

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Talking about Turkey is the same as talking about civilization, Islam and secularism. Turkey is a country that is located between two continents, namely part of Turkey is located in Asia and the other part is located in Europe, with an area of 783,562 km² has a total population of 77,695,904 inhabitants, save a lot of history of Islamic civilization in the Ottoman era in 1922.

Turkey is majority Muslim nation that 99% of its population is a believer of Islam that adopts a system of secularism, if we recall, Turkey was the centre of the Ottoman Caliphate when the Ottoman was in power. The ottoman kingdom was the last caliphate before finally collapsing in 1922. The Ottoman Empire which was founded in the 14th century had a huge influence on Turkey even for the Islamic world, how was it not the kingdom which in its Africa North. (Heper, 2000).

The Caliphate, which had a profound influence in the Islamic world during their era, officially collapsed in 1922, the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate, had a profound impact, especially on the central of ottoman government (Turkey). The decision of the Ottoman Empire to participate in the First World War in 1914 turned out to be a very big mistake. The ottoman

kingdom, led by the "Three Pasha" dictatorship, unilaterally entered the war and sided with Germany, which made Britain, France and Russia its main enemies. Therefore the Ottoman Empire which sided with Germany was attacked by the British from the south, Russia from the East, and by the Greeks in the West. When the war ended in 1918, the Ottoman Empire was divided by war and some of its territories were occupied by victorious allies. (Unknown, 2016).

The collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate was caused by a revolution led by Kemal Attaturk. As a leader of the revolutionary forces who wanted to change the state system that used to use the system of the Caliphate into a secular system. Kemal Attaturk's success in overthrowing the ottoman Caliphate made him the leader of the New Turkey who embraced the secular system. After Mustafa Kemal took over the government from the Ottoman Empire, and formally transferred the supreme power to the GNA Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Grand National Assembly abolished the ottoman caliphate and formally established a fully secular Turkish state.

Since Recep Tayyip Erdoğan took office as president in 2014 the Turkish government system began definite changes, especially in making the Turkish state of Islam return after Islam was eliminated by Kemal Mustafa Attaturk. After a long time in Turkish shackles by the secular system, finally, Islam reigned in a country that is located on these two continents this revival occurred a decade ago since the party that carries the vision of Islam, AKP

(Adalet Kalkinma Partisi) dominates the political universe in the countries of the two continents.

The Islamic revival led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan received good support from the Turkish community because many people considered that secularism failed in developing Turkey. As we know, since Mustafa Kemal Atatürk replaced the Ottoman Islamic Caliphate in 1923 into a secular, the country has practically become a prisoner in the stage of modern civilization of the world. In fact, previously the Ottoman Empire was a great power that even stretched between European and Asian countries. Under the secular system, not only is Turkey unable to play an international role in the midst of the many problems of third world countries, even Turkey is losing its best ability to take care of itself. Several newspapers in the old Turkish era show how slums and poverty of Turkey under the secular system. This condition was due to the wealth of the Turks only flowing to the gentlemen of Istanbul (Lord of Istanbul) who became the ruler of the country behind the scenes. And now that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is in power the turkey revival is starting to look towards a better direction. The trust gained by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from the Turkish community has proven that the Islamic system brought by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is able to improve the situation in Turkey.

President Erdogan effort in restoring the glory of Islam in Turkey is not going smoothly. Many obstacles must be passed by President Erdogan, one of which is the coup d'état conducted by the Gulen movement. The coup

was carried out in July 2016 when Gulenist military officers tried to take over the bridges, television stations, airports and police headquarters. Although the Gulen movement had sent special forces to capture or kill the president Erdogan The coup by the Gulen movement failed because the chief of staff of the military, along with the commanders of land, water and naval forces and the gendarmerie, refused to sign on and remained to be loyal to President Erdogan's government. (M. Hakan Yavuz and Rasim Koc, 2016).

Spearheading the rise of Islam in Turkey is not a final destination for President Erdogan's goals. Some analysts consider Turkey to show the ambition of neo-Ottoman for regional hegemony, (Ahmad, 2020) the opinion of some analysts is reinforced by the events that occurred some time ago. Analysts consider Turkey's increasingly assertive foreign policy as evidence of the ambition of neo-ottoman which is further supported by several events involving Turkey in the event such as In February, Turkish military intervention cancelled the efforts of the Syrian regime and its Iranian allies to take control of the last opposition stronghold in Syria's Idlib province and forcing Moscow to honour the 2018 de-escalation zone agreement. In May, Turkey supported and recognized the Government of National Accord (GNA) in Tripoli to oust rebel commander Khalifa Haftar, who is backed by Russia, Egypt and The UAE, and most of western Libyan, plus Turkey made it clear in July that they are supporting its ally Azerbaijan in the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The things above strengthen the opinion of analysts

that there is an ambition of neo-ottoman in Turkey's foreign policy. (Kabalan, 2020).

B. Research Question

Research Question is the main Question of the thesis and will become the foundation of the thesis discussion. **“How President Erdogan's strategy sparked the rise of Islam in Turkey and neo ottoman?”**

C. Theoretical Framework

- **Constructivism Approach**

In this analysis, the writer uses international relation theories “Constructivism theory” to analyse the topic. Constructivism is one theory that exists to criticize theories that fail to explain many of the phenomena that occurred in the cold war. Constructivism is one of the most influential traditions in International Relations from the late 1990s and early 2000s. The emergent of constructivist theory were based on critical thinking, which constructivists agree to the critical theory which rejects neoliberal and neoliberal ontological positions that describe humans as rationalists, namely selfish actors. In addition, constructivists also agree with positivists who state that humans can accumulate knowledge about the world. (Robert H. Jackson and Georg Sorensen, 1999) Nicholas Greenwood Onuf was the first theorist who introduced the term “constructivism” in International Relations theory in 1989, in his opinion that were written in his book "World of Our Making" he stated that that

“state is no different from an individual, where many social facts are shaped by human actions as a rejection of the assumption that social facts do not depend on human actions but depend on the condition of the human being”. (Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Timothy Dunne, 2008) The emergent of constructivism is an opposition of the neorealist that claim that international politics is shaped by the rational choice behaviour/decisions of egoist actors who pursue their interests by making utilitarian calculations to maximize their benefits and minimize their losses, hence the materiality of international structures. Constructivism generally explains that a person's knowledge is the formation or construction of the person himself. Constructivism assumes that ideas, ideas, discourses, norms, and values are things that shape interactions between countries while influencing state behaviour as well as shaping state identities and interests in international relations. Constructivism theory states that the social environment determines the form of actor identity. Identity then determines interests, and interests will determine the form of behaviour, actions and policies of actors. At the next stage, identity will also affect the shape of the social environment. (Behraves, 2011)

President Erdogan's strategy in restoring the glory of Islam after being ensnared by fanatical secularism and the suppression of Islamic values in the Turkish state, Erdogan tried to restore the Turkish people's perspective on Islam that brought better progress. Through his policies, he

was able to convince the Turkish people, that with an Islamic identity, Turkey could restore the glory of the nation, which was not only strong in terms of defence, but also in the economy. Neither is the belief that "Islam is the Solution" (Al-Islam huwa Al-Hall), Erdogan who was raised in an Islamic environment, was able to revive Turkey from the even being considered a state who is able to contribute to creating peace. (Junaidi, 2016)

- **Neo Ottomanism**

In case on how Erdogan build perspective of Islam in the eyes of Turkish society and world society, constructivism would be the theory that became the basis for analysing how President Erdogan gained the sympathy of the Turkish people and showed that Islam were the solution needed by Turkey in bringing Turkey to a more advanced future. The theory of Neo-Ottomanism here will be the basic theory used to analyze Turkey's indications in trying to restore the glory that was once achieved by the Ottomans.

Since 2002 when Erdogan served as prime minister of Turkey, Neo Ottomanism has been used by Turkey as its foreign policy. Neo ottomanism is a political ideology used by Turkey to build political power in the former Ottoman Empire. (Wastnidge, 2019) Neo ottomanism has provided a very significant change to Turkish foreign policy, which initially used traditional Kemalist foreign policy which refers to western civilization to become a foreign policy that supports the involvement of

Turkey in the region around Turkey, especially the territory of the former Ottoman Empire. (Taspinar, 2008) Neo-Ottomanism was built using a set of ideas about identity and Turkish views of the world. Not only foreign policy assistance and domestic politics, neo-ottomanism is defined as something that defines Turkish identity. Neo-ottomanism is about building a national identity that is used as a reference for foreign policies that use religion, history and culture as the foundation of national identity. (M. Hakan Yavuz, 2016)

If we look at the history of neo-Ottomanism is an ideology that has roots in the areas that were formerly controlled by the Ottoman Empire. In essence, neo-Ottomanism is an idea to reunite the former territory of the former Ottoman Empire that has been divided regardless of their religion, ethnic as well as their religion and ensure the prosperity of its people. (Hristov, 2019)

In essence, neo-Ottomanism is an ideology that aims to make Turkey not just a regional power, but a new world power and neo-Ottomanism has a strong foundation to serve as an ideology. This was also supported by Ahmet Davutoglu in 2010 who later became the prime minister of Turkey in 2014 up to 2016, he said that Turkey has the goal of not only becoming a regional power but also a very ambitious turkey to become a new world power. He also said that Turkey has the prospect of becoming a new world power supported by its geographic location, history and experience in diplomacy that Turkey has. (Hristov, 2019)

D. Hypothesis

Based on the background and theoretical framework, the strategy of Erdogan in Spearheading the Rise of Islam in Turkey and Neo Ottomanism:

1. President Erdogan builds social construction in which Islam is the way for the rise of Turkey.
2. President Erdogan directly or indirectly provides support to parties who have the same beliefs, especially in the former Ottoman Empire territory.

E. Methodology

- **Method of Research**

This research is accomplished by analysing the second data on how Islam is coming back to life in Turkey and how President Recep Tayyip Erdogan implements his policy that supports the rise of Islam in Turkey.

- **Method of Collecting Data**

The method of collecting data in this research is library research method. Every data used to accomplish this research are secondary data from the book, journal online, news media, as well as other electronic sources. The data collected will be analysed to draw conclusions.

F. Aim of the Research

The aim of this research is to identify and analyse the strategy of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Spearheading the Rise of Islam in Turkey. Analyzing what President Recep Tayyip Erdogan did, remembering that Turkey is a country that uses a secular system and the position of Turkey

located on two different continents indirectly the rise of Islam in Turkey will affect the countries around it, and what will happen to the Turkish secular system with the rise of Islam in the Erdogan era.

G. Outline

Chapter I is an introductory chapter that consists of Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Methodology, Aim of Research, and Outline.

Chapter II is where the author elaborates the background, why Islam fades away and the rise of Islam in Turkey and the rise of Neo-Ottoman.

Chapter III in this chapter the author discusses the strategy of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Spearheading the Rise of Islam in Turkey and Neo-Ottoman.

Chapter IV In this last chapter the author draws a conclusion drawn from chapters I, II, III.