DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Al Ghifari, M., & Hanura, M. (2018). Kebijakan Pemerintah Jerman Menangani Peningkatan Angka Kriminalitas Pencari Suaka sebagai Dampak dari Open Door Policy. *Journal of International Relations Diponegoro*, *4*(3), 629-634.

Aljazeera. (2015). Hungarian PM: We don't want more Muslims. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/9/4/hungarian-pm-we-dont-want-more-muslims

Aljazeera. (2017). Why 60,000 people joined a nationalist march in Poland. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/12/why-60000-people-joined-a-nationalist-march-in-poland

Aljazeera. (2019). Why will Poland not take in any Muslims? https://www.aljazeera.com/video/upfront/2019/11/8/why-will-poland-not-take-in-any-muslims

Amantius Akimjak. (2025). THE LEVEL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE VISEGRÁD COUNTRIES IN 1995–2023. *23*(5). https://doi.org/10.52152/801624

Amnesty International. (2017). The EU-Turkey deal: Europe's year of shame. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/03/the-eu-turkey-deal-europes-year-of-shame/

Androvičová, J. (2016). The migration and refugee crisis in political discourse in Slovakia: Institutionalized securitization and moral panic. *16*(2), 39-64.

ANGGRAINI, A. (2022). Analisis Kekerasan Struktural Pada Kebijakan Anti-Imigran Era Pemerintahan Viktor Orban Di Hongaria Tahun 2015-2018.

Applebaum, A. (2012). Iron curtain: The crushing of Eastern Europe, 1944-1956. New York: Doubleday.

Ash, T. G. (2002). The Polish Revolution: Solidarity. *New Haven: Yale University Press.*

Avissa, T. P. (2017). Kebijakan Jerman Terhadap Krisis Pengungsi Eropa Tahun 2015-2016. *Hubungan Internasional*, 1-20.

https://repository.umy.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/12289/K.%20NA SKAH%20PUBLIKASI.pdf?sequence=12&isAllowed=y

Batory, A. (2016). Populists in government? Hungary's "system of national cooperation". Democratization. *23*(2). . https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2015.1076214

BBC. (2017). Europe migrant crisis: EU court rejects quota challenge. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-41172638

BBC. (2017). EU targets Poland, Hungary and Czechs for not taking refugees. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40259268

Bhandari, P. (2020). What Is Qualitative Research? | Methods & Examples. https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/qualitative-research

Bori Simonovits. (2019). The Public Perception of the Migration Crisis from the Hungarian Point of View: Evidence from the Field. 155-176. https://link-springer-com.translate.goog/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-25666 -1_8?error=cookies_not_supported&code=aca06278-7751-41a5-8480-59f 474e390e9&_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=tc

Börzel, T. A., & Risse, T. (2018). From the euro to the Schengen crises: European integration theories, politicization, and identity politics. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *25*(1). https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2017.1310281

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*.

Brändle, V. K., Eisele, O., & Trenz, H. (2019). Contesting european solidarity during the "refugee crisis": a comparative investigation of media claims in denmark, germany, greece and italy. *Mass Communication and Society*, *22*(6), 708-732. https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2019.1674877

Braun, A. (2018). Hungary: From "Goulash Communism" to Pluralistic Democracy. *In The Extreme Right*, 201-219.

Britannica. (n.d.). Hungary - Ethnicities, Minorities, Magyars. https://www.britannica.com/place/Hungary/The-nationalities

Britannica. (n.d.). Poland - History, Culture, People. https://www.britannica.com/place/Poland/The-Commonwealth

Britannica. (2016). Slovakia,Nation,Europe. https://www-britannica-com.translate.goog/place/Slovakia

British Council. (2018). THE WAGES OF FEAR ATTITUDES TOWARDS REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS IN CZECH REPUBLIC. *INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS*. https://www.britishcouncil.pl/sites/default/files/czech_pop.pdf

Browning, C. S., & Joenniemi, P. (2017). Ontological security, self-articulation and the securitization of identity. *Cooperation and Conflict,*, *52*(1), 31-47. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48512929

Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Melampaui "identitas". Theory and Society. *29*(2). https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007068714468

Bruzelius, C. (2019). Freedom of movement, social rights and residence-based conditionality in the European Union. Journal of European Social Policy. *29*(1), 70-83. https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928718756262

Buzan, B. (2008). People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era. *ECPR press*.

CBOS. (2017). POLISH PUBLICOPINION. https://www.cbos.pl/PL/publikacje/public_opinion/2017/05_2017.pdf

Cianciara, A. K. (2017). Poland and the EU's external policies after 2015: Principled pragmatism or just pragmatism? Polish Quarterly of International Affairs. *26*(3).

CIDOB. (2017). V4 Migration Policy: Conflicting Narratives and Interpretative Frameworks. https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/v4-migration-policy-conflicting-narratives-and-interpretative-frameworks

CNN Indonesia. (2015). UNHCR: 135 Ribu Pengungsi Padati Eropa pada 2015. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150701142453-134-63601/unhcr-135-ribu-pengungsi-padati-eropa-pada-2015

Council of the European Union. (2016). Draft Council Decision amending Council Decision (EU) 2015/1601 of 22 September 2015 establishing provisional measures in the area of international protection for the benefit of Italy and Greece. https://www.statewatch.org/media/documents/news/2016/apr/eu-council-re location-GR-IT-amendment-7500-16.pdf

Court of Justice of the European Union. (2017). Judgment of the Court (Grand Chamber) in Joined Cases C-643/15 and C-647/15 Slovak Republic and Hungary v Council [Press Release No 91/17].

Court of Justice of the European Union. (2020). Joined Cases C-715/17, C-718/17 and C-719/17 (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic).

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches. *Sage publications.*

Dangerfield, M. (2019). The Visegrád Group and the future of Europe. European View. *18*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/1781685819885350

Dienstbier, J. (1999). Visegrad. *Perspectives*, *12*, 15-21. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23623160

Euractiv. (2018). Visegrad nations united against mandatory relocation quotas. https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/visegrad-nations-united-ag ainst-mandatory-relocation-quotas/

EUR-Lex. (n.d.). Consolidated version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. https://www-legislation-gov-uk.translate.goog/eut/teec/article/78?_x_tr_sl =en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=sge#:~:text=3.In%20the%20ev ent%20of,Member%20State(s)%20concerned.

EUR-lex. (2015). COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS A EUROPEAN AGENDA ON MIGRATION. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:52015DC0240

EUR-lex. (2015). Council Decision (EU) 2015/1601 of 22 September 2015 establishing provisional measures in the area of international protection for the benefit of Italy and Greece. https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:OJ.L_.2015.248.01.0080.01.ENG

European Commission. (2015). Refugee Crisis – Q&A on Emergency Relocation. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/memo_15_5698

European Commission. (2015, Mei 13). Managing migration better in all aspects: A European Agenda on Migration. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_15_4956

European Commission. (2016). Relocation and Resettlement: Positive trend continues, but more efforts needed. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/cs/ip_16_2435

European Commission. (2017). Commission launches infringement procedures to make relocation work in practice [Press release]. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission. (2017). Commission launches infringement procedures to make relocation work in practice [Press release]. Brussels: European Commission.

European Commission. (2017). Report From The Commission To The European Parliament, The European Council And The Council. *Eleventh Report on Relocation and Resettlement: Vol. COM*.

European Commission. (2020). Communication on a New Pact on Migration and Asylum. COM(2020) 609 final. Brussels: European Commission.

European Parliament. (2017). September 2017: failure of the migrant relocation mechanism confirmed — urgent Commission action needed. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2017-006479_EN.html#:~:text=Under%20the%20Commission's%20plan%2C%20160,the%20author%20of%20this%20question?

European Parliament. (2018). Resolution on a proposal calling on the Council to determine the existence of a clear risk of a serious breach by Hungary of

the values on which the Union is founded (Sargentini Report). P8_TA(2018)0340. Strasbourg: European Parliament.

European Parliament. (2019). 2nd EMERGENCY RELOCATION SCHEME. *In "Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs*. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-towards-a-new-policy-on-migration/file-2nd-emergency-relocation-scheme

European Union. (n.d.). European Union Agency for Asylum (EUAA). https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/institutions-and-bodies/search-all-eu-institutions-and-bodies/european-union-agency-asylum-euaa_en

European Union. (n.d.). Perjanjian Pendirian. https://european--union-europa-eu.translate.goog/principles-countries-history/principles-and-values/founding-agreements_en?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=tc

European Union. (n.d.). Regulation, Directives and other acts. https://europa.eu/european-union/eu-law/legal-acts_en#decisions

Eurostat. (2016). Record number of over 1.2 million first time asylum seekers registered in 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/790eba01-381c-4163-bcd2-a54959b99ed6?t=1457087311000

Eurostat. (2017). 2015 GDP per capita in 276 EU regions Four regions over double the EU average. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/7962764/1-30032017-AP-EN.pdf/4e9c09e5-c743-41a5-afc8-eb4aa89913f6#:~:text=Level%202%20of%20the%20nomenclature,regions%20at%20NUTS%202%20level.&text=GDP%2C%20and%20thus%20GDP%20per,Purchasing%20Power%20Parity%

Fabricio Antezana. (2025). The Czech Republic's Stand Against Communism. https://fee-org.translate.goog/articles/the-czech-republics-stand-against-communism/?_x_tr_sl=en&_x_tr_tl=id&_x_tr_hl=id&_x_tr_pto=tc

Faradila, C., Ginting, M. B., Lubis, M. D. A. K., Sianturi, L. G., & Halking, H. (2025). PENOLAKAN PENGUNGSI OLEH HUNGARIA: ANALISIS PELANGGARAN HAM DAN ASAS NON-REFOULEMENT DITINJAU DARI KONVENSI JENEWA. *Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*, *12*(1), 185-191.

Fawn, R. (2018). Czeching Out: The 'New' Czech Republic and Its Troubled Position in the European Union. *Europe-Asia Studies*, *70*(1).

Fhanda Fabryzio. (2019). PENOLAKAN REPUBLIK CEKO TERHADAP KEBIJAKAN RELOKASI PENGUNGSI UNI EROPA PADA TAHUN 2015. http://digilib.uinsa.ac.id/31434/

Fihel, A., Kaczmarczyk, P., & Okólski, M. (2006). Labour mobility in the enlarged European Union: International migration from the EU8 countries. *Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw.* https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/140798/1/573868549.pdf

Gajda, K. A. (2014). The cultural dimensions and differences inside the Visegrad Group. *Jagiellonian University in Kraków*, 113-129.

Gati, C. (2006). Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt. *Stanford: Stanford University Press.*

GLOBSEC. (2022). New report shows that the V4 population supports Ukrainian refugees with some reservations. https://www.globsec.org/what-we-do/press-releases/new-report-shows-v4-population-supports-ukrainian-refugees-some

Goldmeier, H. (n.d.). *European migrant crisis*. EBSCO. Retrieved June 11, 2025, from
https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/history/european-migrant-crisis

Goldner Lang, I. (2020). No solidarity without loyalty: Why do Member States violate EU migration and asylum law and what can be done? *European Journal of Migration and Law*, *22*(1). 10.1163/15718166-12340068

Guild, E., Costello, C., & Garlick, M. (2015). Enhancing the Common European Asylum System and alternatives to Dublin. *Centre for European Policy Studies. Brussels: CEPS.*

Gumelar, F. T. (2019). Ketidakpatuhan Hungaria Terhadap EU Relocation Scheme Pada Krisis Pengungsi Eropa Tahun 2015-2017. *(Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Brawijaya)*.

Halmai, G. (2018). Fidesz and faith: Ethno-nationalism in Hungary. Verfassungsblog on Matters Constitutional. https://verfassungsblog.de/fidesz-and-faith-ethno-nationalism-in-hungary/

Hanley, S., & Vachudova, M. A. (2018). Understanding the Illiberal Turn: Democratic Backsliding in the Czech Republic. *East European Politics*, *34*(3), 34-54. https://doi.org/10.1201/9780429264795-3

Hanura, M., Windiani, R., & Utomo, T. C. (2021). The Dilemma of Handling Asylum Seekers and Illegal Migrants: Expectation and Reality. *Andalas Journal of International Studies (AJIS)*, *10*(1), 83-98.

Hasto Respatyo. (2025). TANTANGAN MENANGGULANGI MASALAH MIGRASI NEGARA VISEGRAD DALAM RANGKA MEWUJUDKAN STABILITAS KEAMANANAN REGIONAL. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/392550197_TANTANGAN_ME NANGGULANGI_MASALAH_MIGRASI_NEGARA_VISEGRAD_DA LAM_RANGKA_MEWUJUDKAN_STABILITAS_KEAMANANAN_R EGIONAL

Holmes, S. M., & Castañeda, H. (2016). Representing the "European refugee crisis" in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death. *American ethnologist*, *43*(1), 12-24.

Human Rights Watch. (2015). Migration Journeys to the European Union. https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/interactive/2015/06/19/migration-journe ys-european-union

IEMed. (2018). Merchants of fear: Discursive securitization of the refugee crisis in the Visegrad Group countries. https://www.iemed.org/publication/merchants-of-fear-discursive-securitiza tion-of-the-refugee-crisis-in-the-visegrad-group-countries/

IEMed. (2019). Merchants of Fear. Discursive Securitization of the Refugee Crisis in the Visegrad Group Countries.

https://www.iemed.org/publication/merchants-of-fear-discursive-securitiza tion-of-the-refugee-crisis-in-the-visegrad-group-countries/

Ismayilzada, T. (2024). Understanding the discourse of the Visegrad Group during the migration crisis. *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics*, *10*(3), 117-135.

Kajánek, T. (2022). The migration strategies and positions on the EU migration and asylum agenda: evidence from the Visegrad Group countries. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, *8*(3), 202-219.

Kinnvall. (2004). Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security. *Political Psychology*.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology. *Sage publications.*

Maarten den Heijer. (2016). Coercion, Prohibition, and Great Expectations: The Continuing Failure of the Common European Asylum System. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2756709

Marcel Lincényi. (2017). Entrepreneurship ecosystem facets: the European migrant crisis and public opinion in Slovakia. *Entrepreneurship and Sustainability Issues*, *5*(2). https://hal.science/hal-01706893v1/file/Lincenyi_Entrepreneurship_ecosys tem_facets_the_European_migrant_crisis_and_public_opinion_in_Slovaki a.pdf

Mediterranean Crisis 2015 at six months: refugee and migrant numbers highest on record. (2015, July 1). UNHCR. Retrieved August 11, 2025, from https://www.unhcr.org/news/news-releases/mediterranean-crisis-2015-six- months-refugee-and-migrant-numbers-highest-record

Miloš Brunclík. (2016). The Czech parliamentary regime after 1989: Origins, developments and challenges. *8*(2), 5-29. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316252686_The_Czech_parliam entary_regime_after_1989_Origins_developments_and_challenges#citatio ns

Minkenberg, M. (2018). Religion and Euroscepticism: Cleavages, Religious Parties and Churches in EU Member States. *West European Politics*, *41*(6).

Mitzen, J. (2006). Ontological security in world politics: State identity and the security dilemma. European journal of international relations. *12*(3), 341-370.

Mitzen, J., & Larson, K. (2017). Keamanan Ontologis dan Kebijakan Luar Negeri. *Oxford Research Ensiklopedia*.

Morsut, C. and Kruke, B. I. (2017). Crisis governance of the refugee and migrant influx into europe in 2015: a tale of disintegration. *Journal of European Integration*, *40*(2), 145-159. https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2017.1404055

Moss, A., & Litman, L. (n.d.). What Is Data Quality and Why Is It Important? *CloudResearch.*

Narkowicz, K. (2018). 'refugees not welcome here': state, church and civil society responses to the refugee crisis in poland. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *31*(4), 357-373. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-018-9287-9

Nelsen, B. F., & Guth, J. L. (2015). (2015). Exploring the gender gap in support for the European Union. *European Union Politics*, *16*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/1465116514566989

Niemann, A., & Zaun, N. (n.d.). EU refugee policies and politics in times of crisis: Theoretical and empirical perspectives. Journal of Common Market Studies. *56*(1). https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12650

Nurdin, M. (2023). Identitas Nasiona. *Advances In Social Humanities Research*, *1*(4), 241-247.

Nurwansyah, A. N. (n.d.). ANALISIS KETIDAKPATUHAN POLANDIA TERHADAP EU RELOCATION SCHEME OLEH UNI EROPA DALAM KRISIS PENGUNGSI DI EROPA TAHUN 2015-2017.

OECD. (2005). International Migration Outlook 2015. *OECD Publishing. .* https://doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2015-en

Pace, R. (2016). Migration in the Mediterranean: Origins and characteristics. *Dossier, IEMED, Mediterranean Yearbook*, 91-97. https://www.iemed.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Migration-in-the-Mediterranean-Origins-and-Characteristics.pdf

Patterson, M., & Monroe, K. R. (1998). Narrative in political science. Annual review of political science. *1*(1), 315-331.

Perbawani, F. C. L. (2022). Migrasi Dan Xenofobia: Analisis Kebijakan Migrasi Tertutup Hongaria Era Perdana Menteri Viktor Orbán. *Journal Publicuho*, *5*(3), 815-826.

Peter CSANYI and Rudolf KUCHARČÍK. (2023). CENTRAL EUROPEAN LEADERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MIGRATION AND THE MIGRATION CRISIS. *JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS*, *16*(2). https://www.cpupi.si/assets/jcp/Articles-2023/JCP-July23-2.pdf

Peters, L., Engelen, P. J., & Cassimon, D. (2023). Explaining refugee flows. Understanding the 2015 European refugee crisis through a real options lens. *18*(4).

POLITICO. (2005). Poland – going forth with a new republic? https://www.politico.eu/article/poland-going-forth-with-a-new-republic/

POLITICO. (2016). Why Slovakia won't embrace migration. https://www.politico.eu/article/why-slovakia-wont-embrace-migration-lubos-blaha-josef-rydlo/

Qomaruddin, Q., & Sa'diyah, H. (2024). Kajian teoritis tentang teknik analisis data dalam penelitian kualitatif: Perspektif Spradley, Miles dan Huberman. *Journal of Management, Accounting, and Administration*, *1*(2).

Rachmat, A. N. (2020). Realisme Dalam Kebijakan Penolakan Pengungsi Dan Migran Oleh Hungaria Tahun 2015-2018. *Dinamika Global: Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional*, *5*(1), 47-64.

Rachmat, A. N. (2021). Faktor Domestik Dalam Kebijakan Pemerintah Hungaria Terhadap Pengungsi Dan Migran Dari Timur Tengah Periode Tahun 2015-2019. *Jurnal Academia Praja: Jurnal Magister Ilmu Pemerintahan*, *4*(1), 23-41.

Rachmat, A. N. (2023). Sekuritisasi pengungsi dan migran dari timur tengah oleh pemerintah Hungaria tahun 2015-2019. *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional*, *19*(1), 107-125.

Riemer. (2023). Kebijakan Luar Negeri dan keamanan Ontologis warga negara: sebuah pendekatan ekperimental. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*.

Riessman, C. K. (2008). Narrative methods for the human sciences. Sage.

ROCZNIKI TEOLOGICZNE. (2021). RELIGIOSITY OF THE SLOVAKIAN ROMA. https://doi.org/10.18290/rt21686-2

Roots, L. (2020). Relocation and resettlement of refugees in the European Union–what has happened to solidarity? *East-West Studies*, *11*. http://publications.tlu.ee/index.php/eastwest/article/download/983/743.

Rupnik, J. (2016). The specter haunting Europe: Surging illiberalism in the East. *Journal of Democracy*, *27*(4), 77-87.

Salsabila R. (2019). Pengaruh Perbedaan Respon Negara Anggota Uni Eropa dalam Krisis Migran 2015 Terhadap Integrasi Uni Eropa. *(Bachelor's thesis, FISIP UIN Jakarta)*.

Samson, I. (2009). The Visegrad Four: from Loose Geographic Group to Security Internationalization? *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*, *18*(4), 3-18. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26590828

Sanishka Shah. (2025). How to Erode a Democracy: Hungary's Illiberal Turn Under Orbán. https://democratic-erosion.org/2025/04/18/how-to-erode-a-democracy-hungarys-illiberal-turn-under-orban/

Schimmelfennig, F. (2018). European integration (theory) in times of crisis. A comparison of the euro and Schengen crises. *Journal of European Public Policy*. 10.1080/13501763.2017.1421252

Shintawati, C. P. A., & Suharman, Y. (2023). Push-Pull Factors of Migration amidst Domestic Resistance of the Visegrad Group Countries. *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*, *7*(2), 162-177.

Shteiwi, M. (2016, September). Migrants and Refugees: Impact and future policies, Case study of Jordan,Lebanon,Turkey and Greece. *European Institute of the Mediterranean*. https://www.iemed.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Joint-Policy-Study-4-Migrants-Refugees-Jordan-Lebanon-Turkez.pdf

Štastný, M., & Brusis, M. (2002). Visegrad countries in an enlarged trans-atlantic community.

Steele, B. J. (2008). Ontological security in international relations: Self-identity and the IR state. (1). https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203018200

Steele, Brent J. (2005). "Ontological Security and the Power of Self-Identity: British Neutrality and the American Civil War. *Review of International Studies*, *31*(3), 519-540. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40072087

Subotic, J. (n.d.). Narasi, Keamanan Ontologis, dan Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *12*(4), 610-627. https://doi.org/10.1111/fpa.12089

Sugito, S. (2021). Europeanization of Immigration Policy and Politization of Immigrant in Visegrad Countries. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, *6*(1), 27-55.

The Guardian. (2015). Migration crisis: Hungary PM says Europe in grip of madness. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/03/migration-crisis-hungary-pm-victor-orban-europe-response-madness

The Guardian. (2018). Migrants to Europe 'need to go home', says Czech prime minister. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/25/europe-migrants-need-to-go-home-says-czech-prime-minister

Thielemann, E. (2018). Why refugee burden-sharing initiatives fail: Public goods, free-riding and symbolic solidarity in the EU. Journal of Common Market Studies. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12662

2.1 The Common European Asylum System and current issues. (n.d.). EUAA. Retrieved June 11, 2025, from

https://euaa.europa.eu/asylum-report-2020/21-common-european-asylum-system-and-current-issues

Weiss, H. (2017). 'Poland for the Polish'? Taking a closer look at Polish rejection of refugees. Heinrich Böll Stiftung. https://eu.boell.org/en/2017/06/14/poland-polish-taking-closer-look-polish-rejection-refugees

Wicaksono, E. R. (2018). Kebijakan Angela Merkel dalam Mengatasi Krisis Pengungsi di Eropa tahun 2015. *2*(1), 27-43.

WorldData. (n.d.). Member States of Visegrad. https://www.worlddata.info/alliances/visegrad.php#google_vignette

xpatloop. (2018). Orbán: Multiculturalism 'An Illusion'. https://xpatloop.com/channels/2018/01/orban--multiculturalism--an-illusion.html

YouthEPP. (2022). How to perceive the Visegrad-4 and what to expect in the upcoming years – a Central European perspective. https://youthepp.eu/how-to-perceive-the-visegrad-4-and-what-to-expect-in-the-upcoming-years-a-central-european-perspective/

Zarakol, A. (2017). States and ontological security: A historical rethinking. Cooperation and conflict. *52*(1), 48-68.