

## BAB IV

### KESIMPULAN

Bagian terakhir dari penulisan skripsi ini akan menyimpulkan jawaban atas pertanyaan penelitian yang telah dirumuskan pada bab pertama yaitu, “*Apa peran dari identitas kolektif dan framing yang dibangun ISIS terhadap pergerakan teror yang terjadi di Paris dan Nice, Perancis?*” rumusan pertanyaan penelitian ini dijawab menggunakan dua teori yakni *social movement theory* dan *framing theory*. *Social movement theory* digunakan untuk melihat ISIS sebagai sebuah kelompok pergerakan sosial yang bergerak untuk merubah *status quo*. Kelompok ini membangun identitas kolektif yang menumbuhkan perasaan para individu di dalamnya untuk memiliki stigma “Kita dan Mereka” dan menanamkan tujuan kelompoknya dalam diri anggotanya. Sementara *framing theory* dipakai untuk menganalisa bagaimana ISIS membentuk identitasnya melalui pembentukan sebuah cara pandang yang sesuai dengan kepentingan mereka. Teori ini membagi tiga tahapan *framing* yakni *diagnostic*, *prognostic* dan *motivational* dalam membentuk sebuah *framing* kelompok atau disebut *collective action frame*.

Pembahasan atas jawaban yang ada telah dilakukan pada bab 2 dan 3. Pada bab 2, dapat dikatakan bahwa ISIS telah melakukan *framing* terhadap Islam yang diakuinya sebagai identitas kelompok mereka. Melalui pengamatan terhadap perkembangan pergerakan kelompok tersebut yang dimulai dari AQI pada 2004 serta peran dari Zarqawi dan Baghdadi diketahui bahwa identitas yang dianut tidak muncul begitu saja. Akan tetapi ada proses yang mendasari bagaimana identitas

yang dimiliki kelompok ini dapat terbentuk. ISIS dapat dikatakan sebagai sebuah kelompok Salafis jihad yang menggunakan kekerasan dalam pergerakannya menyucikan Islam. Sehingga dapat dilihat bahwa ada perbedaan antara identitas ISIS dengan Islam. Pada bab 3, ISIS melakukan perubahan atau pergeseran terhadap *framing*-nya yang menyebabkan meningkatnya pergerakan mereka di luar wilayah operasi di Irak dan Suriah. Perancis menjadi salah satu negara yang mengalami serangan dengan dua kasus yang diangkat Paris dan Nice. Kedua serangan ini dilakukan dengan pola yang berbeda yaitu dikoordinasi oleh pejuangnya Abdelhamid Abaoud pada teror di Paris dan aksi *lone-wolves* yang dilakukan Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel.

Dengan menggunakan teori *framing* dapat dianalisis bahwa ada tiga bagian dalam *framing* yang dibentuk ISIS yakni *diagnostic* (ISIS memandang dunia yang tidak lagi sesuai ajaran Islam akibat dominasi nilai-nilai negara kafir maupun kelompok lain yang tidak berlandaskan pada Islam dan sikap defensif umat muslim dalam merespon permasalahan ini), *prognostic* (solusi yang ditawarkan adalah membangun Khilafa, berjihad dan berhijrah), dan terakhir *motivational* (justifikasi tindakan mereka sebagai sebuah kebenaran membangkitkan Islam dan imbalan suci yang akan diterima dari Allah). Ketiganya membentuk sebuah *collective action frame* yang menjadi daya tarik bagi individu-individu yang membutuhkan sebuah makna dalam hidupnya dan mengalami krisis identitas. *Collective action frame* tidak hanya menjadi penarik tetapi merupakan motor bagi sebuah pergerakan sosial termasuk pergerakan ISIS. *Collective action frame* yang

dibangun ISIS menjadi penghubung kelompok ini dengan para pendukungnya baik yang ada di basis operasi maupun yang tidak berhijrah.

Sehingga ISIS yang dipandang sebagai sebuah kelompok pergerakan sosial mampu menciptakan identitas yang menarik hasil dari *framing* yang dilakukan. Identitas yang memberikan makna kepada pendukungnya bahwa mereka merupakan bagian dari kelompok yang akan membangkitkan Islam melalui pembentukan Khilafa berjalan sesuai perintah Allah dan sebuah kelompok yang bersikap ofensif merespon permasalahan di dunia. Identitas juga membedakan pergerakan mereka dengan kelompok seperti al-Qaeda maupun Jabat al-Nusra. Serta identitas yang mampu berperan untuk mengontrol pejuangnya dan menginspirasi pendukungnya melakukan teror di Perancis.

Penelitian ini dapat menjadi sebuah alternatif dalam melihat pergerakan kelompok teroris seperti ISIS dengan menempatkannya ke dalam lingkup kajian pergerakan sosial. Pergerakan terorisme tidak hanya dapat dilihat dari sudut pandang negara meresponnya tetapi melihat lebih dalam bagaimana pergerakan kelompok terorisme membangun identitasnya dan menggunakannya sebagai penggerak para pendukungnya. Ilmu Hubungan Internasional tidak sebatas melihat isu-isu terorisme internasional dari sudut pandang politik tetapi dengan adanya penelitian ini memberikan sudut pandang baru yang berasal dari lingkup kajian sosiologis.

Meskipun penelitian ini mampu memberikan perspektif yang berbeda dalam melihat isu terorisme internasional, akan tetapi tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa masih diperlukannya perspektif berbeda di dalamnya. Penelitian ini masih

memiliki ruang untuk dieksplorasi khususnya mengenai dinamika kelompok seperti ISIS dengan kelompok teror lainnya, dampak pergerakan ISIS bagi keamanan dan ekonomi kawasan maupun sistem internasional, dan terakhir melihat program deradikalisasi sebagai kebijakan negara mengantisipasi pergerakan teror. Sehingga penulis menyadari bahwa tulisan atau penelitian ini dapat terus dikembangkan dengan menggunakan pendekatan-pendekatan lain yang relevan dalam ilmu Hubungan Internasional dan semakin berkontribusi mengembangkan bidang keilmuan ini.

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### **Buku dan Jurnal**

- Abu Bakr Naji. *The Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Umma Will Pass*. Diterjemahkan oleh William McCants. Harvard University: John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, 2006.
- Anshor, Ahmad Muhtadi. “DAR AL-ISLAM, DAR AL-HARB, DAR AL-SHULH Kajian Fikih Siyasah.” *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 8, no. 1 (Juni 2013): 54–68.
- Bakry, Umar Suryadi. *Metode Penelitian Hubungan Internasional*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2017.
- Beck, Colin J. “The Contribution of Social Movement Theory to Understanding Terrorism.” *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 5 (20 Agustus 2008): 1565–1581. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2008.00148.x>.
- Benford, Robert D., dan David A. Snow. “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment.” *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 2000, 611–39.
- Berger, Maurits. “Religion and Islam in Contemporary International Relations.” *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers*, no. 27 (April 2010).
- Blin, Arnaud. *History of Terrorism FROM ANTIQUITY TO AL QAEDA*. Diedit oleh Gérard Chaliand. Diterjemahkan oleh Edward Schneider, Kathryn Pulver, dan Jesse Browner. London, England: University of California Press, 2007.
- Bonner, Michael. *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practices*. 1 ed. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Borum, Randy. “Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories.” *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (2011): 7–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19440472.4.4.1>.
- Brown, L. Carl. *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics*. Columbia University Press, 2000. <http://www.ciaonet.org/book/brown/index.html>.
- Buckingham, David. “Introducing Identity.” In *Youth, Identity, and Digital Media*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2008.

- Christiansen, Jonathan. "Framing Theory." In *Sociology Reference Guide: Theories of Social Movement*, 1 ed. Salem Press, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Narrative and Social Movements." In *Sociology Reference Guide: Theories of Social Movement*, 1 ed. Salem Press, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Social Movements and Violence." In *Sociology Reference Guide: Theories of Social Movement*, 1 ed. Salem Press, 2011.
- Christmann, Kris. *Preventing Religious Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: A Systematic Review of The Research Evidence*. Inggris: Youth Justice Board, 2012.
- Cook, David. *Understanding Jihad*. 1 ed. London, England: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, 2005.
- DeJacimo, Gina K. "The Psychology of Terrorism and Radicalization." *Honors Research Projects*, 2015.
- Duta, Paul, dan Oana Bonteanu. "THE NEW CALIPHATE - A WAR OF ALL AGAINST ALL." *Research and Science Today*, no. 1 (2016).
- Englund, Scott, dan Michael Stohl. "Violent Political Movements: Comparing the Shining Path to the Islamic State." *PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM* 10, no. 4 (Agustus 2016).
- Espesito, John L. "Islam and Political Violence." *Religions* 6, no. 1 (2005): 1067–81. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel6031067>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Ganor, Boaz. "A 'Trend' Analysis of the Islamic State." *PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM* 9, no. 3 (Juni 2015).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Trends in Modern International Terrorism." In *To Protect and To Serve: Policing in an Age of Terrorism*. Springer-Verlag New York, 2011.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. *A History: ISIS*. Princeton University Press, n.d.
- Gerhard Bowering, ed. *Islamic Political Thought: An Introduction*. Princeton University Press, n.d.
- Graaff, Bob de. "IS and its Predecessors: Violent Extremism in Historical Perspective." *PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM* 10, no. 5 (Oktober 2016).
- Hassan, Muhammad Haniff. *Pray to Kill*. Jakarta: Grafindo Khazanah Ilmu, 2006.

- . “The Danger of Takfir (Excommunication): Exposing IS’ Takfiri Ideology.” *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 9, no. 4 (April 2017). <http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/316b8048-d26a-44cb-b4ce-48d8167f1c7c/pdf>.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. “Jihadi-Salafis or Revolutionaries?” In *Theology and Politics in the Study of Militant Islamism*, diedit oleh Roel Meijer, 244–66. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- . “The Future of Jihadism in Europe: A Pessimistic View.” *PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM* 10, no. 6 (Desember 2016): 156–70.
- Hegghammer, Thomas, dan Petter Nesser. “Assessing the Islamic State’s Commitment to Attack the West.” *PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM* 9, no. 4 (Agustus 2015): 14–30.
- Hoffman, Bruce. “‘Holy Terror’ : The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative.” *RAND*, 1993.
- . *Inside Terrorism*. 1 ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Hughes, Christopher W., dan Lai Yew Meng, ed. *Security Studies: A Reader*. Vol. 1. United States of America: Routledge, 2011.
- Hunt, Scott A., dan Robert D. Benford. “Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment.” In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, diedit oleh David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, dan Hanspeter Kriesi, 433–57. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004.
- Ionita, Livin, dan Anca Ionita. “DYNAMICS OF WORLDWIDE JIHAD PHENOMENON, FROM AL-QAEDA TO ISLAMIC STATE.” *STRATEGIC IMPACT* 1 (2015).
- Jackson, Richard. “Constructing Enemies: ‘Islamic Terrorism’ in Political and Academic Discourse.” *Government and Opposition* 42, no. 3 (2007): 394–426.
- John W. Creswell. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design : Choosing Among Five Approach*. 2 ed. Sage Publications, 2007.
- Joseph Kaminski. “Comparing Goals and Aspirations of National vs. Transnational Islamist Movements.” Diedit oleh Timothy Poirson dan Robert Oprisko, *Caliphates and Islamic Global Politics*, n.d.
- Josselson., Ruthellen. *Finding herself: pathways to identity development in women*. 1 ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987.

- Lahoud, Nelly. "The Islamic State: Between Aspirations and Realities." *GEORGETOWN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS XVII* (n.d.).
- Lia, Brynjar. "Jihadism in the Arab World after 2011 Explaining Its Expansion." *Middle East Policy Council XXIII*, no. 4 (2016).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Understanding Jihadi Proto-States." *PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM* 9, no. 4 (Agustus 2015).
- Maalouf, Amin. In The Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong. Diterjemahkan oleh Barbara Bray. New York: Arcade Publishing, 2012.
- McCants, William, Shadi Hamid, dan Rashid Dar. "Islamism after the Arab Spring: Between the Islamic State and the nation-state." *World Forum Papers 2015*. The Brookings Institution, Januari 2017.
- McGuire, Meredith B. *Religion: The Social Context*. 3 ed. California: Wardsworth Publishing Company, n.d.
- Moghadam, Assaf. "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Sala<sup>a</sup> Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2008): 46–78.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Salafi-Jihad as a Religious Ideology." *Combating Terrorism Center Sentinel* 1, no. 3 (Februari 2008).
- Moussalli, Ahmad. "Wahhabism, Salafism and Islamism: Who Is The Enemy?" *American University of Beirut*, 30 Januari 2009.
- Munir, Lily Zakiyah. "Islam and Politics." *Islam and Universal Values: Islam's Contribution to the Construction of a Pluralistic World*, 18 Maret 2004.
- Nesser, Petter, Anne Stenersen, dan Emilie Oftedal. "Jihadi Terrorism in Europe The IS-Effect." *PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM* 10, no. 6 (Desember 2016).
- Orton, Kyle. *Foreign Terrorist Attacks By The Islamic State, 2002-2016*. London, England: The Henry Jackson Society, n.d.
- Pandya, Amit. *Islam and Politics: Renewal and Resistance in the Muslim World*. Diedit oleh Ellen Laipson. Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 2009.
- Porta, Donatella della, dan Mario Diani. *Social movements : an introduction*. 2 ed. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006.
- Post, Jerrold, Farhana Ali, Schuyler W. Henderson, Stephen Shanfield, Jeff Victoroff, dan Stevan Weine. "The Psychology of Suicide Terrorism." *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Process* 72, no. 1 (2009): 13–31.

- Prayudi. "Analisis Kritis Tuduhan Terorisme Terhadap Islam." *Jurnal Masalah Sosial, Politik dan Kebijakan* 13, no. 3 (September 2009).
- Ranstorp, Magnus. "Terrorism in The Name of Religion." *Journal of International Affairs*, 1996, 41–62.
- Rhodes, Darion. "Salafist-Takfiri Jihadism: the Ideology of the Caucasus Emirate." *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, Maret 2014.
- Rijal, Syamsul. "RADIKALISME ISLAM KLASIK DAN KONTEMPORER: MEMBANDING KHAWARIJ DAN HIZBUT TAHRIR." *AL-FIKR*, Radikalisme Islam Klasik dan Kontemporer, 14, no. 2 (2010): 214–27.
- Robertson, Ann E. *Terrorism And Global Security*. Infobase Publishing, 2007.
- Saltman, Erin Marie, dan Charlie Winter. *Islamic State The Changing Face of Modern Jihadism*. Quilliam, 2014.
- Sen, Amartya. *Kekerasan dan Identitas*. Diterjemahkan oleh Arif Susanto. 2 ed. serpong, tangerang: marjin kiri, 2016.
- Seth J. Schwartz, Curtis S. Dunkel, dan Alan S. Waterman. "Terrorism: An Identity Theory Perspective." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, n.d. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100902888453>.
- Simon, Jeffery D. *Lone Wolf Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat*. Prometheus Book, 2016.
- Snow, David A., dan Robert D. Benford. "Ideology, Frame, Resonance and Participant Mobilization." *International Social Movement Research* 1 (1988): 197–217.
- Staiculescu, Ana Rodica, dan Alina Stan. "Identity in Conflict- A Case Study of Violence." *Contemporary Readings in Law and Social Justice* 4, no. 2 (2012): 774–85.
- Stern, Jessica. *Terror in The Name of God*. HarperCollins Publishers, 2003.
- Stern, Jessica, dan J.M. Berger. *ISIS: The State of Terror*. Harper Collins, 2016.
- Tarrow, Sidney G. *Power in Movement: Social Movement and Contentious Politics*. 3 ed. New York: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2011.
- Tatum, Beverly Daniel. "The Complexity of Identity 'Who Am I.'" In *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, sexism, anti-semitism, heterosexism, classism and ableism*. Routledge, 2000.

- Timothy Poirson. "Introduction: Caliphates and Islamic Global Politics." Dudit oleh Timothy Poirson dan Robert Oprisko, *Caliphates and Islamic Global Politics*, n.d.
- Ungureanu, Daniel. "Wahhabism, Salafism and the Expansion of Islamic Fundamentalist Ideology." *University of Iasi*, n.d.
- Venkatraman, Amirtha. "Religious Basis for Islamic Terrorism: The Quran and Its Interpretations." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Oktober 2007, 229–48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100600781612>.
- Warrick, Joby. *Black Flag The Rise of ISIS*. 1 ed. Anchor Books, 2016.
- Weck, Winfried, Noorhaidi Hasan, dan Irfan Abubakar, ed. *Islam in The Public Sphere: The Politics of Identity and The Future of Democracy in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, n.d.
- Wienclaw, Ruth A., dan Alexandra Howson. "Major Social Movements." In *Sociology Reference Guide: Theories of Social Movement*, 1 ed., 37–45. Salem Press, 2011.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 3 (2006): 207–239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100500497004>.
- "Foreign Fighters: An Updated Assessment of the Flow of Foreign Fighters into Syria and Iraq." The Soufan Group, desember 2015.
- "Debates among Salafi Muslims about use of violence Religious concepts central to arguments for and against violence." Summary Report. National Consortium for The Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Mei 2017.
- Majalah**
- DABIQ: AL-QAIDAH OF WAZIRISTAN*. 6 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.
- DABIQ: ATURAN ALLAH ATAU UNDANG-UNDANG MANUSIA*. 10 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.
- DABIQ: BĀQIYAH WA TATAMADDAD*. 5 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.
- DABIQ: Break The Cross*. 15 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.
- DABIQ: FROM HYPORYSY TO APOSTASY*. 7 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.
- DABIQ: HANYA TEROR*. 12 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.

*DABIQ: KEMBALINYA KHILAFAH.* 1 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.

*DABIQ: MAKAR MEREKA DAN MAKAR ALLAH.* 9 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.

*DABIQ: PANGGILAN UNTUK HIJRAH.* 3 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.

*DABIQ: THE FAILED CRUSADE.* 4 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.

*DABIQ: The Flood.* 2 ed. al- Hayat Media, n.d.

## Website

Ahrari, Ehsan. "How Islamophobia Helps ISIS and Breeds Extremism."

*Huffington Post* (blog), 23 Mei 2016. [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/ehsan-ahrari/islamophobia-isis-extremism\\_b\\_10029094.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/ehsan-ahrari/islamophobia-isis-extremism_b_10029094.html).

Black, Ian, dan Josh Halliday. "Abdelhamid Abaaoud: Alleged Mastermind of Paris Attacks." *The Guardian*, 16 November 2015, sec. World news.

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/16/abdel-hamid-abu-oud-alleged-mastermind-paris-attacks>.

Foster, Alice. "Terror attacks timeline: From Paris and Brussels terror to most recent attacks in Europe." Express.co.uk, 21 April 2017.

<http://www.express.co.uk/pictures/galleries/5443/brussels-airport-explosions-dead-terror-attacks-in-pictures>.

Ge, Linda, dan Jordan Burchette. "84 Dead in France After Bastille Day Attack." TheWrap, 14 Juli 2016. <https://www.thewrap.com/dozens-dead-injured-in-france-during-bastille-day-celebration-report/>.

Hackett, Conrad. "5 facts about the Muslim population in Europe." *Pew Research Center* (blog), 19 Juli 2016. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/19/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>.

Henderson, Barney, dan Rozina Sabur. "Nice Terrorist Attack on Bastille Day: Everything We Know so Far on Monday." *The Telegraph*, 15 Juli 2016. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/15/nice-terror-attack-on-bastille-day-everything-we-know-so-far-on/>.

Joffe, Lawrence. "Obituary: Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi." *The Guardian*, 8 Juni 2006, sec. World news.

<http://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/jun/09/guardianobituaries.alqaida>.

Lister, Tim, Ray Sanchez, Mark Bixler, Sean O'Key, Michael Hogenmiller, dan Mohammed Tawfeeq. "ISIS goes global: 126 attacks in 23 countries have killed over 1,730." CNN. Diakses 25 April 2017.

<http://gantdaily.com/2016/07/06/isis-goes-global-126-attacks-in-23-countries-have-killed-over-1730/>.

Mabid Al-Jarhi. *The Islamic Political System: A Basic Value Approach*. 72706. Munich Personal RePEc Archive, 2006. <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/72706/>.

McCants, William. “Who Is Islamic State Leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi?” *BBC News*, 8 Maret 2016, sec. Middle East. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35694311>.

McFate, Jessica Lewis, dan Harleen Gambhir. “Islamic State’s Global Ambitions.” *The Wall Street Journal*, 22 Februari 2015. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/islamic-states-global-ambitions-1424646205>.

Neumann, Peter. What motivated the terror attacks in Paris? Interview oleh William Brangham. PBS NEWSHOUR, November 2015. <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/what-motivated-the-terror-attacks-in-paris/>.

Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani, dan Shaykh Seraj Hendricks. “Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam.” Islamic Supreme Council of America, n.d. <http://islamicsupremecouncil.org/understanding-islam/legal-rulings/5-jihad-a-misunderstood-concept-from-islam.html?start=9>.

Steafel, Eleanor. “Paris Terror Attack: Everything We Know on Saturday Afternoon.” *Telegraph*, 21 November 2015, sec. World. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11995246/Paris-shooting-What-we-know-so-far.html>.

Vincent, Isabel, dan Laura Italiano. “Horrifying details of the Bataclan Theatre massacre revealed.” *New York Post* (blog), 15 Juli 2016. <http://nypost.com/2016/07/15/horrifying-details-of-the-bataclan-theatre-massacre-revealed/>.

Zalman, Amy. “Your Guide to the History of Terrorism.” About.com News & Issues, 30 September 2016. <http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/p/Terrorism.htm>

“10 years after Amman bombings, war on terror ‘remains our war.’” Jordan Times, 9 November 2015. <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/10-years-after-amman-bombings-war-terror-remains-our-war%E2%80%99>.

“Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.” Counter Extremism Project, 19 Februari 2016. <https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abu-musab-al-zarqawi>.

“Attacker in Nice ‘radicalized very quickly.’” CNN. Diakses 11 Oktober 2017.  
<http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/16/europe/france-attack-on-nice-isis/index.html>.

“Death toll rises to 85 in Bastille Day attack in Nice.” CNN, n.d.  
<http://www.cnn.com/2016/08/05/europe/nice-france-attack-victim/index.html>.

“Defiant Hollande promises country will strengthen role in Iraq.” Mail Online, 15 Juli 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3691157/President-Francois-Hollande-holding-crisis-meeting-response-Nice-massacre-just-hours-making-speech-declaring-plans-end-France-s-nine-month-state-emergency.html>.

“France: Extremism & Counter-Extremism.” Counter Extremism Project, 3 November 2015. <https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/france>.

“French President sets out response to Paris terror attacks.” France in the United Kingdom - La France au Royaume-Uni. Diakses 11 Oktober 2017.  
<https://uk.ambafrance.org/French-President-sets-out-response-to-Paris-terror-attacks>.

“Hollande says Paris attacks ‘an act of war’ by Islamic State.” *Reuters*, 14 November 2015. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-shooting-hollande/hollande-says-paris-attacks-were-act-of-war-idUSKCN0T30JG20151114>.

“IS conflict: France launches air strikes in Syria - BBC News.” Diakses 19 Oktober 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34372892>.

“Islamic State Caliphate Shrinks a Further 12 Percent in 2016, IHS Says | IHS Online Newsroom.” Diakses 9 Oktober 2017.  
<http://news.ihsmarkit.com/press-release/aerospace-defense-security/islamic-state-caliphate-shrinks-further-12-percent-2016-ihs>.

“Islamic State calls for attacks on the West during Ramadan in audio message.” *Reuters*, 22 Mei 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-islamicstate/islamic-state-calls-for-attacks-on-the-west-during-ramadan-audio-message-idUSKCN0YC0OG>.

“Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS).” Project on Violent Conflict, Rockefeller Collage of Public Affairs and Policy, 21 September 2015.  
<http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/islamicstateiraqandalshamisis>.

“Islamic State: Where Key Countries Stand.” *BBC News*, 3 Desember 2015, sec. Middle East. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29074514>.

“Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel, Nice truck attacker, was ‘radicalized very quickly.’” The Washington Times. Diakses 12 Oktober 2017.

//www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/jul/17/mohamed-lahouaiej-bouhlel-nice-truck-attacker-was-/

“National Counterterrorism Center | Groups.” Counter Terrorism Guide. Diakses 7 Februari 2017. <https://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/isil.html>.

“Nice attack: No link found between Isis and Bastille Day attacker, says French interior minister.” The Independent, 18 Juli 2016.

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/nice-attack-bastille-day-attacker-mohamed-lahouaiej-bouhlel-isis-link-france-terror-a7142576.html>.

“Paris Attacks: What Happened on the Night.” *BBC News*, 9 Desember 2015, sec. Europe. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>.

“Prime Minister strengthens anti-terrorism measures.” France in the United Kingdom - La France au Royaume-Uni. Diakses 11 Oktober 2017.

<https://uk.ambafrance.org/Prime-Minister-strengthens-anti>.

“Profile: Syria’s Al-Nusra Front.” *BBC News*, 10 April 2013, sec. Middle East. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-18048033>.

“READ: Official ISIS Statement on Nice, France Terrorist Attack.” *Heavy.com* (blog), 16 Juli 2016. <http://heavy.com/news/2016/07/isis-islamic-state-official-statement-nice-july-14-bastille-day-terrorist-truck-attack-mohamed-lahouaiej-bouhlel-amaq-news/>.

“‘Spider in web’ mastermind of Paris attacks killed in raid.” *Reuters*, 20 November 2015. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-shooting/spider-in-web-mastermind-of-paris-attacks-killed-in-raid-idUSKCN0T22IU20151120>.

“Terrorism.” National Institute of Justice. Diakses 8 Februari 2017. <http://www.nij.gov:80/topics/crime/terrorism/Pages/welcome.aspx>.

“The Islamic State.” Standford University | Mapping Militant Organizations. Diakses 6 Oktober 2017. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/1>.

“This map shows how much territory ISIS has lost in 2016.” World Economic Forum. Diakses 13 Oktober 2017.

<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/10/this-map-shows-how-much-territory-isis-has-lost-in-2016/>.

“Three Hours of Terror in Paris, Moment by Moment.” *The New York Times*, 13 November 2015, sec. World.

<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/13/world/europe/paris-shooting-attacks.html>.

“Timeline: Attacks in France.” *BBC News*, 26 Juli 2016, sec. Europe.  
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33288542>.

“Unraveling the Connections Among the Paris Attackers.” *The New York Times*, 15 November 2015, sec. World.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/15/world/europe/manhunt-for-paris-attackers.html>.

“What happened during the Paris terror attacks, where’s the Bataclan theatre and how many died?” *The Sun*, 24 Mei 2017.  
<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2163925/bataclan-massacre-paris-attacks-2015/>.

“Who Was Mohamed Lahouaiej-Bouhlel?” *BBC News*, 19 Agustus 2016, sec. Europe. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36801763>.

“Who Were the Paris Attackers?” *BBC News*, 27 April 2016, sec. Europe.  
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34832512>.