POLITICS OF RE-BUILDING SECULAR HEGEMONY
AND
THE SUBJECT IN POST-1997 TURKEY

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

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Political Science

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Ankara

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AND
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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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HAKKI TAŞ

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in

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İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSTY
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September 2011

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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          Assistant Professor Berrak Burçak
          Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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          Professor Dr. Elisabeth Özdalga
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ABSTRACT

POLITICS OF RE-BUILDING SECULAR HEGEMONY

AND THE SUBJECT IN POST-1997 TURKEY

Taş, Hakkı

Ph.D., Department of Political Science

Supervisor: Assistant Prof. Berrak Burçak

September 2011

This study aims to analyze the interrelation between hegemony and the subject within the case of the February 28 process, which refers to the military's long-term project to reshape the Turkish social and political system which had brought the Islamist *Refah Partisi* (RP - Welfare Party) to the office after the 1995 general elections. It sets out to analyze through what mechanisms the military attempted to re-institute secularism and how the religious groups responded to this process.

Taking the Gramscian approach to power at its theoretical background, this dissertation argues that studies on hegemony should go beyond the dichotomies such as domination versus resistance, or cooptation versus subversion. Instead, it offers

multiple responses the subaltern subject may give. These "strategies of survival" include exit, submission, liminal resistance, and violence.

Framing Turkey's "postmodern coup" as a hegemonic project, this dissertation examines the coercive and consensual means employed by the military to refashion Turkey's political, economic, and social texture. The responses of the religious subaltern are analyzed within the three case studies, which are the National Vision movement, the Islamic capital with special reference to the Islamic finance, and the Islamist music in the political, economic, and socio-cultural fields, respectively.

The February 28 process became a milestone in Turkish politics that defined the political alignments in the subsequent decades. This dissertation argues that globalization and the adoption of Western norms have become a strategy of survival for the religious subaltern. While the post-Islamists adopted a pro-Western liberal approach, the secularists moved towards a more state-centered communitarian conception of politics.

Keywords: Hegemony, Military, February 28 process, Islamic Banking, Islamist Music

ÖZET

1997 SONRASI TÜRKİYE'DE SEKÜLER HEGEMONYANIN VE ÖZNENİN

YENİDEN İNŞA SİYASETİ

Taş, Hakkı

Doktora, Siyaset Bilimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yard. Doç. Dr. Berrak Burçak

Eylül 2011

Bu çalışma, 28 Şubat süreci örneğinde hegemonya ve özne ilişkisini imcelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Süreç, 1995 genel seçimleri sonrası Refah Partisi'ni (RP) iktidara getiren Türkiye'nin toplumsal ve siyasal yapısını yeniden şekillendirme adına askeri bürokrasinin uzun soluklu projesini yansıtmaktadır. Bu çerçevede ordunun laikliği yeniden tesis için hangi mekanizmaları kullandığı ve bu sürece dindar grupların nasıl tepki verdikleri ele alınacaktır.

Kuramsal altyapısında Gramsci'nin iktidar yaklaşımını takip eden bu tez, hegemonya çalışmalarının baskı ya da direniş, dahil etme ya da yıkma gibi ikili karşıtlıkların ötesine geçmesi gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Bunun yerine madun öznenin sergileyebileceği pek çok tepki bulunduğu, bu "Sağkalım stratejileri"'nin çıkış, itaat, liminal direniş ve şiddeti içerdiği ifade edilmektedir.

Türkiye'nin "postmodern darbe"sini bir hegemonya projesi olarak değerlendiren bu tez, ordunun ülkedeki siyasal, ekonomik ve sosyal dokusunu yeniden şekillendirmede kullandığı rızaya ve şiddete dayalı araçlarını incelemektedir. Dindar madun grupların tepkisi ise üç örnek olay incelemesiyle ele alınmaktadır. Bunlar; sırasıyla siyasal, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel alanlara karşılık gelecek şekilde Milli Görüş Hareketi, İslam bankacılığına özel referansla İslami sermaye ve son olarak İslamcı protest müziktir.

28 Şubat süreci Türk siyasetinin bir köşe taşı haline gelmiş, sonraki yıllarda siyasal oluşum ve gruplaşmaları belirlemiştir. Bu tez, küreselleşme ve Batılı değerlerin benimsenmesinin, dindar madun gruplar için bir sağkalım stratejisi olduğunu savunmaktadır. 28 Şubat süreci sonrası, yeni İslamcılar daha Batı yanlısı liberal bir yaklaşım benimserken, laikçiler daha devlet merkezli ve toplumcu bir siyaset anlayışına kaydılar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hegemonya, Ordu, 28 Şubat Süreci, İslam Bankacılığı, İslamcı Müzik

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Needless to say, I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, who were ecstatic to know their son has finally "done it." I would like to thank my sister, brother,

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Not asking certain questions is pregnant with more dangers than failing to answer the questions already on the official agenda; while asking the wrong kind of questions all too often helps to avert eyes from the truly important issues. The price of silence is paid in the hard currency of human suffering" (Bauman, 1998: 5).

1.1 Setting the Agenda

In 2005, a movie called "The Imam" played in Turkey, illustrates the personal crisis and transformation of a religious person in a secular environment. The protagonist Emrullah Hacıoğlu, whose name comes from Arabic and means the God's order, goes to an *Imam Hatip* (Imam and Preacher) school.[1] Imams are Muslim prayer leaders; however, in both religious and historical terms, they have possessed greater importance as being one of the leading figures in religious communities. Nevertheless, Emrullah can no longer tolerate the insulting label of Imam-Hatip students as *ölü yıkayıcısı* (dead-cleaners).[2] He decides to re-start his life and legally

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[1] Imam and Preacher schools were first founded in 1948 as vocational schools to train the religious personnel in Turkey, but in time it has been preferred by religious families as an alternative educational track to the secular mass education.

[2] In preparation for burial, the imam and the family members wash and shroud the corpse.

changes his name to Emre Baykara, which has no religious connotations. Ashamed of his religious past, he hides his former Arabic-origin name and his graduation from an Imam-Hatip school. Emre studies in the department of computer engineering at Boğaziçi University. Both the place and the subject he chooses are markers of a modern secular life and have high prestige in Turkey. Upon graduation from the university, he founds a software company with a classmate. A beautiful modern stylish wife, an expensive villa and a Harley-Davidson motorcycle become other "modern" factors in Emre's wealthy life. After the changes in his outer appearance, no one could recognize a "typical" Imam-Hatip graduate in that smart young guy with long hair on a Harley.

The once poor, degraded Emrullah has become the rich, modern, and secular Emre possessing everything prestigious one could desire in modern Turkish society. The only thing missing, however, is peace of mind because of the constant clash between Emre and Emrullah. The Emrullah spirit finally comes to the surface, when one day Selami, one of his class-mates from the İmam-Hatip school, visits him. Selami is very sick and has to stay in hospital for a while. Selami asks his old friend to fill up his duties temporarily as imam in the village in his absence. When long-haired Emre arrives at the village on a motorcycle as the new imam, his unusual appearance shocks the villagers who think imams should wear in a modest and regular way. The events in the movie are mainly Emre/Emrullah's adventures in the village and how he and the villagers influence each other's perspectives. At the end, Emre reverts to being Emrullah, not as an imam in village but as an engineer in his modern life.

The movie has a happy ending implying that the Imam-Hatip-graduate Emrullah can live in a secular context without being ashamed of his past and giving

up his identity. However, in interviews, İsmail Güneş, the director of the film appears to be suspicious about this possibility. According to Güneş, the Imam-Hatip graduates are treated as the blacks of this country: "As the blacks cannot change their identity, the İmam-Hatip graduates cannot change their identity, either. They face many difficulties… Revealing their identity creates trauma" (Yılmaz, 2005). Even the title of the movie symbolizes this trauma: "The" used in the title represents the Western, modern, and secular, whereas "İmam" is Eastern, traditional, and religious. The attempt to be "The İmam" is explained as a manifestation of the "inferiority complex" of Emrullah who cannot appear in society as he really is (*Habertürk*, August, 3, 2005).

Tayyip Erdoğan, the Prime Minister of Turkey drew much on this rhetoric in his early years as the leader of the *Adalet and Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP – Justice and Development Party), founded in 2001 as an offspring of the Islamist-leaning National Vision Movement.[3] Erdoğan himself was also an Imam-Hatip graduate and stated that he considers himself a black Turk: "In this country, there is a separation between the white and black Turks. Your brother belongs to the black Turks" (Özkök, 2004). The so-called white Turks vs. black Turks categorization, in which the religious and conservative Anatolian people were considered to be a part of the latter, was one of the main arguments the AKP used during its 2002 election

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[3] The use of terms such as Muslim, Islamist, political Islam, radical Islam, or fundamentalist Islam is quite problematic in the related academic studies. First of all, calling a group of people as just Muslim or differentiating them from other Muslims through putting a name like Islamist on them imply a normative judgment about what being a Muslim includes or excludes. Secondly, it becomes more problematic when the groups in focus reject being titled as Islamist. And finally, what adjectives and terms one uses in analyzing any phenomenon is quite political in a context, like Turkey, where political polarization and frontal politics reign. Being aware of these problems and for the sake of clarity, this research adopts Çınar's (2005: 9) definition of Islamism as "political projects that seek to transform and reinstitute a sociopolitical order on the basis of a set of constitutive norms and principles."

campaign. Erdoğan promised that during his time in office, no one would be subjected to a white vs. black Turk dichotomy (*Zaman*, January 19, 2002). The stress on the "black Turk" phenomenon was not coincidental as the election followed the hey-days of a milestone in Turkish politics, called "the February 28 process" or "the postmodern coup," to which Erdoğan also related the birth of his party AKP (*Son Dakika*, August 15, 2003).

The February 28 Process refers to the military's long-term project to reshape the Turkish social and political system which had brought the Islamist *Refah Partisi* (RP - Welfare Party) to the office after the 1995 general elections. It is the name given to the "process" of political reconfiguring that started when the military-dominated *Milli Güvenlik Kurulu* (MGK – National Security Council) on February 28, 1997 decided to take harsh measures to prevent the Islamic movements from spreading in Turkey. The fourth military intervention in Turkish political life was therefore related to the danger perception of the military from the increasing assertion of political Islam in the public sphere in the early 1990s that eventually led to the Welfare-led government. However, the February 28 process, which "was coined to indicate not only the far-reaching implications of the NSC decisions, but also the suspension of normal politics until the secular correction was completed," (Cizre and Çınar, 2003: 370) has ended neither after the downfall of the Welfare-True Path coalition government on June 20, 1997 nor the dissolution of the RP by the Turkish Constitutional Court on February 21, 1998 for being the hub of anti-secular activities. The process in focus had far-reaching consequences in the political, economic, and socio-cultural facets of life in Turkey. It was a coup par excellence, but for practical concerns, this dissertation uses the term "the February 28 process."

By 2000, the military seemed to dry out all the veins of political Islam in Turkey. On February 21, 1998, the Welfare Party was closed down; its leader Necmettin Erbakan was banned from political life for five years. The potential young leader Tayyip Erdoğan would soon be sentenced to a prison term because of a poem he had recited earlier during his public speech in the southeastern town of Siirt on December 12, 1997.[4] The grass root organizations of the movement known as *Milli Gençlik Vakfı* (MGV - National Youth Endowment) with all its local clubs and dormitories were put under strict control of related ministries.

The Islamic purge supervised by the *Batı Çalışma Grubu* (BÇG – The West Working Group), an intelligence unit founded within the army in this process targeted religious schools and Koran courses, which are the places for traditional Koran teaching, as well as the allegedly Islamist civil servants. Despite the existence of *Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı* (MİT – National Intelligence Organization) and other intelligence units within the Security Forces and the Gendermarie, the BÇG operated as the military's watchdog to monitor any radical Islamist attempt to subvert the secular regime and bypassed any parliamentary and judicial control. The army itself expelled allegedly Islamist and avowedly pious officers from its ranks. The headscarf ban in universities and public employment was strictly enforced. The Imam-Hatip secondary schools were closed. Many Koran courses founded by private foundations were closed down, the remaining ones were strictly regulated and teaching the Koran to children under age twelve became illegal. The BÇG reports were also used to put many Islamist non-governmental organizations (NGO), corporations and financial

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[4] The poem he read was written by Ziya Gökalp, the ideologue of Turkish nationalism, and included verses like "The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets and the faithful our soldiers..." Under article 312/2 of the Turkish penal code, Erdoğan was found guilty for incitement to religious and racial hatred and given a ten month prison sentence, of which he served only four. Upon the release, Erdoğan founded the AKP on August 14, 2001.

institutions under strict control. The military published a blacklist of "Islamist" economic corporations in daily newspapers. The leaders of prominent religious communities such as Esad Coşan[5] and Fethullah Gülen[6] were forced to move abroad and live in exile. All the schools, dormitories, clubs, and organizations belonging to these religious communities were harshly investigated. Last but not least, there must have been some psychological ramifications of these developments over the minds and individual lives of the religious people which are beyond the scope of this study.

It can be said that Turkey's fourth military intervention did not directly assume power, but had ambitions much beyond the overthrow of the then government. It targeted all the political, economic, and socio-cultural dynamics of political Islam and tried to re-assert the discursive monopoly of Kemalism.

This dissertation is the first substantial academic attempt to analyze the February 28 process within its all political, economic, and socio-cultural dynamics. It sets out to analyze through what mechanisms the military attempted to re-institute secularism and how the religious groups responded to this process. The dissertation's contribution to the field of the studies of Turkish Politics should be three-fold, first to trace the changes leading to the lessening impact of political Islam a la Erbakan by which Islam became an unacceptable public identity throughout the February 28 process, second to gauge the effects of these alterations, and third to lay out the strategies by which the religious groups reacted to the February 28 process.

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[5] Esad Coşan, a former leader of the Nakhshibandi brotherhood and a professor of Theology at Ankara University, was the son-in-law of Zahit Kotku, the most influential leader of the *Gümüşhanevi* order of this brotherhood. In 1997, Coşan left Turkey and died in Australia on February 4, 2001 (Yavuz, 2003: 142).

[6] Fethullah Gülen is the religious leader of a transnational civic movement that has attracted a large number of supporters in Turkey, Central Asia, and other parts of the world. The movement is mostly active in education, media, and the interfaith dialogue (see Özdalga, 2000).

In order to analyze the multiple responses of the subaltern groups, this dissertation also offers a new set of conceptual tools under the heading of the "strategies of survival." The term subaltern was literally used by Gramsci to refer any group of inferior rank or situation, but elaborated by Homi Bhabha (1996: 191-207), who defined the term as "oppressed, minority groups whose presence was crucial to the self-definition of the majority group." This dissertation argues that the liberalization of the Islamic groups after the February 28 process was a matter of survival for the religious subaltern, rather resistance. The following section presents the contribution and framework of this study more in detail.

1.2 The Scope and Significance of the Study

Turkey's fourth military intervention left its mark on the history of the Turkish Republic as an important turning point like its predecessors May 27, March 12, and September 12, former military interventions. The February 28 process represents the military's attempt to reinstitute secularism which was considered to be damaged by the expanding growth of political Islam. In other words, it shows the military's ambitious plan to refashion the political, economic, and social landscape of Turkey along the secularist lines without having assumed the office directly.

In order to get an integrated approach on Turkey's last military intervention, this dissertation relies on the concept of "hegemony" and its implications for the "subject" at the theoretical level. The term hegemony was substantially elaborated by Antonio Gramsci. In hegemony, he sought to encapsulate the notion that the power of a ruling class was exercised not only by coercion, but also by its intellectual and moral capacity to win the consent of the mass of the population. Gramsci saw this as

a complex process, not as a matter simply of propaganda and manipulation. Hegemony was not a once-and-for-all condition, but a site of struggle (Gramsci 1971). The consent of the masses was always provisional and therefore had constantly to be renegotiated and re-secured in historical circumstances which were themselves shifting. Relations of domination are never entirely secure, and opportunities for resistance may be ever-present (Tew: 2002, 156-157).

On Gramsci's lenses, the political shifts reflect the competing classes' efforts to attain the hegemonic moment. In this regard, threats to secularism should be examined as challenges to the interests of the secular elite and the secular hegemony just mirrors the hegemony of the secular establishment in that context. In the case of the February 28 process, unlike the usual coup d'etats, the military was not the sole actor. The secular establishment in Turkey, or the historic bloc in Gramscian terms, includes the military, the top echelons of the judiciary and academia, and the Istanbul-based big industrialists. The military-led secularist campaign was to be achieved "in collaboration with some civil sectors, the media, Kemalist intellectuals and universities, which justified the label of post-modern coup, on the ground to resist the 'reactionary forces' of Islam" (Dağı, 2002: 19).

Whether Turkey's postmodern coup was successful in ending political Islam is open to debate. In the lack of substantive amount of academic studies directly focusing on the February 28 process, this issue has been discussed mostly around the AKP, which formed almost five years later after the 1997 intervention by the reformist wing of the National Vision and won an absolute majority in the parliament in 2002, 2007, and 2011 general elections.

There are bacially two approaches on whether the emergence of the AKP manifests its attempt to subvert Kemalist hegemony or its co-optation into the secular

capitalist system. The first approach emphasizes the moderation and end of political Islam. Ali Bulaç (1998), an influential Islamist intellectual, declared that "political" Islam was dead. William Hale and Ergun Özbudun (2010: 22) in their recent study claim that the AKP is not Islamist in any definition of the term and rejects an "Islamist worldview which aims at Islamicizing the society by using the coercive power of the state." They even go further and view the AKP not only a "conservative-democratic" party, but also a secular one with reference to "passive secularism" which "opposes any established doctrine that defines the 'good' for its citizens, either religious or nonreligious." Hale and Özbudun (2010: 27) consider the February 28 process as the leading factor for the emergence of the AKP and the "pro-Western and pro-EU turn of Turkish Islamists." Besides, they do not take the AKP as the continuation of its predecessor, the Welfare and its Islamist ideology called National Vision, but locate in a conservative lineage embodied in some center right figures such as Adnan Menderes and Turgut Özal (Hale and Özbudun, 2010: 25). The moderation approach is quite popular in explaining the liberal turn in the Muslim world (Esposito and Voll, 1996; Nasr, 2005) and Turkey (Çavdar, 2006; Turam, 2007).

Cihan Tuğal interprets this transformation in a Gramscian way. He marks in his recent study on the AKP that Islamic radicalism "evolved" in a market-oriented pro-Western direction in many parts of the Muslim world and what has been celebrated and labeled as "moderate Islam" indeed refers to the "*constitution of hegemony* and the *absorption of radicalism*" (Tuğal, 2009: 3, italics in original). Accordingly, the AKP has nothing to do with being an anti-systemic force, but contributed to the naturalization of capitalism. "Islamic civil society and political society were disarticulated after the military intervention of 1997; their incomplete

rearticulation culminated in a passive revolution," Tuğal (2009: 233) says and points the transformative effect of the February 28 process on the religious groups that pushed them to be absorbed by the Western capitalism.

The second main approach takes the AKP and other recent manifestations of religious groups as the new face of political Islam. According to Banu Eligür (2010), the AKP is Islamist in terms of its politics and ideology. Eligür (2010: 11) defines the Turkish Islamists as "a noncivil, peripheral, and resource-poor movement opposed to democracy" that only takes advantage of the present democratic system to "mobilize the population in support of redefining a secular-democratic structure in accordance with a politicized form of Islam." Accordingly, the AKP targets the civil society and wants to alter the secular regime. In a similar line, Soner Çağaptay (2010), a fierce opponent of the AKP, maintained the idea that the AKP, with its Islamist roots, has "unearthed Turkey's Muslim identity." In Çağaptay's (2011) view, the Islamists have used the platform of moderation just to appeal greater constituencies and "a buoyant AKP established itself as Turkey's new elite, gradually replacing Kemalist power centers in the media, business, academia, civil society, unions and, after amendments to the constitution last year, the high courts."

This dissertation argues that studies on the trajectory of political Islam in Turkey require a more nuanced approach and should go beyond the dichotomous explanations in the form of either subversion or cooptation. From a broader and theoretical perspective, it underlines that the effects of power, or hegemony as its special form, cannot be reduced only to domination or resistance and offers multiple possible responses under the title "the strategies of survival" the subaltern subject possesses. With regard to the Turkish case, this dissertation holds that the February 28 process broke the alliance between the state and Islam that was strengthened after

the 1980 military coup, and having set aside its state-embedded position, this led the religious subaltern ally with the Western institutions and norms for the sake of its own survival.

Despite its popularity in the public discussions, there has been little academic work on the February 28 process as a topic apart from its spillover effects on subsequent politics.[7] The works on the February 28 process include some compilation of official documents and interviews (Yıldız, 2000; Cevizoğlu, 2001), personal narratives (Pala, 2010; Şişman, 2004), some journalistic accounts and compilations of the columns of that time (Erdoğan, 1999; Akpınar, 2001; Opçin, 2004; Çetinkaya, 2006; Bayramoğlu, 2007), or some policy papers (Shmueletivz, 1999; Günay, 2001).

Abdullah Yıldız's (2000) *28 Şubat, Belgeler* [February 28, the Documents] provides a very useful source for those analyzing the official document of the time. It includes the National Security Council's meeting reports, media coverages, and the circulars. Cevizoğlu's (2001) interviews doffer some insider information and helps the reader to understand the political context on both sides. The interviewees range from Bekir Yıldız, the Welfare deputy mayor of Sincan, who also hosted the Qudus night, the Islamist event leading the start of the February 28 process, to Faik Bulut, whose works on the rise of the Islamic capital in Turkey were largely used in the military's briefings during the process. Besides, one can benefit from the personal narratives dealing with the late 1990s. İskender Pala's (2010) *İki Darbe Arasında* [Inbetween two Coups] tells the author's own story during his employment in the military as a teacher of Turkish literature. His story which ended with his expulsion

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[7] What Ümit Cizre (2000: 222) says for the studies on Turkey's Kurdish problem is also true for the ones on political Islam, and the February 28 process in particular: "Objective, creative, and critical scholarship in stunted by a long list of constraints. These include either ideological hostility or excessive empathy with the object of study as well as misrepresentations, distortions, and defensive impulses in both directions. But more importantly, in writing about the issue, social scientists face hard choices between popular perceptions and historical reality."

from the army during the February 28 process illuminates how the religious groups suffered from that political turmoil. In parallel, Nazife Şişman (2004) compiled in *Başörtüsü Mağdurlarından Anlatılmamış Öyküler* [Untold Stories from the Victims of the Headscarf Ban] the various instances of the headscarf ban as reflected in the diaries of the religious female university students.

Beside these primary resources, the books of the columnists hold the larger part of the literature on Turkey's postmodern coup. Ali Bayramoğlu (2007, first edition in 2001 by Birey Publ.) complied his columns in *28 Şubat, Bir Müdahelenin Güncesi* [The Febraury 28, The Diary of an Intervention]. Bayramoğlu basically views the process more than a battlegrounf between the secular and antisecular groups, but focuses on how Turkish politics and society had been militarized throughout the process. Tunca Opçin's (2004) *Şubat Uzar Bin Yıl Olur* [The Febuary Endures and Becomes a Thousand Years] consists of the authors' writings in the Turkish magazine Aktüel and illustrates how the military launched a "psychological warfare." He illustrates the sanctions over the religious groups with some official documents and circulars of the time. Tuncer Çetinkaya's (2006) *En Uzun Şubat* [The Longest February] parallels the previous book and treats the process from the same perspective. Çetinkaya deals with how the military pressured the religious organizations including the dormitories, schools, and associations.

Though the February 28 process is still a hot topic, one comes across with a very limited number of research papers and reports. Aryeh Shmuelevitz's (1999) *Turkey's Experiment in Islamist Government, 1996-1997*, published by the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies summarizes the evolvement of the process and basically holds the military's point. According to Shmuelevitz's early work, the intervention was justified by the growing threat of political Islam. Niyazi Günay's (2001) "Implementing the 'February 28' Recommendations: A Scorecard*,"* published by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy is one of the best analyses on the issue. Günay lists the 18-item decree released after the National Security Council's meeting on February 28, 1997 and examines what judicial and executive steps were taken or not in the following years.

The academic works and theses on the February 28 process mostly focus on the military-media relations in the process. Erkan Yüksel's (2004) dissertation published as *Medya Güvenlik Kurulu – 28 Şubat Sürecinde Medya, MGK, ve Siyaset Bağlantısı* [The Media Security Council – The Interconnection among the Media, NSC, and Politics during the February 28 Process] neglects the development of the process, but focuses more on the media coverages about the basic events of the time. Nilüfer Öztürk's (2006) thesis entitled as *28 Şubat'a Giden Yolda Türk Basını* [The Turkish Media on the Way to the February 28 Process] provides a comparative analysis of different newspapers with different ideological leanings in terms of their approach on the February 28 process. As an exception to the emphasis on the military-media relations, İsmail Çağlar's (2008) recent thesis titled "Whose Version of Islam is 'True'?: Center-Periphery Relations and Hegemony in Turkish Politics Through the February 28 Process" treats the process in a Gramscian way and takes it as an discursive attempt imposed by the Kemalist center. Çağlar examines the secularism debates in the newspaper discourses and elaborates through a textual analysis on how the "good" and "bad" Islams had been reproduced.

Within the domain of political science, the majority of the academic studies on Turkish political life takes the February 28 process only as a historical background to explain the transformation of the National Vision Movement.[8] Ümit Cizre and Menderes Çınar's (2003) joint work has an exceptional position in this regard as it directly focuses on the process itself and analyzes the transformation of both Kemalism and Islamism together.[9] Their article, "Turkey 2002: Kemalism,

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[8] These include, among many, İhsan Dağı's (2002) *Political Identity in Turkey: Rethinking the West and Westernization*, Hakan Yavuz's (2003) *Islamic Political Identity*, or Stephen Vertigan's (2003) *Islamic Roots and Resurgence in Turkey*.

[9] The focus on the transformation of the Kemalist discourse and the rupture in military's way of hegemony-building is an equally important contribution of Cizre and Çınar's work. The

Islamism, and Politics in the light of February 28 Process," examines how the military gained greater control to influence public policy and how political Islam responded to the process. According to Cizre and Çınar (2003: 316), the February 28 process is marked by "the crystallization of state-friendly features by almost all political persuasions and a pervasive sense of political inertia, both of which have exacerbated the weakness and instability of Turkey's civilian politics." In this regard, while the political parties shifted from a "constituency-serving position to a state-supporting one," the military directly appealed the urban secular sectors which gave "a strong hand" to the military in its fight with the perceived Islamist threat (Cizre and Çınar, 2003: 317, 322). Leaving aside this study, unfortunately, there is no dissertation-level work on the February 28 process. It certainly deserves more attention than it has received so far, because without understanding this process we cannot really evaluate the present political panorama in Turkish politics.

At the theoretical level, this dissertation attempts to answer both the dynamics of hegemony-building and the strategies available to survive the hegemony. The thesis therefore broadens the previous inquiries on hegemony by its systematic analysis of the operational means of instituting hegemony and the subject in relation to each other.[10] The study specifically aims to explore and analyze how this complex interaction of hegemony and the subject enables us to understand the February 28 process in Turkey. In doing that, one primary goal of the dissertation is to connect the macro-politics of hegemony-building to the micro-politics of subject-formation.

importance of this much neglected issue could be understood only some years later with the emergence of a new form of Kemalist nationalism called *ulusalcılık* and the investigations launched in 2007 against the alleged coup plans.

[10] One should also add that the theoretical findings are relevant to researchers in the areas of nationalism, ethnic politics, racial studies, feminism and secularization because it is basically the same dynamics which involve the subject-formation or subject-transformation in politics by a hegemonic discourse. The molecular dynamics of hegemonic cultural processes portray a similar character in these interactions.

Mardin (1997: 66) criticizes "Kemalist" and "Marxisant" Turkish scholars of modern Turkey for "their inability to acknowledge a 'micro' component of social dynamics" due to their focus on the state and macro models and structures. Claiming that most Turkish researchers worked on the "macro" dynamics and have long ignored studying "micro" aspect of daily life, Mardin (1997a: 73) suggests that investigating the intersections of the everyday life will enable the researchers to "recapture the many dimensions of a subtler analysis."[11]

1.3 Methodology

"Studying politics" implies an ontological statement of what the polity is made of and its general nature. In this dissertation, politics is taken as much broader a term than what governments do, but as a struggle over power at any level. This approach requires both a qualitative research and an interpretive approach in the sense that "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005: 3).

This research is going to be an exploratory study. A primary research strategy in making exploratory research is the case study. This dissertation utilizes the case study approach to explore what strategies for survival the subordinated subjects can pursue at a hegemonic moment. Within the broader case of the February 28 process, it focuses on how the military tried to re-institute secularism and how the political Islam responded to this process. The research limits its temporal focus from 1997 to 2002 basically. Although the February 28 process has dominated and shaped Turkish

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[11] There some studies which successfully establishes the link between the macro- and micro-levels of Turkish politics. For instance, see Köker (2004) and Yılmaz (2006).

politics since its initiation until the present, the post-2002 Turkish politics needs a detailed differentiation and deserves a separate detailed study.

The dissertation also has three sub-cases elaborating on different aspects of the February 28 process: political, economic, and socio-cultural. Within the political domain, the dissertation takes the case of the National Vision Movement and its giving birth to the Justice and Development Party. Regarding the economic sphere, the focus will be on the Islamist capital with special reference on the Islamic banking in Turkey. Islamist banks were first introduced in 1985 under the government of Prime Minister Turgut Özal, who initiated comprehensive market reform and financial liberalization. They were one of field of battle throughout the February 28 process. The third and final sub-case is the trajectory that the Islamist protest music followed which reflects the implications of the process in the socio-cultural area.

Most case studies employ process tracing, that is to say, a "general method… to generate and analyze data on causal mechanisms, or processes, or events, actions, expectations, and other intervening variable that link putative causes to observed effects" (Bennett and George, 1997). Process tracing differs from any historical narrative by using the process in focus for an analytical explanation according to the theoretical variables identified in the research design. As Bennett and George (1997) state, "the task of the political scientist who engages in historical case studies for theory development is not the same as the task of the historian." Process tracing works by identifying all the observable implications of a theory instead of just focusing on the ones related to a dependent variable. Once extracted, these implication are checked with different forms of data analysis.

This dissertation is supported by varying data-gathering methods such as in-depth interviews, discourse analysis, and archival work. Firstly, the face-to-face

interviews were conducted to support and fill in the gaps of the input gathered from the secondary sources. The interviewees included some prominent Islamist musicians such as Abdullah Taşkıran from the band *Grup Genç* (Group Youth), Mehmet Emin Ay, and Ömer Karaoğlu; and the vice-president of *Albaraka Türk*, an Islamic bank, Temel Hacıoğlu. The interviewing process was semi-structured, the interviewees were asked both structured and unstructured questions. Most interviews were taped with the permission of the interviewees. The open-ended questions targeted respondents' subjective views regarding the implications of the February 28 process. The objective is to understand their view rather than making generalization about the process. Questions have been asked when the interviewer felt it is appropriate to ask them. Besides some prepared questions, some other questions occurred during the interview. The wording of questions is not the same for all respondents.

In line with the constructivist side of the interpretive approach, discourse analysis is another method employed in this research. How the Islamists produced the meaning and later disseminate it through their religio-political discourse, on the one hand, and how the secular establishment tried to win the mind and hearts of the masses, on the other, will be explored through a discourse analysis of cultural artifacts such as newspapers, films, printed materials, news accounts, and official circulars at the time.

Thirdly, the study also embarks upon archival research primarily to help understand the level of state penetration during the February 28 process. This includes the study of the military briefings, National Security Council's declarations, and official regulations designing the bureaucratic operations to reveal the extent to the secular establishment's reach over the politics and society.

1.4 Order of Presentation

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 presents an overview of the research subject, the rationale for this dissertation, its importance to the discipline, and an overview of the research questions examined.

Chapter 2 lays out the theoretical framework. Underlying the importance of the Gramscian political approach, this chapter provides a detailed analysis of the term "hegemony." With a special reference to how power can manufacture consent, it aims to relate the discussion of hegemony-building to subject-formation. The second half of Chapter 2 primarily deals with the possibility of resistance and what options are available for the subaltern groups to survive hegemony. Gramscian studies mostly limits the mechanisms of hegemony-building to "consent" and "coercion," and the forms of resistance to the "war of movement" and "war of position." The whole discussion in this chapter attempts to transgress this reductionist approach. It offers the term "politics of dignity" as a tool to analyze the implications of hegemony on the subjects, as well as the "strategies for survival" as the repertoire of responses the "other" possesses in return.

Chapter 3 aims to provide an historical background to the Kemalist pillars of the political regime in Turkey in order to locate Turkey's fourth military intervention within the Kemalist tradition with all its continuities and ruptures. It considers the Kemalist modernization project as a social engineering process and elaborates on its various features such as the "administrative ordering of nature and society," "high modernist ideology," "authoritarian state," and "prostrate civil society" (Scott, 1998: 4-6). Then, the chapter examines the creation of the new national identity with a special focus on the secularization reforms led by the Kemalist elite in the early Republican period. While analyzing the secular establishment's attempts at

manufacturing consent and instituting secularism in all facets of life, it also traces how the religious groups and prominent Islamist figures responded to the secularist push.

The following section, Chapter 4 does not directly jump to the 1990s, but puts the relation between secularism and political hegemony throughout Turkey's adventure with the multi-party system. Chapter 4 also provides some historical background to the development of political Islam within the case of the National Vision Movement. Then, it details how Turkey's "post-modern" coup was processed through coercive and consensual ways. Under the title "strategies of survival," this chapter analyzes the successors of the National Vision Movement appeared after the closure of the Welfare Party in 1998.

Chapter 5 deals with the economic aspect of the secular hegemony-building in Turkey. It firstly demonstrates how the early Kemalists were involved in the economic penetration of the new secular regime. After laying out the relationship between the economic restructuring and secularism throughout early Republican history, this chapter focuses on the development of the Islamic capital, as exemplified by the emergence of the MÜSİAD (*Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği* - Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen). How the military tried to institute secularism in the economic sphere and remove the Islamists from the economy in the February 28 process and how the Islamist economic corporations responded to the process are the central questions raised in this section. This chapter especially focuses on the Islamic banks as the sub-case of the Islamic capital.

Chapter 6 provides a detailed analysis on the socio-cultural transformation of the Islamic groups within the case of the Islamist protest music. Following the same outline of the former chapters, it first examines how the early Kemalists tried to penetrate music into their secular hegemonic project. The development of the Islamist protest music since 1980s, the attempts to block its growth and dissemination in the February 28 process, and the ways the actors of the Islamist music responded to the process are other core issues of Chapter 6.

The final part, Chapter 7 provides a summary of the overall discussion and offers some concluding remarks. It also speculates on the question whether the February 28 process is still in effect. In illustrating the post-1997 Turkey, Chapter 7 finally explains the relation of both secularism and Islamism to the state and their new public manifestations in relation to the February 28 process.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Instead of viewing the social phenomena as the interrelations of free-floating social forces, the Gramscian political approach locates the concept of power at the core of any study and compels us to look at the power struggles beyond the political and social developments. This study uses a specific form of power, "hegemony," as a springboard to elaborate more on the dialectic interaction between power and the subject-formation. After laying out the importance of Gramscian approach, this chapter, , traces the coercive and consensual mechanisms of hegemony-building. It also analyzes the possibility of resistance to hegemony and tries to find out what possible responses the disadvantaged and neglected groups can give to survive the hegemonic moment.

2.1 Thinking with Gramsci

"We must stop this brain working for twenty years!" (Gramsci, 1971: xviii). That was the demand of the chief prosecutor at Antonio Gramsci's (1891-1937) trial in Fascist Italy. The *persona non grata* of the Mussolini's regime was arrested in 1926 and put on trial the following year together with other leaders of the Italian Communist Party. Gramsci received one of the longest sentences among them: 20

years, four months and five days (Crehan, 2002: 17). While the remainder of his life under wretched prison conditions eventually ended at a convalescent hospital in 1937, he left 31 notebooks that would later give birth to a vast academic literature and inspire many opposition movements. *Bibliografia Gramsicana 1922-2009* contains over 15,000 titles on the life and work of Antonio Gramsci in 33 languages.[12]

During the late 1960s and 70s, Gramsci became tremendously popular in academia.[13] While interest in hegemony grew, there was a gradual shift in thinking away from a focus on cultural cohesion under capitalism towards resistances to it. Yet, as revolutions seemed to be impossible, tastes and habits were considered to be critical (Harris, 1992). The paradigm shift from "bigger is better" to "small is beautiful" led to the birth of cultural studies. From the beginnings of cultural studies in the 1970s and 1980s, "hegemony" has been perhaps the pivotal concept in this still emerging discipline (Lash, 2007: 55). Despite the decline of interest in Marxism, especially British cultural studies led by Stuart Hall relied much on the Gramscian framework in their analyses on socio-political dimensions of popular culture, hegemony, and the manufacturing of consent (Buttigieg, 2002: viii).

Cultural studies is not the only discipline influenced by Gramsci. He has become a figure for a wide variety of sprawling neo-Gramscianisms. His theories and concepts have left their mark on virtually every field in the humanities and the social

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[12] The Gramsci Bibliography has been constantly updated by the International Gramsci Society in Italy, and can be reached at http://www.internationalgramscisociety.org/resources/recent_publications/index.html.

[13] In the Anglophone world, the publication of Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith's edited *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* in 1971 made it possible for scholars to make serious study on his work.

sciences. They gained wide currency especially in social and political thought, and international politics. Various currents associated with Euro-communism and the New Left contributed to the Gramscian impulse (Buttigieg, 2002: vii-viii). This popularity was not without price. As an observer notes, Gramsci became "a fountain from which everyone takes whatever water they need" (Lipsitz, 1988: 146). In his book *From Class Struggle to the Politics of Pleasure,* David Harris (1992) treats the "effects of Gramscianism on British cultural studies," making it obvious that, far from establishing a homogeneous and strongly situated school, Gramscianism is as varied as the individuals who adhere to it. Harris suggests that Gramscians are defined merely by their distant references to a selected use of Gramsci's works.

A more profound critique about the explanatory value of Gramscian approach is that his work cannot be extended to the analysis of contemporary Western societies; and it addresses problems which do not concern the present world (Bellamy, 1990). Parallel to this view, Lash (2007: 55) argues that power is "now largely post-hegemonic." Day (2006: 57) even declared that "Gramsci is dead," implying the inadequacy of Gramscian approach in understanding present social movements. Day marks the cultural turn by the 1980s and 90s, when many social historians in the United States and Britain were finding existing models of power and the political inadequate and were increasingly looking beyond them. With others in the human sciences, they turned to the work of Michel Foucault in rethinking the categories of power and the political. The ways in which power and power relationships were understood in social history, including hegemony, have been superseded in certain quarters by the Foucaultian way of thinking (Gunn, 2006: 705-8).

Foucault (1984: 46) claimed that the Left must forever "turn away from all projects that claim to be global or radical," because "we know from experience that the claim to escape from the system of contemporary reality so as to produce the overall programs of another society, of another way of thinking, another culture, another vision of world, has only led to the return of the most dangerous traditions" (i.e. Stalinism). In short, thinking and acting politically, in the traditional sense of engaging in debate, struggling for control over social and political institutions, and so on, was now seen as obsolete. A New Age of "micropolitical" interventions had descended in the sphere of creative human praxis to the rationalization of society, as the devolution of state power did to the "capillaries" of the body and everyday language. By the 1980s and 1990s, Foucault's view had become something akin to a "common sense" in the academia. Politics is no longer to be construed in terms of a struggle among determinate "classes" or even interests, but as dispersed, local acts which either reinforce or disrupt discursive "networks," that is, the structures which produce human beings as the effects of power. Moreover, known as the "death thesis," social commentators have regularly declared that we live in the era of the "death of the subject," or "end of politics." Such pessimistic accounts of the human potential inform both intellectual and cultural life in the West and serve to the downsizing of the idea of the active citizen (Furedi, 2005: 78).[14] By re-inserting the political notion of hegemony, this study underlines the vitality and centrality of politics.

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[14] Ironically, Laclau and Mouffe (1990: 98) celebrated the same period of time with great optimism: "We are living … (in) one of the most exhilarating moments of the twentieth century: a moment in which new generations, without the prejudices of the past, without theories presenting themselves as 'absolute truths' of History, are constructing new emancipatory discourses, more human, diversified and democratic. The eschatological and epistemological ambitions are more modest, but the liberating aspirations are wider and deeper."

An examination of how the analysis of domination intersects with the notion of the subject in critical theory may hopefully provide a useful route towards understanding the ways in which power relations operate by deploying rather than repressing subjectivity (Miller, 1987: 9). On the one hand, the problematic of hegemony can enable social theory and sociology to move away from positivism in its various forms, all of which try to divorce moral and political philosophy from the "social sciences." On the other hand, the emphasis upon agency, consent and political will, in order to both understand and to achieve change, distinguishes this approach from the theoretical "anti-humanism" of structuralism and post-structuralism, in which the role of human agency in social and political change appears to be lost (Bocock, 1986: 120). The idea here is that an understanding of text and agency that is informed by Gramscian critical theory might be useful in rescuing agency from postmodernist neglect. Gramsci and his concept of hegemony prove well to think with as hegemony provides a balanced approach between humanism and determinism, the optimism of plural liberalism and the pessimism of poststructuralism. In addition, hegemony also covers both micro and macro level units of analysis. It does neither only focus on the institutional and structural arrangements nor neglect the micro effects on subjectivity. Hegemony exists indeed in the dialectical relation between these micro and macro variables.

One may call it anachronism in this context to go back to the work of an early-twentieth-century Marxist to analyze modern political forms and practices. Many of the categories that are central to Gramsci's analysis such as "proletariat," "peasantry," "folklore," or "Fordism" are less prominent or less clearly defined than in his lifetime, and some of his observations on popular culture such as jazz and football turned out to be inaccurate (Jones, 2006: 13). Certainly, today's "new order"

is as far removed from Gramsci's time (Fontana, 1993: vii). Gramsci cannot supply the answers to our contemporary problems; his work does not contain a model or formula which we can simply apply to our own times and our own circumstances. Rather he offers us stimulating guidance in rethinking the politics of the present (Coben, 1995). Following Stuart Hall (1988: 161-2), this entails "thinking in a Gramscian way" about the history of ideas and present-day problems rather than simplistically believing that Gramsci has the answers or holds the key to particular problems.

Hegemony, originally developed by Gramsci to unpack the complex of economic, political, and cultural sources of power and to discover the potentials of revolutionary transformation within the existing system, has been appropriated by a diverse number of intellectual discourses and academic disciplines. In international politics and political science, it is used variously either to describe an imperial system of domination, a voluntary alliance under a leading state, or simply to refer to the non-coercive, non-military elements of power. In anthropology, it refers to the power and structural characteristics that underlie culture in its broadest sense. In literary and cultural studies, popular forms of narratives and art, as well as folk traditions and beliefs, are analyzed within this conception. Besides, the polarity between the hegemonic and the subaltern has become central to fields of inquiry ranging from colonial and neocolonial studies to philosophy of language, to the study of rhetoric, and to the philosophy and sociology of education. In common, hegemony represents a contingent power structure articulated around the objectives of a historically constructed power bloc through the consent of the others. This study considers hegemony as a framework rather than a single concept, providing a set of

tools to analyze the contextual phenomena, that is, the February 28 process in this dissertation.

2.1.1 Difficulties in Theorizing Hegemony

There is little consensus about Gramsci's basic term "hegemony." Gitlin (1980: 252) complains about the lack of "a full-blown theory of hegemony." Several reasons lie behind this. First of all, Gramsci himself never provided a clear-cut formula definition of hegemony. Indeed, Gramsci did not begin elaborating hegemony as a theoretical concept; it is a concept he arrived at as result of his attempts to understand the dynamics of Italian state formation (Crehan, 2002: 101). Before his imprisonment in 1926 Gramsci was an active politician and journalist, not a systematic thinker (Femia, 1979: 472). Neither Gramsci nor any of the other Marxists of his generation were satisfied with merely interpreting the world, the point for them was to change it. Gramsci was a revolutionary strategist. He explains stability for the sake of change. In a letter written on December 15, 1930, he stated that "Thinking disinterestedly or study for its own sake are difficult for me… I do not like throwing stones in the dark; I like to have a concrete interlocutor or adversary" (Bellamy, 1994: xxviii). The discipline of writing in the *Notebooks* is political rather than academic. Despite great intellectual breadth, there is a concentration on political strategy and the "effective reality" of the time in the Notebooks. In the unique circumstances of incarceration in a fascist prison, Gramsci was doing politics by proxy. He seeks a route to social transformation and popular agency that takes account of historical and contemporary realities (Johnson, 2007).

Beside the political and activist content of Gramsci's writings, a second reason is their fragmented nature. These notes were composed under atrocious conditions, and he died before giving them the final revision. His writings seem to be an unfinished work full with disorders, contradictions, and undeveloped argumentions (Femia, 1979: 472). Moreover, his writings are obscure, sometimes intentionally so in order to get them past prison censors. The problem is that Gramsci's writings represent a process of intellectual and theoretical development and not a finished project. We are offered a series of combinations and theoretical analogies rather than a single coherent "grand theory" (Ransome, 1992:132).

A third reason for the lack of theorization comes from the term's popularity and its close connection with the political praxis. More recently hegemony has gained wide currency in social and political thought, international politics, as well as in cultural and literary studies. The price of this admiration is ambiguity as a result of multiple and incompatible interpretations of the themes of the Prison Notebooks (Anderson, 1976: 5). In practice, different readings are motivated by readers' needs and situations, and shaped by their intellectual traditions (Johnson, 2007: 97). Readers can come across with several Gramsci images varying from the Eurocommunist and Leninist to the Fascist or Post-Marxist (Brennan, 2001: 143; Coben, 1995; Femia, 1979: 474).[15] Parallel to the Gramsci's fate, the term has been emptied so much that, at the end, the term itself has become an empty signifier and filled according to the dominant paradigms in social sciences.

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[15] According to Crehan (2002), this lack of consistency should be seen not as some confusion on Gramsci's part as to what he meant by hegemony, but as a reflection of the way in which actual power relations can take very different forms in different contexts.

The notion of hegemony had a long prior history, before Gramsci's adoption of it. It is a concept latent in the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin (Anderson, 1976: 15-18; Hoffman, 1984). It was Lenin who first used the concept of hegemony systematically (in relation to the leading role of the working class vis-à-vis the peasantry), and who thematized the problems of the state and the transition to communism. However, scholars agree that Italian communist Antonio Gramsci deserves credit for developing it into a sociological theory that reaches far beyond its 19th century meanings of military or economic dominance. Buci-Glucksmann (1980) holds that Gramsci's main objective was to modify Lenin's approach to proletarian hegemony in Russia so that it could be implemented in Italy. In particular, it was recognized that it was no good simply to organize a carbon copy of the Russian Revolution since conditions in the West were entirely different (Ransome, 1992: 144). One can regard Gramsci's writings as an attempt to problematize the universalistic character of *State and Revolution* and specify its Russian character. In contrast to Lenin, who was more interested in how the dominant groups establish political power, Gramsci was interested in how they secured moral and intellectual leadership over the subordinate groups. However, Gramsci is not much concerned, as Lenin was, with such seizures of power. Rather was he focused on the penetration of the moral and intellectual beliefs of the upper class into the minds of the classes below and their acceptance of those ideas, often against their own interests.

2.1.2 The Main Tenets of Hegemony

Gramsci viewed hegemony as a conceptual tool for understanding society in order to change it. He was concerned with why individuals conform to dominant ideology. The theory of hegemony attempts to explain the relative stability of political

authority and control in capitalist democracies, such as the U.S. and many Western European countries, despite crises, World Wars and Depressions. Symbolically, Gramsci took Machiavelli's work as his starting-point for this new range of theory. Arguing the necessity of a "dual perspective" in all political action, he wrote that at their fundamental levels, the two perspectives corresponded to the "dual nature of Machiavelli's Centaur- half-animal and half-human." For Gramsci, these were "the levels of force and consent, domination and hegemony, violence and civilization":

> You must know, then, that there are two methods of fighting, the one by law, the other by force: the first method is that of men, the second of beasts; but as the first method is insufficient, one must have recourse to the second. It is therefore necessary for a prince to know well how to use both the beast and the man. This is covertly taught to rulers by ancient writers, who relate how Achilles and many others of those ancient princes were given to Chiron the centaur to be brought up and educated under his discipline. The parable of this semi-animal, semi-human teacher is meant to indicate that a prince must know how to use both natures, and that the one without the other is not durable (Gramsci, 1971: 124).

It has been established that "the moment of hegemony" involves both the consensual diffusion of a particular cultural and moral view throughout society and its interconnection with coercive functions of power; or when there is a corresponding equilibrium between ethico-political ideas and prevailing socio-economic conditions fortified by coercion (Morton, 2007: 95). The moment of hegemony makes the use of coercive functions unnecessary. The principal focus of his attention was on the variable ways in which this dynamic equilibrium was achieved, or broken, within national states.[16]

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[16] The logic of Gramsci's theory was extended to the international system, as well (Anderson, 2002: 21).

Gramsci defines hegemony as "'the spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant group" (Gramsci, 1971: 12). The basis of such consent is ideology that the ruling elite successfully propagates or universalizes to the rest of the groups or people over whom it exercises leadership. The conglomeration of these interests into particular identities functions as part of the apparatus which is constructed by and through identity group politics. Hegemony, Femia (1981: 38) argues, "arises from some degree of conscious attachment to, or agreement with (consent), certain core elements of the society… with a belief that the demands of conformity are more or less justifed and proper." For hegemony, the dominant groups, through their privileged access to social institutions such as the media, propagate values that reinforce their control over politics and the economy. These values constitute a set of common sense assumptions that legitimates the existing distribution of power (Gramsci, 1971: 259).

Gramscian conception of hegemony has four interrelated features. First of all, hegemony is a *political* concept. This is no surprise when considering his sympathy to Machiavelli, the modern thinker who first discovered the autonomy of politics. The importance of Gramsci's work derives from his critique to orthodox Marxism. Marx was mistaken in assuming that social development always originates from, or is determined by, changes in the economic structure. This resulted in a misconceived and rather simplistic understanding of the relationship between economic and non-economic aspects of society (Ransome, 1992: 26). Gramsci is reluctant to accept the ontological privileging of the economic base which, in the final analysis, imparts passivity. In Gramsci's view, the attempt to turn Marxism into a mechanistic, deterministic and positivistic schema led to an over-emphasis upon the economic

sphere. This form of Marxism assumes that once a change in the ownership of the main economic means of production, distribution and exchange has been accomplished there will be no major obstacles to a truly democratic society (Gramsci, 1971: 161).

By opposing economism, Gramsci sought to emphasize the political. This was not to the exclusion of the economic area, nor of economic classes, but to include the state and civil society as areas in which power is exercised and hegemony established (Bocock, 1986: 35). Moreover; unlike orthodox Marxism, which regards politics and culture as epiphenomenon determined by an economic base, Gramsci argues that we should not take consent for granted. To him, obedience is not automatic but has to be produced intentionally by the ruling class. Hegemony is something struggled for, rather imposed on.

Secondly, hegemony is *non-determinist* and *contingent*. Gramsci strongly advocated a voluntarist approach to politics. Marx placed too much faith in the possibility of a spontaneous outburst of revolutionary consciousness among the working class. This resulted in an inadequate recognition of the cultural and ideological forces which help to maintain the power and legitimacy of the dominant group (Ransome, 1992: 26). Hegemony is part of "a dynamic, always-shifting complex relations, not the legitimating core of a static and all-encompassing totalitarian rule where political opposition is completely absorbed" (Boggs, 1984: 163). Hegemony represents a contingent power structure articulated around the objectives of a historically constructed power bloc through the consent of the others. It also includes a degree of negotiation that allows for the power of the subordinate. Hegemony is "not a static, closed system of ruling-class domination. Rather it is a

society in constant process, where the creation of counterhegemonies remains a live option" (Lears, 1985: 571).

Thirdly, hegemony is *never total* and *complete.* Hegemony is the always-temporal conclusion of the struggle for power. Hegemony "does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. As hegemony is not a once-and-for-all condition, but a site of struggle, it needs constant re-adjustment and control. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified" (Williams, 1977: 112). The consent of the masses is always provisional and therefore has constantly to be renegotiated and re-secured in historical circumstances which were themselves shifting (Gunn, 2006: 707). This is why hegemony is porous and leaves room for agency and resistance (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000).

Far from dominating its junior partners, therefore, a successful hegemonic group has to recreate itself. The question is not about cynically speaking on behalf of other groups' desires in order to capture their vote, or selecting certain issues in order to appeal to a broader constituency. Instead, a hegemonic group must make large parts of its subalterns' worldview its own. In the course of this, the leading group will itself become changed, since its narrow factionalism has been translated into a much broader, even universal, appeal.

Fourthly and finally, hegemony is *both material* and *cultural*. Culture is never seen by Gramsci as merely an epiphenomenon, or simple reflection of more fundamental economic relations. While he retains even in his final writings the language of base and superstructure, in practice he transcends this over-simple metaphor of stacked layers (Crehan, 2002: 72). Hegemony is moral and intellectual leadership which treats the aspirations and views of subaltern people as an active

element within the political and cultural program of the hegemonizing bloc. This understanding of hegemony as an ongoing form of negotiation represents an advance on conceptions of power which see it as the static possession of a particular social group (Jones, 2006: 55). What this means is that hegemony describes the ways and methods by which consent is generated and organized, which, in turn, is directly related to the mechanisms and processes by which knowledge and beliefs are first, produced, and second, disseminated. Here the crux is the formation of a "conception of the world" and its dissemination throughout the people. A conception of the world is always opposed to differing conceptions of the world, so they are constantly in conflict, in a "battle" against each other. The hegemonic conception is one that has become the "common sense" of the people, but a counter-conception is constantly generated to challenge the prevailing common sense (Fontana, 2005: 98). Hegemony implied more than ideology in the narrow sense; it involved the construction of a whole lived reality such that the existing political, economic and social structures would be taken for granted by the mass of the people, seen as "common sense."

2.2 Hegemony and State as Educator

Gramsci did not reduce the ruling forces of a society solely to the capitalist class, but saw society as governed at any given time by an "historical bloc." Historical blocs are shifting coalitions of interests that share some political solidarity at a point in time.[17] These blocs may be bound as much by ideological ties as by shared economic

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[17] As an analytical category, the term of the historic bloc proves more useful than the "state." This is firstly because the historic bloc reveals and directs the focus to the power relations, and secondly, what the state refers to is mostly ambigious in practice. Especially in Turkey,

interests, and they are subject to change. They are not necessarily from one economic class, but may represent fractions of several classes.

Gramsci's (1971: 12) conception of the state was based on the distinction between the "two major superstructural 'levels': the one can be called 'civil society,' that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private', and that of 'political society' or 'the State.'" According to Gramsci, these two levels represent different modes of domination in modern capitalist society. Civil society is composed of private institutions, such as schools, churches, trade unions, political parties, and mass media. Political society is composed of public institutions, such as courts, police, prison and the military forces. This duality is further elaborated in Gramsci's distinction between two means of rule. As conditions of hegemony are fluid and shifting in response to actual or potential challenge, a historical bloc might seek to maintain and strengthen its position by bolstering its capacity to lead through a combination of coercive and consensual means:

> The supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as "domination" and as "intellectual and moral leadership." A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to "liquidate," or subjugate perhaps even by armed force; it leads kindred or allied groups. A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise "leadership" before winning governmental power (this is indeed one of the principle conditions for winning such power); it subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power, but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp, it must continue to 'lead' as well (Gramsci, 1971: 57-58).

These points find their clearest expression in the third volume of *Prison Notebooks*, which was recently made available to the English-speaking readers by Joseph Buttigieg's edition (2007). Here, Gramsci (2007: 75) gives the formula as

where the state and the government denote to different centers of political power, the concept of historic bloc can provide a fertile ground for analysis.

"state = political society + civil society, that is, hegemony protected by the armor of coercion." At another instance, Gramsci (2007: 117) defines the state in a shorter formula as "dictatorship + hegemony."

Like Weber, whose definition of the state is an institution with "a monopoly over the legitimate use of physical force," Gramsci saw coercion as constitutive of the state.[18] Yet, where a non-hegemonic alliance does achieve power through perhaps a violent *coup d'état*, the social order it establishes is likely to be fragile and unstable precisely because it lacks sufficient hegemonic legitimation. It is somewhat ironic that following his incarceration by Mussolini's fascist regime –a regime which did not hesitate to employ violence in order to crush its political rivals- Antonio Gramsci writes one of the most compelling analyses of non-coercive methods of social control.

While Gramsci does not discard the notion that a power elite controls the government, using it as a coercive instrument for its own benefit, he argues that such a conception of the state yields a limited and uncomplicated representation of the actual interactions taking place in society. The idea that the state is reducible to repressive apparatus leads to the complete degeneration of politics, mainly because it ignores the indispensible relation between politics and ideological struggles. Gramsci distinguishes between two concepts of the state: strict and integral/ethical (Buci-Glucksmann, 1980: 92). The distinction between the strict state, which is limited to political society and the coercive apparatus, and the integral state, which Gramsci

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[18] Violence is mostly undermined in Gramscian literature. One may relate this de-emphasis to the efforts in the West during the Cold War to create a hygienic Marxism as an alternative to the Soviet socialism. British cultural studies led by Stuart Hall (1988) exemplifies this trend.

(1971: 263) identifies with "political society+civil society," comes to the fore in the following passage:

> In Russia the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between the State and civil society, and when the State trembled sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed. The State was only an outer ditch, behind which there stood a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks (Gramsci, 1971: 238).

A durable political order demands more than just a "gendarme-nightwatchman state," that is, a state reduced to its coercive functions; it must assume characteristics of what Gramsci, in reference to Hegel, termed an "ethical state": "The concept of the ethical state is of philosophical and intellectual origin, and in fact could be brought into conjunction with the concept of the state-veilleur de nuit; for it refers rather to the autonomous, educative and moral activity of the secular state" (Gramsci, 1971: 262). Gramsci's notion of the ethical state has since been referred to as an "integral" or "enlarged state" (Mouffe, 1979: 182); what is meant here is that through the moral and intellectual leadership of a dominant class, a state can enlist the spontaneous support of public and private organizations in civil society beyond narrow class confines. As Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985: 67) explain, the ethical state creates by means of hegemony a "higher synthesis, a 'collective will' which, through ideology, becomes the organic cement unifying a historical bloc." According to Gramsci (1971: 242), "the educative and formative role of the State" is "that of creating new and higher types of civilization; of adapting the 'civilization' and morality of the broadest popular masses to the necessities of the continuous development of the economic apparatus of production; hence evolving even new types of humanity." In this way, the integral state not only enlarges the

social base and function previously attributed to the strict state, but it also disrupts the bifurcation between the private and the public.

How does the ethical state function? Domination and intellectual-moral leadership do not only constitute two modes of power, coercive and productive; moreover, they relate to two corresponding modes of subjectivity: juridical and ethical (Gramsci, 1971: 256, 273). The ethical state comports to individuals not only as abstract juridical subjects, but also as concrete agents embedded in often unequal and antagonistic social, cultural, and economic circumstances. Both aspects help maintaining homogeneity and hegemony.

Regarding the ethical subject, Gramsci claims that the historic bloc expands and sustains its hegemony not only by appropriating and articulating the interests of subaltern groups, but by presenting its own interests as if they were universal. The success of the ethical state is that it makes the power invisible. As Lukes (2005: 1) states, "power is at its most effective when least observable." Hegemony manages this through injecting the dimension of power relations into the notion of social episteme. The rule of some group is secured through common-sense formulations disseminated in institutions such as schools, mass media, the family, and the political process. The dominant classes or class fractions, through their privileged access to social institutions such as the media, propagate values that reinforce their control over politics and the economy. In doing this, ruling groups attempt to universalize their own interests as the interests of all. This could be achieved via the establishment of the "habitus," which refers to the collection of structural possibilities that signify discourses and provide the base for social action (Bourdieu, 1997).

According to Gramsci, the hegemon deflects challenge and confrontation by creating social homogeneity. Controlling the meaning ascribed to "national interest" is one the more prominent and pronounced ways to shape the population's interests and producing homogeneity. This subject-formation, though in a more pessimist approach, is elaborated by Althusser, who adopted the Lacanian concept of interpellation. Althusser (1971: 173) states that "*all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects*, by the functioning of the category of subject." Drawing on Gramsci's distinction between political society and civil society, Althusser distinguished between the "repressive state apparatus" (RSA) and the "ideological state apparatuses" (ISA). According to him, understanding the state in terms of only the RSAs is limited because other social, political and cultural institutions function as the ISAs. Churches, schools, family, political parties, trade-unions, and mass media compose the ISAs. According to Althusser (1994), the RSA functions primarily by repression or violence, while the ISAs function primarily by ideology. The state "does have and request consent, but it also 'educates' this consent, by means of the political and syndical associations" (Gramsci, 1971: 259). Knowledge is selected, organized and disseminated by the education system and the church. Individual initiatives are disciplined and subjected to an ordered procedure, "so that they have to pass through the sieve of academics or cultural institutes of various kinds and only become public after undergoing a process of selection" (Gramsci, 1971: 341).

Another way in which each single individual succeeds in incorporating oneself into the hegemony is through law. This is how the juridical subject was constituted. Gramsci (1971: 246-7) states:

> If every State tends to create and maintain a certain type of civilization and of citizen… and to eliminate certain customs and attitudes and disseminate others, then the Law will be its instrument for this purpose… It operates according to a plan, urges, incites, solicits and "punishes"; for, once the conditions are created in which a certain way of life "possible", then "criminal action or omission" must have a punitive sanction, with moral implications, and not merely be judged generically as "dangerous."

While Gramsci states that law demarcates human activity by threatening to employ punitive sanctions, following the Marxist tradition, he contests the assumption that law is neutral and benefits society equally. Law creates homogeneity "negatively" via repression, but it also produces homogeneity "positively." Gramsci (1971: 242) argues that law obtains "consent and collaboration, turning necessity and coercion into freedom…" Coercion is regarded as freedom when the population at large views certain laws, which only benefit a segment of society, as representing the interests of all of society. By relating to a diverse society as a homogeneous entity, law functions as an instrument of social integration through which subaltern groups subscribe to the dominant worldview. "Through 'law', the state renders the ruling group 'homogeneous', and tends to create a social conformism which is useful to the ruling group's line of development" (Gramsci, 1971: 195). Law attains its maximum efficacy when the masses modify their own habits, their own will, their own convictions in order to conform with its directives and its interdictions. The crucial point is that the appropriation and internalization of the law's directives by the masses, is contingent upon the belief that laws treat society's different members equally, while simultaneously it produces and reinforces this belief.

2.3 Resistance

"None are so hopelessly enslaved as those who falsely believe they are free," Goethe says. It is the power of hegemony to convince the masses that the hegemonic values are their own values and authentic identities. Nevertheless, hegemony is not tight control of all people and does not absorb all the tensions or opposition in the society. Hegemonic discourses may stifle dissent and undermine opposition, but cannot completely destroy dissenting ideologies. In other words, even though ideological hegemony facilitates "the acceptance of conventional assumptions and impeding the expression of heretical ideas," it does not completely destroy dissenting ideas or prevent everyone from holding and seeking to speak against authority (Femia, 1981: 43-44).

Gramsci recognized that social power is not a simple matter of domination on the one hand and subordination or resistance on the other. Rather than imposing their will, dominant groups (or, more precisely, dominant alliances, coalitions or blocs) within democratic societies generally govern with a good degree of consent from the people they rule, and the maintenance of that consent is dependent upon an incessant repositioning of the relationship between rulers and ruled. In order to maintain its authority, a ruling power must be sufficiently flexible to respond to new circumstances and to the changing wishes of those it rules. It must be able to reach into the minds and lives of its subordinates, exercising its power as what appears to be a free expression of their own interests and desires. In the process, the ruling coalition will have to take on at least some of the values of those it attempts to lead, thereby reshaping its own ideals and imperatives. Because of this incessant activity,

Gramsci rejects the notion that power is something that can be achieved once and for all (Gramsci, 1971: 438; Jones, 2006: 3-4).

2.3.1 Possibility of Resistance

Gramsci invited a rhetorical sensibility to Marxist theories of resistance and revolution. His work loosened Marxism from its orthodox foundation, which considered political subjectivity only in terms of class position and resistance only in terms of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeois and its crony, the state (Walzer, 1988). Gramsci's claim that subjects are constituted through mechanisms of control, while simultaneously leaving room for agency, posits a contingent approach equally distant from structuralism and humanism.

Power and resistance are co-constitutive (Ninnes & Burnett, 2003). Hegemony is "not a static, closed system of ruling-class domination. Rather it is a society in constant process, where the creation of counterhegemonies remains a live option" (Lears 1985: 571). Perhaps the main challenge that any hegemonic strategy faces is that consent is inherently unstable; a consequence of the historical specificity of any particular moment of hegemony. There is nothing automatic about any period of hegemonic settlement; such moments have to be actively constructed and positively maintained within a context of shifting relations. Societal transformation, then, hinges upon a successful counter-hegemonic struggle in civil society, in which the prevailing hegemony indeed allows an alternative hegemonic power bloc to emerge.

Gramsci describes such periods of heightened hegemonic activity in which consensus dissolves into dissensus as "crises." In such instances it becomes apparent

that the ruling stratum in society has failed in its attempt to construct an expansive hegemony and runs the risk of allowing counter-hegemonic forces the opportunity to fill the consensual vacuum. Not every antagonism is counter-hegemonic in the real sense of the term; not every difference on the social terrain has political difference. Gramsci insists upon the importance of distinguishing between "organic" and "conjunctural" crises in such analyses: the former are a result of deep and incurable problems whereas the latter are more immediate and temporary and can be settled one way or another by the ruling stratum. Gramsci stresses that any particular crisis needs to be understood not only in terms of the immediate economic and political concerns but also in the "incessant and persistent efforts" made by the ruling stratum in order to defend and maintain the existing system. The crisis consists in that "the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appears" (Gramsci, 1971, 276). In this case, such efforts cannot be purely defensive, the ruling stratum must seek to reshape state institutions as well as form new ideologies. In this fashion, and only if the counter-hegemonic opposition forces are not strong enough to shift the balance of power decisively in their favor, will the ruling stratum potentially succeed in re-establishing its hegemony.

2.3.2 Politics of Dignity: Mask Becoming Skin?

When demonstrating the impossibility of hegemony, James C. Scott (1990: 10) criticizes the claim that "[T]hose obliged by domination to act a mask will eventually find that their faces have grown to fit that mask." Does the practice of subordination produce its own legitimacy? In total contrast with Althusserian structuralism, Scott (1990: 86) states that even the weakest subjects have the ability to resist, and it is the absence of open resistance that we register, while we miss "the hidden transcript" of

"forms of resistance which avoid any open confrontation with the structures of authority being resisted." When outright collective defiance and rebellion are not possible, people resort to everyday forms of resistance. Such resistance involves what Scott (1985) terms "weapons of weak" such as foot dragging, false compliance and feigned ignorance. The dominated tend to disguise their resistance "in the interest of safety and success."[19] In this way, Scott illustrates how idealizations of domination are thwarted by everyday forms of resistance.

Steven Lukes' (2005: 124-134) critique to Scott is basically that Scott overgeneralizes the impossibility of hegemony and ignores "the unwise peasants" who internalize the hegemonic values.[20] Nevertheless, Lukes neglects that Scott's (1990: 62, cf 31, italics in original) main concern is "structures of *personal* domination" rather than impersonal disciplinary power of modern state as in the Foucault's work. In the personal domination, the dominant other is recognized, and people won't change their values just because of domination. If some "unwise" peasants willingly bow in front of their lords, then one should look at other interfering variables.[21]

A hegemonic moment indeed does not necessarily mean full submission of all social and political groups; the absence of active counter-hegemonic forces suffices.

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[19] Scott uses an Ethiopian proverb as epigraph to his book, "When the great lord passes, the wise peasant bows deeply and silently farts."

[20] Lukes' (2005) theory of "three faces of power", emphasizes that relations of dominance cannot be understood through coercion per se; but should also take into consideration the process through which the subordinated groups participate in the construction of their own subordination.

[21] Lukes (2005: 131) claims that "The response of the wise Ethiopian peasant, who bows deeply to the great lord and silently farts, is, after all, only one among many. (What about all the unwise peasants?)."

At this point, it is vital to observe the difference between the possibility of resistance and the will to resistance. Why do agents accept the hegemonic values in some instances, while resisting in some others? What could equally explain the possibilities of conformity and practical resistance is the *politics of dignity*, in which the contending groups fighting for hegemony attribute prestige to their norms through establishing hierarchical dichotomies in their advance.

The term of dignity has suffered "a kind of inflation through undisciplined use to the point where its value is endangered" (Soulen and Woodhead, 2006: 2). While Hobbes defines dignity as "the publique worth of a man," Kant relates the concept to human freedom as "the capacity for moral agency that is intrinsic to the nature of human beings" (Sulmasy, 2007: 11).[22] Many international documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations and the European Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine also refer to the concept of dignity and underline that there is some inherent worth in every individual to be acknowledged, respected and acted upon. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration, for instance, states that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." The very idea of human rights even depends upon this "vague but powerful idea of human dignity," if one consider the term as respect for autonomy and equality (Dworkin, 1977: 198-9). Nevertheless, human dignity is a social and relational phenomenon that is experienced internally, but validated externally through the attitudes of the others. As Seltser and Miller (1993: 97) put, "if dignity is dependent solely on our being human, it should not be affected by our material situation or social status. But we experience dignity thorough our own self-image and the way

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[22] There exists great theological and philosophical debate around the concept of dignity in the Western intellectual tradition. For some recent comprehensive accounts, see Malpas and Lickiss (2007), and Soulen and Woodhead (2006).

we are treated by others." Therefore; while human beings have an "intrinsic" dignity by definition in Kantian sense, there is also a relational and "attributed" form of dignity depending upon social worth, as Hobbes implies (Sulmasy, 2007: 12).

It is this relational character of dignity where politics inserts itself. Politics of dignity is based on the Gramscian-Foucaultian line of thinking that power does not only suppress and limit but also/rather nurtures, creates and reproduces. Through hegemonic relations, some social groups secure positions of privilege over others and wield configurations of economic, discursive, emotional power to their advantage. The oppression or exclusion of one group by another may be achieved through control not only over economic capital, but also over modes of symbolic capital that legitimate or prioritize certain forms of representation (Bourdieu, 1989). The hierarchical power structures that currently attach to socially constructed differences may be seen, not as permanent or unchanging, but as temporarily fixed points in an ongoing and continually shifting "war of position" between various social groups (Tew: 2002, 156-157). The efforts for fixation entail attaching superiority to the dominant group, while ostracizing the other.

Dignity is the awareness of oneself as intrinsically valuable. In the politics of dignity, the subordinate subjects are "nobodied" (Fuller, 2006: 2).[23] The subordinated identities are marked out by stereotypes and rendered invisible. They find themselves "defined from the outside, positioned, and placed by a system of dominant meanings

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[23] A good example of this nobodiment can be observed Shylock's rejoinder to affront in Shakespeare's *The Mercant of Venice* (Act 3, scene 1, 58-68): "I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions; fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, heal'd by the same means, warm'd and cool'd by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, do we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that."

they experience as arising elsewhere, from those with whom they do not identify and who do not identify with them" (Young 1992: 192). This is most apparent in the design of the public sphere, where the subordinated groups are marginalized and their opportunities to exercise their capacities are blocked (Young, 1992: 187). The public sphere is organized as if the groups defined as "the other" do not exist there. Their languages or religious preferences are not taken into consideration in the design of schools, hospitals, or malls. As Fanon (1952: 152-3) says, "with the help of books, newspapers, schools and their texts, advertisements, films, radio- work their way into one's mind and shape one's view of the world of the group to which one belongs. In the Antilles that view of the world is white because no black voice exists."

To become a subject and present oneself as somebody, one is to internalize the dominant and prestigous values. This study defines the markers of prestige defined by the hegemonic culture as "dignifiers." It is not only about creating, defining or signifying something, but also creating attraction and prestige around the hegemonic values at the expense of the subaltern. Fanon (1967: 111) examined how the black identity is "woven ... out of a thousand details, anecdotes, stories" by the white other and marked as inferior. The self-perception as inferior derives from the sense of being 'abnormal' in a context where the norms contrast with one's own. Indeed, "the black is not a man" (Fanon, 1967: 8). In order to gain subjectivity, "there is only one destiny. And it is white" (Fanon, 1967: 10).

Wearing the "white mask" here is cyclically both the cause and effect of the socially stimulated inferiority feelings and the neurotic pressure to be white. This is because, as demonstrated in Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson's (1994) "established-outsider thesis," established groups generate group charisma, a sense of their own

superiority, as part of their social and self-identity, and stigmatize non-established outsider groups. The outsiders come to see their group as inferior to the established, and often see themselves as inferior people, idealizing and imitating the established's behavioural codes, manners and so on in order to raise their valuation of themselves. At least in the short term this reduces their power chances even further by reinforcing the claims to superiority of the established. Thus, the generational transmission of stereotypes ensures that outsiders are continually reminded of their inferior status (Sutton and Vertigans, 2002: 61). Over time, outsiders may narrow the gap between their own and the established's power chances. Yet, established-outsider figurations rarely seem to change their fundamental structure rapidly (Sutton and Vertigans, 2002: 62). In Fanon's (1967: 191) terms, "Wherever he goes, the Negro remains a Negro."

Stigmatization is a key to understand the "nobodiment" and discrediting of the subaltern identities. According to Goffman (1963: 4), stigma refers to a "special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype" in which any physical or social attribute devalues the individual's identity and disqualifies the individual from full social acceptance.[24] Here Goffman emphasizes that stigma is a social construction, not a reflection of an individual's inherent qualities. Therefore, what to be stigmatized and to be socially accepted by "normals," the non-stigmatized, are closely related to the social and political forces, including the politics of dignity. As a result of stigmatization, the stigmatized is discredited and viewed as lacking and inferior to "normals." Stigma reduces the bearer "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman, 1963: 3). This, in turn, has global effects on

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[24] Goffman's book *Stigma* (1963) inspired several researchers especially in social psychology in the following two decades. For a comprehensive review, see Link and Phelan (2001).

social identity such as shame, self-hatred, or self-derogation. Link and Phelan (2001: 367) summarizes the process of stigmatization as the convergence of the following components:

> In the first component, people distinguish and label human differences. In the second, dominant cultural beliefs link labeled persons to undesirable characteristics – to negative stereotypes. In the third, labeled persons are placed in distinct categories so as to accomplish some degree of separation of "us" from "them." In the fourth, labeled persons experience status loss and discrimination that lead to unequal outcomes. Finally, stigmatization is entirely contingent on access to social, economic, and political power that allows the identification of differentness, the construction of stereotypes, the separation of labeled persons into distinct categories, and the full execution of disapproval, rejection, exclusion, and discrimination. Thus, we apply the term stigma when elements of labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination co-occur in a power situation that allows the components of stigma to unfold.

While stigma involves the subaltern identities, discrimination focuses attention on the producers of this exclusion. Structural discrimination, rather than the individual one, requires special attention. Stigma can affect "the structure around the person, leading the person to be exposed to a host of untoward circumstances" (Link and Phelan, 2001: 373). Yet the more critical version of discrimination is the one that operates through the stigmatized person's beliefs and behaviors. At this version, one has not to be subject to direct discrimination. The fear from possible discriminatory acts may lead to act less confidently and avoiding any potentially threatening interactions. Low self-esteem, depressive symptoms, unemployment and income loss are some outcomes. Similarly, compliance with the stereotypes can block transgressing the boundaries of the stigma. For instance, Afro-Americans tagged with the attributes of violence and intellectual inferiority are aware of these

stereotypes, and as a result of this insight, they might disengage themselves from the academic domain[25] (Link and Phelan, 2001: 373-4).

For disempowered constituencies, resistance against the domination is extremely difficult without a strong attachment to a vernacular and authentic subjectivity. The will to resistance depends on the extent one is socialized into the dominant system and subject to the politics of dignity. One might potentially be able to resist in any case, as Scott states; but the willingness to resist is related to one's adherence to the superiority of the dominant values.

2.3.3 Strategies of Survival: What do Losers do?

The relationship between hegemony and the subject is more than simply a question of domination and resistance, or co-optation and subversion. Employing an approach that explores power relations beyond the dominance – resistance dichotomy, this research puts forward that there are multiple options of response the subordinated can employ in case legitimate opposition on equal grounds is not possible. These include exit, submission, liminal resistance, and violence.

2.3.3.1 Exit

"Exit" as a response was brought by Albert O. Hirschmann (1970). In his monumental study titled as *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*, Hirschmann basically argues that in any form of human grouping people have two possible responses to

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[25] According to Steele and Aronson's study (1995), Afro-American students perform worse than white students on a test when participants believe that the test measures the intellectual ability. However, They score as well as whites, if t same test is not labeled as being diagnostic of ability. Therefore they conclude that the existence of a stereotype (the intellectual inferiority of the blacks) can lead to an invalid assessment on and discrimination against the black students on the basis of a seemingly objective test.

unstasifactory situations in a firm, organization, or country. They can either "exit" and withdraw from the relationship, or they can "voice" and try to improve the relationship through proposals for change or communication. "Loyalty" to the organization, Hirschman argues, can modify the response and cause one to exercise "voice" rather than "exit." This part elaborates more on the exit as a strategy of survival.

The subject can just leave the institution, city, or country, where one is marked as the other. The first form of exit is immigration. A pious Muslim who believes that a decent Islamic life under a secular state is impossible may leave Turkey. For instance, many veiled female students, who cannot continue their education in Turkey because of their headscarf ban, have moved to Europe, the United States, or the Arab countries. Exit is a legitimate option for Islam since it has a precedent in the Prophet's tradition, sunnah. In the early days of Islam, as its believers were threatened in Mecca, the prophet and two hundred of his followers emigrated, in 622, to Medina, where they were welcomed by the inhabitants. Hence, this migration, called the Hijra, justified exit for a Muslim when threatened (Köker, 2004: 76). Many Kurdish activists like Ahmet Kaya, or some scholars like İlhan Arsel, a self-declared atheist and anti-religious professor of Ankara Law Faculty, decided to live in the United States as a result of several death threats from radical Islamists in Turkey.[26]

The second form of exit is segregation. In order to survive the hegemonic pressure, one can try to create one's own sphere to become "somebody." Gated

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[26] As all the examples in this part illustrate, immigration happens when domination rather than an expansive hegemony reigns. The subaltern leaves the context when one faces material difficulties or restrictions.

communities are a good example where a marginal group can create the world they envisage and live according to their norms so that they become "normal." It is not limited to space, but also possible in language and body. For instance, the subordinates can create their own terminology in which they can attach inferior value to the hegemonic system and create their own world of signification. "The black is beautiful" is an extreme end of this path.

A third possibility, which is indeed not an option, but a sanction against the dominated, is forced exit such as dismissal, exile, imprisonment, or death penalty. A female doctor, who may refuse to examine a male patient in the belief that Islam requires her not to touch any male other than close kin and husband, can get fired. The ministry of health could fire the female doctor on the grounds that she is not doing her job. The veiled students could be dismissed from university since they violate the compulsory attendance rule. Several Islamist, communist, and liberal figures had been exiled, prisoned, or executed for death penalty during the formative years of Turkish Republic.

2.3.3.2 Submission: Shifts in Paradigms

Gramsci (1971: 324) states that we "are all conformists of some conformism or other, always man-in-the-mass or collective man." The constructed inferiority of subordinate subject is compensated for by incorporating the prestigious markers of hegemonic values. "[T]heir acts of cognition are inevitably acts of recognition, submission" (Bourdieu, 2001, 13). Conformity requires that a social group already has a well-established norm accepted as the correct code of conduct. The person on the submissive path accepts the superiority of the hegemonic norms and arranges his/her life accordingly. In Corrigan and Watson's (2002) term, it is called "self-stigma" and refers to the degree to which individuals internalized the judgements and

stereotypes about them. This illustrates the shifts in paradigms from the inferiorly coded subaltern identity to the 'superior' hegemonic one.

2.3.3.2.1 Hybridization

For someone the system has labeled a loser, submission is the easiest way of bringing their life in line with its rules.[27] In a dilemma between contending worldviews, submission will maximize social rewards and minimize social punishments. In the Turkish case, a phenomenon like conformist Islam is developing as a result of the secular hegemony. A "Momentbild" (momentary image)[28] of this phenomenon is a belly-dancing young girl at an arabesk-concert who has been much discussed among Turkish columnists (Özkök, 2005). Her head was covered, but her belly bare. On the one hand, this veiled girl subverts the conventional Islamic understanding of privacy (*mahremiyet*) through dancing with her bare belly in front of thousands of eyes. On the other hand, her act illustrates submission to the irresistible secular codes of behavior. Her dance exemplifies what many veiled women do nowadays: make-up, expensive glasses, handbags etc. The constructed inferiority of veiling has been compensated for by the prestigious markers of secular modernity.

In this regard, what galvanizes hybridization should be primarily examined in terms of politics of dignity. Islam in practice has been hybridized to make it more "acceptable" and "normal."   Normalization is submission to the norms of the

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[27] The Asch and Milgram experiment pointed of this emotional struggle among those who obeyed orders by others to receive social acceptance. Accordingly, individuals potentially experience internal emotional strife when they compromise their individual autonomy in return for social approval (Milgram, 1963).

[28] According to Georg Simmel (2000), the Momentbilder, the snapshots as fragments of social reality, can illustrate the meaning of the whole.

hegemonic system. A religious person on the submissive path accepts the superiority of the secular and arranges his/her life accordingly. Imitation of secular codes becomes apparent in consumption, as well. The Caprice Hotel, established by a religious group for religious consumers, blends Islam with the modern conception of vacation. It meets the need of religious people who could not comfortably have their holiday in other hotels. With its mosques, separate beaches for men and women, the Caprice Hotel lets religious people feel that they are not secondary citizens, but 'subjects' in its fullest sense. The crucial point here is that the Caprice Hotel project considers the modern secular framework as the base and reworks it for Islam. At first glance, everything in the hotel is seen Islamic; however, no one questions whether this hotel project and the concept of yearly vacation are actually Islamic. The goal of this project is not how to implement Islam, but how to Islamicize the secular codes and make some room for pious people within the secular context. It does not challenge the secular codes of consumption, but makes it possible to include religious individuals. Putting religious flesh onto secular concepts illustrates the shifts in paradigms from the Islamic to the 'superior' secular one.

2.3.3.2.2 An Option of Apology and Self-Hate

Submission can manifest itself in an apologetic discourse and self-hate. Looking down on their group and trying to gain subjectivity for their position through the hegemonic values are submissive attitudes to hegemony. The apologetic discourse, in the case of Islamism in Turkey, accepts the "superior secular" and tries to gain subjectivity on the basis of those secular markers. The cliché "Islam has democracy, too" is the expression of this apologetic perception. It has no power to challenge the hegemony of democracy and attempts to get a position from within that hegemony.

Self-hate is mostly discussed in the case of pre-WW II Jews in Europe and the United States. The notion of self-hatred and anti-Semitism among Jews began to be discussed by German writers such as Theodor Lessing, Fritz Wittels and Otto Weininger in the first decade of the 20th century. This was followed by a number of German publications on the subject, culminating in a book by Lessing in 1930, *Der judische Selbsthass* (Jewish self-hate) (Finlay 2005: 201). Bauman (1989) describes how the established Jews of Nazi-occupied Western Europe did not believe they would be treated in the same way as the Eastern Jews, because of the great cultural and political differences between them. Distancing oneself from his/her Jewishness operates here as a strive for recognition and dignity. Ludwig Jacobowski's (1860-1900) novel *Werther der Jude* reflects the contemporary Jewish self-hate, when its hero, Leo Wolf says: "We young modern Jews have gotten away from any rosy conception of life… we know how very justified Jew-hatred is" (Kahn, 1983: 155). The follow-up idea is the end of anti-Semitism to may come only with the moral regeneration of Jews, so blame is put not on the anti-Semitists, but on the Jews themselves.

A more recent example of self-hate is the "cultural cringe," which is mostly observed in post-colonial countries and refers to inferiority feelings which cause people in a country dismiss their host culture as inferior to the cultures of other nations, mostly of colonizers. The most well-known manifestation is the Australian cultural cringe that gave way the Australians' "being more English than the English," and among other things, "an obsessional love for cricket which perplexed even their English rivals."[29] Those who held this self-denigration are inclined to devalue their

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[29] Radbourne and Fraser 1996: 16-17 cited in Beatriz Garcia Garcia. 2002. *Towards a Cultural Policy for Great Events – Lessons from the Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts Festivals*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Barcelona: Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona.

own intellectual and cultural life and believe that they could generate only a second-rate intellectual or artistic talent in comparison to the "superior" culture of another, mostly colonizing, country. Kamrawa (2000: 112, 113-4) points out this wide sense of inferiority among the Third World societies vis-à-vis the advanced Western countries:

> Insecurity about one's worth, whether individual or collective, arises when the values ascribed to others are idealised and are striven for. A constant attempt is made to become or at least to emulate those whose values appear as attractive and appealing. Throughout the developing world, a society-wide sense of insecurity and inferiority can be found at both the international and intranational levels. Naturally, the less wealthy and industrially developed a country, the more acute and pervasive such sentiments tend to be. Not surprisingly, however, the very existence of such a sense of inferiority in relation to others is rarely admitted or discussed by scholars or the political leaders of developing countries… It is this idealization of Western values and norms that, in turn, leads to a feeling of inferiority in comparison with the West… Pride is taken in one's degree of Westernisation rather than in the retention of identity and heritage. Because of their apparently superior values, average Westerners are believed to know more and to have more wisdom than the average citizen of a developing country.

2.3.3.3 Liminal Resistance

One can prefer to stay in a hegemonic context but still trying to resist and preserve his/her own values to some extent. The switch between being oneself in the private sphere and another in the public sphere creates a duality that also leads a psychological tension.[30] The basic handicap of liminal resistance is to cope with this

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[30] This duality and compertmantalization of attitudes can be best observed in modernizing Third World countries: "Industrial development and modernization force these groups to apply certain values in their professional conduct, especially in so far as employment and economic matters are concerned. Yet the same individuals, who have adopted and vigorously apply modern values in their professional conduct, are often highly traditional in their private Vision and personal conduct. The developing world is full of examples of social actors such

tension of a dual life-style. One has to act differently at home and at work. This fragmentation and identity-switching might lead to "double consciousness" in DuBois' terms. This consciousness is double because the oppressed subject refuses to coincide with the devalued and stereotyped visions of oneself and desires recognition as an equal human-being capable of the same things. However, what the subject receives is only the judgment that he or she is different, marked, or inferior (DuBois, 1969, quoted in Young, 1992: 192).

2.3.3.3.1 Pretention: "Living a lie"

The first form is pretention, which can be best explained by Kuran's (1995) term of "preference falsification." It is "living a lie" and "aims specifically at manipulating the perceptions other hold about one's motivations or disposition" (Kuran, 1995: 4-5). Accordingly, each of us has a genuine preference over available political options, that is, what we call a private preference. For example, a person in private may genuinely prefer Islamic codes of conduct to the secular ones. Public preferences, by contrast, are the preferences conveyed to others. If the same person goes to work in a public office wearing a pin signaling secularism, then he makes others believe that he is one of them to avoid social pressures. In choosing a public preference that differs from the underlying private preference, one engages in preference falsification. Thus, preference falsification is the act of misrepresenting genuine preferences in public in response to perceived social pressures. "By definition, preference falsification is the selection of a public preference that differs from one's private preference" (Kuran, 1995: 3-5, 17).

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as merchants who adopt modern values in running their businesses but continue to remain authoritarian at home" (Kamrava: 2000, 110)

Stigmatized individuals can disconfirm stereotypes thorough anticipating the prejudice. For instance, women forewarned that a sexist judge would appraise their essays described themselves as less stereotypically feminine (Kaiser and Miller, 2001). A government employee who opts not to pray during the day and does not go to mosque for public prayers on Fridays, or someone who doesn't open his bar during Ramadan or cannot declare his atheism publicly in a Muslim community can be examples of preference falsification.[31] For instance, when the headscarf ban was processed, many veiled women who work in public sphere such as schools and hospitals preferred to use wigs. In that way, they formally complied with the legal ban removing their head scarf. Yet they did not give up their beliefs, either. A special kind of pretention is *takiyyah* (calculated dissimulation), a Shia tradition, which serves as a form of camouflage to survive the hegemonic system. Takiyyah, differently from simple pretention, envisages a future plan and a hidden agenda to be implemented when the subordinated group gains sufficient power to revolt. Accordingly, the end justifies the means.

While in the option of submission, one's public preferences also become private preference, pretention does not require the internalization of hegemonic values. The individual's practices are compartmentalized in this path, applying one set of values at one time and another in a different circumstance. In a sense, he or she undergoes a fragmentation of attitudes differing at job and home.

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[31] Applying Kuran's theory of preference falsification, Köker (2004) has an excellent account on the clash of the exclusivist worldviews of Islamism and secularism experienced by (pious) Muslims living in secular Turkey.

2.3.3.3.2 The constructive path: Walking on the Convergence Lines

Unlike the imitative attitude in the submissive path, the subjects on this path can exert their own identity to the extent the hegemonic system allows. They walk on the convergence lines of public and private preferences, i.e. they manifest the values acceptable by both the hegemonic and subordinate identities. While submission involves the shift in identity and happens when the public preferences also became the private preferences. liminal resistance does not entail the adoption of the hegemonic values, but operates where the hegemonic and subaltern values converge.

Modernization as scientific and economic development, for instance, which is legitimate in both secular and religious discourses, becomes a pragmatic tool of the religious people to prove themselves in society. Accordingly, inferiority feelings become a catalyst for modernization and a motivation for power.[32] At a later stage, progress in other areas saves them from their previous marginal position and pushes them more to the center. As , eliminating the means of self-expression, the system does not allow the inferiors to be themselves, modernization, then, becomes the way that religious people express and prove their identity.

Gülen Community schools are a good example. They provide education within the boundaries of formal state curricula and do not provide a special religious education rather the emphasis is on ethics. Yet, like the Imam-Hatip schools, they were denigrated because a religious group founded them. However, they have gained a new status due to their educational success in both national and international

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[32] The stigmatized individuals can develop skills to compensate for the stigma and to overcome the disadvantages associated with that stigma. They can try harder and be assertive. For instance, researchers found out that unattractive female adolescents are more assertive in trying to influence their peers than were attractive female adolescents. Similarly, obese women who think their partners see them compensated for the prejudices tend to be more likeable and socially skilled (Shih, 2004: 178).

science olympiads. These schools gained several golden awards in international scientific Olympiads. Özdalga (2000: 88) points to the similarities between the Gülen's ideas on work ethic that is working hard for salvation and Weber's in worldly asceticism, and calls his perspective activist pietism that is based on activism controlled by pietism. For Gülen, working of man in the service of God is endless. Gülen (quoted in Kocabaş, 2006: 52) gives a special emphasis to the Science Olympiads because he considers that "Some have called these schools as Kur'an Kursu for many years… [T]o represent Turkey in international organizations and get successes changes perspectives towards these schools in inside…" In this case, scientific achievements, valid in both hegemonic secular and subordinated religious discourses, operate to lift the religious/national from a degraded position.

2.3.3.3.3 Passive Resistance

Formal compliance does not necessarily mean internalization of oppression (Scott, 1990). Hidden transcripts can function as a practical form of resistance the weak can use. Rituals of aggression, disguised discourses of dignity, name-calling etc. are some examples the subordinate utilizes to resist the domination. Gramsci's (1971: 326) emphasis on resistance through "common sense" is important here. "Common sense" is the folklore of philosophy, and is always half-way between folklore properly speaking and the philosophy, science, and economics of the specialists. For instance, varying local histories and anecdotes on Atatürk, the founder of Turkey, that challenge the official history, are quite common among local people.

2.3.3.4 Violence: "War of Movement"

Hegemony might be resisted through violence, terror or revolutionary measures. Challenging the hegemonic order via terrorizing the area and prompting fear is a show of force by the subordinate in a sense declaring that they cannot be ignored. Gramsci differentiated the "war of movement," the frontal attack as the Bolshevik strategy and the "war of position," he advised his Western European fellows to follow, that is, struggling to gain power over the civil society to gradually take over the state (Gramsci, 1971: 239). According to Tuğal (2009: 162), this strategy "does not reject a final frontal attack but reduces its significance." Street actions and protests, guerilla wars are common forms of violence as resistance. Ressentiment, the hostility against those one sees as the cause of one's frustration, is the essential motive and legitimating ground behind violent acts.

CHAPTER 3

THE KEMALIST MODERNIZATION PROJECT

The Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923 following a war against the post-World War occupational forces, broke from its Ottoman past in a very short period and started a project of modernization and nation-state building. The first President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, "the first official of his kind in the Muslim world" (Karpat, 2004: 221), and his cadre were determined not only to turn the people of the new republic into a nation, but also to make society "modern" (*muasir*) and "civilized" (*medeni*) (Zürcher, 2007: 95). Mustafa Kemal, who came to be famed as the "savior" and revolutionary leader of Turkey, had his credo: "We will be modern *and* Turkish" (Ellison, 1928: 26). This "will be" required a drastic political and social transformation, for which the Turkish revolutionaries initiated a broad programme of reforms covering all facets of state and society. The reforms later framed as Kemalism,[33] not only transformed the state from an Islamic empire to a national state, and its legitimizing ideology from Islam to nationalism; but also aimed to alter

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[33] In the Fourth Congress of the People's Republican Party in 1935, Mustafa Kemal codified his ideas and goals as "Kemalism," which consisted of six "eclectic" principles to guide the party and the state: nationalism, secularism, republicanism, statism, reformism, and populism. The Kemalist doctrine was informed by the dominant European authoritarian ideologies of the 1930s and perceived modernization as Westernization. In practice, Kemalism became the ideology and practice of eliminating class, ethnic, and religious sources of conflict by seeking to create a classless, national, and secular homogenized society (Yavuz and Esposito, 2003: xx-xxi).

Turkish culture and morality from its religion-based Ottoman framing to the secular national one.

Specifically, when the secularization reforms of the early Republican period are concerned, the orthodoxy of political writings is prone to pose the issue as a series of legal and institutional reforms introduced by Atatürk, and little attention has been paid to their implications in terms of culture and individual identity. However, an exact understanding of the Republican reformism and secularism, and their far-reaching consequences for the Turkish state and society necessitate a careful look at not only the superstructural arrangements, but also their relations to the whole modernization or nation-building project (Yılmaz, 2002: 131). One should also examine the effects of secularization reforms on the masses through micro-level analyses to grasp the reach of the social transformation.

Especially for those unfamiliar with Turkish politics, it might sound anachronic or irrelevant to start a research on the 1990s from the very beginning of the story, the 1920s, when the new republican regime was founded. It has become almost a cliché for dissertations on Turkish politics to have a chapter on the early republican period. The readers might raise questions like what makes the early republic so formative and its ideology so durable, and what makes that period so important for this dissertation's problematic dealing with the late 1990s. "Variation in early state-building experiences" has some "implications for the subsequent form and substance of political activity" (Heper, 1985: 7), and evidently, any analysis of contemporary Turkey will be incomplete without tracking that transformation in its formative years.[34] There is no Washingtonism in the United States or no

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[34] The Kemalist modernization project was important not only for Turkey, but it soon also became a model for state formation in much of the Muslim world, so much so that Alan

Bismarckism in Germany, but Kemalism is still quite definitive and a reference point in Turkish politics. Moreover, the actors of the February 28 process constantly drew parallels to the early republican period and Atatürk's reforms and tried to legitimize the last coup through establishing this bond with the early years of the republic. Therefore the secularist discourse in the 1990s can be grasped only after an insight on the early republican period of Turkey. An account of the early republican developments is not only important in order to locate the process within the Turkish republican history, but also to better understand the contemporary process.

Following the theoretical framework set in Chapter 2, this part of the dissertation examines the attempts to institute secularism in all facets of life and manufacture consent in the formative years of the Turkish Republic from 1923 to 1938. Tracking the selective use of Islam and the transformations by which religion became an unacceptable identity, it analyzes their impact and lays out the strategies of survival by which prominent Muslim figures such as Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır, or Said Nursi reacted.

3.1 The Tetrapod of Kemalism: Elements of Social Engineering

Any social engineering program, including Kemalism, are comprehensive top-down hegemony projects aiming to redefine and rebuild the state and society. According to James C. Scott (1998: 4-6), state-initiated social engineering has four defining

Richards and John Waterbury (1996) view later state developments in the Middle East and North Africa as Kemalist at their core. Pahlavi Iran, Algeria under the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN – National Liberation Front), Arab nationalist regimes from the 1950s onward such as Egypt and Syria, and Pakistan under Ayub Khan (1958-69) all to varying degrees emulated the Kemalist model (Nasr, 2001: 20).

elements. The first one is "the administrative ordering of nature and society" such as the creation of permanent last names, the standardization of weights and measures, the design of cities and the ordering of language and legal discourse. The second element is "the high modernist ideology" which refers to self-confidence about scientific and technical progress, as well the rational design of social order in line with the scientific understanding of natural laws. Thirdly, "an authoritarian state" must be willing and able to use its coercive power to realize those high modernist projects. And finally the fourth element is "a prostrate civil society" that lacks the capacity of resistance mostly due to war, revolution or economic collapse." In sum, the legibility of a society provides the capacity for large-scale social engineering, high modernist ideology provides the desire, the authoritarian state provides the determination to act on that desire, and an incapacitated civil society provides the leveled social terrain on which to build" (Scott, 1998: 5). By legibility, Scott (1998: 2) specifically means the attempts to translate the people into "a common standard necessary for a synoptic view." The Kemalist transformation of Turkey was no exception to this argument. At this part of the chapter, the four elements of social engineering will be examined within the case of the Kemalist modernization and nation-building project.

3.1.1 "Administrative ordering of nature and society"

In a civilizing mission, the Kemalist modernist project promoted a secular state and society in place of the Ottoman one. The reforms in this framework had far-reaching interference to the daily and private lives of the citizens of Turkey. Western secular law, the idea of the nation, the Western alphabet, Western social intercourses and Western clothing replaced the old traditions and cultural norms. In a few decades, the

country was transformed from an imperial state into a republican nation-state. The Kemalist transformation in the 1920s and -30s was so expansive that an early observer called the new Turkey as "Kemalland" (Ellison, 1928: 15).

The Kemalist bureaucracy not only re-ordered the state, land, and society, but also partly re-invented them. In his effort to establish Anatolia as the undoubted pre-Islamic fatherland of the Turkish nation, Atatürk favored archaeological and historical research that aimed at providing evidence of the antiquity and significance of Turkish presence in Anatolia (Lewis, 1968: 357-61). The Turkish History Thesis, launched during the First History Congress organized in Ankara in 1932, came to the point of claiming that the Turks were the descendants of the founders of all civilizations in Iraq, Anatolia, Egypt and the Aegean. The transformations were underlying "not any Ottoman heritage but rather an elite-manufactured 'Hittite' foundation for the new Turkish identity" (Yavuz, 2003: 47). Besides, the Sun Language Theory, coined in the 1932 First Language History Congress, attempted to prove that Turkish was the most ancient, accurate and beautiful language in the world and all the languages originated from it. In this vein, the Turkish Language Reform aimed at purifying Turkish from Arabic and Persian influences (Poulton, 1997: 101-4; 109-114). Both the Sun Language Theory and the Turkish History Thesis were not manifesting the Kemalist attempt to create the authencity of Turkishness, but also "put the ancient Turks on the highest pedestal possible, extolled their contribution to civilization and reminded the Western nations that they had to acknowledge the Turks as part of their family" (Aytürk, 2004: 2).

Reforming the script and language, reinventing national history by de-emphasizing Islam and emphasizing Turks' Central Asian roots and ties to Anatolia, imposing dress codes borrowed from Europe, turning formerly religious buildings

into museums, public libraries, even warehouses, and constructing Ankara as the Republic's own version of ideal city are examples, among many, showing the regime's ambition to transform the texture of public life with the intention of transforming the private and inner lives of its citizens.

3.1.2 "High modernist ideology"

Any attempt to place Atatürk in his historical context would show the founder of modern Turkey to be "an intellectual and social product of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Hanioğlu, 2011: 6). In this regard, positivism had began to influence deeply Mustafa Kemal's generation, widely known as the Young Turks (1908-1918) and later to form the Republican elite, from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards. The major characteristics of the nationalist Young Turks, who were trained in secular schools, were: a) absolute faith in positivism as a guide to polity and society; b) determination to create a modern society to consolidate the power of the state; and c) a passion for elite rule. According to Abdullah Cevdet, one of the pioneering intellectuals of the Young Turks, "there is no second civilization; civilization means European civilization, and it must be imported with both its roses and its thorns" (Lewis, 1968: 236). Cevdet believed religion as "one of the greatest obstacles to social progress" and that it should be replaced with science (Hanioğlu, 1997: 134).

While modern science had been interpreted in several ways in different periods of the late Ottoman history, it was the Young Turks' approach to science that later culminated in the "dogmatic positivistic character during the early Republican period with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk" (Burçak, 2008: 69). In the debate on the degree

of Westernization, Mustafa Kemal and his circle identified themselves with the position of the most extreme "Westernists" (*Garbcılar*) of the Young Turk era, who held that European civilization was indivisible and should be adopted in total (Zürcher, 2007: 108). As Hanioğlu (1997: 146) puts well, the pioneers of the *Garbçılık* movement "brought their dreams to fruition with the establishment of the new regime in Turkey," as all the secularization reforms in the early republican went along with those Westernist propositions offered during the second constitutional period (1908-1918).

These goals could only be reached by enlightening people's minds, which in turn meant forcing organized religion to relinquish its hold on people's minds, "unless religion could be used as a state-controlled channel to spread the message of enlightenment" (Zürcher 2007: 95). Atatürk, as "an admirer of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment," said, "For everything in the world ─for civilization, for life, for success─ the truest guide is knowledge and science" (Cherry, 2002: 22). Furthermore, in his Bursa speech on October 27, 1922, Atatürk also declared that "in social and political life, in educating the minds of the Turkish nation our guide will be knowledge and science [...] Wherever knowledge and science is, we as a nation are going to be there, and implant these in the minds of individuals" (Kili, 1969: 36-37). Such a deep belief in science is linked to the fact that the Young Turks and Mustafa Kemal were guided very much by positivism. The republican elite adopted the Comtian idea of "progress within order." Positivism framed their ideas regarding the domains of politics, economics, and society.

Kemalist reforms should be understood as restructuring society in accordance with positivist philosophy (Yavuz and Esposito, 2003: xxi). This was also made clear in the 1935 official program of the *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP – Republican

People's Party), which Atatürk founded: "The party considers it a principle to have the laws, regulations, and methods in the administration of the State prepared and applied in conformity with the needs of the world and on the basis of the fundamentals and methods provided for modern civilization by Science and Technique" (Kili, 1969: 79).

These positivistic convictions in Atatürk and his followers were inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution. Many of the Young Turks that supported Atatürk's creation of a Republic had spent years in exile in France. The enthusiasm with which the Republican reformers approached their project of refashioning society often has been compared to that of the Jacobins who dominated the French state between 1793 and 1794. Like the French revolutionaries, Atatürk believed that modernity, law, and order were best imposed from a strong center (White, 2003: 148-149). The reformers devoted themselves to moving society, in their terms, from the "old" to the "new" and from the "traditional" to the "Western." Reason and science were the cornerstones of this drive toward civilization.

High-modernist ideology is self-serving and self-legitimizing, and provides "the unshakable grip of a quasi-religious enthusiasm made even more potent in being backed by the state" (Scott 1998: 254). It creates great motivation for the pioneering elite and also legitimizes their top position. The agents of Turkish modernization in Atatürk's view were the military-bureaucratic elites, who were in a position to show the true path to the people so that they would achieve rationality through education. The laic state became ''the propagator, the apostle and guardian of social progress and evolution'' and the Kemalists considered themselves as the apostles of the new faith, striving to rehabilitate people (Aydın, 2007: 15-16). Heper (1985: 86) argues that Atatürk believed in the capacity of the people to reach the level of contemporary

civilization, but felt they should be helped by the educated elite. In a sense, the educated elite was given a temporary task, i.e., the education of the people until such time as they gained an adequate rationality. Therefore, he believed that reforms had to be imposed from above. "The people were passing through the necessary stages of progress towards a more civilized pattern of life." The leaders supposed themselves to find the paths to those stages and direct society (Heper, 1985: 62). Close to enlightened despotism, Atatürk initiated many reforms to break the ties with the past, which he considered to be obstacles to revealing the potential of the people.[35]

The centralization of power in the hands of the Kemalist ruling elite was justified by its civilizing mission informed by high modernism. This meant a supposedly populist modernization project with an ideology of "for the people against the people" (Arat, 1997: 106) that worked to bestow Enlightenment upon the ignorant masses. The Kemalist elite, positing itself as progressive in the face of "Islamic backwardness," postponed the transition to democracy until the society was "mature" enough. "How can we build up a perfect democracy, with half the population in bondage?" Atatürk said (Ellison, 1928: 23). Authoritarianism was then assumed transitory; namely, until the people were "liberated" from the bondage of religious backwardness. However, in this process, Kemalism itself turned to be a "political religion."[36] Kemalist secularism turned into a religious dogma of its own,

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[35] Though it is commonplace to describe Atatürk as a man of enlightenment, one should not ignore the high level of pragmatism in his acts and speeches as a politician. This is how "politically and ideologically contrary positions have been able to employ selective quotations from various public utterances of Ataturk to legitimise their claims" (Herzog, 2009: 27).

[36] In fact, the process of secularization of Turkish polity resembles the formation of "political religion." When coining the term "political religion," David Apter (1963: 58-9) observed this: "When social life is heavily politicized, government requires exceptional authority. Such authority tends to be monopolistic. Monopolistic authority needs to replace older belief

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like Islam,[37] making its principles almost impossible to discuss in the Turkish public domain (Yavuz, 2000). Moreover, Atatürk was made into more than a national hero or a president of a country; he was consciously transformed into a mythic secular prophet: "He was presented as the father of the nation, its savior, and its teacher. Indoctrination in schools and universities focused on him to an extraordinary degree" (Zürcher, 2004: 182).[38] In this way, the sacralization of the founding ideology contributed to the durability of the authoritarian rule.

3.1.3 "Authoritarian State"

The state was the main active agent in institutionalizing the reforms, through which the boundaries of Turkishness and Turkish citizenship were clearly defined. Atatürk's absolute political power during the early Republican era was considered a *sine qua non* for the successful implementation of this nationalist programme. According to Lord Kinross (1978: 434), M. Kemal became "a President in triplicate –head of the State, effective head of the Cabinet and the Parliament, head of the only party." The European press even used to refer to him as the "Mussolini of Turkey" (Ellison, 1928: 28).

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about other forms of allegiance. Now political forms are developed that have the effect of providing for the continuity, meaning, and purpose of an individual's actions. The result is a political doctrine that is in effect a political religion. The effects of political religion are such that they strengthen authority in the state and weaken the flexibility of the society."

[37] Ernest Gellner (1985: 83-5) demonstrated the similarities between Kemalism and religious dogma, including Islam.

[38] An anectode from Ellison (1928: 188, italics in original) illustrates this sacralization: "Travelling from Konia to Adana with the Inspector of Schools who was the intelligent and kindly guide provided by the Government, by chance I used the words 'your prophet Mahomet.' He sat up to give more emphasis to his words and answered, 'Our prophet is our Ghazi: we have finished with that *individual* from Arabia. The religion of Mahomet was all very well for Arabia, but it is not for us'."

The rulers of Ankara were not an instrument of the "reactionary coalition" of old-regime notables and emergent capitalists described by Barrington Moore. Rather, as Ergun Özbudun (1981: 86) states, their alliance was born of the "exigencies of the War of Independence" itself. With no Ottoman tradition of aristocratic control over the means of production, the limited extensiveness of commercial statism and the nascent Turkish bourgeoisie fractured by territorial partition, the military was both able to claim territorial legitimacy and to formulate the basis for a future bureaucratic order (Jacoby, 2004 :78). The founding elites were mostly former pashas of the Ottoman army and it was the army, and certainly also the gendarmerie, which allowed the republican regime to extend its control into every corner of the land and into every village, to a degree the empire had never achieved. One should also count the Ottoman provincial police organization, called *zaptiye*, consisting of 20 to 30 thousand men in the late 19th century (Özbek, 2008). In fact one could argue that it was this establishment of effective control, more than any of the famous Kemalist reforms (clothing, alphabet, or calendar), which heralded the arrival of the modern state in Anatolia (Zürcher, 2007: 103).

Following the outbreak of the Kurdish Rebellion (Sheikh Said Rebellion) of 1925, which provided the final justification to crush all opposition, the single-party regime was consolidated with the proclamation of martial law in the eastern provinces and the adoption of *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* (The Law on the Maintenance of Order) which remained in force from 1925 to 1929 and gave the government dictatorial powers (Zürcher, 2004: 171). This legislation meant that the parliamentary party abdicated all of its powers to the cabinet, so, ironically, the parliamentary party exercised no power at all during the time when most of the radical reforms were adopted. The state severely crushed the Sheikh Said rebellion. Before the execution

of its leaders on June 29, the Tribunal in Ankara closed down the *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (TCF - Progressive Republican Party) at the request of the government on the grounds that it had exploited religion for political purposes (Köker 2004: 145).[39] The leaders of the Progressive Republican Party indeed strongly supported the Kemalist revolution but differed in tactics and implementation. The party lasted under six months (Zürcher, 1991). On March 12, 1925, the Ankara Independence Tribunal terminated the publication of three Istanbul dailies generally critical of the government, namely *Tevhid-i Efkar*, *Son Telgraf* and *Istiklal*. It also outlawed the publication of two periodicals, the Marxist *Aydınlık* and the religious *Sebilürreşat*. Thus, only two dailies continued to be published, *Cumhuriyet*, the Kemalist Istanbul daily, and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, the official Gazette in Ankara (Aydemir, 1966: 228). The second try at democracy was with Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (SCF - The Free Republican Party) foundin 1930 by Fethi Okyar at the urging of Mustafa Kemal, who wanted a loyal opposition that could check the abuses of the People's Party. The party was soon abolished as it attracted much greater segments of society at the expense of the government (Karpat, 2004: 224-6).[40]

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[39] The TCF (1924-5) was a liberal party that fought for the protection of individual rights and freedoms against abusive state power (Tunaya, 1952: 585, 611-8). The party's support for freedom of expression included religious beliefs. This support, however, was interpreted as creating a basis for Islamic opposition against state reforms, thereby threatening the security of the state. In parliament, Mustafa Kemal was prompted to declare: "What is the outcome of granting people various political liberties? People will start to make a fuss and noise on the streets. Is this a desirable aim? No! First, we should grant the nation protection and independence from enemies of the state before thinking about individual liberties, gentlemen" (Betin, 1951: 81-2).

[40] It is interesting to observe that both attempts to initiate the multi-party system were crushed by some immediate revolts: the TCF was closed after the Sheikh Said Rebellion, and the SCF after the Menemen Incident in 1930.

In this period, reform laws were usually adopted unanimously or with very large majorities, but the number of votes cast was often less than half of the total. From 1930 onwards, the People's Party, especially through its educational arm, the People's Houses, became an instrument for indoctrination and mobilization, but it always remained under tight state control. This culminated in the formal unification of state and party in 1936 (Zürcher, 2007: 106). The Minister of Internal Affairs was also Secretary General of the party, and local governors acted as chairs of local party branches. The voice of dissident intellectuals of the 1930s remained unheard for a long time because after the Menemen Incident the authoritarian regime was further consolidated. Having discouraged by the previous experiences that showed that the Kemalist Revolution was not grounded yet, no opposition party was tolerated in Turkey until the transition to a multi-party system in 1946.

3.1.4 "Prostrate Civil Society"

Though the Anatolian people were impoverished and numerically decreased after the consequent wars (1914-1923), there are indeed some structural reasons for the lack of a lively civil society opposing the Kemalist regime. Keyder (1997) underlines the fact that the Republican revolutionists did not face strong opposition in the early Republican period because of "the absence of large landlords" and "the relative independence of the bureaucracy." In the lack of a strong landlord class that might have demanded economic liberalism and civil and political rights for its narrow constituency, no group in society found it possible to challenge the absolutism of the state.

The Ottomans never favored the development of a powerful merchant class and eliminated any potential alternative economic or political center of power. The accumulation of wealth could not pave the way to democracy, as it did in the West. As Özbudun (2000: 126) states, the relationship between the economic and political powers in the Ottoman Empire was quite the opposite of that in Western Europe: i.e., rather than economic power leading to political power, political power provided access to wealth. The accumulated wealth could not be transformed into private property, and it remained liable to be taken away by the state. *Sipahi*s (the fiefholders) and *ayan*s (provincial notables) were the nominal landowners, but ultimate ownership of the lands was still in the hands of the state. The *sipahis* did not constitute a land-based aristocracy, and their titles could be removed by the state. The *ayans*, on the other hand, lacked the political legitimacy of an aristocracy, in the sense of the feudal aristocracy in Western Europe. Özbudun (1988: 4) even considers the Ottoman polity close to "Oriental Despotism," "with no feudalism comparable to that of Western Europe, no hereditary aristocracy, no independent church aristocracy, no strong and independent merchant class, no powerful guilds, no self governing cities, and with a ruling institution (i.e., the administration and the army) staffed with slaves."

Sunar (1974: 4) portrays the patrimonial character of the Ottoman Empire by a quotation from Machievelli's *The Prince*:

> Examples of these kinds of government in our time are those of the Turk and the King of France. All the Turkish monarchy is governed by one ruler, the others are his servants, dividing his kingdom into "sangiacates", he sends to them various administrators, and changes them or recalls them at his pleasure. But the King of France is surrounded by a large number of nobles, recognized as such by their subjects, and loved by them; they have their prerogatives, of which the king cannot deprive them without danger to himself.

Machiavelli admired the Ottoman paradigm of order particularly for its strength and durability.

The Ottomans tried to establish an immortal state which they called *Devlet-i Aliye-i Ebed-Müddet* (Eternal Sublime State). The state was the center of the polity and the source of justice as the famous Ottoman maxim (circle of justice) stated: a ruler could have "no power without soldiers, no soldiers without money, no money without the well-being of his subjects, and no popular well-being without justice" (İnalcık, 1964: 43).

According to Tursun Beg, a well-known Ottoman statesmen and historian of the late fifteenth century, "harmony among men living in a society" could be achieved only by statecraft. Every society should have one ruler with absolute power, and the authority to issue non-religious laws. The ruler should, at the same time, preserve the social order and ensure justice. These ideas constituted the political philosophy of the Ottoman state. The Ottomans maintained the traditional view that everyone should be kept in his appropriate place (İnalcık, 1964: 3-4). Thus, there existed clear boundaries between the center and the periphery. Ottoman society was divided into two groups: 1) the *askeriya,* such as officers of the court, army, civil servants and *ulama,* to whom the Sultan delegated the religious and executive power, 2) the *reaya,* consisting of all Muslim and non-Muslim subjects who paid taxes but were excluded from administrative positions (İnalcık, 1964: 5).

While the Sultan was identical to the State until the sixteenth century, the civil and military bureaucracy began getting the upper hand in the following centuries and the Sultan became a symbol representing the state (Heper, 1985: 35). A

centralistic bureaucratic tradition developed along with the institutionalization of the state. In the absence of any countervailing social classes, the state bureaucracy became the supreme political power isolated from the public. The nineteenth century Ottoman modernization saw some important changes. For instance, the *ayan* of Ruschuk, Alemdar Mustafa Paşa went so far as dethroning Selim III and and declared Mahmud II the new Sultan in 1808. According to the *Sened-i İttifak* (the Document of Agreement) signed between the Sultan and the ayan, the government would not interfere with the ayan as long as they remain loyal to the central state (Bianchi, 1984: 89). This was followed by the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* (The Imperial Rescript of Tanzimat) in 1839, the *Islahat Fermanı* (the Reform Edict) in 1856, and the first Ottoman Constitution, *Kanun-i Esasi* in 1876, all of which were limiting the state power and enhancing the individual rights. Nevertheless, these legal changes did not end up with an increasing autonomy of civil society as much as expected. Indeed, they were all part of a modernization project that aimed to save and strengthen the state itself.

In short, no important threat to the power of the state elites existed. The Kemalist elite would later benefit from this patrimonialism. This is also why politics is reduced to intra-elite conflicts within "a monist center" which renders "all civil societal elements into virtually impotent entities" (Heper, 1994: 18).

3.2 Toward Creating Secular Hegemony

The proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was quite emblematic as "for the first time in their history, the Turks were establishing a state bearing their ethnic name" (Karpat, 2004: 221). The name of Turkey symbolized the paradigmatic shift

from the multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multi-religious Ottoman Empire to the desired nation-state model. The Kemalists wanted to construct a new solidaristic Turkish national identity that showed as clear as possible a contrast with the Ottoman culture. In order to tailor the whole state and society, a sweeping series of several political developments and social reforms were staged in the first two decades of the Republic.

3.2.1 The New National Identity

The creation of a homogeneous secular nation required the denial of any ethno-religious particularism; therefore, the early political developments aimed at the eliminating first the non-Muslim religious minorities such as the Armenians, Greeks, and Jews; second the Kurds and other non-Turkish ethnic groups, and then the observant Muslims (Bilici, 2009: 28). The last two groups were expected to be gradually converted into secular Turks. The exclusion of non-Muslims from the definition of the new Turk is important as it shows that religion was quite definitive for the creation of the Turkish nation, though the Kemalist elite took a highly anti-religious stance against the Islamic institutions. The Kemalist elite fashioned a state premised upon an ethno-linguistic nationalism that was, paradoxically, both religious and anti-religious at once. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923, that led to the international recognition of the Turkish sovereignty, defined minorities along the religious affiliations and pointed no ethnic or sectarian differences within the Muslim populations. Under the supervisions of the Lausanne, the remainder of the Greek population in Anatolia, who numbered about 900,000, was exchanged against the Muslims in Greece, about 400,000 (Zürcher, 2004: 164). The population exchange with Greece in order to further homogenize both countries meant forcible deportation

of Christian Turkish citizens to Greece and acceptance of Muslim Greeks into Turkey. Most of those deported Greeks spoke Turkish and lived most of their life in Anatolia, so the primary reason of this population exchange was to increase the number of Muslims, not the numbers of Turks, in the new country. The emigration of non-Muslims and immigration of Muslims dramatically changed the religious composition of Anatolia; non-Muslims constituted 18 per cent of the population before the World War I, yet in 1927, they could make up only 2.6 per cent (Keyder, 1989: 112).

Despite the migration of Greek and Armenian minorities, Turkey did not cease to maintain an ethnically diversified population that included the Laz, Kurds, and other groups. Mustafa Kemal expressed this multi-ethnic structure in one of his speeches: "Gentlemen… the members who make up this exalted Assembly are not only Turks, are not only Circassian, are not only Kurdss, are not only Laz; it is composed of all of them and is an Islamic body" (Ahmad, 1995: 76). Islam was used as the defining element of to define and unify this multi-ethnic population. The ruling elite initially accepted the existence of the Kurdish community; however, after the Sheikh Said Rebellion in 1925, the regime considered the recognition of other ethnic groups as a threat to the national solidarism. The Kurdish identity was made invisible in the public sphere. They were denied of having a separate ethnic affiliation and later even described as "mountain Turks," who were expected to be assimilated in time thorough modernization (Bilici, 2009: 30). Although the Turkish national identity principally was an inclusive and civic one that does not require ethnic authenticity, it was a compulsory inclusiveness that requires every citizen of Turkey to identify oneself as Turk. The launch of the "Citizen, speak Turkish"

(*Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş*) campaign for the exclusive use of Turkish in 1937 demonstrates the efforts to broaden the Turkish identity (Aktar, 2000: 130-4).

The Turkification process did not only comprise the Kurds, but also the ethnic Turks, as well. The Turkish nation was re-constructed, and the regime tried to convert all the Anatolian Muslims, including the Turks, Kurds, Arabs etc. into the re-invented Turkish identity. Secularism as part this new identity had implications for all those groups. For many observers of Turkish politics, secularism is the defining element of the Turkish Revolution (Timur, 1968: 117; Özbudun and Kazancıgil, 1997: 3). Kemalist secularism had a determining implication for the formation of "new" culture.[41] Secularism was absolutely crucial to this early period of subjectivity formation and the binding relationship between the new republic and its citizenry. Since religion was considered responsible for the backwardness[42] and as a core of the value system of the *ancien regimé*, they preferred a kind of secular nationalism as a new ideology, which did not incorporate religion into the definition of new political community neither as a part of cultural identity nor as an attribute of the new members of the nation. The secularists sought to represent the unity of the community not by a reference to Islam, but by articulating nationalism, so they tried to eliminate everything connotating an Islamic identity.

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[41] It signifies the official effort to control and domesticate Islam by institutionalizing it under state control (Çolak, 2004: 10). Politicians and bureaucrats frequently employed secularism as a contemporary political ideology with which to cultivate and regulate "modern" state subjects.

[42] This Kemalist perception is obscure in one of Atatürk's most quoted passages in the *Nutuk*: "Could a civilized nation tolerate a mass of people who let themselves be led by the nose by a herd of Sheikhs, Dedes, Seids, Tshelebis, Babas and Emirs; who entrusted their destiny and their lives to chiromancers, magicians, dice-throwers and amulet sellers? Ought one to conserve in the Turkish State, in the Turkish Republic, elements and institutions such as those which had for centuries given to the nation the appearance of being other than it really was? Would one not therewith have committed the greatest, most irreparable error to the cause of progress and reawakening?" (quoted in Kili, 1969: 46).

As Scott (1998: 184)states, "what is described as a 'civilizing process' is rather an attempt at 'domestication'." From this perspective, the Westernization process was considered not only a simple search for modernization, but also a search for a totally new civilization and identity. Here the ruling elite constituted in the first instance a revolution aimed at breaking with the past and constructing a new culture, with "new men." Thus, the Turkish state discursively produced, advanced and diffused a form of culture by means of the school system, quasi-professional cultural institutions, the military and the media (Çolak 2003a). In parallel, the republican reforms took as their targets deeply rooted components of society such as religion, traditions, manners, style, values, and the like. This was a distinctive feature of republican reformism. In order for the secular state to impose its definitions, the Islamists' own beliefs and identities had to be attacked and diminished in status within society. "Whether through neglect (not included in school curriculum), indifference (no support from official bodies) or outright hostility (banning of religious sects and parties)," the aim was the eradicament of the religious identity (Sutton and Vertigans, 2002: 64).

3.2.2 Secularization Reforms

Secularism, or *lâiklik*, as it is used in Turkish after the French word *laïcité*, meant "the disestablishment of Islam as the state religion and making politics independent of religious considerations" (Cizre, 1998: 7-8). The Kemalist version of laicism is not obviously an Anglo-Saxon understanding of secularism (Yavuz, 2000: 33). Instead of being neutral on the question of the religious practices and beliefs of its citizenry, the laicist state, with its origins in the Jacobin tradition of the French revolution, seeks to remove all appearances of religion from the public sphere and

put it under the strict control of the state. In Kuru's terms, it was an "assertive secularism," in which "the state excludes religion from the public sphere and plays an 'assertive' role as the agent of a social engineering project that confines religion to the private domain" (Kuru, 2007: 571). Kemalist ideology has historically justified this position by placing its progressive and modernizing mission in opposition to Turkey's Islamic heritage.

Mardin (1971: 202) aptly noted that "the Turkish Revolution was not the instrument of a discontented *bourgeoisie*, it did not ride on a wave of peasant dissatisfaction with the social order, and it did not have as target the sweeping away of feudal privileges, but it did take as a target the values of the Ottoman *ancién regime*." The Kemalist reforms connected to secularism were, principally, aimed at bringing Turkey to the status of the advanced states of the world, and justified on the basis of the "requirements of contemporary civilization" (Mardin, 1997b: 210). Nevertheless, neither Westernization nor secularization in the early republican era were initiated to solve the problems of the society, but relied on the perception that the society was the problem itself. The question arises when a modernizing country sees its people as uneducated, traditional, or backward. The Kemalists' first question was then how to nationalize Anatolia in the sense of moving away from tradition to modernity.

Atatürk initiated a major operation against the Islamic institutional and cultural influences in society. In Kemalist Turkey, as was supposed to be due to the requirements of modernization, religion and religious institutions were removed from areas which did not fall within the "proper" sphere of their activity, such as education and law, and secular concepts and institutions were substituted. The motive behind this was to reduce the societal significance of religious values and to eventually

disestablish cultural and political institutions shaped by Islam (Mardin, 1983: 142). Secularization comprised all political and societal institutions of society to break the determinative role of Islam in politics and society. Therefore, the efforts were not limited to the political institutional changes; they also included the cultural codes of everyday life of the people. In a few decades, the change was dramatic. Just the titles of the books and articles foreign observers wrote at that time would illustrate the extent of the transformation: *Is Turkey a Mohammedan Country?* (Crabites, 1930), *Allah Dethroned* (Linke, 1937), or *The Passing of Islam in Turkey* (Brunton, 1930).

According to Toprak (1981: 9), the program of secularization was initiated in three phases. These phases were "symbolic secularization," "institutional secularization," and "functional secularization". Symbolic secularization launched transformations in many facets of national culture that had a symbolic identification with Islam. The most important secularization reform in this sphere, the changing of the alphabet from Arabic to Latin script, took place in 1928. Since the new regime regarded language as a connection with history, culture and sacred scripture, changing the alphabet was an "effective step towards breaking old religious traditions" and weakening the link with the past (Shaw and Shaw, 1977: 33-35). Indeed, the replacement of the Arabic script by Latin script has more than symbolic value and is the most radical reform that runs counter to the tradition in reformation context.[43] With the replacement, the literate people were broken off from their Ottoman pasts and became illiterate persons with this change of the script.

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[43] In 1924, Mustafa Kemal invited John Dewey to visit Turkey to study its educational problem and to recommend how the government might best proceed. "But even Dewey did not foresee the possibility of, or need for, Kemal's most dramatic reform - the change of the written script (which had been Arabic) to a simple Latin alphabet" (Robinson, 1963: 85).

Mustafa Kemal himself led the propaganda campaign for the new alphabet in the months leading up to the passage of the Alphabet Law by the parliament. Atatürk continued to participate personally in other aspects of language reform such as the purification of Turkish and the creation of new Turkish words. As an example, he wrote the geometry book in 1936-7 in which he invented Turkish equivalents for many terms in geometry (Atatürk, 1991). *Millet Mektepleri* (Nation's Schools) became the symbols and the engines of the "mass mobilization for literacy," as well as functioning to speed the transition from Ottoman to the new Turkish letters among the public.

In terms of symbolic secularization, the new government banned the Ottoman style of clothing especially the fez, which was worn by men as a headgear. It was replaced by Western style hat.[44] In terms of traditional baggy type pants and female veils, the new republic waged a sustained assault through educational and other means by showing them as out-dated while Western style men and women dresses were equated with modernity, which was targeted as the ultimate level of civilization that the Turkish nation had to reach. M. Kemal knew that the veil issue had utmost sensitivity among the masses. Therefore, the government never attempted to impose a total ban, though it continually discouraged it. For example, students and wives of the official servants were permanently prohibited from wearing the veil in public. No veiled women were allowed to attend public meetings. The ban on the veil came to

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[44] The Hat Law is an iconic move as in the Ottoman empire headgear used to symbolize one's status in society and the hat was considered as a symbol of Christianity. Orga's (1950: 222) memories give some clues about its implications: "Just prior to Atatürk's abolition of the fez the Military were issued with a small round cap that had the suspicion of a peak on it... and we were now very much ashamed to be seen with our new headgear, which was really, we thought, too much like the hat Christians wore. So we carried the offensive hat in our hands as often we dared and the few boys who were brave enough to keep it on were called 'Gavur' –an epithet relating to a Christian in an unsavoury way."

the agenda of the People's Party in its annual meeting in 1935, but the Party left the issue to the discretion of the local municipalities. Some municipalities like in Trabzon tried to implement the ban, yet as a result of immediate reaction, they did not force it (Köker, 2004: 153).

In other areas, the government subsidized national theatre, opera and ballet institutions, and some young Turkish students were sent to the Western Europe to learn classical music and practice it on their return to the country. In addition, the adoption of the Gregorian calendar and the metric system, and the change of the weekly holiday from Friday to Sunday were other manifestations of symbolic secularization in Turkey (Toprak, 1981: 36-37).

The aim of institutional secularization was to eradicate the institutional strength of Islam and prevent its possible interference in the political affairs of the new regime. The basic goal of the Kemalist elite was to free the polity from religious considerations. "Islam was not supposed to have even the function of a 'civil religion' for the Turkish polity" (Heper, 1981: 350). In this framework, the year 1924 saw the abolition of the Caliphate. On March 2, the Grand National Assembly passed a law overthrowing the Caliph and his office, "the function of the Caliph being essentially included in the meaning and connotation of the Government of the Republic." Other secularizing laws were also passed abolishing the office of the *Şeyhülislam*, the highest religious authority in the Ottoman Empire, and the Ministry of Shari'ah and Religious Foundations, replacing it by a new Department of the Prime Ministers' Office─the Directorate of Religious Affairs. The Republic also outlawed the Sufi orders on November 30, 1925, later replacing them with the *Halkevleri,* or People's Houses, which promoted radical secularization and obedience to the new state elite (Yavuz, 2003: 139). Through this sustained campaign against

the religious institutions, the principles of political legitimacy were changed to replace Islam with loyalty to the state as the source of political legitimacy (Shaw and Shaw, 1977: 534).

The third phase of secularization in Turkey was functional secularization. It consists of two stages: legal and educational (Toprak, 1981: 48). To accomplish legal secularization, the court system was secularized through the adoption of Western codes. The legal reforms abolished all religious courts (Islamic, Christian and Jewish), setting up instead secular courts with new laws based largely on Swiss models. The significance of these revolutions can be seen in the fact that "in some of the other successor states of the Ottoman Empire, religious courts were abolished only much later - in Egypt, in 1956 - while in others they are still active, as in Israel and Lebanon" (Kadıoğlu, 1996: 186). On April 10, 1928, amendments were made to the 1924 Turkish Constitution. These amendments constituted the clearest moves of that period toward the secularization of the Turkish state and society in legal terms. The part, "the religion of the state is Islam" in Article 2 and all the wording of Article 26 were dropped from the Constitution on April 10, 1928. Furthermore, Article 16 was modified so that the Assembly would no longer open after Friday prayers with sermons, and deputies would be sworn in on a man's honor, not in the name of Allah. Article 75 of the Constitution providing for freedom of religious convictions and philosophical beliefs and for the right to belong to different sects was amended in February 1937, by removing the word *sect* (Kili, 1969: 47-48). In total, by eliminating the Shariah law, the pro-westernization elite intended to reduce the functions of Islam in the community.

The second stage of functional secularization was implemented in the educational system. Under the Law for the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* (Unification of

Instruction), enacted in 1924, all the Islamic educational systems were closed in 1924, and the new education system was unified under the direction of the Ministry of Education. The Kemalist argument for this law was that "Two types of education in one country raises two types of persons… As long as there isn't a single system of education, it is futile to find a way to fashion a nation in which the people share the same thoughts and mentalitiy" (Kaplan, 2006: 41).

Religious education was also put under the guidance of this ministry. A new Faculty of Theology was founded at the *Darülfünun* (the University of Istanbul) in 1924. Moreover, special schools were opened in Istanbul and twenty other places to train a new generation of imams and preachers. In 1933, the Faculty of Theology was closed down and turned into an Institute for Islamic Research. Likewise, in 1926 there were twenty schools for imams and preachers, but in 1932 only two were left (in Istanbul and Konya); and the number of students in these schools, which had reached 2,258 in 1924, declined to ten in 1932 (Özdalga, 1998: 19). In public schools, religion had been taught at the primary and secondary levels, but after the third congress of the Republican People's Party in 1931, when the principle of secularism was introduced into the party program, the government declared that religious education was the responsibility of the family, not the state. Accordingly, religion was taken away from the primary and secondary school curricula in 1935, and was not introduced again until 1948 (Özdalga, 1998: 19-20). The deficiency of religious education created dissatisfaction within the society and this dissatisfaction was reflected in National Assembly through the deputies. People's complaints about

the lack of imams could be summarized by a motto of that time: "I could not find a man to wash the dead!" (Kafadar, 2002: 354).[45]

Parallel to this understanding of national education, schoolbooks were changed in 1924. In this alteration, subjects related to the Ottoman Empire were removed while the National Independence War and the declaration of the Republic were added to the curriculum and schoolbooks. Likewise, the schoolbooks of 1930s included the presentation of Mustafa Kemal and new regime, the party program and the successes of the Republican People's Party, Turkish Revolution and the principles of the constitution. In addition, ideas related to Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory were added to the schoolbooks (İnal, 2004: 28).

3.3 Politics of Dignity in the Formative Years

Cizre (1998: 7) summarizes the history of secularization in Turkey as "a dialectical interplay between the state and Islam, causing each to trigger responses in the other." This interplay covered privatization and minimization, on the one hand, and monopolization and homogenization, on the other. In this regard, Turkish secularism has never been simply a matter of privatizing faith and purging it from the public sphere, but covered the assertion of state power in both public and private spheres, including religious matters.

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[45] This complaint was considered seriously by the government of Republican People's Party because of the presence of a more liberal opposition party in the parliament. A commission from National Assembly approved the bringing up of imams within ten-month courses in 1948. In addition, weekly two-hour optional religious courses out of curriculum for fourth and fifth grade primary school students depending on the consent of family were added to educational program and Faculty of Divinity in the structure of Ankara University was opened in 1949 (Sakaoğlu, 2003: 256).

3.3.1 State's Hold on Religion

In the Turkish case, the state was able to free itself from religion, but religion could not free itself from the hold of the state. While the National Assembly abolished the caliphate and the function of Şeyhülislam on March 3, 1924, it preserved the institution of religious administration by replacing the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations with *Diyanet İşleri Reisliği* (the Directorate of Religious Affairs).[46] The directorate was attached to the office of the Prime Minister, and the Kemalist government assumed the right of interference, whenever necessary (Kili, 1969: 104-105). As the Ottoman Empire co-opted the *ulama*, the religious scholars, and the High Islam they represented, the Kemalist elite also asserted a monopoly on the "Establishment Islam," that became an instrument for articulating a national community in line with comprehensive system of radical reforms" (Cizre, 1998: 8). Through the Directorate the state attempted to co-opt a group that it feared might act as potential leaders of opposition to its modernizing and secularizing reforms, turning them into allies who would support the new state's reforms. Moreover, the directorate helped for the legitimation and dissemination of the state ideology to the borader masses.

The directorate prepared a selection of several pre-screened *hutbe* (sermons) that touched upon the only aspects of Islam the Kemalists tolerated. A collection of these hutbes appeared in a book sent to imams licensed and was mostly paid for by the state. No imam was allowed to preach on a topic that was not in this hutbe book.

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[46] In line with the Ottoman tradition, the Kemalist elite chose the Sunni Islam, especially its Hanafi sect, as the defining element. This meant the exclusion of the Alevis and the Sunni Shafi sect, which mostly the Kurds belong to, from the public service provided by the state-run Directorate of Religious Affairs. In Turkey, the state is Janus faced. It is Muslim against non-Muslims. It is Sunni against Alevis. It is secular against Sunnis. It is Hanafi against Shafiis (Bilici 2009: 29, 35).

No unlicensed man of religion was allowed to preach in any mosque. The governors asked provincial müftüs to report the list of the pre-screened imams with their passport photos to Police Departments. The Police Departments put mosques under scrutiny. If needed, the Police asked provincial müftüs to instruct imams to warn mosque-goers not to do anything against the Kemalist Government or its reforms (Köker, 2004: 155-6).

In this way, the state has kept control of an established Sunni Muslim hierarchy, paying the country's prayer leaders as civil servants, owning most mosques and centrally directing the content of sermons. The state then attempted to become a monopoly supplier of religious services to a national community constructed as overwhelmingly Sunni Muslim. Because of the state's involvement in religion, Zubaida (1996) argues that the Kemalist doctrine was never "'secular' in the sense of separation of religion from politics."

3.3.2 Taming Religion: Good Islam vs. Bad Islam

Kemalist secularism is not only an interpretation of secularism, but also of Islam. This means that it not only disestablishes, but also re-invents Islam.

The Kemalist elite indeed adopted "the so-called cast-iron theory of Islam"; that is, they assumed that Islam could not be adapted to modern conditions (Heper, 1981: 349). Having considered European civilization as the "pinnacle of progress," they came to adopt an idea long shared by European missionaries and orientalist acholars, that "Islam was inherently opposed to material progress in general and to European civilization in particular. Thus, under the Republican regime, secularism became a positivist ideology designed to liberate the Turks' minds from the hold of

Islam" (Karpat, 2004: 228-9). This explains why religion was removed from the public sphere and religious education was diminished in those years.

While pushing Islam to the past, the Kemalist elite were careful not to directly attack Islam. Like the Young Turk ideological writers, Mustafa Kemal insisted that Islam was a "rational" religion, but there was no attempt to turn a "purged" Islam into a major constituent of the republican ideology, either. As Cizre (1998: 7) states, "[t]he new 'national identity' that the republican elite constructed would stand a good chance of legitimizing itself in the eyes of the population if it had made Islam the cultural norm of its official discourse." Instead, secularism became one of the main planks of the Kemalist ideology (Zürcher, 2007: 108).

As a remedy to the question of religion, the Kemalist elite tried to design an "Enlightened Islam" through the Directorate. In 1928, the government established a committee under the leadership of Fuad Köprülü (1890-1966), a politician and historian, and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1889-1978), a famous thinker and pedagogue, to reform Islam in accordance with the precepts of modern science. In order to nationalize and modernize religion, the committee recommended, among many other things, that "people not take their shoes off in the mosque, the language of worship be Turkish, and the prayer times be adjusted to the needs of the work day; it even called for the introduction of church-style pews and music instead of Qur'anic recitation" (Yavuz, 2003: 50). Though the regime refrained from implementing those recommendations because of the fear of possible public reaction, the desire to reform Islam remained.

As the Kemalists, at least discursively, did not directly attack Islam despite their dislike of Islam, they relied on the creation of a dichotomy as "good Islam"

versus "bad Islam." At the basic level, the good Islam was a national one. The exclusion of Islam's universalistic claims was the most important aspect of Kemalist secularism (Karpat, 1959: 254). The Umma understanding that contradticted Turkey's Western orientation was left out. Instead, Islam was substituted and selectively utilized by the new source of identity and ethic: Turkish nationalism. In its early years, the government also tried to prevent Muslims in Turkey from having relations with Muslims in other countries. From 1934 to 1947, the *haj*, the Muslims' pilgrimage to Mecca, was prohibited (Heper, 1997: 34). While cutting off the ties of the Anatolian Muslims with the Islamic world, the Kemalist elite worked hard to "reform" and nationalize Islam. Providing the Turkish translation of Koran and the hadiths, the recitements of the Turkish Koran in big mosques, the enforcement to sing only the Turkish version version of the call to prayer (ezan – adhan) instead of the conventional Arabic one are some attempts to Turkify Islam. Between 1928 and 1947, the Directorate granted financial support to some of the last Ottoman religious scholars for some projects in this regard. Among these, Muhammed Hamdi Yazır wrote a nine-volume commentary on Koran, known as *Elmalılı Tefsiri*, first of its kind in Turkish. Yazır also translated the Koran into Turkish. Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen wrote a practical religious guide titled *Büyük İslam İlmihali*, and a six volume work of Islamic jurisprudence, *Hukuk-u İslamiyye ve Istılahat-I Fikhiyye Kamusu*, again for the Directorate. Besides, Babanzade Ahmed Naim and Kamil Miras translated the canonical hadith collection, *Sahih-i Buhari*, into Turkish in twelve volumes (Başkan, 2010: 153).

A second aspect of the Kemalist approach is that Islam was fully compatible with the ideas of progress and science. The good and "real" Islam is is the one that is fully in concordance with the contemporary modern science.Thus, a superstitious

version of Islam that had been disseminated through existing religious institutions and by existing religious figures needed to be erased. The republican elites engaged in full scale radical reforms against established religious institutions, religious education, and religious functionaries with an aim of replacing them by the guidance of science.

A third aspect of Kemalist Islam is that religion is reduced to morality (*güzel ahlak*) and purity of heart (*kalp temizliği*). Instead of an emphasis on the five pillars of Islam, the religious textbooks commissioned by the directorate during the late 1920s and 1930s indicated that a good Muslim "must love his country, respect the laws of the republic, submit to the progressive guidance of state officials, do his utmost to learn modern techniques, apply scrupulously the principles of good hygiene, consult a doctor in case of illness to avoid being the cause of epidemics, and work energetically for the development of the country" (Dumont, 1987: 3). This conception prioritizes beliefs rather than deeds. Faith is the essence of religion, and, for Kemalists, it is not necessary to wear a headscarf, refrain from alcohol or pray five times a day to be a true Muslim (Shively, 2008: 686).[47]

As religion is reduced to faith and morality, the good Islam is then invisible Islam that could be kept in Muslims' hearts and revealed only in the form of morality and patriotism. The demotion of Islam into a "private matter of conscience" did not

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[47] An anecdote from Ellison (1928: 194), who visited Turkey in 1920s, illustrates how religion was reduced to patriotism: "I reminded my companion [the inspector of schools, assigned by the government to accompany Ellison in her visits] of prayer. At Adana I had risen at five to hear the muezzin calling the faithful to prayer. 'The call to prayer,' I said, 'and the response of the Moslems prostrating themselves before the supreme Ruler of the world, is one of the finest things I love most in the East.' 'I know something finer,' said my companion, 'a man who does his work, as we are trying to do, with all his heart and soul. How can any of us with the work of reconstruction we have before us, spare the time to go five times a day to the mosque?'"

mean that the state is equally distant to all beliefs, but refer to the repression of all religious manifestations that have some public visibility. A monolithic conception of the public sphere was preferred which was open to Western, "universal" and cosmopolitan visions and representations, but closed to those of the indigenous, traditional and the "particular." According to Recep Peker, the Secretary General of the CHP, "the boundary of religious considerations in Turkey should not extend beyond the skin of the body of a citizen. In this sense, religion should have no place in society, administration, and politics" (quoted in Aydin, 2003: 249). Turkish secularism requires the citizens not to be atheists, but non-practicing Muslims. If they should practice their faith, then it should take place within the officially designated framework, "all non-state forms of Islam are considered irrational, dogmatic, and politically threatening" (Bilici, 2009: 31).

Yavuz (2003: 128-9) cites Ahmet Hamdi Akseki (1887-1951) as the "major developer of Atatürk's 'enlightened Islam' project." Akseki, a leading name of Islamist thought was appointed a the third president of the Directorate for Religious Affairs and remained in office from 1947 to 1951 when he died (Kara, 2004: 192). In a search to meet the expectations of the reformist project with the needs of the Anatolian population, he was commissioned to write new books on religious instructions in Latin alphabet. In 1925, he also wrote a text book on religion for soliders upon the request of General Fevzi Çakmak. Akseki basically argued religion was necessary to sustain the republican political system but should not assume a direct role in politics. In his framing, citizens would obey the laws more willingly, if the laws were backed by a religious ethics. Besides, the rational religious virtues could contribute to the creation of modern citizenry in Turkey.

3.3.3 Degradation of Religious Life

The creation of modern Turkey manifested that the so-called "terrible Turks," who had been for centuries the "barbarian" and the "other" for the Europeans, now tried to enter into the Western civilization. When it comes to the creation of the Turkish nation, "they have had to reinvent their own 'barbarians,' those who are considered an obstacle to civilization who were first the Muslims and today the Kurds" (Göle, 1996b: 23).

In line with the ambition of Kemalist secularism to design both the public and private lives of individuals, the public sphere is institutionalized and imagined as a site for the implementation of a secular and progressive way of life. The Kemalist state has determined what types of religious activity are permissible in public spaces and what are not, supposedly in the interests of maintaining a laicist public sphere. Religious signs and practices have been silenced "as the modern public sphere has set itself against the Muslim social imaginary" (Göle, 2002: 176-7). In the new capital, no new mosques were built (Lewis, 1968: 410). In the 69 villages built as samples such as Etimesut and Kutludügün villages in Ankara, the government funds were used to construct shelters and a government building, but no mosque (Ziya, 1933b: 336). In the same vein, the *Ülkü* (Ideal) journal, the official journal of government-run Ankara People's Houses published the articles on the design of the ideal Republican villages that gave no place for religion. The suggested village plans did not include any mosques or temples (Ziya, 1933a; 1933b; Kırımlıoğlu, 1933).

The public sphere is constructed not only thorough debate or deliberation, but also through the appearances and performances of subjectivities (Çınar, 2005: 40-2).

How the signs and symbols of identity markers are produced and circulated manifest the power and the means through which some subject positions are privileged or undermined. The Kemalist elite scrutinized a distinction between the "civilized" (*alla franca* - European way) and the "uncivilized" (*alla turca* – Turkish way). In the Kemalist formulation, the standards of the "civilized" world were set for the society. These included prescriptions on how to dress, how to eat, how to look at others, how to walk, how to speak, and so forth. All these standards gradually became the means of public representation; that is necessary for being publicly visible (Çolak 2004: 9). Those rejecting them became invisible. This nobodiement was true in its most concrete sense; the town people wearing traditional and religious clothing were stopped at the train stations and not allowed to go to the city centers (for some official reports of the police inspectors on this issue in 1930s, see Yılmaz, 2006: 20-21).

In this perspective, it was not only the public space where Islam was nobodied; as the early republican reforms of secularization, more than a series of some macro-level political transformations, do target to alter the cultural genes of Turkish society. The state also claimed authority over what many people considered to be private lifestyle issues, such as decisions about clothing, education, and forms of social interaction. The state has not only defined the nature of the public sphere in a restrictive way, but has labeled "public" those things that others see as corresponding to the "private" sphere or to the freedom of choice about private concerns (Shively, 2008: 687). For the ambitious secular elites, the matter was not only what people ought to do as citizens of the Republic, such as voting, paying taxes, doing military service etc, but also what people are supposed to desire and prioritize even in their intimate lives as part of their new Turkish identity. As an

indicator of the ambitions of the project of modernity in penetrating the private sphere, one can consider Atatürk's statement that "Every place that is home and household to the Turk will become a model of cleanliness, beauty, and modern culture" (Atatürk, 1995: 218).

The ideal attributes of a civilized Republican individual included "wearing neckties, shaving the beard and moustache, going to the theater, eating with a fork, husband and wife walking hand-in-hand in the streets, dancing at balls, shaking hands, wearing hats in the street, writing from left to right, and listening to classical western music" (Göle, 1996b: 23). Pride is taken in one's degree of Westernization rather than in the retention of identity and heritage (Kamrawa: 2000, 113-114). For women, "you look like a European" was a major compliment (Göle, 1996a: 66). A constant attempt is made to become or at least to emulate those whose values appear attractive and appealing. The hat law, the law regulating attire, the ban on the classical Turkish music are just some examples of how the secular elites tried to ingrain the Western habits as the sole route of modernization along the civilized vs. uncivilized distinction. Beside these top-down impositions, they aimed at educating the whole society at schools and People's Houses, founded in 1930 (Halk Evleri). As part of the state's intervention into everyday life manners, including how people should greet each other, people here were educated to use "günaydın" for the "good morning" and "tünaydın" for the "good afternoon" instead of the Islamic "selamünaleyküm" (Peace be on you), that would be valid in every Muslim country. The aim here is the expansion of the boundaries of the public sphere toward the private one. Those who reject internalizing new manners and behavioural norms were excluded. Exclusion here means to be deprived of gaining a new public identity, that is, of benefiting from the advantages of the state and participating in the

public sphere. Membership to the Turkish culture meant the internalization of a set of manners. The People's Houses came to the fore where the practices of patterns of new style and taste were introduced to the ordinary people; the Houses were "the agents for taming them through creating a proper network of practicing new modes of behaviour" (Çolak, 2004: 10-11).

The praise for and the propagation of the secular codes of behavior went hand in hand with the degradation and elimination of the religious and traditional sentiments. A determined campaign to portray Islamic traditionalism as retrogressive and obscurantist manifests itself in most of the reforms in the early Republican period. This resulted from the self-legimitation of the Turkish nationalism as "a total transformation of values in the direction of westernization" (Cizre, 2001a: 230). The Republican image of the Muslims as "passive, illiterate, traditional, and retrograde" (Gole 1996b, 39) is then not an unexpected outcome as the Kemalists tried to emulate the Western identity, which is dependent on "its appropriation of an Islamic other, often portrayed as 'fundamentalist,' 'despotic' or 'backward'" (Hurd, 2003: 26).

The Kemalist vocabulary inferiorized religion by positing it at the opposite of modernity and progress, and labeling most religious acts and thoughts as *irtica* (religious regressionism). "So severe was the suppression of Islam that even today Turks speak of their affinity to Islam with caution. To be Islamic in Turkey invited the abuse *yobaz*, backward, fanatic" (Akbar, 1994: 101, italics in original). Similar to the concept of irtica, the religious figures are mostly associated with the images of "cinci hoca," "üfürükçü" (Dole, 2006: 31). As Cizre (1998: 9) puts, "Islam was portrayed as an inferior cultural marker and pushed out of the public realm, with hopes that its importance also would recede in the private sphere." Having restricted

religious education and disbanded the dervish orders, "a general atmosphere of hostility towards Islam in particular and religion in general developed, especially among the educated, and a form of vulgar materialism and hedonism that ignored spiritual values was promoted" (Karpat, 2004: 229). The secular education system and the new cultural aura gave little room for religiosity.

According to Özbudun and Kazancıgil (1997: 5), the revolution did not aim to eradicate Islam in Turkey. It rather aimed at individualization and privatization of religion. However, the elimination of the religious codes in the public sphere cannot be simply read as the privatization of religion for two reasons. Firstly, the modern life was expected to erode religion in time. The secularization of the public life provided no place the religious life. The secularist reforms involved a systematic effort to move Turkish minds away from Islamic concepts and practices. The immediate observations of İrfan Orga (1950: 221) provide some clues on how the reforms made it difficult for the observant Muslim to practice their religion:

> Religion was practically abolished since, although the Mosques remained places of worship, the people had no longer time to pray the prescribed five times in a day—save the old and perhaps the infirm who had no public duties to perform. The majority of the Turks simply had no time. The work of the Government offices could no longer wait on the prayers of the officials. Religious teachings were abolished in all schools, Muslim or Christian, and religious sects were no longer permitted to appear in the streets in the clothes of their particular religious order… Nowadays when Muezzin called there were few to listen and fewer still to respond. The week-end was changed also and we observed the Christian Saturday and Sunday in place of the old Muslim Thursday and Friday.

In the Ottoman period, time used to be organized according to prayers. During Ramazan "there were no lessons in the schools" and the students "were allowed home on leave" (Orga, 1950: 219). Now, one had to give substantial effort to

perform the religious duties in a secular context. Here with the introduction of Kemalist laicism, "the little man's religion was thus placed in an ambiguous situation: tolerated but not secure. It was this tension which Atatürk hoped would work in favor of secularization in the long run" (Mardin 1971: 208-9). Religion was put subject to gradual decline by having limits placed on its opportunities to grow. Secularism in the name of freedom of religion was expected to lead freedom from religion.

Secondly, religion was looked down upon and associated with the past. The official Kemalist discourse on religion holds that the Kemalist elite in the early republican period did not close the mosques; laicism developed only to ensure that every one, whatever their religion, could pray (Kili, 1969). It was true that the mosques were not closed; however it was minds that the system closed to the mosques by marking the religion as inferior.

3.3.4 The Coercive Consent

National identity is not an organic characteristic of any social collectivity, but constructed as an outcome of some political, social, or cultural practice and developments. The nation serves as the ethico-political principle that links the dominant and subordinate to attain hegemony. Therefore, the national identity, like hegemony itself, is never not fixed, but subject to reconstruction and revision. Moreover, nation-building is probably the most expansive and comprehensive form of hegemonic projects as it expects its subjects to define themselves and make meaning of the world primarily by that ethico-political principle.

If we follow Gramsci's (1971: 12) definition of hegemony as "'the spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant group," it is difficult to assert that the early Kemalists did target hegemony per se. What happened was not a compromise or equilibrium between the power bloc and the subaltern, but a top-down social engineering process carried out by military-bureaucratic elite that imposed its secularist vision on a reluctant traditional society. In doing that, this elite group in power did not feel the need to co-opt the opposition or to reconcile the cultural gap between the Anatolian people and them. Rather, they treated the society as a group to be tamed, educated, and disciplined. As Ergil (2000: 53) notes, "neither the secularization nor the Turkification of the nation was negotiated with the people in a serious way." Indeed, there was no substantial power that could challenge the lead of the Kemalist cadre; "the tired and defeated people of Anatolia were in no position to debate or resist Ataturk's radical message. Some were even enthusiastic in supporting the national leader in his determination to remake the Turkish state" (Kasaba, 1997: 16).

If we locate hegemony as the combination of "domination" and "intellectual and moral leadership" (Gramsci, 1971: 57-8), one can certainly find those elements in the Kemalist modernization project. The creation of the new national identity, its dissemination through the mass education and public institutions, and the use of force when necessary illustrate the ambitions of Kemalism as a hegemonic project.

Unlike the Western experience, the historic bloc in this project was not the bourgeoisie, but essentially the bureaucracy which also assumed the task of creating the new national bourgeois class through the support of the state. According to Öncü (2003: 315-6), "during the initial phases of formation of the state, by totally

controlling the parliament, the (single) political party, the army and the state administration, the economically dominant classes could rule in civil society without hegemony." The large landowning classes and the local notables did not challenge the bureaucratic elite in order to preserve their economic position. They also did/could not establish an expansive ethico-political leadership in civil society, either. In short, there was an implicit coalition among the state-supported commercial bourgeoisie, the landed class, and the civilian-military bureaucracy (Sunar, 1974: 65).

The ruling cadre had no monolithic structure. When Mustafa Kemal initiated the secularist republican reforms, the party experienced between the strict secularists and the conservative liberals. The latter group asserted its opposition in two political parties, the TCF and the SCF, which were immediately closed for being the hub of religious opposition to the Kemalist reforms. While the presence of opposition parties in 1925 and 1930 gave legitimacy to the rule of People's Party and appeared to air some democracy in the parliament; from a political perspective, this research argues that the segregation of the oppositional figures through those new parties enabled Mustafa Kemal to establish a more homogenous body within the party that he could rely on. Otherwise, it would be really difficult to expel the heroes of the Independence War like Kazım Karabekir or Rauf Orbay from the founding party. After the dissolution of the Free Party in 1930, the extremist secularist-nationalist wing seemed to dominate the party. The new Pary Secretary Recep Peker had a strict secularist revolutionary vision, pursuing "the violent destruction of all that was old and traditional and its replacement by everything that was new and modern, regardless of its value or usefulness" (Karpat, 2004: 227).

The success and reach of this early republican process is still open to debate. Taking into consideration the Kemalist elite's authoritarian policies, economic failure, and the resentment among traditşonal masses because of the secularist reforms, Karpat (2004: 227-8) concludes that "the populism of the Turkish revolution, which had proved a useful device for mobilizing the masses during the War of Liberation, became a dead letter issue once victory was achieved." The common view of the early republican period is that the top-down reforms had no real impact on the lives of the majority of the population. For instance, Zürcher (2004: 194) puts forward that

> …the reforms hardly influenced the life of the villagers who made up the great mass of the Turkish population. A farmer or shepherd from Anatolia had never worn a fez, so he was not especially bothered about its abolition. His wife wore no veil anyway, so the fact that its use was discouraged did not mean anything to him or her. He could not read and write, so the nature of the script was in a sense immaterial to him, although the fact that the only man in the village who was able to read and write was the local imam tended to strenghten the religious connotation of the Arabic alphabet. He had to take a family name in 1934, but the whole village would continue to use its first names (as is stil the case) and the family names remained for official use only. The new family law made polygamy illegal, but those farmers who could afford it would still quite often take into the house a second woman, without marrying her, ascribing her children to his legal wife, if need be.

In terms of creating a national consciousness that could inform political principles, social relations, and private manifestations such as tastes, customs, and morals; Kemalism was a limited movement as it could not penetrate the whole of the society. The Kemalist socialization was mostly limited to the urban middle class. According to Poulton (1997: 129), the village remained unaffected and this situation gave birth to ultra-nationalism and political Islam after the mass mobility towards the big cities in the 1950s and 1960s.

The heavy focus on the failure of the early republicans to penetrate the society, nevertheless, leads to a reductionist approach that does not cover the complexity of the process and does not really explain the partial success of the Kemalist nation-building project. If Kemalism had no effect on the masses in the first two decades, then any discussion about resistance to something without effect would be meaningless. The town people were not as unaffected as Zürcher suggested in the passage above. The Kemalist rule exerted its presence with its local governors, teachers, imams, and most importantly gendermaries. For instance, one can see the extent of the Kemalist penetration with regard to the Hat Law.

First of all, schools were the places where the next generations were socialized into the new culture, including the modern dress. Textbooks presented the new reforms more than the laws the obe followed, as the requirements of civility. Henry Elishe Allen (1935: 110) quotes a textbook *Yeni Yurt Bilgisi* (New Knowledge of Fatherland) written in 1929 by Sadullah Mitat: "The problem of appearance in the street is very important. Civilized people can go out in the street only with a civilized appearance… The Republican Government which has changed everything bad in the country has also taken appearance under some regulation and has adopted the hat for the headdress. There is no possibility hereafter of walking in the streets with a gown and ketchekula [bowl-shaped cap]." The education network was not widespread enough throughout the country. The secular elite tried to fill this gap with the People's Houses and then the Village Institutes founded first in 1940.

The imams and preachers were also expected to this reformation process. For instance, upon the lack of compliance on the Hat Law, the Directorate of Religious Affairs asked the mufti offices and the preachers in the provinces to "enlighten" the mosque goers about the new modern and national headgear. In a circular of January

5, 1926, the Directorate even confirmed that there would be no objection in Islamic law to wearing a hat in a mosque (Yılmaz, 2006: 37-8).

The security forces were the most important leg of the domination in the early republican period. According to an observer, those not complying with the Hat Law were arrested and "hauled to the police stations in such a great numbers that they could not be dealt with" (Orga, 1950: 223). The Hat Law, the ban on *peçe* (face cover) and *çarşaf* (female clothing covering the whole body) received great reaction, and non-compliance was taken into the legal measures. Yılmaz (2006: 78) quotes a letter dated December 18, 1937, and written by Ismail Efe from the Western town Ödemiş to Hamdi Bey, a member of parliament:

> Our women's overcoat issue is still going on. But women have thrown away the çarşaf. [T]ose who find [something] put on something good or bad. There I saw with my own eyes the gendarmerie captain is out yelling "hey whores are you doing this out of spite" and tearing and throwing away their yazmas(scarves), no bigger than the palm of your hand. Later while sitting in a coffeehouse the captain came to the coffeehouse. Some old men are wearing the takqe (skullcap) under their kaskets (caps). [H]e took them too together with their caskets…. If you ask our women of Ödemiş and the villages [,] they can't go out to the bazaars. Everyone down to even the drivers of the municipality is yelling in the middle of the streets leaving out neither their dishonorableness nor their prostitution.

The letter illustrates well that a lot of men were already wearing hats and some others were trying to find a compromise between the government sanctions and their habits, wearing the skullcap under their hats. It is also obvious that noncompliance even in small towns were sanctioned by the gendermarie forces.[48]

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[48] The local administrations regulated the implemention of the bans on the old dress codes. For instance, the provincial parliament of Aydin passed a resolution in 1926, banning the *peçe*, *çarşaf*, *zeybek* clothing, *peştemal*. Residents were given a period of three months, and after that noncompliance would lead to legal measures. In this process, women mostly

In total, the Kemalist modernization and nation-building projects encountered resistance and lack of compliance at least in the short or middle run. This was because of the lack of compromise and the lack of economic power or wealth distribution policies. The secular elite chose to dictate its reforms through violent means. The security forces were the only institution penetrating the whole society.

3.4 The Step-Citizens and Their Strategies of Survival

The political and cultural transformations brought traumatic outcomes for the degraded religious groups. Observant Muslims could no more feel at home in Turkey. Insecurity about one's worth, whether individual or collective, arises when the values ascribed to others are idealized and are striven for. Abd al-Baki Baykara (1883-1935), Sheikh of Mevlevi Yenikapı *dargah*, expresses in his poem "Oldum" (I became) what changes a Sufi underwent at that time:

Cutting my white feathers, I changed into a pretty young girl,
While previously, I was an old man.
I became an elder Magi, while previously I was a Mevlevi Sheikh,
I became neither a pure Muslim, nor completely infidel.
On my tongue, the light of my faith, on my head a pitch-dark hat,
So I became visible in the dark, like a false dawn.
I left *Sema* (whirling), but did not learn how to dance.
That is, I became a Muslim, worse than a Selanik Sabataist.
Morning coat, cylinder hat became headdress of the Mullah
I got myself ridiculed in front of the whole people.
I could obtain neither any grace from my forefathers,
Nor became beloved to the Republican regime.
Thinking over the meaning of 'patience is the key to joys',
Like the slow Patriarch of the time, I became non-conferred a favour.
If I would be examined in ignorance and foolishness,
Madrasa teachers would leave me behind.

seemed to discard the *peçe*, but continued to wear the *çarşaf* for a longer period (Yılmaz, 2006: 59, 77).

>While previously I was dancing with the melody of *Ney*
>Now I became personified, distressed by the evil of dance (Küçük, 2007: 134, Küçük's translation).

Having been stuck between established antagonisms such as sema vs. dance, mullah dress vs. morning coat and cylinder hat, or Ottoman forefathers vs. the Republican regime, Baykara summarizes the imposed transformation as the old man turning into a young girl, and this is what "got ridiculed" him in front of others.

The secularization reforms caused a sense of diaspora and alienation. Mehmed Akif, the poet of the Turkish National Anthem, is an early example of this situation. He strongly supported the National Forces (*Kuva-yı Milliye*) in the Liberation War (1919-1922) and, as a religious person; he motivated the masses in Anatolia through his speeches in mosques. By his epic discourse of poetry he motivated numerous masses, applying the Islamic discourses of martyrdom *(shahadah)* and *ghazi,* to go to the war of liberation. After the establishment of the republic in 1923, he soon realized that the new elite was removing the Islamic framework of society and politics. The Caliphate was abolished, the Islamic elements of social life became to be eliminated literally by regulations, wearing hat was rendered compulsory; the people were obligated to wearing like the "civilised societies", all educational institutions were unified and so on. During these days Mehmed Akif seems to have felt that the living atmosphere for a Muslim became disappearing. Thinking his life in Turkey would be very difficult, he temporarily moved to Egypt to teach at a university. However, his stay was prolonged when more strict secularization reforms followed one after another. Beginning in 1925, Akif resided permanently in Egypt. Having to leave Cairo for medical treatment, he home-came to Istanbul in 1936 and died eight months later (Wilson, 2009: 428-9). His funeral ceremony was organised and understood as a protest meeting by the

Islamists in Bayezıd Mosque in İstanbul with a large participation of people and university students.

As Aktay (1997:163-176) argues, Mehmet Akif experienced a state of "diaspora" in their own country. In 1921, when the Western Anatolia was occupied by the Greek forces, Akif wrote a poem that depicted his feelings as "*Bugün bir hânümânsız serseriyim öz diyârımda*" (I am now a homeless vagrant in my own country). Years later, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, the other famous Islamist poem whose star has shined just before the transition to multiparty system in 1945, would employ this theme for the religious groups in Turkey. In his epic poem *Sakarya Türküsü,* which has been the manifesto of the Islamist-Turkist youth, he said "*Öz yurdunda garibsin, öz vatanında parya*" (You are a stranger in your own land, a pariah in your own country) (Kısakürek, 1973: 312). The implications of the poem about the Greek occupiers had been translated as the existing authority which had made the Muslims deprived of their political presence.

3.4.1 Exit

The Kemalists never hesitated to show their rivals the door. In 1922, the Sultanate was abolished and the Sultan was removed from Istanbul. In 1924, the Caliphate was also abolished, and the caliph and all the members of his family were exiled. The Kemalists reminded this fate to the Islamists in the following years, as Mustafa Kemal once said: "The hodjas! Indeed you are right! We have been a priest-ridden nation too long. Our reverend friends must learn to behave themselves. If they refuse, well, they can always join the Sultan" (Ellison, 1928: 23). In his *Nutuk* (Speech), Atatürk (1989: 920) showed his determination stating that "this will be done at any

price […] in the event it is possible that some heads will be chopped off." The local and regional rebellions were suppressed after the adoption of *Hıyanet-i Vataniye Kanunu* (the High Treason Law) and the institution of *İstiklal Mahkemeleri* (Independence Tribunals), which severely punished the opponents (Zürcher, 2004: 152). "The "Yüzellilikler" is another example which refers to a 1924 list of one hundred and fifty individuals, including journalists, writers, and Ottoman statesmen, who were exiled or denied entry to Turkey and whose Turkish citizenship was terminated in 1927 on the grounds of opposition to the war of liberation and collaboration with the enemy. They were pardoned and allowed entry to Turkey in 1938 (Yılmaz, 2006: 4-5, *cf.* 7).

As illustrated above, the typical example of exit is the case of Mehmet Akif, known as the poet of the National Anthem and the poet of Islam. As his hopes to see the Turkish people lead unity among Muslim countries vanished after the new Turkish state was established with secularism as its main principle, he went again to Egypt, or rather went into seclusion (1926–36). Akif was not the only one who preferred immigration. Salih Niyazi Baba, head of the Bektashi Babagan branch at that time, when he heard about the decision to close down the *tekke*s, merely said, "This means that we are not eligible for this task," and left the *dargah*. He occupied himself as the manager of a hotel (the Anadolu Otel) at Ulus in Ankara. He tried to use the hotel as a *dargah*, but was not permitted to do so. On January 17, 1930 he, together with some other Bektashi leaders, left Ankara for Tirana, Albania, and was welcomed warmly by the Bektashi community there. He served as *Baba* at the Elbasan *tekke* and possibly died there (Küçük, 2007: 126-7; Goloğlu 2009).

Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır, a scholar of Islam, chose segregation. After the abolishment of the Caliphate, he was tried at the Indepedence Court in Ankara, but

later acquitted. Then, Yazır secluded himself into his home from the passing of the Hat Law in 1925 until his death in 1942 (Aktaş, 1991: 148). In the conventional Islamic understanding of the time, the hat was an imitation of the symbol of the infidels, and wearing the hat would cause one to lose one's Islamic identity. Yazır neither opposed the regime openly, nor immigrated elsewhere, but home-prisoned himself in order not to get forced to wear a hat.

3.4.2 Submission

Considering that the process of secularization in Turkey precedes the Kemalist Westernization project, it is no surprise that there are religious figures, too, who would align with the Westernists. For them, the reforms were not unexpected; they considered the matters differently than others and accepted reforms easily. "There were even people who thought that it was only prophets or mystics who could make this kind of reform possible" (Küçük, 2007: 124). Safvet (Yetkin, d.1950), a Khalwati sheikh and MP in the second TBMM, was chosen to present the bill abolishing the caliphate in 1924 and exiling the Ottoman dynasty. Yahya Galib (Kargı, 1874–1942), another Khalwati sheikh and MP, and Samih Rıfat, a Bektashi and MP, also were among those who proposed the above-mentioned bill (Goloğlu, 2009: 13-8).

The case of Ahmet Remzi Akyürek (d. 1944), Sheikh of Üsküdar Mevlevihane, is illuminating. After the banning of the orders, he worked at the Üsküdar Selimağa Library, and after 1937 at Ankara *Eski Eserler* (Ancient Works) Library. His poem *Ankaraname* illustrates well his support for the regime:

A city of puzzle cannot be solved, Ankara,

From all aspects, a very distinctive city is Ankara.
It is understood what progress is,
Each day Ankara is taking a step…
By changing the alphabet, made things easier for the nation,
Ankara made all the villagers 'clerks'…
It taught us many languages we did not know,
It solved all the problems concerning language…
One direction, one front, one party, one administration at once,
What a power! Ankara united all tendencies.118 (Küçük 2007: 135)
Ken'an Rifa'i (Büyükaksoy, d.1950), another sheikh, never complained when

the Sufi orders were closed down. "Earlier we were in visible *tekkes*, now in an

inner, heart *tekke*. Allah wished so, and made so" was his reaction. He was so

obedient to the newly imposed laws that he did not allow the making of *sema* even in

a small group consisting of three people including himself, and said, "If the law said

it is forbidden, it is forbidden"(Küçük, 2007: 138).

3.4.3 Liminal Resistance

Considering the drastic changes of the time, one could expect more frequent

acts of open resistance. This is partly because of the importance of the state in the

Sunni Turkish culture, and partly because of the Sufi rule that "everything, good or

bad, is from God. His grace, as well as his punishment is nice" (Kara, 2002: 17, 155).

Did the Sufis really change? Were they sincere? It is impossible to conclude an

answer. Certainly, there must be some religious figures who have just pretended

because of the political pressures in their time. Some of them were so fearful of the

Maintenance of Order Law and the Independence courts that they did not say a word

concerning the reforms (Kara, 2002: 34). Tahir al-Mevlevi is a distinctive example of

pretention. When he heard the call to the court, he wore a hat, thinking that it was the

reason for his call. Küçük (2007: 140) explains this quoting Bediüzzaman Said

Nursi: "Everything you say should be true, but you do not have the right to say everything is true. Everything you say must be right, but it is not right to say everything is right." This kind of pretention does not necessarily mean that they give up teaching religion. Several religious figures continued their "secret teachings" (Kara, 2002: 156).

Walking on the convergence lines, the case of the short-lived *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* (SCF - Free Republican Party) illustrates another form of liminal resistance, as it was a legitimate form of expression for both the dominant and subordinated. It could provide a liberal approach to Turkish modernization and subvert the existing dichotomies that put religion as backward and traditional. In 1930 the public discontent with RPP rule, the lack of civil liberties and the party's widespread corruption at the local level could be expressed for a short period via legal channels. On August 12, 1930, the Free Republican Party was founded with the encouragement of Mustafa Kemal, under the leadership of the former Prime Minister Fethi (Okyar) (Zürcher, 2004: 178). Kemal hoped that it would serve as a controlled channel for the expression of the dissent he knew existed. Nevertheless, he required Okyar to guarantee that the party would not challenge the regime's republican and secular foundations (Angrist 2006: 171).

In the new atmosphere of toleration, two Istanbul-based daily newspapers, Arif Oruç's *Yarın* (Tomorrow) and Zekeriya Sertel's *Son Posta* (The Last Mail) began to criticize the government of İsmet (İnönü) and supported the SCF against the CHF. Shortly after its foundation, the FRP won considerable support, especially in western Anatolia, where the export-oriented agricultural region of İzmir and its hinterland had been hit by the economic depression of 1929. Peasants and merchants in this region, as well as the urban and educated groups who resented the RPP's

authoritarian rule, expressed their discontent via the FRP. The latter followed a strategy of criticizing the RPP's economic policies. However, in the absence of any other channel, it attracted all antiregime groups, including those who opposed the government's secularist policies. The grassroots movement against the government, especially in western Anatolia, alarmed the RPP leadership who blamed the new party for being used by "reactionaries" and "enemies of the regime." After the municipal elections in October 1930, the RPP leaders increased their attacks against the opposition party. No longer supported by Mustafa Kemal, the FRP leaders dissolved their party on November 16, 1930 (Azak, 2007: 147).

As open resistance was not permitted, one should also look at the acts of passive resistance, which are the practical forms of resistance the weak can use. For instance, there were some religious groups who did not accept any sort of official job as a sign of their silent opposition, although they did not become involved in any uprisings. Süleymancıs (those affiliated with Naqshi Süleyman Efendi (Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan, 1893–1959)) did not accept even teaching positions for the secular regime, as in that case they would be obliged to teach some secular doctrines (Küçük, 2007: 129). The group rather preferred to teach reciting the Koran mostly in secret. He converted his house into a Qur'an seminary. His disciples followed in his footsteps, holding illegal Koran courses at homes. While the Law of Unification of Education of 1925 closed all religious schools, these underground teachings survived the secular hegemony. Tunahan died on September 16, 1959, a few months later after his release from jail (Yavuz, 2003: 145-6).

The case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi (d. 1960) is illuminating. During the National Struggle he believed that the nationalists were really trying to save the sultan/caliph and, as a unionist, he supported them. For instance, he supported the

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anti-*fatwa* of the nationalists. At Mustafa Kemal's invitation he visited the TBMM towards the end of 1922, delivered a speech and prayed for their further success. His statement to the MPs gives the impression that he would continue to support them if they would adhere to Islamic rules. This was not, however, the message Ankara expected; it wanted unconditional submission and support (Mardin, 1989). Like his contemporaries such as Mehmed Akif and Elmalılı Hamdi Yazır, Nursi chose to escape from Ankara. He returned to Van in the Spring of 1923 to seclude himself into his home. He stayed there until the Sheikh Said rebellion of 1925. In spite of his popularised rejection to Sheikh Said's calling for upraising, he was accused of having responsibility in the rebellion and was arrested, tried and exiled to Isparta. Though he refused Sheikh Said's demand for help in his revolt against the regime, he did not prefer full submission, either. Some acts crystallizing his passive resistance are that he did never use the new alphabet and wear a hat.

After the reforms he changed his tactics and said that the time is not the time of Sufi orders, but of the faith. Şerif Mardin (1989: 152-3) pointed out that his exile in Isparta has been very fruitful in the formation of his ideas as well as their spread as a movement. As the tekkes, the common means of religious doctriniation, were closed down, he adopted a method of disseminating hand-written *Risale*s instead of the verbal one in tekkes. He wrote and published his *Risale-i Nur* in the Arabic alphabet. Instead of the typical sheikh-disciple relationship in tekkes, he encourages his students to read and let others read those books. As a result of their devotion to these essential texts, Nursi's followers, the Nurcus have developed textual-communities, in which they listen to and reflect on the texts and disseminate their meaning to society. Institutionalized as dershanes, the reading of the Risales has been transformed from a

silent, inward process to an ultimately communal and interactive experience (Yavuz, 2003: 164).

3.4.4 Violence

The Naqshi Sufi order was responsible for most of the revolts since the 31 March incident. According to Mustafa Kemal, "this order is a snake. It should be wiped out" (Küçük 2007: 132). Between 1924 and 1938, Turkey witnessed 18 outright rebellion against the secularist reforms, and most were led or incited by the Naqshis (Yavuz, 2003: 139).

The Naqshi Sheikh Said's revolt is the first widespread violent reaction to the regime, showing the extent and type of unhappiness that the reforms caused. With the abolition of the caliphate, the most important symbol of Turkish–Kurdish brotherhood disappeared. It became possible to condemn the Ankara government as irreligious; an accusation that seemed to be confirmed by other measures it took (Bruinessen, 1992: 281). The major motive behind the rebellion was the creation of an independent Kurdish state where Islamic principles, violated in modern Turkey, were to be respected. This independent state, which was granted by Articles 62, 63 and 65 of the Sèvres Treaty, signed on August 10, 1920, went against the *Misak-i Milli*, the goal of the National Struggle declared on January 28, 1920. The case of the Kurds was not mentioned in the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne (signed on July 24, 1923), a great disappointment to Kurdish nationalists. In this context, a great rebellion was planned by the *Azadi* (Freedom) Society, founded in 1923 by former militia officers, and the Naqshi Sheikh Said of Palu, who was very influential among the Zaza tribes. The insurrection broke out in Diyarbakır and spread among all the

Kurdish tribes. In the end, the Kurdish rebels were pushed back into the mountains and Sheikh Said was seized on April 15, 1925. He and his accomplices were sentenced to death by the Independence Tribunal in Diyarbakır on June 29, 1925 (Bruneissen, 1992: 265-305). According to Zürcher (1984: 144-67), it was the Sheikh Said rebellion that created the atmosphere and the mechanisms necessary to silence the opposition through the Maintenance of Order Law and carry out the purges of 1926. The same tribunal ordered the closing down of all Dervish convents in the southeastern region.[49] For the Kemalists, the revolt was not only an opportunity to crush the opposition, but also signified the beginning of militant secularism in Turkey.

Another Naqshi revolt is the Menemen Incident, which was interpreted as, but never proven to be, the consequence of freedom granted through the establishment of the SCF in 1930 (Karpat, 1959: 137-69). The incident occurred on 23 December 1930. Giritli Derviş Mehmed (who claimed to be a *Mahdi*) and his accomplices revolted against the reforms. When Kubilay, a lieutenant from the new Turkish Army intervened, they beheaded him and hanged his corpse in the main square. A court martial sentenced 28 rebels to capital punishment; all were hanged in Menemen. It was claimed that this incident occurred as a result of the provocations of Mohammed Es'ad Erbili, the famous Naqshi sheikh (Goloğlu, 2009: 299-338). The Menemen Incident indicated the Kemalist regime's insecurity regarding the population's loyalty to the new secular state.

In total, the Kemalist nation-building process is a hegemonic project by definition. Despite the changes in different periods of Atatürk's era, the republican

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[49] According to van Bruneissen (1992), the ban on the Naqshbandi order created in the region room for the emergence of ethnic Kurdish nationalism in the 1970s.

leaders basically aimed to break with the Ottoman past and create the new national identity according to the Western secular norms. Yet, this secularism did not simply mean the separation between state and religion, but entailed the state's definite hold over religion and the removal of Islam from public sphere. As a manifestation of the politics of dignity, the Kemalist elite not only valued the secular over the religious, but also created the "good Islam" versus "bad Islam" dichotomy in justifying its secularization project. In response, the strategies of survival opted by the prominent Muslim range from exit, as in the case of Mehmet Akif's voluntary exile in Egypt, to the manifestations of violence as exemplified in the Sheikh Said Revolt in 1925.

CHAPTER 4

THE FEBRUARY 28 PROCESS ON STAGE

In its pendulum-like swings between elected governments and military interventions, Turkey has lived on and off under direct military rule for about six years during 1960-1, 1971-3, and 1980-3. What a coup d'etat means (a truck of soldiers seizing the state-run radio and television stations, while another captures key political and bureaucratic institutions) was quite clear and familiar for the Turkish society. During the coup, the army may fire guns or send some political figures to the gallows when necessary. This was how a military coup used to be staged until the first "post-modern coup" ever, as its actors called it (Demir, 2007). None of those happened in 1997, when the Turkish military, together with the collaboration of other bureaucratic and civilian forces, compelled the Islamist-led government to leave their posts.

Initially, the 1990s seemed to raise hopes for Turkish democracy due to several factors, such as the advance of the capitalist market, further integration with Western countries, and the re-development and pluralization of political life after the 1980 coup. In 1997, Metin Heper (1997: 44) stated as follows:

> Looking at the extent to which democracy has been consolidated and Islam has become reincorporated into the social, economic and political fabric of Turkey in the 1990s, one could make an optimistic prognosis

about the relationship between democracy and Islam in that country. One might even argue that the interactive relationship between democracy and Islam has taken on a new and unexpected twist.

The same year, Turkey indeed witnessed an "unexpected twist" of democracy and Islam, yet in a totally "unexpected" sense. In response to the growing success of the Islamist Welfare Party, the National Security Council, a council composed of top civilian and military officials, adopted an eighteen-item list and presented it to the government on February 28, 1997 to curb the influence of Islamism in the public sphere and to reassert the secular hegemony by reversing the growing visibility of Islam in political, social, and economic spheres. In this meeting, the date of which also gave the name to the process, the military listed the do's and don'ts to the government. In the following months, while the Office of Chief of the General Staff gave briefings to high-ranking bureaucrats, judicial staff and journalists, there were protests in the streets and the slogan "Turkey is secular and it will remain as so" became a hit (Bozkurt, 2003). The secular establishment was determined to maintain the anti-religious purge "one thousand years if necessary" (Önkibar, 2007).

This chapter provides a historical background and traces the interactions between politics and secularism since Turkey's transition to the multi-party system since 1946. Then it shortly analyzes the dynamics of Islamist politics with special reference to the National Vision Movement. Finally, it lays out historically how the February 28 process was set out.

4.1 Secularism and Multi-Party Politics in Turkey

Turkey's democratic transition in 1946 was not *ruptura*, but an example of *reforma*, in which the regime change was led and controlled by the power-holders of the previous authoritarian rule (Sunar and Sayarı, 1986: 172-173). For Özbudun (2011: 121-127), there are basically three approaches on Turkey's transition to the multi-party system. The first approach emphasizes the influence of foreign powers. Accordingly, this "free gift" right after the World War II came due to the Soviet Union's expansionist policies,[50] which pushed Turkey to ally with Western states[51] and to open up its political system (Yılmaz, 1997; Rustow, 1970). The second approach underlines the inner dynamics of Turkish politics and argues that the Kemalist regime already was prone to a tutelary democracy and the then Turkish President İsmet İnönü realized that one-party rule could be no more maintained (Özbudun, 1993: 99-110). A third approach provides a class-based explanation and claims that the state-supported bourgeoisie came to challenge and push the state authority towards the democratic transition (Keyder, 1987: 112-115). In any case, one cannot deny that the internal anti-governmental pressures were shaking the CHP's rule in "nation equals to state equals to the party" formula.

As a reaction to CHP's land reform and authoritarian policies; Celal Bayar, the last Prime Minister of Atatürk, Adnan Menderes, Fuad Köprülü, and Refik Koraltan called the Assembly to discuss the issue and presented the joint motion, known as *dörtlü takrir* (Memorandum of the four), in 1945 (Atasoy, 2005: 67). They

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[50] At the end of World War II, the Soviet leader Stalin demanded partial control of Turkish straits (Tobakov, 2003).

[51] One year later, this alliance would be embodied in the Truman Doctrine, the United States' policy of containment of the Soviet expansion.

called for democratic administration of the government which could tolerate oppositional views. The controversy resulted in the rejection of their proposal, then the resignation of these members from the ruling party, and eventually the foundation of the *Demokrat Parti* (DP - Democrat Party) under Celal Bayar, after the CHP permitted a multiparty system in early 1946. The DP provided an institutional platform for all the discontented groups: "New industrialists who were critical of statism, landowners who opposed the 1945 Land Reform Bill, intellectuals who wanted greater freedom of speech, small merchants who resented the patronage of the state enjoyed by leading merchants, Sufi leaders who had been persecuted, and most villages" (Yavuz, 2003: 60).

4.1.1 The Democrat Party Era

The political competition and the DP's opposition to staunchly secularist policies forced the ruling CHP to make some concessions to the religious constituencies. Due to the voting anxiety and the propagated fear from the communist ideology import, some CHP members drafted a proposal demanding the state's active involvement in religious education (Rustow, 1995: 78). Though Recep Peker's government rejected the proposal, the President İsmet İnönü overthrew Peker in 1947 through his influence within the party and replaced him with the moderate Hasan Saka. In May 1948, the CHP government introduced elective religious courses at schools and opened new schools to educate the imams. A faculty of theology was also opened at Ankara University to create a new generation of religious educators. The CHP even decided to enter the 1950 elections under Şemsettin Günaltay, a former dean of the Faculty of Theology at Istanbul Universty (Rustow, 1995: 79). The efforts to negotiate with the opposition and expand the political hegemony, however, were not sufficient to lead the CHP to an electoral victory. Nevertheless, they are important as

CHP's first attempts to build an equilibrium point between the dominant and the subaltern.

After the spurious 1946 elections, the general elections held on May 14, 1950 put a decisive end to the one-party system. The DP soon turned to a melting pot for different segments of society suffered from the long one-party rule. The Democrats' victory can be regarded as its hegemonic project that articulates "the economic and political interests of the working masses with the popular religious demands of the rural population and many Islamic elements in constant opposition to the single-party rule" (Öncü, 2003: 317). The 1950 elections marked a new period, in which the Kemalist modernization project alone could not suffice to attain and legitimate the political hegemony. One had to take into account the class interests and the role of religion, as the DP did.

After the etatist years under the CHP rule, the DP pursued a more liberal policy in the economic realm and promised to make Turkey "a little America" (Kasaba, 1993: 51). In fact, Etatism was an ad hoc policy adopted by the CHP under some peculiar historical conditions and the liberalization of foreign trade regime started early in 1946. Therefore, the DP's redefinition of the state's role in economy was not a huge break from the CHP's policies. However, the DP managed to devise its liberal economic policy to attain hegemony as if they are part of the popular bloc. The anti-statist discourse helped the DP to "link various particularistic interests under the leadership of an emerging bourgeoisie which had no intention of weakening its ties to the state" (Yalman 2002a: 34). The DP was mostly described as the party of the bourgeoisie. Through the liberal market policies, the bourgeoisie was becoming stronger, while the civilian and military bureaucracy seemed to lose its status (Özbudun, 2000: 31- 32).

Like the Kemalist principle of Etatism, the issue of secularism was another controversy on which the DP seemed to differentiate itself from its ancestor. Already in 1946, the DP party program stated in Article 14 that, "the party rejected the erroneous interpretation of secularism that lead to a hostile attitude against religion, and advocated a clearer separation between religion and public affairs so that government would not interfere in religious activities" (Geyikdağı, 1984: 69). Once the Democrats came to power, their first and iconic reform was to permit the call to prayer (*ezan*) in its original Arabic version. The Turkification of the call to prayer was part of the Kemalist secularization project and led to unrest among people.[52] Beside this symbolic move of the DP, the expansion of religious education was another important step. The elective courses on religion, which the CHP government introduced in 1949, were included into the regular primary school curriculum in 1951. In addition, the Ministry of Education opened seven Imam-Hatip schools between 1951 and 1952. The first Higher Islamic Institution was established in 1959. The DP government also allowed the construction of 15,000 new mosques (Atasoy, 2005: 73). Besides; Koran recitations were broadcasted on the state radio during the holy month Ramadan for ten minutes, the tombs of holy figures were reopened for visits, and the budget of the Presidency of Religious Affairs was increased (Toprak, 1998: 123).

The economic boom in the 1950s and tolerance toward religion created the DP's success. More importantly, the Democrats improved political participation and increased social interaction between formerly isolated rural areas, towns, and cities (Vertigans, 2003: 50). Therefore, Turam (2007: 44) calls this as "the first time attempt to bridge state and dissenting social forces." The DP was successful in

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[52] The law did not ban performing the Turkish call to prayer, but allowed the Arabic one.

persuading the masses that it represents the popular interests. In 1950, the Democrats came to power with a very captivating campaign slogan *"Yeter, söz milletindir"* (Enough, it is now the nation's turn), printed under an open right hand (Tepe 2007: 112). That election poster depicted the criticism against the CHP's modernist authoritarian rule in a one-party regime. However, as the founders of the Republic once were the Ottoman pashas, the founders of the DP also were former CHP members. As an offshoot of the CHP, the Democrats remained loyal to the Kemalist principles, while demanding less state intervention into economy and religious affairs. There was no huge ideological difference, but "they differed mostly in their attitudes toward the proper role of the state, bureaucracy, private enterprise, and local initiative, as well as toward peasant participation in politics" (Özbudun, 2000:30).

As Menderes Çınar (2003) states, "since the fundamental factor in attaining political legitimacy is to be accepted by the state elite, which holds a monopoly over the definition of such key issues as secularism and the nature of national identity, winning a decisive election victory does not necessarily mean more stable politics in Turkey." The Democrats were aware of this fact. In order to avoid the faith of the TCF or the Free Party, they had to reassure the CHP about their intentions. At the very beginning, Celal Bayar took the Turkish President and CHP leader Ismet Inönü's approval on the DP's first party program prior to publicizing it.[53] The DP openly accepted the Kemalist principles in the program.

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[53] Metin Toker quotes this conversation in his memories: "*Inonu*: Does it contain an article saying 'we respect religious beliefs' the way the Progressive Republicans' did? *Bayar*: No sir. It states that secularism does not mean irreligion. *Inonu*: Never mind. Will you oppose the Village Institutes or the primary school campaign? *Bayar*: No. *Inonu*: Are there differences in foreign policy? *Bayar*: No. *Inonu*: In that case, okay" (quoted in Angrist 2006: 182).

The Democrats have been praised for lifting the strict Kemalist secularism to a considerable extent and situated at the opposite of the CHP. Indeed, while the relative liberalization of secularization paved the way to the increasing activities of religious groups, the DP government was careful not to encourage the obscurantist policies (Toprak, 1981: 88). This resulted in ambiguity and contradictory policies. On July 31, 1951, for instance, the DP passed the Atatürk Bill, which punished anyone who insulted or encouraged others to insult Atatürk's memory by word or by vandalizing his statues or his grave (Zürcher, 1997: 244-5). On the basis of this law, serious measures were taken against the members of an order called *Ticani*, who destroyed the statues of Atatürk in the city centers.[54] In addition, the DP government closed the *Millet Partisi* (MP - Nation Party) due to the accusation that it involved in activities against the principle of secularism. While the leader of the Nurcu sect Said Nursi[55] called the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes as "the champion of Islam," Menderes was careful to avoid any action resembling an Islamic counter-revolution (Tarhanlı, 1993: 28). In response to CHP's criticisms that the Democrats violated the secular principles and politicized religion, Menderes even did not allow Said Nursi to enter Ankara (Yavuz, 2003: 62).

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[54] The Ticanis are an order made up of Kadiriyya and Naqshbandiyya. It was Kemal Pilavoğlu (d.1977), a graduate of the faculty of law, who brought the order to Turkey. He became affiliated with the order in 1930s, and in 1942 one of his disciples, Sadık Çakırtepe, actually made it into the order (Kara, 2002: 242) Its adherents were very conservative and violent. The word "Tijani" even became an expression for violent people or kids. Mothers used to say to their naughty children, "Are you a Tijani?" They were known for their attacks on statues of Atatürk. They caused about 51 incidents between 1949 and 1951. In 1951 Kemal Pilavoğlu was sentenced to ten years in prison, five years of exile in Bozcaada, and five years of compulsory residence on Imroz island (Küçük, 2007: 132).

[55] Said Nursi and his followers supported the Democrats in the 1954 and 57 elections (Atasoy, 2005: 74).

Parallel to its flounderings in secularism, the DP's political liberalism and stance towards democracy was quite shaky, too. In spite of its liberal premises, the DP descended from the CHP and was equally inclined to authoritarian tendencies. When the government increased suppression of the opposition and even attempted to outlaw the opposition party, the military assumed power. The dissatisfaction of the civilian and military bureaucracy and the repressive and populist policies of the DP ended in the coup d'etat of May 27, 1960.[56] According to Tanel Demirel (2011: 404), the military coup reveals the ambition of the old polital elite circle around the CHP and the military to defend its own interests and its disinterest to share the political power with the DP. The most important legacy of the 1960 coup was the alliance between the civilian-military bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie that would form the historic bloc in the consequent decades.

The DP was accused of being the center of anti-Kemalist activities, and rejecting the Kemalist version of secularism and nationalism. In preventing the politicization of religion and legitimizing their intervention, the actors of the 1960 coup used the concept of "true Islam," as the early Kemalists did (Cizre, 1996: 239). In this line, the military rule initiated some projects to train enlightened religious leaders. Maintaining the distinction between "reactionary" and "true" Islam, General Cemal Gürsel, the leader of the coup, "Those who blame religion for our backwardness are wrong. No, the cause of our backwardness is not religion but those

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[56] In the early morning hours of May 27, the National Unity Committee of the Turkish Army, consisted of mostly lower rank officers, announced that it overthrew the Democrat's government. The Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the President Celal Bayar, and other important political figures were sent to Yassiada prison for trial that lasted 14 months. The military court decided to execute 15 of them. Bayar was pardoned due to his ag, but Menderes, his foreign minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and another cabinet minister Hasan Polatkan was execute by hanging on Spetember 1961. This became the iconic end of the Turkish Republic's first adventure with the multi-party system.

who have misrepresented our religion to us. Islam is the most sacred, most constructive, most dynamic and powerful religion in the world" (Yavuz, 2003: 64).

A new constitution that seemed to nurture liberal democracy and pluralism was ratified by popular vote on July 9, 1961.[57] Like the democratic transition in 1946, this liberal constitution was imposed from above. According to the new legal framework, the independence of the judiciary was strengthened via some autonomous institutions such as the Constitutional Court and the Council of State, the proportional representation system was adopted, the scope of individual liberties and associational freedoms was extended (Mousseau, 2006: 304-5). The constitution expanded the expression of differences. In a less restrictive environment, new social actors with different aspirations were soon to appear in the political sphere. These included not only the workers' associations, but also religious groups, which resurfaced under the DP's tolerant secularism. While the religious sects attracted the dislocated groups seeking solidarity in the changing and urbanizing Turkey, in 1969, the *Milli Nizam Partisi* (MNP- National Order Party) was established, the first in a series of Islamist parties in Turkey.

4.1.2 The Justice Party and Secularism

When the DP was shut down after the 1960 military coup; its successor, the *Adalet Partisi* (AP - Justice Party) became the leading center-right party. As the Democrats came to power with the claim to put an end to the authoritarian rule, the name of the AP symbolized the claim to undo the "injustices" brought by the military junta upon Menderes and the DP. The military supported the CHP, but the October 1961

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[57] Although the 1961 constitution has been celebrated as Turkey's most liberal constitution, it also granted the endurance of the secular regime in Turkey. These include the increasing power of the judiciary at the expense of theexecutive bodies, control over the legislative bodies through the introduction of the Senate and the National Security Council. In order to eliminate a second DP eperience, the executive was tied up with several burdens.

elections gave birth to a coalition government between the CHP and AP. The mandatory coalitions between 1961 and -65 did not bring a stable period that was also interrupted by two additional coup attempts from junior officers. In 1965, the Justice Party eventually obtained a parliamentary majority, and the Demirel era started. Demirel, on the one hand, was conditioned by the need for economic development and social justice. On the other hand, he had to do away with the effects of the 1960 coup and rehabilitate the Democrats (Karpat, 1972: 365).

The AP adopted similar attitudes like the DP toward religion and was criticized by Cemal Gürsel (Cizre, 1993: 52). In an effort to create "a way of blending religious piety with political secularism and the market economy," the AP argued the state must be secular, but not the individuals (Yavuz, 2003: 65). Nevertheless, Demirel maintained close connections with the Nur movement (Toprak, 1981: 94). Due to populist concerns, the AP added a more Islamic tone to its nationalist discourse and benefited from education policies in this integration. For instance, there were only 26 Imam-Hatip schools until 1965. However, the AP opened 46 new ones under its one-party government between 1965 and 1971, and 147 more under its coalition government between 1975 and 1977 (Cizre, 1993: 239). Parallel to the military's aspirations, the training of Kemalist *imam*s and the teaching of an "enlightened" Islam received great importance. The government also assumed this to be helpful as a weapon against the spread of communism. Some nationalist groups with Islamic orientation such as the *Türk Ocakları* (Turkish Hearths)[58] and

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[58] The Turkish Hearths, first founded in 1912 and reopened in 1949, was a civil organization with a mission to unite Islam and nationalism.

Aydınlar Ocağı (the Intellectuals Hearth)[59] contributed to the integration of Islam into politics as an antidote to communism.

The debates about the political use of Islam as a major difference between the CHP and the AP in 1961-1964, lost its importance in the Demirel era (Karpat, 1972: 366). Despite their religious populism, it is impossible to define the Democrat Party or the Justice Party experiences as resistance movements against the secular regime. In contrast, they helped to the maintenance of the regime through incorporating the masses into the politics and attaching them to the state. As Ümit Cizre (1996: 231) aptly puts, the secular Turkish state devised a "double discourse: on the one hand, establisihing rigid segregation between Islam and the public realm; on the other, accommodating and incorporating Islamic politics into the system in various ways." In this framework, the center-right parties were the key agents of this double discourse as they adopted some Islamic elements and appealed religious masses into the political system, but never really challenged the secular regime.

The 1960s and 1970s were turbulent years. When the political polarization among the leftist and rightist group took the form of street violence and terror, the military intervened in 1971 by a memorandum. The intervention was followed by a massive crackdown of the militant leftist groups. Nevertheless, this would not put down the civil war like conditions Turkey faced by the September 1980. Many left- and right-wing clandestine groups re-emerged and commited acts of violence ranging from sabotage ro bank robberies (Demirel, 2003: 257). While the coalition governments formed after the 1973 elections could not handle the economic shortcomings, the political parties were polarized along some ideological lines. The

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[59] The Intellectuals Hearth, founded by nationalist conservatives aimed to reconcile the secular state policies with Islam as part of a civic Turkish nationalism. This approach would later be embodied in the *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (MHP - Nationalist Action Party).

main character of the party system in this decade was fragmentation. Both major parties, the CHP and the DP, needed the support of smaller extremist parties to come to power (Demirel, 2003: 258). These were the ultra-nationalist *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (the Nationalist Action Party) and the Islamist *Milli Selamet Partisi* (National Salvation Party), an extension of the National Vision movement.

In the 1970s, Frederick Frey (1975: 70) determined that "One might argue that part of the current malaise in Turkish political culture is due to the fact that the Kemalist paradigm is exhausted, that this is obscurely recognized, and that no successor has been accepted." While clashing right- and left-wing ideologies were dominating the scene, it was difficult to claim the existence of any hegemony of Kemalism. In this context, the military assumed power to restore the public order and revitalize Kemalism.

Another important development of the 1970s is the silent growth of Erbakan's National Vision movement. Erbakan managed to join the coalition governments of this decade three times and obtained the opportuinity to infilter the governmental offices. In the political deadlock, Erbakan's party was slowly becoming the party for change. As rural people moved to shanty towns around metropolitan centers, they became the electoral base for the Islamist party (Dağı, 2002: 13).

4.1.3 The Özal Period and Secularism

On September 12, 1980, the army staged a coup détat. The military remained in power until 1983 and initiated a project of total transformation not only in the legal and political spheres, but also in society through oppression. The military-led National Security Council suspended the constitution, dissolved the parliament,

banned all the political parties, imprisoned their leaders, and suspended all professional associations and trade unions. 650 thousand people were arrested; the majority of them were tortured. Over 50 thousand people were forced to migrate to European countries as political immigrants (Savran, 2002: 16). 1,683,000 cases were filed; 517 people were sentenced to death, and 49 of the sentences were carried out. In addition, 30,000 people were fired from their jobs for holding objectionable political views, 14,000 had their Turkish citizenship revoked (Yavuz, 2003: 69).

Though constitutions are supposed to be the social contract of society, they might also appear "as tools designed to reshape society and legitimize control of government power" and "instruments through which particular social groups have tried to establish a new regime and to implement a predetermined policy" (Karpat, 2004: 201). Therefore, one can read the legal and ideological manifestations of the September 12 regime as part of a hegemonic struggle. The 1982 Constitution drafted and legitimized under military tutelage reflected the ambition of its military architects to locate the state at the center of the political sphere (İnsel, 2003: 194). The constitution restructured Turkish polity by limiting political participation and strengthening the state institutions (Cizre, 1997: 162). What this legal transformation brought in practice to the subsequent two decades was that the military increased its strength over the civilian bodies, extended its power to areas that traditionally used to be under civilian control. "The new turn has been crystallized in and spearheaded by the National Security Council," which later became "the most decisive leg of a dual system of executive decision making, the other leg being the council of ministers" (Cizre, 1997: 157, 158).

The political engineering of the September 12 regime went far beyond the legal amendments and attempted to create a new morality and to fill the ideological

void that could be realized by Marxism or Islamism. Upon suppression of different politicized groups, the junta pursued a new ethics that could function as an antidote to further politicization of the society and expand the social base of the state. They tried to incorporate the indigenous values including Islam into nationalism and in a sense redefined Kemalism to promote national unity challenged by the leftist, Kurdish, and Islamist movements. The objective was to promote a depoliticized Turkish, Islamic culture (Hale, 1994: 299). In this sense, it was a hegemony-building process aiming at the redefinition of Turkish society. Called the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, this redefinition of fundamental concepts fit well to the *Zeitgeist*, as from Thatcher to Reagan, the 1980s were the era of conservatism, and efforts were to tame the revolutionary spirit of the 1960s and re-integrate the rebellious youth into the mainstream (Toprak, 1999: 4).[60] Moreover, the liberalization wave of the 1980s which relies on market economy and individualism also affected Turkey. The new context increased the demands of ethnic and religious groups and pushed the state to re-establish its legitimacy on a new basis that was rooted less in the secular modernization project and covers local elements, including Islam (Cizre, 1996: 245).

According to a 1983 document on Turkish culture drafted by the State Planning Organization, the Turkish-Islamic synthesis had three pillars: the family, the mosque, and the barracks (Toprak, 1999: 4). In composing this worldview, the military benefited from the *Aydınlar Ocağı* (Intellectual's Hearth), a group of conservative scholars, which promoted the Ottoman-Islamic values as part of Turkish nationalism and attempted to provide an intellectual defense against the spread of the communist ideology. The dissemination and popularization of the Turkish-Islamic

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[60] The 1979 Iranian revolution also illustrated the re-emerging power of religion in the same vein.

synthesis was achieved through the educational system and the media. Especially, the educational policies got a conservative character. The Law of National Education accepted in 1973 was changed in 1983 with an act. Accordingly, the elective religion courses, called *Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi* (Religious Culture and Ethics) became mandatory in the curricula of primary, secondary, and high school education. The state used its monopoly over religious education to eliminate the effects of "reactionary" currents and to indoctrinate the masses with the "enlightened" Turkish Islam. In addition, the graduates of Imam-Hatip schools were given the high school status and gained right to enter all branches of university except the military schools (Kaplan, 2006: 268-70). The rationale behind the state-sponsored religious education was evident in the standard instruction manual, *The Elementary School Program*: "The teacher must draw the pupil's attention to the wrong and harmful traditions that they encounter in their families and persuade them to get rid of these traditions" (Kaplan, 2006: 61). The curriculum and textbooks emphasized how good Muslims should conduct themselves in relationship to family, community, and nation. In the elementary schools, any teacher could teach religion, not a religious specialist. As most of the teachers were raised in a Kemalist spirit, religious instruction "tends to be tepid, hewing close to the Kemalist bone" (for a detailed analysis, see Shively, 2007: 697-9).

In the post-1980 Turkey, "official discourse articulated and tolerated Islamic elements in the public-political realm that had, until that point, been under the monopoly of secular standards and criteria" (Cizre, 1996: 244). Islam was used as a unifying force of society and this would later help the Islamist groups to gain power

at political and social spheres.[61] Nevertheless, this process necessitated a selective use of religion, as it had always been. The military relied on an "enlightened" official notion of Islam and rejected its "reactionary" and archaic forms and symbols (Cizre, 1996). According to the leading name of the 1980 coup and the then President Kenan Evren, Islam was the most rational religion, but abused in the past: "Our religion is the last religion. Since it is the last religion, it is the most rational religion. It is a religion that esteems knowledge and science. But, we see that in the past some religious groups squeezed us into solid rules of religion, and taught us nothing. That's why we remained backward in some areas. Our religion never restricts reading and writing. On the contrary, it asks that how can a learned and an ignorant be equal?" (Evren, 1991: 482-5, quoted in Yılmaz, 2002: 199).

On the one hand, Evren maintained the war against *irtica* (reactionism) that was exemplified in his insistence on the ban on wearing headscarves as a sign of the visibility of Islamic groups. On the other hand, Evren even quoted verses from the Koran as a reference point to justify some secular policies (Çemrek, 2002: 100). This duality sends an ambiguous message. On one hand, the 1982 constitution clearly underlines the secular character of the regime. On the other hand, the new system strengthens religious education and provides the Islamists a fertile ground to expand (Rabasa and Larrabee, 2008: 37-8). Islam was emphasized and reinforced as part of Turkish national identity; yet, it was limited to regulate personal relationships and not allowed to operate at political level. The military, which opposed to the political use of religion, now "proved itself to be more congenial on the issue of the role of

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[61] In contrast to its tolerance towards religion, the military regime had an authoritarian approach on the Kurdish issue. The new constitution banned the public use of any ethnic language and manifestations of any cultural symbol of ethnic nationalism (Günter, 1988: 403).

the religion in society than the post-Atatürk bureaucratic intelligentsia had ever been" (Heper, 1985: 134).

In the political sphere, the Turkish-Islamic synthesis was realized by the victor of 1983 general elections, the *Anavatan Partisi* (ANAP - Motherland Party) under Turgut Özal's leadership. Combined with Özal's charismatic personality and pragmatist policies, the ANAP received great electoral appeal. Özal "tried to represent four strands of thought — conservatism, economic liberalism, social democracy and nationalism — and underlined the need for a synthesis of liberal economic rationality with social unity based on religious-moral values" (Heper, 2002: 143). Özal himself embodied this amalgam. While being a Western-trained technocrat worked for the World Bank, he also had affiliation to the Nakhshibandi order and ran for parliament in 1978 as a candidate for the Erbakan-led MSP, but failed to be elected. In parallel, he mixed in his leading cadre the disciples of Nakhshibandi order with liberal secular politicians (Ahmadov, 2008: 20). According to Göle (1996b: 30), Özal "combined loyalty to Muslim conservatism with a strong commitment toward economic liberalism, one that reoriented the Turkish economy to export to world markets."

Although Özal and Evren had confronting views on religion, they agreed on the role of religion as the cement of the society. Özal perceived secularism as the guarantee for religion rather than an antidote to it. Framing secularism as a matter for the state but not the individuals, he identified himself as a pious Muslim, not a secularist. In this way, he tried to develop a synthesis of modernization and Islam, and bridge the secular-religious divide (Çemrek, 2002: 104). Özal's rhetoric on democratic freedoms and human rights were attempting to expand the official notion

of secularism and Turkish nationalism and to integrate the excluded religious and Kurdish groups into the mainstream politics (Çolak, 2004: 18-9).

Özal's liberalization reforms gave rise to the exploding visibility of the subaltern groups in the political sphere. This also coincides with the process of globalization in which identity politics started challenging the concepts of nation and citizenship. As the repressed groups struggled to gain recognition and representation in the public sphere, identity became much more a matter of politics. While the 1960s and 1970s were dominated by the questions on the strategies of modernization among the left and right wings of politics, the 1980s and 1990s shifted the center of politics on the question of identity. In the Turkish case, "the Kurdish problem and the tide of political Islam have raised fundamental questions about the basic assumptions of the Turkish national state and its identity" (Cizre, 1998: 3). In total, the Turkish society tended to challenge the Kemalist assertions so "as a monolithic force that tried to mold Turkish society and mentality, Kemalism is losing its grip" (Kasaba, 1997: 18). While the early Turkish nationalists blamed the heterogeneity of the population for the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, now the political actors were blaming the Kemalist emphasis on unity and solidarity for the failure of the nation project.

The fragmentation of political party system in the late 1980s and the failure of center parties to penetrate the society led to an organic crisis in the 1990s, when the term "identity crisis" gained wide currency in press and academic circles (for example see Ergil, 2000; Duran, 1998; Keyman, 1995). As a political manifestation of the identity politics, the 1995 and 1999 elections brought relatively powerful political parties representing different identities: the Welfare Party based on the Islamic identity, the Nationalist Action Party based on the ultranationalist Turkish

identity, and the People's Democracy Party representing the Kurdish identity (Özbudun, 2000: 142). The divided political compass led to three coalition governments in Turkey. The early elections of 1991 brought the DYP-SHP coalition government. It was initially celebrated as a "dream government," but turned to be a big disappointment (Berkan, 2001: 61). The political class was not powerful enough to touch the identity crisis, indeed they were nurtured by this polarization. There was no substantial effort in responding the problem. The then President Süleyman Demirel (1999) even stated: "We have a multiple cultural heritage and in some ways a multiple identity. As individuals, identity cannot be summed up in one word. It is the same for our nation's identity. We certainly do not have, as outsiders sometimes claim, an identity crisis." Nevertheless, ignoring the problem did not dispel the questions surrounding the Turkish national identity and the crisis of the Kemalist hegemony.

4.2 The Development of Islamist Politics

During Turkey's democratic transition, Islam came to the fore as one of the basic political determinants. Several political parties were founded and posited themselves in opposition to the CHP's assertive secularism. As rival candidates, they used the religious interests in their campaigns to appeal the observant segments of the society. This re-emphasis on religion mostly addressed the peasant majority of Turkey, who were undermined during the single party rule. While centrist political parties incorporated Islamic language into their appeals, there also appeared political groupings with harder religious tone. Marshal Fevzi Çakmak, for instance, a devout Muslim and one of the heroes of the War of Liberation, helped to found in 1948 the

conservative *Millet Partisi* (MP -Nation Party), which aimed to revitalize traditional Islam (Zürcher, 2004: 215).

Until the 1970s, Islamism existed within the boundaries of the nationalist conservative movement. However, while the Turkish-Islamic synthesis moved more to the center and was adopted to some extent by the leaders of September 12 regime, the post-1980 Islamism became more independent and gained an open anti-Kemalist discourse. In revising the development of Islamism, one should also not forget the impact of the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran. Islamists realized that Islam could thrive in modern politics. The Islamic revival blossomed in many Muslim majority countries since the 1970s (Mahmood, 2005: 3) and religion was slowly "becoming the main anti-systemic force, replacing socialism as an alternative social movement" (Tugal, 2002: 85). Especially in the Turkish case, the 1980 military coup, which suppressed the rightist and leftist ideologies, created an ideological vacuum and that created fertile ground for the development of the Islamist politics.

A series of political parties with Islamic agenda have contested democratic elections. In doing this, they have claimed to represent the periphery deprived from political recognition and economic interests by the secularist establishment. While the early Republicans justified the authoritarian rule in the name of progress after the ages of "Islamic backwardness," now the Islamists claimed to voice the demands of the disenchanted periphery and used Islam "as a medium for expressing demands of justice, identity, and representation" (Yavuz, 2003: 60). Suffered from the ineffective and corrupted governments, the society could see Islamic politics as a hope for justice.

4.2.1 The Development of National Vision

The *Milli Görüş* (National Vision) is a generic term that refers to an Islamic political tradition embodied in a series of political parties under the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan in Turkey. These parties include the *Milli Nizam Partisi* (MNP - National Order Party, 1969–71), the *Milli Selamet Partisi* (MSP - National Salvation Party, 192–81), the *Refah Partisi* (RP - Welfare Party, 1981–97), the *Fazilet Partisi* (FP - Virtue Party, 1997–2001), and the *Saadet Partisi* (SP - Felicity Party, 2002-present). The frequent changes of party titles as a result of party closures one after another reflect the power struggle between the Kemalist establishment and the Islamist challenge.

The term *milli* in the title not only means "national," but also connotes the "religiously defined community" (Yavuz, 2003: 208). It signifies religion, as the ummah is one nation in the Islamic theology. While Mustafa Kemal used to benefit from this double-meaning of the word during the early years of the nation-state formation, now Erbakan used the same word to subvert the secular establishment. Similarly, the other terms such as *nizam* (order), *selamet* (salvation), *refah* (welfare), *fazilet* (virtue), and *saadet* (felicity) are all Arabic-origin vernacular words and reflect religious symbolism (Yavuz, 2003: 208). Even though the Turkic synonyms for them exist, their conscious use demonstrates the symbolic reference to the Ottoman-Islamic past and a discursive subversion against the regime. However, the titles also illustrate some targets at which both the Kemalist and the Islamist development projects could converge; hence, they designate Erbakan's effort to refrain from direct confrontation with the secular establishment at the discursive level.

The political and spiritual leader of the National Vision Necmettin Erbakan, born in Sinop in 1926, was the son of the last Ottoman Islamic judges. Erbakan was educated as mechanical engineering at the Istanbul Technical University, where he later also taught, and the Rheinish-Westphalian Technical University of Aachen. He also became the president of *Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği* (TOBB - the Union of Chambers and Stock Exchanges of Turkey) for a short period in 1969 and came to be known as the champion of the interests of the Anatolian small and middle scale businessmen in contrast to the big industrialists in Istanbul. Erbakan managed to attract those groups by criticizing "regionally uneven industrialization" and defining the TOBB leadership as the "comprador-Masonic minority" (Shambayati, 1994: 316). In response, the Justice Party in office transferred TOBB's privilege to allocate import licenses to the Ministry of Trade and weakened the union's resources. TOBB could re-gain its authority of allocating import licenses only after the removal of Erbakan and the nullification of the elections of by the AP government, this was in return of pro-AP new leadership in the union (Shambayati, 1994: 316).[62] Soon, Erbakan started to form his own party.

The first self-declared Islamic party, the National Order Party (MNP) resulted from the frustrations of some politicians with the center-right parties in late 1960s. Erbakan and seventeen of his associates, who were nominated as independents or from center-right parties in the 1969 national elections, formed *Bağımsızlar Hareketi* (the Independents Movement). Although only Erbakan was elected to the parliament from Konya as an independent member,[63] this movement built the core of the MNP.

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[62] This re-alignment shows that the center-right Justice Party prefered to keep its coalition with the Istanbul centered big industrialists and, in this way, left the Anatolian nascent bourgeoisie to the Erbakan's movement.

[63] Erbakan first attempted to join the Justice Party, but was denied a position.

On January 26, 1970, Erbakan founded the MNP with the support of the Nakshibandi Sheikh Mahmed Zahid Kotku, the leader of the *İskenderpaşa* Congregation, who not only provided an electoral base to the party, but also provided the social and political networks of the brotherhood.[64] The national production of heavy machinery and crucial intermediate goods, the reduction of Western encroachment on Turkish economy, and reaction to the interest-based dealings of large banks and credit institutions are some cornerstones in the MNP's politics. The party articulated a political agenda the reaffirmed the role of religion in the public sphere and rejected any "alien" ideologies like Marxism. When the military took over in 1971, the short-lived MNP was outlawed by the Constitutional Court for its overt use of Islamic sentiments in politics and violating the secular principles of the constitution.

The succeeding National Salvation Party (MSP) was founded in October 1972. Its motto was "*Yeniden Büyük Türkiye*" (A Great Turkey Once Again). The MSP proposed that the Islamist teachings could solve the common problems of Turkey and compensate the social fragmentation caused by the Westernization process. In this regard, Erbakan also underlined the need for state initiative in heavy industrialization, the creation of a Muslim Common Market, and a Muslim Defense Alliance (Rabasa and Larrabee, 2008: 40-1). In the polarized context of the 1970s, the MSP provided an anti-communist, anti-Zionist, and anti-Westernist stance. This rhetoric drew support from the underdeveloped Kurdish and Central-Eastern Anatolian regions, and especially from the merchants disadvantaged compared to bigger capitalists. According to Tuğal (2009: 47), what MSP and its successors did was a combination of Islamic internationalism and Turkish nationalism; the party

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[64] This alliance would last to the time of Esad Coşan, the successor of Kotku, who in 1990 declared the suspension of support to the Welfare Party (Çakır, 1990: 48-54).

booklets held the idea that "an Islamist Turkey would serve the whole world by bringing prosperity, popular rule, and justice to Muslim as well as non-Muslim populations." Nevertheless, Tuğal (2009: 44) also notes, the MSP had a more religious rhetoric in comparison to other manifestations of the National Vision, as exemplified the movmeent's radical journal *Hicret* (Holy Migration), and this can be related to the radicalization of Islamic movements with the effect of the Iranian Revolution.

The MSP scored poorly in 1973 and 1977 elections and captured 11.8% and 8.6% of the total vote respectively; however, the party actively participated in government and became a junior coalition partner for three times, first with the CHP and twice with the AP (Toprak, 1984). In each case, the leading government party was dependent on MSP's participation; in return, the party obtained some concessions in government appointments in key ministries.

On September 12, 1980, when the military assumed power, it closed all the parties including the MSP. Erbakan was banned from politics along with all other political party leaders and some MSP members were even sentenced to long terms of prison. As the third expression of the National Vision, the Welfare Party was founded on July 19, 1983 under the leadership of Ali Türkmen, and later Ahmet Tekdal, Erbakan's close friends (Yavuz, 1997: 71). In the local elections of March 1984, the Welfare obtained 4.8% of the aggregate votes. After the referendum on September 6, 1987, the ban on former political leaders was lifted and the party under Erbakan's leadership increased its share of the total vote to 7% in the 1987 general elections, but still failed to pass 10% election threshold and enter the parliament. The Welfare scored much better by gaining 9.8% of the votes in the 1989 local elections and mayorship of five provinces. Erbakan's success continued in 1991 general

elections. He formed an election alliance with two rightwing nationalist political parties that obtained 17% of the votes and 65 seats in the parliament.

The rise of the Welfare was related not only its religious discourse, but also its stress on social problems to mobilize the urban poor segments of society. This marked the efforts to turn the party into a mass movement, widen its support base and adopt an inclusionary language (Yavuz, 1997). The tremendous rise of the National Vision manifested itself in the March 1994 elections. The Welfare received 19% of the votes and the mayorships of 28 cities, including Ankara and Istanbul, and 338 mayorships in total, when the provinces and towns added. It reached its peak point with 21% in the 1995 general elections. No political party gathered enough votes to establish a government alone.[65] After a short-lived coalition government of center right political parties, this share of votes enabled Erbakan to form a coalition government with the center-right *Doğru Yol Partisi* (DYP - True Path Party) on June 8, 1996.[66] The first Islamist-led government under Erbakan's premiership would be stepped down by the military in 1997.

4.2.2 The Elements of the Welfare Discourse

For many observers of Turkish politics, the rise of the Welfare Party was sort of anomaly that could be explained only by some exogeneous factors such as the failure of neoliberal practices, the lack of good governance, economic crises, or

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[65] After the elections held on December 24, 1995, the Welfare got 21.4 % of the aggregate votes and 158MPs, the True Path Party got 135 MPs with a 19.2% share, the Motherland Party got 19.6% share and 132 MPs. The Democratic Left Party and the Republican People's Party obtained 14.6% and 10.7% shares of votes and 76 and 49 MPs, respectively (Donat, 1999: 18).

[66] What forced Tansu Çiller, the leader of DYP, was not only the failure of its coalition with ANAP, but also the Welfare's threats of prosecution for irregular financial dealings in her and her husband's business affairs (Mitler, 1998: 61).

manipulations of foreign states. This impeded reading the Islamist politics within its inner dynamics.

The Welfare's vision was an "amalgam of traditional Sunni-based Islamic culture and Sufi worldview embedded within a developmentalist discourse," which resulted in a "growth-oriented perspective of development and a territorially grounded Islamic nationalism" (Yıldız, 2003). The twin goals of this vision, as stated in the party program of the National Order Party, were material development (*maddi kalkınma*) and spiritual development (*manevi kalkınma*). The crescent and the ear in the Welfare Party emblem also represent the spiritual and material growth for the national awakening (Yıldız, 2003). While the spiritiual development was assumed necessary to increase the national consciousness and compensate the detriments of Westernization, the material development was expected to liberate Turkey from the Western hegemony (Dağı, 2002: 8). Accordingly, Turkey needed to pursue national industrialization that focuses on heavy industry. Erbakan's famous motto in the 1970s was that Turkey "not be a country that buys, but a country that produces" (Öniş, 1997: 753). The idea was that Turkey could be an independent world power only by becoming a producer of industrial products.

The growing success of the National Vision since the early 1990s can be attributed to several factors such as the religious discourse, pursuing an identity politics, a heavy anti-corruption agenda, its economic vision called as the Just Order, and a populist anti-Western discouse.

4.2.2.1 Religious Discourse
When addressing the social and economic problems, the parties of the National Vision drew on a form of "religio-populism" and promoted a "moral criticism of

modernity" (Tuğal, 2002). While promising to free religious symbols including the headscarves and to arrange the official work days according to the time of Islamic prayers, the Welfare Party also claimed to restore the Islamic identity which would heal the illnesses of modern life. In the long run, the goal was to transform people's way of life and to pave the way to an Islamic society (Gülalp, 2001: 434).

This rhetoric parallels the preferences of its voters to some extent. According to a post-election survey in 1999, the religious values were the most important predictor of the Virtue Party's vote (Esmer, 2002: 111). That was no surprise since Erbakan's parties possessed a deep communitarian identity. Most of the leaders of his first political party belonged to the Nakhshibandi brotherhood. Erbakan was celebrated with chants of "mujahid" and "hoca"[67] in party demonstrations which was perceived as holy struggle (jihad) by the participants (Kamrawa, 1998: 298). According to Erbakan, jihad meant "to work with all your abilities and until the end of your endurance for the formation of a godly/just order and to use all your wealth in this path" (Çakır, 2004: 568). Erbakan articulated this religious communitarian identity in one of his famous aphorisms: "[If] they [other parties] have members, I have believers" (Yıldırım et al, 2007: 6-7). This was practically true indeed. Erbakan organized ceremonies after the National Vision's public meetings, in which people take an oath of allegiance to the movement in the form of *biat* (obeisance) taken to their religious leaders (Çalmuk, 2004: 566). This was also associated with the messianic qualities attributed to him (Tuğal, 2009: 46).

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[67] The Hodja(religious teacher, wise man) has double meaning. While it refers Erbakan's poisition as university professor, it also depicts him as a religious leader.

4.2.2.2 Identity Politics: Claiming "The Other Turkey"

The rise of the Welfare can be related to its dual character; it was both a protest and mass movement. On the one hand, the party claimed to represent all the groups who felt excluded by the secularist regime and the neoliberal practices. On the other hand, its protest discourse did not push the party to the margin of politics; it rather reached many parts of the population through its cross-class rhetoric and grass-root organizations. The Welfare Party was successful in mobilizing the reaction of the religious or traditional people deprived politically and economically by the present Kemalist regime. It emerged as a party that could drive for change. Its motto *İnsanca Yaşamak* (Living Humanely) illustrated the demand of the excluded groups to be a first class citizen (Göle, 1996b: 29). Interestingly, the Welfare as the champion of the "other Turkey" must be acknowledged by others too as newspapers reported the 1995 election victory of the Welfare as "'The Other Turkey Wins the Election,' 'The Black Turks versus the White Turks,' or 'Fatih Won against Harbiye'" (Yavuz, 2003: 214).

Regarding the ethnically "other Turkey," Erbakan's identity politics had a religious, but comprehensive framing. Through an emphasis on Islamic brotherhood, Erbakan offered a religious formula on the Kurdish question. As in its mottos such as "the coalescence of state and nation" and "60 million are brothers of one another," the RP "tried to integrate anti-systemic ethno-political currents into the Turkish democratic system by using Islam as a supra-identity" (Yıldız, 2003).

Unlike the former National Vision parties, the Welfare extended its anti-systemic rhetoric to a wider spectrum. Maintaining a secular emphasis on the problems of daily life, it "decided to broaden its support base beyond the mosque mass" (Çınar and Duran, 2008: 29). In the 1991 electoral campaign, the subjects of

the electoral advertisements were "farmers, civil servants, small-scale retailers, and workers who complain about rising inflation, low salaries, and high taxes; an industrialist who goes bankrupt and is unable to pay even the interest of the credit he took; the youngster who cannot find a job; the retired person who could not find peace; and the student with a headscarf who demands that her human rights would be respected" (Alemdaroğlu, 1999). Erbakan promised to solve the problems of all those groups once he came to power. In the deadlocked political context, Erbakan's promises appealed to many voters.

The Welfare Party was closest to the model of a mass party in the Turkish context. Its active grassroot organizations and internal cohesion, compared to the organizational weakness of other political parties, contributed a lot to its electoral victories. The grassroot organization was designed in a way to reach every apartment in every neighborhood. Moreover, the local party members were trained through several conferences and panels (Yavuz, 1997: 78). Especially women under the Ladies Commissions were organized even at apartment levels in big cities and played an important role in gaining access to households (Arat, 2005: 45). Jenny White's (2002) anthropological study demonstrated the dynamics of this Islamist mobilization and how devoted women groups of the Welfare Party worked among the urban poor people in Ümraniye, a scatter area in Istanbul. In their frequent visits to homes in the assigned neighborhood, the party members provided food and clothes, attended the funerals and weddings, and built a human connection with the residents. The Welfare activists extended their propaganda even to the taverns and brothels of big cities (*Nokta*, 1994). In a similar fashion, the Welfare's youth foundation, *Milli Gençlik Vakfı* (MGB – National Youth Doundation), targeted outstanding students in Koran schools, gave them lunch, provided them school

supplies and helath services and tried to co-opt them into the organization. The foundation managed to organize thirty-five thousand studens between 1991 and 1996. Most of them later became the Welfare activists (Tuğal, 2009: 60). Again unlike former National Vision parties, the Welfare could rely not only on the rural and traditional population, but also on the urban periphery, which resulted from "a large-scale influx of the rural population into the cities." Uprooted and alienated, they lived in shantytowns without having integrated into the urban life. They were potential voters for the Islamist political parties, which opposed Westernization and globalization (Rabasa and Larrabee, 2008: 38). Islamic groups provided to these groups a sense of solidarity and identity (Dağı, 2002: 13).

4.2.2.3 The Anti-corruption Agenda

During the economic and social crisis in the 1990s, news of corruption and bribery were quite frequent in the Turkish newspapers. In this context, the Welfare Party ran an anti-corruption agenda and emphasized the importance of a clean society (*temiz toplum*). While all the mainstream political parties were challenged by corruption scandals, the Welfare could easily propagate itself as the cleanest party, as it never became part of any government in the post-1980 era (Gülalp, 2001: 438).

The Welfare claimed itself to be the only party that could fight bribery and corruption and supported this stance with its morality-centered religious discourse. There was indeed concrete evidence for this claim. The party won many municipalities in the 1994 local elections and reduced corruption and nepotism in those local administrations (Yavuz, 1997: 72). While economic problems were exacerbated throughout the country, this strengthened the Welfare's image as an uncorrupted political party in Turkish politics.

4.2.2.4 The Just Order

The Welfare's economic policy was influenced by the post-World War II developmentalist program; "the party's name 'Welfare' draws, in a similar vein, on a developmentalist repertoire" (Yıldız, 2003). The well-publicized *Adil Düzen* (Just Order) was at the center of Welfare's economic vision.

The Welfare's populist and catchy Just Order enabled it more access and support among the urban poor. The program was basically elaborated in 1985 by university professors Süleyman Karagülle and Süleyman Akdemir, who also founded the first Muslim commune, the Akevler Kooperatif in Izmir (Yavuz, 2003: 221).[68] It was used as the party program first in the 1991 elections. The idea was a mixture of "the free market capitalism of the West and the state controlled socialism of the former Eastern Bloc" (Öniş, 1997: 54). It is presented as a third way between capitalism and socialism that is superior to both and retains their best sides. While not totally rejecting the liberal economy, the party proposed its amalgamation with social justice and self-sufficiency (Cook, 2007: 109).

In this vision, the state takes active role in planning, financing, and taxing the economic enterprises. Individual consumption is related to that person's contribution to the general production. Moreover, economic entrepreneurship depends on the moral permission to be given by local moral clubs under the control of the state (Yayla, 1997). The Just Order also contains some religious elements such as interest-free financial system and re-establishment of the nation against the moral deterioration. It possesses a moral criticism against the capitalist system and relies on

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[68] Until the 1987 General Convention, the main motto of the Welfare Party was not the Just Order, but the "national consciousness" (*milli şuur*). Especially in October 7, 1990, at the third General Convention, the Just Order came to the front and became the fundamental slogan in party activities (Yıldız, 2003). This switch marks Erbakan's ambition to turn the Welfare into a mass party by broadening the base for its constituency.

some Islamic ethical norms such as social solidarity, the prevention of wasteful consumption, and justice in income distribution (Yıldız, 2003). The semi-utopian program was based on the concomitant moral development of the society and their good-willed intentions in economic transactions.

The Just Order relates all the current economic conflicts to the "imperialist" Western system and relies on the principle of harmony of economic interests among Muslim brothers. In this line, the Welfare was against the capitalist system and its global institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Common Market. Erbakan blamed the rant economy for the poverty and unemployment. The anti-capitalist language drew support from people bazaar disadvantaged by the neo-liberal policies. While the Justice Party aligned with the big business, the National Vision parties succeeded in appealing to the economic periphery (Dağı, 2002: 9).

4.2.2.5 Anti-Westernist Discourse

Until the late 1990s, Turkish Islamists developed a confrontational rhetoric regarding the West and Turkey's relations with the Western world. Erbakan was quite successful in instrumentalizing the growing the anti-Western sentiments as a result of the international conflicts such as the Gulf wars, the ethno-religious conflict in Bosnia, the US invasion of Afghanistan, the armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and the Palestinian plight under the Israeli occupation. The Welfare spearheaded humanitarian campaigns to help the Muslims in those conflicts and managed to bolster the party's anti-Western and anti-Zionist stance.

In this Third World campaign rhetoric, the National Vision parties took the West as "the mother of all evils" and the "absolute other," so the national

consciousness had to be re-created thorough the otherness of the West. The Westernization process was responsible for the exploitation of the country and the cultural alienation of Turkish people from their own civilization (Dağı, 2002: 11). Since the 1970s, Erbakan made pronouncements against the "infidel" West and Zionism, and this caused his opponents to charge him with anti-Semitism. In this rhetoric, Israel and Western powers caused the underdevelopment of the Muslim world. Muslim countries had to return to Islamic principles and attain unity among themselves so that the West would not be able to exploit them anymore. Erbakan stated: "Zionists are seeking to assimilate Turkey and pull us from our historical Islamic roots through integrating Turkey to the European Economic Community." Moreover, "since the European Community is a single state, Turkey's membership means being a single state with Israel. The goal is to create a Greater Israel by integrating Turkey to the Community" (Yavuz, 2003: 237). In other occasions, Erbakan called the European Union as "Christian club." This interestingly coincided some European leader's speeches in the same line.[69] Behind all these anti-Westernist arguments, Erbakan successfully captured the latent unhappiness that permeates the Turkish society in its relations with the West.

Instead of Turkey's alliance with Western powers, Erbakan proposed the development of cooperation among Muslim countries. As the embodiment of this vision, Erbakan's project was a new international body called D-8, composed of Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Nigeria, Iran, Indonesia, and Malaysia. The project was assumed to break the hold of the Western domination and become an

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[69] On March 4, 1997, the European People's Party including German Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared that "European Union is a civilization project and within this civilization project, Turkey has no place" (The Guardian, March 7, 1997).

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alternative to the G-7 and the EU. The idea to bring all Muslim countries together in some sort of alliance was perceived as a shift in Turkey's foreign policy.

Erbakan shifted the country's focus eastward. His first foreign trip was to Iran, where he concluded a $20 billion gas supply deal. Iran's largest gas export agreement to date was signed only days after the US President Clinton signed a law restricting the energy dealings with both Iran and Libya. Simultaneusly, Erbakan sent two cabinet members to Baghdad to secure "Turkey's share of contracts to supply food and medicine to Iraq under the food-for-oil deal concluded between the government of Saddam Hussain and the United Nations" (Dorsey, 1996a: 28). Erbakan's second major trip was to Libya. Nevertheless, it turned to a political nightmare, as the Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi declared in a joint news conference his demand to create an independent Kurdish state (Dorsey, 1996b: 37). Both visits offended the nationalist sense of independence and discredited Erbakan in the domestic scene (Mitler, 1998: 61).

4.3 The National Security Council as the Leading Actor of the Process

Symbolically, the last drop leading the September 12, 1980 coup was the "Save Jerusalem" mass rally that was staged on September 6 by the National Salvation Party in Konya. Crowds carrying green flags and calling for the restoration of Shariah could probably not anticipate the harsh result (Zürcher, 1993: 282). While the protest to Israel's occupation of Jerusalem featured slogans such as "Koran is the Constitution," "Either Shariah or Death," and "Rebellion Against the Order," some people did not stand up while the national anthem was sung (Tuğal, 2009: 44). As an

irony of history, the "Jerusalem Night," another protest again on Jerusalem and again by the members of National Vision was the last straw that culminated in the decisions taken by the National Security Council on February 28, 1997.

Before the Jerusalem Night in Ankara, there were lots of tensions and antagonisms between the Islamists and secularists at both the political and social levels. While sharing the ministries, the True Path Party indeed obtained the key ones such as Foreign Affairs, the Interior, National Education, National Defense, Industry, Agriculture and Rural Affairs. The Welfare, on the other hand, was entrusted other ministries on Finance, Public Works and Housing, Labor and Social Security, Energy and National Resources, Justice, Culture and Environmental Affairs. In this share of ministries, the Welfare received the opportunity to make decisions on the socio-economic and cultural issues (Shmuelevitz, 1999: 7-8). The Welfare would be constantly charged for the Islamicization of the state bureaucracy in those ministries and their related autonomous bodies. This opportunity would lead Islamists' discursive assertions in cultural areas, which, in turn, would be demonstrated as a threat to the secular regime. "Yet, the justifiable concern of both the secular elites and the western world is the possible hidden agenda of Islamist politics, that they might use democracy for their own ends to implement an Islamic state and thus hijack democracy" (Göle, 1996b: 18).

Several actions were taken as a sign of the Welfare's "hidden Islamist agenda." The Prime Minister Erbakan's official visits to Iran, Libya, and Nigeria increased tensions between the government and the General Staff. The Islamist pressure in cities run the Welfare municipalities was one of the hot topics in this period. The mayors of Şehitkamil, Gaziantep and Kayseri attempted to ban alcohol through lifting the permits to serve alcoholic beverages in restaurants. The mayors of

Istanbul and Ankara came to the fore for their removing public statues on the ground that Islam prohibits statues (Akinci, 1999: 84-5). Moreover, the Welfare-run municipalities were alleged to employ the military officers discharged from the army for being Islamist. Another example that mounted the tension was the polemic between the mayor of Sultanbeyli, Istanbul, Nabi Koçak and General Doğu Silahçıoğlu, who asked for the erection of a statue of Atatürk in the town.

Nevertheless, the most controversial issue was the re-conversion of the Ayasofia (Hagia Sofia) Museum into a mosque and the building of a new congregational mosque in Taksim Square in Istanbul. For the Islamists, the conversion of the Ayasofia into a mosque would symbolize the Islamist victory. In contrary, the secularists considered this as subversion to the Kemalist regime, which turned it into a museum in the early republican years. Apart from these, a fast-breaking dinner held with the participation of religious leaders all in their religious garb at the official residence of the prime minister on January 11, 1997 was another event that received the secularist reaction. Though the Sufi brotherhoods were banned in 1925, Erbakan's act showed his disregard for the formerly illegal status of these orders (Akpınar, 2001: 160-6).

February 1997 marked a novel form of civil protest in Turkey. More than 60 percent of the Turkish population switched their home lights on and off for a minute every night at nine o'clock. Some people also took to the streets with candles. The campaign called "one minute of darkness for a bright future" was initially to protest the corrupted relations between the state bureaucracy and the mafia, demonstrated in the Susurluk accident. However, the anti-corrpution campaign soon turned to a protest against the government and added an anti-Shariah dimension. The Minister of Justice Şevket Kazan contended that the people were turning off their lights just to

play *mumsöndü* (candles out). It was an old accusation against the Alevis that they allegedly used to turn out the lights during worship in order to indulge in mate-swapping. The Welfare authorities discredited the campaign as "seditious" and "childish" (Shmuelevitz, 1999: 23). However, the propagated civil unrest rose tremendously. Polls showed that over 60 percent of the population clearly opposed government. In March 1997, when Erbakan arrived late for the Prime Ministry Coup soccer match between Trabzonspor and Beşiktaş, thousands of soccer fans chanted "Turkey is secular and will remain secular" (Shmuelevitz, 1999: 28).

The immediate event leading to the coup was the celebration of the "Jerusalem Night" on February 4, 1997, organized by the Welfare-run municipality of Sincan, a town bordering Ankara. Sincan was important because, in the municipal elections of December 1995, the Welfare received 95 percent of the total votes in this province (Shmuelevitz, 1999: 18). Around the theme of protesting the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, the celebrations included the re-enactment of the Palestinian Intifada. While slogans were chanted like "a true Muslim fights to the end" or "the foundation of the Shariah will be laid here," the guest of the honor, the Iranian ambassador to Ankara Muhammad Reza Baghri asked in his speech the Turks to obey the "precepts of Islam" (Shmuelevitz, 1999: 19; Yavuz, 2003: 243). The immediate result of the Sincan affair was a show of force by the army; the next morning about twenty tanks rolled in to the town. The mayor was forced to resign from his post and taken in for a trial at the State Security Court. The Iranian ambassador was also sent packing. The following weeks would show how the Welfare-True Path coalition would be sent packing, too.

The February 28 process as a systematic anti-religious purge started first on January 11, 1997, when the President Süleyman Demirel was invited to the office of

the Chief of the General Staff and given a briefing similar to the one on the National Security Council meeting on Febrauary 28 (Cevizoğlu, 2001: 62). Prior to council meeting, Demirel warned Erbakan in a letter and noted "what was likely to happen if the prime minister failed to heed the military advice" (Dorsey, 1997a: 90). According to the Salim Dervişoğlu, the then Commander of the Naval Forces, the upcoming meeting's decisions were first discussed and formulated on January 22, when high ranking military officers convened in Gölcük to discuss the potential dangers of political Islam in the country (Cevizlioğlu, 2001: 74).

The National Security Council, first established by the 1961 Constitution (Articles 110-111), and then re-established by the 1980 Constitution (Article 118) was composed of five ministers and five senior army officers under the chairmanship of the president. Though it was officially an advisory body, it functioned as the de facto government of Turkey, the decisions of which had to be just implemented by the executive bodies. Its monthly meeting on the day of February 28, 1997 illustrated this power par excellence. The headlines of the Turkish newspapers in those days showed the importance of the meeting: "NSC's agenda is the regime" (*Cumhuriyet*, February 28, 1997), "The longest day" (*Milliyet*, February 28, 1997), "Advice like a memorandum" (*Cumhuriyet*, March 1, 1997), "Balance to the regime" (*Milliyet*, March 1, 1997), "Article 163 coming back" (*Milliyet*, March 2, 1997).

The meeting lasted nine and a half hours.[70] During the meeting, Admiral Güven Erkaya, the Naval Commander in Chief, declared the threat of Islamic

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[70] All of the members of the council were present: Its chairman, President Süleyman Demirel; Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Tansu Çiller; Minister of Interior Meral Akşener; Minister of Defense Turhan Tayan; General İsmail Hakki Karadayı, Chief of General Staff; General Hikmet Köksal, Army Chief; Admiral Güven Erkaya, Naval Chief; General Ahmet Çörekçi, Air Force Chief; and

fundamentalism to be more serious than that of Kurdish nationalism and PKK. To prove this, the military listed some actions related to the Welfare Party. These included the speech of Kayseri Mayor, Şükrü Karatepe, insulting Atatürk; the Sincan affair, the iftar dinner, to which Erbakan invited a large group of brotherhood leaders in his residence; the support of the Iranian secret service for radical groups in Turkey; the rise in sales of shot-guns in Konya and other cities; the infiltration of public offices by Islamists; and the controversial speech of Minister of Justice Şevket Kazan (Shmuelevitz, 1999: 23-4).

As religious obscurantism was defined as the foremost threat for national security rather than terror, the decisions were taken to eliminate this "threat." The official communiqué of the meeting listed eighteen recommendations designed to prevent the rise of political Islam (see Appendix). The so-called recommendations were the army's ultimatum to the government that was expected to take necessary measures against reactionaryism by which even legal open organizations affiliated with Islamic groups were implied. The Prime Minister Erbakan was present at the council meeting and the decisions were made "unanimously." After the meeting, he insisted that the decisions were not binding and they could be implemented only approved by the parliament. Erbakan seemed to have no intention to carry out the necessary legislative changes according to the MGK recommendations he signed. However, the military urged the government to implement them (Günay, 2001: 1).[71]

General Teoman Koman, Chief of Gendarmerie. İlhan Kılıç was the secretary general of the NSC (*Milliyet*, February 28, 2000).

[71] On March 13, 1997, when the government made its first meeting after the council meeting, Erbakan stated that "reactionism is the most dangerous enemy of our country. But every kind of reactionism. There is no difference between carrying the country back to seventy years ago or fifty years ago" (Aktay, 1997: 294). In this way, he meant that efforts to turn the country into either a Shariah system or the early Republican one-party rule were both

The pressures soon gave their result. Several members of Çiller's True Path Party followed the generals' directives and resigned from the party and cabinet. Erbakan could withstand the political pressure only until June 18, 1997, and eventually resigned to turn the premiership over to his coalition partner Tansu Çiller. However, President Demirel called on Mesut Yılmaz, the leader of the Motherland Party to form a consensus government including figures of right ad left, but no Islamists.

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reactionary moves. Yet, his clever response could not gain any support after he signed the MGK recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

OLD HABITS, NEW TACTICS: THE FEBRUARY 28 PROCESS

The retired General Çevik Bir, widely considered as the "spokesman" of the February 28 process, defended the military-driven operation as a "balance adjustment" to Turkish democracy. Bir said: "We have tuned up our democracy" (*Hürriyet*, February 24, 1999). Yet, the intervention was a matter of democratic consolidation, but of Kemalist consolidation. Unlike former military interventions, it was rightly titled as a process. It does not refer to an abrupt transition or regime crack, but to a process which demonstrates a long-term political and social engineering more than just a balance adjustment.

This chapter demonstrates the coercive and consensual means of hegemony-building in this process and how the politics of dignity operated. While giving the general setting of Turkey's fourth coup, this chapter limits its focus on the interactions with regard to the political subject, and its case study is the National Vision Movement. In the following part, it also examines what strategies for survival the movement had adopted. The final part is devoted to the implications of the February 28 process as manifested in the transformation from state-embedded Islam towards conservative democracy.

5.1 Politics of Dignity

The literature on the February 28 process overemphasizes the reliance of the intervention on the civilian dynamics. The military indeed never considered a direct intervention as a far option, but chose the less costly way. According to the remarks of the then Navy Commander Salim Dervişoğlu, the coup d'etat was a "back-up plan" in case Erbakan were not to have resigned from the Prime Ministry (*Turkish Daily News*, November 4, 1999). What made this soft coup effective was the high probability of a direct intervention, as well. The fear from, also hope for the others, that the army was close to intervention, effectively contributed to the re-alignment of politics along the secularists' wishes. In the same vein, the President Demirel was reported on August 25, 1998 to comment on the next general elections that "If anti-militarism and exploitation of religion happen in this election, the state will react again. I say it as someone who knows it. This election is one that needs to send a message. The voters must be manipulated. The political system will do this manipulation. Everyone should vote for stability" (Erdoğan, 1999: 225).

Beside using the possibility of a direct coup as the sword of Damocles, the February 28 process had no soft intentions, either. This time, the target was not to tame political Islam, but to destroy it with its all political, economic and social manifestations. The secular establishment did not attempt to moderate political Islam and start a whitening process for the neglected Islamic groups, instead tried to eliminate them from any visible political or economic embodiment. Therefore, it represents "a complete reversal from the republican pattern of state-Islam relations that, in the past, allowed for negotiation, compromise, and reconciliation between Turkey's political Islamists and the establishment" (Cizre and Çınar, 2003: 312).

To describe the process, the term "postmodern coup" was first coined in the media on June 13, 1997 by the columnist Türker Alkan in daily *Radikal*. Yet, the term was popularized at another occasion. One week later after Erbakan resigned from his post on June 18, 1997, General Çevik Bir summoned high ranking officers at an off-record meeting and described the situation in a manifesto-like speech: "We successfully came to the end of this process without using guns, but by creating sensitivity in the civil society and media against the danger of reactinaryism, [and] evoking the sensitivity at the highest body of the state like the National Security Council. This historic event is not a coup d'etat. It is a democratic postmodern coup at which the civil society took part" (Demir, 2007). It was Cengiz Çandar, another columnist, who reported this new definition on June 28, 1997 at daily *Sabah* and the term was short afterwards referred in the US daily *Newsweek* (Çandar, 2001b). Then it will not be wrong to claim that the architects of the process themselves defined it as a postmodern coup. According to the retired General Erol Özkasnak, the "postmodern coup" is a keen-witted term and describes the process best (Cevizoğlu 2001: 56-57). The term "postmodern" here does not have any pejorative sense, rather is used in an affirmative way; as it widely refers in the daily language to something sophisticated, progressive, or contemporary. When labeling the February 28 process as a postmodern coup, its actors were implying that they have adapted and indeed updated the military interventions according to the new conditions of the world.

The February 28 process has its own mechanisms of hegemony-building, at which consensual and coercive methods merge. Both served to the inferiorization and expulsion of religious people and norms, as well as the reinforcement of the decades-long Kemalist distinction between the good versus bad Islams. The process include the expansion of the civil base along the militarist view, the promotion of

good Islam versus bad Islam, initiating an anti-religious psychological warfare, cleansing the civil-military bureaucratic bodies, the expulsion of religious groups, and laying the foundations of military tutelage.

5.1.1 Expanding the Civil Base: The "Unarmed Forces"

The military, supported by several trade unions and women's organizations, actively led and involved in the anti-Islamist campaign during the February 28 process. Deniz Baykal, the chairman of the Republican People's Party commented on this point rather in a complimentary way: "Our army worked like a civil societal organization" (Erdoğan, 1999: 257).

The senior commanders first gave a briefing to the President Süleyman Demirel on January 11, 1997. Demirel was told that in case, the army may use its hard power to stop the growth of reactinaryism that became the primary danger in country (Cevizoğlu, 2001: 62). After the MGK meeting on February 28, 1997, the military started a series of briefings on reactinaryism based on the intelligence reports of the West Working Group. The first of these was realized on March 22, 1997 to the Aegean industrialists and businessmen in Izmir (Çekirge, 1997). The General Staff announced that it would hold some briefings for three days after the MGK meeting on April 28. The military noted its commitment to democracy but stated that the "military's determination [to defend the country against the threats] must be known by all segments [of the society]" (*Cumhuriyet*, April 10, 1997).

The General Staff Headquarter continued to hold its briefings to the members of the judiciary and media. In the briefing on June 16, 1997, the senior commanders

told the attendees that it was their duty to protect the secular regime under the danger of Islamism:

a. Religious reaction had gained momentum after leaders of the outlawed Sufi orders were invited to the *iftar* dinner banquet in January hosted by Premier Erbakan, which indicated approval and support for their philosophy and objectives.

b. The Islamists were gaining control of many governmental departments, aided and abetted by the Welfare Party, particularly the departments of justice, finance, education and regional administration.

c. Speeches were made by various members of the Welfare Party against the secular regime.

d. The Department of Religious Affairs was uninformed, inefficient and indifferent. In spite of its 92,700-strong staff, it had left a religious void which was being filled by the Sufi orders and other Islamist organizations.

e. The alliance and harmony had developed between the PKK and the leaders of the Sufi orders.

f. Islamist propaganda was disseminated by 19 newspapers, 110 magazines, 51 radio stations and 20 television stations. There were 2,500 Islamist clubs and 1,000 Islamist companies.

g. Foreign support of Islamist organizations was being provided by Iran, Iraq, Syria and other countries. Saudi Arabia supplied the greatest amount of financial aid and the Muslim Brotherhood and Rabita (a Saudi-based Islamic promotion organization) were gaining

control of the banking sector. Iran provided moral support while Sudan provided camps for training Turkish Islamist youth.

h. Turkish fundamentalist groups in Europe were also providing support for the Islamist organizations in Turkey.

i. Privatization tenders were predominantly awarded to Islamists. Particularly worrisome for the military was their gaining control of strategic sectors such as energy.

j. Islamist organizations and companies were being further fed by the award of municipal tenders and donations from the municipalities, especially those controlled by the Welfare Party.

k. Qur'an courses were continuing their activities under the cover of various foundations, with 1,605,000 students, despite the efforts of the military to close them down.

l. Distribution of copies of a so-called "Islamic Constitution" for the Islamic Nation, which provided for an Islamic regime, including Islamic education, Islamic banking, Islamic control of the press etc. (Shmuelevitz, 1999: 36-7).

Through these briefings, the military wanted to make sure that "judges and journalists, rather than bullets and tanks" implemented the process (Yavuz, 2003: 244).[72] The attendees were equally eager to do their "duty." Men of law enthusiastically clutched the generals at the end of the briefings minutes long (Erdoğan, 1999: 100). The military's briefing was an old practice that also happened right after the 1980 coup d'etat. At that time, the commanders used to inform the

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[72] İsmail Köse, an MP from the Nationalist Movement Party, expressed this in a rather different way: "Our armed forces performed earlier coups in uniforms but now they perform them in plainclothes" (*Turkish Daily News*, January 16, 2001).

judges and prosecutors about terrorism, political Islam, and Kurdish separatism (Özkök, 1997). What happened under the direct military regime was repeated now under a veiled military tutelage.

According to the headline of *Hürriyet* daily on December 20, 1996, the then General Güven Erkaya told that "Let unarmed force forces solve the problem this time." The war of attrition that turned down the Erbakan-led government had several unarmed players, basically including the judiciary, the mass media, the academy, the women associations, and the trade unions.

Trade unions actively involved in the anti-governmental campaign. These were the Turkish Trade Unions Confederation (Turk-İş), the Revolutionary Trade Unions Confederation (DİSK), the Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchange (TOBB), the Turkish Employers' Unions Confederation (TİSK) and the Turkish Traders and Artisans Confederation (TESK). On January 15, 1997, trade unions under the leadership of TİSK initiated a great public rally in Ankara, at which 200 thousand of people attended. At the time, it was called as the biggest rally in the republican history. All the opposition parties except the Nationalist Movement Party attended the rally. The anti-Shariah slogans, posters of Atatürk and Turkish flags came forth during the rally (Akpınar, 2001).

February 1, 1997 marked a different form of civil protest. Many Turks switched their home lights on and off for a minute every night at nine o'clock. The campaign called "one minute of darkness for a bright future" was first initated to protest the state-mafia relations revealed at the Susurluk scandal, but later turned into a massive demonstration against the government. The rally and the following

demonstrations provided legitimation for the anti-governmental directives at the NSC meeting on February 28.

Until the 1997 military intervention, the secular establishment relied on the center right parties in penetrating the society. However, the February 28 process led to the further erosion of the center right (Cizre, 2001b: 171). Indeed, the military saw that it could no more co-operate effectively with the center-right parties, as exemplified in Çiller's coalition with the Welfare Party. Starting with the February 28 process and with an increasing impetus after the process, the military now chose to get in contact with the society directly.

5.1.2 Setting the Agenda: Prompting the Good vs. Bad Islam

The 1997 intervention's efforts to obtain the consent of the masses were twofold: On the one hand, the perceived threat of political Islam was prompted. On the other hand, the "good" and "enlightened" version of Islam was promoted as an alternative to the "bad" and "reactionary" Islam. Parallel to the early republican Kemalists, the state wanted to show its devout citizens what to escape from and what to adhere to.

Erbakan like other politicians was pushed to declare that they too were against reactionary Islam and in line with the official Islam. The leading cadre of the Welfare believed that they could convince the secular establishment in this respect (Erdoğan, 1999: 30). Nevertheless, they failed to do so. The secular media bombed the society with constant coverages and stories exposing the growth of Islamists everywhere. Thorughout the process, the military worked closely with the media. Several media coverages were published just as the orders of senior commanders (Çandar, 2001a: 216).

The Ajzmendis, a marginal subset of the Nurcu community, constantly appeared in the media with their long hair and beards, black turban, and black robe and their scepters in their hands. Considering that the secularization reforms were very much related to clothing and Vision, their practice came to be very subversive. Their leaders Müslüm Gündüz and his public ceremonies in the largest mosques of Istanbul and Ankara contantly appeared in the media. This was accompanied by other stories regarding the İsmailağa or Mahmut Hodja communities. Their members in black turbans and chadors were repeatedly shown in the mass media as a sign of the growth of political Islam.

During the late 1990s, the Turkish society also repeatedly watched and read in the media several *cinci hoca* scandals. Almost once a month, news broadcasts featured a story that covered the improprieties of a cinci hoca (Dole, 2006: 38). The most scandalous was the story of Ali Kalkancı, who was arrested at the end of 1996 based on the statements of his young female follower Fadime Şahin. She reported to the police that she was illegally married to him and raped. The investigations demonstrated that Kalkancı had connections with several government officials and Islamist groups. In addition to continual reporting on the details of the trial, the media coverage of Şahin's story occupied the public agenda for months (Dole, 2006: 40-1). The story emerged right after Erbakan became the prime minister. As Dole (2006: 46-7) states, "While the association between figures such as the *cinci hoca* and either Islamist politics or religious conservatism is far from self-evident, it nevertheless persists as a popular trope for denigrating Islamist politics."

In contrast to the examples of "bad Islam," new models of "good" Islam were promoted. Yaşar Nuri Öztürk and Zekeriya Beyaz, two professors of theology, mostly appeared in TV programs and "educated" the society in line with the "true"

Islam. Fethullah Gülen was initially promoted as an alternative to the Welfare's expansion, but after 1998, his community was also put under close scrutiny, as well. Especially, Yaşar Nuri Öztürk became a "super-subject" on commercial television and the "Superstar of White Islam," defended the Kemalist version of Islam (Öncü, 2006: 234). This defense manifested itself in a fight against the "invented/fake" Islam. However, Öztürk did not directly target political Islam in the TV programs, instead, attacked "those people" who distorted "real Islam" for their own interests.

As part of the process, the Alevi identity gained importance. In order to promote the Alevi sect as the authentic Turkish form of Islam and a loyal supporter of secularization reforms, the state promoted conferences and publications on the Alevi culture, opened Bektaşi lodges, and inaugurated a university center for Alevi studies. For the first time, the different Alevi associations got 425 billion lira from the 1998 budget of the state (Yavuz, 2003: 253). In this process, the annual Alevi festival and memorials of earlier Alevi saints such as Pir Sultan Abdal and Hacı Bektaş came front "to promote the idea that Alevi Islam was the genuine Turkish Islam […] as compared to Sunni Islam which was reflected as the product of Arab and Persian cultures" (Uğur, 2004: 336).

5.1.3 Psychological Warfare

The late 1990s were marked by high political polarization. The mounting tension was not coincidental. In the retirement ceremonies at the end of August, generals constantly asserted how a primary threat political Islam was and how determinant the army is in its fight in the name of secularism (Howe, 1998). The

military displayed its dissatisfaction with the government at every instance and even their hints were covered in the headlines of the newspapers.[73]

Throughout Turkey's postmodern coup, the military worked in close connection with media cartels in order to justify the intervention to purge the alleged "national security threats" (Yavuz, 2003: 246). The generals directly involved in manipulating the leading media figures. General Erol Özkasnak, for instance, "used to make his advocates in the media voice his views in their articles, launch letter campaigns, and if these were not enough, he himself used to call people and spread a feeling of fear," while General Çevik Bir used to call Aydın Doğan, the owner of the Doğan media group, and Ertuğrul Özkök, the general editor of *Hürriyet* daily, to dismiss some journalists and columnists not working in harmony with the military's directives (Birand, 2001).

The psychological war consisted of, first, labeling the whole society as friends or foes, and then stigmatizing and ostracizing the religious groups as "enemies of state." The religious was strongly stigmatized as backward and reactionary. Yet, this was not a natural outcome of interacting social forces, but part of the military-led anti-Islamist operation.

The army founded a military unit, called *Batı Çalışma Grubu* (BÇG - West Working Group), for intelligence, recording and investigation though for this purpose, there already existed authorized institutions such as *Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı* (MİT - National Intelligence Organization) and the police forces. The

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[73] One of the famous examples belongs to the Admiral Güven Erkaya. At an official government reception, Erkaya realized that no alcoholic beverages were served in deference to Islamic tradition. He was quoted as telling a waiter: "Go and get me some raki, my son. At the prime minister's residence in a secular republic no one can impose their preferences" (Çevik, 2000).

military relied on the reports of this unit in its briefings and the famous MGK meeting on February 28, 1997. The senior commanders introduced the organization in a briefing in June 1997 as a reply to the Islamist threat: "Turkish Armed Forces has taken the reactionary activities to the degree of internal danger [and] separatist terror, namely put to the utmost priority and established the West Working Group. The West Working Group, depicting political Islam countrywide, is closely monitoring and controlling the reactionary activities with all their facets" (Ilıcak, 2005). It was said to be led by Admiral Güven Erkaya and Deputy Chief of Staff General Çevik Bir (Çevik, 2000).

The BÇG initiated a witch-hunt operation. In its intelligence reports, the BÇG terrorized the society by labeling many people as Islamist or separatist. Its findings were considered enough as evidence to pressure, if not, fire several bureaucrats. In this environment, observant people could no more feel at home in Turkey. As a sign of good intention, people started to warn each other to care about what they say, read, or write (Erdoğan, 1999: 162).

A second level of the psychological warfare is the stigmatization and ostracization of the religious groups. Visible signs of religiosity, especially the headscarf[74] were stigmatized as a symptom of the anti-laicist movement bent on the destruction of the modern state. According to Bülent Berkarda, the former president

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[74] In 1982, *Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu* (YÖK – Council of Higher Education) banned the use of headscarves in universities after the decision of the Council of Ministers requiring the female employees and students to dress without headscarves. In response to the increasing pressure from the Islamists, the YÖK allowed women to use the turban, a scarf tied at back and covering only the hair. "The Council deemed turbans as opposed to headscarves to be in line with contemporary dress codes." Upon the reaction of the secularist groups, the Council withdrew this decision. The same year, the ban was again relaxed at a meeting of universt presidents. In 1989, the YÖK withdrew the article prohibiting the use of turbans at universities. Nevertheless, it remained as a sensitive issue of debate in the following years and took its peak at the February 28 process (Arat, 2005: 24).

of Istanbul University, the headscarf was just "a first step on the road to an Iranian-style revolution that would bring down the secular government" (Shively, 2008: 294).[75] In the Turkish practice of secularism, veiling is articulated with a "pre-modern" subject position (Göle, 1996a). In this process, "'overly' religious, veil-wearing Muslim women are projected as hindering the economic development of the nation and impeding its regional and global connections through their visible expressions of 'difference'" (Gökarisel and Mitchell, 2005: 150). Veiling was a shame for the country that tended to denigrate the national pride in the eyes of Europe.

The iconic moment of the lynch against the headscarf was the case of Merve Kavakçı, when for the first time Turkey saw the election of a "covered" Muslim woman from the *Fazilet Partisi* (FP - Virtue Party), the successor of the Welfare, in 1999 elections. On May 2, 1999, at the opening session of the parliament, her presence provoked great dispute. The MPs stood up and protested Kavakçı shouting "Merve out, ayatollahs to Iran," "Turkey is secular, will remain secular," so she was obliged to leave the parliament without taking the oath. The media coverage in Turkish press treated Kavakçı as an "agent provocateur" (Göle, 2002: 178). She was denied permission to take the oath of office as she refused to remove her headscarf. The then Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, who accused her of violating the basic principles of the secular republic, ordered to "put this woman in her place" (Atun,

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[75] Indeed, the increasing amount of studies on political Islam and especially the headscarf illustrates that the headscarf was the marked, visible and different so that it became subject to research. When Yeşim Arat (2005: 94) phoned a female member of the Welfare Party with headscarf for an interview as part of her research on Islamist women, the reply was illuminating this point: "Are we from Mars? You want to know me or us, because we are different. Well, we are the children of this country just like you. We are not different. What needs to be understood is that we do not need to be understood as different."

2008). The government soon stripped her of Turkish citizenship. It was one of the historic moments of the February 28 process.

5.1.4 Cleansing the Civil-Military Bureaucratic Bodies

> In the text of written warning to Captain Yakup Baykan; "Your spouse does not adhere to warnings or advice and she is not dressed in a modern way. That is why I am warning for the last time. It is your duty to intervene in your spouse's dressing." Captain Baykan's wife attempted to commit suicide four times since her husband was dismissed from the army through a Supreme Military Council (YAS) decision. Now her uneasiness is ongoing. To sum up, the event developed like this: While Yakup Baykan was a captain at the Turkish Armed Forces, he was exposed to pressures by his chiefs concerning his wife's headscarf. Mrs. Baykan was dragged into a depression because her husband would be dismissed from the army due to her headscarf. As a result of her husband's dismissal, she has received treatment in several hospitals for a long time and now she is in need of care (Çağlayan and Karamanlı, 2003c).

The Baykan couple's story was one of many alike. In the February 28 Process, the army started its work first by cleansing itself from the religious elements and, in turn, gaining a more homogeneous secular structure. *Yüksek Askeri Şura* (YAŞ - Supreme Military Council) convenes twice a year to conclude promotions and retirements within the military, and in every August, dismissals from the army for reasons of "reactionary activities" were the default agenda of the YAŞ meeting.[76] Nevertheless, this was intensified after 1997. While Prime Minister Erbakan claimed to have obtained highest share of votes from army lodgments and held ceremonies to mark joining of retired generals to his party, the army put some restrictive practices into force:

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[76] For an autobiography and a personal account of the process, see Pala (2010).

a) The military personnel were asked to give photos of their family members for the military identity cards and to make sure that they do not wear headscarves in these photos. Otherwise, their applications for identity cards were turned down. This meant that they could not benefit from the social and health services the army offered to its personnel and personnel families.

b) Those personnel whose wives or children were wearing headscarves in photos were to fill "information forms for officers and noncommissioned officers" and subject to investigation.

c) Visits by women wearing headscarf and bearded men, including the old parents of the personnel, into the military-owned residences were restricted and those visitors began to be investigated.

d) Army commanders were given the duty to make unscheduled visits to personnel's houses and monitor their personal life conduct. Those personnel with wives wearing headscarf were banned to stay in the military owned residences. People in touch with them, the book they buy and read, and their visitors were all investigated. The army also collected intelligence reports on a person's routine practices, such as whether he wears his ring on left or right hand, or he uses a squat or a European-style toilet, or he wears a gold or silver ring. These signs were taken a proof to label that person reactionary (Doğan, 2010).

e) It became obligatory for the military personnel to attend all the institutional social activities together with their families. The aim was not to increase the morale of the army members, but to gather more information about the attitudes of the personnel. This was also to pressure and make sure that their

wives wearing headscarf took off them. Some army members had to divorce their wives for this reason.[77]

f) Headscarf became the primary sign of reactinaryism and the personnel whose wives were wearing headscarf were put into "suspected personnel" category. They are either degrade in their military career or dismissed. Nevzat Tarhan, for instance, an associate professor at the military hospital GATA in Ankara, was appointed in May 1995 to a veterinary branch in a little town Çorlu (Doğan, 2010). Besides, many of them were expelled from the army via YAŞ decision and deprived of any chance to return to the army back (Çağlayan and Karamanlı, 2003b).[78]

Dismissal from the army was not enough, too. It was also ordered to the concerning units with regard to military personnel whose contacts ended with the Turkish Armed Forces with a circular from the Interior Ministry dated March 28, 1997 and EGM No. 065.02.03.070679 that their employment in private or public institutions would be hindered (Çağlayan and Karamanlı, 2003b). Though there was no such provision, the circular brought a de facto restriction. Municipalities were asked to take preventive measures that would prohibit the dismissed personnel to work in municipalities and related companies.

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[77] Some commanders openly "recommended" this: "You have three choices: Make your wife take off her headscarf and bring her and show her to me. If she does not listen to you, divorce her. If you do not do one of these, you will be sent to the Supreme Military Council for dismissal process to start" (Çağlayan and Karamanlı, 2003b)

[78] The army members can be dismissed by either the approval of a forces' commander or by the decision of Supreme Military Council. Interestingly, while those dismissed with the approval of the forces' commander has the right to apply to the Supreme Military Court, the latter is refrained from the right to petition. It is the administration that decides who would be dismissed by which method. This led to arbitrary decisions. Those whose undisciplined acts could be documented in court were dismissed by the approval of the forces' commander. If there are no proofs, the decision was made in the Supreme Military Council and the personnel could not go the court. Many officials were dismissed from the army without having concrete proofs in this way (Çağlayan and Karamanlı, 2003a).

The military was convinced that the state bodies and local administrations were full of Islamist civil servants and determined to cleanse them of any Islamist motives. Educational bodies were no exception to this anti-religious purge. The brother of retired General Tuncer Kılıç, the then Defense Ministry undersecretary and MGK secretary-general during the February 28 process, was appointed director-general for staff at the Ministry of Education to clean up the ministry from the Islamist elements (Yavuz, 2009). Teachers wearing headscarves were fired. Their applications to the European Court of Human Rights technically ended up with their allowance to be employed again, but they were never reassigned (Yavuz, 2010). Besides, the Higher Education Board, that regulates the ostsecondary education, issued a new set of regulations to eliminate all forms of public visibility of political Islam at universities. Accordingly, the the university administrations were empowered to fire those who "acted against the Republic and its values." Those found guilty of opposing the official ideology could "lose their social security rights and face a life ban in state service" (Yavuz, 2003: 246). Besides, since 1997 the university presidents were appointed from hardline secularists (Cizre and Çınar, 2003: 312).

Municipalities were an important center of Islamic influence under attack. The Welfare Party won 400 city hall administrations in the 1994 municipal elections. Yet, with the military-pushed anti-Islamist drive, prosectors investigated some 300 municipal administrations for alleged Islamist activities, including the one Istanbul under the mayor Tayyip Erdoğan (Howe, 1998). In this period, a law was issued to prevent workers from transferring fro mstate institutions to local administrations. The target was to nullify the possibility for the civil servant supporters of the Welfare to

work in municipalities after they got fired (Yavuz, 2010). The law is active as of 2011.

5.1.5 Expulsion of Religious Groups

The primary aim of the initiators of the February 28 process was to cut off all the political, social, and financial veins of Islamism in Turkey. At the political level, they targeted the National Vision; at the social level, they tried to erase all the organized religious networks. In August 1997, state prosecutors, "acting at the behest of the army," petitioned the Constitutional Court to ban the Welfare Party for subverting secularism mandated by the Constitution (Mitler, 1998: 61). In January 1998, the court under Chief Justice Ahmet Necdet Sezer, who would become president of Turkey in 2000, closed down the party and banned Erbakan from political activity for five years. This was Erbakan's third party closed for being center of anti-secular activities. Tayyip Erdoğan, the mayor of Istanbul and the potential successor of Erbakan, was not forgotten, as well. Based on his speech in Siirt in 1998 in which he read a poem of Ziya Gökalp, Erdoğan was sentenced to ten months for inciting hatred among people on religion (Dağı, 2002: 19).

Any politician resisting the process faced great pressure. Hasan Celal Güzel, a former education minister and prior chairman of *Yeniden Doğuş Partisi* (YDP - Rebirth Party), made 4,000 speeches denouncing the process. The price of this effort was 48 trials and more than a hundred investigations against Güzel, who was eventually imprisoned in 1999 (Gültaşlı, 1999).

The 1997 intervention also targeted the religious communities. Esad Coşan, an influential Nakhshibandi leader, who for a long time supported the National

Vision movement, criticized the process and felt the need to move abroad. He settled in Australia. Coşan pursued his activities abroad and drew many of his supporters to Australia. He died in a traffic accident in his way to attend a conference (*Turkish Daily News*, February 7, 2001).

"On June 21, 1999, the state-guided media launched a firce, orchestrated attack" on Fethullah Gülen and his activities, showing the community as a threat to the secular state. On August 30, 2000, The Chief of General Staff Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu declared Gülen to have plans undermining the state. Afterwards, the Ankara State Security Court prosecutor indicted Gülen for "attempting to change the secular characteristics of the Republic" and alleged that "the organization of Fethullah Gülen, which is formed to destroy the secular nature of the state since 1989, wove the country with its legal and illegal networks that includes advisory boards, regional, city, neighborhood, hostel leaders" (Yavuz, 2003: 202-3). Gülen indeed avoided open confrontation and did not criticize openly the practices of the February 28 process, but he too took refuge abroad and left Turkey on March 22, 1999 for treatment in the United States, where he still lives (*Turkish Daily News*, February 7, 2001). During the late 1990s, the institutions of the Gülen community were brought under high scrutiny.[79]

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[79] The organizations of the Gülen community include an extensive network of schools, universities, hospitals, an Islamic finance institution Bank Asya, an insurance company Işık Sigorta, charitable and media organizations, including newspapers Zaman and Today's Zaman, television stations Samanyolu, Mehtap, and the English-language Ebru in the United States, Cihan News Agency, and weekly magazine Aksiyon. The Journalists and Writers Foundation *(Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfi* (GYV), associated with the Gulen movement, sponsors the annual Abant Platform, that brings intellectuals to discuss the national agenda. The Eurasian Dialogue Platform and the Rumi Forum are other extensive dialogu platforms in Russia and the US respectively (Rabasa and Larrabee, 2008: 16-7).

5.1.6 Laying the Foundation of Military Tutelage and Structural Discrimination

According to the then Chief of General Staff İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, the February 28 process was not a coup. If it were a coup d'etat, the army would take the lead (Küçükşahin, 2008). Karadayı was right in asserting that the military did not directly assume political power after having overthrown the Welfare-True Path coalition, yet it strengthened the foundations o the military tutelage that had no costs of direct intervention, but all of its benefits. Throughout the 1990s, the military was already able "to go above and beyond the constitutional authority of democratically elected governments" (Cizre, 1997: 153). The top commanders never hesitated to issue policy suggestion and warnings on political matters. In this process, they tried to institutionalize more their position over the civilian bodies and to initiate a structural discirimination against the so-called reactionary elements in order to make sure that there will not be a second Welfare case in Turkey's future.

The following Chief of the Turkish General Staff, Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu publicly declared that "February 28 will go on for one thousand years if necessary" (Önkibar, 2007). To do this, the military re-created its subject position as the guardian of the secular regime that would give it the power and legitimacy to intervene "if necessary." Moreover, the secular establishment pursued a systematic effort to eliminate the Islamists from the public sphere and for lasting results, they relied on structural discrimination against them. In order to curb Islamism and prevent Erbakan's party from seizing absolute power, the military tended to engineer far-reaching reforms, which include "strengthening the largely ceremonial post of the president, granting the judiciary greater independence, introduction of a French-style two-tier election system, devolution of authority to grant municipalities greater

freedom, reform of the law on political parties to loosen the grip of the leader on the party apparatus..." (Dorsey, 1997b: 44). Though the reforms could not be put into practice, they show the far-reaching ambitions of the military to shape Turkish political system.

The first step to strengthen the military tutelage was the change in the *Milli Askeri Strateji Konsepti* (MASK - National Military Strategic Concept), that acts as the guideline for the military in cases of domestic conflict and external threats, and then in the *Milli Güvenlik Savunma Belgesi* (MGSB - National Security Policy Document), which is known as the "Red Book" or "Secret Constitution," and defines the priorities of the state in security matters. In April 1997, "reactionary Islam" was defined in the MASK as the number one internal threat, even more important than the Kurdish separatist movement (Yavuz, 2003: 245). In parallel lines, the MGSB was last updated during the February 28 process; ultranationalism was removed from the internal threats, while religious reactinaryism, separatism and the extreme left were listed as priority national security concerns (Duvaklı, 2010). This legal-political re-emphasis on the Islamist threat provided ground for the activities to the main agent of the February 28 process, The West Working Group. The rest belonged to the executive bodies which had to implement the dictates of the National Security Council upon the reports of this intelligence unit.

A second step of the February 28 regime was the introduction of *Emniyet Asayiş Yardımlaşma* (EMASYA - the Protocol on Cooperation for Security and Public Order), which authorizes the military to conduct operations and intelligence gathering in cities without the approval of the civilian administration. In line with this covert protocol, three military regiments were set up and are still active: the Samandıra 23rd Motorized Infantry Regiment, the Hasdal 6th Infantry Regiment and

the Metris 47th Infantry Regiment. They have been mobilized on some occasions which matter the internal security, such as May 1, Workers' Day, or the anniversary of the capture of Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the PKK (Acar and Özcan, 2010).

Thirdly, the military did not only cleanse the state from the Islamist agents, but also destroyed the channels in which the Islamists could infiltrate into the state mechanism. In this regard, the intervention most affected the field of education. As a consequence of the ultimatums of the National Security Council meeting on February 28, eight years uninterrupted primary education was legislated on August 18, 1997. This meant harm to the Imam Hatip schools because of closure of its secondary-level branches. Earlier, the Imam-Hatip education was available at both middle school and high school levels, now 1997 regulation closed all middle-grade Imam-Hatip schools as the state education requirement was increased to eight years. According to the rationale of this legislation, the middle schools years (11 to 14 years of age) are vulnerable in a child's intellectual development, children of those ages could be "brain-washed" in the middle school-level Imam-Hatip education. "A middlegrade education in the state schools would ensure that children of this vulnerable age would be 'protected' from the indoctrination of the imam-hatip schools" (Shively, 2008: 702).

As an irony of history, the Imam-Hatip schools which were first founded by the Kemalist CHP to train a new generation of religious personnel in modern spirit, were now at the target of the Kemalist establishment.[80] As expected, Önay's (2005) study demonstrated that there is a dramatic difference between the Imam-Hatip

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[80] Though the CHP introduced the Imam-Hatip school system, the state subsidied only 9 percent of the Imam-hatip school buildings. 65 percent of them were built by private donations (Unsur, 2005: 202-3).
65 percent of the Imam-Hatip school buildings were constructed

graduates and secular high school graduates in terms of their attitudinal and behavioral religiosity. In this regard, the leaders of the National Vision openly expressed their interest in these schools and saw them as "a new and moral generation" to realize their goal set as manevi kalkınma (spiritual development) (Yavuz, 2003: 126-7). This view mirrored at the secularists' perception of these schools as the hinterland of the National Vision or political Islam. The issue became politicized more and more and turned to be one of the default hot debates between the Welfare and the secularists.

In the following years, the number of Imam Hatip schools and their students decreased dramatically. From 1996-1997 educational term to the 2001-2002, the number of İmam-Hatip schools decreased from 601 to 558, and the number of Imam-Hatip students decreased from 192,727 to only 71,583 (Akşit and Coşkun, 2004: 401). The reduction in the popularity of these schools was also related to the intensified state control over them. While Imam-Hatip students were initially permitted to go on only to the theology deparments at university, the law changed in 1974 allowing them to enter any university department so long as they passed the university entrance exam. After that, many Imam-Hatip graduates had the opportunity to study law, public administration, or similar disciplines and to get employed in state bureaucracy. In 1999, the law was changed back, the Imam-Hatip students have been given an automatic point deficit in the university entrance exam, and this made it difficult for them to enter other departments than theology. This resulted in a dramatic decrease in enrollmnet in these schools. Especially, fro the girls of religious families, the situation was worse when adding the impact of the headscarf ban.

5.1.7 The Consequences

When the secular former president Süleyman Demirel criticized the then Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan's effort to remove the headscarf ban and said "Go to Arabia!," Erdoğan's response was "You go, if you want!"(*Radikal*, 3 May 2005). In fact, Saudi Arabia includes many holy centers such as Mecca and Medina, and going to those centers as hajj, holy pilgrimage, is one of five pillars of Islam. However, due to the pejorative implications of "going to Arabia" in the Turkish context, Erdoğan felt the need to use the same "accusation." Then the daily newspaper *Yeni Şafak* (2 May 2005), close to the AKP, replied to Demirel's word with a headline "The Answer is from Vienna!." The newspaper reported that female students, who could not study in Turkey with their veils especially after the February 28 process, went to study in Austria. At a deeper level, it tries to show that the religious people are not in "religious backward" Arabia, but in "modern Western" Vienna. The responses of Erdoğan and the daily Yeni Şafak illustrate the success of the February 28 process that at least some religious people recognize the hegemony's distinction between the religious inferior and secular superior.

One may have difficulties in understanding how and why the Sunni majority in Turkey might feel discriminated, as discriminations are mostly directed to the weak minorities. Nevertheless, Turkey's postmodern coup was a process when the markers of religiosity were assigned to being a second-class citizen and an inferior identity one should be ashamed for. Though this had its roots even in the early republican period, the 1990s witnessed the most intensified period of the anti-religious purge which caused many religious groups to feel alienated and ostracized.

Compiled by Nazife Şişman (2004), the diaries of the female students removed from the Department of Medicine at Istanbul University in 1998 because of

their headscarves give important clues about the state of "being a stranger in one's own land."[81] The headscarf ban in the late 1990s operated as a means of suppression in favor of the secular hegemony over society. The result of the headscarf ban on those students was a sense of alienation, guilt and uncertainty about the future, and insult. "My school looks at me as if I am a stranger, as if I do not belong there; though even yesterday I was like the owner of these places" writes one of them, whereas another expresses her frustration as "…this city has become alien to me. Mom, I feel cold in this city" (Şişman, 2004:18, 24). This alienation also brings loneliness and uncertainty, as one desperately questions: "Now I feel left homeless without knowing what to do. What do these people want from me?" (Şişman, 2004: 50). The sense of being ostracized from one's environment boldly appears in many autobiographic accounts examined for this research.

A sense of guilt also arises related to the legal punishments they suffered although they do not doubt the truth value of their religious choices. One of them asks, "Why do I feel guilty? Was my faith my guilt?," while another feels bored with the constant tensions she lives with at university: "It is enough that every morning I leave home with the fear of what is going to happen today... Enough that they pretend not to see me. I exist, I am here, I will be here. Even my friends consider me absent. This is the most humiliating one" (Şişman, 2004: 20, 28). They say the biggest insults were their friends not counting them in the roll call and their professors joking about their religiosity. However, even when some of them uncovered their heads, their professor still humiliated them saying "Their faith is that much only!" (Şişman, 2004: 52). In this way, the academic life for them became

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[81] Diaries are important sources to get some insight into how the subjects experience the world and interpret the phenomena. The presupposed privacy in keeping diaries do not trigger any motivation to hise one's genunie feelings.

unbearable, if not impossible. This tension created a duality and a "conflict between 'the ideal' and 'the real'" (Kaya, 2001). Inbetween what their religious beliefs envisaged and what the state ordered in order to get their social and educational rights, many faced a dilemma and differentiation of attitudes in their private and public lives.

5.2 Strategies of Survival

As a result of the sweeping pressures, Erbakan resigned on June 18, 1997, to hand over the premiership to his coalition partner, Tansu Çiller. President Demirel accepted Erbakan's resignation, yet he had another plan. Showing the turbulent political context in the country, Demirel instead called on the Motherland Party leader Mesut Yılmaz to form the cabinet. When Yılmaz's government could not get a vote of confidence, Demirel actively involved in the process and asked his confidants in the True Path Party to resign and join *Demokratik Toplum Partisi* (DTP - the Party of Democratic Turkey) founded by Hüsamettin Cindoruk so that they could form an alternative coalition government. Yılmaz finally succeeded in forming a coalition government with Bülent Ecevit's *Demokratik Sol Parti* (DSP - Democratic Left Party) and Cindoruk's DTP.

Yılmaz came to office as a military-backed caretaker and his duty was to take safely the country to the polls. He emerged as an economic reformer and a hope for secularists to preempt a possible Islamist victory in general elections scheduled for April 18, 1999 (Dorsey, 1998). Prime Minister Yılmaz and his chief partner Deputy

Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit carried the task to implement the generals' recommendations of February 28 to curb Islamic fundamentalism.

The end result of the general elections held on April 18, 1999, was a tripartite coalition government led by Bülent Ecevit, the leader of the center-left DSP. The government had a strong majority in the Parliament and this helped to its good legislative performance. In early 2000, the coalition signaled the first signs of cracks regarding the attempt to reelect Demirel as President and to keep him in office for five extra years. The plan failed because of ANAP's opposition and "The secret glue that kept the three disparate partners together just disappeared. As Demirel left the scene, the partners found themselves without an umpire that would pull them together in moments of trouble" (Berkan 2001: 63).

5.2.1 The Virtue Party

On January 18, 1998, the Constitutional Court closed the Welfare Party and banned its leader Erbakan from politics for five years on the grounds that the party had become a focal point for anti-secularist activities. The Welfare deputies joined the Virtue Party which was earlier formed by İsmail Alptekin, a close friend of Erbakan, as a substitute party in case the Welfare were closed by the court. Recai Kutan, a trustee of Erbakan was elected to the party leadership on May 14, 1998. Besides, Erbakan remained as the ultimate leader behind-the-scene.

Before the general elections held on April 18, 1999; Abdullah Gül, the former deputy chairman of the Welfare Party and former minister of state in the Welfare-led coalition government, claimed: "Their operation backfired; we are already the number one party in all the polls" (Howe, 1998). However, the Virtue Party came

third in the elections and won 15,4 percent of the vote, a 6 percent decline from its predecessor's share in the 1995 vote. This meant that "the politics of pressure worked in cutting down electoral support" of the National Vision (Dağı, 2002: 26). Though a victim discourse could rather boost its vote, the decline was influenced by the voters' perceptions that the military would anyhow prevent the Virtue from coming to power. Similarly, the True Path lost its credibility during the process and could just make it over the 10 percent threshold. Interestingly, the Republican People's Party, despite its campaigns with Atatürk's posters, was not even able to reach the election threshold (Berkan, 2001: 62).

For the leaders of the National Vision, the transition from the Welfare to the Virtue Party was not only a change of name plates, but depicted a dramatic shift in the party identity. They also read well the decline in the share of votes in 1999 elections as a warning to reconsider the party identity. Though Erbakan was still at the background, the image of the Virtue was closer to democratic moderation and the discourse shifted from religion to democracy (Howe, 1998). Abdullah Gül stated that "This is not a religious party; we are open to all citizens, not only religious people," though he earlier defined as an "Islamic-oriented party." Praising American religious freedom and now defending religious freedom on the basis of human rights, Gül added that "We want the same freedoms in Turkey, including freedom for non-believers. We don't want to impose our beliefs. The people are Muslim but minority rights should be respected." In foreign relations, Gül underlined a more concrete difference: "In the past, Refah was reluctant to join the European Union. We now want to become a full member. We realize that without integration into Europe, democratic standards of human rights cannot be achieved in this country" (Howe, 1998).

No doubt, the Virtue avoided using the arguments and jargon of the Welfare in order to escape the fortune of the Welfare Party. According to Kutan, the party renounced using the concepts like "National Vision" or "Just Order" as they had been largely misunderstood (Dağı, 2002: 20-1). The members of the National Vision abandoned the confrontational and antagonistic discourse towards the West and adopted a rather moderate and pragmatic stance. Call for democracy, human rights, and the rule of law has now became the main pillar of the National Vision. For instance, Kutan argued that "NSC [National Security Council] should be rearranged according to the principles of a western model democracy" (Dağı, 2001: 21). In order to eliminate the main agent of the February 28 process, the party tended to rely on the Western norms. The Virtue Party also presented a package for constitutional reform that would abolish the National Security Courts and the Higher Education Board, and grant the military only one seat on the National Security Council. Many read the reform package as an attempt to "reverse the flow" of the February 28 process (*Turkish Daily News*, November 22, 1999).[82] Besides, to strengthen the democratic image, the Virtue, unlike its predecessor, allowed female candidates to compete in the 1999 elections. It also included to its central decision making board some upper-middle class women such as Nazlı Ilıcak, Oya Akgönenç, and Gülten Çelik (Dağı, 2002: 26).

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[82] In the Virtue's proposal, change to the National Security Council would reduce the military member only to Chief of General Staff, and reduce the total number on the council from 11 to 7. The party also wanted to remove Article 118 of the Constitution, stating that "the Council of Ministers will give priority to the decisions reached by the MGK." Instead, the party proposed a change in this article to state that the cabinet should "take the required measures" regarding those decisions. With this change, the Virtue wanted to keep the NSC decisions totally advisory without any obligations on the government. The reform package also proposes change to Article 2 of the Constitution, adding to the list of the basic characteristics of the Republic of Turkey the terms of "national" and " supremacy of law." Moreover, the Virtue demanded to remove Article 14, which was accepted as a "shield" against separatist and anti-secularist activities (*Turkish Daily News*, November 22, 1999).

Its new reliance on human rights and the EU largely related to Europe's reaction against the closure of the Welfare by the military. The Virtue comprehended that only an international coalition and the backing of the Western powers could protect itself against the military pressure (Dağı, 2002: 23). Recai Kutan wanted to better the party's relations with the West and made a "get-acquainted" visit to the US in November 1999 and expressed the party's support for EU membership and Anglo-Saxon secularism: "Universal values existing in Europe and America, such as democracy, human rights, and freedom, absolutely have to be transferred to Turkey as well… If Turkey joins the European Union these values will be implemented in Turkey much more easily" (*Turkish Daily News*, November 2, 1999). Astonishingly, Kutan and other senior members of the party even visited a Jewish think-tank in this trip with the aim was to clear up any misconceptions as its predecessor was known with anti-Semitism.[83]

In total, the Virtue Party's new stance can be located as liminal resistance, at which the Islamists preferred walking on the convergence lines of the hegemonic and subordinate identities such as religious freedom, justice, rule of law, and economic development. Unlike the Welfare, the emphasis on these issues was presented with less reference to Islam, but more in rhetoric of democracy and human rights. The Virtue's approaching to the Western powers can be read both as "pretention" or "submission." Pretention or "preference falsification" as "the selection of a public preference that differs from one's private preference" (Kuran, 1995: 17) is a viable interpretation as it is difficult to observe overnight change in the former Welfare

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[83] Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit commented on this point: "The Welfare Party, only a few years ago, would not have even considered meeting with a Jewish association in the U.S. But as they have learned how much effort the Israeli lobby is expending on behalf of Turkey, they have changed their attitude. The world is changing. Everyone is changing a little along with it" (*Turkish Daily News*, November 2, 1999).

members' anti-Western attitude. In this sense, they may have adopted a pro-Western approach as a political strategy only. Yet, the party had not a monolithic structure, but included reformist and traditionalist strands. The younger reformist wing could draw its lessons from the past and adhere to the democratic norms and submit itself to the hegemonic position of the Western model of liberal democracy. The Virtue Party indeed refers to a transitory period, it rather had an eclectic approach; that is why its stance was a gray area and it is difficult to categorize its response.

The intra-party debate about the appropriate response to February 28 has produced a serious split in FP ranks. The Virtue's low electoral success and passive opposition in the parliament was not sufficient for the younger generation in the leading cadre of the party. The party congress in May 2000 was a turning point marking the deep intra-party cleavage. The reformists led by Abdullah Gül, close to the former mayor of Istanbul Tayyip Erdoğan, openly challenged the traditionalists for the leadership but Gül lost by 521 votes to traditionalists' 633 votes (Jenkins, 2003: 53). Though the reformists could not capture the leadership, they proved their power to initiate change in the National Vision despite Erbakan's direct lobbying against Gül. Organized opposition was novel in a closed community like the National Vision, in which obedience to the Erbakan was seen as an essential virtue by a reference to the Islamic concept of *biat*, and Gül's opposition was certainly in contrast to Erbakan's wishes. In this reckoning, Oğuzhan Asiltürk, a senior traditionalist close to Erbakan, accused the reformist opposition of creating schism in party with reference to the Islamic concept of *nifak* (Dağı, 2002: 26). After the May congress, following a meeting with Kutan, Tayyip Erdoğan made a written statement and asserted the inefficacy of the Virtue Party in mobilizing the mass support and providing active opposition in parliament. Erdoğan underlined the need for a

restructuring in Turkish politics and announced that he would be in a process of forming a new political movement. There was a growing rift between the *Gelenekçiler* (Traditionalists) centered around Erbakan and his old associates opposing any serious change in approach, and the *Yenilikçiler* (Reformists), the younger group led by Erdoğan and his associate Abdullah Gül, claiming dramatic changes in party's approach towards democracy, economy, and relations with the West (Dağı, 2002: 28). The decisive point that ended the political disharmony was the closure of the Virtue Party by the Constitutional Court in June 2001.[84]

5.2.2 The Justice and Development Party

The breakaway party was established on August 14, 2001. The founding group named the party *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP - Justice and Development Party). The "AK" in the acronym of the party title means both white and clean in Turkish. In this way, the AKP asserted it was not spoiled by the corruption scandals of the past. Considering the economic crisis of February 2001, the AKP's emphasis on uncorruptedness was plausible. Besides, the terms of justice and (economic) development imply the National Vision's ideological reliance on spiritual and material development, respectively. Moreover, both justice and economic development are appreciated by both the Islamic and secular worldviews, so the title illustrates the AKP's conscious refrainment from any direct challenge against the secular regime, as well as an attempt to preserve its authenticity.

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[84] Even Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit considered the Virtue different from the Welfare and regretted the closure of the VP (*Turkish Daily News* July 2, 2001).

The unquestioned leader of this new political movement was Tayyip Erdoğan.[85] In April 1998, the former popular mayor of Istanbul had been convicted by the State Security Court at Diyarbakır to a 10 month imprisonment for quoting Ziya Gökalp's poem during his 1997 speech in Siirt. Erdoğan was accused of inciting religious hatred and calling for armed rebellion, and he served four months. According to the article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code, he was barred from standing in elections and holding political office. After the constitutional court lifted the ban on Erdoğan to be a member of any political party, he declared the start of a new political movement which would be registered as the AKP in July 2001 (Dağı, 2002: 33). Abdullah Gül[86] led the party and became Prime Minister until Erdoğan was released from prison and elected in a parliamentarty rerun in Siirt in March 2003. After Abdullah Gül resigned to make room for Erdoğan, the real leader finally took over the premiership.

The foundation of the AKP was followed by an intensive discussion about its identity. The AKP leaders really tried hard to convince the secular circles in Turkey and abroad that they were not simply an offspring of the National Vision. Yet, if they

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[85] Born to a worker's family in Rize in 1954, Tayyip Erdoğan moved with his family to Istanbul in 1967. He went to Imam-Hatip school and later graduated from the department of Management at Marmara University. At university, Erdoğan entered the Erbakan's movement and led the youth groups of the party. He was elected as mayor of Istanbul in 1994 and received great reputation for improving the public services of the municipality.

[86] Born in Kayseri, 1950, Abdullah Gül received his BA and PhD degrees in Economics at Istanbul University. He also attented grauate programs in Exeter and London. He taught economics at Sakarya University between 1980 and 1983, and worked as a specialist at the Islamic Development Bank from 1983 to 1991. After Erbakan invited Gül to the party, he first became a WP deputy in 1991 and the deputy chairman of the WP in charge of foreign affairs in 1993. From 1996 to 1997, he served as the minister of state and government spokesman in the WP-TPP coalition government. He was elected as a VP deputy in 1999 for the third term. From 1992 to 2001, he served as the member of parliamentary assembly of the Council Europe.

were not Islamists, they had to define themselves. Though the party leaders liked to be compared with the Christian democrats in Europe, they rejected the label of Muslim democrats, as political Islam was not a legitimate form of expression. They rather adopted the term "conservative democracy" signaling a break with the Islamist past of its leaders. Ironically, the alternative titles for this movement was not pointing any important changes in the content and projects of the AKP, yet how to name it was important to gain recognition in wider scale.

As early as 2000, the important figures of the prospective AKP indeed announced their break from political Islam. While Bülent Arınç stated that political Islam can no longer find supporters as it used to have (*Hürriyet*, February 8, 2000), Abdullah Gül said that he personally would prefer to live either in the United States or England or Europe rather than Iran or Libya (*Milliyet*, February 9, 2000). Similarly, Tayyip Erdoğan, who once said "My point of reference is Islam. Democracy is a means not an end," later abondoned this particular statement and said that he has "absorbed and internalized democracy" (Sazak, 2000). In 2003, he stated his commitment to democracy and criticisim towards any alternative anti-democratic trajectories: "Democracy will proceed and everyone will digest this democratic culture. Those, who envision alternatives, other than the ideal of Turkey's marching in the direction of a modern state in parallel to the unchangeable principles of the Constitution, are committing crime against the future of our children" (Yeni Şafak, May 17, 2003).

In order to diffierentiate the party from its predecessors, it showed itself in continuation with the liberal center-right line embodied in Adnan Menderes' Democrat Party and Turgut Özal's Motherland Party. It was pathologic as most of the AKP leaders had no organic relations with those political parties and leanings.

Yet again, it was not about a re-definition of the party, but an attempt to gain legitimacy and appeal wider segments of society. In this regard, Erdoğan said: "We already took off that garment and left it behind. There is no ideological connection of ours with any existing party. That's it. There may be a few among us who had relations with other political parties in the past. But we took that garment off and consider ourselves as the DP's continuance" (*Milliyet*, May 17, 2003, quoted in Yıldırım et al, 2007: 10).

Though many still question that the AKP abondoned the Islamist agenda of the National Vision and would not challenge Turkish secularism, it managed to escape from getting labeled as a "splinter group" of the National Vision and to incorporate center-right voters through its emphasis on Turkish Muslim identity and liberal economical project (Yavuz, 2003: 250). Though the core of the party consisted of the former Virtue Party members, Erdoğan's movement also attracted many leading figures from the two main conventional center-right parties, the Motherland Party and the True Path Party (Aydın and Çakır, 2007: 2). While the Welfare Party was a mass party with coherent party membership and devoted mass organizations, higher winning expectations led the AKP to moderate its views and the AKP stood more pragmatic to recruit voters from all segments. The AKP can be best categorized as a catch-all party (Jang, 2005: 129). The Islamist-origin party, which describes its present perspective as "conservative democracy," won a landslide victory in the November 2002 general elections, receiving 34,43 percent of the votes and 365 parliamentary seats. This meant a one-party government after 15 years in Turkey. In contrast, the Felicity Party gained only 2,49 percent of the votes and no seats (Grigoriadis, 2009: 1200).

The Western political elites have now begun to describe Turkey under the AKP rule as a "Muslim democracy" (Smith, 2005: 307). The devoted Islamists almost came to be the mujahidun of democracy. Although critics charged the AKP for infiltrating the Islamists into the bureaucracy, the party has not pursued an Islamist agenda and rather put priority on the EU membership process and the economic stabilization. Many regarded the AKP's coming to power not as an Islamist victory, but "recessed" Islamic politics (Lesser 2004). This recession or post-Islamist phenomenon is also very much related to the AKP leaders' effort to avoid from any kind of polarization that paralyzed the country throughout the 1990s. Instead of the confrontational issues like the public role of Islam, they stroke more on the convergence lines such as the EU reforms and economic development. According to Çınar and Duran (2008: 21), the AKP's new stance demonstrated that "Islamism has passed into a post-Islamist stage in which Islamism is losing its political and revolutionary fervor but is steadily infiltrating social and cultural everyday practices."

The discursive change was so dramatic that once the pioneers of anti-Zionism were now accused of being "crypto-Jews" conspiring with the Israeli intelligence unit MOSSAD to destroy secularism in Turkey. The titles of the Kemalist author Ergün Poyraz's books on Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül, and Bülent Arınç, respectively, are quite suggestive: *Children of Moses: Tayyip and Emine* (2007a), *The Gül of Moses* (2007b), and *The Mujahid of Moses* (2007c).

The EU membership process, which was long aspired by the Kemalist secularists, now came to be the central agenda of the AKP. Unlike the anti-Westernist discourse of the Welfare, the AKP's leading cadre understood that "the EU's Copenhagen political criteria mirrored the AKP's own strategy of political

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survival through the attainment of a wider democratic sphere of activity within Turkey" (Aydın and Çakır, 2007: 4). The AKP cooperated with the EU especially on four areas: the strengthening of democracy and human rights, economic relations, good governance thorugh the adoption of the acquis, and foreign and security policy (Aydın and Çakır, 2007: 9). The priority was given to privatization and integration with the EU.

The Prime Minister Erdoğan showed his determination in the adoption of EU norms and institutions by renaming the Copenhagen Criteria as Ankara Criteria. On the way to the EU full membership, the first harmonization package in January 2003 provided deterrence against torture and mistreatment and made the closure of political parties legally more difficult. There is no need to underline how important this constitutional protection was for the politicians whose political parties have been closed for several times. These were followed by the improvement of the conditions for retrial in February 2003, and the abolishment of the Article 8 of antiterrorism law in July 2003. In August, the AKP "introduced a significant reform with regard to civil-military relations, limiting the jurisdiction of military courts over civilians, enabling the auditing of military expenditure and property by the court of auditors, repealing executive powers of the NSC, increasing the time period of regular NSC meetings from once a month to once every two months, and opening the way for appointment of civilian secretariat general for the NSC" (Dağı, 2006: 99). The Chief of General Staff Hilmi Özkök was the luck of the AKP in its fast reforms, especially those limiting the maneuveur of the military. Özkök expressed his trust in the people's judgment and insulated the imiltary from daily political matters.

In the reform package of April 2004, the government abolished the State Security Courts and all references to the death penalty. The military representative on

the higher education board was removed, as well. After the July 2004 amendments, four deputies of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party, including Leyla Zana, were released from prison, and the state-owned TV channel TRT started to broadcast in Kurdish (Dağı, 2006: 100). As a result of consecutive harmonization packages, on December 17, 2004, the European Council decided in the Brussels meeting to open accession negotiations in October 2005. In addition, the AKP pursued a politics of engagement with the global markets and pursued relations with the IMF in the economic area. In total contrast with the Welfare's vision; the privatization program, the withdrawal of the state from commodity and service markets, and the encouragement of foreign investment have been determinants of the economic policy during the AKP rule.

Like the Virtue Party, the AKP also pursued liminal resistance and focused on the issues where the interests of the secular and religious groups intersect. While avoiding confrontational issues such as the headscarf ban and the Imam-Hatip schools, the AKP cadre spent its energy on the Europeanization process with the hope to solve the political and social problems of its core constituency in the long run. Nevertheless, the transformation of the former Welfare deputies into the agents of Westernization manifests submission to the hegemonic norms of secularism in the sense of Westernization. As explained in Chapter 2, what galvanized hybridization should be read in terms of politics of dignity. By adopting a pro-EU approach, the AKP sought to present itself more acceptable and "normal."

5.2.3 The Felicity Party

While the AKP preferred to re-interpret their stance according to the neo-liberal conditions of the political world, *Saadet Partisi* (SP – Felicity Party), the successor of the Virtue Party, relatively continued its Islamist rhetoric. Instead of trying to turn itself into a mass party, it rather got marginalized. In this perspective, the party can be categorized under the second form of exit, that is segregation, in which a marginal group tries to create its own little world and lives according its own values. According to Recai Kutan, its leader and a loyal friend of Erbakan, they do not want to change themselves, unlike the AKP, but to change Turkey under the National Vision. Though the SP makes constant references to the Muslim world politics, it is difficult to claim the part as strictly Islamist. It presented its basic principles as love, tranquility, peace and fraternity, human rights and freedoms, justice, welfare, honor and respect. There were no more SP's politicians asking for Shariah or any kind of acts that could disturb the secularist leanings of the Turkish establishment.

While its references to Islam manifest itself only as stress on morality and sensitivity over injustice against the Muslim world, the Felicity Party totally maintained its anti-Westernist rhetoric. Europe was once again viewed as a Christian club in the words of Kutan: "Is there any other party in Anatolia that supports opposition to the US other than us? No. There is only the Felicity Party that represents the National Vision. The obsession with the European Union has destroyed them [the AKP]. They keep on saying 'we will never let Turkey join, not in a thousand years'. When will Turkey join the EU then? Only when religious people die and those young generations [of Turks] who are able to convert are fully grown up. Only then Turkey will be accepted in the European Union, which is a

Christian club" (*Milli Gazete*, 12 June 2005, quoted in Aydin and Çakır, 2007: 11).
In its election campaigns, the Felicity Party leaders blamed the IMF and the World
Bank for the economic failures of Turkey and criticized the United States' operation
in Afghanistan. The party also condemned Israel and the US for killing the
Palestinians and organized anti-Israel rallies in Istanbul in April 2002 (Dağı, 2002:
31-3).

The Felicity Party, like its predecessors, relied much on the anti-Westernist
populism. Especially after the visit of Pope Benedict XVI to Turkey and the Danish
Cartoon Crisis, the party figures intensified their propaganda. According to Lütfü
Esengün, the party's Vice President, the cartoon crisis "revealed once again Europe's
true face as an enemy of the East and Islam with its media, governments, courts and
civil society institutions…this comes from history. Animosity towards Islam is in the
genes of the West… Europe displays its hatred and vengeance…at every available
opportunity" (Aydin and Çakır, 2007: 12).

Though the Felicity appeared as re-incarnation of the National Vision
especially with its anti-Westernist discourse, it rather demonstrated the National
Vision's shift from an anti-state stance towards an anti-governmental one. Neither
the level of its emphasis on Islam nor its anti-Westernism were in clash with its
secularist counterparts like the CHP under Deniz Baykal, for instance. While
opposing the AKP rule, the SP has no intention to challenge the regime even at the
very discursive level.

5.3 Conclusion

According to the National Policy Paper prepared by the National Security Council on
February 28, 1997, "Islamic fundamentalism" was the foremost security threat even

more dangerous and immediate than the secessionist Kurdish movement (Dağı, 2002: 19). Having shared this view, the State Prosecutor Vural Savaş opened a case against Erbakan's Welfare Party, the political embodiment of the so-called Islamic fundamentalism, which ended up with the closure of the party for being the hub of anti-secular activities in 1998. It is obvious that the pioneers of the February 28 process did not aim to tame, but destroy political Islam. After the Welfare was closed down; its successor, the Virtue Party also shared the same fate. Indeed, the Virtue moderated the Islamist rhetoric, had better relations with the Western powers, and relied more on human rights discourse. Yet, its closure manifested the secularists' determination to erase all forms of political Islam. Moreover, the AKP, which defined its stance as conservative democracy, received only distate of the secular establishment, as well.

As an irony of history, five years later, prominent secularists including Vural Savaş would express their regret and now warm attitude towards Erbakan, while showing their disfavor towards Erdoğan's AKP despite its moderate pro-EU stance. While the marginal pro-Islamist wing of the National Vision became almost an ally in the eyes of the secular establishment, the "tamed" liberal pro-EU AKP was considered to be the foremost problem Turkey should get rid of. If this is the case, what was the gist of the February 28 process?

5.3.1 The Welfare and the AKP in Comparison

The National Vision parties faced many legal sanctions and were closed for being center of anti-secular activities. According to their secular adversaries, Erbakan and his cadre had a secret agenda and their loyalty to the secular democratic regime was

only taqiyya – "a dissimulating of one's faith on grounds of expediency (Heper and Güney, 2000: 639). In return, Erbakan and his fellows felt "compelled to make certain symbolic gestures concerning secularism and Kemalism" like Erbakan's claim that "should Ataturk have been alive, he would have been a Welfarist" (Yıldız, 2003).[87]

The Welfare Party, while claiming the office, was indeed not resisting to, but reinforcing the secular hegemony in Turkey, as it fitted well to how the Kemalists viewed religion and religious groups. From the early days of the republic, the Kemalists posited religion and modernity in binary oppositions. Inspite of having praised Islam as a rational religion at the discursive level and benefited from it at the political level, the founders of Turkey tried to eliminate it from the public sphere with a high modernist and positivistic conviction. Islam was associated with tradition, backwardness, and poverty in contrast to Kemalist pillars such as Westernism, rationalism, reformism, and economic development. In this respect, the Welfare did not substantially challenge these hegemonic dichotomies.

The National Vision's anti-Westernist stance is pretty in line with the Kemalist binary opposition between Islam and modernity, as modern has been equated to the Western in the Turkish context. Erbakan's labeling the European Union as "Christian club," his initial visits to Iran and Libya, his project to unite all prominent Muslim countries as an alternative to the G-8 and to generate a common Islamic currency were all reinforcing the hegemonic definition that showed Islam and the Western values in clash. This perception can be read even in the title of the intelligence unit, the West Working Group, founded within the army during the

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[87] In this statement, Erbakan refers to Mustafa Kemal of the National Struggle, when Atatürk was making constant references to Islam to mobilize the masses and convince others to the foundation of the new republic.

process for the anti-Islamist purge. It symbolizes the rationale of the postmodern coup that the operations were aiming to cleanse the elements deviating from Turkey's direction towards the West. Exceptionally, the Welfare was in resistance when associating Islam and economic prosperity. Yet, its economic program "Just Order" was equally state-centric as the early Kemalists' Etatism. Last but not least, as Çınar (2002) states, the Islamists viewed of state-society relations are parallel to the secular republicans to the point that they conceived the society as a homogeneous group without recognizing its subgroups, monopolized the definition of the society, and consequently reduced politics into a matter of administration.

In addition to the convergence in both substance and style, the Welfare's struggle for power, while preserving the secular hegemonic dichotomies, contributed a lot to the exacerbation of the fears from political Islam and the revival of Kemalism. Erbakan did or could not initiate any structural transformations in the political arena, but his symbolic assertion provided fertile ground for the military to legitimize its intervention. The leader of the Islamist party in the 1990s even talked about coming to power "by blood, if need be" (Toprak, 2009: 35). The threat perception also helped the secular regime to incorporate wider segments of society, as exemplified in "one minute darkness for a bright future" demonstrations during the February 28 process. In 1990s, the secularist non-governmental organizations with strong Kemalist identification appeared as an "autonomous secularist grassroots movement" in response to the rising power of the Islamist Welfare Party (Çınar, 2005: 20). In 1994 municipal elections, the RP won most of the major city administrations and placed Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the present Prime Minister of Turkey, as the first Islamist mayor of Istanbul. Unprecedentedly, secularist groups reacted to the perceived Islamist threat via circulating the "blacklist" of all

businesses providing support to the RP, publishing new local newspapers, and founding NGOs. As a counter-balance to the success of the RP's grassroots organizations, several associations were established such as *Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği* (ÇYDD - Support for Modern Life Association) and *Çağdaş Yazarlar Birliği* (Modern Writers Association). The word *modern* (*çağdaş*) was used synonymously with *secular* (Çınar, 2005: 19-20). Modernity here was situated incontrast with the Welfare discourse. While the ÇYDD founded "houses of learning" in shanty-towns around Istanbul to ground the revived Kemalism in society (Navaro-Yashin, 1998: 16), the Turkish Women's Association, with help from the military, launched a "Movement for Youth against Fanaticism" (Howe, 1997: 31).

The increasing visibility of political Islam led to the revitalization of the official ideology. Many people started to attach Atatürk pins to their coats and shirts to show their commitment to secularism. The most notable embodiment of this Kemalist enthusiasm was in 1998 the celebration for the seventy-fifth Republic Day anniversary that commemorates the declaration of the Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923. Unlike the routine state-organized celebrations in earlier years, the secularist civil society organizations coordinated unconventional demonstrations and festivals in city squares "to make an anti-Islamist statement" (Özyürek, 2006: 125-150). This celebration is important as it followed the heydays of the 1997 military intervention. There was "a widespread belief among the secular-urbanities that the intensity of the Islamic threat may require the suspension of democratic freedoms and limitation of representative principles and institutions" (Cizre and Çınar, 2003: 322). In this regard, the 1998 celebrations expressed not only a show of force against the "Islamist threat" and ethnic separatism, but also came to legitimate the military intervention and the secular regime. They illustrated how the state and the society

were fused to each other against the perceived threats of political Islam and Kurdish separatism. On the sites of the celebrations, "it is not easy to empirically distinguish between what was 'the state' and what was 'society'" (Navaro-Yashin, 1998: 19-20).

In the official declaration of the National Security Council Meeting of February 28, 1997, that also gave name to the following process, the military justified its intervention into normal politics by reiterating Turkey's commitment to full EU membership and "presenting secularism as 'a guarantee not only for the regime but at the same time of democracy'" (Cizre and Çınar, 2003: 314). Accordingly, the military's long-term project to reshape the Turkish political and social system was not some sort of deviation from Turkey's EU project. On the eve of the second millennium, however, it was not so easy to reconcile the secularist enthusiasm with the EU-oriented democratization process. The secularists, the long aspirers of Westernization, came to show reluctance towards Turkey's decades long-held dream, i.e. full membership in the EU. Ironically, the Westernist pro-EU discourse shifted to the ruling conservative AKP government. According to the secularists, the EU's reform demands in line with the *acquis communautaire*[88] such as balanced civil-military relations, rights for the ethnic and religious minorities, strengthening freedom of expression will destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Turkey. Moreover, diminishing the role of the military, the self-assigned guardian of the secular regime, and further political liberalization can strengthen political Islam, and this eventually could lead to Shariah rather than a European state. Expectedly, the "pro-Kemalist" organizations "enforcing the restoration of the existing legal-institutional framework along the lines of laicism, modern life,

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[88] The acquis are the set of norms and legal provisions that exist amongst the member states, and set as the membership criteria to be fulfilled by the candidate countries.

national unity, and nationalism" did not enthusiastically support all democratization reforms, as change in the political structure has threatened the Kemalist status quo (Erdoğan, 2000: 252). This polarized context, in which support for EU membership is identified with adherence to the AKP even led most of the liberal seculars, leave alone the hard-line secularists, refrained giving full-fledged support to the EU project, as they used to do until 2000s. Pioneers of EUism during the February 28 process like TÜSİAD started to loosen their full-fledged support and that Turkey should not jump into the union. They felt the need to remind their commitment to secularism and Turkish nationalism (*Milliyet*, September 21, 2007).

By having adopted Westernization and democracy, Erdoğan's AKP showed greater challenge against the secular hegemony in contrast to Erbakan's National Vision parties. This time, AKP presented a convergence of both modernity and Islam that challenged the hegemonic distinctions positing religious values as anti-Western, backward, and traditional. During the February 28 process, the secular establishment tried to hinder political Islam's coming to power and eliminate any challenge to the status quo; however, the AKP was not only claiming power, but also challenging the secular hegemony and offering a new social contract for Turkey. The AKP came to provide an alternative version of secularism and challenged the present interpretations. This contributes to explain why the harsh secularists were now rejecting any "hygienic" democratic forms of political Islam, but may be cooperating with the Erbakan's relatively marginal faction.

5.3.2 From State-Embedded Islam to Conservative Democracy

The most crucial consequence of the February 28 process is the Islamists' move away from and the secularists' approaching to state-embeddedness. The symbiotic relationship between the state and religion that intensified after the 1980 military coup ended with the anti-religious purge of Turkey's postmodern coup. This fundamental shift would shape the new political alignments within Turkey in the following decade.

Despite the hostile attitude towards religion since the early years of the Republic, political Islam was embedded to the state to a great extent. First of all, Islam has been substantially used and tolerated during the Cold War as an antidote to the communist ideological expansion. While this rhetoric was most obvious in the 1960s and -70s in the center right discourse like in the case of Demirel's Justice Party; the political climate allowing an Islamist, Necmettin Erbakan, run for office and develop a grassroots organization can be related to the efforts to diminish the Russian influence in Turkey. Secondly, after the 1980 coup d'etat, the military co-opted Islam to the state ideology and benefited from religion in order to de-politicize the society, fill the ideological void with the New Right conservatism after the suppression of ideological right and left and establish some sort of expansive hegemony. Turkish-Islamic synthesis promoted later also by Turgut Özal's governments combined elements of both nationalism and religion and was in total contrast with the internationalist and anti-religious stance of socialism. This period also included the development of religious communities tolerated, if not protected and financed, by Özal's governments.

A third aspect for the state-embeddedness of political Islam lies in its historical cultural roots. Unlike the Shia tradition; Sunni Islam, the dominant sect in Turkey, has always been on the part of the state. The Sunni interpretation of Islam covers many state-friendly provisions and prohibits any resistance against the state, claiming it "fitne." In the Turkish practice, the Turkish Republic inherited from the Ottoman Empire a long-standing tradition of raison d'etat, which often emphasized state hegemony over religion. In the Ottoman context, such political supremacy over the religious realm was achieved through the incorporation of the Islamic establishment into the administrative apparatus of the empire. In the Ottoman past, while Islam was definitive in private matters, it was inadequate in terms of public policies (Heper, 1985: 27). The lack of a substantial Islamist resistance in the early years inspite of Mustafa Kemal's dramatic secularization reforms can be partly related to the Ottoman experience and the Sunni culture emphasizing rather obedience to the authority, here, the state.

Until the 1990s, it was difficult to claim that religious communities in Turkey transcended the state-centric and nationalist discourse. Nevertheless, when they came to the point when the secular establishment could no more tolerate their development, tables were turned around and the religious groups were put under strict political and economic control. The end of alliance between the state and the religious communities especially after the end of the Cold War, led the political Islamists to reconsider their state-friendly stance. While they moved to a more liberal approach, the secularists allied more and more with the state.

Equally important with the state's suppression and end of its protection over Islamist groups, a second factor is that the Islamists, having faced the anti-religious purge of the military, could rely only on the human rights discourse of the Western

power blocs. In the Europeanization process, the Islamic actors reformulated their political and religious demands into democracy-based discourses of human rights, rule of law and multiculturalism (Duran, 2006: 295-7).[89] The largest anti-Westernist group now rapidly began favoring the accession process for the full membership in the European Union. The EU requirements were perceived "as a window of opportunity for those who are already seeking reform for their own interests" (Diez et al. 2005: 10). The cross-fertilization of Islamic and European norms contributed to the alignment of their stance along European norms and practices. In Yeşim Arat's (2005: 115) words, "as Islam moved into politics, liberal values penetrated Islam." According to Tayyip Erdoğan, for instance, it is impossible to reverse the globalization process and one should consider benefiting from this trend: "those who build higher walls around their borders, those who suspect change, do not prioritize political and economic benefits of their citizens, those who do not support their entrepreneurs, they will be merely spectators [of this process]" (Millyet, 4 July 2004).

According to James Piscatori (2000: 48, 23), running for office in electoral processes has a transformative effect; democratic participation "creates its own inner logic, or rules of the game, that entangle or enmesh the participants further" and "learning process, whereby participatory experience exercises a kind of socializing, feedback effect." In this regard, one can claim that Turkey's postmodern coup contributed political Islamists' "learning process" in which they realized and likely adopted democratic Western norms. Unlike the Welfare activists, the AKP cadre

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[89] The human rights discourse gained wide currency not only in the former Welfare members, but also several faith-based non-governmental organizations like Mazlum-Der, "which couples Western liberalism with Islamic teachings, actively produce and disseminate information about human rights and civil liberties." It also provides assist in application to the European Court of Human Rights (Gökarısel and Mitchell, 2005: 157).

modeled the United States, and "this went beyond the old 'people ofthe book' affirmation among the Islamists... The aim was no longer building an ideal Islamic republic but becoming a conservative empire like the United States" (Tuğal, 2009: 180).

A third reason for the move towards a more liberal version of political Islam is the secularization from below. Throughout the 1980s and -90s, the Anatolian religious groups developed a lot at economic and educational levels. Their increasing economic wealth and higher education levels of the younger generations went parallel to their increasing contacts with the West. Many initiated economic co-operations with the European countries or went to higher education abroad. The changing environment thorugh the urbanization and globalization among these groups created opportunities for them to attain liberal education, life in the urban centers, and a modern means of self-expression (Göle, 1997:52).

In contrast to the liberalization of political Islam, secularism became more state-embedded and the pro-EU liberal secularists were pushed to the margin of Turkish politics. Secularism was indeed a state project from the very beginning and part of the state ideology. However, during the February 28 process, secularism was used as the cement to merge the state and society against the propagated threat of political Islam. It was not about whether people removed religion from their everydaylife, but about instituting the secularist ideology as part of their identity. As secularism was flagged as the vital component of the regime facing the Islamist and Kurdish separatist threats, the liberal conception of secularism was marginalized, its proponents were mostly accused of treason against the state.

The state-society fusion during the February 28 process manifested itself more boldly with the developments on Turkey's way towards the EU full membership. The catch phrase "We do not need democracy, but the Republic" has been utilized heavily in the secularist circles, by those who feel threatened by the liberal reforms on the path to Turkey's accession to the European Union (EU) (Akman, 2005; Altınay and Nicolaidis, 2008). The secularist establishment, the forerunner of Westernization, now fears that further democratization will erode the unitary secular character of the regime through both granting more rights to ethnic and religious minorities, and clearing the path for political Islam.

While the intelligence unit set for the anti-religious purge was called as the West Working Group during the February 28 process, now the same secularists were considering other alternative paradigms like Euroasianism, which offers forming political, economic, and military alliances with Turkey's eastern neighbors Russia and Iran, as well as China and the Turkic countries in Central Asia (Akçalı and Perinçek, 2009: 551). General Tuncer Kılıç, former Secretary-General of the National Security Council, was the first state elite who openly expressed this search. Addressing the military academy at a conference in 2002, he suggested that Turkey should seek new alliances instead of membership in the EU. Five years later, Kılıç even proposed to leave the NATO (Özel et al, 2009: 31).

Differently from typical Euro-skepticism in other candidate countries, a secularist nationalism called *ulusalcılık* has developed based on the fears about the unitary and secular character of the regime (Taraktaş, 2008). In this calculation, the liberalization reforms as part of the EU Harmonization process just recalls of the Sèvres, a treaty proposing the partition of the Ottoman Empire along its ethnic communities after its defeat in World War I (Akçalı and Perinçek, 2009: 553). The

treaty, which offered the foundings of Armenian and Kurdish states in Anatolia, was never put into effect and replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, that recognized the unitary existence of the Turkish Republic. However, it turned to be a syndrome as Turkey has been viewed under constant state of insecurity. The Sevres Syndrome, on one hand, nurtured isolationist and anti-Westernist tendencies in the form of the widespread conviction that Turkey is encircled by enemies trying to divide up the country. On the other hand, it justified the elimination of any alternative views such as Kurdish nationalism and political Islam, representing them as a danger to national security and territorial integrity. In this regard, the Kemalist hard-liners posit themselves as "national forces without uniforms" determined to save the country from the internal and external enemies, following the "national forces in uniforms" (Erdoğan, 2009: 267). Reminding of the Associations for the Defense of Rights (*Müdafa-i Hukuk Cemiyetleri*) and the para-military groups called National Forces (*Kuvayı Milliye*), which launched the Independence War of Turkey (1919-1922); several organizations were established in similar names such as the National Forces Society, Association for the Defense of Rights Once More, and the Patriotic Front. The target was to start a war of independence against the cooperation of the imperialists and their Islamist collaborators.

To sum up, the February 28 process became a milestone in Turkish politics that defined the political alignments in the subsequent decades. While the post-Islamists adopted a pro-Western (relatively) liberal approach, the secularists moved towards a more state-centered illiberal conception of politics.

CHAPTER 6

THE ECONOMY OF THE FEBRUARY 28 PROCESS

Politics and economy are fields that are quite interwoven especially in the Turkish case. When closing down the Virtue Party for activities contrary to the principle of the secular republic in 2001, the Chief Justice Mustafa Bumin announced the decision after financial markets had closed for the weekend (Frantz, 2001: 3). Nevertheless, this move could not prevent that the stock market and the value of the Turkish lira fell more than six percent on concerns that this ruling could even lead to general elections and shatter the consensus the government had achieved to implement crucial political, economic and constitutional reforms (Anderson, 2001: 17). A more remarkable example came as late as 2009, when the general manager of leading global credit rating agency Fitch's Turkey division, Fatma Botan Berker stated that Fitch wanted to raise Turkey's credit rating since 2007, but failed to do so "due to the possibility of a coup d'état" (Yıldız, 2009).

Beyond such direct and concrete manifestations of the relationship between politics and economy, there exists a connection at a deeper level. As Gramsci (2000: 154-5) states, "if the hegemony is ethico-political, it must also be economic, it must have its foundation in the decisive function that the leading group exercises in the decisive sphere of economic activity." Though Gramsci opposes the Marxian view of economy as the ultimate base for all the political and cultural activities, he does not

neglect the importance of economic factors. Political hegemony is then deficient, if not impossible, without its interpenetration with economic hegemony. In this regard, an economic reading is essential for the analysis of any hegemony-building project in Turkey and February 28 process is not an exception.

This chapter firstly provides a historical analysis how the early Kemalists were actively involved in the economic penetration of the new secular regime. After looking at how the religious groups turned into an economic power, as embodied in the economic organization *Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği* (MÜSİAD - Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen), the chapter then focuses on the formation and development of the Turkish Islamic finance. The remainder of the chapter examines how the secular establishment in Turkey tried to suppress Islamic capital and the Islamic financial institutions in particular and how those groups responded to the process. This part of the research basically argues that the Islamic capital, having faced the state's pressure, favored globalization as a strategy of survival.

6.1 The Development of National Secular Economy in Turkey

6.1.1 The Early Developments

Though Turkish politics could be generally analyzed in continuation with the Ottoman Empire, there was little economic and industrial base that modern Turkey could inherit from her Ottoman past. No Muslim business classes even existed until the first years of the Republic (Buğra, 1994: 21). Trade and artisanship, which together formed the basis for industrial transformation, were controlled by the non-

Muslims. Since the classical Ottoman land management system called *timar* did not allow for capital accumulation, agricultural surplus did not give way to the emergence of a powerful aristocratic class (Demir at al, 2004: 166). Moreover, due to the destruction of war in Anatolia between 1913 and 1923, the connection between the rural economy and the main export harbors or routes decreased significantly. From the Ottoman Empire's legacy the new Turkish state inherited primarily an agricultural economy and feudal relationships, especially in the southeastern parts of Turkey, where there was a large Kurdish population.

In the near-absence of Turkish business class, the state was not only actively involved in economic activities, but also took the task of creating indigenous entrepreneurs. Despite the shifts between liberal and etatist policies, the creation of national economic development remained as the ultimate goal that could contribute to the national unity and cohesion (Çakmakçı and Oba, 2007: 700-1). The new Turkey's search for a development strategy was embodied in a massive Economic Congress organized in İzmir between February 17, and March 4, 1923.[90] The outcome was an agreement that later became known as the "Economic Pact." The congress advocated national wealth creation through export-oriented agricultural production by Turkish farmers. Moreover, it assumed the nationalization of commercial classes necessary for the economic independence (Atasoy, 2005: 50).[91] This was very much parallel to the later practices of building the national economy.

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[90] The capitulations, the main hindrance to the economic development, were abolished the same year.

[91] The creation of the Turkish bourgeoisie had been hand in hand with the Kemalist modernization project. According to Ayşe Buğra (1999: 50), the relationship between the state and some selected business families was "more subtle than one that could be described in terms of sheer nepotism. It was a relationship in which the businessman, to be successful, had to convince political authorities of his desire and ability to serve the state throughout entrepreneurial activity" and "the social status of the business class was largely defined by the nature of the national development project."

In the early years, the merchant class and money-lenders of non-Muslim minorities in Turkey largely immigrated to Europe; their properties were confiscated by the state and then bought by the emerging Muslim bourgeoisie cheaply (Keyder, 1981: 23). The Wealth Tax of 1942, which discriminated against the Armenian, Greek, and Jewish commercial groups, is another example that illustrates how ethnicity played a central role in the estrangement of private capital groups from the state (Atasoy, 2005: 59).

A more practical reason of the İzmir Congress was to reassure the Western Allies that Turkey was not planning to nationalize her economy despite her good relations with the Soviet Union. Mustafa Kemal emphasized in the congress the significance of a pluralist system and free initiative, as well as the cooperation of all social classes[92] for the national development rather than a class struggle.[93] After having submitted the Economic Pact to the parliament, Turkey launched a two-year experiment with free economic enterprise. State intervention in the economy was minimal (Nas, 1992: 13).

The goals of the İzmir Congress were never achieved; first, because Turkey lacked sufficient human and financial resources; and, second, because the "RPP leaders in the countryside used the political power at their disposal for individual

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[92] Before the congress, Mustafa Kemal put forth his optimistic doctrine of *sınıfsız cemiyet* (classless society), which would enormously affect Turkish politic in subsequent years. In this regard, Musta Kemal rejected the idea that political parties were established to pursue economic interests.

[93] According to Parla and Davidson (2004: 28), the dialectic between Atatürk's vision for a liberal democratic future and his focus on the necessity to consolidate power in vanguard elite led to the development of corporatism in Turkey. Corporatism "opposes the central categories of liberalism and Marxian models of society. It views individualism in the former as overly atomistic and consequently disruptive of social equilibrium, and it views the struggle and warfare, if not the sheer presence, of classes in the latter as detrimental to the maintenance of the social system."

economic advantage," as the Ottoman bureaucrats used to do (Karpat, 2004: 225). The economic conditions of people in Turkey actually worsened after 1925, and this gave way to the emergence of opposition parties in 1925 and 1930. The internal political turmoil and the world economic crisis of 1929-30 compelled the secular establishment to re-consider its economic vision. After a short experiment of economic liberalization, Turkey introduced protectionist policies in response to the balance of payments crisis in 1926, and the domestic imbalances caused by the Great Depression, the worldwide economic downturn that started in 1929 and affected the following decade. These include higher tariffs, quotas, and strict foreign-exchange controls (Nas, 1992: 13-4).

The statist economic theory, which emerged in the 1930s in the form of a modest industralization program, eventually was incorporated in the party convention and in the Constitution itself. Statism, or "State capitalism," sanctioned "the intervention of the government in the economy as investor, supervisor, and regulator" (Karpat, 2004: 230). In the early 1903s, the Western countries themselves were involved in protectionist and deflationary policies, as well, and could not object Turkey's departure from liberal economy. In 1933, the Turkish government embarked on its first Five-Year Industrialization Plan under the Soviet tutelage. Turkey was one of the first countries developing an Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) model in the 1930s. The model marked the priority of import substitution and the beginning of state-led industrialization "with a unique state-private sector partnership, which lasted more than four decades" (Nas, 1992: 14).

While the state became the driving force of industrialization providing the consumption good and some inputs for the private sector, "the remaining economic sectors were organized around singular and compulsory corporatist structures whose

purpose was to increase government regulation and control rather than promote associational consultation" (Bianchi, 1984: 101-102).[94] The state-corporatist model flavored with the populism of classlessness would occupy the Turkish economy in the following years. In this regard, reducing statism to the only option for the new state in the absence of private economy can prevent the observers to realize its main function: Statism contributed to the secular establishment to ground their hegemony, eliminate any potential powers, and create its own bourgeoisie. It was instrumental as "the Republican elite were suspicious of those policies that propose to achieve capital accumulation by strengthening landlords" (Demir et al, 2004: 167).

The expansion of state enterprises meant the expansion of bureaucratic authority in all economic activities. In practice, this also meant for the market players that "the road to money and wealth passed through the government" (Karpat, 2004: 230). The economic entrepreneurs had to establish close ties with the state. The private sector and the state elite, wealth and political power intermingled (Demir et al, 2004: 167). The forerunner of this kind of relations was the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which was called ''the vanguard of the nascent Turkish bourgeoisie" not only because of their support to businessmen, but also because of their active involvement in business (Uygur, 2009: 212). The founders of the Republic, once members of this committee, continued this tradition. For instance, Atatürk and some of his associates in government founded in 1924 the İş Bank (Buğra, 1994: 43). It was also known as the "bank of politicians"; the Finance

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[94] The state corporations were seen as the success of the Kemalist Westernization project. Sümerbank, that was founded in 1934, took over old Ottoman textile plants and built new state-owned enterprises throughout the country, was believed to bring civilization to wherever it went. Similarly, in 1935, the state established monopoly over sugar production and created the State Sugar Corporation, *Türkşeker*. Sugar factories were known as "Atatürk's minarets" (ESI, 2005: 13, 17).

Minister Celal Bayar was the bank director (Atasoy, 2005: 53). When in 1925 the Turkish Match Company was established as a joint venture with a Belgium firm, the then Prime Minister İsmet İnönü, Finance Minister Celal Bayar, and deputy Cemal Hüsnü were among the shareholders (Boratav, 1982: 21). Shortly, in the absence of a Turkish business class, the civil-military bureaucrats turned themselves into a national bourgeoisie.

In contrast to the secular establishment's hold on the urban economy, the new state did little to expand its hegemony to the rural economy. The agricultural boom before the Great Depression helped the government to finance industrialization. The economic surplus from the rural sector was used for the urban industrialization; however, in return, the peasants and small farmers had almost no gain. The land reform was not put into practice. The rural groups were not included into the political decision making process, too. The deflationary monetary policies of the single party regime, which restricted the money supply and consequently decreased the quality of life for the rural majority, also created discontent among the peasants. Combining this with the aggressive secularist policies of the government, it would not be any surprise that the gendarme and tax collectors of the government became hated characters in rural areas, more than ever (Zürcher, 2004: 217).

6.1.2 State and Economy during the Cold War

Alarmed by the deteriorating economy, Atatürk replaced his old friend İsmet İnönü with Celal Bayar in 1937, signaling a shift from statism to liberal economy. However, Atatürk's death on November 10, 1938 put an end to this policy change. The heavy economic burdens and the inefficient state controls, combined with the anti-religion policies of the government, were bringing the country "near the explosion point" (Karpat, 2004: 230).

In this demoralized context, it was the Land Reform Bill of 1945 that triggered the political cracks in the economic realm. The CHP intended to redistribute all land worked by wage labor, tenancy, and sharecropping to the immediate tillers.[95] While the single party government introduced the bill to placate the rural population suffering the economic contraction and black marketing, the land owners and the urban bourgeoisie feared that this change would weaken their power vis-à-vis the state. They argued that the land reform would violate the principle of private property in the constitution. Within the CHP, this fear was mainly represented by Celal Bayar, a businessman-banker, and Adnan Menderes, a cotton-growing landlord (Atasoy 2005: 66). This intra-party split would in short turn into a rival party. The land-owning class and the urban middle class broke with the CHP and created the Democratic Party under Bayar and Menderes. The CHP was blamed of having rigged the 1946 elections, but was challenged by the growing political opposition party, the DP. In this new politically competitive environment; the CHP government, unable to go on with the land reform, gave small concessions to the rural population and conservative town dwellers by opening the Imam-Hatip schools to train new religious personnel for state mosques, as well as a Faculty of Divinity at Istanbul University in 1948. Nevertheless, such efforts could not hinder the DP coming to power in the 1950 elections with an overwhelming majority.

Starting from 1950, the DP government pursued economic liberalization basically thorough a shift from state-led heavy industrialization to export-oriented agricultural production. In total, the DP promised to make Turkey "a little America"

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[95] The bill offered all landed property in excess of 500 *dönüm* (123, 5 acres) to be expropriated and redistributed to landless or land-short peasants. After months of debate in parliament and strong opposition by large landowners, the bill was limited only to the redistribution of state-owned lands.

(Kasaba, 1993: 51). Lowering interest rates, encouraging foreign investment, and removing the state monopoly on certain goods are some of the DP's economic policies. Massive state subsidies and cheap credits to farmers, high-price policy for agricultural products, the expansion of land under cultivation, and increased agricultural mechanization were part of a development project linked to the mobilization of rural producers (Atasoy, 2005: 90). Supported by Marshall Plan and the government's cheap credit policy, Turkish peasants were, for the first time, introduced to tractors to cultivate land. While there were only 1750 tractors in 1948, this number increased to 44,144 by 1957 (Hale, 1981: 95). The DP government also redistributed state lands to the landless and less-propertied farmers and increased the amount of cultivated land approximately 67 per cent (Margulies and Yildizoglu, 1987: 281).

Although the DP prioritized agricultural growth, it also pursued the idea of creating a private industrial bourgeoisie through imposing import restrictions on consumer goods. Moreover, the urban bourgeoisie improved on the basis of rising demand from the country side for the consumer products and the liberalization of export-import laws. Buğra (1999: 69, 72) notes a 1960 survey of 126 private industrial companies, which found out that 60 per cent of them were established between 1946 and 1960. In line with the Republican tradition, 24,42 per cent of private industrialists were former state bureaucrats, the merchants constituted only 20,83 per cent.

In the 1954 elections, the Democratic Party increased its parliamentary majority; however, the economic situation did not parallel the party's electoral success. The electoral victory led the Democrats accelerate further economic development via inflationary policies; however, this resulted in the growing budeget

deficits and the depreciation of the currency (Karpat, 1972: 354). The same year, the decline in the global demand for Turkish agricultural products led to stagnation. Bad weather conditions, extensive farming beyond the natural limits, loose monetary policies of the government, and rural tax exemptions engendered a first major economic crisis in Turkey (Birtek and Keyder, 1975). The government resorted more interventionist policies after 1957, yet economic crisis worsened. After the 1958 devaluation, the DP used more authoritarian measures against the harsh critiques of the opposition in the parliament and media. The economic and political disorder provided the fertile ground for the coup d'état on May 27, 1960.

The military intervention in 1960 handed power to the *Milli Birlik Komitesi* (the Committee for National Unity) headed by General Cemal Gürsel (Karpat, 1972: 357). Despite its nationalist populist rhetoric, the military government, supported by the urban bourgeoisie and the big industrialists, encouraged the private sector to negotiate joint ventures and subsidiary agreements with foreign capital.[96] In 1965, when the Justice Party (AP), the offspring of the DP, achieved the parliamentary majority, the class alliances changed. The AP, which was assumed to represent the periphery and the rural interests, began flirting with the big industrialists. This included high tariff protections and favorable credits available for big business. As a result of this rapprochement, the party of the periphery under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel was gradually filled by the capitalist-secularist faction (Salt, 1995: 15). Demirel's refusal to embrace conservative liberalism alienated some of the party's constituency (Cizre, 1996: 239-40). The conservative Anatolian bourgeoisie, the artisans and craftsmen needed an alternative outlet for their

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[96] These were indeed the strategies of the western economies to surpass the nationalist barriers and penetrate the protected markets.

economic and moral aspirations. However, when the military intervened in 1971 to correct the ideological "anarchy" on the streets, it also closed that alternative formation, namely, Erbakan's MNP. Moreover, big business with the help of the new government started to clean the chambers of commerce from the "anti-secular" elements. Besides, the military which also closed most of the labor organizations, did not touch the TUSIAD and some medium-scale business organizations. This meant that the military had no problems with the bourgeoisie.

From the late 1950s to the late 1970s, the Turkish economy was based on a state-led Third World development model, i.e. Import-Substitution Industrialization (ISI). Theoretically, the model combined the features of a nationalist ideology, a welfare state, and rapid industrialization. In practice, it was "a process in which technology, capital goods, and inputs were imported, and the final product was locally manufactured to cater to the state-protected domestic market" (Gülalp 2001: 435). Turkish large industrialists assembled the foreign manufactured parts of consumer durables with the joint venture deals. According to a 1973 survey of 89 industrial firms in the assembly industry, 42 per cent of the total capital of these firms belonged to foreign capital groups (Atasoy, 2005: 117). Turkey's two biggest conglomerates, the Koç and Sabancı groups, seized the opportunities of the import substitution model under high tariff walls and state subsidies and became the sole technological suppliers to the Turkish economy. While there were only a handful of holdings supported by the state to lead the economic development during the one-party rule, a dozen new holdings were added to the state favorites. As embodied in TÜSİAD, big family-owned conglomerates dominated the Turkish economy. While small and medium enterprises account for 99,5 percent of the business population

and 76,7 percent of employment, they generate only 26,5 percent of value-added and less than 10 percent of the country' exports (Çevik, 2005: 2).

An important outcome of the ISI model was the dependence of capital accumulation on policies and politics, rather than the flow of markets. The large industrialists relied on the state bureaucracy and employed rent-seeking behavior for some incentives provided by the state, such as cheap credit availability, cheap foreign exchange, permission to import some intermediate and immediate goods etc. Therefore, the pre-liberalization period resulted in a "narrow distributional coalition between the state bureaucracy and the business community" (Demir, 2005: 669). While the big industrialists enjoyed their close relations to the state bureaucracy, the small firms could take only a tiny share of the cake. For instance, the small firms received only 2,7 per cent of total bank credits in 1974, although they were responsible for 25 per cent of total industrial production. This meant only 1,5 per cent increase from the 1963 level of credits allocated to small firms (Atasoy, 2005: 117).

In 1971, the large industrialists[97] broke away from TOB to defend their own class interests more effectively. "TUSIAD advocated a move away from protectionism in favor of export promotion, in contrast to Anatolian industrialists who continued to support protectionism" and maintained strong relations with the State Planning Organization and the Turkish military (Atasoy, 2005: 119). It was TUSIAD that pressured the military government in 1972 to take away the foreign

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[97] The twelve leading industrial tycoons who founded TÜSİAD were Vehbi Koç (Koç), Nejat Eczacıbaşı (Eczacıbaşı), Sakıp Sabancı (Sabancı), Selçuk Yaşar (Yaşar), Raşit Özsaruhan (Özsaruhan), Ahmet Sapmaz (Güney Sanayi), Feyyaz Berker (Tekfen), Özakat (Özakat), İbrahim Bodur (Bodur), Hikmet Erenyol (Joint Stock Co. Electro-Metallurgy), Osman Boyner (Altınyıldız) and Muzaffer Gazioğlu (Joint Stock Co. Cement Industries) (Buğra, 1998: 524).

exchange allocation from the authority of the TOB and give to various ministers. The big conglomerates manipulated several incentive programs through their close contacts with the governmental bodies, while small and medium sized firms could not afford to hire any personnel to work in Ankara (Biddle and Milor, 1997: 286, 291). In the late 1970s, TÜSİAD exerted pressure on the government through the mass media and in this way even led the Ecevit government resign in November 1979. The successive Demirel government's economic measures on January 24, 1980 were also in line with TÜSİAD's demands. Moreover, three TÜSİAD members served as ministers during the military rule between 1980 and 1983 and the union obtained most of the favors it asked from the government in return of its support for the military regime (Gülfidan, 1993: 71, 91).

6.1.3 The Economic Liberalization and its Aftermath

Paradoxically, yet as in some Latin American countries such as Chile and Argentina, Turkey switched from the ISI regime to an export-led free market model under military rule between 1980 and 1983. The larger paradox in this economic liberalization was that "although the new economic paradigm was based on the assumption of rationality of households (and therefore of people) and firms, the political environment was characterized by an assumption of irrationality or inability of people to determine their own fates under free elections with democratic institutions" (Demir, 2005: 670). Having imposed severe restrictions on trade union and labor rights, the military eliminated any possible public opposition to the structural adjustment programs.

Turkey indeed began switching its macroeconomic policies from import-substitution to an export-oriented regime on January 24, 1980, when the AP-led Nationalist Front in government prepared a structural adjustment report on the Turkish economy under the management of Turgut Özal from the State Planning Organization. The main policies of the package were:

a) Institutional changes aimed at making policy formulation and implementation more effective.

b) A devaluation of Turkish lira vis-à-vis the U.S dollar by 33 percent, followed by continuous mini devaluations, and the limitation of multiple exchange rate policies.

c) Greater liberalization of trade and payment regulations.

d) Additional promotional measures for exports.

e) Substantial price increases for state traded goods and abolition of price controls.

f) Increased competition for state economic enterprises by eliminating state subsidies and abolition of price controls on their products.

g) Higher rates of interest.

h) Promotion of foreign investments.

i) Arrangements for consolidating Turkey's private commercial debt.

j) Draft legislation for tax reform that would ease corporate tax burdens (Eralp, 1993: 4).

The AP-led government under Prime Minister Demirel could not enforce this package because of the civil war like conditions throughout the country. On September 12, 1980, the military violently intervened, closed all political parties and civil associations except TÜSİAD. It entrusted economic policy-making to Demirel's chief economic advisor and the architect of that stabilization program, Turgut Özal (Sayari, 1992: 29). The Özal-led economic liberalization policies had three basic objectives: the minimization of state intervention, the establishment of a free market economy, and the integration of the Turkish economy with the global economy. In this framework, the government focused on the items of a neo-liberal agenda: "privatization, flexible labor markets, financial de-regulation, flexible exchange rate regimes, central bank independence (with inflation targeting), fiscal austerity, and good governance" (Cizre and Yeldan, 2005: 388).

Özal's market reform disturbed the industrial bourgeoisie and big business which used to benefit from the inefficient import substitution strategy and worried about the loss of state protection for them (Keyder, 1987: 202). As late as in the mid-1980s, the big firms were not able to convert their assets in the protected industries to manufacturing exportable goods. The two tycoons, the Koç and Sabancı conglomerates, for instance, exported only about six percent of their turnover in 1986. The state-supported big companies lobbied the military against Özal. Sabancı and Koç from TÜSİAD went to Ankara to pressure the military government to remove the Minister of Finance Özal who was implementing the 1980 structural adjustment program. Subsequently, Özal was fired by the generals in 1982. Prior to the 1987 general elections, the big businessmen were also reported to have contributed campaign money to Süleyman Demirel, who always supported the big industrialists (Patton, 1992: 118-9). In order to eliminate the opposition, Özal relied

on two strategies. Firstly, he appointed a group of young US-trained technocrats committed to the neoliberal model and worked with them instead of the Kemalist state bureaucracy. Known as the princes, this group, loyal to Özal, became the key group in implementing the structural adjustment program (Buğra, 1994: 56). Secondly, Özal supported the development of the small and medium sized enterprises as a new coalition of interests as an alternative to the urban big industrialists.

The economic developments underlined the fact of the post-1980 Turkey that politics was pragmatically subordinated to the economic imperatives of neo-liberalism. In parallel, Turgut Özal created the Motherland Party (ANAP) in 1983 to articulate its claim for popular hegemony as the "new right." Propagating a conservative nationalism in the form of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, economic liberalization, and a populist emphasis on the *orta direk* (middle class), Özal tired to achieve a cross-class expansive hegemony and create a consensus through gathering four political tendencies: the conservatives, the nationalists, the liberals, and the social democrats.

Coming to the 1991 elections, the ANAP's ambitious project to represent the national will failed, as the pro-American liberals and the pro-Islamist conservatives within the party went to their separate ways.[98] On the economic side, crucial problems like inflation and unemployment remained unsolved and an end to import dependency could not be realized.[99] Despite the defeat of the ANAP at polls, the

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[98] The former members of the MSP began to join the Welfare Party.

[99] It is interesting to observe that the GNP growth rates were hardly influenced by the macroeconomic policy changes. The average GNP growth rate was approximately 4.2% for the period 1970–2004. Before the economic liberalization, between 1970 and 1980, the ratio was 4.07%. Between 1981 and 2004, which was after the change in macroeconomic policies, the average GNP growth rate was 4.29% (Özsoy, 2008: 199).

following government led by Süleyman Demirel continued the neoliberal policies. After Özal's death in 1993, Demirel became president, Tansu Çiller as the new leader of the True Path took over the Prime Ministry, and period of unstable coalition governments began.

Throughout the 1990s, Turkey went through "a series of short-term cycles of instability- crisis-(unsustained) growth-instability" (Cizre and Yeldan, 2005: 388). The February 28 process was launched in-between Turkey's biggest financial crises in 1994, 1998, and 2001. In the aftermath of the 1994 crisis, the Turkish economy contracted by 6,1 percent. The reasons included large public sector deficits, rapid increases in foreign and domestic stocks, high inflation rates, and negative developments in foreign markets (Etkin et al, 2000: 65). In the first quarter of 1994, the Turkish Lira was devalued more than 50 percent against the US dollar. Interest rates skyrocketed, the Central Bank lost half of its reserves, and the inflation rates even reached three-digit level. The economic contraction at 6,1 percent was the highest level of annual output loss in Turkey's republican history (Celasun, 1998 : 2). The government initially requested support from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and a stabilization program later supported by an IMF Stand-By was initiated on April 5th, 1994. However, the government lost its interest in proceeding with an IMF program or a Bank adjustment loan, once the economy recovered after a sizable real devaluation (Kavalsky, 2006: 3; Celasun, 1998: 2).[100]

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[100] Despite the internal security issues, structural imbalances, and inflation approaching three-digit levels, the economic growth from 1995 to 1997 was over 7 percent. Kavalsky (2006: 4) relates this to the expansion of private investment and output due to the flow of emittances from Turkish workers, the so-called "suitcase trade" with the former Soviet Union, the development of tourism as an industry, and the new opportunities created after the Customs Union with the EU signed in early 1996.

Despite the fragile economic situation and deteriorating public budget deficit, the military maintained its dominant share in central budget expenditures (Senesen, 1995). Moreover, the governments indeed increased its military spending, while having reduced its spending on education and health. In 1999, for instance, Turkey's expenditure on health, investment and education amounted to 2,8 percent, 5,5 percent, and 11,1 percent respectively, while the share of the military spending was 14 percent. As Demir (2005: 676) states, "[a]lthough in theory any spending from the central budget is subject to parliamentary approval, in practice the defence budget is the only item that passes without any discussion or criticism in the parliament."

Not included in the calculation of the defense budget, there are also two institutions through which the military has involved in market activities: *Ordu Yardımlaşma Kurumu* (OYAK - Armed Forces Trust and Pension Fund) and *Türk Silahli Kuvvetlerini Güçlendirme Vakfı* (TSKGV - Foundation for Strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces). OYAK was founded by parliament in 1961, right after Turkey's first coup d'etat to provide economic benefits for the members of the army.[101] Nevertheless, it transgressed its initial mission as a pension fund for the military and developed into a conglomerate with its economic activities ranging from tourism to real estate. It ranked in the top three conglomerates in the country. Besides its shares in forty companies affiliated with large domestic firms such as Sabancı and Koç or international firms such as DuPont, Goodyear, Mobil, Renault and Shell; OYAK also owns the OYAK Bank and a portfolio management company. While Turkey was suffering shaky economic conditions, OYAK was allowed to "operate

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[101] Article 1 of the OYAK Law 15 states that: "The Armed Forces Mutual Assistance Foundation was founded to be bound to the Ministry of National Defence and to provide members of Turkish Armed Forces with social assistance set out herein…" (Demir, 2005: 677).

with the help of wide-ranging subsidies, tax exemptions and special provisions" (Demir 2005: 679).

While the military directly involved in market economy, the close connection between the state and the big conglomerates reigned the pattern of the Turkish economy. Political connections remained as "an important asset used in the accumulation of private capital" (Buğra, 1994: 43). The state-business relations have been marked by clientalistic networks and the state retained its dominant position for the business class (Gülalp, 2001: 438). In the post-1980 liberalization, people from the private sector became more acceptable in the public offices, while private companies also tended to employ insiders from the public administration, mostly retired employees to advice on related matters. As Heper (1991: 17) argues; what could explain the state-business relations in Turkey were neither state corporatism nor pluralism, but rather clientalism and paternalism.

6.2 The Islamic Capital

Islamic economics basically refers to the mobilization of Muslim groups who organize their economic and financial activities upon the foundation of Islam's symbolic authority. It, for instance, includes halal food producers, companies donating regularly to Islamic foundations, and hotels serving with sex-segregated swimming pools and alcohol-free restaurants. According to Timur Kuran (2004: 82-3), Islamic economics in modern terms dates back to the 1940s, when the Hindu majority Indian state came closer to independence and the Muslim minority mobilized the Muslim merchants to consolidate resources and create a power base.

Islam was used to identify the distinction of these economic groups vis-à-vis their Hindu counterparts.

Since Turkey's transition to a liberal economy in 1980, a new business class has been developing. Composed of mostly small and medium-sized enterprise owners, it has links to the growing religious movements. Its novelty stems from the assumption that "pious people, for a long time, were not very interested in participating in economic activities in a rational and modern way" (Uygur, 2009: 211).[102] Economic development and religion were located at the opposite categories in the Kemalist formula. Religion was supposed to be for poor traditional villagers, whereas modernization and economic wealth would lead to further secularization, but now there appeared to be growing an urban class both pious and rich. In the mid1990s, Islamic organizations became considerable economic actors through their multi-owner partnerships spreading from Germany to several cities of Anatolia.

Some prominent studies relate this phenomenon to Weber's Protestant ethic thesis and focus on the positive correlation between religious values and business activities (ESI, 2005; Özdemir, 2006). Some other studies employ an economic approach according to which Islam was just a means to accumulate capital and the development of the Islamic economy was primarily related to the economic liberalization in Turkey (Kuran, 1993; Buğra, 1998). This study rather reads the phenomenon in terms of politics of dignity, and treats it as the assertion of the other-defined groups deprived from any economic and social privileges. Though an Islamic framing of work ethic and the opportunities provided by the free market system might have contributed significantly to the emergence of this new class, they both are

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[102] The connection of religiosity and poverty was also resulted from the mystic interpretations of Islam that pays more importance on modesty.

not its necessary conditions. Basically, it is rather their strive for social recognition and will to power that initially motivated them to develop economically after having been ostracized and deprived from the benefits of being at the center for such a long time. In Tuğal's (2002, 98) terms, "many Islamists, who do not want to see Islam as a poor people's movement, resist this strong resentment and class hatred."

One should underline that the small and medium Anatolian firms did not form a single monolithic category and not all Anatolian capital could be rendered to the Islamic capital (Demir et al, 2004: 168). As Gülalp (2001: 438) expresses, "not all of these petty entrepreneurs, whether the small-scale industrialists in provincial towns or the intermediaries in poor neighborhoods of Istanbul, are necessarily Islamist, but the Islamist segment of the business class comes primarily from among this sector." Locality in the form of *Anadoluluk* (Anatolianhood), not as a geographical unit, but as a culture, has been praised with strong references to traditional values, Islam, and nationalism.

6.2.1 The Economic Growth of Pious Muslims

Before the liberalization reforms, the small and medium firms were represented by the TOBB established in 1950. Yet, this corporatist association was under government control and had little influence in policy-making. More importantly, it was not a homogeneous organization and contained the split of interests between the large industrialists in Istanbul and Izmir versus the smaller merchants in the inner Anatolia (Bianchi, 1984: 261). The exacerbated anatagonism within the union led to the formation of TUSIAD in 1971 (Bianchi, 1984: 256-9).

In the pre-1980 period, it was the big industrial groups that benefited from state protectionism and public investment sector, and that had close ties with state bureaucracy. For instance, during the 1970s, small firms could get only around three to four percent of the total credit given by the state institutions and banks. Small traditional traders and merchants felt threatened by the industrialization policies and were quite disadvantaged in comparison to the secularist big capitalist foundations (Henry and Springborg, 2001: 212).

The Özal era marks the shift of the religious people from lower to higher class in Turkish society. After the 1980 intervention, the military allowed liberal policies not in politics and culture, but only in economy (İnsel, 2003: 295). This economic liberalization provided fertile ground for the small and medium-sized businesses in Anatolia to establish their own financial networks and get organized outside the control of the state. The Özal government's outward-oriented strategy invigorated the export-driven Islamic business that could counter-balance to the big secular industrialists of the import substitution system. The incentive programs and the efforts of pro-Islamist members in the government provided wider access to credit from official sources (Ayata, 1993: 58). One should add to this the pragmatism of Özal-led technocrat elite who helped to the integration Islamic components with liberalism (Göle, 1997: 48). Turgut Özal's emphasis on freedom of entrepreneurship did not only mean that he encouraged people to set up their own businesses, but also that he wanted to create a new genre of entrepreneurship that could better work with neoliberal policies rather than the big industrialists. Like Margaret Thatcher in United Kingdom, Turgut Özal was also trying to create new entrepreneurs through adopting the free market economy and moral transformation, and this contributed to the increasing number of pious businessmen and associations (Uygur, 2009: 213).

Parallel to Özal's policy which favored the Anatolian periphery in pursuing the new coalition building, the post-1980 governments took active role in the construction of organized industrial districts for small and medium-size enterprises with certain tax advantages. While only six such districts were built between 1962 and 1987, they increased to 36 by 1996 (Gülalp, 2001: 437).

Economic liberalism became a life saver for the Islamic capitalists as it could disengage the state from the economy and counter the discrimination by the state authorities.[103] Due to economic exclusion by the import substitution system of the state, the Islamic capitalists were already engaged in outward-oriented sectors. As they grew, they also attracted transnational allies. The new winners of globalization, in this way, could accumulate wealth and gain some sort of political independence.

The growing success of the small-scale family enterprises in the 1990s led them to be dubbed as "Anatolian Tigers" reminiscent of the economic miracle of some East Asian countries known as the Asian Tigers.[104] On small but effective production units, these companies were able to adapt to changing domestic and foreign developments in economy through their flexible production systems (Cizre and Yeldan, 2000: 499-500). In this way, according to Buğra (1998: 528), they managed to establish "a strategic fit" between traditional institutions of social relations and the modern requirements of global trade.

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[103] Moreover, the marriage between economic Islam and liberalism has been driven by their common ideological opposition to socialism and state controlled economy (Warde, 2000: 45).

[104] The term "Anatolian Tigers" has been used in an affirmatve way. Nevertheless, thier adversaries call them "green capital" or "Islamic capital" and relate their presence to political concerns, that is, they want to raise money to finance a prospective Islamic state (Ülsever, 2000). In addition, "Anatolian Tigers" as a term stresses the local dynamics, whereas "Green Money" implies a global and imperial structure transgressing Turkey's boundaries.

After the shift from a state-oriented economy to the free market, the new Islamic capitalists learned to adapt to markets and got richer as globalization deepened. Some of them even turned into big firms and joint ventures in Europe, especially in Germany, where Islamic companies could attract the savings of Turkish guest workers keeping their money out of banks due to their religious concerns like the ban on the interest. Some Islamic corporation models, which became among Turkey's largest holding firms, such as Kombassan Holding, İhlas, and Yimpaş relied on these funds. In this way, the rise of the conservative Anatolian entrepreneurs extended the big cities of Anatolia and even Istanbul. The export-oriented Anatolian tigers expanded their boundary into Europe through joining Turkish guest workers and establishing joint ventures. After several failed partnership attempts in the 1960s and 1970s, especially the Anatolian cities such as Konya, Yozgat, Denizli, Çorum, Aksaray, and Gaziantep became after the 1980s the centers of capital accumulation by companies with many shareholders (Demir et al, 2004: 168). According to a survey of small and medium-size manufacturing industries in five provincial town (Denizli, Gaziantep, Konya, Çorum, and Edirne), more than 80 percent of the surveyed firms were established after 1980, and almost half established after 1990 (Gülalp, 2001: 437).

In the economic expansion of the Islamists, Özcan and Çokgezen (2006: 147) underline the importance of cultural authority as follows: "The spread of Islamic companies and their promised moral economic revival took root in social institutions often under the guiding leadership of a paternal figure who had indisputable authority and recognition." Leading religious figures played an important role in motivating the Muslim masses on the way of economic development. The main argument was that "the search for profit in the service of the Muslim community is

on an equal level, in terms of religious practice, with prayer and fasting" (ESI, 2005: 24). The intra-community solidarity developed economic co-operation and mutual support. While those companies give charities and finance mosques, schools, dormitories and Koran courses for their communities, members of those communities prefer and buy the products of those companies. "This process, while creating a suitable social atmosphere for the religious people engaged in economic activities, at the same time – by legitimizing the pursuit of economic well being – accelerated the process in which religious people engaged in economic activities" (Demir et al, 2004: 170).

Beside the motivational role, the religious groups played as a connection point between the governments and the pious businessmen. Considering Özal's strong connections with the religious communities, especially the Nakhshibandi brotherhood, one should not get surprised that those religious communities took the role of lobbyist for the Islamist capitalists. Many of them even established their own investment companies, media groups, hospitals and schools after the 1980s (Shankland, 1999: 68). Server Holding, for instance, is a company led by the İskenderpaşa branch of Nakshibandis (Çemrek, 2002: 142). In the 1990s, the local municipalities run by the Welfare Party became another source for the Anatolian companies. While the National Vision parties gained a coniserable power at local elections, they led religious people and companies benefit from the local opportunities. "The reciprocal nature of the relationship between political and economic power became known to them" (Demir at al, 2004: 171). What the state and the big industrialists were enjoying up to that time was being practiced at local level between the Welfare municipalities and the conservative companies.

6.2.2 The MUSIAD

MUSIAD was founded on May 5, 1990 by twelve young businessmen in Istanbul.[105] The emphasis on independence on the title was a discursive challenge of the emergent Anatolian bourgeoisie to TUSIAD for its "state-embeddedness" and "rent-seeking." Due to its pro-Islamic attitude, the first letter of the acronym "M" has been commonly perceived as standing for Muslim rather than for independent as "Müstakil" in Turkish. The founding chairman of MUSIAD was Erol Yarar, the son of one of the founding members of TUSIAD, directed the organization until Ali Bayramoğlu replaced him in May 1999 (Çemrek, 2002: 151).

While TUSIAD consists of a small number (around 400) of large tycoons companies heavily concentrated in Istanbul and its near region, MUSIAD mostly includes many labor-intensive small and medium-scale firms (around 2000) dispersed throughout the country.[106] Yet, it also has some giant companies as members such as Kombassan, Ittifak, and Yimpaş Holding. Several MUSIAD companies sought the ways of becoming internationally competitive. Kombassan, for instance, founded its joint ventures in Germany in 1997 and Netherlands in 1998. Ülker Group, which was targeting the Middle Eastern market in the 1970s, established joint-ventures in Netherlands in 1993 and two years later in Denmark (Jang, 2005: 212).

MÜSİAD, mostly consisting of members with fewer than 25 employees, claimed that its constituency was treated by the state unfairly in comparison to the

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[105] There is now a considerable litarature on MUSIAD (for instance, see Öniş, 1997; Buğra, 1998; Çemrek, 2002).

[106] MUSIAD has no condition blocking double membership and, i.e. the director of İhlas Holding and Ülker group are members in both of the associations (Çemrek, 2002: 238).

Istanbul-based big bourgeoisie. As if they were the "step-children of the state," the small firms were able to get around three to four per cent of the total credit given by the state institutions in the 1990s. This happened in spite of the fact that those small firms constituted more than 90 percent of manufacturing sector in Turkey as of 1990 (Gülalp, 2001: 439). Some of the MUSIAD's members had better fortune during the Welfare-led government. About 30 MUSIAD members participated in Erbakan's visit to some Muslim countries. In addition, Kombassan, Yimpaş, Ülker, and İttifak were known to receive credits from the Welfare government. At the local level, the Welfare-run municipalities gave preferential treatment to the religious companies. During Tayyip Erdoğan's mayorship between 1994 and 1998, for instance, the municipality worked closely with the Islamic businessmen in several city projects such as installation of water lines, upgrading of sanitation facilities, and improvement of transit system. These companies included Kombassan, Yimpaş, Ülker, and Albayrak (Jang, 2005: 231). This preferential treatment irritated the big bourgeoisie. Fuat Miras, the ex-chairman of TOBB complained that "the WP wing of government works in partnership with MÜSİAD. In every position, at every bid they are present. Those not in MÜSİAD have been excluded from foreign trips" (Çokgezen, 2000: 539).

When it comes to Islam, MÜSİAD is known for defending Islamic ethics in economy and the importance of religion for individual's life and social order. It represents the religiously conservative small and medium size enterprizes. In a similar fashion to the Protestant Ethic, MÜSİAD's president Yarar stated that "For a Muslim individual, the goal in this life is to get the consent of the Creator, Allah. . . . In this respect, economic development is not an end in itself, but simply a means to this end" (quoted in Gülalp, 2001: 440). While MÜSİAD members are not banned

from working with conventional banks, they are encouraged to ask an Islamic adviser for halal (religiously lawful) ways of earning and spending. The rationale was the development of the "homo Islamicus" (man of Islam, Muslim-man type),[107] as described in MÜSİAD periodicals:

> […] a Muslim businessman must earn halal means (in the way that Allah wants) and spend in a halal way, he must avoid tricks, speculation and monopolizing, he should not pursue areas of profit that would not please Allah even though they might be very profitable and rational, i.e. producing, selling or advertising alcoholic products, running gambling halls or usury should all be avoided, just as a Muslim should not pursue everything without limit, a Muslim businessman should not produce or do business without limits, he should earn by means of effort and risk, he should escape from interest earnings where he has put no effort and taken no risks, a Muslim must be very careful of the rights of his employees and those with whom he does business. He must know that any earnings gained by abusing other rights will be harmful over the long run, when spending he should avoid he two extremes of wastefulness and miserliness as well as avoiding ostentation, capital should not be left idle; it should be directed to fields suitable to religion, a Muslim businessman must never forget that his capital is a trust and that he must fulfill all his responsibilities toward it. (quoted in Çemrek, 2002: 201-2).

In parallel to the National Vision's economic and foreign policies, MÜSİAD also favored a shift from the West towards a closer union with the Islamic world. The European Union was categorized as the other of the international Muslim community and perceived, together with the USA and Israel, part of the triangle harming Turkey's political, economic, and cultural concerns. After the Customs Union came into effect in 1996, the association boldened its objection as its members were small and medium-sized enterprise owners and were not as ready as the big industrialists for international economic competition (Yankaya, 2009: 9). It was some kind of Ottoman Muslim nationalism adopted by the MÜSİAD as it is apparent in its sales

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[107] The term was voiced by several religious scholars such as Beşir Hamidoğulları, Sabahattin Zaim, and Hayrettin Karaman in the congresses on Islamic economics that were held by Ensar Vakfi since 1983 in Turkey. See for details Yurdakök (ny: 4).

campaigns promising donations to Muslim charities in Bosnia and Chechnya, or opposition to the French Parliament decision approving the so-called Armenian genocide (Çemrek, 2002: 203). However, in the following years, MÜSİAD adopted a pro-EU and pro-globalization liberal position.

6.2.3 Islamic Banking in Turkey

Islamic banking is a modern phenomenon that reflects the need to make the economic practices in Muslim countries conform to Islamic norms. The fundamental pillar of Islamic economics is the prohibition of interest (*riba*) as the unjustified increase of wealth.[108] Therefore, Islamic banking offers profit and loss sharing instead of interest. The depositors do not receive a fixed percentage return, but share any income or loss according to a pre-determined formula. In outcome, the Islamic banks mostly compete with the conventional banks and offer some adaptations of related services like leasing, partnership, mark-up financing or profit sharing. In this sense, Islamic banking allows capitalism without interest, it differs from the interest-based system only by the logic of profit and loss sharing that is the sharing of business risks similar to the equity financing or stock exchanges (Jang, 2005: 135).

The Islamic banks in Turkey, like the others throughout the world, offer profit-sharing proceeds instead of interest and operate two types of accounts. The "current account" does not provide any return, but provides conventional services

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[108] There are some liberal interpretations asking whether riba includes reasonable interest. During the reign of the Suleiman the Magnificient in the 16th century, his Sheik-ul Islam Ebusuud Efendi "granted permission for the collection of interest by foundations working for the betterment of the society" (Turkish Daily News, February 19, 2007). In practice, Timur Kuran (1993: 305) does not see any substantial difference of the Islamic banking from the conventional banking system and interprets the idea of Islamic economics "as much a response to contemporary grievances as it is a nostalgic escape into the imagined simplicity, harmony, and prosperity of an ancient social order."

such as check book, money transfer, and documentary collection. The "profit and loss sharing account," however, lets the holders to share both the profits and losses as a result of investment of their funds. The banks get a maximum of 20 per cent of the profits at the end of any investment activity (Büyükdeniz 1995: 7-9; Özsoy, 1997: 161-165).[109] Generally, Islamic banks have a *shari'a* board to ensure all those practices comply with the Islamic norms (Brown et al, 2006: 97). As a principle, they do not lend their funds for any interest-based financial instruments, or the production of any *haram* items such as pig, gun, alcohol, or pornographic products (Yılmaz, 2010: 37).

Although the Islamic banks emerged very lately, the idea of Islamic finance is pretty old. For instance, Namık Kemal, an Ottoman-Turkish poet and thinker, wrote in daily *İbret* in 1872:

> It is very strange that trade has got honour (in last years.) Business life (in Western countries) produces, now, some men that their wealth are much more than one thousand companies and (we see also) some companies are more powerful than a country. When will we take warning? We have not got any factory. We could not achieve to form a company. Is it a possible progress in business life in this way? Is there a "bank of Muslim"? How (big) wealth exists (for industry)? (Mardin, 1999: 87 in Yurdakök, ny: 10).

Modern Islamic banking was first launched in 1975 with the establishment of the Islamic Development Bank in Jeddah to finance governmental projects in Muslim

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[109] Islamic banks basically use four different instruments of Islamic banking: murabaha, mudaraba, musharaka, and ijarah. In murabaha, the bank buys an asset that a particular customer needs, then leases that asset to the customer through negotiations of a reasonable profit. Mudaraba enables the customer to engage in a joint venture with the bank. The bank supplies credit to initiate the business, and the customer provides the labor. Profit and loss are shared according to the initial contract. In musharaka, both the customer and the bank supply credit and labor, and they share profits and losses. Finally, ijarah is a kind of Islamic leasing, in which the bank makes available to the customer the use of some assets, e.g. heavy machinery, office automation, for a fixed term and price. For details, see (Buyukdeniz 1995: 9-10, Özsoy 1997: 172-176).

countries.[110] Turkey has been one of the founding members of this consortium.[111] The Islamic Bank of Dubai was also founded the same year. In the following decade, Islamic banks grew more decentralized and pragmatic. The two leading transnational Islamic financial institutions were founded in those years: Dar al Maal al Islami backed by Prince Mohammed al-Faisal al-Saud, a member of the Saudi royal family, in 1981, and Dallah Al Baraka by Sheikh Saleh Kamel in 1982. The Islamic banking gained momentum especially after Pakistan completely islamicized its banking system, and Sudan and Egypt opened their own Islamic banks (Warde, 2000: 2-3, 107, 194).

When Turkey was founded in 1923, there were 22 Turkish owned and 13 foreign banks in the country. The Turkish ones were mostly small and local banks (for a historical analysis, see Akgüç, 1987). The 1923 First Economic Congress in İzmir emphasized that the new country was suffering from the lack of capital and needed a national banking system for industrialization. While encouraging the private banks, the government provided the initial capital for four public banks which still exist today. The Central Bank was also founded in 1930 and the Ottoman Bank's monopoly in issuing currency and controlling foreign exchange ended (Tezel, 1982: 226). After the adoption of planned development strategy in 1963, the government used regulatory control over financial institutions through various means such as setting the interest rates and controlling the deposit interest. "Around only a quarter of total credit was free from government control as late as 1983" (Denizer, 1997: 7). As a result of the regulatory restrictive policies and the exit of 23 banks over the

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[110] The first experiment with interest-free banking was indeed set up under cover in Mit Ghamr, Egypt, in 1963, and the model was the German Savings Bank that was modified according the prohibition of interest (Billah, 2006: 402).

[111] The Islamist Development Bank has 9 per cent share in Kuwait Turkish Finance House, and 7,84 percent share in al Baraka Turkish Finance House (Yılmaz, 2010: 11).

1960-1980, Turkey reached by 1980 a very concentrated banking system in which the top 5 banks controlled about 70 percent of deposits. After 1980, Turgut Özal tried to liberalize the economic and financial system. His reforms were successful in the banking sector, as a result of easing of entry restrictions, the number of banks increased from 43 to 66 between 1980 and 1990 (Denizer, 1997: 6-14).

In Turkey, Islamic banking was introduced as part of Özal's economic liberalization policy after the government passed a special law on interest-free banking, the Decree no. 83/7506 issued on December 16, 1983, that launched the Islamic banks under the title of "Special Financial Houses." Since then, the term of "non-interest" got its place in secular Turkish law. The term was unique and resulted from the sensitivity against the use of Islam in those corporations. After another cabinet decision on December 25, 1984, the Special Financial Houses got their final legal status on February 25, 1985.

These new financial institutions were primarily expected to attract all funds previously kept out of the conventional banking system. The devout Muslim population used to conceal their savings from the banks because of the religious ban on interest. Moreover, the Islamic banks could strengthen the economic linkages to the oil-producing Arab states and benefit from the Gulf capital that also refrains from any interest-involvement. In this period, Turkey obtained substantial aid from Arab and Islamic sources like the Islamic Development Bank and welcomed the Islamic banks sponsored by the Arab capital, but did not allow the use of Islam in their name (Warde, 2000: 24, 79). Finally, Özal encouraged the establishment of the Islamic banks to strengthen the center-right bloc to counterbalance the secular left in harsh

opposition to the Özal-led structural adjustment program (Henry, 1996: 130-2).[112]
They were removed from the supervision of the Ministry of Finance and put under
the monitoring of the Prime Ministry, so their financial dealings and fund transfers
from abroad remained outside the banking regulations at the time.

The first Islamic Bank in Turkey was the Al Baraka Turkish Finance House
in February 1985, and two months later the Faisal Finance House was founded.[113]
These two Saudi-Turkish joint ventures were part of two leading transnational
networks of Islamic banking: Sheikh Saleh Kamel's Al Baraka group and Prince
Mohammed al Faisal's Dar al Mal al Islam. In 1998, the Faisal Finance House was
sold to Kombassan Holding, then resold to Ülker Group in 2001 and got the name
Family Finance House. The third Islamic bank was the Kuwait Turkish Finance
House founded in 1989 as a joint venture between the Kuwait Finance House and
Türkiye Vakıflar Bankası (Henry, 2004: 119-20).

These joint ventures were followed by locally financed Islamic banks:
Anadolu Finance House owned by the İstikbal Group in 1991, İhlas Finance House
founded by the İhlas Holding in 1995, and Asya Finance House in 1996 founded by
more than 200 partners close to the Gülen community (Buğra, 1999: 18-9). The İhlas
Finance House went bankrupt in February, 2001, and the Banking Regulation and

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[112] Beside this political advantage, Buğra (1999: 29) adds a personal dimension: Özal had
close connections to Saudi financing and the introduction of the Islamic banks contributed to
the wealth of a few individuals in Özal's circle, for instance, his brother Korkut Özal, who
involved in oil-importing sector. The first two banks had an active role in financing oil
imports from the Gulf countries. Similarly, Ali Coşkun, a close friend of Turgut Özal and the
deputy in the Motherland Party, served as the director of board member of İhlas Finance
House in the late 1990s (Jang 2005: 181).

[113] Indeed the State Industry and Workers' Investment Bank (DESİYAB - Devlet Sanayi ve
İşçi Yatırım Bankası) was the first bank in Turkey that was based in 1975 on profit and loss
sharing. The aim was to attract the funds of the Turkish workers in Europe for investment in
Turkey. However, the organization and structure of the bank was modified and it started to
use the interest-based system after 1978 (Darçın, 2007: 49).

Supervision Agency revoked the its license on the grounds that the bank transferred the 70 % of the funds (about $1.3 billion) to the companies of the affiliated İhlas group which used them on their advantage, but could not pay back to the İhlas Finance House (*Turkish Daily News*, February 12, 2001).

The rapid increase in the number of finance houses parallels the global trend. The Islamic equity markets have been growing. The Dow Jones Islamic Market Index tracks 600 companies that do not violate the Islamic law in their productions and services. Conventional financial institutions have also realized the value of Islamic finance and begun to incorporate them in their lending practices or separate Islamic branches (Brown et al, 2006: 96). Prominent Western corporations like the Citibank opened Islamic banking subsidiaries to attract the Gulf capital after the collapse of the Soviet Union. UBS AG, HSBC Plc, and Barclays Plc also operate Islamic units (Warde, 2000: 102-3).

Locally, the growth of the Islamic banking also reflected the rise of the Anatolian small businessmen, craftmen and artisans since the 1970s. For this new genre of entrepreneurs, the Islamic banks provided easy interest-free credits and charged less in terms of lending rates. They opened their branches in conservative and industrializing cities such as Kayseri, Denizli, Konya, and Gaziantep. Besides the political backing of Turgut Özal, the rapid organization and growth of the Islamic banks must be certainly related to their reliance on the Islamic orders.[114] For instance, the main share-holders of the Al Baraka Turkish Finance House were the Özal and Topbaş families heading an influential Nakshibandi order, known as İskenderpaşa and Erenköy community. Mustafa Topbaş has been the vice president

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[114] According to Ben Lombardi (1997:197-8), Saudi financers gave priority to Islamic communities and led to the economic boom in the 1980s.

of the Al Baraka since its foundation. Enver Ören, the owner of İhlas Holding and İhlas Finance, is known to be a member of Işık order, a small offshoot of the Nakshibandi order (Jang, 2005: 183). Similarly, there were several Nurcu figures such as Salih Özcan, Ahmet Tevfik Paksu and Halil Şıvgın among the main share-holders of the Faisal Finance House in the 1980s. It was also the Gülen community, an offspring of the Nurcu movement, which founded the Asya Finance House in 1996. The intra-community solidarity provides the mutual trust and an environment of cooperation, and in time "religious communities convert to economic cooperation spontaneously and rapidly" (Demir et al, 2004: 169-70).

6.3 Politics of Dignity in Economy

The 1995 general elections took place under delicate balances of the economy. The corruption scandals dominated the political scene and the Welfare could easily propagate itself as the cleanest of all the political parties present in Turkey. After the incompetent managements of the center right parties, the Welfare appeared as a hope at least and received 21,3 percent of the votes. After the elelctions, the business world and the media forced Tansu Çiller and Mesut Yılmaz, the two prominent leaders of the center-right political parties, to establish the "dream government;" yet it ended within three months after its formation and was replaced by the "nightmare government" according to the same circles (Berkan, 2001: 61). The Welfare-True Path government lasted less than a year until the military exerted its pressure in many ways through the February 28 process.

When the Welfare-led government was shut down in June 1997 and the party was banned in January 1998, the story was not over. Though Özal died in 1993 and

the Islamic capitalists lost their favor with the state, they continued to grow despite the economic difficulties of 1990s and this led to widespread concern among the military and big industrialists. The military insisted that the Islamic business and banks used huge funds for the Islamist movements and undertook investigations of the Islamist capitalists. On May 25, 1998, *Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi* (DGM - State Security Court) public prosecutor charged MUSIAD with violating the laws governing societies and associations and its chairman Erol Yarar with "provoking enmity and hatred among the people by indicating differences of …religion and confession" according to the article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code (Çemrek, 2002: 215).[115] 16 prominent Muslim businessmen were arrested on suspected links to the radical Islamic groups. In May 1999, the court convicted Yarar with a suspended sentence and probation for him, but rejected the closure of MUSIAD.

When Yarar resigned in MUSIAD's eighth General Congress on May 22, 1999, he was replaced by Ali Bayramoğlu. In July 1999, the state security court would also file a case against the successing chairman Bayramoğlu and again accuse him of inciting people to malice based on religious differences in his speeches supporting Fethullah Gülen. Bayramoğlu was given one year suspended prison sentence in 2000 (*Hürriyet*, March 31, 2001). By 2001, it amounted to 20 individual members and 33 companies of MUSIAD that were under close investigation of the NSC (*Hürriyet*, March 31, 2001). Due to the political chaos and close scrunity over the Islamic companies, the Turkish workers in Europe stopped sending money to

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[115] In a speech on October 4, 1997, Yarar harshly opposed the eight year compulsory education project which was one of the recommendations in the NSC meeting on February 28, 1997. Yarar considered this education project as the work of "non-believers" saying that "non-believers" saying that "*kesintisiz eğitim kesin dinsiz eğitim*" ("uninterrupted education is certain un-religious/atheist education") and he also likened the proponents of this law to "dogs." This speech was put as evidence for the charge on Yarar (see Ülsever, 1998).

Turkey and MUSIAD membership dropped to some extent. Following the February 28 process, MUSIAD membership dropped from a peak of 2900 to 2300 in two years (Öniş, 2001: 290).

The term "green capital" (*yeşil sermaye*) was popularized as a denigrating marker on the religiously oriented business circles. The Chief of Staff released a blacklist of Islamic companies, mostly members of MUSIAD, alleged to have financed religious reactinaryism. These included Kombassan, Ülker, Yimpaş, İhlas, Albayrak, İttifak, Endüstri, Esra, Steaş, Sayha, Kedaş, İpek Moble, Gümüş Soba, Yozgatspor, Beğendik (later omitted), the Kuwait Turkish Finance House, the Faisal-Family Finance House, the Al Baraka Turkish Finance House, and Asya Finance House. They were sanctioned with exclusion from bidding for any military tenders (*Milliyet*, June 7, 1997; *Radikal*, February 2, 1999). They were all labeled as "green capital" and the military asked the secular Turks to boycott them. The Islamic banks were even asked to foreclose credits (Pope, 1997).

What used to be called as Anatolian tigers also included some paper companies mushroomed in the early 1980s, collecting the remittances of Turkish workers abroad, especially in Germany. Up until the mid-1990s, money-collecting was on a primitive basis, but later these companies grew in a disproportionate manner, failed to set up a productive industry and tended to pay dividend from the money they continued to collect rather than from revenue they supposed to generate by their investments. Unlike the state guarantee for bank deposits, the invested money was not insured (*Turkish Daily News*, May 31, 2005). 77 holding companies that were known to have raised money without registering were investigated. Though Turkish courts were not experienced with capital markets fraud, two giant companies were subject to prosecution. Kombassan and Yimpaş were accused of collecting

money from unregistered partners and primising illegally fixed returns by the Capital Market Board. The Board ordered the companies to return the money to the shareholders after identifying their names, blocked some of the assets of the companies, and investigated their alleged tax evasion through the late 1990s (*Cumhuriyet*, May 11, 1997). In June 2007, the Turkish Supreme Court affirmed a two-year prison term for the chairman and ten board members of Yimpaş and also overturned the judgment of a Konya court that had released the board of directors of Kombassan on identical charges (*Radikal*, June 16, 2007). The process continued as the AKP-majority parliament decided in May 2005 to launch a probe into the so-called green capital holding companies collecting money without authorization from or control by the Capital Markets Board.[116] The decision came after an investigation into the financial deals of Konya-based Endüstri Holding. Between 1995 and 2005, there had been 131 substantive swindling and cheating complaints filed with Turkish authorities against those companies (*Turkish Daily News*, 31 May 2005).

In the favorable climate of Özal's era, the Islamic banks found the opportunity to take their share from the Turkish economy. Nevertheless, their existence should not be exaggerated as their market share in the total assets of the total banking system was less than 1 percent before 1990 and could not exceed 2 percent until 1994. Similarly, their market share of total banking deposits could exceed only 1 percent in 1990 and 2 percent in 1992. The heydays of the Islamic banks during the rule of the Welfare-led government between 1995 and 1997 did not last long as the pioneers of the February 28 process labeled the Islamic capital including the Islamic banks as the supporters of radical Islam and took some

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[116] Despite the Islamist roots of the AKP, this decision was interpreted as an acto to defend its conservative voters who have lost large sums in those shadowy deals.

measures against the Islamic banks. Following the MGK meeting on Dec. 23, 1997 chaired by then State Minister Gunes Taner, statements made by council members about the OFKs being brought under control through legal means were portrayed in the newspapers as "the privileges of interest-free banks will be abolished" (Şimşek, 1999). As part of the February 28 process, the Islamic banks were not allowed to open new branches in the following more than two years.

In this campaign, the secularist media actively joined the accusations against those Islamist companies and their connection to the Erdoğan's Istanbul municipality. According to Yavuz (2003: 240), "the TÜSIAD and its media networks, such as the Dogan and Sabah publishing conglomerates, constantly represented periphery and provincial bourgeoisie as 'reactionary' so as to exclude them from the privatization process and governance."[117] While in the academic literature, democracy has mostly been related to the existence of the bourgeiois class as a balance against the royal class or the state, in the Turkish case, the bourgeoisie has been far from serving as check and balance to the state mechanisms; instead benefited from the embeddedness to the state and allied with the secular establishment. For Cizre and Yeldan (2005: 391), it is common to all peripheral capitalist societies including Turkey that "bourgeoisie itself is a creation of the state;

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[117] Every crisis has its losers and winners. According to Hüseyin Kocabıyık, the aide to former Prime minister Tansu Çiller claimed that "Today, it is crystal clear that the 'big capital' in Turkey organized Feb. 28. As a matter of fact, when we look at the outcomes of Feb. 28, we see major embezzlements, siphoning money from banks." Kocabıyık relates the process to the changing structure after Turkey's entrance into the customs union: "When you look at the depths of Feb. 28, you see EU opposition. It is the organization of the big capital which was trying to prevent Turkey from joining the EU and the EU customs union in particular. They believed these would harm their enterprises" (Ali Aslan Kılıç, "Former PM's Aide: Feb. 28 was an anti-EU coup," *Today's Zaman*, 1 March 2010). According to Yavuz (1999: 119), "the military and bureaucratic elite is inextricably linked to state-supported industrial conglomerates and nationalist-gangs, which through their many media outlets…have effectively sought to protect a heavily regulated domestic economy from global competition."[117]

molded, protected and fed by the various rents and positions of advantage that emanate both fromdistorted production processes and also through state-regulated surplus creation mechanisms."

On May 25, 1997, labors' and chambers' unions such as TOBB, Turk-IS, DISK, TISK, and TESK prepared a declaration expressing their distress over the Welfare-led government and began a protest to force the government to resign. When the ANAP-DSP-DTP coalition under the leadership of Mesut Yılmaz came to office on June 30, the restructuring of the society remained not only in the political realm, but also in economic civilian bodies. On July 17, 1997, for instance, the chairman of Turk-IS Bayram Meral sent an urgent letter to the branches of the Yol-Is union which read: "It is certain that new changes will occur with the new government. To protect the position of some of our very close managers we ask for your branch to submit a letter of opinion about the managers in your field." (Dikbaş, 2007). This was parallel to the military's blacklist of Islamist companies. On April 20,1998, Ankara State Security Court prosecutor Nuh Mete Yüksel launched an investigation on a private company Dost Sigorta and arrested its founding partners as part of the investigations against companies engaging in activities that violated laicism (Dikbaş, 2007).

On January 1, 1996, Turkey joined the Customs Union within the European Union (EU). Imports boomed while export remained the same, and every sector felt the negative impact of this transition. The following year, the regime debates deteriorated the economy more.[118] The Istanbul Stock Exchange dropped with the

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[118] These liberalization attempts were important for the following years, as the February 2001 crisis, according to Cizre and Yeldan (2005: 389), resulted from the exposure of Turkey's "fragile and shalloe domestic asset markets" to foreign competition and premature attempts to liberalize the economy.

decision of the NSC on February 28, 1997, and several international credit rating companies such as Duff and Phelp and Moody dropped Turkey's credit rate in the following days (Dikbaş, 2007). Turkey's deteriorating image also affected the private sector and limited investment and loaning opportunities in foreign markets.

The minority coalition government formed in July 1997 under Mesut Yılmaz had the task of achieving political normalization and economic stabilization. To do this, Yilmaz also announced a three-year stabilization plan. Yılmaz persuaded Turkish business, accustomed to living with an annual inflation rate of 80-100 percent, and the IMF that he can reduce inflation to 20 percent (Dorsey, 1998: 51). However, undersecretary of the Treasury Mahfi Eğilmez resigned as the plan was not being implemented. Public spending continued as the same, and interest rates climbed above a hundred percent. After eigth months in office, Yilmaz was forced to call early elections without having catched his short-term goals. Nevertheless, what undid his government was a corruption scandal involving the sale of a bank in which the Prime Minister was also implicated. Afterwards, Bülent Ecevit formed another minority government to take the country to the polls. Two months prior to the elections, the leader of PKK Abdullah Öcalan was apprehended in Kenya and brought back to Turkey for trial. This dramatically increased Ecevit's prestige (Berkan, 2001: 62).

6.4 Strategies of Survival

Between two dramatic economic recessions, the 1994 and 2001 economic crises, the February 28 process appears to have concentrated all attention on its fear of political Islam. While the Turkish economy was suffering from political instability and fragile

financial structures, the postmodern coup changed priorities overnight. The economic panorama right after the heydays of the February 28 process and especially the 2001 financial crisis are crucial to understand the strategies for survival of the Islamic banks.

In the Spring of 1999, the Turkish government already started to negotiate with the IMF and signed an IMF-monitored program, which was put into effect on January 1, 2000. The three yearstand-by-agreement was designed to reduce the inflationary expectations, lower real interest rates and making it ieasier for the government to meet the interest payments on its debt. The results were positive, but short-lived. A year later, a financial crisis occurred due to the liquidity problems in the banking sector, but that was contained by the IMF package. Nevertheless, a second liquidity crisis happened in February 2001 after the public quarrel between the President and the Prime Minister over corruption investigation followed by cabinet resignations.

The February 21, 2001 crisis resulted from the culmination of increasing public deficit and the internal and foreign debt. The internal debt budget of 1996 and 1997 was 21 percent more than the gross national product, 21.7 in 1998, 29.2 in 1999 and 69.2 in 2001. It was no different in foreign debt. The debt was 43.1 percent more than the gross national product in 1996, 43.6 percent more in 1997, 47 percent in 1998, 55.3 percent in 1999 and 79.1 in 2001. Between the November and February crises, foreign banks made dramatic profits in Turkey, as the overnight interest rates remained as high as 70-80 percent.[119]

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[119] "The game was simple. You bought Turkish Lira with your foreign currency, put it in the bank overnight or two nights or if you were really brave for one week, collected your interest then got out of the system by buying foreign exchange again. In Turkey no institution, not

The 2001 financial crisis led to the bankruptcy of 4,000 firms and half a million people lost their job especially in the banking sector (Ertuğrul and Selçuk, 2001: 10). Among the manufacturing firms having survived the crisis, employment fell by 18,7 percent in small enterprises, by 8,4 in medium-sized ones, and by 4,4 in large ones. It came near to the point of "social explosion" and led to "policy suggestions to at least complement informal solidarity mechanisms with more formal mechanisms of social integration" (Buğra, 2003: 464). In this period, the Turkish treasury took control of 12 banks under Article 64. Legally, banks were supported and guaranteed by the state, but they could not be intervened in. One bank in 1998, six in 1999, three in 2000 and eight banks in 2001 were transferred to the Tasarruf Mevduat Sigorta Fund. One should also add the millions of dollars of debts of the public banks that came out with the 2001 crisis. A total sum of $50 billion, almost equal to one third of Turkey's GNP for 2002, was used for financial system resuce operations (Buğra, 2003: 465).

The DSP-MHP-ANAP government invited Kemal Derviş, a former Vice-President of the World Bank, to resolve the burdens of the economic crises. His high professional background at the World bank provided credibility for the economic reform package on the part of the Turkish and transnational business communities (Öniş, 2009: 418). After the February 2001 crisis, a major stabilization and structural reform program was launched in March. Supported by $16.2 billion IMF program—the largest up to that time, the program included a recapitalization of the banking system and the resumption of privatization. The Banking Sector Restructuring Program was intended to strengthen the sector, specifically by contributing to

the Central Bank, not the Treasury, intervened in this game for two and a half months" (Berkan, 2001: 65).

financing economic growth (OECD, 2008: 147). The following AKP government, that came to office in late 2002, kept the basics of this program and managed to commence negotiations on EU membership in December 2004 (Kavalsky, 20006: 6). As part of this economic stabilization programs, the public sector budgetary discipline was reformed, state banks were restructured, the redundant state banks and their branches were eliminated. Most importantly, a new Banking Regulatory and Supervisory Institute was established to monitor all the banks in Turkey and to iminmize their vulnerabilities.

6.4.1 The Islamic Capital and the Postmodern Coup

The late 1990s saw an intensive campaign against the religious groups, including their economic activities. Financial authorities in Turkey closely scrutinized these companies after some of their members were caught at Customs carrying money or gold into Turkey in suitcases. Turkey's Capital Markets Board (SPK), responsible for monitoring stock market trading, investigated many Islamic businesses for "not properly registering with state authorities and for trading shares informally instead of on the Istanbul Stock Exchange (IMKB)" (*Turkish Daily News*, November 4, 2006). Yimpaş, a leading multi-partnership first founded in 1982, was one of those.

Indeed, during the first part of the 1980s, some enterprises began gathering money from conservative people in central Anatolia and pious Turkish workers in Europe. They even held some meetings in mosques. While some factories were opened in cities like Konya and Yozgat, most of them went bankrupt especially after the subsequent economic crises in 1994, 1999, and 2001. According to Prof. Sabahattin Zaim, the headmaster of the Islamic banks in Turkey, these companies did

not employ professional staff and did not spend their capital in appropriate fields (Yurdakök, 14). Yet, together with the mismanagement of these companies, one should also take into account the context denying their operations. Firstly, the state and the media launched a strong campaign against the "green capital." They were also deprived from any benefits provided by the state. Secondly, "these companies gave only a receipt that they took the money from the shareholders but they could not give any partnership certificate because they did not take permission to sell their shares, from the 'Capital Markets Board of Turkey'" (Yurdakök, ny: 14). It means that they were first denied of operating legally, and then sanctioned for having acted illegally.

These developments created a negative image and mistrust against the Islamic companies in the public opinion. On March 6, 2000, Ali Bayramoğlu, the head of the MÜSİAD, summoned 15 multi-partnership companies, which were also the members of the organization. MÜSİAD prohibited them the literal use of Islam in the sale of their stock certificates. It also removed Fazıl Akgündüz, the head of the Jet Group, who was charged for economic fraud.

According to MÜSİAD (1997: 63), the February 28 process was a set of "restrictive regulations and practices contrary to democratic traditions and basic human rights and freedoms, most importantly, freedom of belief, reminding of notorious state rule in 1940s." One year later, in the executive board meeting on February 28, 1998, Erol Yarar criticized the process as the "hegemony of appointed ones over the elected ones" and the secular establishment's efforts to prevent the development of the Anatolian capital thorough collaboration with monopolist Çemrek (2002: 220-1). Yet, they had to deal with the state pressure. Having exposed

to political isolation and legal persecutions, one can observe a dramatic change in the discourse and orientation of the organization.

When the military published the black-list of the so-called green capital, most of which were MÜSİAD members, the organization did not attempt to direct confrontation but tried to prove the irrelevance of faith and capital. In their statements, they underlined that "money has no religion, no faith, and no ideology" and their concern was business not Islam despite their piety in their individual lives (Çemrek, 2002: 218). According to the then president of MÜSİAD, Ali Bayramoğlu, "capital cannot be classified as pious and irreligious. The objective of capital is making profit" (Tuğal, 2002: 100). In response to this media campaign, MUSIAD opened court files against some Turkish dailies for their news linking the association to religious reactionaryism and won some of them. These included the files against *Milliyet* due to its news titled "Ordu'dan Ambargo: Genel Kurmay İrticacı Kuruluşlardan Alışveriş Yapmayın" (Embargo from Military- General Headstaff: Do not Have Shopping from Reactionist Enterprises) on August 20, 1997, *Hürriyet* due to its headline as "MÜSİAD Topun Ağzında" (Alert for MÜSİAD) on May 25, 1998, and *Radikal* due to its news titled as "MÜSİAD'a Kapatma İstemi" (Demand for the Closure of MÜSİAD)on May 26, 1998 and "Yeşil Sermayede Panik" (Panic at Green Capital), on April 24, 1998. Though MÜSİAD won those files, the headlines illustrated "how MÜSİAD fell into an illegitimate position before state elite, which negatively affected its credibility and power in lobbying" (Çemrek 2002: 217-8).

As a second strategy, the MÜSİAD left its position parallel to the National Vision parties and abandoned its closeness with them (Buğra, 1999: 55). It seemed to adopt equal distance from every political party and underlined their position purely as an interest group and civil society organization. In this regard, they

maintained their press for the greater share of public resources for the small and middle-sized enterprises and reform packages for the betterment of the Turkish economy (Öniş, 2001: 290).

Last but not least, MÜSİAD shifted its rhetoric from an Islamist discourse to a pro-Western one. Especially after the declaration of Turkey's official candidacy for full membership in 1999 Helsinki Summit, the EU membership conditionality that includes the establishment of civilian control over the military and the economic integration with Europe, provided an opportunity for the Islamist groups to develop their economic and political situation through diminishing the military's domination over them (Yankaya, 2009: 4). The former anti-capitalist anti-Westernist Islamic groups now appeared to be a support base for the EU membership. Ömer Bolat, the present president of MÜSİAD, defined their stance as closer to pragmatism than ideology and advocated a balanced approach in Turkey's relations with the EU: "The EU is an important reality for Turkey. We enjoy 50-51 percent of our entire foreign trade with the EU, have 60-65 percent of all foreign capital and tourists visiting our country every year, and four million of our citizens live in Europe as 'European Turks.' We cannot simply turn our back to Europe" (Manisalı et al, 2003: 78).[120] Bolat's presidency is quite revealing in this regard. He was the first academically accomplished president of MÜSİAD and this was partly because of his expertise on the EU's economic issues (Yankaya, 2009: 8). Besides, MÜSİAD has become a

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[120] MÜSİAD's pro-Western orientation was also evident in the political realm. In April 2000, MÜSİAD also published a report titled "Constitution Reform and Democratization of Administration" that envisaged to downsize the state, to decrease the power of the National Security Council, to promote individual rights including the minority rights along with the Kopenhagen criteria (Öniş, 2001: 291). As the first political publication of the organization since the start of the February 28 process, it was parallel to the Virtue Party's emphasis on human rights and civilianization of politics.

member of the European Confederation of Associations of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (CEA-PME) since 2003 and helps it members to develop their trade relations with their European counterparts.

Türkiye İşadamları ve Sanayiciler Konfederasyonu (TUSKON - Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey), formed in 2005 by the small and medium-size enterprise owners close to the Gülen community, is another example like MÜSİAD, that illustrates how the Islamist capitalists benefited from globalization, if not fastened it. Relying on 150 local business associations in 80 cities of Turkey, it represents a considerable amount of the Anatolian capital. TUSKON organized several international meetings, called "Foreign Trade Bridge Programs," where the Turkish entrepreneurs met their foreign counterparts and established trade partnerships. Just in case of Africa, TUSKON created the basis of 5 billion dollars of trade volume between Turkey and the African countries.

In total, compared to the political Islamists, the Islamic capitalists had much more to lose in case of direct confrontation with the state and adopted a strategy of co-existence with the state as the economic groups in general did in Turkey (Öniş, 2001: 290). In this manner, they served a motivating pressure group for the political Islamists to take a more liberal pro-Western stance and reconcile with the other segments of society. This perspective does not envisage the Islamic capital's commitment to democracy, but puts that their drive for profit-making helped the political Islamists moderate themselves (Henry, 1996: 24-5).[121] Contrary to the secularist assumption that Islamic capital provided the Islamists economic power to

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[121] By underlining the economic groups' impact on the moderation of political Islam, this research does not put the economic interests as the sole cause of this transformation. Instead, alongwith the AKP, the Islamic capitalists were "both the object and the subject" of this liberalization and "the European integration process" in particular (Yankaya, 2009: 5).

expand and promote their radical ideologies, it rather hindered any political ambitions as they work in highly competitive environment and cannot abandon integration with greater world.

In total, "exit" was the only option for many Islamic capitalists; however it did not appear as a strategy for survival as in its forms like segregation, however, it meant their exit from the market and their bankruptcies. The only form of exit valid here was that the big firms tended to open new branches and factories abroad to survive the pressure in Turkey. Similar to the immigration of head-scarved girls to pusue their education, many big companies like Ülker and Kombassan invested their money abroad, for instance, in the Balkans, the Middle East and North Africa.

The more common response, however, was liminal resistance, in which the other prefers to walk on the convergence lines between the hegemonic and subaltern domains. Like the transformation of the AKP, the Islamic capitalists and their embodiment, the MÜSİAD refrained from direct confrontation and chose a path that could not be directlyrejected by the secular establishment. The organization adopted the Westernization project as part of its new stance and tried to defend its rights in the Western liberal discourse.

6.4.2 From Special Financial Institutions to Participation Banks

Considering their economic performances in total, the Islamic banks managed to grow from 40.08 million TL in 1991 to 137.94 million TL in 1997 in terms of their consolidated balance sheets or total assets. In this period, the Turkish Islamic banks, Anadolu, İhlas, and Asya Finance Houses were established in 1991, 1995, and 1996, respectively. Nevertheless, due to the state pressure and legal investigations, they

could not raise their assets in 1998. The financial crisis in 2001 affected the Islamic banks adversely, too, and their total assets in real terms declined from 164.06 million TL in 1999 to 143.47 million TL in 2000 and 96.98 million in 2001. The final dramatic decline was resulted from the collapse of Ihlas Finance House in February 2001, which also led the state stop the activities of other Islamic banks. Within three months, these banks lost 300-400 million dollars loss from their savings (Jang, 2005: 150). After the closure of Ihlas Finance House in 2001 and the unification of Anadolu Finance and Faisal Finance under the Turkey Finance House[122] in 2005, the Islamic banks in Turkey dropped to 4 in number and keep operating so far.

The February 28 process had important implications for the Islamic banks. The number of their branches in total increased from 25 in 1991 to 60 in 1995, when Ihlas Finance House was formed, and to 120 in 1997, when Asya Finance House started to open local branches. However, according to the decisions of the National Security Council meeting on February 28, 1997, they were not allowed to open new branches, so none of those Islamic banks could expand from 1998 to 1999. After the regulations co-opting them into the banking system in 1999, they could reach to 145 in the number of branches in 2000 (Jang, 2005: 155).

The severe event of this period is the bankruptcy of Ihlas Finance House in 2001. The 2001 crisis gave way to the closure of 25 Turkish banks, including the interest-free Ihlas. While conventional banks could rely on the legal security and state guarantee, the Islamic banks were deprived of this advantage until the 2001 regulation along with the IMF and World Bank directions. Besides, the anti-religious environment of the February 28 process and the deteriorating economic conditions

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[122] Turkey Finance House was owned by two prominent conservative conglomerates: the Boydak and the Ülker groups. In August 2007, however, 60 percent of its ownership was sold to the National Commercial Bank of Saudi Arabia (Yurdakök, ny: 12).

led some Arab financers leave the country. Faisal Finance House, for instance, was sold in 1998 to Kombassan, a multi-partnership holding known as one of the leading groups of the so-called green capital. In the crises of 2001, the Faisal Finance could avoid the fate of Ihlas only when the Ülker group bought the bank paying US$ 30 million. "When Ulker group entered the interest-free banking sector, thousands of customers felt relieved as after bankruptcy of (most rapidly growing non-interest bank) Ihlas Finans, thousands of customers were running away from non-interest banks in the first months of 2001" (Yurdakök, ny: 13).

The worsening economic environment that led to 2001 financial crisis was important for the survival of the Islamic banks. Economy has its own rules, and the secular establishment could not easily sweep away the religious actors in one day. In this line, despite the harsh black propaganda against the Anatolian capital and their removal from any promotion, subsidies or trade actions offered by the state, it is important to underline that the military could not suppress the religious elements in economy as much as it did in politics. This became more evident after the IMF stabilization program took effect. The hegemony of neo-liberalism and the anti-political mindset (Cizre and Yeldan, 2005: 399-400) blocked the secular establishment's moves in the economic realm to a considerable extent and helped to the survival of the Islamic financial institutions.

The Islamic banks used to be regulated according the 1983 special legislation by which Özal government first allowed their establishment in Turkey. According to a new Banking Act no. 4489 effective on December 17, 1999, the Islamic banks have been recognized as part of the Turkish banking system which then comprised three different kinds of banking: commercial banks, investment and development banks, and interest-free banks. The Islamic banks were expected to comply with the

Banking law, make up their deficiencies in two years and operate like banks. In this integration, the IMF played important role as part of reforming the Turkish financial system. The new regulation was welcomed by the Islamic banks. According to Can Akin Caglar, executive board chairman of Faisal Finance, the law was positive. Çağlar stressed that some pressures which had been exerted since Feb. 28 had ceased with the enactment of the law: "We were unable to open a branch office for three years, that is, since the beginning of the Feb. 28 process. Treasury bureaucrats did not let us open branch offices, saying, 'Technically, it is not clear what your situations will be.' Now we have come to the end of this process. Today we can open branch offices like other banks." In parallel, the chairman of Anadolu Finance House Yunus Nacar claimed that the new banking law rescued the OFKs from the existing structure (Şimşek, 1999).

Nonetheless, this was a partial integration. The Islamic banks still could not enter into the Banks Association and were not included in the deposit insurance scheme. They could not receive the state guarantee on deposits as conventional banks did. Though the investment and development banks with around 1 percent market share and foreign banks with around 1,5 percent market share are members of *Türkiye Bankalar Birliği* (TBB - Turkish Bank Association), the Islamic banks with around 3,5 percent of market share in the total banking system's deposits could not (Şimşek, 1999). Therefore, Ihlas Finance House was liquidated rather than handed over to the deposit insurance fund.

Thank to the IMF and World Bank, a new banking law, the Banking Act no. 4491 effective as of May, 2001, provided the Islamic banks greater legal security. They were to be transformed into the current banking system and be guaranteed by the legal arrangements in order to avoid unfair competition. The Islamic banks were

guaranteed by the deposit insurance fund of the government, and liquidation became more difficult.

Despite their integration with the conventional banking system, the Turkish Islamic banks have been denied of being a legitimate normal agent of Turkish economy. When they were not accepted by the union of banks, they had to establish their own union called, "the Union of the Special Finance Institutions" (Finansbir) (Jang, 2005: 146). Since the Islamic banks in Turkey adopted the name "participation bank" in 2006, *Türkiye Katılım Bankaları Birliği* (TKKB – The Union of the Participation Banks in Turkey) has become the roof for the present four Islamic banks operating separately from the Turkish Banks Association. Unlike the forced exit of the Ihlas Finance House, the formation of TKKB is an example of segregation as a strategy for survival. Apart from this institutional separation, the Islamic banks got integrated to the system to a large extent. Like other Islamic capitalists adopting a liminal resistance in the form of a Westernist and integrationist approach, the Islamic banks also followed the same steps.

6.5 Conclusion

The February 28 process was initiated in the mid of three drastic financial crises of 1994, 1998, and 2001 triggered by sudden reversals in the short-term capital flows. The worsening economic conditions that gave way to 2001 financial crisis had importance for the AKP to legitimate its existence. As Öniş (2009: 416) states, "the crisis seemed to bring into the forefront the inherent deficiencies and the corrupt practices of the existing mainstream political parties." While in the mid-1990s, the

newspapers were daily drawing the Islamist danger with various cases, the economic crisis came to the point that no-one could sweep it under the rug. Though political Islam and its embodiment, the National Vision were framed as the number one threat in this period, the subsequent financial crises put the economy, not the high political issues to the front. In this context, the AKP, despite its roots in the National Vision, could express itself on the basis of economic development and further integration with the world through globalization, EU membership process, and IMF reform packages. In the neoliberal structure, the way any country could reach economic development became a technical matter without any political questioning and any political party coming to office was supposed to implement the same policies, as AKP maintained Kemal Derviş's economic policies and the IMF program. Turkey's economic crisis became ironically a haven for the AKP on which it could gain some legitimacy without putting itself into any confrontation with the secular establishment.

The 2002 general election campaigns were dominated by the economic promises of competing political parties. AKP was not any different. In office, economy was the top priority of the AKP government, as well. While Turkey's economic growth was leveling around 2.6 percent between 1993 and 2002; in the first term of office, AKP managed to reach the peak of 7.3 percent and make Turkey Europe's sixth biggest economy. In 2005, the infliation rates dropped to single-digit numbers for the first time after 34 years (Ahmadov, 2008: 32). After the long succession of dramatic financial crises making the country closer to bankruptcy, Turkey under the AKP rule now appeared as one of the rising stars in global economy.

The neoliberal tendency in which economy was getting more and more autonomous from politics was crucial for the survival of the Islamic capital and the Islamic banks in particular. In this neo-liberal re-structuring, the state's regulatory capacities were empowered by some institutional reforms. Backed by the IMF, the new regulatory institutions became the basic agents of economic policies. In 2001, for instance, the autonomy of the Central Bank was enhanced by some legal changes. The Bank Regulatory and Supervisory Authority (BDDK) was set up in 1999 and its autonomy was enhanced after the 2001 crisis (Öniş, 2009: 421-3). The dire consequences of the 2001 financial crisis and the increasing autonomy of Turkish economy had a vital impact: The secular establishment could no more easily manipulate the Turkish economy and suppress the religious economic groups. "In Turkey, the Islamic world's foremost democracy, the state has been often illiberal toward the political Islamists, but it has been less closed financially than politically" (Henry and Springborg, 2001: 211). Economy became a moderating force for not only the Islamic subaltern groups, but also for the secular establishment.

Economic integration was a life-saver for the Islamic banks, but the "Islamic" aspect of the Islamic banks vanished to a great extent. They became officially integrated into the conventional banking system. While they were moving to the center, the differences between the conventional and Islamic banks decreased. Instead of being an alternative to the operating secular capitalist system, they became part of the economic system and reinforced it by incorporating the religious people into the cycle. The Islamic capitalists had much more to lose in comparison to the political Islamists. This led them move to a more liberal and moderate stance. Accordingly, "while the Islamic bankers do not necessarily share any commitment to political liberalism or democracy, their drive for markets and profits may indirectly

contribute to moderating the political Islamists" (Henry, 1996: 24). Its most iconic manifestation is the change in the name of the Islamic banks in Turkey. As the use of Islam in their titles could have adverse effects, they were first established in 1983 under the "special finance institutions." Later, the Article 5411 known as the Banking Law ratified on October 19, 2005, defined these banks as "participation banks." The former name was totally special to the Turkish case and did not include the term "bank." It was creating problems in transnational interactions and agreements. The term "participation bank" appeared as an alternative (Hazıroğlu, 2006: 4-6).

With the rise of the AKP in office, the participation banks came forward. Some of the management cadre of Ülker's Islamic finance institutions was transferred to the state banks. In May 2006, Prime Minister Erdoğan also tried Adnan Büyükdeniz, a specialist in Islamic finance and an executive officer of AlBaraka Turk, to appoint as governor of the Central Bank. Nevertheless, the secularist President Ahmet Necdet Sezer vetoed his candidacy as an "inappropriate" choice (Birch, 2006).

CHAPTER 7

THE TRAJECTORY OF THE ISLAMIST MUSIC

The opening concert of the 14th Ankara Music Festival in April 1997 saw one of the most spectacular moments of the February 28 process. The Presidential Symphony Orchestra, the Ankara State Opera and Ballet Orchestra, the Bilkent Symphony Orchestra, the Ministry of Culture State Polyphonic Choir, and the TRT Polyphonic Choir together created a strong body of musicians and singers at that night. They performed Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, which is widely accepted as Europe's supranational anthem. It intended to demonstrate Turkey's leaning to secularism and Europe as its sole route. When the Minister of Culture Ismail Kahraman entered, jeers and whistles echoed throughout the hall to protest him. Kahraman was a Welfare deputy known with his anti-Westernist statements. The strained atmosphere, however, soon turned to joyful cheers with the arrival of President Süleyman Demirel. Pointing with both arms to orchestra and auidience, Demirel told that "This magnificient picture is the picture of modern [çağdaş] Turkey." His speech was responded with the audience's chants as "Turkey is secular and will remain so" (Holland, 1997). The performance of Western classical music came to mean a show of force against the Islamist Welfare-run government and a re-assertion of Kemalist secularism.

Music often constitutes an enduring process whereby the ruling elite perpetuates its values and aims at the development of the national identity. Yet, it can also turn into a form of resistance against any impositions by the state or other centers of power (Kong, 1995: 448). In any case, music as a site of power struggles can provide a deeper insight into the interplays between the hegemony building projects and resistances to it.

This chapter firstly deals with how the early Kemalist took music as part of the Turkish modernization and nation-formation. The early republican reforms on art and music and the relation between the state and music in the following years will be the core of the first part. After delving into the development of the Islamist music as a kind of protest music, the chapter lays out the ways the secular establishment used music as a platform to expand its hegemony. The final part of this chapter examines the strategies of survival the Islamist musicians have adopted.

7.1 Music and the Republic

Turkish music has roots in its Ottoman past. The Ottoman court music, known today as *Türk Sanat Müziği* (Turkish Art Music) or *ala turca* music, appears to be an amalgam of Arabic, Persian, Greek, Armenian, and Sephardic musical traditions (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 55). Similar to the Western experience, religion played an essential role in the formation of the Ottoman music, which owes much to the Mevlevi tradition, a mystic Sufi order based on the teachings of Mevlana Celalettin Rumi. The Mevlevis maintained the trance tradition, called *sema*, practiced as whirling mostly with some Sufi music to achieve a state of unity with the divine.

As music had a basic component of Mevlevi tradition, the order paved the way to several accomplished musicians and composers.

Though studies on the modernization of Turkish music focus on the early republican period, the change dates back to the late Ottoman period. The *Tanzimat* (Re-order) era witnessed several attempts to promote Western music. As the Ottoman modernization started within the military, so it was with the music. The first modernization attempt in music was in the Army, in 1826, when Giuseppe Donizetti, brother of the famous opera composer Gaetano, was invited to head the military band of *Nizam-i Cedid* (the Army of the New Order) founded by Selim III. Donizetti taught at *Saray Mızıka Mektebi* (Palace Military Band School), which was founded in 1833 to train musicians in the army (Değirmenci, 2006: 56). The Western polyphonic music performed by Donizetti and his band influenced the musical taste of the palace.

Modernization had come to mean secularization. From the late 19th century on, the Ottoman popular music was mostly performed in cafes, taverns, cabarets, nightclubs, and brothels first in some Christian and Jewish districts of Istanbul such as Pera and Galata. Later, these entertainment centers spread to Muslim district between Şehzadebaşı and Beyazid (Pennanen, 2004: 4). The performers of popular music, especially the female ones, were mostly the non-Muslim minorities due to the religious or cultural restrictions. These included the Ottoman Armenians, Greeks, or Sephardic Jews from Salonika. The late Ottoman period also saw some gypsy music specialists such as Gülistan Hanim and Hafız Burhan (Sesyılmaz) (1897-1943), as well as some Ottoman Turkish musicians like Hafız Aşir Efendi (ca. 1870-1936). Nevertheless, "because of the waning patronage of the Ottoman classical fasil music at the court and by the aristocracy, many famous composers and instrumentalists

worked at nightclubs and music cafes" (also for more specific examples, see Pennanen, 2004: 6-7). One should underline here that the categorization of music into Eastern versus Western as oppositional styles was older than the early republican years with roots in the late Ottoman period (Woodard, 2007: 553).

Similar to the late Ottoman modernization, music was not isolated from the early republican modernization process, as well. Along with the social and other cultural reforms, the musical reforms were intended to elevate the country to the level of its European counterparts and create the national identity as distinct from its Ottoman past. As Woodard (2007: 552) states, "musical reform policies," which included several attempts ranging from the founding of the Ankara State Conservatory in 1935 to the banning of radio broadcasts of Ottoman classical music in 1934, "were indicative of the overt political strategy of situating the Ottoman past in opposition to the bright future of an alliance with Europe." Like any other cultural reforms, the musical reformation was to prove the founding elite's ambition to ally the new secular nation with Europe and to keep its Ottoman Islamic past totally in the past.

Atatürk was basically inspired by the ideologue Ziya Gökalp in his ideas about the national culture, including music. Gökalp acknowledges three categories of music that illustrates his binary opposition and hierarchical distinction between the Eastern and Western music: "Today we are faced with three kinds of music: Eastern music, Western music, folk music. Which one of them is ours? Eastern music is a morbid music and non-national. Folk music represents our culture. Western music is the music of our new civilization." Constructing the East-West dichotomy in music implied a choice between European classical music and Ottoman art music. The answer was clear. Rejecting the Ottoman music for being based on the Byzantine and

Arabic traditions, Gökalp provides the formula to create the genuine music in line with the nation-building: ""Our national music . . . is to be born from a synthesis of our folk music and Western music. Our folk music provides us with a rich treasury of melodies. By collecting them and arranging them on the basis of Western musical techniques, we shall have both a national and modern music" (Woodard, 2007: 553).

In order to realize the goal of creating the national music, the founding elite of Turkey initiated several reforms. The state-sponsored process was based on both the promotion of European polyphonic art music and the "exploration" of the genuine Turkish style (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 52-3).[123] To do that, the founding elite also regarded themselves the mission to get rid of the Ottoman music and institutions, even those founded on the basis of Western polyphonic music. In 1924, the Palace Symphony Orchestra was closed down and replaced by *Riyaset-i Cumhur Orkestrası* (Presidential Music Band). Similarly, the Palace Military Band School was replaced by *Musiki Muallimleri Mektebi* (School for Music Trainers) (Değirmenci, 2006: 57). In 1923, the Istanbul Conservatory of Music abandoned the Eastern music department and opened a Western music department to its faculty. According to Özgür (2006: 177), "the reformists' efforts reached such heights at the various conservatories that students caught playing 'Eastern' melodies were punished." In 1927, monophonic music education was banned at schools. Most notably, in 1934, the Turkish art music was banned from the radio stations for two years (Değirmenci, 2006: 57-8). Besides, the lodges and cloisters, which used to be also centers of Sufi music like the Mevlevi one, were abolished. The law also included the ban on Mevlevi whirling called *sema*. Although the abolition of the

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[123] According to Bruno Nettl (1983: 348), it is common in many instances of musical modernization that they rely both on the adaptation of Euro-American technology and culture and the maintenance of local cultural features.

lodges and cloisters was politically motivated, it also cut down the main source of the Ottoman classical music and Sufi music. As a result, these artists either left the country or sought other modes of musical expression (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 55).

The promotion of Western music was initiated in a bi-directional manner: While renowned Western composers were invited to Turkey, some young Turkish musicians were sent to Europe for their education. In this regard, Paul Hindemith, for instance, was invited by the government to head the foundation of the Ankara School of Music in 1935 (Değirmenci, 2006: 58). Atatürk also encouraged a group of young composers to pursue education in the West. This included Adnan Saygun, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, and Cemal Reşit Rey, who later served a lot to the development of modern Turkish art and music (Özgür, 2006: 177).

In the 1930s, the government started a program of collecting Turkish music with the initial assistance of Bela Bartok, a Hungarian composer and ethno-musicologist. Indeed, collecting folk songs predates Bartok's study and was motivated by Gökalp's stress on this issue in Turkey. As indicated in his earlier quotation, Gökalp sees the collection of folk songs and re-arranging of them according to Western techniques as the key to create the national music. He even engaged in the activity of collecting folk songs in Diyarbakır, where he was born, and carried an ethnographic research with the hope of establishing a small ethnographic museum there.

The collecting activities were institutionalized under *Hars Dairesi* (Bureau of Culture) as early as in 1920; *Darül-Elhan* (to be the Istanbul Conservatory in 1926) also joined this project. The Ministry of Education assigned the Asal brothers, Seyfeddin and Sezai, to collect the folk songs. Their collection of Western Anatolian

folk songs, titled *Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri* (Melodies of our Heartland) was published in 1926. With Bartok's advice, the Istanbul Conservatory collected some 2000 folk songs to be published between 1925 and 1935. Another important agent in collecting the folk songs was the People's Houses in the 1931-1951 period. Mustafa Sarısözen's radio program *Yurttan Sesler* (Voices from the Heartland), that started in 1948, must be considered as a continuation of this process. Sarısözen contributed to the "leveling process, which tried to eliminate 'qualitative' differences among forms of music belonging to various regions of Turkey" (Değirmenci, 2006: 58-9). *Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyonu* (TRT - The Turkish Radio and Television) still continues this mission. The TRT archive provides a database of purely Turkish musical and poetic elements to be recombined according to Western compositional techniques. The outcome was supposed to be "a music which remains faithful to the core cultural values of traditional Anatolian folk music and at the same time will ultimately allow Turkish music to participate without compromise in a European arena" (Stokes, 1989: 29).

In the early days of the new republic, the performances of Western music were considered as the signs of the victory of the Turkish revolution and were charged with semi-religious significations. They were to prove the Europeanness of the new country. For instance, Atatürk commissioned Adnan Saygun to write his first opera in 1934 and planned the premiere to coincide with the first visit of Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran to Turkey. The performance took place at the People's House in Ankara on June 19, 1934 (Woodard, 2007: 555).

This Westernist stance also implied a rejection of the Ottoman past. In the following decades, Turkish art music suffered under its Ottoman shame. State concert halls and conservatories were closed to its performers. In 1971, when Talat

Halman, the then Minister of Culture, proposed to present a concert of Turkish music for the first time in the state concert hall in Ankara, a big debate erupted. "Progressives" led by violinist Suna Kan were harshly "opposed to allowing this 'primitive, monophonic' music into the the official showcase of the Atatürk republic. The concert was cancelled" (Signell, 1980: 166).

While the state was promoting the Western music as the sole and legitimate style, this campaign had its opponents, too, challenging the official doctrine. Hüseyin Sadettin Arel, for instance, published a series of fourteen articles titled "Türk musikisi kimindir?" (Whose is Turkish Music?) on the Central Asian origins of Ottoman art music in 1939 to 1940. The idea that the Ottoman art music was part of the Turkish national culture gained considerable support. While this framing led to exclusion of many non-Muslim Ottoman composers from the canon, it legitimated the revival of interest in Ottoman classical music in the following decades (Pennanen, 2004: 13). Another example of intellectual resistance was the *Nota* Magazine, first published in 1930, that tried to create a new synthesis and opposing the sudden policy changes in the area of music (Değirmenci, 2006: 62). At the institutional level, the ban on Turkish art music in the state conservatories led some of its performers to organize around new bodies like Türk Müzik Cemiyetleri Federasyonu (Federation of Turkish Music Associations) established in 1928 (Yarar, 2008: 52).

Evetually, as the democratic transition in 1946 and the DP's coming to power in 1950 was presented as the liberation of people from the single party rule, the first performance of Turkish music from the radios was considered as symbolizing the liberation of people after the long ban on Turkish music until the early fifties. Up to that time, the restrictions on Turkish art music and the state-sponsored imposition of

Western music had broader fronts of resistance. In terms of musical performance, gazinos, family-oriented musical dinner clubs, became the places where the Turkish musicians, especially the tekke musicians, modified older music forms for popular consumption. They became "a haven for musical traditions not supported by the new Turkish government" (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 55). Many musicians known as *Hafız* (the man who learned the Koran) had to perform this kind of popular music in order to earn money. Hafız Sadettin, for instance, was one of the architects of *serbest icra* (free performance), that lifted the stylistic restrictions of Ottoman art music, and allowed the performer some level of free interpretation of the piece. As a result of this "modification of a domestic performance style for burgeoning contemporary tastes," some song forms like "Şarkı" became the main performance style of the Turkish art music. Singers like Müzeyyen Senar and Zeki Müren, trained in the older tradition of Ottoman art music, became popular in this period. After the 1960s, the music derived from Ottoman music was referred to as *Sanat Müziği* (art music), which was still not polyphonic, but multi-instrumental (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 56).

The ban on the ala turca music in 1934 had other implications, too. Many people began tuning their radios to Arab, and especially Egyptian, radio. The cultural interaction was further strengthened via musical films imported from Egypt in the same period (Yarar, 2008: 52). The rapprochement with the Arab music gave birth to the musical genre *Arabesk* that articulated the feelings of the urban poor. The pessimism and alieanation felt by the marginalized groups of Turkish nascent capitalism or the new-comers in big cities became the main theme of Arabesk songs. In the following decades, the Arabesk performers would include "gypsies,

homosexuals, transvestites, transsexuals and young children-the ambiguously sexed and socially marginalized denizens of an urban demi-monde" (Stokes, 1989: 29).

The position of Arabesk music as a kind of pariah music remained ambigious in the following years after the 1980 coup. The state television did not permit either the broadcast of Arabesk music or the display of Arabesk films. Nevertheless, the then Prime Minister Turgut Özal showed somewhat a warm attitude towards Arabesk. His political party ANAP adopted a popular song *Seni Sevmeyen Ölsün* (May those who do not love you die) as its slogan in the 1988 election campaign. More importantly, Semra Özal, the Prime minister's wife insisted upon the presence of Bülent Ersoy, a transsexual Arabesk singer at an official party televised at TRT early in 1989 (Stokes, 1989: 29). The return of Ersoy, who was banned from giving stage performances in Turkey, was a symbolic move denoting the changing attitudes towards Arabesk. The more Arabesk stars moved to the center, the less aggressive and rebellious the Arabesk songs became. The song lyrics were more about love and sexuality instead of political and social criticism.

While Arabesk and Turkish Art Music remained popular in different segments of society, Western style music has also followed its own route of development. The 1950s were the years when the elitist-official conception of music was redefined according the conditions of its time, especially the overwhelming American pop-culture. While Turkey was adopting closer relations with the United States and the policy of liberal trade, Turkish music opened its doors to a new hegemonic force. *Türkçe Sözlü Hafif Batı Müziği* (Western Light Music in Turkish), also known as Turkish Pop Music emerged in the late 1950s. It first started with Turkish pop stars singing American songs, and then developed with the translation of those songs into Turkish or composition of new songs in Turkish imitating the same

techniques or melodies. "It was a new pattern of constructing a Western model of modern music, which, nevertheless, did not appeal to people in great numbers" (Yarar, 2008: 53). From the 1940s to the late 1960s, urban circles were drawn to Mediterranean and American popular music usually through the mediums of radio and records. The Elvis Presley imitator Erol Büyükburç's composition in English "Little Lucy" became a hit on European radio in 1960. The 1960s and 70s were the years of *aranjman* (arrangement), which was basically previous Western compositions added Turkish lyrics. Ajda Pekkan came to the front as a singer of aranjman pieces, though she later made up her repertoire more with original pieces (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 59-60).

The major development of the 1990s was the opening of radio and television stations to private companies. The pace of globalization increased a sense of cosmopolitan culture among Turkish musicians and listeners. As a result of cross-musical interactions, many urban Turks got more affiliated with a wide range of popular and artistic performances such as Heavy Metal, Hip-Hop, and Jazz (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 62).

7.2 The Development of the Islamist Music

Protest music, based in the philosophy of social protest, puts the social change as the basic purpose of music. In this view, music is used as a weapon or tool of propaganda to alter opinion and motivate some actions through persuasion (Berger, 2000: 58-9). Protest songs mostly condemn and offer solutions to social injustice and try to convince the listener that the message is significant to him. They mostly aim to

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"educate" the listener, and create a "revolutionary consciousness" (Hampton, 1986: 38). In the Turkish case, the Arabesk music also draws upon social injustices, dissatisfactions, and alienation, too. However, it fails to provide an ideology or alternative to the social structure and differs from protest music in this respect.

As Berger (2000: 73) states, the protest music as a form of propaganda appeals the listener intellectually and emotionally; and therefore, "can simplify, concretize, and perpetually reinforce an organization or movement's ideals, while presenting them in a 'user-friendly' format." This fundamental function of protest music can be traced in the pop-folk fusion known as *Anadolu Rock* (Anatolian Rock), which left its mark during the late 1960s and 1970s. Erkin Koray, Cem Karaca, Barış Manço, *Moğollar*, *Apaşlar*, and *Kardaşlar* were some prominent performers of this mixture of Turkish folk music and instruments with rock and roll. The term was first used by the band Moğollar, which backed singers such as Selda Bağcan and Cem Karaca. While many Anadolu Rock performers were prone to political protest and activist agenda, the musicians performing *Özgün Müzik* (Original Music) wrote more overtly political songs and relied more on the authentic folk music. These artist with strong leftist ideological baggage included Ahmet Kaya, Zülfü Livaneli, and the musical band *Grup Yorum* (Karahasanoğlu and Skoog, 2009: 60-1). After the military coup in 1980, they were silenced, however, they were so influential that even the Islamists were listening to the albums of these leftist singers. According to Mehmet Ocaktan, a journalist and later MP from the AKP, "there is no one from the Islamic youth that has not listened Zülfü Livaneli yet" (Çekiç, 2010). Moreover, some Islamists started performing some sort of Özgün Müzik. Yet, they called their genre as *Ezgi* (Melody) because of the difference in the content of the lyrics.

The 1980s under Turgut Özal's rule provided the Islamic groups fertile ground to expand in all facets of life. Islamic magazines, newspapers, outlets, companies appeared one after another. The increasing Islamic visibility asserted itself in music, too. Yet, the emergence of Islamist music was quite novel considering the frequently-voiced assertion that music is forbidden within Islam.[124] The condemnation of music in the Muslim world relies on some ambigious passages in the Koran and the Hadith, and the association of music with dance, alcohol, and bodily appetites (Stokes, 1992: 214). In practice, Islamism and music or entertainment seemed to be an unlikely pair (Bayat, 2007).

The Islamist music initially did not result from conscious systematic efforts to find an Islamic way of music, but first appeared in the field of theater. The key figure at the beginning was Ulvi Alacakaptan, an ex-leftist prominent theater-player educated in the *Dostlar* Theater School. He chose a religious life-style and separated his way from his leftist secular friends like Ferhan Şensoy. In 1985, Alacakaptan founded his own theater group called *Çağrı Sahnesi* and staged *İnsanlar ve Soytarılar* (Humans and Buffoons). Written by İbrahim Sadri and first of its kind reflecting the Islamic sensibilities, this drama was played in several Anatolian cities and applauded by the observant groups. Alacakaptan's works were the first important instances in which the Islamist arguments were voiced through the means of art.

The first examples of the Islamist music appeared in the mid1980s in some tape theaters, widely known in the religious circles as *bant tiyatroları*, directed by Ulvi Alacakaptan with the contributions of Barbaros Ceylan, İbrahim Sadri, and Ahmet Mercan. Similar to *Arkası Yarın* (to be continued tomorrow), the radio

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[124] For the debate on the lawfulness of music in Islam, see Shiloah (1997).

theaters playing at the state radio at that time, these tape theaters were enacting some historic events of the Prophet's time. They were produced by *Zaman Yayıncılık* and *Azim Dağıtım* as the promotion of an Islamist child magazine *Selam* in 1986 and 1987. In order to eliminate the prolixity in the plays, the producers preferred to add some songs parallel to the theme of the play. The first tape theater that included Islamist songs was *Mute Destanı* (The Saga of Mute), written by İbrahim Sadri and produced by Barbaros Ceylan. Then, the amateur music group *Selika* including Ömer Karaoğlu, Taner Duman, and Hakan Aykut, contributed first to the tape theater *Hicret* (Holy Migration) and the following ones (Karaoğlu, 2010).

Even the limited use of musical instruments in the songs brought considerable debate within the Islamist communities. For instance, the Mute Destanı included music played with *saz* (Turkish long neck lute) and it appealed so much negative reaction that the producers felt compelled to release two versions of the album: one with saz and another without any musical instruments (Karaoğlu, 2010). Some Islamists even blamed these musicians for infidelity (*küfür*) (Taşkıran, 2010). A few years later, another tape theater *Mekke'nin Fethi* (Capture of Mecca), in which the song was played with a keyboard, a wind instrument, and *bağlama* (a Turkish musical instrument with three double strings and played with a plectrum) did not bring that much negative reaction.

The early performers of the Islamist music realized that the role of music had not been sufficiently analyzed and discussed in the Islamic intellectual circles except some very early studies. They concluded that the related passages from the Koran and Hadith mostly associate music with dance and drink. For them, the aim was important and music had to be permissible as long as it served to Islam (Karaoğlu, 2011). Those contributing to the production of the first Islamist songs were all

practicing Muslims; and like praying or fasting, music became a way of serving to the God and increasing the Islamic awareness among the society.

Upon the appeal of the listeners, the songs were combined in a single album titled *Gün Batıdan Doğmadan* (Before the Sun rises from the West). Karaoğlu (2010) calls this album as a "music album without music" because of the lack of use of musical instruments. The group soon produced another album *Adı için Yaşamak* (Living for one's Name). In time, several other Islamist musicians emerged with new albums.

The first examples of Islamist music had a militarist style and were closer to the marchs rather than songs. The Islamist band *Grup Genç*, for instance, directly translated some marches of the Iranian Revolution to Turkish and used them in their first album *Şehadet Vakti* (Time for Martyrdom), released in 1994 (Taşkıran, 2010). While one cannot ignore the effect of the Iranian Revolution in this style, the Turkish listeners were already familiar with the marchs since the *Mehter* marchs (the Ottoman military band music) remained one of the few musical styles the religious people used to listen. As a result of the militarist style, the Islamist music tends to encourage activism. Locating the Muslims as oppressed subjects, the Islamist music encourages activism, as its militarist style also implies. The song lyrics such as "Her eylem yeniden diriltir beni" (Each protest revitalizes me) from this album, or "Sabrımız artık yeter merde meydan konuşur" (Enough with our patience. The field is now for the brave) and "Zulmü kaldırıp atacak eller senindir" (The hands removing the oppression are yours) from the album *Bir Güneş Doğuyor 2* (A Sun Rises 2) exemplify this motivation.

The militarist style underlines how the early performers approached music. The rare use of melodies and instruments and rendering music to the militarist rhythms imply that music was neither a leisure activity nor an expression of high artistic tastes music, rather it had only an instrumental role serving to bolden the message in the lyrics. Naming their musical pieces as *ezgi* instead of simply song manifests this approach, too. While songs were related to leisure and the popular, their music had a protest stance. The message was absolutely the foremost element in these works. It was even hard to imagine seeing the singers in the album covers. The cover of the first album Gün Batıdan Doğmadan was even not indicating the names of the singers. Only as late as in 1993, one could see the hand-made illustrations of three singers on the cover page of the album *Bir Güneş Doğuyor 2*.

A second feature of the first genre is the allegoric style in the song lyrics. The anti-systemic resistance was expressed mostly through some symbols in a covert way. A bold victim discourse could be seen in many pieces. Beside the attempt to display the global injustices against the Muslims with references to the "problems of Bosnia" and "the blood in Palestine," the albums underlined the inferior position of Turkish Muslims allegorically, as well. For instance, Group Selika's another album *Doğ Ey Güneş*'s cover page uses an illustration of sun under barbed wire portrays the lack of freedom of Muslims.[125] The victim discourse manifests itself in many pieces in this album, though not overtly pointing certain figures: "Yansım içim yansın alev alev/ Babamın nesline katletmesine/Aydınlık yoluma küfretmesine/Ve zulmüyle guru duymasına" (Let me flame on fire as they massacred my father's generation, cursed my enlightened path and are proud of their cruelty). In some cases, the group set a

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[125] When drawing on hope for the Muslim world, they use the same metaphor. On the cover page of the album Bir Güneş Doğuyor 2, there is a sun rising behind a shadow of minarette.

poem to music, as the song that gave the album its name: "Doğ ey güneş, erit taştan adamı/ Ve kurut taşları diken elleri" (The sun shall rise, melt down the man of stone and wipe the hand that installed those stones). Either on the adverse affects of urbanization or Kemalism, this poem written by the Islamist poet Akif İnan holds strong symbolism that fits to the anti-systemic expression of Islamist music. In contrast to this general trend, Taşkıran (2010) notes the existence of some illegal albums with more marginal rebellious discourse. *Şehitler Kervanı* (The Caravan of Martyrs), for instance, released more than eight albums illegally, that is to say, the albums were reproduced without the permission and approval of the Ministry of Culture.

A third aspect of the early Islamist music is the constant reference to the "Golden Age," the time of the Prohet in the song lyrics. While the Prophet and his friends were referred in many songs, the figures of Turkish Islam such as the Ottoman Sultans Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Yavuz Selim or Turkish Sufi figures like Yunus Emre or Mevlana Rumi found no place in those albums. Places from the early Islamic history such as Mecca, Medina, or Akabe were common references, whereas finding something local and peculiar to the Turkish Islam was quite difficult. Karaoğlu (2011) states that the original source for inspiration for a Muslim should be the time of the Prophet and all other periods of Islamic history can be criticized as they were humans with faults. This understanding fits to the general formulation of political Islam as the return to or the revival of the Prophet's time. In this line, the early albums gave room to some Arabic marchs, too, like *Nahnü Asakiru* (We are the soldiers of Muhammad) in the album *Doğ Ey Güneş* (The sun shall rise) again produced by Zaman Yayıncılık. In the following years, with the growing diversity in the Islamist music, one can observe more local elements, too. *Bir Güneş Doğuyor 2*

(A sun rises 2) produced by Kunuz Agency in 1993 makes references to Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Yunus Emre in its song lyrics and uses vernacular symbols like the rose, that symbolizes the lover in Ottoman literature.

In the 1990s, globalization and Islamism became serious competitors vis-à-vis the state. While the state-owned media could still promote the official nationalist vision and use cencorship effectively, the new media technology and the diversity of private radio and TV channels made it more difficult for the state to control the "mediascape" (Van Nieuwkerk, 2008: 170). The early 1990s were the golden age of private radio channels in Turkey after the legal permission to establish private TV and radio channels. This was valid for the Islamic radios, too. By 1994, Turkey hosted 525 privately owned radio and television stations. The Islamic groups owned 19 television stations and 45 radio stations out of this total (Yavuz, 2003: 104). AKRA FM was the first Islamic radio that was later followed by hundreds of similar radios. In many cities and town, the Islamic communities founded new radio channels. The religious groups with their television channels such as TGRT and Samanyolu, or their radio stations such as Burç and Akra could penetrate their members through the facilities of modern technology and demarcate their cultural boundaries. Nevertheless, they had little to broadcast. After the popularization of the tape theaters and first Islamic albums, new production companies emerged like Asır Ajans or Kunuz Ajans. These production companies were mostly located in Fatih, a religious district of Istanbul, in contrast to Unkapanı, which still hosts most of the secular popular music companies.

With this intra-community popularization, Islamist singers such as Ömer Karaoğlu, Aykut Kuşkaya, Taner Yüncüoğlu, and Hakan Aykut began giving concerts thoroughout Anatolia. Mostly invited by some religious youth organizations

and Islamist political parties, the concert programs were opened by Koran recitation, followed by a speech of a politician or religious scholar, and finally the performances of those musicians. These concerts were not seen as a leisure activity, but platforms where the religious people could renew their activist motivations. In the early years, the attendees were even not allowed to claitch the singers when they finish their songs. This meant that these concerts were performed in a prayer spirit in contrast to the pop concerts.

The Islamist music albums were mostly listened to at the students' houses, by high school and university students. The striking point, however, was that despite their increasing popularity among the Islamist circles; they could not give a name to their music. March or ezgi (melody) were still to broad names. In the late 1990s, they would receive the name *Yeşil Pop* (Green Pop), though none of its performers liked this title.

There are two other lines co-existing with the genre of Islamist music. The first one is the nationalist protest music affiliated with the MHP and its *Ülkücü* (Idealist) Movement. Singers like Hasan Sağındık in this line used strong Islamic references in their nationalist rhetoric. In his songs, Sağındık criticized the unveiling of girls and drew much on the Prophet's time and friends (Küpçük, 2008). A second line was the classical Sufi music, popularly performed by Mehmet Emin Ay, Hasan Kılıçatan, and Ahmet Özhan.

7.3 The February 28 Process and the Islamist Music

The Jerusalem Night, hosted in Sincan, Ankara by its Welfare-run municipality on February 4, 1997, was the immediate event leading the coup. The next morning, about twenty tanks rolled in to the town. The mayor of Sincan was forced to resign and later trialed at the State Security Court. The Iranian ambassador Reza Baghri, who attended the event as the guest of the honor, was also sent packing. What was staged on the Jerusalem Night was not much different from the tape theaters the religious groups were listening to. It included a theater-play protesting the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem and the re-enactment of the Palestinian Intifadah. The Islamist songs like *Şehid Tahtında* (on the throne of the martyres), once played in the tape theaters, were also sung in some parts of the drama. The Islamist singer Ömer Karaoğlu (2011) was also invited to the organization, though he could not attend it.

The postmodern coup aimed to control all the media channels of political Islam. The seventh measure of the official communiqué in the MGK meeting on February 28, 1997 declared that "Media groups that oppose the TAF [Turkish Armed Forces] and its members should be brought under control" (Günay, 2001: 11). This made the development of the Islamist music almost impossible. Upon this MGK recommendation, the governments were expected to check more the increasing number of Islamic radio and television stations. On March 24, 1998, the then Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz announced there were special investigative units in every town to monitor radio stations and television channels claimed to be Islamist and to inform the prosecutors and the RTÜK (Higher Council for Radio and Television) about any possible illegalities (*Houston Chronicle*, March 24, 1998). In parallel, the RTÜK declared in September 2000 that it issued warnings to 46 radio stations since 1994 and 28 television channels for their "fundamentalist" broadcasting. It

suspended broadcasting by 22 radio stations for 1590 days in total and eight television channels for a total of 676 days (Günay, 2001: 11). The MGK went further and announced on March 30, 2001, the establishment of Media Prosecutors offices in Adana, Bursa, Malatya, Diyarbakır, and Samsun that would watch for any manifestation of Islamic reactinaryism in the media (Çevikcan, 2001).

"Secularist regimes perceive art and entertainment as important strongholds that are in need of defence" (Van Nieuwkerk, 2008: 169). Turkey's postmodern coup as an attempt to restore secularism in all facets of life manifested this ambitious perception, as well. The Jerusalem Night as the signal rocket of the February 28 process also marked a daunting period for the Islamist music sector. Now the producers had to deal with more bureaucratic challenges to organize an Islamist music concert. In many cases, they were disinclined by the police chiefs of that district and better preferred to cancel the organizations. Though none of those concerts led to violent actions so far, throughout the February 28 process, loads of police officers began controlling the organizations. The high amount of the police staff in the concert halls sure created a psychological tension against both the singers and attendees. Even the singers could enter the concert halls after the police check (Karaoğlu, 2011). Prior to the concert, they were warned by the police chiefs not to make any Islamist statements and reminded of its "outcomes." Indeed, the organizers of the concerts had to provide the local security forces some info about the attending musicians and the lyrics of the songs to be performed (Taşkıran, 2010).

It was not only the concerts that faced the state repression, but also some of the Islamist music albums were seized and removed from the markets. Marmara FM, a religious radio station, was closed down for a month for broadcasting Karaoğlu's song *Kurtuluşun Ölümü* (The Death of Salvation) that involved the Independence

Tribunals in the early republican period. Indeed, its lyrics was Ahmet Mercan's poem and earlier published in Mercan's poem book without having faced any legal constraints.

Even if the official authorities did not try to repress the production of Islamist music, religious people would still hesitate in buying those albums and go to the Islamist music concerts. As Turkey's postmodern coup initiated a strategy of tension against the visibility of Islam in the public sphere, many people feared of being labeled as Islamist and tried to refrain from any sanctions in this regard. The concerts were treated as political demonstrations and buying one of those music albums could be easily shown as a sign of being an Islamist.

In 2002, *Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu* (RTÜK - Radio and Television Supreme Council) banned to play on radio all the songs which include the words such as *şehit* (martyr), *mazlum* (oppressed), *zulüm* (oppression), *başörtüsü* (headscarf), *Imam-Hatip* (Imam - Preacher), *Ayasofya* (Hagia Sofia), and *Mescid-i Aksa* (Al Aqsa Mosque). These terms with religious signification were claimed to deepen the the religious and sectarian splits within the country. Some radio channels were temporarily closed for 15 days to four months due to violating this ban. In this regard, Özel FM, for instance, was closed down for 120 days for having broadcasted the songs of the Islamist band *Grup Genç*: Şehidan and Mescid-i Aksa. Its director Ünal Özyıldırım even was sentenced to jail for 15 months (Bilici, 2002). Other radio channels like Moral FM took some precautions and refrained from playing protest songs.

While the ban put 70 per cent of the Islamist songs into the "prohibited list," most of the appeals to the higher courts ended up in favor of the RTÜK. The harsh

measures taken against the Islamist music led many radio directors to act some precautions. Many turned to broadcast only Sufi music instead of the Islamist protest songs. This increased the pace of the Sufi music. Its performers such as Mustafa Demirci, Mehmet Emin Ay, and Avni Sami Özer gained more popularity and recognition (Bilici, 2002). Though the only political piece of Mehmet Emin Ay *Selam İmam Hatiplim* (Waves to my Imam-Preacher Student) was also among the prohibited list, these names produced several new albums of Sufi music (Bilici, 2002).

7.4 Strategies of Survival

According to Ömer Karaoğlu (2011), the Islamist music was a form of reaction. In the eyes of its performers, this music was a reaction against the social injustices around them and their ignored existence in Turkey. It crystallized the efforts to express their existence in that society against those undermining the presence of pious Muslims. Nevertheless, the Islamist music as a way of self-expression or self-assertion for the subaltern groups has undergone through some continuity and ruptures since the late 1990s.

The main current in this sector has become *Yeşil Pop* (Green Pop) that surfaced as light Islamist music during the heydays of the February 28 process. It was Sadık Albayrak, a columnist in religious daily *Yeni Şafak*, who first used the term "Green Pop." Though Albayrak intended to criticize the way the Islamist music had developed, the term was popularized in the secular media (Anlaş, 2007). Indeed, performers of Islamist music have never accepted this label. According to Ömer Karaoğlu (2011), their music was some kind of protest music fighting with the

popular. According to Eşref Ziya, this music has never been popular indeed (Anlaş, 2007). Mehmet Emin Ay (2010) puts that the pop cannot be green at all. Nevertheless, the Green Pop denominated a substantial transformation in both substance and style of their music.

The Green Pop is an example of submission in terms of strategies of survival. The ex-Islamists tried to adapt themselves into the mainstream popular music. Many Islamist performers started produce songs with instruments and melodies similar to the Turkish pop music and they also abandoned the Islamist and protest tone in their productions. Aykut Kuşkaya, for instance, who sang in the early albums of Islamist music such as *Doğ Ey Güneş* or *Bir Güneş Doğuyor*, released in 1998 a new album called *Nereye Kadar* (Till Where), in which the earlier emphasis on holy struggle was replaced by a strong sense of individualism, love, complaints about urban life and moral erosion. Now, Kuşkaya's video clips were playing in *Kral TV*, the Turkish music TV station. There was no difference between his romantic songs mostly played with acoustic guitar, and other popular hit songs.

İbrahim Sadri embodies this transformation par excellence, though he has never been a singer. Sadri emerged as a young Islamic intellectual especially after having participated in the early Islamic tape theaters as an actor, poet and a play writer. The ex-Islamist Sadri released his first poem-album in 1996, *Memleket Havaları* (The Country's Atmosphere), that was followed by other poem albums such as *Adam Gibi* (Like a Man) in 1998 and *Öylesine Sevmiştim* (I Loved That Much) in 1999. Mostly based on human love and disappointments, his poem recitations were shown at nation-wide music channels, such as *Kral TV*, *Best TV*, or *Genç TV*. His CD albums entered in bestseller lists of Turkish popular music. Moreover, he also became a TV star after his poem or stand-up programs first in the

religious TV channel *Kanal 7* and later in more center-right TV channels *TGRT* and *Kanal 6*. (Binark and Çelikcan, 2000).

A second current of the Islamist music was the revival of the Sufi music. Accroding to Mehmet Emin Ay (2010), the leading name in the Sufi music, describes this trend as "self-return" (*öze dönüş*). Accordingly, people started to discover their cown cultural roots that also included the Sufi music. Indeed, Mehmet Emin Ay released his first album *Taleal Bedru Aleyna* in 1989, right after the introduction of the Islamic tape theaters. The piece that gave its name to the album was a traditional Islamic song that the people of Madina sung to the Prophet upon his arrival at their city after the Hijrah in 622. The album containing long speeches about the story and importance of this song had a didactic style. It sold more than one million copies and entered to the best sellers for the first two years. Though Ay followed a straight line from his first album to the latest; after the February 28 process, many other Islamist musicians like Erkan Mutlu began releasing Sufi music albums, too.

The late 1990s indeed saw the re-popularization of the Turkish Art Music and Folk Music, as well. Many popular singers came up with albums that included covers of old Turkish songs. In this period, many municipalities and private organizations set up their own chorus of Sufi music. Sufi music served as a form of liminal resistance as this kind of music with its roots in traditional religion can be legitimate in both secular and religious circles. Unlike the Islamist portest music, many people in Turkey are familiar with some religious melodies or figures like Yunus Emre and Mevlana, mostly employed in the lyrics of religious songs. The return to the Sufi music had a really subversive effect on the mainstream secular music. Many famous singers began to add some religious songs into their albums or perform them in their concerts and TV programs.

As a third current, very few names kept producing the Islamist music, though with a less conflictual rhetoric. Following the repression of the February 28 process, only a few performers remained who kept producing Islamist music albums. In 2002, Ömer Karaoğlu released a two-CD nostalgia album, called *İzler* (Traces) that contained the covers of his earlier songs. The nostalgia album was well received by the religious groups as such Islamist songs were no more composed in 2000s.

Ironically, the Islamist musicians, who were expressing in their songs the oppression over Muslims around the world, did not even release a single album around the theme of the February 28 process and its repercussions. One of the few examples is *Grup Genç*'s song in their 1997 album *Sevdaları Yaşamak* (Living the Passionate Loves): *Biz Maraş'ta siper olduk, Erzurum'da düşman sürdük, Bir oduryu yola vurduk örtü uğruna. Ağaların paşaların sözü boşuna, dalga dalga özgürlüktür parya yurdumda* (We had been barricade in Maraş, exiled the enemies in Erzurum, set out an army for the sake of the headscarf. The aghas and pashas' words are in vain, it is waves of freedom expanding in my pariah country) (Taşkıran, 2010). With references to the Turkish National Struggle, this band criticizes the headscarf ban and locates the position of pious Muslims as pariahs of Turkey. Another song, *Ağlama Karanfil* (Oh Clove, don't cry), that was popular among headscarved female students at the time, was performed by Eşref Ziya: *Aldırma söylenen o sizlere, sen dağıt mis kokunu, umudu, sevgiyi, özlemlerini ve hasretlerini. Susadım karanfil, çöllerde kavrulan toprak gibi, kelepçe vurulmuş yemyeşil gövdene, ben özgürlüğe hasret.* (Do not care what they have said, just spread your musk, the hope, love, your aspirations and longings. Oh clove, I am thirsty like the sand in the deserts, your body all manacled, and I long for freedom). Ziya here symbolizes the oppressed Muslim female subjectivity with the clove lacking any freedom. Similarwise, Ömer

Karaoğlu expressed the Muslim oppression in his song *Kuşlar* (Birds) from the album *Karayel* (Mistral): *Sizin kadar hür olmaktı hayalim kuşlar… Kanatlarımı kırdılar, umutlarımı vurdular…* (Oh birds, my dream was being as free as you… They have broken my wings, shot my hopes…). All these song lyrics are examples of passive ressistance that implicitly defines the ruling elite as opressors and attaches some superiority to the repressed Muslim subjecitivity.

7.5 Conclusion

"Piety is about the construction of definite and distinctive life styles of new religious tastes and preferences" and this extends to the field of music, as well (Turner, 2008: 2). Nevertheless, for both its performers and observers, The Islamist music has already died. The end of the Islamist music is no wonder when many expressed the death of political Islam.

Within the Islamist cricles, attempts for self-assertion in the 1980s turned to the manifestations of self-escape after the February 28 process. When many pious people were fired from their posts and many female students were suffering from the widespread headscarf ban, this oppression did not to the radicalization of their discourse; instead, they tended to employ more legitimate forms of self-expression. In the case of music, many Islamists, who once used to listen the Islamic tape-theaters about the holy jihad and the stories from the Prophet's time, now started to buy Sufi music albums which have no political ambitions. Many also appealed to the Turkish folk music and art music.

One can count two basic reasons for the death of the Islamist protest music. On the one hand, the state repressed all the mediums through which the Islamist music could develop itself. On the other hand, the capitalist industry had its own rules and some Islamists preferred more popular styles to make more money. With the 1980s and 90s, the free market economy whose motto is "whatever sells well gets air time" influenced the social system in which the Islamists also live. The expanding neoliberal atmosphere and the emergence of a new, private mass media have provided fertile ground for a new appreciation of other kinds of music (Özbek, 1997: 222).

The early examples of the Islamist music, parallel to the spirit of political Islam in the 1980s, was dominated by the themes such as mass mobilizations, Islamic militancy and a demand for the implementation of a political and religious rule. Yet, in the late 1990s and 200s, the revolutionary discourse declined and a process of distancing from the collective militancy took place. Actors of Islam started to merge into modern urban spaces, use global communication networks, follow consumption patterns, get accustomed with values of individuation, and professionalism. As a result of this process, which many pronounced as the end of political Islam, the Islamist music was replaced by new albums of either Sufi music that has no political aspirations or Green pop that has a more individualistic stance and involves more human love.

The Islamists were no more making use of the victim discourse to that extent, instead started to enjoy the benefits of being at the center. The new economic actors now formed a new class with their private schools, summer resorts, beauty centers, fashion shows and professional organizations (Demir et al, 2004: 172). In this way, many could no more be portayed as an anti-systemic group. An (ex-) Islamist would

no more listen to the Islamist protest music when enjoying his/her holiday at the Caprice Hotel, an Islamic investment. Nevertheless, the performers and producers of the Islamist music could not produce new albums that could re-interpret the Muslim sensitivities, either. The February 28 process eliminated any parallel development of the Islamist music in this regard.

Globalization has brought a new dimension to this sector. As a result of increasing globalization, Islamic stars like convert Yusuf Islam –formerly known as Cat Stevens have been admired among Muslim communities in Europe and the Middle East (Van Nieuwkerk: 2008: 172). More recently, Sami Yusuf, a British born Azerbaijani singer, in several countries including Turkey has arisen as the new Islamic pop star after some investments in the marketing and advertising of his albums.[126] Secondly, globalization in this area manifested itself in the diversification of Islamic music and emergence of new styles. Now, one could find various interpretations such as Islamic rock, Islamic pop, or Islamic rap. Moreover, some performers like Group Yürüyüş began singing in Arabic and Kurdish (*Haksözhaber*, 2009). One can predict that the almost dead Islamist music can get a new impetus with the pace of globalization, though it will no more be the same it was in the 1980s.

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[126] This trend is not peculiar to Islam. The Free Monks (Eleftheroi), for instance, is a Greek Orthodox rock band of black-robed monks, who tries to interact with the Greek young people through music and to "break away from the mould of Orthodox clergy as stiff and distant" (Molokotos-Liederman, 2004: 403).

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

> There is a photograph... a memory from the high-school graduation dinner at one of the elite places in Istanbul… Two young boys appear on the photo... My friend Ufuk and I… We look proudly at the objective… Ufuk's parents and my father sit on the table in front of us… My mother is absent… My mother is not there on that "our happy day." My mother did not come because we thought that her presence would not be really "appropriate." My father thought in this way, my mother approved, and it suited my interests. There is nothing abnormal in Ufuk's mother being in that photograph because she is unveiled, and my mother is veiled… We, the whole family, were ashamed for my mother coming into such an "elite place." We approved her better not coming, so we left her at home. We, the whole family, made her invisible. In that way, I did not fall into a situation in which I would get ashamed for "a veiled mother shaming me among my friends" (Karaman, 2003: 71).

While many academic studies focus on the increasing public visibility of religious groups in contemporary Turkey (Toprak, 1999; Eligür, 2010; Çağaptay, 2011), the shame about one's religiosity reflected in this letter illustrates the other side of the coin. Visible markers of religiosity in Turkey such as a headscarf, a beard or a silver ring may finally lead to one's invisibility in a secular context, e.g. at a graduation dinner, in a job or at university. It is no more solely about the legal sanctions of the headscarf ban, but also its psychological ramifications and implications for self-identification. Defining the religious group as less valuable performs the crucial

function of maintaining the secular hegemony, and it has a variety of other implications. By scrutinizing how Islamic practices are "problematized in the public sphere, we become aware of the unspoken, implicit borders and the stigmatizing, exclusionary power structure of the secular public sphere" (Göle 2002, 178). In this regard, this dissertation examined Turkey's February 28 process to find what mechanisms targeted to make Islam invisible in the public sphere and what strategies of survival the religious subaltern opted to overcome this invisibility and degraded position.

Framing Turkey's postmodern coup as a hegemonic project, this dissertation firstly targeted to lay out the interrelation between hegemony and the subject and started with the famous academic debate between James C. Scott and Steven Lukes. In 1960s and 1970s, studies on hegemony had questioned the possibility of resistance under the shadow of Althusserian structuralism. In contrast, Scott (1985, 1990) challenged the possibility of hegemony. Claiming that even the weakest groups can use some everyday forms of resistance, which he names as the "weapons of the weak," he concludes the ever impossibility of hegemony. Lukes (2005), on the other hand, underlines the Marxist conception of false consciousness and blames Scott for overgeneralizing the impossibility of hegemony. At this point, this dissertation emphasizes the need to differentiate the possibility of resistance from the will to resistance and relates the success of any hegemonic project to the "politics of dignity," in which the contending groups superiorize their own values through establishing hierarchical dichotomies in their advance. The hegemonic projects render the subordinate identities invisible and stigmatize them. Becoming a subject is possible only if one adheres to the "dignifiers," that is to say, the markers of prestige

defined by the hegemonic culture. As Fanon (1967: 8, 10) states, "the black is not a man […] there is only one destiny. And it is white."

This dissertation argues that studies on hegemony should go beyond the dichotomies such as domination versus resistance, or cooptation versus subversion. Instead, it offers multiple responses the subaltern subject may give. These "strategies of survival" include exit, submission, liminal resistance, and violence. The first form "exit," initially offered by Hirschmann (1970), simply means the withdrawal of the relationship and leaving the hegemonic context. This research lists three forms of exit: immigration, segregation like the formation of gated communities, and forced exit such as dismissal from job, exile, or imprisonment.

"Submission" refers to the conformist tendency in Gramscian terms (Gramsci, 1971: 324) and means the incorporation of the hegemonic values. The motivation to be acceptable and normal galvanizes the hybridization process, which does not challenge the upper hegemonic values, but creates room for the subordinate identities. Apologetic discourses and self-hate are common manifestations of submission.

Another strategy of survival this research points is the "liminal resistance," in which the subaltern subject preserves his/her own values to the extent the hegemonic moment allows. The first form is pretention, best explained by Timur Kuran's (1995) term of "preference falsification." In preference falsification, the person misrepresents his/her genuine preferences to avoid the social pressure. The *takiyyah* tradition (calculated dissimulation) in Shia Islam belongs to this category. The second form is the "constructive path," in which the subordinated prefers to walk on the lines where the hegemonic and subaltern values converge. Unlike pretention, the subject does not misrepresent his/her preferences but only manifests the ones

acceptable by the hegemonic system. The final form is "passive resistance" in Scott's (1990) terms. Everyday forms of resistance such as rituals of aggression, name-calling, and disguised discourses of dignity can be used by the subaltern groups.

The fourth and final strategy of survival is "violence." Although Gramsci underlined the consensual means in hegemony building and "war of position" as a tactic to gain the political hegemony, he did not disregard the "war of movement," the frontal attack as the Bolshevik strategy. Street actions, protests, or guerilla wars can be examples of violence as a strategy of survival.

This dissertation applied the theoretical framework on Turkey's fourth military intervention and its different cases. Turkey's postmodern coup as a process dates back to the early 1990s when the predecessor of the ruling AKP, the Islamist Refah Party started to expand its support base. While Refah Party was an insignificant right wing political party in the 1980s in terms of its electoral success, it tripled its electoral support base in less than ten years.[127] This unexpected rise of Refah Party culminated in its success during the 1994 local elections when it won the mayoralties in most of the major cities in Turkey, including Istanbul and the capital Ankara. Since this was the first time in Turkish history that an Islamist political party had such an electoral victory that brought it to power in the city administrations of Turkey's major cities, this election came to mark one of the most significant cornerstones in Turkish political history.

It was when the unexpected and unprecedented results of this election were announced that a sense of shock and panic surged among secularist circles, who saw this Islamist victory as the alarm bell that signaled the beginning of a new threat that would take Turkey toward an Islamist revolution of the Iranian kind. The Prime

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[127] In the 1987 general elections Refah Party received %7 of the votes. In the 1995 general elections it won %21 of the votes emerging as the top party in the electoral race.

Minister's Erbakan's initial visits to Iran, Libya, and Nigeria, the Welfare municipalities' attempts to ban alcohol in restaurants, the removal of some public statues in big cities due to religious concerns, a fast-breaking dinner held with the participation of religious leaders all in their religious garb at the official residence of the Prime Minister and the projects for the re-conversion of the Ayasofya Museum into a mosque and the building of a mosque in Taksim Square are some events that were taken as symptoms of Welfare's hidden agenda.

This perceived threat was taken so seriously by various secularist circles that within days after the election, various grassroots organizations and new civil society associations were formed all campaigning for resistance and protest against the rising "Islamic threat." Secularist voluntary groups came together to raise money for and publish local newspapers and journals. One of the quite popular forms of protest was when an anonymously prepared "black list" of various businesses and agencies that had provided financial support for the Refah Party started to circulate through faxes calling for consumers not to shop from or do business with these companies. This anonymous black-list became so popular that certain companies that were mistakenly placed on the list were compelled to place large ads in newspapers denying any support for the Islamist Refah Party (Çınar, 2005: 19-20). Indeed, if one leaves everything aside, the sole fact that "Necmettin Erbakan had occupied a prime ministerial position was hard to digest for many Kemalist/secularists groups including the military" (Dağı, 2002: 17).

The monthly meeting of the National Security Council on the day of February 28, 1997, crowned weeks of this mounting tension in politics and society. The council defined religious obscurantism as the first threat for national security and the Welfare-led government was presented a package of measures consisting of 18

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decrees. These include the maintenance of the official dress code in government offices and universities that was practiced in the form of headscarf ban, the introduction of compulsory eight year elementary school education that practically closed the middle sections of the Imam Hatip schools, the imposition of strict control over Koran courses and dormitories run by religious foundations, the establishment of a section within the Prime Ministry to investigate reactionary activities in bureaucracy, and the introduction of a law enabling to fire the civil servants engaged in reactionary activities. The military, on the one hand, investigated all the Islamist activities in every facet of life and society via the West Working Group formed within the General Staff of Armed Forces. On the other hand, it initiated well-concerted campaigns through its direct briefings to the members of the media and judiciary and its collaboration with the civil societal organizations. The military, together with its secular counterparts in the judiciary, economy, media, and academia, did not only adopted coercive methods to cleanse the public sphere from the Islamist elements, but also pursued a politics of dignity, in which the perceived threat of political Islam was exacerbated by various media coverages about several instances of "bad Islam" like the Ajzmendies or the Fadime Şahin case.

The military, convinced that the secular regime was "being challenged by an emerging middle class no longer willing to hide its Muslim beliefs" (Beary, 2007), aimed to correct the economic sphere, as well. The Islamist capitalists indeed faced less suppression in comparison to their political counterparts; however, the late 1990s saw an intensive campaign against the religious organizations and their economic activities. The Chief of Staff published a blacklist of Islamic companies alleged to have financed religious obscurantism and flagged the term "green capital" to denigrate those economic actors. Any companies affiliated with religious groups

were excluded from bidding for any state tenders and the military asked the secular Turks to boycott them. The Capital Markets Board, responsible for monitoring stock market trading, investigated many Islamic businesses for "not properly registering with state authorities and for trading shares informally instead of on the Istanbul Stock Exchange (IMKB)" (*Turkish Daily News*, November 4, 2006). The Islamic banks were even asked to foreclose credits (Pope, 1997) and not allowed to open new branches in the following years.

The most concrete end result of the February 28 process was the downfall of the Welfare-led government in June 1997 and the dissolution of the Welfare Party by the Constitutional Court in January 1998. When Erbakan resigned on June 18, 1997, to handle over the office to his coalition partner, the President Demirel accepted Erbakan's resignation but called Mesut Yılmaz, the leader of the opposition party ANAP, to form the government. On January 18, 1998, the Constitutional Court closed the Welfare Party and banned its leader from politics for five years for being the hub for anti-secular activities. The Welfare deputies now joined the Virtue Party that was earlier formed as a substitute party in case the Welfare were closed.

Despite Erbakan's presence at the background, the Virtue adopted liminal resistance and walked on the convergence lines of the hegemonic and subaltern identities such as religious freedom, rule of law, justice, and economic development. The Virtue leaders renounced their old concepts such as Just Order or National Vision and abandoned their antagonistic discourse towards the West. As a result of the pragmatic and moderate stance, their new pillars became human rights and democratization. The Virtue's pro-Western attitude and favor for the EU can be read as pretention or preference falsification, in which the public preference is different from one's private preference. Accordingly, the Virtue opted a pro-Western approach

as political strategy to survive the Welfare's fate. Nevertheless, it was also closed by the Constitutional Court in June 2001, and the intra-party debate gave birth to two new parties: The Justice and Development Party and the Felicity Party.

The reformist wing of the National Vision Movement that tried to push the Virtue Party to a more moderate and Westernist stance founded the Justice and Development Party, the AKP, on August 14, 2001. The AKP's stance was best described as post-Islamist, in which "Islamism is losing its political and revolutionary fervor but is steadily infiltrating social and cultural everyday practices" (Çınar and Duran, 2008: 21). The ex-Islamists turned to be the pioneers of Europeanization. The party leader Tayyip Erdoğan showed his determination in the adoption and implementation of the whole body of EU legislation and standards—the *acquis communautaire.* The AKP pursued a liminal resistance and worked on issues important for both secular and religious groups. While avoiding confrontational issues such as the headscarf ban and the case of the Imam Hatip schools to a great extent, the AKP cadres worked hard for the Europeanization process and economic stability.

The Felicity Party, the successor of the National Vision Movement, kept the anti-Westernist populist discourse with religious framing. However, it is more difficult to call this party as Islamist unlike the Welfare. No SP politicians asked for Shariah or acted in a way that disturbed the secularists. Besides, they did not prefer to turn the party into a mass party but got marginalized in the Turkish political system. In this way, they opted "segregation," the second form of exit, in which a subordinate group aims to create its own little world and lives according to its own values.

Parallel to the political turmoil following the heydays of the February 28 process, Turkish economy suffered from subsequent dramatic economic crises in 1994, 1998, and 2001. Under the guidance of Kemal Derviş, a major stabilization program was launched in March 2001 with the support of the IMF and the World Bank. In this economic environment, the economic actors of political Islam, embodied in the economic organization MÜSİAD, did not attempt direct confrontation with the secular state and shifted its rhetoric from an Islamist discourse to a pro-Western one. The former anti-capitalists and anti-Westernists turned to be the support base for the EU membership. Similar to the AKP's transformation, the Islamic capitalists refrained from direct confrontation and defended their rights in the Western liberal discourse. In this way, they adopted liminal resistance, as economic liberalism could be justified by both the hegemonic and subaltern discourses. Besides, for some other economic actors, exit was the only option. While this meant their exit from the market for some companies, many big religious companies like Ülker and Kombassan also invested their money abroad in this period.

In terms of the Islamic finance, the most dramatic result of the February 28 process is the bankruptcy of İhlas Finance House in 2001. While conventional banks could rely on state guarantee, the Islamic banks were deprived of this advantage until the IMF-imposed regulations in 2001. Exit was a valid option for Arab financers, too. Faisal Finance House, for instance, was sold to Kombassan in 1998. During the 2001 financial crisis, this bank could avoid the fate of İhlas Finance only when the Ülker group bought the bank. While the anti-religious environment of the February 28 process blocked any possibility for the growth of the Islamic banks, the deteriorating economic conditions were vital for the survival of these actors. The secular establishment could not control and manipulate the economic realm as easily

as it did in the political sphere. Although the National Security Council decided in 1997 not to allow the Islamic banks to open new branches, the new Banking Act that became effective on December 17, 1999 under the IMF-controlled stabilization program recognized the Islamic banks as part of the Turkish economy. After this partial integration, another banking law launched in 2001 provided the Islamic banks greater legal security. As a manifestation of this integration to the capitalist system, they adopted the name "participation bank" in 2006. This liminal resistance within the system, however, did not bring the Islamic banks full legitimacy. They were denied of entering into the Union of Banks in Turkey, so they had to establish their own, the Union of the Special Finance Institutions and the Union of Participation Banks in Turkey in 2001 and 2006, respectively. The formation of these unions is an example of segregation as a strategy of survival.

The February 28 process was an ambitious project with its implications in all facets of life. This dissertation chose the trajectory of the Islamist music as the case study to examine its effect on the socio-cultural realm. In this regard, the late 1990s signaled the death of a late-born musical style. The Islamist music that developed in late 1980s as a marginal cultural artifact, yet quite popular among young Islamists faced great obstacles after Turkey's postmodern coup. The concerts were cancelled due to bureaucratic difficulties; the allowed ones were done under high police control. Several music albums were investigated by the related bureaucratic bodies. In 2002, the Radio and Television Supreme Council banned to play on radio all the songs that include words such as martyr, oppression, headscarf, Imam-Hatip, Hagia Sofia, and Al Aqsa Mosque. Some religious radio stations were temporarily closed down for having broadcasted such Islamist songs, while some other refrained from playing such songs any more.

The Islamist musicians tried to overcome the repression in several ways. One of them is the development of the so-called Green Pop, which abandoned the Islamist and protest discourse in this music and relied on melodies common to pop music. The ex-Islamists like Aykut Kuşkaya and İbrahim Sadri had now video clips playing in popular music TV stations. The Green Pop illustrates submission as a strategy of survival, in which the Islamists tried to adapt themselves into the main secular popular music industry. The same period also witnessed the revival of Sufi music that has no political ambition but manifests strong religious symbolism. With its roots in traditional religious culture, the Sufi music served as liminal resistance and had a subversive effect. Many popular singers began singing such religious songs while in the past it was hard to find any reference to Islam in popular music. As a third current, a few Islamist musicians like Ömer Karaoğlu or Eşref Ziya Terzi kept producing Islamist songs though with a less protest tone. In total, one can even talk about the death of the Islamist music as protest music. While exit seems to be the appropriate category to put the Islamist music's response in, globalization positively affected this style. Accordingly, one can see global stars of Islamic music like Yusuf Islam or Sami Yusuf who gave some impetus to this industry. Moreover, new subcultures like Islamic rock or Islamic rap music have developed.

8.1 The Legacy of the February 28 Process

When the military overthrew the Islamist-led coalition government in 1997, the story was not over. As indicated in 18 measures released after the MGK meeting on February 28, 1997, the military had far-reaching goals to re-organize Turkish politics and society.

The military made important changes in legal documents to justify its actions. In the National Military Strategic Concept, reactionary Islam was defined as the number one internal threat as of April 1997. The National Security Policy Document, popularly known as the Red Book, was also updated during this process. Ultranationalism was removed, while religious reactionaryism, separatism, and the extreme left were defined as the leading national security threats (Duvaklı, 2010). Despite the AKP's coming to power in 2002, the ruling party made important changes as late as in 2010. The 2010 edition of the Red Book removed the term "irtica" (religious reactionaryism) from the list of internal security threats and made a distinction between religious individuals and fundamentalist Islamist organizations. Instead, the 2010 Red Book marked some global problems such as cyber threats, energy pipeline policies, global warming, space technologies, and the future of Turkish large young population (Yanarocak, 2010: 4).

A second important marker of the February 28 process was the West Working Group (BÇG), an intelligence unit founded within the general staff "to collect information about the political orientations of civil society groups, mayors, governors, government employees, political party cadres, and media personalities" (Cizre and Çınar, 2003: 330, cf. 24). Besides, on January 9, 1997, *Başbakanlık Takip Merkezi* (Prime Ministerial Crisis Management Center) was established within the National Security council secretariat to report on "crises." According to Cizre and Çınar (2003: 330), "it bypassed parliamentary control of its activities and was seemingly responsible to the prime minister but was, in reality, answerable only to the NSC." After the heydays of the February 28 process, the Crisis Management Center, the aim of which was defined as the co-ordination for the struggle against the

religious reactinaryism, replaced the BÇG in its functions.[128] During the AKP period, it continued to exist, but was not active. As of January 1, 2011, Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan's circular numbered as 2010/27 annulled any legal documents involving the fight against religious reactinaryism and abolished that center, too (*İnternethaber*, January 1, 2011).

A third leg of Turkey's postmodern coup was the introduction of *Emniyet Asayiş Yardımlaşma* (EMASYA - the Protocol on Cooperation for Security and Public Order), which allows the military to intervene in social incidents and gather intelligence in cities without the approval of the civilian administration. EMASYA was signed on July 7, 1997 between the General Staff and the Interior Ministry. The protocol also replaced the emergency rule administrations implemented during the 1990s in the southeastern Anatolia. The EU's 2007 progress report on Turkey also criticized the endurance of the EMASYA on the grounds that "These laws define the role and duties of the Turkish military and grant the military a wide margin of maneuver by providing a broad definition of national security. No progress has been made in enhancing civilian control over the gendarmerie when engaged in civilian activities" (Karabat, 2010). The protocol was abolished in early February 2010 (*Star*, February 4, 2010).

Fourthly, the state's intention to hold Islam under the state's control throughout the republican history led the state elites to put the religious education under the strict control of the state. In this regard, the MGK's third measure proposed an eight-year uninterrupted educational system and greater legal control over the Koran courses. Up to this time, compulsory education was limited to five years, and

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[128] According to the Turkish media reports, there were some underground attempts in 2003 by some military faction to revive the West Working Group (*Todays's Zaman*, December 16, 2010).

after that students could drop out and enter the state-sponsored religious education system, the Imam-Hatip schools, which taught grades six to twelve. On August 16, 1997, the Turkish Parliament passed the law requiring eight years of uninterrupted secular education. The Imam-Hatip junior high schools were closed in deference to this requirement. Besides, the graduates of these schools were restricted to enter only the faculties of theology, as well. With regard to the Koran courses, in September 1999, the parliament passed another legislation that limited the opening summer Koran courses to children who completed five years of secular education or who were of equivalent age. They were put under close investigation and many illegal ones were closed (Günay, 2001: 8).

As a result of these legal changes, the Imam Hatip schools lost its popularity among pious groups and much less students enrolled in the following years. While in 1996-97, there were 511,502 registered students in Imam Hatip schools, including those in grades six to eight, the total number dropped to 178,046 in 1997-98, one year later after the Imam Hatip junior high schools were closed. In 2000-2001, it decreased further to 91,620 (Günay, 2001: 9). When the AKP drafted a bill to lift the restrictions on the Imam Hatip graduates to enter universities, it was perceives as part of the AKP's hidden agenda and the then President Necdet Sezer vetoed the bill (Tuğal, 2009: 54). However, the presense of a post-Islamist party in office must have brought some hope for the religious families. At high-school level, there were 65,000 students at Imam Hatip schools in 2003, but three years later this figure was doubled. Similarwise, restrictions on Koran courses were eased in 2003, and the total number of those full-time courses jumped from 3000 in 2003 to 4950 in addition to 58,500 on a part-time basis (*Turkish Daily News*, July 26, 2007).

Fifthly, the headscarf ban is another print of the February 28 process. Though it has a longer history, the headscarf ban on university campuses has been boldly in place since 1997. Besides, women with headscarves are still not allowed to enter the military facilities, including the hospitals and recreational areas under the control of the Turkish military. The headscarf issue became one of the borderlines of the secularist regime and the AKP government's attempt to lift this ban at universities was shown as evidence in the legal file to close the AKP for being the hub of anti-secular activities. Accordingly, such permission would constitute a decisive blow against the secular regime. The AKP government, trying to refrain from any confrontation within the state, attempted to solve this problem in practice. While the legislation on dress codes for university students has a clause against wearing the headscarf on university campuses, the YÖK (High Education Board) released a decree relaxing this ban (*Today's Zaman*, April 27, 2011). While many university administrations announced their decision to allow the free use of the headscarf on their campuses and classrooms, some other rejected this lift on the headscarf ban.

A sixth marker of the February 28 process was the removal of some officers for allegedly Islamist activities. In line with the constitutional reform package approved by a referendum in September 2010, the parliament passed a law in March 2011 that reinstated the rights of former members of the military expelled by unfair decisions taken during the previous YAŞ (Supreme Military Council) decisions. The constitutional package also included an article that allows them to appeal their expulsion before a judicial body. Accordingly, if the expelled officer is old enough, he will be granted with a monthly pension. Otherwise, he will be allowed to obtain employment in an official institution. In August 2011, the AKP government opened

2,000 new positions within the state for those individuals (*Today's Zaman*, August 1, 2011).

Finally and most importantly, there has been important changes about the role of the National Security Council, the leading actor throughout the February 28 process. A decade later than Turkey's postmodern coup, the AKP government initiated dramatic reforms certainly more important and challenging than building a mosque in Taksim Square or giving a fast-breaking dinner to the religious leaders at the official residence of the Prime Minister. Nevertheless, it was a quiet transformation Turkey was undertaking since the reforms were adopted as part of Turkey's Europeanization process. In 2000s, the AKP-majority parliament many EU harmonization packages, which contributed to the democratization of the political and judicial system in Turkey. In this regard, with an amendment to Constitutional Article 118, the role of National Security Council was reduced to an advisory body and the government became responsible for evaluating the recommendation instead of giving priority to them. In addition, it s composition was changed to make the civilian a majority. The executive power of the Secretary General of the National Security Council was also removed. With an amendment to Articles 9 and 14 of the related law, the provision that "empovered the Secretary General of the National Security Council to follow up, on behalf of the President and the Prime minister, the implementation of any recommendation made by the National Security Council" was abolished (Toktaş and Kurt, 2008). Moreover, the Council decided not necessarily to reserve the post of Secretary General for a military person. Mehmet Yiğit Alpogan, a career diplomat, was appointed in 2004 as the first civilian Secretary General of the council.

The legal and political imperatives of the February 28 process seem to have been compensated after fifteen years. Nevertheless, it has more profound implications for the Turkish political structure. This final part is devoted to the discussion on the implications of the process for Turkish politics, which are basically the rise of statist secularist nationalism and the liberal conservatism.

The unexpected rise of political Islam in Turkey and its electoral success in 1994 led to the emergence of such an autonomous and spontaneous secularist grassroots movement, which resulted in what Esra Özyürek (2004) calls "the privatization of state ideology." Özyürek argues that in the latter part of 1990s, Kemalism became "privatized" by the popularization of consumer items such as Atatürk pins, jewelry with engravements of Atatürk or the Turkish flag and other similar memorabilia, which made Kemalism and Atatürk more accessible for citizens, allowing them to incorporate Kemalism in their private lives at intimate levels, and to directly relate to Turkey's official ideology and its founder at a personal level. However, the "privatization," or consumerization of Kemalism and images of Atatürk by no means meant their trivialization or depoliticization. On the contrary, such privatization of official ideology resulted in the politicization of the private and public spheres and served to carry the highly charged political dispute over the role and status of Islam in Turkey to civil society and to the domain of everyday life. In other words, the rise of political Islam resulted in a Kemalist backlash that not only served to "privatize" Kemalism but also resulted in the revitalization of official state ideology and the resurgence of the iconic figure of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as a symbol of secularism at the level of civil society associations and grassroots movements.

The secularist nationalism dubbed as *Ulusalcılık* has its roots in this period when autonomous secularist grassroot groups and organizations started to emerge after the critical 1994 elections. This initiative starting as a spontaneous civilian resistance against the rising influence of Islamism later developed into an active, fully established civil society movement taking secularism as its defining element. By the early years of the 2000s, this movement took on even more pronounced features rallying around secularism as a national cause that needs to be upheld against Islamism at all cost. The principle of secularism transcended its status as a political principle and started to be evoked as a sacred core element that unifies the Turkish nation as a single community. Such sacralization of the principle of secularism implied that it needed to be protected at all costs, even if this meant the suspension of democracy.

After the declaration of Turkey's EU Accession Partnership on March 8th, 2001, the implications of EU membership started to be scrutinized more critically including among the secularist nationalists. The liberalization reforms, which the EU imposes as a condition for accession, such as balanced civil-military relations, granting of rights for ethnic and religious minorities, expanding political freedoms and other similar measures were increasingly seen as infringements upon Turkey's sovereignty. Since these accession reforms would entail that military interventions, even if they are at their mildest, as in the February 28, 1997 "post-modern coup" conducted against the rising threat of political Islam, would no longer be possible, the emerging secularist nationalist movement started to question Turkey's candidacy for EU membership. When the US war on Iraq started a couple of years later, the anti-EU stance among these circles turned into a full-fledged anti-Western and anti-

imperialist position that came to be one of the core defining features of the recent secular nationalism in Turkey.

Perhaps the most important turning point that marked the evolution of the secular nationalist movement from a loosely organized secularist movement to a full-fledged political ideology with an increasingly defined network of civil society associations was when the AKP, the successor of the former Islamist Refah Party, won the general elections with an overwhelming majority and came to power in 2002. This electoral result not only meant that Turkey would be having its first experience with an Islam-based political party coming to power as a single party government, but also meant the AKP could actually make changes in the constitution with the majority power it had in the parliament. But what was the most shocking of all for secularist circles was in fact, Turkey would be having its first 'first-lady' who was wearing the Islamic headscarf. This was at a time when the Islamic headscarf was still banned in public offices, schools and university campuses across the country.

Outraged with the idea that Turkey would now be represented by a first-lady who is wearing a headscarf, which was also taken as proof of the AKP government's tacit goals toward Islamicizing the country, many people with strong secular feelings who were reluctant until then to become involved in civil society associations started to mobilize and turn into adamant secularist activists. This move became one of the most important thrusts that fuelled the rise of the secularist nationalism.

Another important legacy of the February 28 process is the end of the state-embedded Islam and the rise of conservative democracy. In the post-1980 Turkey, "official discourse articulated and tolerated Islamic elements in the public-political

realm that had, until that point, been under the monopoly of secular standards and criteria" (Cizre, 1996: 244). The Turkish-Islamic Synthesis as the official ideology of the Septeber 12, 1980 coup was a hegemonic project par excellence in which the ruling strata tried to achieve a broad consensus at least among the conservative majority. Developed by the *Aydınlar Ocağı* (the Hearth of Intellectuals)[129] and supported by the military leaders, the project used Islam was used as a unifying force of society and molded it with Turkish nationalism. In this way, the military tried to institute a process of state-controlled "Islamization from above" (Rabasa and Larrabee, 2008: 59). Based on a combined emphasis on the family, the mosque, and the barracks, the Turkish-Islamic synthesis aimed to create a homogeneous and less political community and to reduce the appeal of the leftist ideologies and non-Turkish radical Islamist movements inspired by the Iranian Revolution. It could also establish a defensive bloc against the socialist expansion and bring an end to the ideological confrontations throughout the 1970s.

In the 1980s, the project was implemented by Özal's Motherland Party, which targeted to achieve a cross-class consensus or an expansive hegemony in Gramscian terms. The education system and the media was used to spread this view and create the national popular in these lines. Within the framework of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, mandatory religious classes were introduced into the curriculum for Turkish students until university age. The government tripled the budget of the Directorate for Religious Affairs. The Directorate was responsible for contributing to the national solidarity and consciousness. In this line, the institution prepared many sermons, recitations and textbooks with messages on Turkish national pride and

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[129] Established on May 14, 1970, the organization worked as a think-thank center for nationalist conservative intellectuals. Some of their leading names were İbrahim Kafesoğlu, Altan Deliorman, Muharrem Ergin, and Ahmet Kabaklı (Kurt, 2010: 113).

respect for state authority. To do that, the directorate increased it staff from 50,765 in 1979 to 84,172 in 1989. The government also allowed the opening of private Koran courses mostly under the supervision of religious officials in local mosques. While the number of mosques grew from 57,000 in 1983 to 72,000 in 1987, the number of the state-run Koran courses increased from 2,160 to 4,890 and that of theological faculties from eight to 22 in the same period (Karakaş, 2007: 18). This accompanied the increase in the number of Imam Hatip schools around the country.

The expansion of the state-run religious services, the introduction of mandatory religious education in curriculums, the enhanced religious freedom for Islamic organizations, and the use of the Directorate for national integrity within the framework of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis marked not only "a nationalization of Islam," but also "an Islamization of the nation" (Karakaş, 2007: 19). The military's strategy to legitimate the coup and the state gave way to the rise of political Islam. The new environment provided new opportunities for pious groups to expand and gain power at political and economic spheres. The changes in the political sphere to pursue an expansive hegemony had its implications in the economic base, as well. The economic reforms carried out by the then Prime Minister Turgut Özal reduced the state's hold on economy and the liberalizing economy contributed to the development of the Anatolian bourgeoisie. Özal's economic policies turned away from the import substation in 1960s and 1970s and encouraged the small and mid-sized companies in conservative Anatolian cities such as Kayseri Konya, Sivas, Denizli, Çorum, and Gaziantep. The political and economic expansion of religious groups was embodied in the rising power of the Welfare Party in 1983 and the MÜSİAD in 1990.

The military-sponsored Turkish-Islamic synthesis was not only in line with the conservatism of the Thatcher/Reagan era, but also consistent with the Islamic tradition in Turkish history. The Turkish Republic inherited from the Ottoman Empire a long-standing tradition of raison d'etat, which often emphasized state hegemony over religion. In the Ottoman context, such political supremacy over the religious realm was achieved through the incorporation of the Islamic establishment into the administrative apparatus of the empire. Throughout Islamic history, state control over the Muslim religious establishment became so pervasive that the *ulama* virtually became an arm of government (Brown, 2000: 35). In comparison to other Muslim states, *ulama* were more clearly integrated into the state apparatus in the Ottoman Empire. In apparent continuity with Ottoman patterns, secularism in modern Turkey did not attempt to separate state and religion. Instead, the Republican regime maintained tight control over the religious establishment by monopolizing Islamic functions and incorporating the religious personnel into the state bureaucracy.

What partly facilitated the Ottomans' being able to maintain the state's supremacy and open a secular space in which to legislate, was the nature of the religion they adopted. Ottomans were Sunni, a sect within Islam that allows enough room for new judgments in accordance with new necessities. Moreover, in the Sunni tradition, administration is not a primary (*aslî*) issue, but rather a secondary (*talî*) concern. The Shia tradition, on the other hand, takes the issue of *imamet* as being of primary importance. In the Sunni understanding, the existence of the state is more important rather than its quality (Türköne, 2003: 253, 256). In this framework, orthodox Islam had only narrow opportunities to develop into a source of opposition.

As a result, in contrast to what was going on in Western Europe, there was no Ottoman equivalent of the confrontational relations between state and church.

The 1980's Turkish-Islamic synthesis is parallel to the political and religious traditions in the Turkish past explained above. The February 28 process marks a turning point at which the state withdraws its support on the Islamic base. While in the 1980s Islam was seen as the cement for the national integrity and a source of respect for the state authority, it was categorized a decade later as the number one threat to the national security in the official documents. When the state abandoned its toleration, if not support, on the Islamic groups, this also signaled the end of the state-embedded Islam and freed them from the state-centered justifications.

The political and economic organizations of Islamism did no longer owe their existence to the state which was now determined to destroy them. Nevertheless, they had to rely on something else to survive the state suppression. The February 28 process did not only end the state-Islam marriage, but also pushed the religious groups towards a more liberal stance and to ally with European actors in contrast to the secularist regime. At this point, the EU appeared as a "long-term institutional anchor that was needed in terms of promoting stability and breaking down long-standing resistance to reform in Turkey's domestic political arena" (Öniş, 2009: 417). These reforms, among many, included the normalization of civil-military relations, enhancing the religious freedom, ensuring the rule of law, and liberalizing the economy, to which the AKP, the MÜSİAD and other Islamic actors could credit their survival. In this period, the Islamic actors tended to abandon their discourse that was challenging "the legitimacy of globalization, the market economy, the media,

and even democracy" (Bacık, 2011: 147).[130] As İnsel (2003: 306) puts well, "Turkey is now going through a paradoxical period in which statist-Westernizing elites are forced to swerve into anti-Western positions, and theWest is defended by Islamic, Kurdish, and other movements of identity politics."

Another factor contributing to the rise of a more liberal pro-Westernist interpretation of political Islam is the self-questioning of Islamist actors and the secularization below in these communities. The Islamists have questioned themselves more fiercely especially after the radical Islamist Hizbullah's[131] atrocities were revealed in 2000. "As security forces unearthed tortured and dismembered corpses every day," the Islamists underwent a great shock and began to challenge their orientation (Gültaşlı, 2000).

Now with the rise of the AKP, the ex-Islamists began to define themselves as counterparts of Chiristian Democrats in Muslim setting. The party combined its "Islam-friendly feature with a .genuine-sounding democracy program" (Cizre, 2008: 1). The AKP formulated its stance as conservative democracy that goes away from the traditional dichotomy as Islam versus the West. When the pary was founded, Abdullah Gül openly declared this view: "We are a conservative, democratic party. We want to implement EU standards; and we are pushing for EU membership. We want to demonstrate that a country with a Muslim majority can be comfortable with the modern world" (Kristianasen, 2003). In doing that, the AKP exemplifies the global trend in the Muslim world, as well. In the 1980s, political Islam had been

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[130] Bacık (2011) rather views the liberalization of political Islam as "denationalization of Islam in Turkish politics."
[131] Completely unrelated to the Lebanese Shia group Hezbollah, the Turkish/Kurdish Hezbollah, or Hizbullah in Turkish was founded in 1979/80 in Diyarbakır, Turkey. Led by Hüseyin Velioğlu, it was claimed to be set up by some state forces to counter the Kurdish sepratist movement under PKK.

associated with the Iranian Revolition and clandestine organizations with names like Islamic jihad or the Army of God. However, 1990s saw the Islamists' participation in electoral processes and their visibilities as prime ministers, cabinet members, parliamentarians, and mayors in countries from Egypt to Lebanon, From Turkey to Bangladesh.

In total, whether the February 28 process is over or still in effect has different answers. The then military Chief of Staff Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu declared many times that "February 28 is a process . . . [that] will last a thousand years, if necessary" (Bila, 1999). In this regard, the process may never end as long as its cause, that is, political Islam has not vanished into a thin air yet. On the other hand, the former Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit announced the end of the process as early as in 1999, when he was in office (*Turkish Daily News*, January 28, 1999).[132]

The 1997 events became a symbol for both the secular and religious groups in Turkey. On the one hand, the February 28 process crystallized the military's determination to defend secularism in the eyes of many secular groups. For instance, the former Chief of Staff Hilmi Özkök, who followed a moderate line in his relations with the ruling AKP, was blamed for not having acted similar to the military figures during the February 28 process (Yetkin, 2008). The former President Süleyman Demirel also argued that "Rejecting the February 28 [process] is rejecting the main pillars of the Republic" (Ilıcak, 2001: 207). On the other hand, the process became the symbol for the oppression against the observant groups in these circles. The media coverages on the headscarf ban, for instance, have been interpreted as the

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[132] The DSP leader Ecevit declared, "I believe that the process called February 28 has long been over."

resurrection of the February 28 process. In this view, the term refers to a political

phenomenon rather than a historical event in Turkish politics.

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APPENDIX

THE FEBRUARY 28 RECOMMENDATIONS

1- The principle of secularism should be strictly enforced and laws should be modified for that purpose, if necessary.

2- Private dormitories, foundations, and schools affiliated with Sufi religious orders *(tarikats)* must be put under the control of relevant state authorities and eventually transferred to the Ministry of National Education (MNE), as required by the Law on Unified Education *(Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu).*

3- With a view toward rendering the tender minds of young generations inclined foremost toward love of the republic, Atatürk, the homeland, and the nation, and toward the ideal and goal of raising the Turkish nation to the level of modern civilization, and to protect them against the influence of various quarters:

    a. An eight-year uninterrupted educational system must be implemented across the country.

    b. The necessary administrative and legal adjustments should be made so that Koran courses, which children with basic education may attend with parental consent, operate only under the responsibility and control of the MNE.

4- Our national education institutes charged with raising enlightened clergy loyal to the republican regime and Atatiirk's principles and reforms must conform to the essence of the Law on Unified Education.

5- Religious facilities built in various parts of the country must not be used for political exploitation to send messages to certain circles. If there is a need for such facilities, the RAC should evaluate the need, and the facilities must be built in coordination with local governments and relevant authorities.

6- Activities of religious orders banned by Law no. 677, as well as all entities prohibited by said law, must be ended.

7- Media groups that oppose the TAF and its members should be brought under control. These [groups] try to depict the TAF as

inimical to religion by exploiting the issue of personnel whose ties to the TAF have been severed by decisions of the Supreme Military Council (SMC, or *Yüksek Askeri Şura)* based on their fundamentalist activities.

8- Personnel expelled from military service because of fundamentalist activities, disciplinary problems, or connections with illegal organizations must not be employed by other public agencies and institutions or otherwise encouraged.

9- The measures taken within the framework of existing regulations to prevent infiltration into the TAF by the extremist religious sector should also be applied in other public institutions and establishments, particularly in universities and other educational institutions, at every level of the bureaucracy, and in judicial establishments.

10- Iran's efforts to destabilize Turkey's regime should be closely watched. Policies that would prevent Iran from meddling in Turkey's internal affairs should be adopted.

11- Legal and administrative means must be used to prevent the very dangerous activities of the extremist religious sector that seeks to create polarization in society by fanning sectarian differences.

12- Legal and administrative proceedings against those responsible for incidents that contravene the Constitution of the Turkish Republic, the Law on Political Parties, the Turkish Penal Code, and especially the Law on Municipalities should be concluded in a short period of time, and firm measures should be taken at all levels not to allow repetition of such incidents.

13- Practices that violate the attire law and that may give Turkey an anachronistic image must be prevented.

14- Licensing procedures for short- and long-barrel weapons, which have been issued for various reasons, must be reorganized on the basis of police and gendarmerie districts. Restrictions must be introduced on this issue, and the demand for pump-action rifles, in particular, must be evaluated carefully.

15- The collection of [animal] sacrifice hides by anti-regime and uncontrolled [unregulated] organizations and establishments for the purpose of securing financial resources should be prevented, and no collection of sacrifice hides should be allowed outside the authority recognized by law.

16- Legal proceedings against bodyguards dressed in special uniforms and those responsible for them should be concluded speedily, and, taking into account the fact that such illegal practices might reach dangerous proportions, all private bodyguard units not envisaged by the law should be disbanded.

17- Initiatives that aim at solving the country's problems on the basis of *"umma"* [religious community] rather than "nation" and that encourage the separatist terror organization (Kurdistan Workers Party [PKK]) by approaching it on the same basis [i.e., as a part of the *umma]* should be prevented by legal and administrative means.

18- Law no. 5816, which defines crimes against the great savior Atatürk, including acts of disrespect, must be fully implemented (Günay, 2001: 5-17, Günay's translation).

According to the official declaration of the meeting, it was unanimously agreed that

1. Groups aiming to create an Islamic republic based on *sharia* law in Turkey constitute a multi-directional threat to the democratic, secular social-law state as defined by the Constitution.

2. Fundamentalist groups opposing the republic and the regime are trying to weaken the democratic, secular, social-law state by making secular and anti-secular distinctions.

3. In Turkey, secularism is a guarantee not only for the regime but also for democracy and public peace, and it is also a way of life.

4. The concepts of the social-law state and justice, which are the structural essence of the state, cannot be abandoned; failing to investigate the non-contemporary practices that disregard the law is incompatible with the principle of superiority of law (Günay, 2001: 17, Günay's translation).