

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

### **Buku**

- Asfar, A.M., & Nur, S. (2018). *Model Pembelajaran Problem Posing & Solving: Meningkatkan Kemampuan Pemecahan Masalah*. Kab. Sukabumi, Jawa Barat: CV Jejak.
- Biagi, S. (2015). *Media/Impact: An Introduction To Mass Media*. Standford: Cengage Learning.
- Burgess, G. (2008). *Refugee in the Land of Liberty: France and its Refugees, from the Revolution to the End of Asylum*.
- Charles W. Kegley, S. L. (2010). *World Politics: Trend and Transformation 2010-2011 Edition*. Wadsworth Publishing.
- Cresswell, J. W. (1994). *Research Design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches*. SAGE Publications.
- Debord, G. E. (1991). *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*. London: Verso Books.
- Eriyanto. (2002). *Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media*. Yogyakarta: PT LKiS Printing Cemerlang.
- Eriyanto. (2018). *Media dan Opini Publik: Bagaimana Media Menciptakan Isu (Agenda Setting), Melakukan Pembingkaiian (Framing, dan Mengarahkan Pandangan Publik (Priming)*. Depok: Rajagrafindo Persada.
- Graber, D. A. (1984). *Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Habermas, J. (1989). *The Structural Transformation of The Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Gourageois Society*. MIT Press.
- Hill, C. (2003). *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hugh C. Dyer, L. M. (1989). *The Study of International Relation: The State of The Art*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ibnu Hamad, H. S. (2004). *Konstruksi Realitas Politik dalam Media Massa: Sebuah Studi Critical Discourse Analysis Terhadap Berita-Berita Politik*. Jakarta: Jakarta Granit.
- Karanja, S. (2008). *Transparency and Proportionality in the Schengen Information System and Border Control Cooperation*. Netherlands: The Raoul Wallenberg Institute Human Rights Library.

- McPhail, T. L. (2006). *Global Communication Theories and Stakeholders and Trends*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Mochtar Pabottingi, H. H. (2008). *Potret Politik Kaum Muslim di Prancis dan Kanada*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar & P2P LIPI.
- Napoli, L. (2020). *Up All Night: Ted Turner, CNN, and The Birth of 24-Hour News*. New York: Abrams Press.
- Paul R. Viotti, M. V. (2007). *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond (Third Edition)*. Allyn and Bacon.
- Prasodjo, E. (2009). *Pemerintahan Politik Lokal di Jerman dan di Perancis*. Jakarta: Penerbit Salemba.
- Richard W. Mansbach, K. L. (2017). *Introduction to Global Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Stanley J. Baran, D. K. (2014). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future*. Wadsworth Publishing.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (2011). *Making Sense of Media and Politics: Five Principles in Political Communication*. New York: Routledge.
- Zucker, H. (1979). *The Variable Nature of News Media Influence*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

### **Dokumen dan Laporan**

- Human Rights Watch . (2015). *Europe Refugee Crisis: An Agenda For Action*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/11/16/europes-refugee-crisis/agenda-action#:~:text=Human%20Rights%20Watch%20recommends%20action,with%20other%20countries%20improves%20refugee>
- International Commission of Jurists. (2019). *Comparative research on counter-terrorism laws and practices in second-tier priority countries*. International Commission of Jurists.
- Légifrance. (2023). Retrieved from <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/loda/id/JORFTEXT000000695350>
- Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères. (2015). *Déclarations officielles et Points de presse*. Retrieved from <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/photos-videos-publications-infographies/bases-documentaires/declarations-officielles-et-points-de-presse/>
- UNHCR. (2015). *Global Trends Forced Displacement in 2015*. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/media/unhcr-global-trends-2015>

### **Jurnal dan Penelitian**

- Adrianti, N. (2015). Peran Media Massa Nasional dalam Politik Internasional. *Informasi: Kajian Ilmu Komunikasi Vol. 45*, 43-56.
- Anjasmara, U. (2017). Upaya Perancis dalam Meningkatkan Keamanan Pasca Bom Paris. *E-Journal Ilmu hubungan Internasional*, 845-860.
- Arunima Kumar, R. J. (2020). News Discourse of Terror Attacks on Twitter: Comparative Analysis of CNN and Al Jazeera's Coverage of 2015 Islamic State Attacks in Beirut and Paris. *Media Watch*, 35-49.
- Ayu, G. A. (2022). Framing Media CNN Terkait Pemberitaan Perang Irak Pada Maret-April 2003. 1-14
- Benjamin E Goldsmith, Y. H. (2012). In Search of Soft Power: Does Foreign Public Opinion Matter for US Foreign Policy? *Journal of World Politics*, 555-585.
- Benson, R. (2015). What Makes for a Critical Press? A Case Study of French and U.S. Immigration News Coverage. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 3-24.
- Damayanti, I. (2013). Analisis Framing Pemberitaan "Madrid Untuk Palestina, Warga Gaza Boikot Barca" Pada Rubrik Kick Off di Harian Umum Republika Edisi 29 September 2012. 1-82.
- Dhea T. Lumentut, Y. G. (2020). Analisis Kebijakan Luar Negeri John Howard Terhadap Imigran Illegal di Australia. *Jurnal Asia Pacific Studies*, 46-59.
- Ferarto, G. D. (2017). Peran Media Massa Terhadap Perubahan Kebijakan Perancis Kasus: Paris Attack 2015. *Jurnal Analisis Hubungan Internasional*, 245-261.
- Fitriana, S. (2018). *Kebijakan Immigration Choisie dan Dampaknya bagi Imigran di Prancis*. Depok: Universitas Indonesia.
- Fredette, J. (2017). The French State of Emergency. *Current History*, 101-106.
- Gilboa, E. (2016). The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations. *Political Communication*, 27-44.
- Gumilar, D. (2020). *Eksplorasi Ruang Ketakutan: Analisis Peran Elit Politik dan Kelompok Penekan Dalam Upaya Sekuritisasi Islamofobia Melalui Kebijakan Imigrasi Perancis*. Semarang: Universitas Diponegoro.
- Habermas, J., Lennox, S., & Lennox, F. (2007). The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article. *New German Critique*, 49-55.
- Heptana, H. (2017). *Analisis Upaya Pemerintah Perancis Dalam Menghadapi Gerakan Terorisme ISIS Tahun 2013-2015*. Malang: Universitas Brawijaya.

- Jurgen Gerhards, M. S. (2014). International terrorism, domestic coverage? How terrorist attacks are presented in the news of CNN, Al Jazeera, the BBC, and ARD. *International Communication Gazette*, 3-26.
- Livingston, S. (1997). *Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention*. John F. Kennedy School of Government's Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University.
- Maxwell E. McCombs, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 176-187.
- Mol, C. V., & Valk, H. A. (2016). Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective. In H. A. Christof Van Mol, *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors* (pp. 31-55). Springer Cham.
- Nasrullah, R. (2012). Internet dan Ruang Publik Virtual, Sebuah Refleksi atas Teori Ruang Publik Habermas. *Jurnal Komunikator*, 33-45.
- Naveh, C. (2002). The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision Making: A Theoretical Framework. *Conflict and Communication Online*.
- Prasetyo, Z. V. (2018). *Analisis Faktor Kebijakan Luar Negeri Perancis Dalam Penerimaan Pengungsi Suriah 2015*. Malang: Universitas Brawijaya.
- Purbasari, T. J. (2016). *Pengaruh Pemberitaan CNN terhadap Legitimasi Masyarakat Atas Kebijakan A.S dalam Invasi Irak Tahun 2003*. Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.
- Putranto, L. J. (2019). *Implementasi Perubahan Orientasi Kebijakan Luar Negeri Perancis ke Suriah Pasca Paris Attack 2015*. Bandung: Universitas Katolik Parahyangan.
- Rezza, S. (2019). *Kontribusi Efek CNN dari Media Televisi Amerika Terhadap Kebijakan Intervensi Militer Amerika Serikat di Irak Pada Era George H. W. Bush*. Surabaya: Universitas Airlangga.
- Saputro, P. B. (2017). Relevansi Perjanjian Schengen Pasca Serangan Teror ISIS di Eropa Periode 2015-2016. *International & Diplomacy Vol. 2*, 185-215.
- Satwika, G. M. (2019). *Pengaruh Media Massa Perancis dalam Membentuk Opini Publik Terkait Kebijakan Luar Negeri Perancis Di Suriah Pasca Paris Attack 2015*. Bandung: Universitas Katolik Parahyangan.
- Setiawan, A. (2019). Peran Media Massa Dalam Politik Luar Negeri: Kasus Di Indonesia. *Jurnal Mandala: Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 45-63.
- Syachrumayah Asri, M. N. (2017). Perdagangan Informal Pelintas Batas di Kabupaten Malinau dan Serawak Malaysia. *Jurnal Paradigma Vol.6*.

- Tias, R. P. (2014). *CNN Effects Dalam Politik Global Dan Masyarakat Sebagai Representatif Media Global Amerika Serikat*. Malang: Universitas Brawijaya .
- Tomas Olego, C. L. (2016). Public Opinion and Framing Effects of Argentine Foreign Policy Towards Brazil: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Urban Centers in Argentina. *Journal of Rio de Janeiro*, 241-275.
- Viorst, M. (1996). The Muslims of France. *Foreign Affairs*, 78-96.
- Waluyo, B. D. (2018). *Dampak Paris Attack Terhadap Pengungsi Suriah di Prancis*. Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.
- Wicaksono, M. A. (2013). *Implikasi French Immigration and Integration Law Terhadap Ruang Publik Imigran Muslim di Prancis Pada Pemerintahan Nicolas Sarkozy*. Malang: Universitas Brawijaya.

### **Laman Web**

- BBC. (2015). *Paris attacks: President Hollande's search for allies* Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34902832>
- BBC. (2015). *Paris attacks: What happened on the night*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>
- BBC. (2015). *Paris attacks: UN backs 'all necessary measures' against IS*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34886971>
- BBC. (2016). *Paris attacks: Who were the attackers?* Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34832512>
- BBC. (2016). *Schengen: Controversial EU free movement deal explained*. Retrieved from [bbc.com: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13194723](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13194723)
- BBC. (2021). *Paris attacks trial: Abdeslam blames France for bombing IS*. Retrieved from [bbc.com: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-58568278](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-58568278)
- BBC. (2021). *Paris attacks: Historic day of reckoning for night of terror*. Retrieved from [bbc.com: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-58472506](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-58472506)
- CNN. (2001). *'You are either with us or against us'*. Retrieved from [edition.cnn.com: https://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/11/06/gen.attack.on.terror/](https://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/11/06/gen.attack.on.terror/)
- CNN. (2003). *Top U.S official: Iraq has executed some POWs*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2003/US/03/27/sprj.iqr.pows.executed/index.html>
- CNN. (2003). *U.S Launches Cruise Missiles at Saddam*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/03/19/sprj.iqr.main/>

- CNN. (2014). *New Global Survey Ranks CNN As Top International News Brand*. Washington DC. Retrieved from <https://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2014/10/16/new-global-survey-ranks-cnn-as-top-international-news-brand/#:~:text=New%20Global%20Survey%20Ranks%20CNN%20As%20Top%20International%20News%20Brand,-Global%20independent%20study&text=The%20latest%20IPSOS%20Affluent%20Global,Africa%2C%20Asia%20and%20Latin%20America>.
- CNN. (2015). *2 killed, 8 held after France raid, but suspected ringleader's status unknown*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/18/world/paris-attacks/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *After Paris terror, 'Jungle' refugees fear yet more hatred, suspicion*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/20/europe/paris-terror-jungle-calais/>
- CNN. (2015). *'France is at war,' President Francois Hollande says after ISIS attack*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/16/world/paris-attacks/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *France remembers Paris terror victims after Hollande beats war drums*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/27/world/paris-attacks/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *French jets bomb ISIS stronghold of Raqqa, Syria: few may have been killed*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/15/middleeast/france-announces-raqqa-airstrikes-on-isis/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *ISIS videos show children training to kill*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2015/11/18/isis-inside-raqqa-syria-training-video-labott-tsr-pkg.cnn>
- CNN. (2015). *Inside the Bataclan: 'A bloodbath,' witness says*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/16/world/paris-attacks-syrian-refugees-backlash/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *More than half the nation's governors say Syrian refugees not welcome*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/16/world/paris-attacks-syrian-refugees-backlash/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *Man came face to face with terrorist before stadium bombing*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/20/europe/stade-de-france-survivor-paris-attacks/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *Paris massacre: At least 128 killed in gunfire and blasts, French officials say*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/13/world/paris-shooting/index.html#:~:text=At%20least%20128%20people%20were,socc>

er%20match%20was%20being%20played.&text=The%20worst%20carnage%20occurred%20at,at%20least%2080%20left%20dead.

- CNN. (2015). *Paris suicide bomber identified; ISIS claims responsibility for 129 dead*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/14/world/paris-attacks/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *Passport linked to terrorist complicates Syrian refugee crisis*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/15/europe/paris-attacks-passports/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *Possible suicide vest found in Paris suburb*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/23/world/paris-attacks/index.html>
- CNN. (2015). *U.S. officials say no known threat to the homeland in the wake of the Paris attacks*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/11/13/politics/paris-terror-attacks-us-intelligence/index.html>
- CNN. (2016). *The attempted assassination of Reagan*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/17/us/gallery/crimes-of-the-century-reagan/index.html>
- CNN. (2022). *2015 Charlie Hebdo Attacks Fast Facts*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/21/europe/2015-paris-terror-attacks-fast-facts/index.html>
- CNN. (2022). *2015: Paris Terror Attacks Fast Facts*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/12/08/europe/2015-paris-terror-attacks-fast-facts/index.html>
- CNN Editorial Research. (2022). *2015 Paris Terror Attacks Fast Facts*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/21/europe/2015-paris-terror-attacks-fast-facts/index.html>
- CSIS. (2017). *After the Paris Attacks, a European Anti-ISIS Coalition Comes Together*. Retrieved from <https://www.csis.org/analysis/after-paris-attacks-european-anti-isis-coalition-comes-together>
- Euronews. (2015). *France: Security Tightened at Places of Worship Ahead of Festive Season*. Retrieved from <https://www.euronews.com/2015/12/22/france-security-tightened-at-places-of-worship-ahead-of-festive-season>
- France24. (2015, November 19). *Locals upset after police raid Paris suburb mosque*. Retrieved from [observers.france24.com: https://observers.france24.com/en/20151118-police-raid-paris-suburb-mosque-aubervilliers](https://observers.france24.com/en/20151118-police-raid-paris-suburb-mosque-aubervilliers)

- France24. (2012). *France sees 'alarming' rise in Islamophobia*. Retrieved from france24.com: <https://www.france24.com/en/20121120-islamophobia-france-increasing-alarmingly-national-front-anti-semitism>
- France24. (2015). *Paris Attacks: An Unprecedented Investigation*. Retrieved from <https://graphics.france24.com/paris-attacks-investigation-terrorism-belgium-bataclan-suspects/>
- France24. (2016). *France votes to extend state of emergency for fifth time*. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/en/20161214-france-votes-extend-state-emergency-fifth-time>
- France24. (2023). *Belgian court finds Paris attacker Salah Abdeslam guilty of murder in 2016 Brussels bombings*. Retrieved from france24.com: <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20230725-%F0%9F%94%B4-belgian-court-finds-paris-attacker-salah-abdeslam-guilty-of-murder-in-2016-brussels-bombings>
- HuffPost. (2015). *French Is Still Accepting 30,000 Refugees While Some American Politicians Want To Ban Them*. Retrieved from [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/hollande-france-plans-to-take-in-30000-refugees-over-two-years\\_n\\_564c78bae4b06037734bb934](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/hollande-france-plans-to-take-in-30000-refugees-over-two-years_n_564c78bae4b06037734bb934)
- Independent. (2014). *France gripped by fear at Christmas after third street attack in three days*. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/france-gripped-by-fear-at-christmas-after-third-street-attack-in-three-days-9943109.html>
- Independent. (2016). *'They are coming': French mayor launches poster campaign after his town accepts 40 refugees*. Retrieved from independent.co.uk: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/antimigrant-poster-they-are-coming-beziers-refugees-robert-menard-french-town-calais-a7358186.html>
- ITV News. (2016). *Belgium impose border controls with France in wake of attacks*. Retrieved from itv.com: <https://www.itv.com/news/update/2015-11-14/belgium-impose-border-controls-with-france-in-wake-of-attacks/>
- NBC News. (2015). *Paris Attacks: Syria Refugees in France's 'Jungle' Fear Backlash*. Retrieved from nbcnews.com: <https://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/paris-terror-attacks/paris-attacks-syria-refugees-frances-jungle-fear-backlash-n466076>
- Pew Research Center. (2016). *Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015*. Retrieved from pewresearch.org: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/>
- Pew Research Center. (2016). *Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015*. Retrieved from

<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/#:~:text=A%20record%201.3%20million%20migrants,to%20a%20Pew%20Research%20Center>

Pew Research Center. (2017). *Europe's Growing Muslim Population*. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/>

Reuters. (2015). *From assaults to graffiti, French Muslims take hit after attacks*. Retrieved from reuters.com: <https://www.reuters.com/article/france-shootings-antimuslim-idINKCN0T92T220151120>

Reuters. (2015). *ISIS Claims Responsibility for Paris Terror Attacks*. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-security-idUSKBN1GZ1EY>

The Guardian. (2015). *Paris Attacks: Survivors and victims' families attend memorial ceremony- as it happened*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2015/nov/27/paris-attacks-victims-families-attend-solemn-memorial-ceremony-two-weeks-on>

The Guardian. (2015). *Two violent hate crimes in Marseille in wake of Paris attacks*. Retrieved from [the-guardian.com: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/19/two-violent-hate-crimes-in-marseille-in-wake-of-paris-attacks](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/nov/19/two-violent-hate-crimes-in-marseille-in-wake-of-paris-attacks)

The Guardian. (2016). *French parliament votes to extend state of emergency until after 2017 elections*. Retrieved from [the-guardian.com: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/14/french-parliament-votes-to-extend-state-of-emergency-until-after-2017-elections](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/14/french-parliament-votes-to-extend-state-of-emergency-until-after-2017-elections)

The New York Times. (2016). *Unraveling the Connections Among the Paris Attackers*. Retrieved from [nytimes.com: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/15/world/europe/manhunt-for-paris-attackers.html](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/11/15/world/europe/manhunt-for-paris-attackers.html)

The Washington Post. (2012). *Rabbi, three children shot dead outside Jewish school in France*. Retrieved from [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/father-two-children-shot-dead-outside-jewish-school-in-france/2012/03/19/gIQAclfUMS\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/father-two-children-shot-dead-outside-jewish-school-in-france/2012/03/19/gIQAclfUMS_story.html)

The Washington Post. (2015). *CNN anchor blames French Muslims for failure to prevent attacks*. Retrieved from [washingtonpost.com: https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2015/11/16/cnn-anchor-blames-french-muslims-for-failure-to-prevent-attacks/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2015/11/16/cnn-anchor-blames-french-muslims-for-failure-to-prevent-attacks/)

The Washington Post. (2015). *CNN anchor blames French Muslims for failure to prevent attacks*. Retrieved from

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/erik-wemple/wp/2015/11/16/cnn-anchor-blames-french-muslims-for-failure-to-prevent-attacks/>

VOA News. (2015). *After Terrorist Attacks, Support in France for Refugees Fades*. Retrieved from voanews.com: <https://www.voanews.com/a/after-terrorist-attacks-support-in-france-for-refugees-fades/3077233.html>