

## DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abbas, H. (2012). *Governance of Diversity in Syria*. Arab Reform Initiative. [https://s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/storage.arab-reform.net/ari/2012/06/31140142/Arab\\_Reform\\_Initiative\\_2012-08\\_Research\\_Paper\\_en\\_democratic\\_governance\\_of\\_security\\_in\\_morocco.pdf](https://s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/storage.arab-reform.net/ari/2012/06/31140142/Arab_Reform_Initiative_2012-08_Research_Paper_en_democratic_governance_of_security_in_morocco.pdf)
- ABC News. (2016). Two Years of U.S.-led Airstrikes on ISIS in Syria and Iraq in Numbers. *ABC News*. <https://abcnews.go.com/International/years-us-led-airstrikes-isis-syria-iraq-show/story?id=41206050>
- Adipura, A. R., & Wardoyo, B. (2022). Intervensi Amerika Serikat dalam Perang Sipil Suriah, 2011– 2017. *Global and Policy Journal of International Relations*, 9(2). <https://doi.org/10.33005/jgp.v9i2.3011>
- Ahmed, Md. S. (2024). Syrian Civil War and Sectarian Conflicts: A Critical Analysis. *Www.researchgate.net*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.30259.44324>
- Airwars. (2016). *Annual assessment 2016: Civilians paid heavy price in Coalition and Russian airstrikes*. Airwars.org. <https://airwars.org/civilians-at-far-greater-risk-from-coalition-airstrikes-in-2016/>
- Akdedian, H. (2019). Ethno-Religious Belonging in the Syrian Conflict: Between Communitarianism and Sectarianization. *Middle East Journal*, 73(3), 417–437. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26933087>
- Al Jazeera. (2018, April 14). *Syria's war explained from the beginning*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/4/14/syrias-war-explained-from-the-beginning>
- Al Jazeera. (2019, Oktober 7). *Timeline: US intervention in Syria's war since 2011*. *Www.aljazeera.com*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/7/timeline-us-intervention-in-syrias-war-since-2011>
- Amnesty Internasional. (2016). *USA must come clean about civilian deaths caused by Coalition air strikes in Syria - Amnesty International*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.nl/actueel/usa-must-come-clean-about-civilian-deaths-caused-by-coalition-air-strikes-in-syria>
- ARK Group DMCC. (2016). *The Syrian Conflict: A Systems Conflict Analysis*. <https://www.cdacollaborative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/The-Syrian-conflict-A-systems-conflict-analysis.pdf>



- Assad, B. (2014). *Al-Rayes al-Assad yuadi al-Qassam al-dustouri [President Bashar Assad takes oath for office]*. SANA. <http://www.sana.sy/?p=23039>
- Bakkour, S., & Stansfield, G. (2024). Sectarianism, indiscriminate violence and displacement in the Syrian Regime's Civil War strategy. *Conflict, Security, Development/Conflict, Security & Development*, 24(3), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2024.2349057>
- Barnett, M. (2016). American exceptionalism and the construction of the war on terror: An analysis of counterterrorism policies under Clinton, Bush, and Obama. [https://securitypolicylaw.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Barnett\\_American-Exceptionalism\\_and\\_the\\_Construction\\_of\\_the\\_War\\_on-Terror-mwedit111716.pdf](https://securitypolicylaw.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Barnett_American-Exceptionalism_and_the_Construction_of_the_War_on-Terror-mwedit111716.pdf)
- BBC. (2012, August 20). Obama warns Syria chemical weapons use may spark US action. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-19319446>
- Blanchard, C. M. (2025). Syria: Transition and U.S. Policy. In *congress.gov*. Congressional Research Service. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RL33487#:~:text=Since%202014%2C%20U.S.%20military%20operations,to%20be%20dissolved%2C%20including%20HTS>.
- Britannica. (2025). Syrian Civil War. In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Syrian-Civil-War>
- Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious life: The powers of mourning and violence*. Verso.
- Cannone, M. (2021). *Sectarianism and Ethnic Group Mobilization: The case of the Syrian civil war*. Leiden University Student Repository. <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3243885>
- Carney, J. (2012, December 12). Press briefing. The White House. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/12/12/press-briefing-press-secretary-jay-carney-12122012>
- Corstange, D., & York, E. A. (2018). Sectarian Framing in the Syrian Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(2), 441–455. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26598740>
- Crompton, P. (2016, March 16). *A look at Assad's half-decade of defiant speeches*. Al Arabiya English. <https://english.alarabiya.net/features/2016/03/14/A-look-at-Assad-s-half-decade-of-defiant-speeches>
- Dibo, M. (2014). Assad's Secular Sectarianism. OpenDemocracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/assads-secular-sectarianism>



- Feltman, J. D. (2011, November 9). *U.S. policy in Syria*. U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South and Central Asian Affairs. <https://www.congress.gov/112/chrg/CHRG-112shrg73917/CHRG-112shrg73917.pdf>
- Finaldin, T. (2019). Persaingan Amerika Serikat dan Rusia melalui Intervensi Militer dalam Konflik Suriah. *Global Mind*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.53675/jgm.v1i1.54>
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case study. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (1st ed., pp. 301–316). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Fordham, A., & DeYoung, K. (2012, February 6). *U.S. pulls diplomats out of Syria as violence intensifies*. The Washington Post. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-pulls-diplomats-out-of-syria-as-violence-intensifies/2012/02/06/gIQAN1CxtQ\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/us-pulls-diplomats-out-of-syria-as-violence-intensifies/2012/02/06/gIQAN1CxtQ_story.html)
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301>
- Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), 291–305. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0022343390027003005>
- Hadaya, S. (2020). Sectarianisation in Syria: the disintegration of a popular struggle. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 20(5), 607–629. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2020.1833520>
- Haid, M. (2025, April 22). *The Collective Psychology of Massacre: Syria as a Case Study - Daraj*. Daraj. <https://daraj.media/en/the-collective-psychology-of-genocide-syria-as-a-case-study/>
- Holland, J., & Mathieu, X. (2023). Narratology and US Foreign Policy in Syria: Beyond Identity Binaries, toward Narrative Power. *International Studies Quarterly*, 67(4). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqad078>
- Human Rights Watch. (2014). *World report 2014: Syria*. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2014/country-chapters/syria>
- Humud, C. E., Blanchard, C. M., & Nikitin, M. B. D. (2019). *Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response*. Congressional Research Service. [https://www.congress.gov/crs\\_external\\_products/RL/PDF/RL33487/RL33487.161.pdf](https://www.congress.gov/crs_external_products/RL/PDF/RL33487/RL33487.161.pdf)
- Hunaidi, S. (2025). *Sectarian violence in Syria: Assad's long shadow*. Qantara.de - Dialog Mit Der Islamischen Welt. <https://qantara.de/en/article/sectarian-violence-syria-assads-long-shadow>.



- Ismail, S. (2011). The Syrian Uprising: Imagining and Performing the Nation. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 11(3), 538–549. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1754-9469.2011.01136.x>
- Jervis, D. (2018). Barack Obama, Syria, and the Exertion of American Military Power. *TEKA of Political Science and International Relations*, 12(1), 41. <https://doi.org/10.17951/teka.2017.12.1.41>
- Keen, D. (2017). *Syria Playing into Their Hands: Regime and International Roles in Fuelling Violence and Fundamentalism in the Syrian war*. Saferworld. <https://www.saferworld-global.org/downloads/syria-playing-into-their-hands.pdf>
- Khaddour, K. (2015). The Alawite Dilemma (Homs 2012). In *Playing the Sectarian Card Identities and Affiliations of Local Communities in Syria*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/beirut/12320.pdf>
- Khan, T., Asif, D. M., & Abidah. (2022). International Law And Legality Of U.S Humanitarian Military Intervention In Syria. *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 6(7), 2224–2233. <https://journalppw.com/index.php/jpsp/article/view/11722>
- Lakitsch, M. (2017). The Sectarian Dimension of Political Legitimacy in Syria: The National Roots of Sectarian Violence in the Syrian war. *Sicherheit Und Frieden (S+F) / Security and Peace*, 35(2), 91–96. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26428672>
- Malantowicz, A. (2013). Civil War in Syria and the “New Wars” Debate. *Amsterdam Law Forum*, 5(3), 52. <https://doi.org/10.37974/alf.260>
- Menshawy, M. (2022). The irony of sectarianism: Sectarianizing by desectarianizing in Syria. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 31(2), 131–150. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12263>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). Sage.
- Mortel, J. V. D. (2014). Framing U.S. Policy on Libya and Syria: A Comparative Analysis on the Frames of Two Similar Conflicts. *Utrecht University Student Theses Repository*. <https://studenttheses.uu.nl/handle/20.500.12932/18213>
- Obama, B. (2011, August 18). Statement by the President on the situation in Syria. The White House. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/08/18/statement-president-situation-syria>
- Obama, B. (2014, September 10). *President Obama addresses the nation on the ISIL threat* [Video]. The White House. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/10/statement-president-isil-1>



- Obama, B. (2015, November 16). *The President holds a press conference in Turkey* [Video]. The White House. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/11/16/press-conference-president-obama-antalya-turkey>
- PBS News. (2012, June 15). *Syria: Shabiha Militia Member Tells It Like It Is*. PBS News. [https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/world-jan-june12-syria\\_06-15](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/world-jan-june12-syria_06-15)
- Pearlman, W. (2014). Understanding fragmentation in the Syrian revolt. *Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS)*. <http://pomeps.org/2014/02/12/understanding-fragmentation-in-the-syrian-revolt/>
- Poroskoun, G. (2025). *Despite Efforts to Remain in Syria, Russia Is Losing Its Status as an Important Security Actor in the Middle East*. The Institute for National Security Studies. <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/syria-russia/>
- Pradhan, R., & Sing, A. (2024). Humanitarian Intervention in Syria: A Critical Analysis. *International Studies*, 61(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00208817241228385>
- Pressman, D. (2014, September 24). Statement at UN Security Council meeting on threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts. Un.org. <https://docs.un.org/en/S/PV.7316>
- Rabea, A. (2021). Media and Terrorism: A Case Study of Western Media Coverage of the Syrian Conflict and Terrorism-Related Events in Syria from 2011 to 2018 . *University of Wollongong*. <https://hdl.handle.net/10779/uow.27665235.v1>
- Rech, W. (2021). The Naming of Evil: Sovereignty, Security and Unlawful Warfare. *Isonomía - Revista de Teoría Y Filosofía Del Derecho*, 54. <https://doi.org/10.5347/isonomia.v0i54.433>
- Release Me , Syrian Women Network, & Legal Development Programme. (2021). *Human Rights Violations Against Vulnerable Sectors: Minorities, Civil Society, and Women*. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. <https://uprdoc.ohchr.org/uprweb/downloadfile.aspx?filename=9290&file=EnglishTranslation>
- Rice, S. E. (2013, September 9). Remarks as prepared for delivery by National Security Advisor Susan E. Rice [Speech transcript]. The White House. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/09/09/remarks-prepared-delivery-national-security-advisor-susan-e-rice>



- Rommes, E., & Chaer, N. (2023). Counter-narratives against hardships among Syrian refugee youth and parents. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 61(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/13634615231191993>
- Rosenau, J. N. (1969). Intervention as a Scientific Concept. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 13(2), 149–171. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200276901300201>
- Spencer, A. (2016). *Romantic Narratives in International Politics*. Manchester University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7228/manchester/9780719095290.001.0001>
- Stolleis, F. (2015). Discourses on Minorities and Sectarianism in Syria. In *Playing the Sectarian Card Identities and Affiliations of Local Communities in Syria*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/beirut/12320.pdf>
- Syrians for Truth and Justice. (2020). *Racial Discrimination in the Syrian Constitution*. Syrians for Truth and Justice. <https://stj-sy.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Racial-Discrimination-in-the-Syrian-Constitution.pdf>
- Taylor, F. (2015, October 16). *ISIS fighter enters refugee camp planning to kill Christians, meets Jesus*. Christiantoday.com. <https://www.christiantoday.com/news/isis-fighter-enters-refugee-camp-planning-to-kill-christians-meets-jesus>
- The New York Times. (2011). Fearing Change, Syria's Christians Back Assad. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/28/world/middleeast/fearing-change-syria-christians-back-bashar-al-assad.html?pagewanted>
- UNFPA Regional Syria Response Hub. (2014, August). *Humanitarian bulletin: Syria crisis*. United Nations Population Fund. <https://www.unfpa.org/resources/humanitarian-bulletin-syria-crisis-august-september-2014>
- Unit for Political Studies. (2025). *Sectarian Violence in Syria's Coast: Background and Implications*. Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. <https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/Lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/events-on-the-syrian-coast-background-implications-and-international-responses.pdf>
- U.S. Department of State. (2024, December 30). *Syria Sanctions*. United States Department of State. <https://www.state.gov/syria-sanctions>
- U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs. (2013, March 20). *Crisis in Syria: The U.S. response* (Serial No. 113–10). U.S. Government Publishing Office. <https://www.congress.gov/event/113th-congress/house-event/LC620/text>



U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. (2013, April 11). *U.S. policy toward Syria* (S. Hrg. 113-197). U.S. Government Publishing Office. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-113shrg86861/html/CHRG-113shrg86861.htm>

Wimmen, H. (2016). *Syria's Path From Civic Uprising to Civil War*. Carnegieendowment.org. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2016/11/syrias-path-from-civic-uprising-to-civil-war?lang=en>

Yigit, I. H., & Tatch, A. (2017). Syrian Refugees and Americans: Perceptions, Attitudes and Insights. *American Journal of Qualitative Research*, 1(1), 13–31. <https://doi.org/10.29333/ajqr/5789>

Zahid, Z. M. (2016). U.S.A. versus “Them”: Fomenting an Enemy for the Hegemonic Discourse. *Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Summer 2016, Volume XVI(2)*. <http://www.ipripak.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/7-Zahid-M-Zahid.pdf>

Žuber, M., & Moussa, S. S. (2018). Arab Spring as a Background of Civil War in Syria. *International Conference KNOWLEDGE-BASED ORGANIZATION*, 24(1), 245–251. <https://doi.org/10.1515/kbo-2018-0038>