*, 11(1), 30–41. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/RO/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32013R0604&from=RO>,

Jakulevičiene, L., & Bileišis, M. (2016). EU Refugee Resettlement: Key Challenges of Expanding the Practice into New Member States. *Baltic Journal of Law and Politics*, 9(1), 93–123. <https://doi.org/10.1515/bjlp-2016-0005>

Kafkoutsou, N.-R., & Oikonomou, S.-V. (2020). *Diminished, Derogated, Denied: How the right to asylum in Greece is undermined by the lack of EU responsibility sharing*.

Kalkman, J. P. (2021). Frontex: A Literature Review. *International Migration*, 59(1), 165–181. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12729>

Kalogirou, K. (2023). *Redrawing Immigration Policy in Greece: A Case Study of the Ramifications of Populism for Liberal Democracy*.

Karageorgiou, E., & Noll, G. (2022). What Is Wrong with Solidarity in EU Asylum and Migration Law? *Jus Cogens*, 4(2), 131–154. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42439-022-00059-4>

Karamanidou, L. (2021). *Migration, Asylum Policy and Global Justice in Greece* (pp. 89–117). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-53997-9_4

Karamanidou, L., & Kasperek, B. (2020). *Fundamental Rights, Accountability and Transparency in European Governance of Migration: The Case of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency FRONTEX*. www.respondmigration.com

Katz, R., & Singer, D. (2007). Health and security in foreign policy. *Bull World Health Organ*, 85.

- Komisi Eropa. (2020a). *Coronavirus: Commission presents guidance on implementing EU rules on asylum and return procedures and on resettlement*. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_666
- Komisi Eropa. (2020b). *Remarks by President von der Leyen at the joint press conference with Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Prime Minister of Greece, Andrej Plenković, Prime Minister of Croatia, President Sassoli and President Michel*. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/statement_20_380
- Kousis, M., Chatzidaki, A., & Kafetsios, K. (n.d.). Challenging Mobilities in and to the EU during Times of Crises. In *IMISCOE Research Series*.
- Kriesi, H., Altiparmakis, A., Bojár, Á., & Oană, I.-E. (2024). The Refugee Crisis in the EU and Its Member States: Our Approach in Context. In *Coming to Terms with the European Refugee Crisis* (pp. 1–118). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009456555.002>
- Kulin, J., & Johansson Sevä, I. (2024). Rightwing populism and public opinion on the Covid- 19 pandemic in Sweden: The role of strategic party positioning and political cues. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 47(4), 575–600. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9477.12285>
- Ladi, S., Angelou, A., & Panagiotatou, D. (2022). Regaining Trust: Evidence-Informed Policymaking during the First Phase of the Covid-19 Crisis in Greece. *South European Society and Politics*, 27(4), 551–576. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2021.1983932>
- Lavenex, S. (2018). ‘Failing Forward’ Towards Which Europe? Organized Hypocrisy in the Common European Asylum System. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(5), 1195– 1212. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12739>
- Le Coz, C. (2021). *EU Strategy on Voluntary Return and Reintegration*.
- Legg, K., & Roberts, J. (2021). *MODERN GREECE*. Taylor & Francis Group. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429034787>
- Léonard, S., & Kaunert, C. (2022). The securitisation of migration in the European Union: Frontex and its evolving security practices. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(6), 1417–1429. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1851469>
- Lipold, P. (2023). Transformation of the migration policy of Greece in 2019-2021. *Scientific Journal of the Military University of Land Forces*, 209(3), 206–229. <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0053.8962>

- Longo, F., Panebianco, S., & Cannata, G. (2023). Mind the gap! Organized hypocrisy in EU cooperation with Southern neighbor countries on international protection. *Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica*, 16, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ipo.2023.9>
- Loschi, C., & Slominski, P. (2021). Interagency Relations and the EU Migration Crisis: Strengthening of Law Enforcement Through Agencification? In *European Administrative Governance* (pp. 205–227). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-51383-2_9
- Lundgren, M., Tallberg, J., & Pedersen, C. (2022). Member State Influence in the Negotiations on the Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument (NDICI). *EBA Report*, 7.
- Maciejewski, M. (2025). *THE MAASTRICHT AND AMSTERDAM TREATIES*. www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en
- Maiani, F. (2016). *DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES POLICY DEPARTMENT C: CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS The Reform of the Dublin III Regulation STUDY*.
- Majcher, I. (2021). Creeping Crimmigration in CEAS Reform: Detention of Asylum-Seekers and Restrictions on Their Movement under EU Law. In *Refugee Survey Quarterly* (Vol. 40, Issue 1, pp. 82–105). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdaa015>
- Mandić, D. (2022). What is the force of forced migration? Diagnosis and critique of a conceptual relativization. *Theory and Society*, 51(1), 61–90. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-021-09446-0>
- Maris, G., & Flouros, F. (2021). The Green Deal, National Energy and Climate Plans in Europe: Member States' Compliance and Strategies. *Administrative Sciences*, 11(3), 75. <https://doi.org/10.3390/admsci11030075>
- MASSAY-KOSUBEK, & Maciejewski. (2025). *The Treaty of Lisbon*.
- McGregor, E., Godin, M., Jumbert, M. G., & Ike, N. (2025). Conditionality, Compensation, or Both? Comparative Experiences of Third-Country Cooperation on Migration with the EU. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2024.2431067>
- Meer, N., & Leslie, V. (2020). *Global Migration Policies and COVID-19*.
- Miles, M., & Huberman, M. (1992). *Analisis Data Kualitatif*. Penerbit Universitas

Indonesia.

- Miles, M., Huberman, M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Mitchell, J. (2017). *The Dublin Regulation and Systemic Flaws*. <https://perma.cc/PKD7-5KKD>].
- Moloney, D., & Princen, S. (2024). Assessing the role of the European Council and the European Commission during the migration and COVID-19 crises. *West European Politics*, 47(7), 1556–1587. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2023.2225403>
- Moreno-Lax, V. (2017). *Accessing asylum in Europe*. Oxford University Press. <https://global.oup.com/academic/product/accessing-asylum-in-europe-9780198701002?cc=id&lang=en&>
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace* (A. A. Knopf, Ed.). Associate Professor of Political Science The University of Chicago.
- Mulyana, D. (2016). *Ilmu Komunikasi Suatu Pengantar*. PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nam, C. W. (2019). The Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund of the EU . In *CESifo Forum München: Ifo Institut–Leibniz-Institut Für Wirtschaftsforschung an Der Universität München.*, 20(4).
- Neville, D., Sy, S., & Rigon, A. (2016). *DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES POLICY DEPARTMENT C: CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS On the frontline: the hotspot approach to managing migration STUDY*. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses>
- Niemann, A., & Bläser, J. (2020). Migration and the mediterranean: The EU's response to the “European Refugee Crisis.” In *Transnational Security Cooperation in the Mediterranean* (pp. 75–113). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-54444-7_5
- Niemann, A., & Zaun, N. (2023). Introduction: EU external migration policy and EU migration governance: introduction. In *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Vol. 49, Issue 12, pp. 2965–2985). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2193710>
- Nouriani, D. S. (2023). Reflections on Immigration. *Jung Journal*, 17(1–2), 59–62.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/19342039.2023.2172986>

Noury, A., & Roland, G. (2025). Identity Politics and Populism in Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 47, 32. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050718>

Nurbuko, C., & Achmadi, A. (2007). *Metodologi Penelitian* (VIII). PT. Bumi Aksara.

OCHA. (2004). *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* .

Orbie, J. (2020). International Development: A Distinct and Challenged Policy Domain. In *Policy-Making in the European Union* (pp. 413–439). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hepl/9780198807605.003.0018>

Oxfam International. (2020, March 26). *Press releases, New Greek law reneges on right to asylum*. <https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/new-greek-law-reneges-right-asylum>.

Petracou, E., Leivaditi, N., Maris, G., Margariti, M., Tsitsaraki, P., & Ilias, A. (2018). *Greece- Country Report Working Papers Global Migration: Consequences and Responses Legal & Policy Framework of Migration Governance*. <http://www.crs.uu.se/respond/>

Pinder, J., & Unsherwood, S. (2013). *The European Union: A Very Short Introduction* (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Pirrello, A. (2024). The European Union Agency for Asylum: Legal remedies and national articulations in composite procedures. *European Law Journal*, 30(1–2), 165–180. <https://doi.org/10.1111/eulj.12508>

Publications Office of the European Union. (2022, February 5). *The European Court of Auditors (ECA)*. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=legisum:o10006>

Quaglia, L., & Verdun, A. (2023). The COVID-19 pandemic and the European Union: politics, policies and institutions. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30(4), 599–611. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2022.2141305>

Rafferty, R., Burgin, A., & Anderson, V. (2020). DO WE REALLY OFFER REFUGE? Using Galtung’s Concept of Structural Violence to Interrogate Refugee Resettlement Support in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*, 17(1). <https://doi.org/10.11157/sites-id455>

Reches, D. (2022). Complying with international and regional law during the

- pandemic - Asylum seekers and COVID-19 emergency measures in EU Member States Germany and Greece. *Social Sciences and Humanities Open*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2022.100370>
- Reed, H. E., Ludwig, B., & Braslow, L. (2016). *Forced Migration* (pp. 605–625). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-7282-2_27
- Sabiti, I. (2017). *Teknik Penulisan Skripsi, Tesis & Desertasi*. Ceplas.
- Saeed, S. (2025). The crises in the Middle East: reshaping the region's geopolitical landscape and altering the global order. *Asian Review of Political Economy*, 4(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44216-024-00043-3>
- Sahin-Mencutek, Z., Barthoma, S., Gökalp-Aras, N. E., & Triandafyllidou, A. (2022). A crisis mode in migration governance: comparative and analytical insights. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-022-00284-2>
- Samuk, Ş., Ince-Bego, G., & Hennebry, J. L. (2024). Strategies to Exclude: Temporariness and Return/Readmission Policies of the EU. *Social Sciences*, 13(9), 448. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci13090448>
- Scaletta, A., Tissinié, V., Nasrdine, N., & Kerr, A. (2022). Voluntary Returns: National Strategy or EU Common Strategy? *Amsterdam Review of European Affairs*, 1(1).
- Schmidt, V. A. (2019). Politicization in the EU: between national politics and EU political dynamics. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(7), 1018–1036. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1619189>
- Shutes, I., & Ishkanian, A. (2022). Transnational welfare within and beyond the nation- state: civil society responses to the migration crisis in Greece. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(3), 524–541. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1892479>
- Sidiq, U., & Choiri, M. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif Di Bidang Pendidikan*. CV. Nata Karya.
- Silalahi, U. (2009). *Metode Penelitian Sosial*. PT Refika Aditama.
- Sinha, S. P. (1971). *Asylum and International Law*. Martinus Nijhoff.
- Skleparis, D. (2017). *The-Greek-response-to-the-migration-challenge-2015-2017*.
- Smyth, C. (2014). *European Asylum Law and the Rights of the Child*. Routledge.

- Sohrabi, Alsafi, Z., O'Neill, N., Khan, M., Kerwan, A., Al-Jabir, A., Iosifidis, C., & Agha, R. (2020). World Health Organization declares global emergency: A review of the 2019 novel coronavirus (COVID-19). *International Journal of Surgery*, 76, 71–76. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijssu.2020.02.034>
- Starke, J. G. (1977). *An Introduction to International Law* (Eighth Edition). Butterworths.
- Stern, V. (2021). *The Profiteers of Fear? Right-wing Populism and the COVID-19 Crisis in Europe An Overview*.
- Stoeva, P. (2020). Dimensions of Health Security—A Conceptual Analysis. *Global Challenges*, 4(10). <https://doi.org/10.1002/gch2.201700003>
- Strik, T. (2017). The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility. *Groningen Journal of International Law*, 5(2), 310–328. <https://doi.org/10.21827/5a6afa49dceec>
- Szent-Ivanyi, B. (2021). Practising what they preach? Development NGOs and the EU's Emergency Trust Fund for Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(11), 2552–2571. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2021.1964358>
- Talleraas, C. (2022). *Introduction to Migration Studies* (P. Scholten, Ed.). Springer Cham. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92377-8>
- Thym, D., & Tsourdi, E. L. (2017). Searching for solidarity in the EU asylum and border policies: Constitutional and operational dimensions. *Maastricht Journal of European and Comparative Law*, 24(5), 605–621. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1023263X17741273>
- Tsegay, S. M. (2023). International Migration: Definition, Causes and Effects. In *Genealogy* (Vol. 7, Issue 3). Multidisciplinary Digital Publishing Institute (MDPI). <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy7030061>
- Tsourapas, G. (2025). Migration diplomacy and Greek–Turkish relations: A three-level game analysis. *International Migration*, 63(2). <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.70004>
- Tsourapas, G., & Zartaloudis, S. (2022). Leveraging the European Refugee Crisis: Forced Displacement and Bargaining in Greece's Bailout Negotiations. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 60(2), 245–263. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13211>
- Tsourdi, E. (2016). Bottom-up Salvation? From Practical Cooperation Towards Joint Implementation Through the European Asylum Support Office. *European Papers - A Journal on Law and Integration*, 1(3), 997–1031. <https://doi.org/10.15166/2499-8249/115>

- Tsourdi, E. (2020). COVID-19, asylum in the EU, and the great expectations of solidarity. In *International Journal of Refugee Law* (Vol. 32, Issue 2, pp. 374–380). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eeaa023>
- Tsourdi, E. (2021). Asylum in the EU: One of the many faces of rule of law backsliding? *European Constitutional Law Review*, 17(3), 471–497. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1574019621000250>
- Tsourdi, E. L. (2020). Holding the european asylum support office accountable for its role in asylum decision-making: Mission impossible? In *German Law Journal* (Vol. 21, Issue 3, pp. 506–531). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2020.21>
- Tsourdi, E. L., & Vavoula, N. (2021). Killing me Softly? Scrutinising the Role of Soft Law in Greece’s Response to COVID-19. In *European Journal of Risk Regulation* (Vol. 12, Issue 1, pp. 59–76). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/err.2020.114>
- Tubakovic, T. (2017). *A Dublin IV recast: A new and improved system? Tamara Tubakovic “THE DUBLIN PROCESS, IN ITS CURRENT FORM, IS OBSOLETE” 1.*
- Türkeş-Kiliç, S. (2023). “I Thank Greece for Being Our European Shield”: Von Der Leyen Commission’s Spatial Imaginations during the Turkish-Greek Border Crisis in March 2020. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 20(77), 109–125. <https://doi.org/10.33458/uidergisi.1233977>
- Ullah, A. A. (2018). Geopolitics of Conflicts and Refugees in the Middle East and North Africa. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, 5(3), 258–274. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2347798918776751>
- Umar, H. (2011). *Metode Penelitian Untuk Skripsi dan Tesis Bisnis* (11th ed.). Rajawali Pers. UN General Assembly. (1951). *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (Vol. 189). UN Treaty Series.
- UNHCR. (2025). *Refugees*. <https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/who-we-protect/refugees#:~:Text=The%201951%20Refugee%20Convention%20defines,Such%20fear%2C%20is%20unwilling%20to.>
- Uni Eropa. (2020a). Communication from the Commission COVID-19: Guidance on the implementation of relevant EU provisions in the area of asylum and return procedures and on resettlement 2020/C 126/02. *Official Journal of the European Union*.

- Uni Eropa. (2020b). Council Recommendation (EU) 2020/912 of 30 June 2020 on the temporary restriction on non-essential travel into the EU and the possible lifting of such restriction. *Official Journal of the European Union*.
- Uni Eropa. (2020c). COVID-19 Guidelines for border management measures to protect health and ensure the availability of goods and essential services (2020/C 86 I/01). *Official Journal of the European Union*. [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52020XC0316\(03\)](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52020XC0316(03))
- Uni Eropa. (2022). Council Recommendation (EU) 2022/2548 of 13 December 2022 on a coordinated approach to travel to the Union during the COVID-19 pandemic and replacing Council Recommendation (EU) 2020/912. *Journal or European Union*. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reco/2022/2548/oj/eng>
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1994). *Human Development Report 1994*. Oxford University Press.
- USA for UNHCR. (2025). *What is a Refugee?*
- Van Heukelingen, N. (2021). *A new momentum for EU-Turkey cooperation on migration FEBRUARY 2021*. <https://ec.europa>.
- Verhoeven, H. (2023). Surviving revolution and democratisation: The Sudan armed forces, state fragility and security competition. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 61(3), 413–437. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X23000174>
- Vorobej, M. (2008). Structural Violence. *Peace Research*, 40(2), 84–98. <http://www.jstor.orgURL:http://www.jstor.org/stable/23607799>
- Wæver, O. (1995). On Security. In R. D. Lipschutz (Ed.), *Securitization and Desecuritization* (pp. 46–87). Columbia University Press.
- Waever, O. (2011). Politics, Security, Theory . *Security Dialogue*, 42(4/5), 465–480.
- Wahiduddin. (2020). Konflik Sudan dan Jatuhnya Rezim Presiden Omar Bashir. *Nady Al- Adab*, 17(1).
- White Editor, M. J. (n.d.). *International Handbooks of Population 6 International Handbook of Migration and Population Distribution*. <http://www.springer.com/series/8111>
- Wijayanti, H. (2011). *Hukum Kewarganegaraan dan Keimigrasian*. Bayumedia Publishing.
- Wolff, S., & Ladi, S. (2020). European Union Responses to the Covid-19 Pandemic: adaptability in times of Permanent Emergency. *Journal of European*

Integration, 42(8), 1025–1040.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2020.1853120>

World Health Organization. (2007). *The World Health Report 2007: a safer future: global public health security in the 21st century*.

Zahariadis, N., Petridou, E., Exadaktylos, T., & Sparf, J. (2023). Policy styles and political trust in Europe's national responses to the COVID-19 crisis. *Policy Studies*, 44(1), 46–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2021.2019211>

Zaragoza-cristiani, J. (2016). *Fortress Europe? Porous Borders and EU Dependence on Neighbour Countries* Written by Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani *Fortress Europe? Porous Borders and EU Dependence on Neighbour Countries-europe-porous-borders-and-eu-dependence-on-neighbour-countries*. <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/01/02/fortress-europe-porous-borders-and-eu-dependence-on-neighbour-countries/>

Zardo, F., & Loschi, C. (2022). EU-Algeria (non)cooperation on migration: A tale of two fortresses. *Mediterranean Politics*, 27(2), 148–169. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2020.1758453>

Zaun, N. (2020). Fence-sitters no more: Southern and Central Eastern European Member States' role in the deadlock of the CEAS reform. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 29(2), 196–217. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2020.1837918>

Zaun, N., & Nantermoz, O. (2023). Depoliticising EU migration policies: the EUTF Africa and the politicisation of development aid. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 49(12), 2986–3004. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2193711>