

## Daftar Pustaka

### Buku

- Akdoğan, Y. (2018). *Political Leadership and Erdoğan* (D. Eskinat (ed.)). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Bilgin, F., & Sarihan, A. (2013). *Understanding Turkey's Kurdish Questions* (F. Bilgin & A. Sarihan (eds.); Issue 1). Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Creswell, W. J., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (SAGE (ed.); Fifth, Vol. 53, Issue 9). California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Donnelly, J. (2004). *Realism and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Efron, S. (2018). *The Future of Israeli-Turkish Relations*. California: RAND Corporation.
- Griffin, E. (2012). *A First Look at Communication Theory* (Eight). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Huberman, M. A., Miles, M. B., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Janis, I. L. (1972). *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign-Policy Decision and Fiascoes*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Jenkins, G. H. (2012). *Occasional Allies, Enduring Rivals: Turkey's Relations with Iran*. Massachusetts: Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program.
- Joseph, J. S. (2006). *Turkey and the European Union: Internal Dynamics and External Challenges* (J. S. Joseph (ed.); Issue I). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kozak, David C & Keagle, James M. (1988). *Bureaucratic Politics and National Security : Theory and Practice*. London: Rienner Publishers
- Lobell, S. E., Ripsman, N. M., & Taliaferro, J. W. (2009). *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Mills, A., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2012). Encyclopedia of Case Study Research. In *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* (pp. 211–213). California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. (1954). *Politics among nations: the struggle for power and peace*. New York: A.A. Knopf.
- Rosyidin, M. (2020). *Teori Hubungan Internasional: Dari Perspektif Klasik Sampai Non-Barat*. Depok: Rajawali Pers.
- Seidman, I. E. (1998). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (2nd ed.) New York: Teachers College Press.
- Spindler, M. (2013). Part II : Theories of International Relations : Five Approaches. Dalam *International Relations: A Self Study Guide to Theory* (p. 21). Bloomfield Hills: Verlag Barbara Budrich.
- Waltz, K. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. California: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

### **Jurnal Artikel**

- Aldag, R. J., & Fuller, S. R. (2004). Groupthink. *Encyclopedia of Applied Psychology*, 3(1), 143–151. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-12-657410-3/00047-7>
- Altunisik, M. (2000). The Turkish-Israeli Rapprochement in the post-Cold War era. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36(2), 172–191. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200008701313>
- Altunisik, M. (2020). The New Turn in Turkey's Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Regional and Domestic Insecurities. *Foundation for European Progressive Studies*, 20(17), 1–22.
- Amidror, Y. (2016). The Importance of Interests in Israel-Turkey Reconciliation. *The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies*, 5.
- Aras, B. (2009). The Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy. *Insight Turkey*, 11(3), 127–142.
- Ataman, M. (2002). Leadership Change: Özal Leadership And Restructuring in Turkish Foreign Policy. *Turkish Journal of International Relations*, 1(1), 1–35.

- Ataseven, E. (2022). the Anti-Globalist Resonances in the Recent Turkish Foreign Policy. *Journal of Globalization Studies*, 13(1), 37–46.  
<https://doi.org/10.30884/jogs/2022.01.03>
- Aydindag, D., & Isiksal, H. (2021). Securitization of Identity in Turkey During the AKP Era. *Revista Gênero e Interdisciplinaridade*, 2(01).  
<https://doi.org/10.51249/gei.v2i01.150>
- Başkan, B. (2019). Turkey between Qatar and Saudi Arabia: Changing Regional and Bilateral Relations. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 16(62), 85–99.  
<https://doi.org/10.33458/uidergisi.588947>
- Baz, Mahmoud El Sayed Eid El. (2017). Future Scenarios of Turkish - Israeli Relations under AKP (2002 - 2016). *IJASOS - International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences*, III(8), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2676428>.
- Bengio, O. (2004). The Turkish-Israeli relationship: Changing Ties of Middle Eastern outsiders. *The Turkish-Israeli Relationship: Changing Ties of Middle Eastern Outsiders*, 1–236. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403979452>
- Benvenuti, B. (2017). The Migration Paradox and EU-Turkey Relations. *Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) Working Paper*, 1–23.
- Bilgin, M. S. (2017). Turkey's Foreign Policy towards the Middle East in the 1950's and Its Impact On Turco-Arab Relations. *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, 11(21), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.19060/gav.379629>
- Bishku, M. B. (2006). How Has Turkey Viewed Israel? *Israel Affairs*, 12(1), 177–194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537120500382099>
- Bohner, G., & Dickel, N. (2011). Attitudes and attitude change. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 62, 391–417.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.121208.131609>
- Bojang, A. S. (2018). The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, 06(04), 1–9.  
<https://doi.org/10.4172/2332-0761.1000337>
- Brandenburg, R. (2005). *No Longer Newlyweds: The Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy towards Israel*. May, 1–14.
- Brownlee, J., Masoud, T., & Reynolds, A. (2013). Why The Modest Harvest? *Journal of Democracy*, 24(4), 29–44. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2013.0061>

- Carmon, M. (2017). Turkish-Israeli Economic Relations in a Period of Turbulence and Political Uncertainty. *The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies*, 2(4).
- Christofis, N. (2018). The AKP's "Yeni Turkiye": Challenging the Kemalist Narrative? *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 29(3), 11–32. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-7003144>.
- Dalay, G., & Friedman, D. (2013). The AK Party and the Evolution of Turkish Political Islam's Foreign Policy. *Insight Turkey*, 15(2), 123–139.
- Eran, O. (2011). Normalization between Israel and Arab State: Is the Idea Still Viable? *Institute for National Security Studies*, (302), 1-4.
- Foyle, D. C. (1997). Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Elite Beliefs as a Mediating Variable. *International Studies Quarterly*, 41(1), 141–169.
- Fuat Keyman, E. (2014). The AK party: Dominant Party, New Turkey and Polarization. *Insight Turkey*, 16(2), 19–31.
- Fuat Keyman, E. (2017). A New Turkish Foreign Policy: Towards Proactive "Moral Realism." *Insight Turkey*, 19(1), 55–70.
- Golkar, H. (2013). Groupthink Principles and Fundamentals in Organizations. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 5(8), 225–240.
- Goren, N. (2012). An Unfulfilled Opportunity for Reconciliation: Israel and Turkey during the Arab Spring. *Insight Turkey*, 14(2), 121–135.
- Grieco, J. M. (1988). Anarchy and the limits of cooperation: A realist critique of the newest liberal institutionalism. *International Organization*, 42(3), 485–507. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300027715>
- Gunter, M. M. (2013). The Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 14(1), 101–111.
- Gurpinar, D. (2020). Foreign Policy as a Contested Front of The Cultural Wars in Turkey: The Middle East and Turkey in the Era of the AKP. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 17(65), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.33458/uidergisi.660644>
- Hamid, S. (2004). From Erbakan to Erdoğan: The Evolution of Turkish Foreign Policy. *Insight Turkey*, 6(1), 113–118.
- Hassan, S. (2008). Turkey's Israel Policy Since 1945. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 69, 921–929.

- Hazir, U. N. (2022). Anti-Westernism in Turkey's Neo-Ottomanist Foreign Policy under Erdoğan. *Russia in Global Affairs*, 20(2), 164–183.  
<https://doi.org/10.31278/1810-6374-2022-20-2-164-183>.
- Hermann, M. G. (2001). How decision units shape foreign policy: A theoretical framework. *International Studies Review*, 3(2), 47–81.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00234>
- Hoffman, M., Werz, M., & Halpin, J. (2018). Turkey's 'New Nationalism' Amid Shifting Politics Further Analysis of Polling Results. *American Progress*, 1(February), 1–44.
- Jung, D. (2012). The Domestic Context of New Activism in Turkish Foreign Policy: Does Religion Matter? *International Journal*, 67(1), 23–38.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/002070201206700103>.
- Kalin, I. (2015). Turkish Foreign Policy: Framework, Values and Mechanisms. *Turkish Foreign Policy in the New Millennium*, 67(1), 7–14.  
<https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-05496-5>
- Kanat, K. B. (2012). Continuity of Change in Turkish Foreign Policy Under The JDP Government: The Cases of Bilateral Relations with Israel and Syria. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 34(4), 230–249.
- Karmon, E., & Barak, M. (2018). Erdogan's Turkey and the Palestinian Issue. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(2), 74–85.
- Kennedy, R., & Dickenson, M. (2013). Turkish Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in the AKP Era. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 9(2), 171–188.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2012.00179.x>
- Kirisci, K., & Kaptanoglu, N. (2011). The politics of trade and Turkish foreign policy. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 47(5), 705–724.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2011.613226>.
- Knecht, T., & Weatherford, M. S. (2006). Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Stages of Presidential Decision Making. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50(3), 705–727. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2006.00421.x>
- Kuru, A. T. (2015). Turkey's Failed Policy toward the Arab Spring: Three levels of analysis. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 26(3), 94–116.  
<https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-3145779>
- Larrabee, Stephen F. (2007). Turkey Rediscovered the Middle East. *Foreign Affairs*, 86(4), 103–114.

- Lindenstrauss, G. (2018). Turkey and Iran: Two Regional Powers and the Relations Pendulum. *Iran in a Changing Strategic Environment*, 73, 53–63.
- Lindenstrauss, G. (2012). Turkey and the Arab Spring: Embracing People's Power. *Euromesco Papers*, 1 (14), 6–34.
- Lipsky, G. A. (1955). The Theory of International Relations of Harold D. Lasswell. *The Journals of Politics*, 17(1), 43–58.
- M. Sheharyar Khan. (2015). The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy Towards the Middle East. *Policy Perspectives: The Journal of the Institute of Policy Studies*, 12(1), 31–50. <https://doi.org/10.13169/polipers.12.1.0031>
- Murinson, A. (2006). The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(6), 945–964. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200600923526>
- Neset, S. (2019). Turkish Foreign Policy: Structures and Decision-Making processes. *CMI*, April 2017, 1–18.
- Nopens, P. (2013). Geopolitical shifts in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Egmont Security Policy Brief*, 1 (43), 1–9.
- Panayiotides, N. (2012). Is the “Arab Spring” Israel’s Winter? Strategic Instability in the Middle East. *International Journal on World Peace*, 29(1), 21–40.
- Rathbun, B. (2008). A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism. *Security Studies*, 17(2), 294–321. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410802098917>
- Rose, G. (1998). Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy. *World Politics*, 51, 144–172. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230226203.3160>
- Sayari, S. (1997). Turkey and the Middle East in the 1990s. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 26(3), 44–55.
- Stein, A. (2018). The New Turkey: Making Sense of Turkish Decision-Making. *Atlantic Council*, IV, 72–101. [https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203418048\\_chapter\\_5](https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203418048_chapter_5)
- Stern, M., & Ross, D. (2013). The Role of Syria in Israeli - Turkish Relations. *Georgetown Journal of International Relations*, 14(2), 115–128.
- Taspinar, O. (2018). Turkey: A Partner In Crisis. *Great Decisions*, 1 (May 2018), 57–68.

- Taspınar, O. (2008). Turkey's Middle East Policies: Between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 1-37.
- Tüysüzoğlu, G. (2014). Strategic depth: A Neo-Ottomanist Interpretation of Turkish Eurasianism. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 25(2), 85–104. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-2685776>
- Ülgül, M. (2019a). The Decline of the 'Syrian effect' in Turkish-Israeli Relations. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 16(62), 135–148. <https://doi.org/10.33458/uidergisi.588957>
- Ülgül, M. (2019b). Erdoğan's Personal Diplomacy and Turkish Foreign Policy. *Insight Turkey*, 21(4), 161–182. <https://doi.org/10.25253/99.2019214.09>
- Volfová, G. Ö. (2014). Changes in Turkish-Israeli relations: Implications for the regional security environment. *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies*, 8(1), 82–102.
- Yanik, L. K. (2016). Bringing the Empire Back In : The Gradual Discovery of the Ottoman Empire in Turkish Foreign Policy. *Die Welt Des Islams*, 56(3), 466–488.

## **Kertas Kerja**

- Alsafawi, M. (2016). Who Needs Whom? Turkey and Israel Agree on Normalization Deal. *Kertas Kerja*. Istituto Affari Internazionali (Issue Januari 2016).
- Bank, A., & Karadag, R. (2012). The Political Economy of Regional Power: Turkey under the AKP. *Kertas Kerja*. German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA).
- Baykal, A. (2009). Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. *Kertas Kerja*. House of Commons Library (pp. 2–12). Library House of Commons.
- Bekdil, B. (2018). Turkey's Syrian Battleground. *Kertas Kerja*. BESA Perspectives Paper.
- Bekdil, B. (2017). Erdoğan's Kurdish Gambit. *Kertas Kerja*. BESA Perspectives Paper.
- Cinar, M. (2006). Turkey's Transformation Under the AKP Rule. *Kertas Kerja*

Daniel, R. (2022). Turkey, Israel and The Tumultuous 2011-2021 Decade in the Arab World (Issue 15). *Kertas Kerja. Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)*.

Gürzel, A. G., & Ersoy, E. (2012). Turkey and Iran's Nuclear Program. *Kertas Kerja. Bilkent University*.

Huber, D., & Tocci, N. (2013). Behind the Scenes of the Turkish-Israeli Breakthrough. *Kertas Kerja. Istituto Affari Internazionali*.

Merryman, J. (2013). Kemalism : A Revolutionary Ideology and its Islamist Opposition. *Kertas Kerja. Syracuse University*.

Murinson, A. (2012). Turkey and the "Arab Spring". *Kertas Kerja. Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies*

Samuel, A., Simbolon, V. A., Pribadi, Y., & Daulay, A. D. K. (2020). Politik Dua Kaki a la Turki: Memperjuangkan Hak Palestina, Namun Tetap Mengakui Kedaulatan Israel. *Kertas Kerja. Academia.edu*

Tocci, N., Barkey, H. J., Taspinar, O., Soler Lecha, E., & Nafaa, H. (2011). Turkey and the Arab Spring Implications for Turkish Foreign Policy from a Transatlantic Perspective. In *Foreign Policy (Mediterranean Paper Series)*. *Kertas Kerja. The German Marshall Fund of the United States*

## **Laporan Resmi**

Aftandilian, G. (2018). *A Security Role for United States in a Post-ISIS Syria? Laporan Penelitian*. Strategic Studies Institute (Vol. 53, Issue 1).

Aygun, H. (2016). Turkish - Israeli Rapprochement with NATO. *Laporan Penelitian*. NATO Defense College (Issue Juni).

Berelovich, E. (2014). *Turkish-Israeli military relations and security cooperation (Issue 3238)*. *Laporan Penelitian*.

Cohen, A. (2013). *Turkey and Israel: Unraveling Relations and the Netanyahu Apology (Issue 1)*. *Laporan Penelitian*. Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies.

Davutoğlu, A. (2012). Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy and Regional Political Structuring. *Laporan Penelitian*. Center for Strategic Research (Issue 3).



- Ellinas, C., Roberts, J., & Tzimitras, H. (2016). *Hydrocarbon Developments in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Issue May 2020). *Laporan Penelitian*. Atlantic Council.
- Fishman, L. (n.d.). *Turkish – Israeli Relations in the Post-Netanyahu Era*. *Laporan Penelitian*. Istanbul Political Research Institute.
- International Crisis Group (2013). *The Neo-Ottoman Backstory*. *Laporan Penelitian*. International Crisis Group
- Guzansky, Y., & Dekel, U. (2015). Recognizing Iran as a Nuclear Threshold State: Implications for Israel and the Middle East. *Laporan Penelitian*. INSS Insight.
- International Crisis Group. (2017). *The PKK's Fateful Choice in Northern Syria*. *Laporan Resmi*. International Crisis Group
- Kadorrah, E. Y. (2020). Turkish Foreign Policy and Issues of National Security. *Laporan Penelitian*. Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies
- Karakas, C. (2007). Post Islamists or Islamists? Turkey: Islam and Laicism Between the Interests of State, Politics, and Society. *Laporan Penelitian*. Peace Research Institute.
- Kirisci, K. (2006). *Turkish Viewpoints on Foreign Policy Issues*. *Laporan Penelitian*. European Union Institute for Security Studies
- Lindenstrauss, G. (2016). Israel-Turkey Normalization: Can Relations Turn Over a New Leaf? *Laporan Penelitian*. The Institute for National Security Studies
- Lindenstrauss, G., & Gulen, B. (2018). Old and New Dynamics: What has Changed in Turkey-Israel Relations? *Laporan Penelitian*. Institute for National Security Studies

### **Situs Resmi Pemerintahan Turki**

- Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2015). *Economic and Commercial Relations with Israel*. 046, 2015.  
<https://www.mfa.gov.tr/economic-and-commercial-relations-with-israel.en.mfa>
- Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2013). *Prime Minister Erdoğan spoke today with Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel* [Press release].  
[https://www.mfa.gov.tr/site\\_media/html/bsbk-aciklama-israil-en.pdf](https://www.mfa.gov.tr/site_media/html/bsbk-aciklama-israil-en.pdf).

## Tesis

Aslanargun, E. C. (2015). *Changing Course in Turkish Foreign Policy*. Lund University.

## Website

Amnesty UK (n.d.). "Arab Spring - 10 years on". <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/arab-spring-10-years>. Diakses pada 7 Juni 2023.

Aljazeera (2016). "Remembering the Mavi Marmara victims". <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/7/21/remembering-the-mavi-marmara-victims>. Diakses pada 3 Desember 2023.

BBC News (2007). "Turkish raids along Iraqi border," <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7059721.stm>. Diakses pada 12 Agustus 2023

Britannica (2022). "Foreign Policy". <https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-policy>. Diakses pada 1 September 2022.

Hurriyet Daily News (2016). Turkey and Israel needs each other, says President Erdoğan. <https://www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/turkey-and-israel-need-each-other-says-president-erdogan-93319>. Diakses pada 25 Maret 2023

Institute For The Study of War (2016). Kurdish Seams Threaten Anti-ISIS Coalition in Iraq and Syria. <https://www.iswresearch.org/2016/12/kurdish-seams-threaten-anti-isis.html>. Diakses pada 9 Agustus 2023.

Middle East Eye (2016) "PKK claims deadly suicide bombing at Turkish police station". <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/pkk-claims-deadly-suicide-bombing-turkish-police-station>. Diakses pada 17 Agustus 2023.

The Jakarta Post (2020). Turkey condemns UAE-Israel deal as betrayal. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/08/14/turkey-condemns-uae-israel-deal-as-betrayal.html>. Diakses pada 15 Maret 2020.

The New York Times (2018). "Why Is the Syrian Civil War Still Raging?". <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/02/08/world/middleeast/war-in-syria-maps.html>. Diakses pada 18 Agustus 2023.

The Wall Street Journal (2016). Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Turns on Former Brother-in-Arms Fethullah Gulen. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/turkeys-recep-tayyip-erdogan-turns-on-former-brother-in-arms-fethullah-gulen-1469058504>. Diakses pada 21 Mei 2023

World Bank (2021). Israel trade balance, exports and imports by country 2021. <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/ISR/Year/LTST/TradeFlow/EXPIMP/Partner/by-country>. Diakses pada 20 Desember 2023.