

BAB 4

KESIMPULAN

Dalam penelitian ini telah dijelaskan jawaban dari rumusan masalah “**Bagaimana refugee crisis di Eropa Barat berpengaruh terhadap meningkatnya ketakutan terhadap Islam di Perancis?**”. *Refugee crisis* menyebabkan terjadinya penguatan ekslusivitas identitas dan krisis multikulturalisme yang menjadi faktor-faktor utama terjadinya peningkatan ketakutan terhadap umat Muslim di Perancis. Rumusan masalah ini muncul disebabkan selama satu dekade terakhir, eskalasi konflik di beberapa negara di belahan dunia tertentu –khususnya di negara-negara Timur Tengah seperti Suriah, Afganistan, dan Irak, telah menyumbangkan banyak *refugees* bagi sejumlah negara di Eropa Barat. Tahun 2015 merupakan puncak dimana *refugee crisis* di Eropa Barat terjadi yang ditandai dengan melonjaknya jumlah *refugees* dan pencari suaka hingga lebih dari 1,3 juta jiwa. Berbagai instrumen, regulasi, dan kebijakan telah EU usahakan untuk mengantisipasi dan menangani masalah *refugee crisis* ini namun belum terdapat jalan penyelesaian yang benar-benar berhasil.

Perancis merupakan negara penerima *refugees* terbesar kedua di Eropa Barat. Sekalipun Perancis dikenal sebagai negara yang terbuka akan kehadiran migran dan *refugees*, serta dikenal sebagai negara yang menjunjung kebebasan beragama dalam nilai sekularismenya, *refugee crisis* turut berpengaruh sebagai dampak dari terjadinya peningkatan ketakutan terhadap Islam. Dalam penelitian

ini, rumusan masalah dijawab menggunakan beberapa teori dan konsep. Dalam analisis penelitian ini, digunakan metode kualitatif yang memakai beberapa teori dan konsep yaitu teori konstruktivisme sosial sebagai kerangka pemikiran yang didukung dengan teori neoliberalisme dan konsep *Islamophobia* sebagai acuan ketakutan terhadap Islam di Perancis.

Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa *refugee crisis* di Eropa Barat berpengaruh terhadap peningkatan *Islamophobia* di Perancis karena disebabkan dua faktor. Faktor pertama adalah adanya ekslusivitas identitas kebangsaan Perancis yang menimbulkan penyalahgunaan identitas sekularisme (*laicite*) sehingga berdampak pada meningkatnya pandangan bahwa Islam tidak dapat berintegrasi ke dalam Perancis. Secara historis, *laicite* merupakan kebijakan Perancis akan pemisahan urusan negara dengan agama yang terkonstruksi menjadi identitas negara. Namun sekarang, nilai tersebut seringkali dipakai untuk menyudutkan atau mendiskriminasi umat Muslim Perancis sebagai kaum minoritas dengan alasan melindungi nilai identitas Perancis.

Faktor kedua yang ditemukan adalah krisis multikulturalisme Perancis yang menganggap bahwa keberadaan umat Muslim dapat menjadi sumber ancaman bagi Perancis. Saat *refugee crisis* di Eropa Barat berada pada titik klimaks, Perancis dilanda beberapa kali serangan teror yang menimbulkan keresahan tersendiri dalam masyarakat terhadap keberadaan umat Muslim di Perancis, yang diperparah dengan kehadiran para migran dan *refugees*. Hal tersebut berdampak pada persepsi masyarakat bahwa umat Muslim berpotensi menjadi seorang teroris hingga mendorong adanya kebijakan yang sempit dan

cenderung diskriminatif bagi umat Muslim. Selain itu, *refugee crisis* juga berdampak pada adanya eksplorasi politik yang dilakukan demi kepentingan kelompok-kelompok tertentu. Beberapa anggota politik Perancis menunjukkan penolakannya akan keberadaan Muslim sehingga mengkonstruksikan pandangan negatif terhadap Islam dan *refugees* yang ada di Perancis.

Dapat disimpulkan bahwa meskipun kehadiran Islam bagi Perancis bukanlah hal baru, namun peningkatan jumlah Muslim melalui fenomena *refugee crisis* turut meningkatkan berbagai tragedi ketakutan terhadap Islam. Prasangka, persepsi, rasisme dan berbagai tindakan anti Islam lainnya terhadap umat Muslim Perancis telah ada dan mengakar dalam nilai historis negara tersebut. Tragedi ketakutan terhadap Islam di Perancis terjadi dalam berbagai bidang, mulai dari bidang pendidikan, pekerjaan, kehidupan dalam bermasyarakat, dan bahkan dalam pemerintahan. Kehadiran para *refugees* Muslim dalam jumlah pesat membuat adanya ekslusivitas identitas kebangsaan dan krisis multikulturalisme di Perancis yang semakin menyadarkan masyarakat akan perbedaan-perbedaan yang nyata (budaya, bahasa, nilai, dan lain sebagainya) antara umat Muslim dan masyarakat lokal Perancis.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Buku

- Bakry, Umar. *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016.
- Czapka E., *Stereotyp uchodźcy*, University of Warmia and Mazury Press in Olsztyn. Olsztyn, 2006.
- Douglass Pratt, *Fear of Muslim? International Perspectives on Islamophobia*, ed. Rachel Woodlock (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016).
- E UMC, Perceptions of Discrimination and Islamophobia, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2006.
- Hadiwinata, Bob S. *Studi dan Teori Hubungan Internasional: Arus Utama, Alternatif, dan Reflektifis*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2017.
- Hughes, Christopher W., Lai Yew Ming, ed. *Security Studies: A Reader*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Iqbal, Zafar. “*Prejudice: An Antecedent or Manifestation of Islamophobia?*”, Islamophobia: History, Context, and Deconstruction, (Mathura Road, SAGE book), 2020.
- Iqbal, Zafar. “*Clash of Civilization or Islam vs West?*”, Islamophobia: History, Context, and Deconstruction, (Mathura Road, SAGE book), 2020.
- Iqbal, Zafar, “*Cultural and Religious Racism*”, Islamophobia: History, Context, and Deconstruction, (Mathura Road, SAGE book), 2020.
- Iqbal, Zafar, “*Sociocultural Dimensions of Fear of Islam dan Muslim*”, Islamophobia: History, Context, and Deconstruction, (Mathura Road, SAGE book), 2020.
- Kaya, Bulent. *The Changing Face of Europe – Population Flows in the 20th Century*. Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies, 2002.
- Koenig, Nicole. *France and Germany in the Refugee Crisis: United in Diversity?*/ Research Fellow with the Jacques Delors Institut, Oktober, 2016.

- Misago, Jean P., Iriann Freemantle, Loren B. Landau. *Protection from Xenophobia*. UNHCR: The African Centre for Migration and Society University of Witwatersrand, 2015.
- Normale, Ecole. A French Islam is Possible, Institute Montaigne, September, 2016.
- Religious Literacy Project, “Islam in France”, Harvard Divinity School, diakses melalui <https://rlp.hds.harvard.edu/faq/islam-france>, 2020.
- Remy, Bastien. *Case Study: France, Its Immigration Policy and Its Political Response to the 2015 Refugee Crisis*, 2015.
- Rosyidin, Mohamad. *The Power of Ideas: Konstruktivisme dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional*. Sleman: Tiara Wacana, 2015.
- Stalker P, Balicki J. *Polityka imigracyjna i azylowa. Wyzwania i dylematy*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego Warsaw, 2006.
- Suryabrata, Sumadi. *Metodologi Peneltian*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gajah Mada, 2003.
- The Worldwatch Institute. *State of the World 2005: Redefining Global Security*. New York; W.W. Norton & Company, 2005.
- United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. *Human Security Handbook: An integrated approach for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals and the priority areas of the international community and the United nations system*. New York: United Nations, 2016.
- Wendt, Alexander, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Williams, Paul D, ed. *Security Studies an Introduction*. New York: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2008.

Jurnal

- Abdelkader, Engy JD, LL.M. “A Comparative Analysis of European Islamophobia: France, UK, Germany, Netherlands and Sweden.” *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law* 29, no. 16 (2017): halaman 31-33.

- Berenyi, Katalin. "Statelessness and the refugee crisis in Europe." *Forced Migration Review* 53 (2016): halaman 69-70.
- Bertjan Doosje, Anja Zimmermann, Beate Küpper, Andreas Zick, Roel Meertens, Terrorist Threat and Perceived Islamic Support for Terrorist Attacks as Predictors of Personal and Institutional Out-Group Discrimination and Support for Anti-Immigration Policies – Evidence from 9 European Countries, (*Dans Revue internationale de psychologie sociale*, 2009), halaman 203-233.
- Ciftci, Sabri. " Islamophobia and Threat Perceptions: Explaining Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the West", *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 2012, halaman 3.
- Christian von Sikorski, Desirée Schmuck, Jörg Matthes & Alice Binder, "Muslims are not Terrorists": Islamic State Coverage, Journalistic Differentiation Between Terrorism and Islam, Fear Reactions, and Attitudes Toward Muslims, *Mass Communication and Society*, 2017, Vol 20:6, halaman 825-848.Fuga, Artan. "Multiculturalism in France: Evolutions and Challenges," *EUROSPHERE Working Paper Series (EWP)*, Eurospheres project, 2008, halaman 12.
- Erin K. Wilson, Luca Mavelli, The refugee crisis and religion: Beyond physical and conceptual boundaries, Social Science Research Council, Desember, 2016, di akses melalui <https://tif.ssrc.org/2016/12/01/the-refugee-crisis-and-religion/>, 7 Juli 2020.
- Fine, Shoshana. "The Integration of Refugees in France," *European Parliament's Committee on Employment and Social Affairs*, August 2019, halaman 33.
- Furtak, Florian T. "The Refugee Crisis – A Challenge for Europe and the World." *Journal of Civil & Legal Sciences* 5, 1 (2015): halaman 1-2.
- Hafez, Fariz. "The Refugee Crisis and Islamophobia." *Insight Turkey* 17, no. 4 (2015): halaman 19-24.
- Holsti, K., "National Role in the Study of Foreign Policy". *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1970): halaman 233-309.

- Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilization? The Next Pattern of Conflict." *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993): halaman 22-28.
- Karacan, Derya B. "The Effects of The Syrian refugee Crisis on the EU Through the Lens of Scial Constructivism: The Cases of Germany and Hungary", *Alternatif Politika*, Vol. 11 No. 1 (2016): halaman 146-147.
- Lecca, Patrizio. "Long-term Social, Economic, and Fiscal Effects of Immigration into the EU: The Role of the Integration Policy", JRC Working Papers in Economics and Finance, European Commissions, April (2017): halaman 4-15.
- Margareth, Fitri K. "Identitas dalam Hubungan Internasional: Dilema Kebijakan Luar Negeri Finlandia Dalam Krisi Ukraina 2014". *Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 3, No.4 (2017): halaman 1-10.
- Mayer, Nonna. "Why Extremes Donât Meet: Le Pen and Besancenot Voters in the 2007 French Presidential Election," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 29, no. 3 (January 1, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.3167/fpcs.2011.290307>.
- Miranda, Airin. "Masalah Integrasi di Perancis", Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, (2007): halaman 8-9.
- Mohiuddin, Asif. "Islamophobia and the Discursive Reconstitution of Religious Imagination in Europe." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 39, no. 2 (2019): halaman 135-156.
- Montero, Alfonso L., Dorothea Baltruks. "The impact of the refugee crisis on local public social services in Europe". European Social Network. European Commision, halaman 4-14.
- Muhammad M. Khan, "Islam in France", Journal of European Studies, halaman 195-198.
- Mughal, Jahanzeb. "Multiculturalisme in France: Overview, Problems, Conditions of International Immigrants and Second Generation Youth in French Societies", Pakistan Journal and Humanities and Social Sciences, 2015, Vol 3 (1), halaman 16.
- Petra Pelletier, Eva Drozda-Senkowska, The Charlie Hebdo Terror Attack in Paris: Follow-up of French Citizens' Terrorist Threat Perception and Its

- Aftermath, International Review of Social Psychology, Vol 29 (1), halaman 86-88.
- Poddar, Shubham. "European Migrant Crisis: Financial Burden or Economic Opportunity?". Social Impact Research Experience (SIRE). University of Pennsylvania (2016): halaman 2-16.
- Simonovits, Bori. "Realistic and Symbolic Threats: The Social Basis of Mass-Migration Related Fear in Contemporary Hungary", *Review of Sociology*, Vol 26 (4), halaman 55-56.
- Settles, I., Sellers, R. & Damas, A., "One Role or Two? The Function of Psychological Separation in Role Conflict". *Journal of Applied Psychology* 87, no.3 (2002): halaman 574-577.
- Tardis, Matthieu. "Another Story from the 'Refugee Crisis': Resettlement in Small Towns and Rural Areas in France". Etudes de l'Ifri, Ifri, Juli, (2009): halaman 23.
- The Local. "The Numbers That Tell the Story of Immigration in France". Oktober, (2019).
- Uenal, Fatih. "Disentangling Islamophobia: The Differential Effects of Symbolic, Realistic, and Terroristic Threat Perceptions as Mediators Between Social Dominance Orientation and Islamophobia", *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, Vol 4 (1), halaman 67.
- Ülger, Irfan K, Maribel Benitez. "Islamophobia in France, from Racism to "Neo-Populism"." *LAÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi EUL Journal of Social Sciences Haziran* 8, no 1 (2017): halaman 50-66.
- Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is What States Make of It: Social Construction of Power Politics". *International Organizations*, Vol. 46, No 2 (1992):, halaman 397-400.
- Xavier, Ana I. "The (New) 'Clash of Civilizations': Migration and Terrorism", *E-International Relations*, (2018): halaman 3-6.

Website

- Acharya, Amitav. *Human Security*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2007. diakses pada 10 September 2019 melalui <http://www.amitavacharya.com/sites/default/files/Human%20Security.pdf>
- Aline Robert and Catherine Stupp, “Macron Makes Link between Poor French Economy and Refugees,” *Www.Euractiv.Com* (blog), June 23, 2017, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/future-eu/news/macron-makes-link-between-poor-french-economy-and-refugees/>.
- Aljazeera English, “Generation Hate”, Desember 2018, di akses melalui <https://www.aljazeera.com/investigations/generationhate/>, pada tanggal 12 Juli 2020.
- Andy J. Semotiuk, “France Struggles With Its Immigrants In The Midst Of National Security Concerns,” Forbes, accessed July 22, 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/andyjsemotiuk/2018/01/17/france-struggles-with-its-immigrants-in-the-midst-of-national-security-concerns/>.
- Agressions Islamophobes A Perpignan, Coordination contre le Racisme et l’Islamophobie (CRI), 28 Februari 2018, di akses melalui <http://www.crifrance.com/actu-islamophobie/agressions-islamophobes-perpignan>, pada 12 Juli 2020
- Aublanc, Manon. “Qui est Maryam Pougetoux, La Responsable Voilee De l’Unef?”, 20 Minutes, 23 May 2018, di akses melalui <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/2276127-20180523-maryam-pougetoux-responsable-voilee-unef>, pada 14 Juli 2020.
- BBC. *Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts*. Maret, 2016, di akses pada 25 April 2020 melalui <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>
- BBC News, “Shootings in Toulouse and Montauban: What we know”, BBC, Maret, 2012, di akses melalui <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17428860>, pada 6 Juli 2020.
- Bob Pitt, Paris protest: campaigners demand repeal of Chatel curcular, Islamophobia Watch, Juni 2014, di akses melalui

<http://www.Islamophobiawatch.co.uk/paris-protest-campaigners-demand-repeal-of-chatel-circular/>, pada 12 Juli 2020.

Britannica, di akses melalui <https://www.britannica.com/place/France/Religion>, 1 Juni 2020.

Brunet, Romain. “*Laurent Wauquiez Et L’extreme Droite A Un Tract Pres*”, France 24, 8 June 2018, di akses pada 10 Juli 2020 melalui <https://www.france24.com/fr/20180608-france-republicains-tract-laurent-wauquiez-derive-extreme-droite>.

CARE, *Global Refugee Crisis*, diakses pada 22 Agustus 2018 melalui <https://care.org/emergencies/global-refugee-crisis>

Cellai, Elena. *The Economic Impact of Refugees: For Good or Ill*. The Economist. Januari, 2016, di akses pada 24 Mei 2020 melalui <https://iversity.org/fr/profiles/elenacellai-1471a/journals/why-do-people-migrate-part-1-facts/the-economic-impact-of-migrants-and-refugees-burden-or-benefit>

CNN Editorial Research, 2015 Charlie Hebdo Attacks Fast Facts, CNN World, Desember 2019, di akses melalui <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/21/europe/2015-paris-terror-attacks-fast-facts/index.html>, pada 13 Juli 2020.

Cumming-Bruce, Nick. *Number of People Fleeing Conflict Is Highest Since World War II, U.N. Says*, The New York Times, Juni, 2019, di akses pada 16 Juli 2020 melalui <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/19/world/refugees-record-un.html>.

Discrimination Islamophobe A L’hopital De Perpignan, Coordination contre le Racisme et l’Islamophobie (CRI), 30 April 2018, di akses melalui <http://www.crifrance.com/actu-islamophobie/discrimination-islamophobe-a-l>, pada 12 Juli 2020.

David Chazan, “Hate crimes against Muslims and Jews soar in France”, The Telegraph, Desember, 2015, di akses melalui <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/12075018/Hate-crimes-against-Muslims-and-Jews-soar-in-France.html>, pada 6 Juli 2020.

France 24, Muslim leader calls for doubling number of mosques in France, April, 2015, di akses melalui <https://www.france24.com/en/20150405-france-double-number-mosques-islam>, pada 8 Juli 2020.

Eurostat. *Migration and migrant population statistics*. European Union; 2019, di akses pada tanggal 19 September 2019 melalui https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics

Fahd, Cherine. “The assumptions people make about dark bearded men”, The Conversation, April, 2017, di akses melalui <https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/the-assumptions-people-make-about-dark-bearded-men-20170406-gveoy4.html>, pada 5 Juli 2020.

Global Conflict Tracker, *War in Afghanistan*, Council on Foreign Relations, di akses pada 20 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/war-afghanistan>

Hannah, Franzki. *Eurocentrism*. InterAmerican Wiki: Terms - Concepts - Critical Perspectives. 2012, di akses pada 10 Juni 2020 melalui www.unibielefeld.de/cias/wiki/e_Eurocentrism.html.

ILO Socio-Economic Security Programme, *Definitions: What we mean when we say “economic security”*, diakses pada tanggal 21 September 2019 melalui <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/ses/download/docs/definition.pdf>

Institute for Environmental Security, *What is Environmental Security?*, diakses pada tanggal 21 September 2019 melalui http://www.envirosecurity.org/activities/What_is_Environmental_Security.pdf

Jacob Poushter, Dorothy Manevich, Globally, People Point to ISIS and Climate Change as Leading Security Threats, Pew Research Center, Agustus, 2017, di akses melalui <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2017/08/01/globally-people-point-to-isis-and-climate-change-as-leading-security-threats/#in-europe-and-u-s-isis-is-seen-as-a-major-threat>, pada 7 Juli 2020.

Julien Aubert, “Livre tricolore sur les islam(s)”, 16 November 2018, di akses melalui <https://mailchi.mp/e2ed8d6796c1/telecharger-le-livre-tricolore-sur-lesislams>, pada 11 Juli 2020.

Justin Vaisse, Veiled Meaning: The French Law Banning Religious Symbols in Public Schools, BROOKINGS, Maret, 2004, di akses melalui <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/veiled-meaning-the-french-law-banning-religious-symbols-in-public-schools/> pada 6 Juli 2020.

Khan, Imran. *The Iraw War: The root of Europe's refugee crisis*. Aljazeera. September, 2015, di akses pada 20 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/middleeast/2015/09/iraq-war-root-europe-refugee-crisis-150908151855527.html>

Kramer, Steven P. “France’s Muslim Predicament”, The National Interest, Februari, 2020, di akses melalui <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/frances-muslim-predicament-123321>, pada 3 Juni 2020.

Lipka, Michael. “Muslim and Islam: Key Findings in the U.S. and around the world”, Pee Research Center, Agustus, 2017, di akses melalui <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/09/muslims-and-islam-key-findings-in-the-u-s-and-around-the-world/> pada 4 Juli 2020.

“Marine Le Pen Souhaite L’ajout D’un Prénom Français Pour Les Personnes Naturalisées”, 20 Minutes, 10 November 2018, di akses pada 12 Juli 2020 melalui <https://www.20minutes.fr/politique/2374711-20181118-marine-pen-souhaite-ajout-prenomfrancais-personnes-naturalisees>

McGrath, Timothy. *8 Reminders of How Horrible Syrian President Bashar al-Assad has been to His People*. Global Post. September, 2014, di akses pada 19 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.pri.org/stories/2014-09-24/8-reminders-how-horrible-syrian-president-bashar-al-assad-has-been-his-people>

Merriam-Webster Dictionary, s.v. *Eurocentric*, di akses pada 10 Juni 2020 melalui <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Eurocentric>

Migration Data Portal. *Regional Data Overview: Migration data in Europe*. European Commision, di akses pada tanggal 1 April 2020 melalui <https://migrationdataportal.org/regional-data-overview/europe>

Mondon, Aurelien. France is paying the price for normalizing Islamophobia, CNN, November, 2016, di akses melalui <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/21/opinions/france-new-racism-opinion-mondon/index.html> pada 6 Juli 2020.

“Mosquee De Souillac: Victoire Du Rassemblement National!”, Rassemblement National, 10 September 2018, di akses melalui <https://rassemblement-national46.fr/2018/09/mosquee-de-souillac-victoire-du-rassemblement-national/>, pada 12 Juli 2020.

Nafa Yafi, “Pourquoi L’enseignement De L’arabe En France Suscite-T-Il La Polémique?”, Orient XXI, 25 September 2018, di akses melalui <https://orientxxi.info/va-comprendre/pourquoi-l-enseignement-de-l-arabe-en-france-suscite-t-il-lapolemique>, pada 12 Juli 2020.

Nick Riemer, The Roots of Islamophobia in France, Jacobin, Agustus, 2016, di akses melalui <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/08/burkini-ban-Islamophobia-valls-france-secularism-islam/>, pada 6 Juli 2020Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *Food Security*, diakses pada 21 September 2019 melalui <https://www.oecd.org/agriculture/topics/food-security/>

Pai, Hsiao-Hung. *The refugee crisis' shows Europe's worst side to the world*. The Guardian. Januari, 2020, di akses pada 24 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jan/01/refugee-crisis-europe-mediterranean-racism-incarceration>

Quinn, Ben. French Police Make Woman Remove Clothing on Nice Beach Following Burkini Ban, The Guardian, 24 Agustus 2016, di akses melalui <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/24/french-police-make-woman-remove-burkini-on-nice-beach>, pada 13 Juli 2020.

Racisme, violence, salut nazi... Un journaliste a infiltré Generation identitaire et le bar La citadelle à Lille”, France 3 Regions, 19 Desember 2018, di akses melalui <https://france3regions.francetvinfo.fr/hauts-de-france/nord-0/lille/video-racisme-violence-salut-nazi-journaliste-infiltré-génération-identitaire-bar-citadelle-lille-1590131.html> , pada 12 Juli 2020.

Rose Deller, *Book Review: Republic of Islamophobia: The Rise of Respectable Racism in France by Jim Wolfreys*, The London School of Economic and Political Science, Mei 2018, di akses pada 2 Agustus 2020 melalui <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lserviewofbooks/2018/05/02/book-review-the-republic-of-islamophobia-the-rise-of-respectable-racism-in-france-by-jim-wolfreys/>

The International Rescue Committee. *Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants: What's the difference?* (New York: IRC, 2018), di akses pada tanggal 22 Agustus 2018 melalui <https://www.rescue.org/article/migrants-asylum-seekers-refugees-and-immigrants-whats-difference>

European Commision. *Almost 150.000 First-Time Asylum Seekers in 2019*, diakses pada 21 Juli 2020 melalui <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/DDN-20190926-1>.

UN Core Pre-Deployment Training Material 2017. *Lesson 3.7 Personal Security Awareness*, di akses pada tanggal 21 September 2019 melalui <http://dag.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/400637/FINAL%20Lesson%203.7%20050517.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>

UNHCR. *Emergencies: Refugee Crisis in Europe*, di akses pada 3 April 2020 melalui <https://www.unrefugees.org/emergencies/refugee-crisis-in-europe/>
UNHCR, *Figures at a Glance*, di akses pada 22 Agustus 2018 melalui <https://www.unhcr.org/enus/figures-at-a-glance.html>

UNHCR, *Populations Trend Chart* dan *Populations Figures by Types*, diakses pada 22 Agustus 2018 melalui <http://reporting.unhcr.org/population>

UNHCR, *Refugee Facts: What is a Refugee?*, di akses pada 1 April 2020 melalui <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/what-is-a-refugee/>

Ragazzi, Francesco, Stephan Davidshofer, Sarah Perret, Amal Tawfik, “Les effets de la lutte contre le terrorisme et la radicalisation sur les populations musulmanes en France”, Centre d’etude sur les Conflits – Liberte et Securite (CCLS), (Paris: October 2018), di akses melalui

- <http://www.ccls.eu/fr/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Rapport-Anti-terrorisme-et-Discriminations-FINAL2.pdf>, pada 11 Juli 2020.
- Rhouma, Hanna Ben. “*Quand Christophe Castaner S’segare Sur Le Statut Du Voile Dans L’espace Public*”, Saphir News, 29 December 2017, di akses pada 12 Juli 2020 melalui https://www.saphirnews.com/Quand-Christophe-Castaner-s-egare-sur-le-statutdu-voile-dans-l-espace-public-video_a24806.html,
- Rueckert, Phineas. *Citizenship: 5 of the Biggest Reasons Why People Become Refugees*. Global Citizen, di akses pada 25 April 2020 melalui <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/reasons-why-people-become-refugees/>
- Sari, Amanda P. *Eropa, Tanah yang Menjanjikan Kesejahteraan bagi Imigran*. CNN Indonesia. September, 2015, di akses pada 11 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150908205805-134-77474/eropa-tanah-yang-menjanjikan-kesejahteraan-bagi-imigran>
- Sari, Amanda P., *Sejarah Migrasi Manusia di Benua Eropa* CNN Indonesia, September, 2015, di akses pada tanggal 3 April 2020 melalui <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150908150704-134-77378/sejarah-migrasi-manusia-di-benua-eropa>
- Samosir, Hanna A. *Mengapa Imigran ke Eropa, Bukan ke Timur Tengah?*, CNN Indonesia. September, 2015, di akses pada 11 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20150908131728-134-77324/mengapa-imigran-ke-eropa-bukan-ke-timur-tengah>
- Sawe, Benjamin E. Religious Demographics of France, World Atlas, Maret, 2018, di akses melalui <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/religious-demographics-of-france.html>, pada 1 Juni 2020
- Smith-Spark, Laura. “Who was French gunman Mohammed Merah?”, CNN World, Maret, 2012, di akses melalui <https://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/21/world/europe/france-shooting-suspect-profile/index.html>, pada 6 Juli 2020.

Sophy. Owuor Otieno, *What Are the Biggest Causes of Refugee Crisis in The World?*. WorldAtlas, di akses pada 5 April 2020 melalui <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-are-the-biggest-causes-of-refugee-crisis-in-the-world.html>

Specia, Megan. *The Five Conflict Driving the Bulk of the World's Refugee Crisis*. The New York Times. Juni, 2018, di akses pada 19 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/19/world/five-conflicts-driving-refugees.html>

Stefan, Lehne. *How the Refugee Crisis Will Reshape the EU*. Februari, 2016, di akses pada 3 Juli 2020 melalui <http://carnegieeurope.eu/publications/?fa=62650>

Stephen Drinkwater, Why Does Unemployment Differ for Immigrants?, World of Labor, di akses melalui <https://wol.iza.org/articles/why-does-unemployment-differ-for-immigrants/long>, pada 13 Juli 2020.

Taub, Amanda. *Charlie Hebdo's most famous cartoons*, translated and explained, Vox, Januari, 2015, di akses melalui <https://www.vox.com/2015/1/7/7507849/charlie-hebdo-attack-terrorists-paris-shooting>, pada 14 Juli 2020.

Vilars, Timothee. “Capitalisme Populaire”, ‘Regles’ Pour L’islam: Ce Qu’il Faut Retenir Du Congres De Macron”, L’OBS, 9 Juli 2018, di akses pada 10 Juli 2020 melalui <https://www.nouvelobs.com/politique/20180709.OBS9395/capitalisme-populaire-reglespour-l-islam-ce-qu-il-faut-retenir-du-congres-de-macron.html>

Viorst, Milton. “The Muslim of France: Islam Abroad”, Foreign Affairs, September/October, 1996, di akses melalui <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/europe/1996-09-01/muslims-france-islam-abroad>, pada 3 Juli 2020.

Willsher, Kim. Charlie Hebdo suspects arrested in Djibouti, The Guardian, Desember, 2018, di akses melalui

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/21/charlie-hebdo-suspect-arrested-in-djibouti>, pada 14 Juli 2020.

Willy Le Devin, “Ultradroite Les Fachos Chauffes A Blanc”, Liberation, 27 April 2018, di akses melalui https://oeilsurlefront.liberation.fr/les-idees/2018/04/27.ultradroite-les-fachos-chauffes-a-blanc_1646451, pada 12 Juli 2020.

Williamson, Lucy. What do liberty, equality, fraternity mean to France now?, BBC Paris, Juli, 2016, di akses melalui <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36775634>, pada 29 Juni 2020.

Willsher, Kim. French Muslim women on burqa ban ruling: ‘All I want is to live in peace’, The Guardian, Juli, 2014, di akses melalui <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/01/french-muslim-women-burqa-ban-ruling>, pada 6 Juli 2020.

World Health Organization, *Health Security*, diakses pada tanggal 21 September 2019 melalui <https://www.who.int/health-security/en/>

Youssouffa, Estelle. *France: Halal meat controversy*, Al Jazeera English, Februari, 2010, di akses melalui <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cXKPYPMrkE>, pada 13 Juli 2020.

Laporan (*Report*)

Bayrakli, Enes. *European Islamophobia Report 2017*. ed. Farid Hafez. Istanbul: SETA, 2018.

Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l’Homme (CNCDH), “Rapport sur la lutte contre le racisme, l’antisémitisme et la xénophobie”, halaman 9, (Paris: April 2019), di akses melalui https://www.cncdh.fr/sites/default/files/essentiels_rapport_racisme_2018_vdef_1.pdf, pada 10 Juli 2020.

Collectif Contre L’islamophobie en France, “Rapport CCIF 2019, Rapport Sur l’Islamophobie Pendant L’annee 2018”, 15 March 2019, di akses melalui <http://www.islamophobie.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Rapport-CCIF-2019.pdf>, pada 12 Juli 2020.

Conrad Hackett, 5 Facts about the Muslim population in Europe, Pew Research Center, November, 2017, di akses melalui <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/29/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>, pada 11 Juli 2020.

Elahi, Farah. Omar Khan, ed. *Islamophobia Still a challenge for us all*. London: Runnymede, 2017.

European Commission, *EU budget for the refugee crisis and improving migration management*. di akses pada 1 Juni 2020 melalui https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20170302_eu_budget_for_the_refugee_crisis_en.pdf

European Commission. *The European Union Explained: Migration and Asylum*. Belgium: European Commission, 2014.

European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2016. *The Netherlands: Europol*. Juli. 2016, di akses pada 25 Mei 2020.melalui <https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/european-union-terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-te-sat-2016>

Faytre, Leonard. *European Islamophobia Report 2018: France*, SETA Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research, 2019.

More in Common, “Attitudes towards Refugees, Immigrants, and Identity in France,” July 2017, <https://www.humandignity.foundation/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Attitudes-towards-refugees-immigrants-and-identity-in-France.pdf>, halaman 24.

UNICEF. *Refugee and Migrant Crisis in Europe: Humanitarian Situation Report # 31*. UNICEF, 2019.

UNHCR, *Eligibility Guidelines for Assessing the International Protection Needs of Iraqi Asylumseekers*. Agustus, 2007.

Operational Portal Refugee Situations. *Monthly Arrivals by Nationality to Greece Italy and Spain*. Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, UNHCR. Maret, 2016, di akses pada 25 April 2020 melalui <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean?page=1&view=grid&Type%255B%255D=3&Search=%2523monthly%2523>

- Pew Research Center. *Global Attitudes & Trends: Numbers of Refugees to Europe Surges to record 1,3 Million in 2015*. Agustus. 2016, di akses pada tanggal 3 April 2020 melalui <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/> pada 3 April 2020.
- Poushter, Jacob. *European opinions of the refugee crisis in 5 charts*. Pew Research Center. September, 2016, di akses pada 25 Mei 2020 melalui <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/16/european-opinions-of-the-refugee-crisis-in-5-charts/>
- Religion & Public Life, Europe's Growing Muslim Population, Pew Research Center, November, 2017, di akses melalui <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europe-s-growing-muslim-population/>, pada 11 Juli 2020.
- SETA, Islamophobia in numbers, European Islamophobia Report 2018, September, 2019, di akses melalui <https://www.setav.org/en/Islamophobia-in-numbers-eir2018/>, pada 12 Juli 2020.
- SETA, Islamophobia in Europe: Numbers in Detail, April, 2018, di akses melalui <https://www.setav.org/en/Islamophobia-in-europe-numbers-in-detail/>, pada 17 Juli 2020.
- SETA, Islamophobic statements of politicians in Europe, April, 2018, di akses melalui <https://www.setav.org/en/islamophobic-statements-of-politicians-in-europe/>, pada 12 Juli 2020.
- Statista. *France: number of refugee arrivals 2007-2017*. di akses pada 4 April 2020 melalui <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1014067/number-of-refugee-arrivals-france/>
- Statista Research Department, France: population by religion 2020, Mei, 2020, di akses melalui <https://www.statista.com/statistics/459982/population-distribution-religion-france/>, pada 1 Juli 2020.
- Tebbakh, Sonia. *Muslims in EU: Cities Report, France*, Open Society Foundation EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, 2007, halaman 39-45.

