



THE ROLE OF HOPE ACCORDING TO IBN KHALDUN
IN SECURING ECONOMIC GROWTH: TURKEY
UNDER THE AKP RULE FROM 2002 TO 2012

BY

AYNUR YAPRAK

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International Islamic University Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

This research analyses the writing of Ibn Khaldun in regards to the ‘role of hope’, and suggest its relevance to Turkish AKP government’s reign from 2002 to 2012. It examines policies made by the AKP government in transforming economic and social status of Turkey by creating hope among its people. It provides a brief background to Turkey’s economic and social scenarios under various coalition governments until the emergence of the AKP in 2002. It also discusses the process of transformation within the field of human resources, industry and trade, and foreign policies to demonstrate the government’s efforts to overcome economic and social problems such as unemployment rate, imbalance in social security, and unequal income distribution. This process of transformation subsequently made a psychological impact and created hope to the Turkish people in participating as members of society and in politics. This research uses the qualitative approach with references from primary and secondary sources on the subject as well as provides statistical data to show the growth of Turkish economy and society. It is hoped that the findings of this research will allow further investigation on the possibilities of incorporating the theories of classical scholars in analysing contemporary socio-economic problems.

خلاصة البحث

يقوم هذا البحث بتحليل ما كتبه ابن خلدون بخصوص دور الأمل ومناقشة علاقة ذلك بالسياق المعاصر لحكم حزب العدالة والتنمية التركية خلال السنوات ٢٠٠٢ – ٢٠١٢. كذلك يقيم البحث يقوم بتمحيصٍ دقيقٍ للسياسات التي اتبعتها حكومة حزب العدالة والتنمية في تغيير الحالة الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في تركيا من خلال بث الأمل في نفوس الشعب. يبدأ هذا البحث بطرح مقدمة موجزة عن الأوضاع الاقتصادية والاجتماعية في تركيا في ظل العديد من الحكومات الائتلافية حتى ظهور حكومة الحزب الواحد في تركيا تحت حزب العدالة والتنمية في العام ٢٠٠٢. يلي ذلك نقاش حول عملية التحوّل في مجالاً موارد البشرية، والصناعة والتجارة، والسياسات الخارجية لإبراز التعلب على جهود الحكومة في المشاكل الاقتصادية والاجتماعية مثل نسبة البطالة، وعدم التوازن في التأمينات الاجتماعية، وعدم المساواة في الدخل. و نتيجة لذلك أحدثت عملية التحوّل هذه أثراً نفسياً في بعث الأمل في نفوس الشعب التركي حيث حفّزهم على المشاركة كأعضاء في المجتمع وأيضاً في السياسة. يتبع هذا البحث المنهج الوصفي بالرجوع إلى المصادر الأولية والثانوية المتعلقة بالموضوع، بالإضافة إلى المنهج الكمي عن طريق تقديم بيانات إحصائية تظهر النمو في تركيا. من المأمول أن تفتح نتائج هذا البحث المجال أمام المزيد من الدراسات حول إمكانية تطبيق نظريات العلماء القدماء على الظواهر الحديثة.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts (Islamic and Other Civilizations).

.....
Abdullah al-Ahsan
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts (Islamic and Other Civilizations).

.....
Jamil Farooqi
Examiner

This dissertation was submitted to the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) and is accepted as a fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts (Islamic and Other Civilizations).

.....
Sayyid Mohamed Ajmal Abdul
Razak Al-Aidrus
Dean, International Institute of
Islamic Thought and Civilization

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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SECURING ECONOMIC GROWTH: TURKEY UNDER THE AKP
RULE FROM 2002 TO 2012

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Abstract in Arabic	iii
Approval Page.....	iv
Declaration	v
Copyright Page.....	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction to the Research	1
1.1.1 Research Methodology	3
1.2 Literature Review	4
1.2.1 Ibn Khaldun.....	4
1.2.2 Theory of Hope According to Ibn Khaldun	5
1.2.3 Terminology of Hope.....	10
1.2.4 Turkey's Economy	13
1.2.5 Founding of the AKP	16
1.2.6 AKP Period	20
1.3 Justification of Research.....	26
CHAPTER TWO: THE GROWTH OF HUMAN RESOURCES	27
2.1 Meaning of Work.....	28
2.2 Job Creation	29
2.3 Employment and Unemployment Influences	30
2.3.1 Expected Consequences of Unemployment.....	32
2.4 The Issue of Social Security	34
2.5 The Role of State in Employment Relations and Social Security	36
2.6 The AKP Policies in Employment Relations.....	40
2.6.1 The AKP and Employment Relations	44
2.7 AKP Policies on Social Security	47
2.7.1 The AKP and Social Security Relations	53
CHAPTER THREE: GROWTH OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE.....	57
3.1 Liberalization in Economy and Trade	58
3.2 Money and Monetary Policy	62
3.2.1 Goals of Monetary Policy	63
3.3 Monetary Policy in Turkey	65
3.3.1 Banking Development and Privatization	69
3.4 Trade and Turkey's New Trade Rule	73
3.4.1 Liberalization in Turkish Economy and Trade	79
CHAPTER FOUR: FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY.....	82
4.1 Turkey's Geostrategic Position.....	83
4.1.1 The Concept of Strategic Depth.....	84

4.2 The Concepts Framing Turkish Foreign Policy	87
4.2.1 Neo-Ottomanism.....	87
4.2.2 ‘Zero Problems’ Policy with Neighbouring Countries	91
4.2.2.1 Turkey and Arab Spring	98
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	102
5.1 Summary of the Study	102
5.2 Further Studies and Recommendations	108
BIBLIOGRAPHY	110

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
2.1	Labour Force Statistic Labour force participation rate (%) by age group and periods (15+ ages)	42
2.2	Labour Force Statistic Unemployed ratio (%) by age group and periods (15 + age)	46
2.3	Poverty Rate	51
2.4	Number of Emergency Health Services	52
3.1	GDP Rates 2011-2012 Period	67
3.2	Foreign Trade by Year	77
3.3	GDP per Capita Statistics	78
4.1	Foreign Trade Statistics According to Geographical Group (Near and Middle East)	94
4.2	Foreign Trade Statistics According to Geographical Group (North Africa)	95

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure No.</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
1.1	GDP Growth Rate (%)	23
1.2	GDP Per Capita (US \$)	24
3.1	Privatization Revenues According to Years (Million \$)	73
3.2	Evolution of Total Exports as a Share of GDP (Current Prices)	75

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

Turkey is a republican country and connects Asia with Europe. Its geographical location is a bridge between regions that are different in terms of economics, politics, culture and religion. The country shares borders with Syria, Iraq and Iran. Thus, Turkey plays a significant role in the unindustrialized Middle East oil countries and the industrialized European countries that depend exclusively on oil. Turkey has been through several economic and political crises in various times. After 2002, the economic and political development of every turn raises Turkey's position in the international arena.

Political instability caused Turkey to experience a huge economic and social crises in 2001. However, by the 2002 elections, the country has begun to see a significant economic transformation as well as become more effective in international politics. Moreover, after the 2007 elections, Turkey has become a regional power in the Middle East, and maintained its status in the context of the Arab Spring.¹ In addition, the country is now seen as a model country not only in the Middle East, but also in Europe for its economic performance. These changes were brought through particular methods introduced by the AKP government in regards to the economic and social crises.

In order to understand the impact of the overall performance of the AKP government, we turn to the 14th century theoretician Ibn Khaldun who suggests that

¹ André Bank and Roy Karadağ. (2012). *The Political Economy of Regional Power: Turkey under the AKP* (No: 204). Hamburg: GIGA Research Unit: Institute of Middle East Studies. 3.

governments need to motivate their people to work hard and cooperate with the system by cultivating hope. Once they are motivated to work hard for their personal benefits, the government and the whole society would benefit from these activities. Therefore, this thesis will look at AKP's policy in creating hope and people's response to such policy.

Ibn Khaldun is a Muslim scholar who has written on many subjects including the economy that still maintains its relevance today. His theory on 'hope' explains business and economic transformation in a state. This theory of hope will be closely examined with regard to the methods adopted by the AKP government.

According to Ibn Khaldun, apathy comes over people when they lose control of their own affairs, become the instrument of others and be dependent upon them. Man is a natural leader, a caliph in his presentation, and when leadership is taken away, he becomes apathetic. His hope accordingly diminishes and weakens. When hope vanishes, a cluster of feelings which provides collective work for economic surplus disappears; therefore, business and other activities will stop.² To him, revenue and properties are derived from wage, profit, and taxation.³ Ibn Khaldun subsequently adds that labour is the real basis of profit. The hope for profit vanishes and no productive work is done when labour is not appreciated or is done for nothing.⁴ Attacks on people's properties remove the incentive to acquire and gain properties.

Ibn Khaldun says in *Muqaddimah*:

Civilization and its well-being as well as business prosperity depend on productivity and people's efforts in all directions, their own interest and profit. When people no longer do business in order to make a living, and

² Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, translated by F. Rosenthal, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 300-301

³ Nesrin Candan, "İbni Haldun'un Gözüyle Kamu Maliyesi Yaklaşımı", *Yönetim ve Ekonomi*, cilt. 14, sayı. 2 (2007): 242.

⁴ Ibn Khaldun. *The Muqaddimah*. 303.

when they cease all gainful activity, the business of civilization slumps and everything decays.⁵

The main aim of this research is thus to examine the economic transformation that Turkey had faced in the past decade. Past elections have proven that the AKP has been the only ruling party since 2002. Therefore, this research will study AKP's policy for economic transformation; identify the methods that the AKP government has implemented in accelerating the economic growth in Turkey; investigate reforms and development programmes that have helped to overcome the economic and social crises; and lastly, demonstrate the application of the classical theory of Ibn Khaldun into a contemporary context. This study also aims to fill the gap in the existing body of literature with regard to academic analysis of economic and social reports, as well as statistics prepared by dependable local and world economic authorities.

1.1.1 Research Methodology

The methodology of this research utilizes both qualitative and quantitative approaches within the scope of relevant literature of analysis and as well as statistics prepared by reliable Turkish and other world political and social authorities. The methodology involves the process of examining general economic and social status of Turkey before and after the victory of the AKP. This methodology enables this research to focus on Turkey's recovery under the rule of AKP and its implemented reforms, programmes and policies in order to discover their political performance. Other secondary sources commenting on primary works are closely examined for further evaluation. These sources compose of materials such as books, journals, academic papers, newspapers and documentaries available from libraries and research websites.

⁵ Ibid. 300-305

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.2.1 Ibn Khaldun

Ibn Khaldun is an important scholar who had written on many subjects including the economics that still maintains its relevance today. Ibn Khaldun is well-known as Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn al-Hadramī⁶. He is one of the strongest personalities of Arab-Muslim culture. He is also well-known as a historian, sociologist and philosopher. The subjects of innumerable studies are formed by his life and work; the most varied and most contradictory interpretations are gained. Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunis on 27 May 1332 in an Arab family that was originally from the Hadramaut.⁷

His autobiography gives a detailed account of his education; he had memorized the Qur’an and studied its principles. He educated himself in Muslim Law, the masterpieces of Arabic literature, acquired a clear, forceful style and a capacity for writing verses. He also studied philosophy, history, geography and social sciences. Apart from that, he summarized several books written by the 12th century Arab philosopher, Averroes.⁸ The importance of Ibn Khaldun was discovered earlier in the Muslim world, but his writings were discovered later in Europe. His existence stands with his identity as a historian, philosopher and sociologist. Nathaniel Schmidt said in his book entitled ‘Ibn Khaldun’ that it talks about those identities.

Ibn Khaldun was a historian who introduced different people and told their stories. He was a careful, unprejudiced observer and a participant while studying communities. As a philosopher, history is the science that deals with the social phenomena of man’s life, and every science is the result of human observation and

⁶ Routledge History of World Philosophies, “Ibn Khaldūn” in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Oliver Leaman (New York: Routledge, 1996), v1, 350.

⁷ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition; photomechanical reprint (1986), “Ibn Khaldun.”

⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th edition, “Ibn Khaldun.”

reflection. He applied a scientific principle which is natural science that led him to reject alchemy. He also believed that nature will be able to predict the future. He wrote on the rise and fall of political governments. To find causes, individuals are influenced by the character of the groups to which they belong and the general social conditions. The political development covers studies in all aspects of social life. Therefore, history becomes the science of human society which is sociology. Besides, Ibn Khaldun related his studies and researches to the psychological realm; as a result, he recognized the importance of the individual psyche and the group psychology. As a sociologist, he claimed that history was sociology and sociology was history, dealing with all the social phenomena of man's life. His understanding of science was on all aspects of human society; about different kinds of people such as savages, nomads and organized tribes by their physical environment. He spoke of consanguinity, and also recognized the social ties growing stronger than those of blood. To him, solidarity is secured through the support of the ruler by a strong party and the psychological effect of power upon the masses.⁹

1.2.2 Theory of Hope According to Ibn Khaldun

Through his economic propositions and opinions, Ibn Khaldun had been compared to Marxist tradition in economics. His doctrine of theory of society which bestows on human labour and on the production of goods differs from Marxist doctrine; conversely, he asserted that economy is an absolutely necessary condition for everything. Ibn Khaldun believed that the kind and degree of development of production determines the intellectual activity of man, the arts and sciences, his moral attitudes and behaviours, the style of living, taste, standard of living and human

⁹ Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun*, (New York: AMN Press, 1967), 17-33.

customs. He set forth that the spiritual activity of man which depended upon material factors is not invalidated.¹⁰

The meaning of history, according to him, is the knowledge about human organization which is absolute necessity for society; man is a social being and thus cannot live alone:

As a social being, man is not independent from conditions that are beyond his control; he is subject to them and they shape him as a biological being within a certain range of capabilities. Ibn Khaldun maintains that climatic conditions and geographic surroundings have a great influence on man's life, his constitution, his way of life, his character, and on degree to which culture is developed.¹¹

As we mentioned above, man is a social being; therefore, to be able to continue his existence, he has to live together with others; accordingly, he needs to do economic activity which distinguishes man from animals.¹² Ibn Khaldun asserted that man is the product of economic conditions that determine the development of culture as a social being. God gave human beings the ability to think and the hands to prepare the ground for the crafts. The hands are guided by reason which is a characteristic mark of man. Hands' activity is labour which is the foundation of human society.¹³ Economic activity is vital and basic in Ibn Khaldun's studies. He, as a believer, supported this view by referring to the Qur'an specifically Surah Ankabû t, verse 17;¹⁴ "...the things that ye worship besides Allah have no power to give you sustenance: then seek ye sustenance..."¹⁵ Ibn Khaldun demonstrated that the real basis of profit is labour, "...labour is the real basis of profit..."¹⁶; he added more that service is an

¹⁰ Ibid. 109-111

¹¹ Ibid. 114-116

¹² *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, 1999, "İbn-i Haldûn."

¹³ Heinrich Simon, *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture*, (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1978), 124.

¹⁴ *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, "İbn-i Haldûn."

¹⁵ 'Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*, (Amanah Publications, 2001)

¹⁶ Ibn Khaldun. *The Muqaddimah*. 303

activity unsuitable to human nature because it damages man's strength and distorts his character due to depending on others. He believed that political structure is important to providing safety and justice to economic activity. Heinrich Simon states Ibn Khaldun's propositions in which payment of taxes is a sign of degradation under the fiscal policy and taxes are evil, even though perhaps a necessary evil in many cases.

Then he continues saying;

Ibn Khaldun conceives of surplus work only on the basis of feudal relationships. Economic dependence upon exploiters is not only important but also a form of personal subordination of a certain kind that is determined by the political structure of the society...the fact that Ibn Khaldun condemns statute-labour also indicates that he rejects feudal conditions. Forced labour is extremely detrimental to social organization, for, when people have to work without receiving equivalent for the produced values; the incentive for work is lacking altogether, and the development of culture ceases.¹⁷

The government plays a very important role in all economic activities in society. Secured environment and justice are not only the base of all aspects of society, but economic activities as well. A government, according to Ibn Khaldun, generates the most powerful expenditure force. If public revenue decreases and expenditure is cut down, not only people gain income from their government and the government itself, but also manufacturers and the whole economy are negatively influenced. He was against the policy of placing all capitals in public treasury which he believed would cause economic activities to constrict, reduce productivity and eventually weakens the government and society. According to him, wealth will increase when a government spends and there exists circulation of capital within the market. Furthermore, he opposed the idea of government engaging in trade that could increase the price of goods and agriculture; he gave two significant reasons for this stand; first, a government exposes unjust competition to tradesmen and husbandmen

¹⁷ Heinrich Simon, *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture*. 132-133

by using its political power and economic means; second, this competition becomes a violation to people who construct the culture and breaks enthusiasm within people for working and reproducing. As a result of this, economic activity gets bogged down and tends to fall.¹⁸

Government's authority would be very crucial for all kinds of activities in a society. Force and political despotism practised by a government eradicate people's desire for performing all kinds of economic activities; at the same time impede economic development. Consequently, Ibn Khaldun had proven that there is a close relationship between economic and social development and human psychology. At the beginning of the establishment of a government, according to him, all social, political and economic ties are strong; people are eager to work, to be successful and to become economically developed; government is respectful of people's rights and freedom. However, in time, rulers tend to change towards political repression on people; they start to practise detrimental taxation, seize people's own commodities and properties.¹⁹ Heinrich Simon conveys Ibn Khaldun's stand, stating;

In the early stage of the State the tax burden imposed on the population is light, hence they work willingly; people are contented, and culture develops. If then commerce and trade increase, this will also lead to an increase in taxes.²⁰

Taxation will be raised more and more when luxury increases and subjective needs of the rulers grow. As a result, the profit which comes from tax-payers' work decreases more and more. Then, pleasure and interest in work are lost. "Since when they compare expenditures and taxes with their income and gain and see the little

¹⁸ *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, "İbn-i Haldûn."

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 5-6

²⁰ Heinrich Simon, *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture*. 133

profit they make, they lose all hope. Therefore, many of them refrain from all cultural activities”²¹, says Heinrich Simon expressing Ibn Khaldun’s theory.

Ibn Khaldun related religious commands with economic justice, economic growth and development, tax revenue and population growth. Therefore, he said that injustice brings about the ruin of civilization.²² In his *Muqaddimah*, he stated;

...those who infringe upon property (rights) commit an injustice. Those who take away property commit an injustice. Those who deny people their rights commit an injustice. Those who, in general, take property by force, commit an injustice. It is the dynasty that suffers from all these acts, in as much as civilization, which is the substance of the dynasty, is ruined when people have lost all incentive.²³

One should understand well this theory of Ibn Khaldun. Economic factors play significant roles to establish a government, and accordingly civilization. TDV (the Religious Authority-*Diyanet*) (1999) touches upon Ibn Khaldun’s theory of hope saying that repression in a political way is violation of people’s commodity and prosperity, depletion of labourers’ or workers’ income, unjustly demands from people, forcing people on things that religion does not, collecting taxes unjustly, making people work without payment, buying people’s commodity at very low prices, or forcing them to buy public prosperity which government sells at a high price. These actions will cause people’s hope to vanish and prevent culture from developing. Moreover, he believed that force to obey rules set by well-organized political authority eradicates free and independent personality to develop in people.²⁴

Ibn Khaldun’s theory on ‘hope’ has explained business and economic transformation in a state, although he was a 14th century scholar and his writing reflects the facts before and during his time. His writings are still valid and maintain

²¹ Ibid. 133-134

²² S. O. Bin Syed Agil, *The Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun: Religion, Human Nature and Economics*, (Bangi: KUIS, 2008), 175.

²³ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*. 106-107

²⁴ *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, “İbn-i Haldûn.”

themselves in contemporary times due to the facts and analyses which he provided and the methodology that he suggested. This theory of hope will be closely examined with regard to the methods used by the AKP government in Turkey.

1.2.3 Terminology of Hope

Ibn Khaldun's theory of hope puts us into the need to fully grasp its meaning and explanation. This terminology is not only confined to language terms but also how it is defined, described and explained in various aspects. In this paper, the term hope has been analyzed in different aspects based on the available sources.

The word 'hope' has literally a number of definitions in several references. According to Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary, it is defined as "a belief that something you want will happen" and "something that you wish for" in the form of a noun.²⁵ On the other hand, Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary provides the meaning of 'hope' as "a desire for some good, accompanied with at least a slight expectation of obtaining it, or a belief that is obtainable" and "confidence in a future event; the highest degree of well-founded expectation of good".²⁶ In Encyclopaedia Britannica, hope is defined as:

...according to St. Augustine, "hope deals only with good things, and only with those which lie in the future, and which pertains to the man who cherishes the hope". When hope is attained its object, it ceases to be hope and becomes possession. Consequently ...hope is confined to man's life on Earth. The Ancient Greeks used the term hope (*elpis*) in reference to an ambiguous, open-ended future.²⁷

One can see the importance of language to define abstract matters apart from its well-known functions such as interaction and conversation. In choosing words to express abstract matters, it gives them existence. 'Hope' finds itself in two represented

²⁵ *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary*, "Hope."

²⁶ *Webster's Deluxe Dictionary*, "Hope."

²⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th Edition, "Hope."

words in Arabic which are used as commonly as in English, and can usually be rendered by it. Synonymously, we see ‘hope’ in two Arabic words which are *raja’* and *amal*.²⁸ Rosenthal continues his definition about these two words:

Dictionaries defined *amal* as *raja’*. *Raja’*, in turn, however, not normally defined in them by *amal* but by its opposite *ya’s* “despair”. This reason for it, it seems, was that *raja’* was understood to possess a wider range of meanings that were commonly expressed by *amal*...a formal difference between the two nouns, that is, the fact that *raja’* did not allow of a plural formation while *amal* did.²⁹

In the Qur’an, the term *amal* appeared twice. In the Qur’anic case, it firstly refers to the pernicious hope for worldly well-being which occupies and distracts unbelievers (Surâh Hijr, verse 3). On the other hand, it secondly refers to the good religious hope to be rewarded by God mentioned in Surâh Kahf, verse 46. Besides, the term ‘hope’ occurs in the Qur’an 25 times, in reference to God and life after death.³⁰ William McKane in ‘Al-Ghazali’s Book of Fear and Hope’ explains about hope, connecting several terms which are state, knowledge, deed and heart as shown below:

...whatever is not permanent is called a state, because it soon changes and this is continually happening in any description of the heart...hope also comprises state, knowledge and deed. Knowledge is the cause which produces the state decrees the deed. Hope is the comprehensive name of the three. Its exposition is that everything that confronts you is either what is abhorred or what is desired, and is divided into what is existent at the moment, what is existed in the past, and what is expected in the future...if the thing expected is abhorred, with pain in the heart resulting from it, it is called fear and distress. If it is something desired, with pleasure and relief of heart resulting from the expectation of it and the attachment of the heart to it and the occurrence of its existence to your mind, that relief is hope...hence hope is the relief of the heart, because of the expectation of what it esteems desirable.³¹

²⁸ Franz Rosenthal, *Sweeter than Hope: Complaint and Hope in Medieval Islam*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 65.

²⁹ Ibid. 66

³⁰ Ibid. 78-79

³¹ Al-Ghazali, *Al-Ghazali’s Book of Fear and Hope*, translated by William McKane (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1962), 2.

First of all, every individual hopes, wishes and has his own mood. These abstract concepts play roles in individual's attitudes towards his own future. Hope is one of the most obvious elements of human nature. Thus, human nature becomes the number one state to act for human benefit and loss in his life span, by the hope of reward and the fear of punishment. Then, hope emerges as an expected result of a human being's psychological structure. Tartakovsky (2013) says about hopeful people, "Hopeful people pick good goals, know how to make them happen, and spot and seek out the pathways that will move them forward."³² On the other hand, C. R. Snyder defines hope as "the perceived capability to derive pathways to desired goals, and motivate oneself via agency thinking to use those pathways."³³ Franz Rosenthal adds words here about hope saying:

wishing and hoping are the terms most characteristic of a human ability...to look into the future and make it part of the individual's aspirations...many other concepts, or course, share in the formation of the totality of man's attitude toward the future, but hoping and wishing quintessentially represent the good and bad aspects of human ways of anticipation of the future and the resulting mood of individual and society.³⁴

'A Handbook of Psychology' written by Snyder and Lopez had a lengthy discussion on 'hope'. According to an article entitled 'Hope Theory' by C. R. Snyder, Kevin L. Rand and David R. Sigmon, human actions are goal directed. A survey made for an article shows, hope flourishes under probabilities of intermediate goal attainment. The authors came up with a theory known as "pathway thinking" that is a process of high importance in generating workable routes in order to achieve goals. High-hope persons perceive that they are facile at finding alternative routes but

³² M. Tartakovsky. *The Psychology of Hope*. Retrieved on April17, 2013 from <http://psychcentral.com/blog/archives/2013/03/21/the-psychology-of-hope/>

³³ Charles R. Snyder, "Hope Theory: Rainbows in the Mind". *Psychological Inquiry*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2002): 250.

³⁴ Franz Rosenthal, *Sweeter than Hope*. 59

instead effective at producing alternative routes. Therefore, hope is defined as “a positive motivational state that is based on an interactively derived sense of successful agency which is goal-directed energy and pathways which is planning to meet goals”. They continue stating that the power of hope could be described within two terms of prevention which are primary and secondary. The Primary prevention involves thoughts or actions that are intended to eliminate the chances as a result of subsequent health problems while secondary prevention involves thoughts and actions that are directed at eliminating a problem once it has occurred. Thus, high hope persons seem to use information about physical illness to their advantage. Consequently, hopeful thought creates assents including the ability to establish clear goals, imagine workable pathways and motivate oneself to work toward these goals. Psychological health is also related to hope; therefore, high hope persons believe that their hopeful thinking will protect them against future stressors.³⁵

1.2.4 Turkey’s Economy

As one shall see, Ibn Khaldun’s proposition on economic development can be applicable to today’s contexts. Positive economic activities sustain people’s hope and incentive which cause a country’s wealth and make a government’s presence more effective in domestic and international politics. The Turkish government has proved itself through its economic performance as acknowledged by many countries, for example, the previous Tunisian Prime Minister, Rashid al-Gannouchi said that Turkey

³⁵ Charles. R. Snyder and Shane Lopez, “Hope Theory: A Member of the Positive Psychology Family” in *Handbook of Positive Psychology*, edited by Charles R. Snyder. Shane Lopez, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 258-266.