

# **ZULFAQAR** Journal of Defence Management, Social Science & Humanities



 $Journal\ homepage: https://zulfaqarjdmssh.upnm.edu.my/index.php/zjdmssh/index$ 

#### THE RISE OF TURKEY: IMPACT TOWARDS REGIONALISM

#### Shahrizan Sahari a, Noraini Zulkiflib\*

- <sup>a</sup> Malaysia Staff College, PUSPHAHANAS
- <sup>b</sup> Department of Int. Relations, Security and Law, FPPP
- \*Corresponding author: noraini@upnm.edu.my

#### ARTICLE INFO

#### Article history:

Received
03-03-2022
Received in revised
28-07-2022
Accepted
16-01-2023
Available online
30-6-2023

# Keywords:

Economy, Erdogan, Geopolitics, Regionalism, Turkey

e-ISSN: 2773-529X Type: Article

# **ABSTRACT**

President Erdogan took office after winning the election in 2014. Since then, Turkey has changed from a moderate country in 1980 to a developing country in early 2000. Erdogan has shaped new foreign policy to turn Turkey into a global player. More than that, he also develops many economic and social facilities to attract other investors. The research was conducted to analyse The Rise of Turkey and Its Impact towards Regionalism. The objectives of this research namely 1) to identify the factor that contributed to the rise of Turkey, 2) to examine the impact of the rise of Turkey on the region and 3) to analyse the potential of Turkey to be a significant power. The theory used in this research is Neoliberalism. This research used qualitative approaches where the secondary data collection accumulates in a library study. The sources included books, journal articles, newspapers and online sources from the government web. The findings of this research were; 1) factors that contributed to the rise of Turkey were political stability, strong economy, structured social community and advanced security; 2) the rise of Turkey has had dominant positive impacts as it became one of the strong Muslim countries, 3) Subsequently, Turkey has a potential to be significant power as it has a very talented leader who already successes boost the economy, know to administer the country and have good foreign policies with other nations.

© Noraini Zulkifli 2023. All rights reserved. DOI: http://doi.org/10.58247/jdmssh-2023-0601-01

### Introduction

Turkey has significantly formed the transition in the world profile since early 2000. In addition to the doctrine of Neoliberalism and western direction, Turkey has set the foreign policy that leads to the world's most dynamic engagement and becomes a regional economic powerhouse (Soner, 2014, para. 2). Modern Turkey has been filled with the energy of youth and system of education has been very realistic and remarkably democratic. Turkey was considered the 21st century's First Muslim Power, a threatening concept for many in the current geopolitical climate (Chang, 2019, p.2). The aspiration to be regional leaders in Muslim society had a significant impact on regionalism in both the Western and Middle East regions as the global economic environment faced a radical change, illustrated by the fall of the West and the rise of new powers with significant potential, long unperceived, witnessed growing economic growth, increased influence on global GDP, and played a vital role in critical international structures. Turkey was the only European country that had grown in power since the financial crisis and the start of the Arab uprisings. While European economic fortunes have contracted, Turkey is one of the fastest-growing global economies (Burns, 2012, p.7)

New regional conflicts spilt out near the Turkish borders in the Caucasus and the Balkans. In Azerbaijan, Crimea Tatars and Central Asia, the emergence of independent Turkish-speaking states gave the Turkish political and bureaucratic elite the illusion that dropping Kemalist isolationist concepts would bring new potential for Islamic power and leadership between east and west (Angelo, 2013, para. 3). Turkey made its first attempt at international expansionism, half a century ago, since the establishment of the Turkish Republic (Balkans, 2015, p. 32). The ruling elites of the Central Asian republics had no interest in the theory of "Turkish brotherhood," all Moscow-trained survivors. Cooperation was limited to the economy and education with the approval of the Turkish elite. Those republics had better relations with the Russian government by 1995, and the ethnic Islamic side was not practised further in Russian areas. While the notion of Muslim-Neo Ottomanism was not inactive, Erdogan and Davutoglu's new team brought the exchange. In 1997, Erbakan was a mentor and unofficial adviser to Virtue Party leaders, including founder Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Burns (2007) stated, "Turkey's rise has been engineered by its brilliant, proud, and often prickly prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan. A devout Muslim, Erdogan has revolutionised Turkish politics by challenging his country's historic commitment to secularism and introducing a greater role for Islam in Turkish politics" (p.13).

Soner (2014) also stated that "Turkey has served different roles: the region's natural leader', a historical 'big brother,' and the Muslim community 'protector' (p.7). Turkey has also played the role of 'facilitator' and 'mediator' by attempting to convey an arrangement with other developing power, such as Brazil, to try to resolve the controversial Iranian nuclear issue (Arne, 2019, para. 4). Turkey has sought to strengthen its long-awaited position as a "rising power" by enhanced its community and indulged in certain emerging powers through advancements. A notion of scope is the concept of regional power.' In other words, the location and geography approach is contentious and divisive. Even though constructs such as "place" and "energy" are socially constructed facts, this research analyses the idea of "regional power" as a "power" subcategory (Dick, 2019, para. 3). This research was discussed the context in analysing the power capacity of Turkey in the region and "role concept" were required for the "regional power," and that it should have material control. It should also have the potential for economics, diplomacy, and organisation. Its strength, even if it is 'soft power' (appeal to one's concept and the ability to manage the policy agenda in such a mechanism which forms certain actors 'preferences') or 'hard power' (physical power which is determined military power and economic) must be recognised by several other players in the area. The primary and rising powers that were crucial in the global system should also consider this. Nonetheless, regional or other power requires control, so its force projection must prove effective. The position theory of neoliberalism was used as a theoretical framework to examine the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) foreign policy actions.

After the AKP came to power, Turkey's presence as a regional power increased (Selcuk, 2019, para. 7). The governance of the AKP desired to become an ever more regional power and be a reliable partner. Therefore, the AKP's leadership aimed to become a regional power and reliable partner. Therefore, Turkey has played various roles: the region's good communicator, an established big brother, and the Muslim minority's saviour. Turkey works with the E.U., U.S., and Israel to provide requisite foreign policy funding. In addition, Turkey shared its geopolitical benefit with Russia, China, and Iran. Turkey's improving relations with central Asian powers such as Russia, China, and Iran are, all things being equal, a natural outcome of the local dynamics of the region" (Manisal, 2019, p.10).

The research found the positions of Turkey as a new significant power in this decade. Moreover, the work emphasises the "political achievements of Turkey and their effect on Turkish international relations. Development of perceived positions and foreign affairs between Turkey and its neighbours and rising powers. Instead, it will evaluate its power capacity in contexts of its economic strength, political influence, and soft power. This research concentrated on economic potential, political stability, social development and security measures. Therefore, research emphasised Turkish foreign policy besides cooperation in international relations and the other developing countries. Turkey's foreign policy attracts global attention from scholars and political circles under the new Justice and Development Party administration. The research was conducted to analyse the Rise of Turkey and its impact towards Regionalism. Turkey showed keen interest in regions that had reached it for both the Western and Middle East, and that interest materialises in the form of additional interaction between countries, enhanced economic and trade

relations and regular people-to-people interactions. Is it then probable for us to find that Turkey will maintain the momentum bridging Europe and the Middle East?

# Methodology

The research has used the qualitative method by exploring secondary data gathered throughout the research of books, journals, magazines, news, online research and various sources. The printed data are from books and magazines through the National Defence University of Malaysia and the Ministry of Defence Library. Books were referred to such as The Rise of Turkey; The Twenty-First Century's, First Muslim Power (2014) by Soner Cagaptay, The Neoliberal Landscape and the Rise of Islamist Capital in Turkey (2015) by Nesecan, Erol & Ahmet and The Rise of New Superpower; Turkey's Key Role in The World Economy and Energy Market (2013) by Angelo Arcuri. The online data were collected through several websites such as https://www.hks.harvard.edu, https://www.globalsecurity.org, https://www.reuters.com, http://www.oecd.org, https://www.dailysabah.com, https://www.brookings.edu, http://www.mfa.gov.tr, https://www.bbc.com, https://www.turkeyanalyst.org, https://www.globalresearch.ca, https://www.heritage.org. By gathering all the information and data above, the researcher can analyse and come up with a good analysis on the title the Rise of Turkey and its Impact on Regionalism.

#### Literature review

Three themes separated the literature review. The first theme focused on Turkey's Political, Economy, Social and Security, whereby this literature frequently discussed the development of Turkey. The second theme was the impact of the rise of Turkey towards regionalism. Those themes deal with the dimension of Turkey in a strategic relationship overall in both blocks of the region, Western and Middle East. The third theme looked at the responses by superpowers towards the rise of Turkey, which covered research on the military, economic and strategic aspects of cooperation. The review was carried out by putting the existing concepts as follows in thematic forms:

# i. Turkey in Politic, Economy, Social and Security

Angelo (2013), in the book 'The Rise of a New Super Power; Turkey the Role in The World Economy and Energy Market', explained that Turkey's economy has continued to proliferate, taking advantage of the conservation and productivity-oriented policies over the past decade. With the deceleration in consumer spending, the growth rate had gradually declined since mid-2011, preceded by increased commerce and current account balances. The brilliant performance of Ankara amazed the economic and financial climate and public opinion worldwide because it demonstrated the capacity of the country to cope with the past frequent and severe crises that confronted and developed.

The World Bank (2019), in an analysis of the journal 'The World Bank in Turkey; Where We Work in Turkey' has highlighted that Since 2000, Turkey's success in social and economic development that was remarkable, leading to higher jobs and incomes and making Turkey a top middle-income country. Nonetheless, significant external imbalances and price inflation remain essential for macroeconomic stability. Turkey is a regulated economy concerning economic criteria. In the medium term, it had to compete with financial pressure and economic factors within the state if it speeds up the execution of ambitious organisational reform programs.

The Heritage Foundation (2019) in 'Index of Economy Freedom of Turkey' explained that Turkey's economy had demonstrated stability because of its substantial public resources, a well-capitalised, well-regulated financial sector and its competitive and diverse private sector. The idealistic agenda has been launched to sustain and enhance bilateral talks in many fields of collective impact through enhanced cooperation: changes in policy, acquitting, dialogue on foreign policy, migration and mobility, immigration, energy, trade, counter-terrorism and engagement in public programmes.

Stephen & Angel (2008), in the book 'The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey, described that Turkey played a crucial role in shaping the Middle East security environment as an Islam-majority country with a secular democratic government, a NATO supporter, and a lengthy-standing U.S. ally. Modern Turkey was a crucial test case for Islam's voice in politics and its foreign policy control. Turkey was also a basic template for the

role of Islam in politics and its influence on foreign policy. The Turkish state has enforced constitutional reforms since the 2017 vote that switch Turkey from legislative to presidential corporate governance.

In the journal Overseas Business Risk of Turkey, the government of the U.K. Foreign & Commonwealth Office (2019) elaborated that the Turkish Presidency has the bulk of policymaking positions in Turkey. The AKP administration has prioritised politically divisive issues such as the Islamic headscarf controversy seeking the participation of the European Union (E.U.) of Turkey, economic stability, and judicial system restructuring. It was also, in several ways, an unusual, perhaps unique case. Turkey was also culturally, institutionally, economically, geographically and deeply rooted in the West. In the Swiss and Euro Atlantic Security paper, Fabien (2018) explained that the geographical location makes Turkey a significant player in the region and indicates that the country's stabilisation is of strategic significance to Europe and the West.

Nesecan, Erol & Ahmet (2015), in the book 'The Neoliberalism Landscape and The Rise of Islamist Capital in Turkey, highlighted that Turkey was a predominantly Muslim nation, of course, but for most Turks, eighty years of a completely secular republic has brought religion to the forefront of social work. A quarter-century from the 1970s to the present, the consequent revival of cultural Muslims in the form of religious institutions in the post-World War II decades had seen the rise of Islamism as a political phenomenon, with dual sequences in the late 1980s and end of 1990s.

Stephen & Angel (2008), in the book 'The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey', explained that the emergence, especially over the past decade, of a more noticeable "religiosity" on the Turkish scene was a result of several conditions: the decline of the Kemalist culture, the reinvention of cultural traditions, the growing system of religious schools and social service organisations, the modernisation process and the rise of a more openly religious middle class. This would be the expected outcome in recent decades of large-scale migration from villages to the cities, with a resulting influx of more traditional, religiously religious folk into the new, urbanised South of Turkey.

Erdogan, 2019, in the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) news title 'Turkey's pugnacious President' highlighted that Turkey had achieved services 5-10 times more than done in the Republican era in all areas, from education to healthcare, from transportation to energy, from sports to social assistance. Erdogan mentioned that it would continue until they achieved the objective of strengthening and boosting prestige abroad in the region.

Soner (2014), in the book 'The Rise of Turkey; The Twenty-First Century's First Muslim Power', has described that understanding the Turkish military's historic role as a protector of secularism necessitates a review of Turkey's journey to the West. Turkey symbolised the prominent role of security in Turkish society and its protective status as protector of Turkish secularism and Kemalism over the country's political system. Since Turkey endured the emergence of political Islam in the late 1990s, Turkish security has described itself as a defender of Western secularism influenced by the French model of religion and government separation, establishing a barrier in Turkey between politics and religion.

Christian (2018), in the magazine 'Security and Stability in Turkey: CSS Analysis in Security Policy' has mentioned that Turkey asserts its effect in the civil war in surrounding Syria and shows a significant part in the management of refugee flows, global fight terrorism, and lastly security on the southeastern flank of NATO, which Turkey considered to be a national saviour across the political spectrum, including Islamists. A significant factor was that all social classes, ethnic groups, and regions in Turkey were conscripted. The military has served as a social leveller and an instrument for democratisation, presenting a rare opportunity for upward mobility.

# ii. The rise of Turkey towards Regionalism

Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011), in the magazine 'Middle East Peace Process', mentioned that changing the environment in Turkey also provided opportunities for Islamic resource countries to organise themselves into resource-rich corporate interest groups. Turkey has supported the Middle East peace development and saw it as a great opportunity. Neoliberal reform created incentives for commercial development in the Middle East nations such as Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria in the 1980s. However, reforms in Turkish education, press, and trading led to the rise of regional economic and social institutions that depended on each other for economic support rather than the government. These benefits were

intensified by a reshaped attitude of the state towards regional Islam, which later liberated Turkey's religious marketplace and allowed internal competition for society loyalty.

Nesecan, Erol and Ahmet (2015), in the book 'The Neoliberal Landscape and the Rise of Islamist Capital in Turkey, have described state systems that provide secure opportunities and opening resource-poor groups that can use them to generate new initiatives are changing within states. Turkey wanted to be responsible in this case for encouraging these nations to reconnect with Islam and their minds and hearts and is thus primarily responsible for creating the region's moderate Islamic movement. The Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011 also stated that "Turkey is convinced that completion of the steps taken in the political field is solely possible through the implementation of the context of the economic dimension of the Middle East Peace Process (para.10).

Euractive (2012), in the magazine of 'Turkey's evolving relationship with Europe; Section Global Europe, elaborated that over the past decades, economic ties between Turkey and Europe have improved, in particular, followed the ratification of the E.U. and Turkey Customs Agreement in 1996. Partial Turkish export markets were going to Europe at the moment. Soner (2014) also stated that "Turkey joined NATO and became a multiparty democracy, anchored itself in the West during the Cold War. Turkey also joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and then launched itself on E.U. membership, though that dream is yet to be fulfilled five decades after Turkey's application to join the Union (p.4). Political strength with regional setbacks was essentially the hard cash of Turkey, and both relied on its economic growth. Turkey was moved up. It is Muslim-majority's wealthiest country. It was part of Europe, but it was also linked to Muslim countries.

Martin (2015), in his writing, 'European Economic Integration is the Key to Turkey's Past and Future', mentioned that the expected market through the E.U., led via the launch of the E.U. Association Agreement, made Turkey's portion of the 'European convergence machine. It had strong ties to global institutions, including NATO, the IMF, the OECD, and the Council of Europe, and it was the only nation with a Muslim majority that had a seat in all of these bodies. Only Turkey alone hindered its growth from becoming a global power with associated stars in its direction.

Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011), in the magazine of 'Middle East Peace Process', has mentioned that Turkey pursued a foreign policy that represents the nation's enterprising spirit and humanitarian ideals and does not shy away from taking the initiative. Turkey emphasised entrepreneurial and humanitarian foreign policy. If Turkey stepped on the right track, it would create a solid Western accent with a moderate constitution and established influence among Islam states, gained from economic development and political strength results.

Servinc (2019), in the book 'The Rise of Hybrid Political Islam in Turkey, has explained that Turkey retained a wide-rooted tradition of national identity and democracy, drew support from its centralised location, deep historical roots, solid institutions and balanced economy, skilled and educated citizens. Turkish foreign policy used various compatible mechanisms for political, economic, humanitarian and cultural cooperation and exercised diplomacy, which is considered global but behaves at home in every part of the world.

Euractive (2012), in the magazine 'Turkey's evolving relationship with Europe', also expressed that Turkey and Europe were expected to cooperate more tightly in the Islamic world on foreign policy. Europe became too overwhelmed by domestic problems to spend much energy in its former colonial spheres of influence. Turkey was a crucial E.U. state of its competitive market, strategic position and essential regional position, contributing to the security of the E.U.'s foreign or even economic policies. Turkey was fully incorporated into the E.U. through the Customs Union and has been vital to Europe's profitability. The E.U., instead, remained a central foundation for Turkey's political and economic liberalisation. The further strengthening of these ties would benefit both sides.

Nuray (2018), in the magazine of 'International Relations of New Turkey by Hurriyet Daily News, highlighted that Turkey's new system appears to be solving the problem by evaluating its international relations and finding new partnerships to counteract the Western Alliance's losses and ensure Western statehood. The succession process of Turkey to be a European Union was a solemn undertaking for both parties involved and an effort to incorporate it with significant political and cultural consequences. North Africa and the countries in the Middle East played a vital role in Europe as political and economic conditions had a significant impact on the Old Continent's security and health. Moreover, through a new

Mediterranean policy, Europe needs to rebuild lost territory, enabled to strengthen its primary role in the region. Adopting the system in the E.U. could be a significant opening for the states of the eastern and southern Mediterranean with Islam as a whole. Four key points were focused on: completing the Customs Union, increasing financial partnerships, promoting industrial and technological coordination, and improving political and cultural relations.

Arne (2019) in the journal of 'Turkey's international relations. CMI Report' has described that Turkey has formed a vast network of cooperation with 25 countries, multilateral or other regional frameworks for international cooperation. Also, some 20 Free Trade Agreements became a member of G20 and NATO candidates for E.U. membership. Turkey had close relations with the Middle East, Balkan, Southern Caucasus, North Africa, and South and Central Asia. Turkey improved its African Cooperation Policy and extended its expansion to the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia-Pacific in an area where technology increased. Turkey also had a vision of regional desires regarding the issue of Syria, the politics of the Black Sea Region and the politics of the Eastern Mediterranean.

# iii. Responses by Super Power

Burns (2017), in the journal 'The Rise of Turkey as a Superpower', mentioned that Turkey had become a rising power in Europe over the past decade, potentially the most dominant Islamic country in the world, besides a vibrant catalyst for new Arab revolutionaries. "In the Middle East, Turkey may be even greater than France, UK, and Germany. This would be highly ironic for a state that has been excluded from NATO positions of power for a long time and has closed the door to the European Union in recent years. Next, the economy experienced a period of quick progression. This led to problems between the new economic power centres and the existing leaders. It also promoted political rivalry. On the other hand, a new economic direction focused on access and exports to E.U. markets.

Kemal & Amanda (2019), in the magazine 'The Rise and Fall of Liberal Democracy in Turkey; Implication for the West, expressed that the unsuccessful E.U. reunification process has led to Turkey's political decline among external factors. This allowed this Union to maintain a long-term viewpoint in geostrategic and existing integration of politics, security, socio-economic and culture. On the other hand, an older and less fluid system was tried to preserve itself. The faction of President Erdogan served as a Muslim community representative. Turkey was challenged by the military that was ostensibly responsible for keeping secularism. Third, both have increased their economic power and the uncertainty of the regional political climate. Turkey tried to reduce its participation, but it generated tensions between the U.S. and other countries. In conflicts in Iraq, Syria, Caucasus, the Balkans and the Black Sea, it became entangled.

Stephen & Angel (2008), in the book 'The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey, also portrayed that, It appeared then now is the exact moment for a radical transformation in foreign relations after Turkey's political regime changed. Turkey has started to see U.S. politics as confrontational to Turkey as the U.S. undermines Turkey's ideals. All parties involved determined not to recognise the importance of the ongoing problems and refused to recognise the deterioration of relations because Turkey was a NATO member and a typical Western ally. Turkey did not discourage people from blatantly blaming the U.S. for its inherent hostility, as the power party believes that the U.S. could be behind the 15 July failed coup and attempted to prevent President Recep Tayyip Erdogan from power.

Nuray (2018), in the magazine 'International Relations of New Turkey', explained that Turkey was more likely to ally itself with Russia and began to find new alliances to accommodate the worsened relationships with the United States and the West. It was a constant cycle, as in Russia's choice to buy S-400s. Consequently, such a decision has increased pressure on Turkey and the United States. So, from this fact, we can see that the U.S. is not comfortable with Turkey as a significant emerging power.

Maria (2019) in the magazine of 'The Turkey – Russia Cooperation Model. Daily Sabah has expressed that geographical neighbourhood indicated close relations that are far from always good and fiduciary, and that was all about relations between Turkey and Russia. During their 500 years of shared history, the countries witnessed intervention and hostility, rapprochement and friendship that were jointly produced today as an exclusive cooperation model. According to the agreement of 25 May 1992, Turkey and Russia acknowledged each other as "friendly countries;" the same year, the Turkish President signed an agreement on economic cooperation in the Black Sea that was initiated earlier in 1990. Against this backdrop, the Russian shuttle company started to develop. Relations between Turkey and Russia had achieved steady

momentum over the past few decades and a half and began to develop quickly a year ago when the jet crisis was addressed in November 2015 in a friendly manner.

Reuters (2019), in Article 'Turkey Wants to Continue Defence Cooperation with Russia, has highlighted that, after discussions in Moscow with a Russian representative, President Erdogan stated that Turkey intends to continue the coordination of the defence industry with Russia, as well as on warplanes. From this statement, we saw that Russia had no problem with Turkey being another significant emerging power to build up regional control. Today they were blessed with advanced communication tools, a trilateral framework and military technology for a peace deal in Syria which a weekly round of dialogues occurred in Nursultan, Kazakhstan. Expanded collaboration in trade, energy, culture and tourism was a driving force of Turkey and Russia's progressive relationships.

Huaxia (2019), in the article news of 'China, Turkey vow to Deepen Mutual Trust' has explained that Turkey will indeed operate with China to give full consideration to the role of structures such as the Intergovernmental Cooperation Committee in boosting coordination in sectors such as economy and trade, security, high-speed rail, nuclear power, aviation and culture, and bringing China-Turkey partnerships into a strategic alliance. Turkey and China had strengthened ties, but continuing mistrust and rivalry characterise their relationship. Economic cooperation was growing on both sides, but fundamental political gaps remained. In developing economic ties, China is an advanced nation for Turkey, and relations were created on shared benefits. Both countries faced a crucial point in their relations with the United States as they simultaneously sought to build on the rising economic and political links. Erdogan suggested that Turkey participate in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, a national security group comprised of China, Russia, and four other Asian states.

Chase (2014), in the article news of 'China Seek to Expand Economic Ties Despite Political Difference, has described that Turkey's role on crossroads of the Middle East, South Caucasus, Eastern Mediterranean and Europe makes it a critical geographical location for Xi's Belt and Road Initiative and his bid to expand its global influence to balance against the United States. Related to the Turkish Statistics Office, Turkey and China's bilateral trade in 2018 amounted to \$23 billion (€ 20.3 billion), creating the third biggest trading partner. The economic link was characterised by a massive \$18 billion deficit in favour of China, which Turkey tried to highlight by increasing exports and gaining Chinese investment when the economy was growing.

John. P, (2019) in the journal of 'Turkey - Foreign Relations. Section: Military has described that Turkey made a substantial contribution towards Global Security Assistance in Afghanistan, leading ISAF two times in 2002 and 2005 and commanding Regional Command Capital with over 1,700 military personnel located in Kabul in 1997. By stressing the military's role in Turkish diplomacy, the Agenda 2000 action plan was to prepare the European Union for potential expansion, dividing Turkey from other aspiring states. For long periods, the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) were measured as a potent political player intensely inserted in the Turkish political system. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the growth and integration of energy cooperation between Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey (AGT) marked the start of trilateral cooperation, which has since grown into a strategic partnership between the three countries in various fields. The joint implementation and execution of several other projects of regional significance during the mid-2000s strengthened the view that the three countries were closely aligned with their political, economic and security policies.

Michel (2019), in the research on 'Shift in Military Alliances: America Declares War on Turkey?', has explained that Turkey was a strong NATO tied to Iran and Russia; thus, Pakistan was linked to China and Iran. Both Turkey and Pakistan have Iran boundaries. The collaboration between Turkey's military and membership of the E.U. also strengthened the region's cultural, political and stability through the goal of turning Turkey into a modern Western country. Despite Turkey and Pakistan's assistance, both of which "sleep with the enemy," a new theatre of war, especially ground war campaigns against Iran, is now almost impossible.

BBC News (2019), in the article 'Recep Tayyip Erdogan: Turkey's Pugnacious President Portrayed that from humble origins, Mr Recep Tayyip Erdogan became a government leader, changed Turkey more than any leader since before the famous father of the modern republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. By doubting the conventional dedication of his country to secularism by creating a better position for Islam in politics, Mr Erdogan has transformed Turkish politics. Turkey has been the only state under its control for this moment to establish a relationship with other regional powers in the area, like Iran, Israel, Syria and

Iraq. Turkey had become the adviser and mediator in the dangerous and unpredictable Middle East under Erdogan in the geopolitical link between East and West, facilitated secret talks for both Israel and Syria, formed significant strategic ties with Israel, and then directed Iran to react more fair and equal regards nuclear problem.

#### Conceptual framework

In this research, Neoliberalism was used to accomplish the research. Liberalism was an ideology aligned with the utopianism of the post-war period by assuming that either mastering man or establishing government prevented war. The dissertation of Perpetual Peace by Immanuel Kant (1795) may track the history of the modern liberal ideology of international relations. In the article, Kant affords "definitive conditions" for permanent peace, which is now a dominant post-World War II ideology of the liberal theory of I.R. Neoliberal institutionalism (also known as "neo-liberalism" or "institutional liberalism") emphasises the importance of international establishments for the preservation of peace. It also highlighted the importance of mutual political cooperation and free trade in the maintenance of stability (the "global hospitality" of Kant). The core principles of liberal ideology were total benefits, international institutions, free trade and democracy. Neoliberalism was a set of economic, social, political, and security policies widely practised over the past 25 years. Neo was the present behaviour of liberalism. According to the Scottish economist Adam Smith, in his book The Wealth of Nations in 1776, free trade was the best way to promote a state economy; such theories are revolutionary in terms of powerlessness. The practice of individualism promoted free trade and free competition, which meant the capitalists could make massive incomes as they wished. In general, neo-liberalism was aligned with the state system. It refers to an economic system in which the free market extends to every part of our public and personal worlds. The transformation of the state from a provider of public welfare to a promoter of markets and competition helps to enable this shift (Kean, 2017, p. 15). The constant risk of recession, the flight of capital punished social growth, and the competitive attacks on currencies in reaction to federal spending increases were vital regulatory elements of the neoliberal vision of the world order.

Turkey was one of many countries that have embarked on a path of neo-liberalisation, particularly from the Ozal period in the 1980s (Leila & Mine, 2014, p. 53). Since the 1980s, a "neoliberal" philosophy has prevailed in Turkish politics. The state was "rolled forward" actively, far from reversing. Multilateral adopted this change to a significant degree. There have been assimilations of different elements of neo-liberalism in a dictatorial regime. The structure provided a variety of globalised economies through poor expertise workers, poor labour rights, and a stable society of ordinary, hierarchical capitalism. The "Neoliberal" origins in Turkey were far broader under the AKP. During the military rebellion of 1980 and the consequent pro-IMF and pro-World Bank, the military system remained charged with riding Turkey's political economy through the initial neoliberal policies of the 1980s and 1990s. Turkey built a trade-oriented economy during this period, Neoliberal institutions were created, and workers' rights were weakened. Since it started, there has been an inconsistent use of the government's power to defend a new capitalist scheme. The instrument was moved forward purposefully, far from being reactivated. A period of rapid and "relatively evenly spread" GDP growth followed, allowing the AKP to secure its reputation as a steady hand in the economy (Thomas, 2019, para. 3).

Economic policies became more neoliberal under Erdogan's regimes in the 2000s, contributing to further extension of this process of wealth accumulation. Turkey transformed from a system of wealth growth guided by trade in industrial development to a global product and capital flow policy, commonly known as Neoliberalism. Several analysts claimed that a fragile economy vulnerable to inflationary pressures would result from the neoliberal policies implemented by the AKP. However, these criticisms were not considered across from a small circle of analysts until the summer of 2013. Turkey has been among the world's quickest-growing economies since the 2000s. However, this rise impeded any criticism of the neoliberal agenda, mainly focused on short-term equity cash flows.

According to Tansel (2017), he stated that "the principle of neoliberalism practised by Turkey is divided into two main principles" (p. 3). Firstly, it formed disciplinary diplomacy that closes major decision-making processes through pressure and political and non-partisan feedback audit structures to preserve capital accumulation circuits. Secondly, oppressive, constitutional and bureaucratic government apparatuses were used to marginalise democratic opposition and critics of society. To achieve the principles above, Turkey has consolidated its economic model and its 'securitarian' regime by focusing on several constitutive reconfigurations in the state apparatuses and state civil society interactions (Tansel, 2018, para. 13). First; they included economic and political centralisation of decision-making as an example

centralisation of executives. Second, the transition of the rule of law across interference with the government and the judiciary. Second, the reorientation of the core institutional and bureaucratic government institutions is in line with the governing party's strategic interests. Third, to rearrange media ownership, use policy initiatives. Fifth, de-collectivise labour and industrial relations operations.

The philosophy of Neoliberalism, together with the broader literature on social sciences based on the situation of Turkey, a large organisation of branding processes, has developed a way of thinking which has driven many researchers to increase the effect of 'free markets' in a cost of recognised a state's fundamental character in the production plus protection of such markets. Unlike a global pattern that broadly designed and created Neoliberalism as branding, scholars suggested that the Turkish direction represented a different method of operation during the AKP time, unlike the dense manifestations of fundamentalism in the free market. Tansel also stated that

"Neoliberalism in Turkey has reoriented the way forward by reaffirming the state's role and function in reproducing neoliberalism and the significance of analysing neoliberal policies beyond marketisation" (para. 15).

## **Analysis**

This research regards the analysis of the rise of Turkey and its impact towards regionalism. There is a factor of contribution to Turkey to be a significant power and rising superpower in years coming in. Also, there is a concern that a rising will have more positive impacts than negative to both western and eastern regions. The support of rising is encouraged by the existing super or significant power. Therefore, it is still essential to diminish the motive that motivated Turkey to be a significant power in the region. Here are three main objectives of this research.

Turkey might become politically dominant if it incorporates the use of the 'strategic depth' in the region, applying good relations with its Islam neighbours," "Turkey's potential strength is based on strong relations with its Islam neighbours, remarkably close to Syria and Iran. Furthermore, due to its enormous size, about 75 million people beside a \$1.3 trillion economy progressing, Turkey is uniquely standing more than any other Islam nation to become just another major power in the region potentially. Turkey decided to get together its separated social sectors if it dreamed of arising as a global and regional actor, especially given that the government is pursuing its first civil constitution. For example, if this new contract defines the principles of real liberal democracy, allowing to be equal and liberty from religions. The Turkish military has increasingly identified itself as a foothold of laicite (European secularism) inspired by the French model of religion-government distinction, creating a firewall towards politics and religion in Turkey. Meanwhile, the symbolic power of the military in Turkish society has declined over the previous decade.

Turkey has realised that its strategic position in the Middle East is not attributed to the fact that it became a Muslim force that some other nations have in the region but is a Muslim power closely linked to the United States and close to NATO funding. As a modern democracy, Turkey's new opportunity will be to prove its legitimacy. As the discussion continues implementing its first civilian-made constitution, the impact on the region is particularly important. In this context, Ankara's wise decision to launch Kurdish-speaking classes in public schooling is a move in the right direction. This move could help reduce the community's Kurdish problem and make Turkey more stable. It also needs to win the fight for liberal democracy at home, have Turkey a major force in the region, and lead the movement for democratic change. It will become the most consistent performer throughout North Africa and the Middle East; it may be challenging for Turkey to turn this awareness into real power by being such a model nation.

Turkey has been awoken by excellent political stability, domestic expansion, and trade and political influence across the region. This significant shift gave the people of Turkey a sense of global confidence. The new Turkey is obsessed with developing global influence and is no longer limited to a national, European context. The days of the quiet waiting of Turkey at the door of Europe are gone, embracing the vast expanse of its southern and eastern domains. Here is how Turkey's foreign policy will appear in the years ahead: Turkey is confident, and as it keeps growing, it may look towards Europe. Moreover, Turkey is rising because it has been considered stable, whereas the world around it is convulsive politically and economically. An expansionist foreign policy and political instability will bring economic decline to

accountability and end Turkey's quest for geopolitical influence. Simply put, the current 'soft power' practised is strategically dependent on Turkey's soft touch.

#### Conclusion

The rapid economic growth of Turkey at a time of instability in the region draws investment from a smaller amount of prosperous surrounding neighbours such as Syria, Iraq, Iran and Lebanon. Political strength and regional influence were essentially the hard cash of Turkey; both will rely on its economic growth. Turkey will rise as a regional power and play a role in the region if it sets an accurate model as a liberal democracy and constantly builds its soft power cornerstone. Turkey will move forward to restore strong relations with Israel, get through to the Greek Cypriots, normalise links with Armenia, and hold Iran at bay. Turkey is on the rising. It is Muslim-majority's prosperous economy. It is part of Europe; it is also connected to Muslim nations. It has strong ties with international institutions, comprising NATO, the IMF, the OECD, and the Council of Europe, and it is the only nation with a Muslim majority that has a position in all of these organisations. Only Turkey can preclude its rise to be a global play-actor with stars affiliated in its favour. If Turkey steps the appropriate course, it will preserve the Western framework's strong ties with a moderate constitution and establish dominance among Islam countries, taking advantage of the political stability and economic growth that follows. Turkey may face considerable uncertainty, including the economic downturn, rising political unrest, weak governments, and even confrontation with neighbours if it does not play its position correctly. It appears that Turkey's growth has set out to become a regional power, spreading its reach across its neighbourhood as well as globally. As Turkey's centre of foreign policy, Ankara has represented the new Turkey foreign policy over the past few decades. Ironically, Turkey's culture had become even more Eurocentric over the turn of the newest century. The nation approached Western organisations like the OECD in 1960, aiming towards becoming a member of the E.U., requesting membership of the Union in 1959 and 1987, but only starting formal discussions in 2005. To this end, to develop significant power, the Turks have spread far and wide the ability to make choices without using force. The Syrian conflict threatened that objective recently in areas that Turkey had previously dismissed, such as the Middle East, Asia, and extensive nations like Mongolia and Vietnam. Political stability and economic dynamism with a new Coupe-European framework motivate Ankara's desire for power. This policy is shaped by the private sector, universities, and NGOs, forming the current Coupe-European Turkish brand.

# References

- Angelo, A. (2013). The Rise of New Superpower; Turkey's Key Role in The World Economy and Energy Market. New York, London, Springer Cham Heidelberg.
- Andrew. W. (2019). *Turkish public, and politicians voice support for Syria military push*. Al- Jazeera.com. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/turkish-public-politicians-voicesupport-syria-military-push-191010135034852.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/turkish-public-politicians-voicesupport-syria-military-push-191010135034852.html</a>
- Alexander, (2019). *Turkey has great potential to compete worldwide*. Anadolu Agency. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.aa.com.tr/en/economy/turkey-has-great-potential-tocompeteworldwide/1647189">https://www.aa.com.tr/en/economy/turkey-has-great-potential-tocompeteworldwide/1647189</a>
- Arne, S & S, Neset. (2019). *Turkey's international relations*. CMI Report. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.cmi.no/publications/6853-turkeys-international-relations">https://www.cmi.no/publications/6853-turkeys-international-relations</a>
- Ataman, M. (2018). *Turkey in 2019: From an Emerging Economy to an Emerging Power.* SETA. Insight. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.setav.org/en/turkey-in-2019from-an-emerging-economy-to-an-emerging-power/">https://www.setav.org/en/turkey-in-2019from-an-emerging-economy-to-an-emerging-power/</a>
- Bayram. S. (2019). *Turkey-Iran Relations since the JDP's came to Power*. Institute Français. Retrieved from <a href="https://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/3118?lang=en">https://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/3118?lang=en</a>
- Bostock, B (2019). *The life of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who survived a coup, bent an entire nation to his will, and owned Trump over Syria.* Business Insider Malaysia.

  Retrieved from <a href="https://www.businessinsider.my/turkish-president-recep-tayyip-erdogan-power-control-decisive-2019-10/">https://www.businessinsider.my/turkish-president-recep-tayyip-erdogan-power-control-decisive-2019-10/</a>

- Behravesh, M. (2019). *How Iran views the Turkish invasion of northern Syria*. Middle East Eye. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/how-iran-views-turkish-invasion-northern-syria">https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/how-iran-views-turkish-invasion-northern-syria</a>
- Bertelsmann, S. (2019). *Social Policies*. Social Inclusion. Sustainable Governance Indicators. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.sginetwork.org/2017/Turkey/Social\_Policies">https://www.sginetwork.org/2017/Turkey/Social\_Policies</a>
- British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News. (2019). *Recep Tayyip Erdogan: Turkey's Pugnacious President*. World, Europe News. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13746679">https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13746679</a>
- Brinke, K. (2013). *The Turkish 2000-01 Banking Crisis*. Economic Report. Rabobank. Retrieved from <a href="https://economics.rabobank.com/publications/2013/september/the-turkish-2000-01-banking-crisis/">https://economics.rabobank.com/publications/2013/september/the-turkish-2000-01-banking-crisis/</a>
- Brad. W. S. (2019). *Turkey's Stretched Public Bank*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.cfr.org/blog/turkeys-stretched-public-banks">https://www.cfr.org/blog/turkeys-stretched-public-banks</a>
- Burns, N. (2017). *The Rise of Turkey as a Superpower. Analysis and Opinions*. The Boston Globe. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/riseturkey-superpower">https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/riseturkey-superpower</a>
- Cavusoglu, M. (2019). *Turkey has Remarkable Geopolitical Potential*. Trans-Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline's (TANAP) Meeting. Anadolu Agency.com Retrieved from <a href="https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-has-remarkable-geopolitical-potential/1660688">https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-has-remarkable-geopolitical-potential/1660688</a>
- Christian Michelsen Institute. (2019). Turkey's International Relations. CMI Report Publication. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.cmi.no/publications/6853-turkeysinternational-relations">https://www.cmi.no/publications/6853-turkeysinternational-relations</a>
- Chang, C. (2019). *The Rise of Turkish in the World*. Worldwide language Solutions. Retrieved from <a href="https://ccalanguagesolutions.com/the-rise-of-turkish-in-theworld/">https://ccalanguagesolutions.com/the-rise-of-turkish-in-theworld/</a>
- Christian, N. (2018). *Security and Stability in Turkey*. CSS Analysis in Security Policy. Retrieved from https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/specialinterest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSSAnalyse221-EN.pdf
- Clingendael Report. (2019). *Turkey and NATO Living Apart Together*, Editorial by Dick Zandee. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2019/crisisalertsturkey/crisisalert-1-turkey-and-nato-living-apart-together/">https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2019/crisisalertsturkey/crisisalert-1-turkey-and-nato-living-apart-together/</a>
- Council Foreign Relation. (2020). *Conflict between Turkey and Armed*. Global Conflict Tracker. Retrieved from https://www.cfr.org/interactive/globalconflicttracker/conflict/conflict-between-turkey-and-armed-kurdish-groups
- Country Economy. (2010). *Turkey GDP Gross Domestic Product*. Report. Retrieved from https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/turkey?year=2010
- Euractive. (2012). *Turkey's evolving relationship with Europe*. Section Global Europe. Retrieved from https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/opinion/turkeys-evolving-relationship-with-europe/
- Elisa, S. (2018). *Contribution to the Economy of Turkey*. Test big. Com. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.testbig.com/ielts-writing-task-i-ielts-academicessays/two-pie-charts-below-show-percentages-industry-sectors">https://www.testbig.com/ielts-writing-task-i-ielts-academicessays/two-pie-charts-below-show-percentages-industry-sectors</a>
- Fabien, M. (2017). *Swiss and Euro Atlantic Security*. Center for Security Research. Retrieved from <a href="https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/specialinterest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSSAnalyse221-EN.pdf">https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/specialinterest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSSAnalyse221-EN.pdf</a> Financial Times. (2019). *What is the Future of Europe*. The Financial Times Ltd. A Nikkei Company.

- Focus Economic. (2020). *Turkey Economy Outlook*. Economy Forecast. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.focus-economics.com/countries/turkey">https://www.focus-economics.com/countries/turkey</a>
- Friedman, M. (2016). The Coup and Turkey as Great Power. Mauldin Economics. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.mauldineconomics.com/this-week-in-geopolitics/the-coup-and-turkey-as-a-great-power">https://www.mauldineconomics.com/this-week-in-geopolitics/the-coup-and-turkey-as-a-great-power</a>
- Galip. D. (2019). *Istanbul Election: Remaking of Turkey's New Political Landscape?*. SWP International and Security Affair. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.swp-berlin.org/10.18449/2019C31/">https://www.swp-berlin.org/10.18449/2019C31/</a>
- Government of United Kingdom Foreign & Commonwealth Office. (2019). *Overseas Business Risk of Turkey.*Periodicals. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/overseas-business-riskturkey/overseas-business-risk-turkey">https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/overseas-business-risk-turkey</a>
- Gurzel, A. (2014). Turkey's role as a regional and global player and its power capacity: Turkey's engagement with other emerging states. Scielo. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci">http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci</a> arttext&pid=S0104-44782014000200007
- Hanbay, S. (2015). *Understanding Turkey's Security Discourse.* Retrieved from <a href="http://lfpr.lt/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/LFPR-23-Hanbay.pdf">http://lfpr.lt/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/LFPR-23-Hanbay.pdf</a>
- Haris, L. M. & Islar, M. *Neoliberalism, Nature, and Changing Modalities of Environmental Governance in Contemporary Turkey*. International Political Series. Retrieved from <a href="https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137293688">https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137293688</a> 3
- Hassan, N. (2019). Closing the Gap in Turkey: Evidence of Improved Quality and Reduced Inequality in an Expanding Education System. Worldbank.org. Retrieved from <a href="http://blogs.worldbank.org/education/closing-gap-turkey-evidence-improved-quality-and-reduced-inequality-expanding-education system">http://blogs.worldbank.org/education/closing-gap-turkey-evidence-improved-quality-and-reduced-inequality-expanding-education system</a>
- Hisham. P.W. (2017). Syrian Refugee Crisis: Role of Turkish Non-Governmental Organizations in Humanitarian Relief. Retrieved from <a href="https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2972257">https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2972257</a>
- Huaxia. (2019). *China, Turkey vow to Deepen Mutual Trust*. Xinhua Net News. Retrieved from http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-07/30/c\_138270479.htm
- Ihsan, A. (2020). Turkey's Domestic Politics and Emerging and Emerging Political Party. Daily Sabah.

  Retrieved from <a href="https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ihsan-aktas/2020/01/18/turkeys-domestic-politics-and-emerging-political-parties">https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/ihsan-aktas/2020/01/18/turkeys-domestic-politics-and-emerging-political-parties</a>
- International Global Affairs. (2018). The Emergence of Turkey as Regional Power & the Middle East Disruption and Reset. Strategy International. Retrieved from <a href="https://strategyinternational.org/the-emergence-of-turkey-as-a-regional-powerthe-middle-east-disruption-reset/">https://strategyinternational.org/the-emergence-of-turkey-as-a-regional-powerthe-middle-east-disruption-reset/</a>
- International Social Security Association (ISSA). (2019). Modernising the Social Security in Turkey. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.issa.int/en/-/modernizing-thesocial-security-system-in-turkey">https://www.issa.int/en/-/modernizing-thesocial-security-system-in-turkey</a>
- John, P. (2019). *Turkey Foreign Relations*. Global Security. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-forrel.htm">https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/tu-forrel.htm</a>
- Kemal, K. & Amada, S. (2019). *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Democracy in Turkey; Implication for the West.*Brookings. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-rise-and-fall-of-liberal-democracy-inturkey-implications-for-the-west/">https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-rise-and-fall-of-liberal-democracy-inturkey-implications-for-the-west/</a>
- Kean, B. (2017). *What exactly Neoliberalism*. The Conversation. Retrieved from <a href="http://theconversation.com/what-exactly-is-neoliberalism-84755">http://theconversation.com/what-exactly-is-neoliberalism-84755</a> Kuran, T. (2018). *Why Turkey's military is not what it used to be?* Al Jazeera. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/turkey-military180527105359421.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/turkey-military180527105359421.html</a>

- Kyle. M. (2019). *Turkey Remains Military Power that should not be taken lightly*. AhvalNews. Retrieved from <a href="https://ahvalnews.com/turkish-armed-forces/turkey-remains-military-power-should-not-be-taken-lightly-analyst">https://ahvalnews.com/turkish-armed-forces/turkey-remains-military-power-should-not-be-taken-lightly-analyst</a>
- Lutz. L. (2019). *Turkey's Social Security System in A European Context*. Blickwechsel. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.blickwechsel-tuerkei.de/en/projects/">https://www.blickwechsel-tuerkei.de/en/projects/</a> current/ Social System/
- Michel C. (2019). *Shift in Military Alliances: America Declares War on Turkey?* NATO Exit. Globalresearch.org. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.globalresearch.ca/shift-in-military-alliances-america-declares-waron-turkey-nato-in-disarray/5651137">https://www.globalresearch.ca/shift-in-military-alliances-america-declares-waron-turkey-nato-in-disarray/5651137</a>
- Michael, P. (2018). *Turkey's has the Right to Protect its National Interest*. Geopolitical Intelligence Service. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.gisreportsonline.com/turkey-has-the-right-to-protect-its-nationalinterests,politics,2472.html">https://www.gisreportsonline.com/turkey-has-the-right-to-protect-its-nationalinterests,politics,2472.html</a>
- Martin, R. (2015). European Economic Integration is the Key to Turkey's Past and Future. Brookings. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/futuredevelopment/2015/03/11/european-economic-integration-is-the-key-to-turkeyspast-and-future/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/futuredevelopment/2015/03/11/european-economic-integration-is-the-key-to-turkeyspast-and-future/</a>
- Maria, B. (2019). *The Turkey Russia Cooperation Model*. Daily Sabah. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2019/08/05/the-turkey-russiacooperation-model">https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2019/08/05/the-turkey-russiacooperation-model</a>
- Mina, T. (2017). *The Turkish Economy is Struggling with Political Volatility*. Chatamhouse. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/turkish-economy-strugglingpolitical-volatility">https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/turkish-economy-strugglingpolitical-volatility</a>
- Mercan, M. (2019). *Turkey's economy rebounds and the fourth quarter looks bright.* ING Snap. Retrieved from <a href="https://think.ing.com/snaps/turkey-economyrebounds-and-fourth-quarter-looks-bright/">https://think.ing.com/snaps/turkey-economyrebounds-and-fourth-quarter-looks-bright/</a>
- Mike, P. (2018). Foreign Minister Meeting. State Department in Washington.Reuters. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/turkeyhas-legitimate-security-concerns-but-must-keep-military-incursion-into-syrialimited/">https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/turkeyhas-legitimate-security-concerns-but-must-keep-military-incursion-into-syrialimited/</a>
- Ministry of Foreign Affair. (2011). *A Synopsis Turkey's Enterprising and Humanitarian Foreign Policy.*Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
  Retrieved from <a href="http://www.mfa.gov.tr/synopsis-of-the-turkish-foreign-policy.en.mfa">http://www.mfa.gov.tr/synopsis-of-the-turkish-foreign-policy.en.mfa</a>
- Ministry of Foreign Affair. (2018). *Middle East Peace Process*. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-s-relations-with-the-middle-east.en.mfa">http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-s-relations-with-the-middle-east.en.mfa</a>
- Ministry of Foreign Affair. (2017). *Brief History of the Ministry of Foreign Affair of the Republic of Turkey.* Retrieved from http://www<u>.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-cumhuriyetidisisleri-bakanligi-</u>tarihcesi.en.mfa
- Ministry of Foreign Affair. (2019). *Turkey's Development Cooperation: General Characteristic and The Least Developed Countries (LDC) Aspect.* Retrieved from <a href="http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-s-development-cooperation.en.mfa">http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-s-development-cooperation.en.mfa</a>
- Ministry of Foreign Affair. (2019). *Turkey's Perspective on Policies and Security Issues*. Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affair. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.mfa.gov.tr/i -turkey s-security-perspective-historical-andconceptual-background-turkey-contributions.en.mfa">http://www.mfa.gov.tr/i -turkey s-security-perspective-historical-andconceptual-background-turkey-contributions.en.mfa</a>
- Musa. N. (2018). *Tourism Economy of Turkey*. School of Tourism & Hotel Management. Near East University. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.slideshare.net/lorax0717/tourism-economy-of-turkey">https://www.slideshare.net/lorax0717/tourism-economy-of-turkey</a>
- Murad. S. (2019). *Turkey's Economy Return to Growth*. Al Jazeera Middle East. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/ajimpact/bye-bye-recession-turkeyeconomy-returns-growth-191202181332824.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/ajimpact/bye-bye-recession-turkeyeconomy-returns-growth-191202181332824.html</a>
- Nesecan, B. Erol, B & Ahmet, O. *The Neoliberal Landscape and the Rise of Islamist Capital in Turkey.* Oxford, New York, Berghahn Books.

- Nuray, M. (2018). *International Relations of New Turkey*. Hurriyet Daily News. Retrieved From <a href="http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/nuraymert/international-relations-of-the-new-turkey-135720">http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/nuraymert/international-relations-of-the-new-turkey-135720</a>
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2018). *Economy Survey on Turkey*. Economic and Development Review Committee (EDRC). Retrieved from <a href="http://www.oecd.org/economy/surveys/Turkey-2018-OECDeconomic-survey-overview.pdf">http://www.oecd.org/economy/surveys/Turkey-2018-OECDeconomic-survey-overview.pdf</a>
- Reena. G & Ilka. B. (2014). Size isn't everything: Turkey's fast-growing luxury market. Mckinsey & Company.

  Retrieved from <a href="https://www.mckinsey.com/businessfunctions/marketing-and-sales/our-insights/size-isnt-everything-turkeys-fastgrowing-luxury-market">https://www.mckinsey.com/businessfunctions/marketing-and-sales/our-insights/size-isnt-everything-turkeys-fastgrowing-luxury-market</a>
- Reuters. (2019). Erdogan says Turkey wants to continue defense cooperation with Russia. World New. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russiaturkey-planes/erdogan-says-turkey-wants-to-continue-defense-cooperationwith-russia-idUSKCN1VH1QS">https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russiaturkey-planes/erdogan-says-turkey-wants-to-continue-defense-cooperationwith-russia-idUSKCN1VH1QS</a>
- Saeed. A. (2019). **E.U.**: Turkey's Economy Recovered Faster Than Expected. Asharq Al Awsat. Retrieved from <a href="https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1983746/euturkey%E2%80%99s-economy-recovered-faster-expected">https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1983746/euturkey%E2%80%99s-economy-recovered-faster-expected</a>
- Santander. (2019). *Turkey Foreign Investment*. Trade Market. Retrieved from <a href="https://santandertrade.com/en/portal/establish-overseas/turkey/foreigninvestment">https://santandertrade.com/en/portal/establish-overseas/turkey/foreigninvestment</a>
- Saygili, H. & Ozdemir, K.A. (2017). Regional Economic Growth in Turkey: The Effects of Physical, Social and Financial Infrastructure Investments. Central Bank of Republic of Turkey. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.tcmb.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/0e13ae80-89e7-494a940040644cad00af/wp1716.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=ROOTWORKSPACE-0e13ae80-89e7-494a-9400-40644cad00af-m3fw6m4">https://www.tcmb.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/0e13ae80-89e7-494a940040644cad00af-mp1716.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=ROOTWORKSPACE-0e13ae80-89e7-494a-9400-40644cad00af-m3fw6m4</a>
- Sebnem A. & Allan C. (2011). *Turkey Expels Israeli Envoy in Dispute Over Raid.* The New York Times. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/03/world/middleeast/03turkey.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/03/world/middleeast/03turkey.html</a>
- Seda. K. (2015). *Political Party & Campaign Financing in Turkey.* Turkish Policy Quarterly, Istanbul Policy Centre.
- Selim, I. (2017). *Can Turkey be a Superpower*?. Discussion in Middle East & Africa. Pakistan Defence Forum.

  Retrieved from <a href="https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/canturkev-become-a-superpower.484402/">https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/canturkev-become-a-superpower.484402/</a>
- Smith, A. (2007). *The Wealth of Nations*. Cosimo Classic. Economic. Inc. Stephen, F. Larrabee & Angel, R. *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey*. Santa Monica, CA, RAND Corporation.
- Soner, C. The Rise of Turkey; The Twenty-First Century's, First Muslim Power. University of Nebraska Press, United States of America, Library of Congress
- Sevinc, B. The Rise of Hybrid Political Islam in Turkey. Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan
- Selçuk, C. (2019). The Rise of Eurasianism in Turkish Foreign Policy: Can Turkey Change its Pto-Western Orientation? Middle East Institute. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.mei.edu/publications/rise-eurasianism-turkish-foreign-policy-canturkey-change-its-pro-western-orientation">https://www.mei.edu/publications/rise-eurasianism-turkish-foreign-policy-canturkey-change-its-pro-western-orientation</a>
- Tansel, C. B. (2018). Issue 2: Decoding the Repertoires of Authoritarian Neoliberalism in Turkey. Journal South European Society and Politics, Volume 23. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2018.1479945#">https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2018.1479945#</a> i3
- The Top Ten. (2017). *Most Possible Future Superpowers*. Thetopten.com. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.thetoptens.com/most-possible-future-superpowers/">https://www.thetoptens.com/most-possible-future-superpowers/</a>
- The World Bank. (2019). *The World Bank in Turkey. Where We Work in Turkey Journal.* Retrieved from <a href="https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview">https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview</a>

- The Heritage Foundation. (2019). *Index of Economy Freedom of Turkey*. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.heritage.org/index/country/turkey">https://www.heritage.org/index/country/turkey</a>
- The Presidency of the Republic of Turkey. (2019). Political *Stability and Social Peace Lie behind Turkey's Current Level*. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/102499/-political-stability-and-socialpeace-lie-behind-turkey-s-current-level-">https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/102499/-political-stability-and-socialpeace-lie-behind-turkey-s-current-level-</a>
- Thomas, H. (2018). *How new liberal is Turkey? A Biweekly Briefing on Current affairs*. The Turkey Analyst. Articles. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.turkeyanalyst.org/publications/turkey-analyst-articles/item/596how-neoliberal-is-turkey?html">https://www.turkeyanalyst.org/publications/turkey-analyst-articles/item/596how-neoliberal-is-turkey?html</a>
- Will, K. (2019). *Neoliberalism Government & Policy*. Investopedia. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.investopedia.com/terms/n/neoliberalism.asp">https://www.investopedia.com/terms/n/neoliberalism.asp</a>
- Winter, C. (2019). *Turkey, China seek to expand economic ties despite political differences.* D.W. News. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-chinaseek-to-expand-economic-ties-despite-political-differences/a-49425011">https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-chinaseek-to-expand-economic-ties-despite-political-differences/a-49425011</a>
- Yasar. Y. (2020). *Turkey's political isolation continues to grow*. Arabnews.com. Retrieved from <a href="https://www.arabnews.com/node/1608641">https://www.arabnews.com/node/1608641</a>