

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdel, K. J., & Altrawneh, B. A. (2020). The Turkish Military Intervention as One of the Tools for Implementing the Turkish Foreign Policy Orientations in Northern Syria. *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt / Egyptology*, 14751-14765.
- Abrahamsen, R. (2005). Blair's Africa: The politics of securitization and fear. *Alternatives Vol 30 No. 1*, 55-81.
- Akgündüz, Y. E., Berg, M. v., & Hassink, W. (2015). The Impact of Refugee Crises on Host Labor Markets: The Case of the Syrian Refugee Crisis in Turkey. *IZA Discussion Paper No. 8841*, 1-24.
- Al Jazeera. (2017, Juli 15). *Turkey's failed coup attempt: All you need to know*. Dipetik November 6, 2020, dari Al Jazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/7/15/turkeys-failed-coup-attempt-all-you-need-to-know>
- Almond, G. P. (1966). Comparative Politics : A Development Approach (Little Brown, Boston).
- Bernie, M. (2020, Februari 8). *Mengapa 600 WNI Eks ISIS Perlu Dipulangkan & Diadili di Indonesia?* Dipetik Maret 19, 2020, dari tirto.id: <https://tirto.id/mengapa-600-wni-eks-isis-perlu-dipulangkan-diadili-di-indonesia-exvj>
- Breuning, M. (2007). *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Butler, D., & Toksabay, E. (2018, March 22). *Sale of Dogan set to tighten Erdogan's grip over Turkish media*. Dipetik December 25, 2021, dari Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-dogan-holding-m-a-demiroren-idUSKBN1GY0EL>
- Buzan, B. (1983). *People, States, and Fear: Second Edition*. Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd.
- Casier, M., Jongerden, J., & Walker, N. (2011). Fruitless attempts? The Kurdish initiative and containment of the Kurdish movement in Turkey. *New Perspective on Turkey*, 103-127.
- Celik, A., & Kantowitz, R. (2009). Trauma and Forgiveness: Comparing Experiences from Turkey and Guatemala. *Forgiveness: Probing the Boundaries*, 179-190.
- Cevik, S., & Sevin, E. (2017). A quest fo soft power: Turkey and the Syrian refugee crisis. *Journal of Communication Management*, 1-20.
- Chew, A. (2020, Februari 11). *Indonesia's decision not to repatriate ex-Isis members welcomed by former militants*. Dipetik Maret 19, 2020, dari

- South China Morning Post: <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3050081/indonesias-decision-not-repatriate-ex-isis-members-welcomed>
- CNN Indonesia. (2020, Februari 11). *Pemerintah Putuskan Tak Akan Pulangkan 689 WNI Eks ISIS*. Dipetik Maret 20, 2020, dari CNN Indonesia: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20200211171406-32-473663/pemerintah-putuskan-tak-akan-pulangkan-689-wni-eks-isis>
- Dawanik, A. T. (2020, Februari 9). Pemulangan WNU Eks ISIS, Komnas HAM: Pemerintah Tidak Gegabah Nilai Kasus Hitam Atau Putih.
- Dimitrova, D. V., Aksak, E. O., & Ahern, C. C. (2018). On the Border of the Syrian Refugee Crisis: Views From Two Different Cultural Perspective. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1-15.
- Duran, H. (2019, October 24). *Why Did the CHP Change Its Position Over Syria Again?* Dipetik December 25, 2021, dari Poitics Today: <https://politicstoday.org/why-did-the-chp-change-its-position-over-syria-again/>
- Gilboa, E. (2005). Global Television News and Foreign Policy: Debating the CNN Effect. *International Studies Perspectives* 6, 325-341.
- Grand National Assembly of Turkey. (2018). *Grand National Assembly of Turkey Deputies Distribution*. Dipetik Desember 20, 2020, dari Grand National Assembly of Turkey: https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/milletvekillerimiz_sd.dagilim
- Gunay, C. (2016). Foreign Policy as a Source of Legitimation for "Competitive Authoritarian Regimes": The Case of Turkey's AKP. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs Vol. 17 No. 2*, 39-46.
- Heper, M. (2005). The Justice and Development Party government and the military in Turkey. *Turkish Studies*, vol. 6, Iss. 2, 215.
- Hudson, V. M. (2014). *Foreign Policy Analysis: Classic and Contemporary Theory - Second Edition*. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Hurriyet Daily News. (2019, October 11). *'Operation Peace Spring' enters third day, 'neutralizes' 342 terrorists*. Dipetik December 23, 2021, dari Hurriyet Daily News: <https://www.hurriyedailynews.com/operation-peace-spring-enters-third-day-neutralizes-342-terrorists-147388>
- Indonesia Indicators. (2020, Februari 14). *Riuh Rendah Wacana Pemulangan WNI Eks ISIS di 'Udara'*. Dipetik Maret 20, 2020, dari Indonesia Indicators: <http://www.indonesiaindicator.com/medias/blogs/367-riuh-rendah-wacana-pemulangan-wni-eks-isis-di-%E2%80%98udara%E2%80%99.html>

- Karakas, B. (2019, April 29). *Turkey's Academics for Peace punished for anti-war protest*. Dipetik Desember 29, 2020, dari DW.com:
<https://www.dw.com/en/turkeys-academics-for-peace-punished-for-anti-war-protest/a-48540809>
- Kirisci, K., & Winrow, G. (1997). *The Kurdish question and Turkey: An example of a trans-state ethnic conflict*. London: Cass.
- Lamont, C. (2015). *Research Methods In International Relations*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Momayezi, N. (1998). Civil-Military Relations in Turkey. *International Journal on World Peace*, vol. 15, Iss 3, 3.
- Naveh, C. (2002). The Role of The Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework. *Conflict & Communication Online* 1, 1-14.
- Oktay, F. (2019, October 10). Dipetik December 23, 2021, dari Twitter:
<https://twitter.com/fuatoktay/status/1182086550668091392>
- Pusane, O. K. (2020, 1 13). *Turkish Public Diplomacy and Operation Peace Spring*. Dipetik 10 30, 2020, dari War on the Rocks:
<https://warontherocks.com/2020/01/turkish-public-diplomacy-and-operation-peace-spring/>
- Putnam, R. D. (1988). Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games. *International Organization*, Vol 42, 3, Summer, 427-460.
- Putnam, R. D. (1988). *Diplomacy And Domestic Polity: The Logic Of Two Level Game*. JStore, 433.
- Rygiel, K., Baban, F., & Ilcan, S. (2016). The Syrian Refugee Crisis: The EU-Turkey 'deal' and temporary protection. *Global Social Policy* Vol.16, 215-320.
- Sakallioglu, C. (1997). The Anatomy of the Turkish Military's Autonomy. *Comparative Politics*, vol. 29, no. 2, 157-158.
- Shetreet, S. (2012). Fundamental Values of the Justice System 23. *The European Business Law Review*, 61-67.
- Solace Global. (2019). *Operation Peace Spring: A New Syrian Frontline?* Solace Global.
- Stanicek, B. (2019). *Turkey's Military Operation in Syria and Its Impact on Relations with EU*. European Parliament Research Service.
- Sumandoyo, A. (2019, Maret 25). *WNI Simpatisan ISIS di Suriah: 'Kami Minta Bantuan Bisa Pulang'*. Dipetik Maret 20, 2020, dari tirto.id:
<https://tirto.id/wni-simpatisan-isis-di-suriah-kami-minta-bantuan-bisa-pulang-dkb1>

- Svolik, M. (2012). *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tunc, A. (2014, August 13). *The media played an important role in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's presidential election victory in Turkey*. Dipetik Januari 4, 2021, dari London School of Economics and Political Science EUROPP: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2014/08/13/the-media-played-a-crucial-role-in-recep-tayyip-erdogans-presidential-election-victory-in-turkey/>
- UNHCR. (2010). *Country of Origin Information on Turkey*. UNHCR.
- Uras, U. (2019, 11 8). *Turkey's Operation Peace Spring in northern Syria: One month on*. Dipetik 10 30, 2020, dari Al Jazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/11/8/turkeys-operation-peace-spring-in-northern-syria-one-month-on>